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NOTA DEL EDITOR

The end of *Celestinesca's* fourth year of recording and--I hope--encouraging *estudios celestinescos* around the world provides us with strong feelings of satisfaction as well as the knowledge that there is much yet to be done. Among the good signs would be the addition of two new *corresponsales*, MARIO FERRECCIO PODESTA from Chile and JEAN-PAUL LECERTUA from France, and the increase in new members from the last issue to this, almost all overseas individual and institutional subscribers. We welcome them heartily.

This issue carries a thoughtful analysis of the meaning of an important passage in *LC* (by Miguel Garci-Gómez) which is a reaction to a previous article that appeared in *Celestinesca* by M. CRIADO DE VAL. Professor GARCI-GOMEZ and the authors of the following article, K. KISH and U. RITZENHOFF are all new to these pages. The latter's article deals with the fortunes of *LC* in early sixteenth-century Germany while meticulously constructing a theory of a double translation effort on the part of Christof Wirsung. Their exposition and reasoning are convincing and fascinating to follow. KEITH WHINNOM contributes two notes. The first asks for a response and I hope there will be many: these may be addressed to Professor Whinnom or to these editorial offices. His second note is a *tour de force* post-script to the note on a partridge-hunting allusion from *LC* contributed earlier to *Celestinesca* by D. S. SEVERIN.

This issue carries more reviews (two books, two play productions and one film) than previous numbers and several more are in the works for future numbers, beginning what I hope will be a healthy, productive service to the readership. The P R E G O N E R O section is the longest ever. It includes a review of recent occurrences in the wide field of interest of this *boletín*, presents abstracts of papers to be read at the rejuvenated (after a three-year absence) seminar on *LC* Scholarship at the annual meetings of the Modern Language Association, and includes various letters. One of these proposes that the membership contribute notes on new and recent lexical items made possible by *LC* and a sample ('celestineo') is provided. I endorse the idea and ask the readers of *Celestinesca* to be alert for such lexical items in their reading and to send in reports.

Finally, there is the eighth supplement to my *LCDB* with some 40-odd new titles culled from the last six months of tracking bibliography.

CELESTINESCA

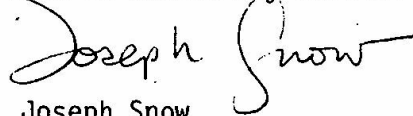
Plans are now under way for the production of *LCDB* II, which will be similar in format to the first one. However, it will be a single conflated listing (with the usual subdivisions: Theses, Monographs, Editions, Translations and Adaptations, Studies) incorporating the original *LCDB* list, all the *Celestinesca* supplements, plus addenda which will expand coverage from one quarter to a half century (1930-1980).

This number, like its predecessors, is generously sprinkled with illustrations. Of these there seem to be limitless possibilities for the future. Still, I would like soon to be able to run some original celestinesque drawings (black and white) and look to the readers for submissions or recommendations.

I am beginning to hear from colleagues who teach *LC* about interesting methods used in the presentation of the work and in student projects resulting from exposure to it. One future goal is to have some of these techniques and projects described in these pages. Would teachers using non-traditional teaching approaches in the presentation of *LC* please communicate with me, so that I may begin collating data for a future report?

To end this summary, I would like to make clear one very important activity that keeps *Celestinesca* alive and varied: reader reaction. Without the dozens of letters--most all with useful and usable comments, suggestions, ideas, and contributions--the very attempt to channel so many far-flung currents linked to *la literatura celestinesca* into one twice-yearly *boletín* would be an impossibility. I get such letters not only from friends, *corresponsales*, and new subscribers, but also from the general readership, graduate students interested in pursuing *Celestina* studies and the occasional non-academic. I have met and made a good many friends since beginning this enterprise and it has always been rewarding hard work of the kind that produces deep satisfaction. Do keep your contributions coming, keep recommending us to current and future colleagues, libraries, students, and friends who enjoy *LC*, and the *boletín* can only become even more interesting and curious. We will continue to strike a balance between the traditional scholarly item and the slightly zany, offbeat item, while we continue to document and affirm an unflagging devotion to the legacy left us by Fernando de Rojas.

Con un saludo muy cordial a todos,



Joseph Snow
Editor



"AMOR IMPERUIO" O "AMOR IMPROUO"? (*LC*, I, 94)

Miguel Garci-Gómez
Duke University

No hace mucho se preguntaba (y nos preguntaba) M. Criado de Val en las páginas de esta misma revista por el significado de "amor imperuio," a la vez que expresaba su extrañeza por haber escapado la frase a la atención de la crítica.¹ Por su forma y contenido, el artículo parece estar redactado más que para dar un golpe de gracia a la cuestión, para levantar la liebre a ver si alguno la sigue. Reconoce el crítico que en latín *impervius* es de entrada más bien tardía, de no abundante empleo, con significado de "impenetrabilis," "inaccessibilis" ("lack of way"), referido siempre a un lugar (faltando las acepciones figurativas). En las lenguas modernas--admite--"imperuio" se documenta en español únicamente en el pasaje estudiado de *LC*, no se usa en francés, pero aparece en los diccionarios italianos, portugueses e ingleses. En italiano, su uso es reciente (se emplea en las traducciones italianas de *LC*).

En ningún momento, a pesar de las reconocidas dificultades que el "latinajo" (en juicio despectivo de J. Cejador y Frauca)² ofrece, se pregunta Criado de Val por una posible contaminación del vocablo, fenómeno, como todos sabemos, nada inusitado en el *Acto I* de *LC*. Por el contrario, es su opinión que "the author uses it as a planned key to the whole" (p. 5). Aunque la explicación que da del término se basa en la continuación de Rojas, Criado de Val rehusa decidirse por atribuírselo a éste o al antiguo autor, afirmando que "imperuio" "was deliberately selected as the centerpiece of the amorous theories projected in *LC*, as the definition of the pessimistic idea of an 'amor sin camino,' a love with no practicable end, one which destroys both Calisto and Melibea" (pp. 5-6).

La definición de Criado de Val no difiere de la que ya nos había dado Cejador y Frauca: "*im-per-vius* dicese de lo sin camino." Sin embargo, la explicación que éste añade es un tanto incomprensible: "El amor salta por todo, sin caminos, él se los hace y llega al fin" (I, 94). Como si el salto no fuera un camino, o no lo fueran los que el amor se hace.

La explicación de Criado de Val me parece a mí que afirma lo que habría de probar, como si también aquí nos viéramos obligados a una lectura de *LC* "marcha atrás," esas tendencias persistentes entre los críti-

cos, de las que se lamentaba más recientemente, también en esta revista, James R. Stamm.³ Tendríamos, pues, que sólo después de leer toda la obra, llegaríamos a la comprensión de "imperuio." Pero miremos el contexto; habla Celestina:

Has de saber, Pármeno, que Calisto anda de amor
quexoso. E no lo juzgues flaco, que el amor
imperuio todas las cosas vence (I, 94).

La vieja está tratando de conquistarse al joven, de doblegarle con multitud de argumentos, razones, emociones, resortes de mil colores. Es impropio que Celestina, que había dicho "Basta para mi mescer un ojo" (I, 65), juzgue el amor de Calisto como "sin camino"; el camino es ella. Es impropio que la gran maestra de argucias emplee un adjetivo que sólo había de ser comprendido tras la muerte de Melibea; ¿qué fuerza iba a ejercer en el ánimo de Pármeno, que había de morir antes que la heroína?

El contexto nos induce a pensar que Celestina, más que definir el amor de Calisto como algo muy especial y único, lo trata de clasificar entre los de una categoría de fácil reconocimiento por parte del interlocutor (y el lector), con el fin de impregnarlo de fuerza argumentativa. Desdoblemos el silogismo:

Calisto anda de amor quexoso, (ahora bien)
el amor imperuio todas las cosas vence, (luego)
no lo juzgues flaco.

La premisa mayor es una sentencia autorizada, aceptada y fácil de reconocer, pues se trata de un calco, con sustitución, de la de Virgilio (*Georgicas* I, 146): *labor omnia vincit improbus*, sentencia proverbial que circulaba durante la edad media y, en particular, documentada en una obra que, según quiere Charles B. Faulhaber, pudo servir de inspiración al autor del *Acto I* de *LC*.⁴ Celestina no ha hecho otra cosa que una modificación conocida en las retóricas como *per immutationem*, explicada así por H. Lausberg: "al conjunto se le quita un elemento y en su lugar se le agrega otro nuevo que lo sustituye."⁵ *Labor* es sustituido por "el amor" con gran acierto y bellas resonancias. Pero sustituye "imperuio" a *improbus*? Y si es así, ¿fue sustitución del creador--viejo autor--o del intérprete--Rojas? (ya dije que de aceptar la explicación de Criado de Val, como clave del desenlace pesimista de *LC*, habría que atribuírsela al último).

Afirmaba con razón Criado de Val que *impervius* carecía de acepciones figurativas entre los autores clásicos, griegos y romanos.⁶ Aquí se puede ya asegurar que tales acepciones existían en el latín escolástico y tardío, con un significado que no distaba del directo *inaccessibilis*, con énfasis no tanto en la falta de camino, como en la sublimidad de la meta. Sobre tal base, se puede definir "amor imperuio" como *amor inalcanzable*, es decir, amor (por metonimia)⁷ de una mujer inalcanzable, según había dicho Calisto a Sempronio:

amo a aquella, ante quien tan indigno me hallo,
que no la puedo alcançar (I, 45).

O también amor inabordable, en el sentido figurado de *abordar*: "acercarse a alguno para conversar con él." Había de decir Calisto a Pármeno:

que suba de mano en mano mi mensaje hasta los
oydos de aquella a quien yo segunda vez hablar
tengo por imposible (I, 120).

En este sentido, claro, "imperuio" bien pudo proceder del primer autor; no obstante, me inclino a pensar que en la versión original *debió* leerse "el amor improuo."

En contraste con la pobreza de usos de *impervius* entre los clásicos, y su exclusivo significado local, directo, *improbus* es abundantísimo y rico en acepciones de carácter psicológico, moral. Sus connotaciones son tan múltiples como numerosas las emociones que el escritor trata de expresar. Me limitaré aquí a mencionar los usos de *improbus* como calificativo de ese tipo de *amor* a que se refiere Celestina--como ella dice más abajo--entre "machos e hembras."

Gelio (*Noctes Atticae*, 19, 2.1) explica su significado: "quae inmodice voluptas capitur, ea turpis atque improba aexistimatur." Aparece documentado en muchos textos latinos, entre los que se destacan algunos autores que conocía bien el autor del *Acto I* y Rojas. Estacio (*Tebaida* 7, 300) llama *improba connubii* a la ninfa Dercetis por su desordenado apetito de deleites matrimoniales. Valerio Máximo (*Factorum Dictorumque Memorabilium* 5, 7, Ext. 1) dice de Antioco, hijo del rey Seleuco, que se abrasaba en *improbis facibus*, antorchas improbas de incestuoso amor. Con relación a un amor también incestuoso, habla Arnobio (*Adversus nationes*, 5, 20) de *improbis libidinibus* de Diéspiter por su madre Ceres. Séneca (*Epistolae* 27, 2) se lamentaba de *improbaram voluptatum*, que atormentan después de satisfechas. Y, como gran final de nuestra reducida lista, dos ejemplos de Ovidio y Virgilio, que dan fondo y color al cuadro que trata de pintar Celestina, de un Calisto "quexoso" y "no ... flaco." Para Ovidio (*Fastos* 2, 331), el *amor improbus* infunde audacia para cualquier empresa: *quid non amor improbus audet?* Virgilio (*Eneida* 4, 412) interpela al *improbe amor*, el que impele sin confin alguno el pecho de los mortales: *improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!*

Los problemas textuales que nos acosan en muchos de los pasajes del Acto I son motivo, ¿quién lo niega?, de frustración, pero también de acicate y reto. Se explican, si se tiene en cuenta que es obra de colaboración en la que Rojas, por la oscuridad del manuscrito que encontró, o por corregirle la página a su autor con vistas a su propia continuación, intervino con aportaciones propias, siempre con moderación, pero alguna vez que otra con tino discutible. La cuestión no versa sobre mayor o menor conocimiento de fuentes literarias, sino más bien sobre la diversidad de conciencia y propósito en el creador y en el intérprete, algo así como lo que siente el crítico que trata de establecer lo que el autor *debió* decir.

He tratado de aclarar en este estudio lo que "imperuio" debe significar en vista de su contexto, con el apoyo de acepciones figurativas del

latin *impervius*. Principalmente he querido demostrar que en lugar de "imperuio," el original del *Acto I* debió tener *improvo*, como término dotado de mayor propiedad,⁸ que cuenta con tremendo soporte contextual y con tal garantía de fuentes latinas, que supera los argumentos aducidos para las lecturas de *Vulcán* por "el can," o *Marón* por "mayor," y por supuesto, la de *Erasístrato* por "Eras e Crato," y la de *seleucal* o *Seleuco* por "celestial" y "silencio."⁹

Volvamos al silogismo de Celestina y entendámoslo de acuerdo con las acepciones figurativas de "imperuio" (de Rojas) o, si se prefiere, *improvo*, a la luz de los textos clásicos, en particular Ovidio y Virgilio:

Calisto anda de amor quexoso,
 (ahora bien) { el amor imperuio [difícil, inalcanzable] todas las cosas vence,
 el amor improvo [compeledor y audaz] todas las cosas vence,
 (luego) no lo juzgues flaco.



Celestina llega a la casa de Melibea.
 Acto IV. Valencia: J. Joffre, 1514.

♦♦ NOTAS ♦♦

¹ "'Amor imperuio' (LC, I, 48): What does it mean?," *Celestinesca*, 1:ii (1977), 3-6. En las citas se indicará la página en el texto.

² Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*, ed. J. Cejador y Frauca (Madrid, 1963), I, 94. En las citas de LC se sigue esta edición y se indicará en el texto el tomo y la página.

³ "'El plebérico coração": Melibea's heart?," *Celestinesca*, 3:ii (1979) 3-6; dice el autor: "how persistent is the tendency among the critics to interpret *La Celestina* by reading the work backwards, from Act XXI (or XVI) to the *Auto*" (p. 5). Se refiere J. R. Stamm principalmente a aquellos que como F. Ruiz Ramón ("Nota sobre la autoría del Acto I de *La Celestina*," *HR*, 42 [1974], 431-435), requieren, más o menos explícitamente, que el lector termine de leer la obra para poder comprender del todo el significado de "Plebérico coração" (I, 36).

⁴ Charles B. Faulhaber; "The Hawk in Melibea's Garden," *HR*, 45 (1977), 435-450 (cf. p. 440). Compárense *vincit cuncta labor* (Gautier de Châtillon, *Alexandreis*, X, 318) y *Amor vincens omnia* (Higini Anglès, *El codex musical de las Huelgas* (Barcelona, 1931), num. 127).

⁵ Heinrich Lausberg, *Manual de retórica literaria* (Madrid, 1967-68), II, 16; sobre el valor probatorio de la *sententia* se lee: "El carácter infinito y la función probatoria de la *sententia* proceden de que ésta, en el medio social de la esfera de su validez y aplicación, tiene el valor de una sabiduría (...) semejante en autoridad a un fallo judicial o a un texto legal y es aplicable a muchos casos concretos" (II, 260). Si a *imperuio* le damos el significado que quiere Criado de Val, pierde la *sententia* su "carácter infinito" y su "sabiduría" de aforismo, por referirse a un amor demasiado individualizado.

⁶ Dice Criado de Val sobre los empleos de *impervius* y su correspondiente griego *adiabatos*: "in neither of the two classical languages does one encounter the least tendency to a semantic abstraction with the precise physical and concrete idea of 'impervius'" (p. 4). Parece ser que en el latín cristiano se usaba *impervius* con abstractos, como en el ejemplo que da Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français de Auteurs de Moyen-Âge* (Turnholt, 1975): "veritates omnino rationi imperviae," que traduce como "impenetrable a la raison" (s.v. *improbis*); el autor no cita la fuente. Se usa también en sentido figurativo en J. Długosz (s. XV), *Historiae Polonicae Libri XII*, ed. I. Z. Pauli (Kraków, 1873-78): "virtuti nihil difficile, nihil impervium" (vol. IV, p. 362; citado en *Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum* [Wrocław, 1978], vol. V, p. 167).

⁷ En lugar del *verbum proprium* (amada o Melibea) se pone otra palabra con él relacionada (amor), con una relación, en este caso, de abstracto-concreto, en la misma línea que *vicinitas* por "los vecinos" (Cicerón, *Verrinas* 2, 4, 96), o *iras* por "los airados" (Livio, *Ab Urbe Condita* 1,

13, 2); cf. Lausberg, *Manual*, II, 74.

⁸ Uso "propiedad" en el sentido técnico de *proprietas*, considerada por los retóricos como la cualidad natural de la elocución; no era de por sí una virtud, pero su contrario, como decía Quintiliano (*De Institutione oratoria* 8, 2, 3), era un *vitium*. Dice Lausberg: "La cumbre de la *proprietas*, cumbre que se ha de procurar alcanzar, consiste en la expresión atinada" (*Manual*, II, 49). El resultado de la *proprietas* es la *perspicuitas* de la dicción. La *improprietas* produce, por el contrario, la *obscuritas*, como cuando las palabras escogidas "no se ajustan a las *res* que se quiere designar" (p. 49). En mi opinión, "imperuio" no es la palabra más atinada, aunque quizá conscientemente seleccionada por Rojas como *licentia* permisible, de lo que también informa Lausberg (especialmente en II, 49, 377 y ss.).

⁹ Información bibliográfica y comentarios críticos sobre estas enmiendas textuales, en María Rosa Lida, *La Originalidad artística de "La Celestina"*, (Buenos Aires, 1962), pp. 17-18. En particular, sobre "Vulcán," cf. Otis H. Green, "LC aucto I: 'Minerua con el can'," *NRFH* 7 (1953), 470-474; sobre Seleuco, más recientemente, Emma Scoles, "Due note di filologia quattrocentesca. 2. 'Seleucal'," *Studi di letteratura spagnola* (Roma, 1965), pp. 180-186. Añádase a las mencionadas enmiendas la de *encomendador* por "comedor," que parecía preferir Joseph E. Gillet ("'Comedor de huevos'(?): LC, Aucto I," *HR*, 24 [1956], 144-147). A propósito, informo al lector que en dos artículos de próxima aparición, definiendo, en uno, la *propiedad* de "Eras e Crato," y con base en nuevos datos filológicos, propongo nueva interpretación de "plebérico" (en "Plebérico corazón," I, 36) como grafía variante o viciada, en éste como en otros textos latinos medievales, por *plebeyo* (o mezquino). En el otro, investigo la tradición de "huevos" como afrodisíaco entre los romanos, árabes y cristianos medievales, la *propiedad* de "comedor" y la ambigüedad y fuerza satírica del contexto.



La codicia de Celestina
pagada con la muerte.

Auto XII. Traducción
alemana de 1520 de C.
Wirsung.



THE *CELESTINA* PHENOMENON IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY:

CHRISTOF WIRSUNG'S TRANSLATIONS OF 1520 AND 1534

Kathleen Kish
U. of North Carolina, Greensboro

and

Ursula Ritzenhoff
U. of Tennessee, Knoxville

When the young Christof Wirsung (1500-71) returned from a stay in Venice to his native Augsburg--then a bustling city, home of the rich and powerful Welsers and Fuggers and a place of special significance for two emperors (Maximilian I and Charles V)--he brought with him a copy of Alfonso Hordognez' translation of *La Celestina* (first published in Rome, 1506).¹ Very soon Wirsung joined the ranks of celestinesque authors: his 1520 rendition of Hordognez' *Tragicocomedia* stands second in the long line of translations of Rojas' work. Yet this jewel of an edition, with its superb woodcuts and exquisite type, represents only half of Wirsung's contribution: in 1534 he published another translation of *LC*. Not merely a revision of his earlier effort, Wirsung's second text shares with the first little more than the typeface and most of the woodcuts. It is this unusual phenomenon--the existence of two entirely different translations of the same work by a single author--that makes Wirsung's endeavors to render *LC* into German particularly worthy of study, and not by *Celestina* specialists alone.² Because of the historical period in which they appeared, they also deserve the attention of scholars interested in the development of the German language, the history of printing and book illustration, and the cultural ramifications of the Reformation.

While Wirsung's two translations have long impressed antiquarians, bibliophiles, and experts in the art of printing, they had to wait in the wings for nearly 400 years before coming onto the stage of *Celestina* scholarship. In 1894 Lorenzo González Agejas reported his surprising discovery in the Biblioteca de San Isidro of the 1520 German translation of *LC*. Shortly thereafter both this work and Wirsung's 1534 version are discussed in the Krapf-Menéndez y Pelayo *Celestina* edition, but their information on the 1534 translation is clearly second-hand, which explains why Menéndez y Pelayo continues to refer to its date of publication as 1533 in his Orígenes de la novela.³

The only monograph on Wirsung, Wilhelm Fehse's doctoral dissertation, appeared in 1902.⁴ Fehse's principal concern is to demonstrate

through examples selected from both German *Celestinas* that they are two distinct works, each based on Hordognez' translation. The stylistic comparison of the 1520 and 1534 versions, which Fehse illustrates with a minimum of textual citations, leads him to assert the clear superiority of Wirsung's second effort.

Even though some of Fehse's findings were quickly challenged, his preliminary study has, as if by default, been accepted as the authoritative, if not the definitive, word on Wirsung's translations.⁵ In 1974 Dietrich Briesemeister, who finds in the Wirsung phenomenon a unique opportunity for studying the art of translation and sixteenth-century genre theories, defers to Fehse on most questions of language and style.⁶ And, while the chapter on Wirsung in Sylvia Simpson Genske's 1978 N. Y. U. dissertation, "LC in Translation before 1530," contains some first-hand observations on the 1530 version, it relies heavily on Fehse, particularly in the section devoted to the 1534 rendition.⁷

Much primary research on Wirsung's two translations remains to be done. Fehse's book, while suggesting some interesting avenues of study, is now mostly out of date. Moreover, as Gustav Siebenmann pointed out in 1975, "La alemana es la única trad. antigua sin ed. crítica."⁸ In light of this fundamental lacuna, it is encouraging to read that Norbert von Prellwitz "piensa en una edición diplomática de esta primera traducción alemana de 1520."⁹

The pressing need for critical studies on and modern editions of the two Wirsung translations is underlined by Siebenmann when he cites these items as the first in his list of "zonas en barbecho" in *LC* scholarship (p. 167). On another occasion he had pronounced this lack of basic research tools "curioso."¹⁰ Given the intrinsic merit of Wirsung's work and the intriguing fact of its two different redactions, it does indeed seem strange that it has been neglected to such a degree--until one stops to ponder the complexities of any attempt to come to terms with the German *Celestina* phenomenon. Even by isolating Wirsung's translations from the mainstream of *Celestina* research (temporarily, of course), the prospective investigator cannot escape confronting widely diverse areas of learning: the history of the *Reichsstadt* Augsburg in the early sixteenth century; the development of the art of printing in the same time and place, with special attention to book illustration; and, closely related to both of these, the consequences of Luther's Bible--for the development of German language, literature, and society. A glance at the lives of those involved in the production of the 1520 and 1534 versions of *LC* will show why this background is important.

The central figure in this web of personalities, Christof Wirsung, belonged to one of the patrician families of renaissance Augsburg. Born (like Charles V) in 1500, he was sent by his merchant father to study in Venice. His humanistic training notwithstanding, for Wirsung writing was a secondary occupation, and yet one to which he devoted much energy. Professionally, he was a pharmacist--a fact of more than passing interest to *Celestina* specialists, given the often mystifying ingredients in the "laboratory" of the *alcahueta*. Late in life, Wirsung managed to combine

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his dual interests when he published his *Artzneybuch* (1568), his only original work to have been identified so far and his chief claim to fame.¹¹

Translation was Wirsung's literary forte. Besides his two *Celestina* versions, his German renditions of theological writings by the Italian heretic Bernardino Ochino are especially noteworthy. Wirsung's choice of this anti-papal model for the exercise of his translator's skill was no accident. Augsburg had early felt the magnetic pull of Luther's teachings. The Augustinian gadfly had been summoned there by Cardinal Cajetan in 1518 (the year after posting his 95 theses in Wittenberg), leaving behind some loyal supporters when he had to be spirited out of the city because his intransigence had so enraged the Pope's representative. When Ochino, who had been granted refuge in Augsburg in 1545, preached a series of sermons there, it was Wirsung who translated them from the Italian for publication in German. Perhaps the newly appointed member of the city council, with special duties related to local schools (a post Wirsung assumed in 1543) deemed these translations a useful service to his native city. Later, when he rendered Ochino's *Apologii* (1554) into German, he dedicated the first edition (1556) to Ottheinrich, then Kurfürst in Heidelberg. Possibly he was at that time looking ahead to retiring in that vigorously Protestant city, which he did in the 1560s. It was there that he died, in 1571.

The next individuals in sixteenth-century Germany whose lives were touched by *LC*, the publishers of the 1520 edition, had a direct connection with the translator. They were Sigismund Grimm and Christof Wirsung's father Markus, whose recently founded printing establishment was to become known as one of Augsburg's finest.¹² It is probable that a third person, a "Faktor," handled the actual printing of *Ain Hipsche Tragedia*, as the 1520 edition was entitled, since neither of the firm's partners was a printer by trade. For Grimm, a physician in the employ of the city who was married to a member of the Welser family, and for the senior Wirsung, a wealthy businessman who had earlier purchased a pharmacy, the publishing house that they launched in 1518 must have seemed a sensible investment, given Augsburg's leading role at the time in the production of illustrated books. The city offered them such outstanding artists as Hans Burgkmaier, a native son, and Hans Weiditz as well as expert woodcutters. Since Grimm and Wirsung had managed to acquire the valuable type that had first been used for the *editio princeps* of the Emperor Maximilian's *Teuerdank* (1517), and since the works they published were prepared with the utmost care, they had every reason to expect that their joint publishing venture would be successful.

In the end, however, events intervened, upsetting this happy prospect. In 1521, the year after the publication of *Ain Hipsche Tragedia*, Wirsung senior died, leaving Dr. Grimm to face the competition alone, without benefit of his experienced merchant partner's advice. Grimm proved to be no match for the task: not only did he squander his time and resources on alchemic experiments, he also failed to show good business sense in selecting the works to be printed. His finances exhausted, he was forced to declare bankruptcy in 1527.

The person who most profited from Grimm's misfortune, Heinrich Steiner, also played a key role in Germany's *Celestina* phenomenon. He came onto the Augsburg scene in 1522. Steiner forms an almost perfect contrast with Grimm, some of whose equipment he bought after his business failed. Destined to become the head of Augsburg's largest and last great sixteenth-century printing house, he was a shrewd businessman who knew how to use to advantage his technical expertise and his instinct for what would appeal to his customers.

Unlike his predecessor, Steiner--who printed Christof Wirsung's second *Celestina*, *AInn recht Liepliches buechlin vnnd gleich ain traurige Comedi* (1534)--recognized the single most significant fact of the German book trade in his century: the certain popularity of Reformation literature and, in particular, of works by Martin Luther:

Luther's treatise, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*, a tract which helped to set in motion the Reformation, sold 4,000 copies within five days when it was published in 1520. All of Luther's tracts sold well, but their sales were exceeded by his German translation of the New Testament. The first edition, in September 1522, was quickly sold out and a second edition appeared three months later. Altogether fourteen authorized and sixty-six pirated editions appeared within the next biennium. The first whole Bible in Luther's translation appeared in 1534, and no fewer than 430 editions of the complete Bible or parts of it were issued in Luther's lifetime.¹³

While Steiner regularly exploited other dependable markets--the classics, for example, which must have been snapped up by humanists and their pupils, and practical handbooks on such subjects as gardening, cooking, and health care--the staple commodities in his catalogue were the works sparked by the spiritual commotion of his time, especially the Early New High German writings of Luther. Already in 1524 he published two of these (the *Betbüchlein und Lesbüchlein* and Luther's *Psalter deutsch*), and three years later he issued both the *Neues Testament* and *Altes Testament*. From then on, editions of Luther's Bible rolled off Steiner's presses one after the other until at least 1539, and they, together with repeated printings of Cicero's *Officien*, must have ensured the printer's solvency for many years.¹⁴

Other reasons for this industrious entrepreneur's success show him in a less favorable light. In his apparent eagerness to turn a profit, he was not averse to issuing unauthorized reprints of works published by others.¹⁵ Financial considerations no doubt also led him to introduce a practice that was to spell the end of Augsburg's renown as a center of fine book illustration: by using over and over the woodcuts in his possession, often in texts where they were not at all appropriate, Steiner ushered in an era in which esthetics had to bow before economic reason.¹⁶

Fortunately for the German translator of *LC*, when Steiner decided to print *AInn recht Liepliches buechlin vnnd gleich ain traurige Comedi*, he had at hand the remarkable set of blocks that had been prepared for the 1520 *Ain Hipsche Tragedia*, so that he had no need to resort to unsuitable woodcuts. The illustrations designed for Dr. Grimm and Markus Wirsung--

formerly attributed to Hans Burgkmaier and now, usually, to Hans Weiditz--could be used for the new translation.¹⁷ The only blocks that had to be discarded were those that had been executed for the title page and the colophon because these bore the heraldic insignia of the original printers and of Mattheus Lang von Wellenburg, to whom the 1520 work had been dedicated (see the reproductions at the end of this article). Thus it is that Wirsung's 1534 *Celestina* is nearly as handsome a production as its forerunner, and almost the only sign that it came from a workshop where quality was not always of prime importance is a mixup in the order of the illustrations toward the end of the work.¹⁸

From another perspective this apparent slip may be viewed as an indication that Steiner recognized how profoundly different Wirsung's two versions of *LC* were, since the newly arranged woodcuts appear in a section of the 1534 text that contrasts sharply with the 1520 rendition. Originally, Wirsung had written an expanded ending for *LC* (in which Alisa plays a somewhat less passive role), but the second time around he was content to reflect faithfully Rojas' conclusion.¹⁹ One should not infer from this that Wirsung had lost his creative touch during the fourteen years that separate his two attempts to translate *LC*. In fact, in 1534 he had moved so far from his original conception of his role as translator that he scrapped not only the dedicatory letter composed for his 1520 version, but the whole notion of such a dedication (inherited from Rojas via Hordognez), which he replaced with a preface entirely of his own invention: a dialogue whose two characters (Urbanus and Amusus) discuss the nature of dramatic literature and its potential influence on behavior, for better or for worse.

This evidence of Wirsung's heightened awareness of the power of literature--an awareness undoubtedly nurtured by his humanistic studies and by the intellectual ferment of the Reformation--gives us one insight into why he undertook a second translation of *LC*. But this is only a small part of the story. Even more responsible for his decision to prepare a completely new version of his source must have been the superior linguistic tools at his disposal in 1534. In this regard the importance of Luther's 1522 New Testament, which had effected a revolutionary change in the German language, cannot be overstated. In short, the world in which Wirsung moved in 1534 was very different from the one that had witnessed the appearance of *Ain Hipsche Tragedia* in 1520.

Because of this fact, and because of their literary merit, Wirsung's two translations deserve closer attention. For critics and historians of literature they offer largely unexplored territory that holds rich rewards. Specialists in Rojas' masterpiece, for example, can investigate the *Celestina* phenomenon in sixteenth-century Germany as yet another avenue to understanding the Spanish original and its *descendance directe*.²⁰ But for humanists in general this phenomenon represents much more: the opportunity to study a fascinating hybrid of two parallel cultural forces--the Renaissance and the Reformation.



• NOTES •

¹ This article is an outline of major points to be covered in the Introduction to our planned edition of Wirsung's two *Celestina* versions. We wish to express here our gratitude to Dr. Theodore S. Beardsley, Jr., Director of the Hispanic Society of America, who has generously assisted us in our search for materials. For convenience, whenever possible references in these notes will be author and Snow number only [=LCDB, in *Hispania*, 59 (1976), 610-60, and in the supplements published to date in *Celestinesca* (these numbers are preceded by an S)].

² These specialists will note a rough parallel between Wirsung and James Mabbe, whose two English translations of *LC* (one in manuscript, the other in published form) were also different. See Guadalupe Martínez Lacle, ed., *LCDB* 238.

³ Lorenzo González Agejas, "La *Celestina*. ¿Está completa según hoy la conocemos? Una traducción alemana de 1520. Pasajes nuevos que contiene," *La España Moderna*, 6 (julio 1894), 78-103. Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina. Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, ed. Eugenio Krapf, estudio crítico de Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, 2 vols. (Vigo: Librería de Eugenio Krapf, 1899-1900); see esp. Vol. I, pp. xlvii-xlviii, Vol. II, pp. lxxxiii-xcvi and c. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *LCDB* 65, pp. 189-92 (in the 1970 rpt.). All of these studies contain obsolete information alongside penetrating insights. The erroneous date for the second Wirsung translation has been often repeated. Even the very careful Clara Louisa Penney, *LCDB* 69, p. 119, relying on Krapf, gives the date as 1553; in addition, the entry following this one in her book should read 1534, not 1634.

⁴ *Christof Wirsungs deutsche Celestinaübersetzungen* (Halle, 1902).

⁵ Arturo Farinelli's negative review in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 23 (1 Nov. 1902), 2786-94, overlooks one area of Fehse's research that deserves praise; his investigation into Wirsung's life. Sylvia Simpson Genske, *LCDB* S242, pp. 97-102, adds a few details to the account of Wirsung's life given by Fehse (pp. 5-20). Preliminary research permits us to correct some of their findings: Wirsung's profession and data about his father; see below.

⁶ See Briesmeister, *LCDB* S117 (=S68), p. 55.

⁷ Genske states: "Information for this edition [i.e., 1534] is taken exclusively from Fehse's dissertation because this writer has not consulted the text" (p. 91).

⁸ Siebenmann, *LCDB* 496 [corregida, aumentada], p. 185.

⁹ See Siebenmann, pp. 165-66, at p. 166, who reports here that von Prellwitz is collating the German 1520 version with the chronologically appropriate editions of Hordognez in order to determine Wirsung's source and to establish what he added to and subtracted from his model.

¹⁰ Siebenmann, *LCDB* S163, p. 534.

¹¹ This book, essentially a compilation of remedies, went through many editions in German; Fehse (p. 20) mentions reprints in 1569, 1572, 1577, 1582, 1584, 1588, 1592, 1597, 1605, 1619, and 1661, saying that even this list is incomplete. He also cites a Dutch translation, which had three printings. A sign of the enduring importance of Wirsung's *Artzneybuch* is its presence (in English translation and often on microfilm) even in American university libraries. The University of Pennsylvania libraries, for example, own three microfilms of the work (1598, 1605, and 1617 London editions) as well as an imperfect bound copy of London: Edmund Bollifant, 1598, whose title reads: *Praxis medicinae uniuersalis; or A generall practise of physicke: wherein are contained all inward and outward parts of the body, with all the accidents and infirmities that are incident unto them, even from the crowne of the head to the sole of the foote; Also by what meanes (vvith the help of God) they may be remedied: very meete and profitable, not only for all phisitons, chirurgions, apothecaries, and midwiues, but for all other estates whatsoever. The Like whereof as yet in English hath not beene published. Compiled and written by the most famous and learned Doctour Christopher Wirtzung [sic] in the Germane tongue, and now translated into English, in diuers places corrected, and with many additions illustrated and augmented, by Iacob Mosan.* It should be noted that in the 1568 German edition Wirsung's name is not preceded by the title "doctor."

¹² Our biographical data on the printers of the German *Celestina* translations will be updated through research in European libraries and archives. The sources we have used for the provisional information given here are classics in the areas of printing and book illustration: Alfred Götze, *Die hochdeutschen Drucker der Reformationszeit*, 2nd ed. (1905; rpt. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963); Richard Muther, *German Book Illustration of the Gothic Period and the Early Renaissance (1460-1530)*, trans. Ralph R. Shaw, 2 vols. in 1 (Metuchen, N. J.: Scarecrow Press, 1972), of the original, Munich, 1884; Karl Schottenloher, *Das alte Buch*, Bibliothek für Kunst- und Antiquitäten-Sammler, Bd. 14 (Berlin: R. C. Schmidt, 1919).

¹³ Colin Clair, *A History of European Printing* (London and New York: Academic Press, 1976), p. 123.

¹⁴ Schottenloher gives several reasons why Steiner's successful business seems to have deteriorated over the years (pp. 136-38).

¹⁵ While this practice was not unusual at that time, Steiner seems to have made it a specialty at which he was quite proficient, to judge from his first edition (1535) of the whole Luther Bible, which was an exact copy, complete with woodcuts, of the original, printed by Hans Luft in Wittenberg just one year earlier. See Muther, p. 155.

¹⁶ For example, Steiner, who had bought the wood blocks (prepared back in 1520 for Grimm and Wirsung, but not used by them) for both the Cicero and for the German translation of Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque*

fortunae, not only brought out repeated editions of these works; he also used many of the outstanding illustrations in them for almost all his publications after 1532. See Muther, pp. 128-30, 151-52, 267-68, and Schottenloher, pp. 42-46.

¹⁷ Thome, *LCDB* S341, praises these illustrations, which regular readers of *Celestinesca* will have already admired in every number of this journal. Isolated reproductions of some of the woodcuts have appeared elsewhere; see, for example, *German Renaissance Title Borders*, selected by Alfred Forbes Johnson, Facsimiles and Illustrations issued by the Bibliographical Society, No. 1 (Oxford: Univ. Press, 1929), p. 11 and plate 28; and Penney, p. 118 (where additional sources containing illustrations from the 1520 edition accompany copies of its title page and colophon). A facsimile of all the woodcuts and of the *Argumente* [*LCDB* S22], was issued in Augsburg, without date. Penney, p. 119, mistakenly lists this book as a facsimile of the entire original, but the date she ascribes to it (1923) is probably correct, or nearly so.

¹⁸ See Fehse (pp. 42-43), whose discussion of this point is summarized in Genske, p. 103.

¹⁹ Wirsung's 1520 addition to the standard *Celestina* ending has been variously explained. González Agejas surmises that "es la conclusión verdadera del acto 21.º de la *Celestina*" (p. 101). This theory, which was reasonable in 1894 when numerous early versions of Rojas' work (in Spanish and in translation) still awaited discovery, no longer seems plausible. Fehse (p. 43) and Genske (p. 89) relate Wirsung's innovation to a wish to balance the roles of Melibea's parents. It can be noted that Hordognez also seems to have felt the need to heighten Alisa's part: in Act XII he assigns to her two of Pleberio's speeches (see Kish, ed., *LCDB* 242, p. 22 and n. 18); and Jacques de Lavardin expands the ending of his French translation (c. 1560) by bringing in "Ariston, frère d'Alise" (see Alan Deyermond, *LCDB* 512).

²⁰ The term is borrowed from Heugas, *LCDB* 57.



Celestina llega a la casa de Melibea.
Acto IV. Burgos, ¿1499?





Title page of the 1520 edition of the
German translation of Celestina by C.
Wirsung.



Colophon of the 1520 edition of the German translation of Celestina by C. Wirsung.



"LA CELESTINA", "THE CELESTINA", AND L2 INTERFERENCE IN L1

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Given that "LC", standing for "*La Celestina*", is the abbreviation adopted by this excellent journal for the (*sic*) *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, it may well seem churlish, and will in all probability prove profitless, to protest that "*La Celestina*" is incorrect in both English and Spanish: unless one prefers the lengthier but more precise titles of the early editions, the book should be called quite simply "*Celestina*" or, in Spanish, "*la Celestina*".

The potential ambiguity which eponymous heroes, or heroines, consistently create is, in fact, negligible in English, since *Celestina* may be distinguished from *Celestina* as easily as *Hamlet* from *Hamlet*. Modern Spanish removes even this possible source of confusion by some perfectly clear and simple rules: "Se antepone el artículo ... con los nombres que son títulos de obras; como EL *Edipo*, LA *Raquel*" (Real Academia Española, *Gramática de la lengua española*, nueva edición reformada, Madrid, 1931, §§78 (b)); or, possibly even more explicitly, "cuando una obra tiene por título un personaje, pues se dice 'el *Otelo*' aunque en la obra sea solo 'Otelo'" (Niceto Alcalá-Zamora, "Observaciones" to §§865-68 of Andrés Bello and Rufino J. Cuervo, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, Buenos Aires, 1945). It is true that these rules are not scrupulously observed by all modern Spanish-speaking critics, and that one can readily find numerous examples not only of "*La Celestina*" but also of the converse solecism (unnoticed, to my knowledge, by the grammarians), which consists in removing an article which properly belongs to the title and preposing it as a qualifier, as, for instance, in "*la Vida es sueño*". But a number of careful scholars (Menéndez Pelayo, Foulché-Delbosc, etc.) do invariably refer to "*la Celestina*"; and just as "*el Otelo*" translates back into English as "*Othello*", so "*la Celestina*" should be translated simply as "*Celestina*".

It may be important to emphasize that, despite sundry modern editions, the "unofficial" substitute title of the *Tragicomedia* was not originally *La Celestina* but *Celestina*. While we may perhaps disregard an early edition of the Italian translation entitled *Celestina: Tragicomedia di Calisto e Melibea* (Venice, 1519), the Spanish Golden-Age editions which use this title have no article: Alcalá, 1569 (copied in Antwerp in

1595 and 1599) is *Celestina: Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, while the expurgated edition of Madrid, 1632, is *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea vulgarmente llamada Celestina*. But long before 1569 the title of *Celestina* was in widespread use. Although his Latin does not constitute evidence for the non-use of the article, Luis Vives calls it "*Celestina*" in his *De institutione feminae christianae*, I, 5 (1529) and in his *De causis corruptarum artium* (1531). But later examples are unequivocal. In 1534 Feliciano de Silva published his *Segunda comedia de Celestina*; in 1535, in his *Diálogo de la lengua*, Valdés speaks more than once simply of "*Celestina*": "el autor de *Celestina*", etc.; in 1536 Gaspar Gómez entitled his sequel *Tercera parte de la tragicomedia de Celestina*; in 1539 Guevara, in his well known attack on profane literature in *Aviso de privados y doctrinales*, writes of the "libros, que es afrenta nombrarlos, como son *Amadís de Gaula*, *Tristan de Leonís*, *Primaleón*, *Cárcel de Amor y Celestina*"; in 1540, in his *Diferencias de libros que ay en el universo*, Alejo de Venegas, "para dar a entender que todo género de perversidad se encerraba en ella", called it *Scelestina*; and so it goes on. In 1605 López de Úbeda in *La pícaro Justina* is still saying "en *Celestina*". I cannot find a "*la Celestina*" before the seventeenth century (Quevedo, Gracián, Salas Barbadillo), and then, although one might contend that the evidence is not entirely unequivocal, the references are clearly to the work and not the character, and I believe that we may legitimately suppose that in each case these writers are anticipating the modern rules ("*la Celestina*") rather than Amarita or Cejador ("*La Celestina*").

There are, of course, two other possible Spanish uses of the article which may have helped to confuse the issue. One, with a proper name, is seen in such forms as "*la Gómez*" (which might be translated as "the Gómez woman" or "the Gómez girl") or, as in Correas's proverbs, "*la Marikita*". Except in the case of professional women--actresses, *prime donne* or novelists ("*la Guerrero*", "*la Callas*", "*la Pardo Bazán*")--the article appears to have a mildly pejorative or despectuous function. But I see no justification for its use with "*Celestina*", who in the text of the work is never referred to (if we may ignore "*madre*", "*puta vieja*", etc.) except as "*Celestina*". The other occurs when a proper name becomes a common noun, so that one is obliged to refer, with the article, to "*la celestina de un prostíbulo*", "the madam of a brothel", but, while conceivably a contributing factor to the confusion, this is logically irrelevant to the present problem.

The reluctance of editors, and even compositors, to accept these simple facts is curious, and in various articles and books in which I have alluded to *Celestina*, the title of the work has emerged in print as "*La Celestina*". "*La Celestina*", although I believe it is wrong, is, however, as nothing in comparison with the barbarism of "the *Celestina*", which is no more and no less than a blatant hispanism, demonstrating the interference of L2 in L1.¹ Indeed, I am moved to offer this modest protest primarily because I have the impression that this gross solecism is spreading with virus-like rapidity. Alongside such old-established forms as "the *Laberinto de Fortuna*" and "the *Cárcel de Amor*" (for which it might be possible to make some sort of feeble case) we now have not only "the *Quijote*" and "the *Celestina*" (for which see any bibliography of *Celestina* or some previous numbers of *Celestinesca*) but also "the *Diana*",

"the *Lazarillo*", "the *Guzman*", and so forth. No one speaks of "the *Hamlet*" or "the *David Copperfield*", and while there exists a very obvious explanation for terms like "the *Quijote*", namely unthinking literal translation from the Spanish, there is surely no possible justification for it. If I *am* wrong, I should be most grateful if someone would tell me why.



NOTE

¹ For this and other phenomena of linguistic interference see my forthcoming article (in which I cite "the *Celestina*" as one example), "Non-Primary Types of Language", in *Mélanges Coseriu*, 5 vols, II: *Sprachkontakt, Lenguas en contacto, Languages in Contact, Langues en contact* (Madrid: Gredos).



Calisto parte para la iglesia de la Magdalena. Ilustración de la traducción alemana de 1520 de Christof Wirsung.

**LA HIJA
DE CELESTINA,**

**POR ALONSO CERONYMO
De Salas Barbadillo :**

*Impressa por la diligencia y cuidado
del Alferoz Francisco de
Segura.*

*Entretenido cerca de la persona de Señor
Virrey de Aragon.*

Al Molto Illustré Sig.

FILIPPO TROTTI.



EN MILAN, Por Iuan Bapt. Bidelo. 1616.
Con licencia de Superiores.

Portada de la obra celestinesca, LA HIJA DE
CELESTINA, Milano: J. B. Bidelo, 1616, obra
de A. J. de Salas Barbadillo.

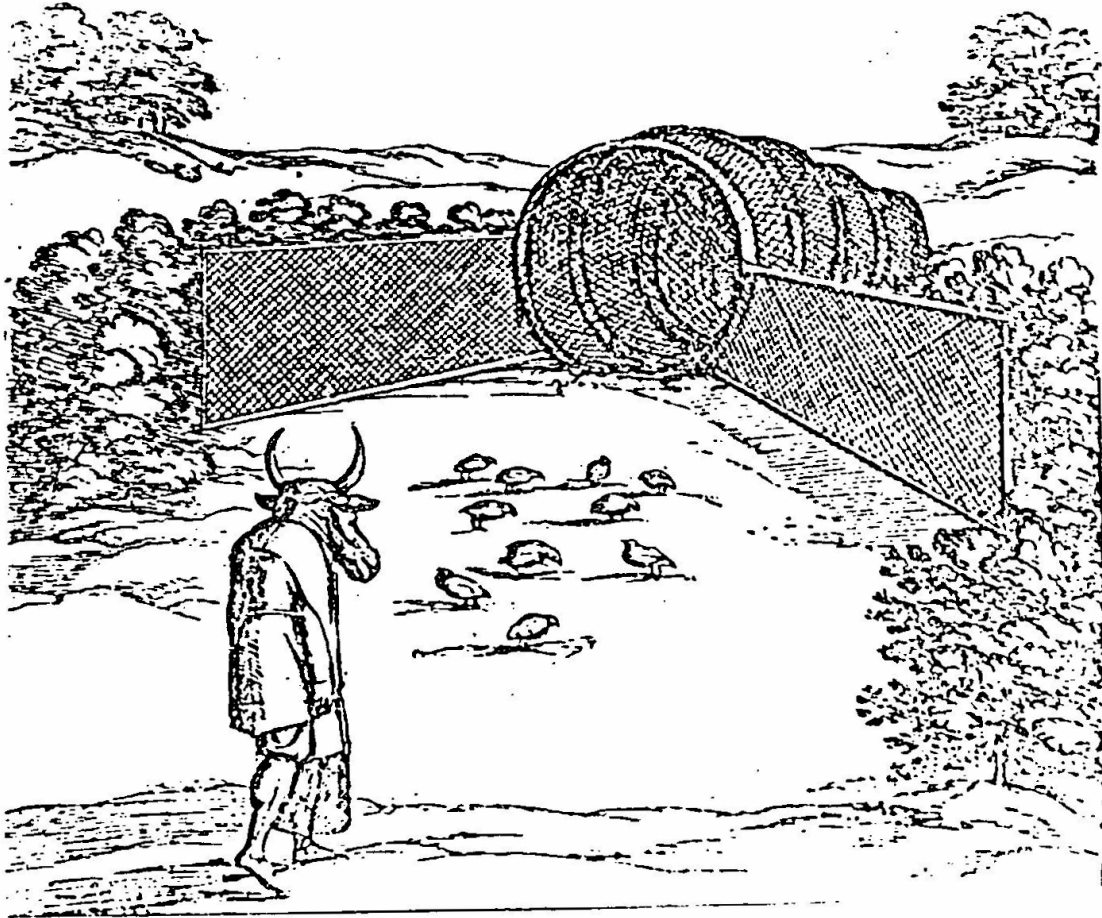


DR. SEVERIN, THE PARTRIDGE, AND THE STALKING-HORSE

Keith Whinnom
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To Dorothy Severin's diverting excursus on the *boezuelo*¹ I should like to add just two pedantic ornithological footnotes.

1. The first, which may seem a quibble, is that Rojas's *perdices* are not Partridges,² nor the Italian *starme* which figure in her illustration (p. 32, and reproduced below).



If we may discount the Rock Partridge (*Alectoris graeca*) of the eastern Mediterranean (Italy and Greece), which makes only an occasional accidental appearance in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, and the Barbary Partridge (*Alectoris barbara*) from North Africa, which can be found in a restricted area around Gibraltar, we have just two partridges to contend with. Although their ranges overlap, notably in France, where they are distinguished as the "grey partridge" and the "red partridge" (*perdrix grise* and *perdrix rouge*), so far as English and Spanish are concerned the use of the specific terms is somewhat analogous to "American, South American/norte-americano, americano". That is to say, the northern species, *Perdix perdix*, is in English simply "Partridge", while the southern species, *Alectoris rufa*, carries the qualifier: "Red-legged Partridge".

In Spain, the northern species is confined to the northern coastal strip of Galicia, Asturias, Santander, and the Basque Provinces, where it is most commonly known as *pardilla* or *pardillo*. Technical writings, but not so far as I can determine before the nineteenth century, may call it *perdiz pardilla*, now its official name in the checklist of the Sociedad Española de Ornitología; but *Autoridades*, s.v. *perdiz*, simply appends a rather vague note to the effect that there is another kind of *perdiz* which does not have red legs. *Perdiz* in Spanish (now officially *perdiz común*) designates the Red-legged Partridge, which, although it can be found in Britain (but not in Ireland, Wales, Devon and Cornwall, or north of a line drawn between the Mersey and the Wash) is much rarer than the Partridge.

But the simple map of the distribution of these two species of partridge, namely the Partridge (*Perdix perdix*) in northern Europe (Scandinavia, Germany, British Isles), the Red-legged Partridge (*Alectoris rufa*) in the south (Spain), with a zone of overlap in northern Spain, France, and southern England, is totally upset in Italy, where the Partridge, *starna*, may be found throughout the country, while the Red-legged Partridge, *pernice*, appears only in the northwest. In short, the Italian method of capturing *starna*, Partridges, while it may correspond with the Spanish method, alluded to by Rojas, of capturing *perdices*, Red-legged Partridges, was designed for a different species of bird.

2. Dr. Severin expresses (p. 33) some scepticism about the effectiveness of the *boezuelo* for capturing "flying game". One might well be sceptical of the elaboration of the apparatus employed, including the stalking-horse itself, but of the effectiveness of the method there can be little doubt. All the European members of the *Phasianidae* (pheasants, partridges, quails) demonstrate a singular reluctance to take to the air. When alarmed they crouch; when threatened they run; and even when they do fly, the flight is rarely sustained. Furthermore, no bird, with the exception of a few nocturnal predators, of the nightjars (American English "night hawks"), and of the species which may on migration fly high through the night, is ever inclined to take to the air in the dark. Like the *starna*, *perdices*, when disturbed, will first crouch, and then scurry for more distant cover.

The elaborate structure illustrated by Antonio Valli da Todi (and *Celestinesca*) is certainly superfluous: a simple net spread on the ground, the leading edges raised with small twigs, is perfectly adequate. Nor is

there the slightest need to dress up as a cow. One man, preferably accompanied by a moderately well-trained dog, can drive a flock of partridges into a net. The stalking-horse is, of course, an effective method of approaching other game, major game such as deer, or different birds, such as geese. There is no reason to be sceptical of the effectiveness of the *boezuelo*, the lantern, and the elaborately constructed nets. What one might view with a certain modern superiority is only the superfluosness of all that apparatus. Indeed, rice soaked in gin is a simple and highly effective alternative. But then again, in earlier and more leisurely times people were perhaps less concerned with economies of time and motion, and more disposed to try to do a job properly.

NOTES

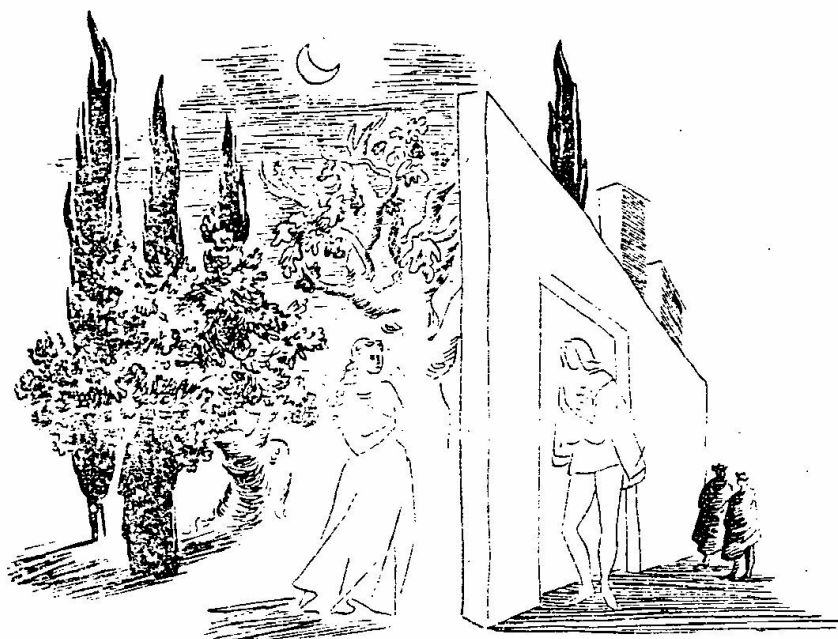
¹ Dorothy S. Severin, "'El falso boezuelo', or the Partridge and the Pantomine Ox", *Celestinesca* 4, i (1980), 31-33.

² I follow the accepted zoological convention of using an initial capital for the name of a species, and lower-case for a non-specific term, which may refer to two or more related species, a genus, two or more related genera, a family or, in popular usage, to superficially similar but phylogenetically unrelated animals. The sources of my information may be found listed and analysed in *A Glossary of Spanish Bird-Names* (London: Tamesis, 1966).

Lalifo. Parmeno. Sempromio.



rabado de Valencia: J. Joffre, 1514.



EL AUCTO DOCINO

"por entre las puertas. . . ."

Ilustración al XII acto por Miguel Prieto.
(México: Ed. Leyenda, 1947)

MACK HENDRICKS SINGLETON

(1908-1980)

Professor Mack Singleton, a native Kentuckian but transplanted to Oklahoma in his boyhood, died at age 72 in Madison on August 10 after a lengthy illness. He had been devoting his time since retirement to the completion of a book on Cervantes and to extensive notes to the *Libro de buen amor*, both of which projects were left uncompleted. Except for the years 1939 to 1947, when he was at Queens College (New York) and in army intelligence in Europe, his entire teaching career was connected with the University of Wisconsin where there long were two *Celestina* scholars: Dean J. H. Herriott and Mack Singleton. Both gave frequent seminars in the *Celestina* and produced a series of scholars who continue to devote themselves to this masterpiece.

Professor Singleton was extraordinarily sensitive to the qualities of the English language, and nowhere did he bring this gift to bear better than on his translation of the *Celestina*. This English version, published by the University of Wisconsin Press, has had very wide circulation. The play in his translation was presented twice on the Wisconsin campus, once as a feature of the Modern Language Association program when they met one summer in Madison. The role of Pleberio was on one occasion very effectively presented by the translator.

It is noteworthy that Professor Singleton devoted his scholarship to the greatest works and authors of earlier Spanish literature: the *Poema de Mio Cid*, Juan Ruiz, the *Celestina*, Cervantes, and Góngora. His wide acquaintance with classical and medieval literatures provided a formidable background for his inspiring and challenging teaching. In the course of his many years at Wisconsin he guided hundreds of students to a better understanding of these literary monuments and of themselves.

LLOYD KASTEN
University of Wisconsin-Madison



A play in twenty-one acts

attributed to

Fernando de Rojas



Celestina

Translated from the Spanish by

MACK HENDRICKS SINGLETON

and published by

The University of Wisconsin Press

Madison, 1958

Title page of M. H. Singleton's English translation of
Rojas's Tragicomedia.

M. H. SINGLETON: THE TEACHER

* * * *

All who had the privilege of studying with Mack Hendricks Singleton must savor the memory of some particular experience in which he played a leading role. My own favorite occurred some years ago when I, no longer a student, returned to Madison on a nostalgic pilgrimage. Besides fulfilling my vows to visit the Library, the Department, and the Seminary of Medieval Spanish Studies, I wanted once more to gather the pearls of wisdom that fell so easily from the lips of "Big Mack" (the "Real Kentucky Colonel," as he was later to be known). It was one of the times when the man was confined to quarters, so that when I called to ask for an audience, I feared that my wish would not be granted. On the contrary: a golden chariot (alias, yellow cab) was dispatched to take me to and from my destination, and for two delightful hours my host kept my glass filled with costly wine while he quaffed his usual brew from his screw-top instant coffee jar. To my greater honor, the vacuum cleaner--usually collapsed in the middle of the floor (in desperation, it seemed)--had been removed from sight, and an extra mountain had been added to the maze of books that constituted the room's chief decor, leaving me a perch on which to light for the occasion. For me that was an enchanted evening. No matter that I was but a teacher from the provinces and that my hero resembled no one more than Santa Claus: we were transformed into princess and knight in shining armor.

There was always a kind of magic about Mr. Singleton. He could perform prodigious feats. Unlike other magicians, he even revealed some of his secrets. Once he told us how he charmed some German sympathizers in the employ of the American army during the War into believing that he was a bona fide German language instructor: "Elementary," he began. "Whenever they greeted me in the corridors, I listened very carefully for the last words they pronounced. Then I simply repeated these while walking quickly in the opposite direction."

With this quickness of mind, linguistic talent, and sense of humor, it is no surprise that he kept his university classes spellbound. It seemed to us that he was constantly pulling rabbits out of hats. Once he managed to convince us that, in order to appreciate the luminaries of a literary period, we had to taste the concoctions of lesser stars, no matter how bland and stale they might appear to be. Another time he showed us how, in research, a negative result can be turned--presto!--into an exciting find. (This occurred in a *Celestina* seminar when the self-proclaimed hapless researcher, who had set out to study color in the work, discovered that Rojas had created a world that was almost colorless.)

If Mr. Singleton's instructional methods were often unorthodox, the lessons he taught were nevertheless valuable and of broad application. Gentle humor trained the naive to outgrow "impertinent" questions about literature. Respect for his students' intelligence and the notion that they should learn to evaluate and sort out critical opinion prompted him to deluge them with bibliographies and excerpts from books and articles representing the widest possible theoretical range: each individual was

CELESTINESCA

responsible for organizing this material in a way that was coherent and personally meaningful. We learned to follow Mr. Singleton's example: to think for ourselves, and to have the courage of our convictions--but not to form these convictions too quickly.

This last lesson, in my case, came about through one of Mr. Singleton's most memorable bits of sorcery. I know now that he must have been trying to communicate to us his love of words, of the power and beauty of language. He wanted to show us that, as students and potential teachers of literature, we could not rely solely on imagination, that we must be knowledgeable, and that we must always hold words sacred. Curiously, since literature belongs to the realm of magic, it need never be so solemn that it excludes fun. All this we learned one day when Mr. Singleton announced in class that he would read to us two literary passages in English and then ask us to identify the one characteristic that differentiated them. Predictably, our first reaction focussed on content: text A dealt with summer; text B with winter. True, but ... We tried tone: A was warmer; B, colder. Closer ... It must be style, we thought: A was more elegant; B, more energetic. We asked to hear the passages again. Then, when we concentrated on the individual words (A, melodious: B, strong), we were finally on the right track. In the end, though, the Magician/Author had to spell out for us the secret behind his trick: the words in text A were exclusively Latin in origin; those in text B were all of Germanic derivation!

The English translator of *La Celestina* (and of many other Spanish works) taught us a reverence for language and literature. He gave us self-respect and taught us to laugh at ourselves. He was unfailingly kind and courteous. While he will be sorely missed by all who knew him, Mack Hendricks Singleton's grace and good humor will never be forgotten. His lifelong dedication to the humanities is our inspiration; like the Pied Piper, he bids us follow.

KATHLEEN KISH
University of North Carolina at Greensboro





RESEÑAS

Jacqueline Ferreras-Savoye. "La Célestine" ou la crise de la société patriarcale. Paris: Ediciones Hispano-Americanas, 1977. 224 pp.

There is room for a full-scale Marxian analysis of *La Celestina* (*LC*). The relationships between social classes, the servants' acute comments on those relationships, Celestina's transformation of sexual love into a marketable commodity of which at times she seems to hold the monopoly, her profitable manufacture of virginities, Pleberio's awareness of himself as a merchant in the midst of his lament, the prevalence of commercial and financial imagery -- all of these suggest that a sociohistorical approach to the work should be fruitful and illuminating. It is, of course, not the only approach, and it is probably not even the most important, but who can doubt the relevance of Marxian tools of analysis to a novel in which a lover's elevated courtly language is a transparent covering for his view of his mistress as a commodity? And not just a commodity, but an opportunity for conspicuous consumption ("Bien me huelgo que estén semejantes testigos de mi gloria").

The longest and most successful study of this kind is José Antonio Maravall's *El mundo social de "La Celestina"* (1964, 3rd ed. 1972; Snow bibl. 63), which applies Thorstein Veblen's theory of the leisure class to late medieval Castilian society as reflected in various theoretical writings, and to *LC*. Objections can be raised, but when due allowance has been made for them, Maravall's book still convinces. However, it makes no claim to completeness, and the possibility of other lines of sociohistorical investigation has since been demonstrated in essays by Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas (Snow S16) and Antony Van Beysterveldt (S95). Both *Celestina* scholarship and Marxian critical techniques have developed greatly since Maravall's book was first published (there is now a journal, *Ideologies & Literature*, devoted explicitly to the sociohistorical and ideological criticism of Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian literatures). The time is clearly ripe for a new book of this kind, and Ferreras-Savoye's title and preface make it clear that this is what she is offering, albeit in a tentative way ("les résultats provisoires de nos recherches," p. 6). The preface raises additional hopes:

La société patriarcale subit à la fin du Moyen-Age un profond bouleversement: la trouvaille de Rojas réside peut-être en ce qu'il incarne ce désordre dans les rôles majeurs qu'il confère à deux

femmes, l'une vieille et pauvre, l'autre noble jeune fille, Célestine et Mélibée, et qu'il lie le comportement féminin au nouveau pouvoir de l'argent. (pp. 6-7)

There has never, as far as I am aware, been a serious feminist analysis of *LC*--surprisingly, given the current interest in feminist criticism and the prominent role of women in this book. Indeed, in one respect the case is even stronger than Ferreras-Savoye says: one of the women characters took hold of public imagination to such an extent that the printers, in order to increase their sales, renamed the book after her.

Most of the expectations which are raised remain unfulfilled, although Ferreras-Savoye makes some interesting points. Her basic contention is that there were two major changes in late medieval Castilian society, and that these were causally linked: the growth of a money economy, and the new importance of money as a regulator of social relations, she maintains, weakened the authority of Church and nobility, and with it the father's authority within his family. This is, she argues, reflected in the fictional world of *LC*. The first part of her book (pp. 9-74) is a historical survey, based largely on Vicens Vives and other highly respected modern historians (Suárez Fernández, Maravall, Moxó, Domínguez Ortiz). The second part (pp. 75-144) deals with *LC*; the remainder of the book is occupied by notes, a brief bibliography, and an appendix of texts. The successful presentation of a case such as that made by Ferreras-Savoye depends in large measure on the rigorous establishment of connection between an effect and its supposed cause, and between historical and literary phenomena. Ferreras-Savoye is in no doubt as to the existence of these connections, either in general or in the specific instance of *LC*:

Convaincus pour notre part de la relation fondamentale entre une oeuvre et la société ou elle éclôt, non pas au sens où l'entendait Auguste Comte, mais à travers la parenté de structure qui relie l'oeuvre à son contexte socio-historique, nous tentons une nouvelle approche de l'oeuvre de Rojas. (p. 5)

This is a difficult operation, requiring not only the mastery of a wide range of information, but also familiarity with at least two techniques of research, those of the historian and the literary critic. The difficulty has been emphasized by P. E. Russell on several occasions in his *Temas de "La Celestina"* (1978), and one of the most influential Marxian critics, Terry Eagleton, has warned against the making of facile connections between the socioeconomic base and the literary artifact. I suspect that Ferreras-Savoye does not take sufficient account of the difficulties, and I am convinced that she does not overcome them.

The connection between the growth of a money economy and the disintegration of the feudal system is, rightly, a commonplace of historical studies. Moreover, there is no doubt that these developments brought about drastic changes in the functions and attitudes of the nobility, and that those changes in turn had literary consequences (most recently described by Roger Boase in *The Troubadour Revival*, 1978). It is much less

clear that they diminished the power or the authority of the Church, and I doubt whether many people in Castile in the 1490's felt that the power of the Church had lessened. I am doubtful also about the connection between feudal society and the patriarchal family. "Patriarchal" as a description of social units larger than the family is a metaphor. It is commonly used nowadays, but that does not turn a metaphor into reality. The family ruled by a father's authority existed long before the feudal system evolved, and it long outlived that system. There is no incompatibility between the patriarchal family and a mercantile or an industrial capitalism: the two major factors that circumscribe the emotional lives of Jane Austen's heroines are money and paternal authority. Yet Ferreras-Savoie maintains, in her chapter on "La crise de l'autorité," that "L'autorité paternelle devant laquelle l'enfant se reconnaît coupable est absente du lien qui unit M^llibée à son père" (p. 121). The statement may be true (though I should have liked to see some recognition of the possibility that Rojas is here showing us an aspect of Melibea's sinful passion), but there is no attempt to demonstrate a connection between the statement and either the economic situation of Pleberio's family or the changed role of the nobility.

This failure to establish the necessary connections between one historical phenomenon and another, and between historical and literary phenomena, is a fatal weakness in Ferreras-Savoie's book, and it contrasts sharply with Maravall's care in making such connections. Ferreras-Savoie has other weaknesses, as well as some good points. Let us take weaknesses first. Some historical generalizations are unsupported by evidence, including the startling assertion that Castile, unlike Catalonia, "semble avoir été peu touché par la grande peste de 1348-1351" (p. 11). Whereas some of the historical detail in Part I of the book is relevant to literary questions, the somewhat disjointed accumulation of data on maritime commerce (pp. 13-15) is never used in this way. There are non sequiturs: "Le mécennat sous tous ses aspects implique un intérêt réel pour la conduite humaine en tant que telle" (p. 58). Although most of the critical points made in Part II are valid (most of them derive from the canonical texts of modern *Celestina* criticism), a few are highly debatable: Pärmeno is incapable of irony when he says that *Celestina* "remediaba por caridad muchas huérfanas y erradas que se encomendaban a ella" (p. 82); Alisa's attitude to *Celestina* is "noble et généreuse--mais non point sotté" (p. 93); *Celestina* relies on natural aids rather than on the Devil ("Le pouvoir auquel elle a recours n'est pas d'essence diabolique, mais naturelle: elle utilise herbes et objets aux propriétés desquels elle croît," p. 104); and she is not a transmitter of traditional wisdom, but speaks only in the name of her own experience (p. 123). These statements are seldom supported by argument, and in the last case there is no recognition of the obvious point that one of *Celestina*'s major weapons is her ability to cloak her real purposes with the traditional commonplaces of moral philosophy.

Ferreras-Savoie's bibliography includes only seven works on *LC* (all books--did she read no articles?). She makes use of all of them, incorporating critical judgments; but she does not express disagreement with any of the critics, and she adopts views that are not always easy to re-

concile: if Bataillon is right about Rojas' intentions (p. 127), can Gilman be right about the significance of dialogue in the work (pp. 138-39)? I have the impression that Ferreras-Savoye is not really at home in *Celestina* criticism. Although she cites Gilman's *Art*, she overlooks *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas*, which is more immediately relevant to a sociohistorical study. She discusses the attitude to Fortune without referring to Berndt, and the relationship between *LC* and *cancionero* poetry without mentioning Aguirre (Kassier's article probably appeared too late for her to use). More seriously, she nowhere acknowledges that *LC* is heavily dependent on literary sources. Literary tradition is certainly not a full explanation of the features that Ferreras-Savoye discusses, but it plays its part alongside sociohistorical factors.

On the technical level, the book has a markedly unfinished appearance. There is no index. Spanish capitalization rules are repeatedly violated. Pablo de Santa María becomes Pedro (p. 38), and Alfonso de Cartagena becomes Alvaro (p. 52). Six endnote numbers are repeated, and the error seems to have been spotted only at the last minute (p. 146). The bibliography (pp. 160-61) is unsystematic. Pages 165-220 contain texts of poems reprinted from Foulché-Delbosc's anthology. These are presented, nearly always usefully, as analogues, but what is the justification for taking up a quarter of the book and increasing the price? We are told that the poems are included because Foulché-Delbosc is long out of print (p. 7), but scholars have ready access to his collection, and the more general public, for whose sake all Spanish texts are quoted in translation (the originals are given in endnotes), will not be helped by the reprinting of poems in Spanish. Moreover, Foulché-Delbosc is often the wrong source: there are, for example, more recent and much better editions of Alvarez Gato (p. 204), Iñigo de Mendoza (pp. 205, 215), and Cota (p. 219). Finally, one memorable double entendre has eluded the author's scrutiny of her work: "A la relation verticale Areusa préfère une relation horizontale" (p. 117).

Does this long list of criticisms mean that I regard Ferreras-Savoye's book as valueless? Not at all. It makes one think again about the effect of late medieval Castilian society on Rojas's work. It has some shrewd observations (to take but one example, "De son époque l'auteur a retenu ce qui en constituait la nouveauté caractéristique: l'espace urbain avec ses conséquences sur les êtres, la perception du temps qui est nouvelle, de même que la liberté de mouvements," p. 136). And, perhaps most importantly, it gives valuable pointers towards a comprehensive study of the role of women in *LC*.

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Glen F. Dille, ed. *La comedia llamada Serafina, An Anonymous Humanistic Comedy of 1521* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), xxvii, 114 pp.

J. T. Snow's review of this same item previously appeared in these pages (see vol. 3, no. 1 [Mayo 1979], 39-41) and dealt principally with the text Dille had prepared. The following remarks are made with a view to forming a complementary or companion piece to that review through rather more extended commentary on contemporary theatrical practice.

As noted in the earlier review, the *Serafina* was bound in 1521 together with the *Comedia Thebaida* and the *Comedia Ypólita*, the latter edited in 1929, the *Thebaida* in 1969, and now the *Serafina*. Dille's edition presents an introduction with interesting, if sometimes undeveloped, insights, the text, a listing of variants from the two sixteenth-century editions, notes and the selected bibliography. *Serafina's* bawdy plot is alluring, the dialogue in it prosaic--while sprinkled with witticisms and aphorisms a la *Celestina*--, and the structures reveal an author steeped in techniques of stage drama.

The story deals with a gallant who has fallen in love with a young married woman, whose husband of six months is impotent. The illicit lovers, who must contend with the bride's vigilant mother-in-law, overcome this obstacle through the intercession of the gallant's valet. This character, disguised as a woman, arranges a meeting for the lovers in the mistress' room and effects a tricky seduction of the aging mother-in-law and also of a female domestic. The desired tryst of the lovers is thus allowed to take place without incident. The mother-in-law, sexually revived by the valet's ardor, accepts her own affair as well as that of her daughter-in-law, even abetting the latter when her son unexpectedly returns by diverting him from any knowledge of the lover's rendezvous. *Serafina* is replete with *double entendres* as it progresses naughtily to conclude with a promised marriage of the servants and the presumed continuation of the lovers' adulterous affair. The recurrent topicality of this plot reflects the recurrence of literary tastes and preferences, a cyclical pattern that shows up also in political history. Since the sixteenth century, the *Serafina* has awaited a social permissiveness in which it might again emerge and be appreciated as a literary vehicle, clever and affecting.

In the introduction, Dille notes that Alonso de Proaza, corrector of *LC*, was thought to have been the author of the three 1521 *Comedias*, but also adds that D. W. McPheeters suggests that *Serafina* is not the work of Proaza but rather more likely is from the pen of Diego Núñez de Quirós de Valencia or, less likely, the pen of Juan de Molina. Dille wisely sidesteps additional speculations on *Serafina's* authorship based on stylistic affinities, since such studies tend only to reveal similarities of thought and expression which happen to be prevalent during a given period. Thus, some of the same phraseology turns up in *LC*; the works of Lucas Fernández, those of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro and others. Further-

more, one may single out stylistic aspects of the *Serafina* shared by works of Juan de Valdés and Antonio de Guevara, both of whom were contemporaries of *Serafina's* author. Dille alludes to a possible reminiscence of the *fraile* from Torres Naharro's *Soldadesca* (1510) in the phrase "el otro fraile" used in *Serafina* (p. 100, note to line 942), which I find a valid conjecture. There are not nearly enough of these connections established in Dille's notes but he--or someone else--might yet pursue them with profit.

In 1508-09, Torres Naharro had composed his own *Comedia Seraphina* which, though different in plot, did presage techniques which appear in the anonymous 1521 *Serafina*. Both authors take up adulterous and quasi-adulterous situations and share similar theatrical devices: lovers' missives (in Torres Naharro's *Calamita* and *Aquilana*); the man disguised as a woman (*Calamita*); the parodying of the master by the servant (*Serafina*, *Ymeneá*); and the bringing of the servant's role to the forefront of the play (cf. Pagano in *Jacinta* and Jusquino in *Calamita*).¹ This last aspect may be seen used, although more restrictively, in Lucas Fernández' *Comedia de Bras Gil y Beringuella*.

Some shared features in these plays, of course, are older than all of them. The ribald humor, the surprise, and certain risqué features, all common in Latin comedies, probably figured in the medieval *juegos de escarnio* which Alfonso X saw fit to condemn. The enjoyment of salacious stories enjoys a continuous tradition into the Renaissance. The husband's early (unexpected) return home to find his wife with a lover is a favorite dramatic situation that still pleases audiences in the works of Cervantes and others writing long after its use in *Serafina*. One observes more than a standard retelling of the old tale in *Serafina* as the dramatist's theatrical sophistication--for example, in the use of stage directions in the dialogue itself and in the artful use of the devices of prefiguration and recapitulation--is able effectively to intensify the onlookers' sensibilities and enjoyment of the scenes being played out before them.

Dille resists the urge to classify the diversified humanistic comedy within the restrictive norms either of the stage drama or of the narrative novel. He determines instead to call the work a "humanistic drama," placing it thus in a unique genre. The editor does well in considering the Spanish humanistic comedy in this way, since it might indeed have been composed primarily to be read to the public by actors without the additional burden of staging it, though staging of humanistic comedies at times was possible. The oral dramatization without stage action of the humanistic plays suggests an analogy with the vogue for radio dramas in

¹ Much of Spanish humanistic comedy that comes after *LC* and before Golden Age baroque drama draws frequently on the highly successful theater of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, but Dille seems to neglect this point. The theatrical devices and subject matter developed by Torres Naharro set the pattern for plays like the *Serafina*, and in fact, for the Spanish stage in general during the next hundred years.

the 1930s and the 140s. Those radio dramas, like the humanistic comedies, were conceived for audio rather than visual impact and could be extended to several episodes and presented on separate days. What appear to be difficulties of stage presentation, i.e., extensive length, repetitions, and slow pace of some of these humanistic comedies, mentioned by Dille, are easily overcome by concentrating not on the limits of a physical stage setting, but on the expansive, limitless stage of the listeners' intellect and imagination. Both the humanistic drama and the radio drama are valid variations of a histrionic art form not limited to the "boards."

Although Dille considers the *Serafina's* sexual scenes to be explicit and therefore difficult to stage, and for that matter even to analyze literarily, I find *Serafina* more concerned with implicit sex. The sex act in scene four, for example, is without any recourse to vulgarity, and unlike modern stage performances of "Oh Calcutta!" or "Equus", in which the attempted or simulated sexual intercourse takes place on the stage itself in view of the audience, the scenes in *Serafina* are suggested through frequent recourse to euphemistic language. We do need more studies and editions of humanistic comedies which explore the means and methods of their "presentation."

Gratifying, intensified interest in the Spanish Renaissance period is providing both students and scholars with more meaningful texts of the literature of the times, thus expanding the horizons of our knowledge of the past centuries. Glen F. Dille's edition of the *Serafina* provides some glimpses of the literary taste of the era and particularly on the personalized history of social behavior.

JOHN LIHANI
University of Kentucky



Pármeno le cuenta a Sempronio lo de su
noche con Areúsa. Acto VIII.
Búrgos, ¿1499?

Tragicomedia

de Calisto y Melibea nuevametercristiana y emendada

✻ TEATRO

1. LA CELESTINA EN SAN FRANCISCO (24 nov. - 22 dic., 1979)

La tragicomedia de Fernando de Rojas, adaptada y libremente interpretada por Edward Senior y Wendell Phillips, fue representada el otoño pasado por Stage Group. Para los admiradores del teatro y en particular los estudiosos de *La Celestina*, esta representación es esperanza y promesa de futuras interpretaciones del teatro clásico español.

El escenario fue ingeniosamente montado al estilo romano: una larga calle por donde transitan los personajes; al fondo y a la izquierda del auditorio la casa de Calixto, en el centro la de la alcahueta y a la derecha la de Melibea, recámara y jardín visibles al público. Entre una y otra casa se dejaron pasajes que permitieran a los actores dar la vuelta alrededor de una casa o entrar y salir del escenario.

La obra no se inicia con la escena en el jardín de Melibea, episodio totalmente descartado, sino con el episodio de Crito en casa de Celestina. Los adaptadores han dado demasiado énfasis a las escenas de prostíbulo y han añadido algunas más de su propio costal, tales como el coro de prostitutas que canta y baila al iniciarse el drama y que a lo largo de la representación hace comentarios sobre las relaciones humanas. Las insinuaciones sexuales y los gestos vulgares del coro anulan la tragedia inherente a la vida de las rameras. Sin embargo, la introducción de otro coro, el que representa las fuerzas del mal manipuladas por Celestina y que fuerzan el albedrío de Melibea, fue uno de los aciertos dramáticos de la representación. Este coro trágico de voces espectrales es muy eficaz en la segunda visita de Celestina a Melibea. El coro de voces infernales tortura a Melibea y ayuda a Celestina a extraer de labios de la joven el nombre de Calixto. Los personajes mejor representados y que más se acercan a la concepción del original son la alcahueta, Melibea y Elicia. Celestina estuvo maravillosamente representada por Maureen Mileski. El único reparo que le podemos hacer es que los adaptadores escogieron representar una Celestina más joven, no "la vieja" de Rojas. Afirma Wendell Phillips "We decided to keep her ageless; and not as a clichéd old hag." Celestina hace una serie de piruetas gimnásticas que distorsionan una de las características básicas que dan estatura trágica al personaje de Rojas; su seria dedicación profesional.

La escena de la seducción de Areúsa estuvo muy bien representada, aunque haya sido necesario transportar la cama de Areusa al escenario

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frente a los ojos del público. Fue una lástima que se representara a Calixto como a un tonto de capirote, y no como al noble engañado por falsos sirvientes. Debido a los cambios hechos al texto original, la muerte de la pareja protagónica no tuvo el efecto dramático esperado. Calixto muere por su propio descuido al salir por la puerta del jardín de Melibea y ser traspasado por la espada de Centurio. Melibea inmediatamente se mata con la daga de su amante.

En la adaptación de Senior la escena final de la tragicomedia también sufre un cambio drástico. Elicia y Areusa aparecen junto al ataúd de Celestina. Un poco alejada de este grupo, Alisa pronuncia un lacónico lamento por la muerte de Melibea. Elicia y Areusa también expresan su dolor por la muerte de la alcahueta. Luego el Centurio entra a escena llevándose del brazo a las prostitutas. Alisa queda sola frente al ataúd. De repente Celestina se levanta y exclama:

"There is a life in Celestina
that goes without ending,
no matter the evil.
Good stories of cunning
Lechery... and witchcraft...

Chorus
(with violence)

!Witchcraft - Greed - lechery!

Para concluir sólo me resta añadir que el Stage Group es un conjunto de actores que con su talento y entusiasmo constituyen una promesa para los estudiosos del teatro ansiosos de ver en las tablas la rica variedad del teatro clásico hispánico.

GISELA DARDON TADLOCK
California State College-Stanislaus

2. BRILLIANT PERFORMANCE OF 'LA CELESTINA' AT EL CHAMIZAL

The Compañía de Teatro Repertorio Español de Nueva York staged a glittering production of LC at the Fifth Siglo de Oro Drama Festival at El Chamizal, March 18, 1980 with two performances at 7 and 10 pm. Ofelia González, who played the role of Celestina, turned in a dazzling performance that held the capacity crowd spellbound.

The company brought to El Paso its entire set from New York which consisted of an intricate network of levels and stairs. Robert Weber Federico who was in charge of lighting did an outstanding job in spot-lighting the numerous scene changes.

The two lovers Calisto and Melibea, portrayed by Frank Robles and Yolanda Arenas, gave an extraordinary account of themselves. They were supported by a strong cast. Mateo Gomez essayed with phenomenal success

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the crafty Sempronio; Juan Carlos Giménez was a credible Pármene. The rest of the cast in minor roles was more than adequate, Carmen Gutiérrez as Areúsa, Carmen Iris Camacho as Lucrecia, Rafael Pagán as Crito and Myrna Colón as Elicia. Alfredo Manosalvas in the role of Pleberio delivered the highly emotional soliloquy at the end.

The producer was Gilberto Zaldivar and the director René Buch who also adapted *LC* for this production.

The work was played with one intermission and lasted two and one half hours. The audience was attentive and engrossed by this professional company of actors and showed its appreciation with a standing ovation (the only work of the festival to be so honored). Since the company had performed *LC* here on a previous occasion, it was not eligible to compete for a prize this year. But all agreed that it was the most spectacular and most moving production of the Chamizal season.

EVERETT W. HESSE
San Diego State University

CINEMA

CELESTINA. color. Director: Miguel Sabido; With Isela Vega, Ofelia Guilman, Marcela López Rey. Distributed by Columbia Pictures.

A better title for this film would be "Perversiones sexuales." In an attempt to modernize the *Celestina*, the director has focused on and exaggerated all sexual possibilities suggested by Rojas' characters. In a surrealistic and bloody dream sequence, the nude Calisto is castrated. Celestina has lesbian tendencies especially when she fondles and caresses Melibea while talking to her about Calisto. The servants spend much time at Celestina's house, which is a center for sex orgies. Calisto incessantly complains, sounding more like a paranoid schizophrenic than a man in love. Melibea, who looks closer to 40 than to 20, is well beyond her prime. She is a redhead, not a blond, and is not a suitable partner for Calisto both physically and temperamentally. Celestina is good but too young for this crowd!

The whole movie is over-acted and teeming with unnecessary violence. The twisting of the hawk's neck at the beginning and later its being chopped up is effective as a film technique but is a brutalization of Fernando de Rojas' own use of imagery.

There is so much shouting, violence, street language, and perverted sex in this movie that one gives a sigh of relief at Calisto's death. One feels that the finer qualities and artistic merit of the original have all been eliminated. The characters parade across the screen in Medieval garb shouting modern insults at one another. Technically, the movie is well-done, but the director has simply gone too far in trying to make the *Celestina* appealing to a twentieth century audience. Even expurgated, this is definitely NOT a film for the classroom!

MARY-ANNE VETTERLING
Northeastern University



P R E G O N E R O

"los bienes, si no son comunicados, no son bienes."
[LC, auto I]

EL P R E G O N E R O va enriqueciéndose con cada número de *Celestinesca* porque los lectores se ocupan con mandarnos cosas de mucho interés sobre la temática más variada, como se verá. He dividido este reportaje según los apartados a seguir:

- ◆ Cartas al editor;
- La sesión especial sobre LC a ser celebrada en la MLA (Houston, 1980);
- ◆ Informe sobre trabajos leídos en Venecia (Verano, 1980) de interés celestinesco: VII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas;
- ◆ Un proyecto de investigación sobre la oralidad en LC;
- Otros proyectos anunciados y por terminar;
- LC en el mundo cultural; teatro, cine.

I. Correspondencia. Ofrece esta carta un ejemplo y una idea fascinante con respecto al vocabulario celestinesco. Se espera que nuestros lectores, al encontrar otros ejemplos en sus variadas lecturas, nos los manden. La carta viene enviada por HENSLEY WOODBRIDGE (Southern Illinois University).

July 22, 1980

Now and then why don't you carry a note on words that have been coined based on Celestina? The Spanish language has no historical dictionary so I don't know whether or not the usage should be dated or not. But here is a sample picked up this week:

"Celestineo," noun, 1972. "El hombre moderno no puede menos que sonreír, siquiera íntimamente, cuando conoce estas andanzas de ministros y diplomáticos buscando una princesa para su monarca, repartiendo sus actividades convencionales con estas otras más próximas al celestineo que a la política" (Federico Bravo Morada, *Fin del siglo y de las colonias*, Madrid: Fenicia, 1972, p. 42; sentence reprinted in *Actas del segundo congreso internacional de estudios galdosianos* [Las Palmas de Gran Canaria,

Ediciones del Excmo. Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1978] p. 59).

The citation makes sense when it is realized that it refers to Spanish politicians who sought a bride for Alfonso XII in 1878 when the queen Mercedes died.

Do you know of other Spanish words based either on the work's title or its characters? The matter intrigues me, but I have no idea as to how one would go about finding examples of their use. All I know at the moment is that I've seen few examples of such.

Cordially,

HW

Otra carta llegó en junio; en ella viene el anuncio de la celebración de un homenaje a Fernando de Rojas, la cual ocurriría efectivamente el mes pasado de octubre. Para la mayor información de todos nuestros lectores publicamos el texto de la carta. Esperamos tener para el próximo número más detalles sobre el suceso.]



El Alcalde
de

Talavera de la Reina

Talavera de la Reina Junio 1980.

Sr. Profesor del Departamento de Literatura
Española de University of Georgia.-

Excmo. Sr.:

El Ayuntamiento de Talavera de la Reina esta preparando un homenaje al insigne escritor el Bachiller Fernando de Rojas.

Como seguramente Vd. conoce los restos de tan ilustre personaje permanecen, después de ser exhumados en dos ocasiones, en los años 1.936 y 1.968, en el despacho de la Alcaldía de esta Ciudad.

Con motivo del traslado de los restos de Fernando de Rojas a la catedral de esta Ciudad y su inhumación definitiva, el Ayuntamiento está organizando un homenaje a tan insigne escritor. (*)

Para ello pensamos realizar una "Semana Cultural de Fernando de Rojas" con la colaboración de todas aquellas entidades culturales que se quieran sumar a tal acto.

En este sentido solicitamos la colaboración de todas las universidades españolas, y universidades de otros países que cuenten con departamentos de Literatura Española, para que nos envíen trabajos y estudios sobre la figura y obra de Fernando de Rojas.

Estos trabajos, además de que el Ayuntamiento de Talavera se encargará de la publicación conjunta de los más interesantes, concurrirán a un concurso literario que con motivo de la "Semana Cultural de Fernando de Rojas" patrocinará este Ayuntamiento.

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Agradeciéndole de antemano la colaboración que, estamos seguros nos prestará esa Universidad para el homenaje a Fernando de Rojas pueda resultar un acto digno del autor de "La Celestina", le saluda atentamente.

(*) Véase la página 49.

Fdo.: Pablo Tello Diaz
Alcalde-Presidente

II. CELESTINA EN LA 'MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION' (Houston, Texas, diciembre 27-30, 1980). . . Bajo el patrocinio de la Spanish Division I (Medieval Spanish Language and Literature) y presidida por la profesora ADRIENNE MANDEL (California), se celebrará una sesión especial dedicada a la exploración de varios aspectos de la celestinesca. He aquí los abstractos de los trabajos que se leerán.

ESPERANZA GURZA: LA ORALIDAD Y LA CELESTINA

En este trabajo inicial se formulan preguntas y se hacen sondeos tentativos sobre las raíces y nexos de LC con relación a la establecida y verdaderamente popular tradición oral de la representación y la diversión. Se hace notar su nexo con la poesía de los cancioneros, su empleo del refrán, la abundancia del uso de expresiones formulaicas así como el sorprendente número de alusiones a la palabra, al oído, al sonido y a su opuesto, el silencio que a veces también "habla". La persuasión, en la obra, se logra por medio de la palabra. Se propone que, si *el Quijote* puede ser la crítica de la lectura, LC podría ser la parodia de la retórica.

JOSEPH SNOW: CLAUDINA/CELESTINA'S ROLE(S) IN THE SEDUCTION OF PARMENO

The paper will present a view of Celestina's dramatic art in the vivid re-creation of her old friend and boon companion, Claudina. Celestina, clearly both as dramaturge and as actress in the recreation, excels in her art for Pármeno is quickly led to realize better whose son he is. Our own appreciation of Rojas's art in the characterization of Celestina (and especially in the not fully appreciated role she plays in the creation of Claudina) is enhanced by our realization that the dramatization corresponds to key moments in the psychological battle between Celestina and Pármeno. Unwittingly, ironically, Claudina/Celestina awakens in Pármeno self-knowledge which is fatal to all.

GEORGE A. SHIPLEY: EXPERIENCE AND AUTHORITY IN LA CELESTINA

It is not unusual in early "Renaissance" literature for the expertise that comes from Experience to be pitted against expertise founded on Authority. In Fernando de Rojas's text this contest is treated paradoxically and both modes of knowledge are viewed sceptically. Neither the exemplars of Experience--Celestina, Pleberio--nor those most tutored by Authority--Pleberio, Melibea--find, in their moments of acute need, any consolation or any protection in their expertise. Rojas, the university student, questions the value of study; his heroine and her father find learning to be inapplicable to their gravest problems.

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Further paradoxes follow from these. Rojas's work has itself become a maximum authority. We who profess it are heirs of those interpreters of Authority whose relevance to life Rojas questioned.

This paper examines references to reading and education in Rojas's prologue and in Acts XX and XXI of his *LC*.

JAMES STAMM: TWO MISSING PERSONS: CLAUDINA AND ALBERTO

The cast of fourteen persons who occupy the scenario and dialogue of *La Celestina* is broadened by reference to a number of off-state presences, living or dead. Most of these "missing persons" plays minor parts in the structure and motivation of *La Celestina*, but Claudina and Alberto are given a major role in providing Celestina with a "handle" in the seduction of Pármeno. Marcel Bataillon saw the *Auto* as primarily concerned not with the love story of Calisto and Melibea, but rather with the subversion of Pármeno and the destruction of his "necia lealtad." Once Celestina has identified the young servant as a name and a history that she knows, and as an antagonist to be won over to her side in the *negocio*, her arsenal of persuasion is directed massively toward this end, particularly in the *Auto*, using her long acquaintance with Claudina and Alberto alternately to humiliate and to praise the lad. When she needs, in her dialectic, to puncture and reduce his ego and self-righteous esteem, Celestina recalls the history of his mother, "tan puta vieja era tu madre como yo." When she wins a point, she praises Pármeno as the image of his grave, sensible, and responsible father, Alberto.

In Act XII, Celestina attempts to re-establish her domination over Pármeno--and incidentally, to save her hide--by a miscalculated reference to his mother, playing the same sort of game that had worked well in the *Auto*. The result is to infuriate Pármeno still further. At this point he will not endure more humiliation and reminders of his mother's degradation, constantly represented to him by the presence and profession of Celestina: "No me hinchas las narices con esas memorias; si no, enviarte he con nuevas a ella, donde mejor te puedas quejar."

The first author provides Pármeno with a dependant personality and a vulnerable line of moral defense against his own neurotic weakness. Rojas was artistically sensitive to the flaws in Pármeno's character and continued to work upon them in the *Comedia*, developing the absent figure of Claudina as a sort of *Doppelgänger* of Celestina, and thus giving the bawd increasing, though clearly unstable, authority over Calisto's servant. Thus the parents of Pármeno, although appearing only by reference, play a major role in the subversion of his character and, finally, in the death of Celestina.

III. CELESTINA EN VENECIA (ASOCIACION INTERNACIONAL DE HISPANISTAS, agosto 26-31, 1980)

Entre las muchas ponencias programadas para el congreso, había una solamente de tema celestinesco; esto en gran contraste con el congreso anterior (el de Toronto, 1977) donde había por lo menos cuatro. Pero ocurrió que hubo una sustitución al último momento que dio a los congre-

sistas la oportunidad de asistir a otra y muy buena ponencia, la de DOROTHY S. SEVERIN sobre el tema de "La intención del autor: De la *Comedia* a la *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*." Se centraba en una nueva consideración del valor de lo dicho en los preliminares con el intento de hacer ver más claramente como Rojas veía su propia creación.

La segunda ponencia, presentada el último día del congreso, era "Un aspecto del arte teatral de la *Celestina*: el caso de Claudina," de JOSEPH SNOW. En ella, se trazaba las intervenciones de Claudina en el texto con un doble fin: el de ver mejor cómo su re-creación histriónica--en manos de *Celestina*--destaca y matiza la caracterización de la alcahueta, y el de subrayar las múltiples ironías que la introducción de Claudina en el escenario del mundo vivo efectúa.

IV. Ha llegado a este boletín el plan de estudio para el proyecto sobre la "oralidad" en LC que piensa llevar a cabo ESPERANZA GURZA (Puget Sound University). La investigadora es la misma que publicó hace poco su monografía *Lectura existencialista de "LC"* (Madrid: Gredos, 1977).

"ORALITY IN 'LA CELESTINA'."

Walter J. Ong, in his book, *The Presence of the Word*, argues, I believe convincingly, that cultures can be divided, in terms of communications media, into stages which follow the trajectory of the word as spoken sound (oral-aural), followed by the word as script, and finally as a post-typographical phenomenon in the electronic age. Ong says:

In general, before the invention of script man is more oral-aural than afterward, not merely in that his words are all spoken and heard words, never visually perceived marks on a surface, but in that his whole response to actuality is thereby organized differently from that of typographic man.

L.P. Harvey, in his article "Oral Composition and the Performance of Novels of Chivalry in Spain" finds that, in regards to this genre, "it proves to be extremely difficult to say where oral phenomena end and personal creation in writing takes over" and maintains that it would be helpful to look at *Don Quixote* reminding ourselves "that it was deeply rooted in an established and truly popular oral tradition of entertainment." He arrives at this conclusion after discovering that, regarding the novels of chivalry, "sixteenth-century Spanish culture emerges as a bewildering mixture of elements which we have since come to judge as incompatible."

Since *La Celestina* appears precisely in the borderline between the 15th and 16th centuries, I believe it would be profitable to submit it to a new reading, keeping in mind that it, too, partakes of the established oral tradition of Spain. Which aspects of LC can be traced to an oral-aural culture? Could we gain anything by considering the word in LC as

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sound, rather than as perceived marks on a surface? Its very dialogue structure seems to indicate so. What are the qualities, if any, of this masterpiece which would seem to point to its "orality"? These, and perhaps other questions could be investigated fruitfully.

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V. Proyectos/estudios anunciados, en prensa, o en preparacion sobre *LC*.

Están pensando y preparando montar un coloquio limitado sobre *LC* en Toledo durante el presente curso, según nos informa quien preparó la esmerada edición facsímil de la *Comedia* (Toledo, 1500), el profesor DANIEL POYAN DIAZ. Sobre las traducciones alemanas de Christof Wirsung (1520 y 1534) han comenzado a trabajar en un estudio y edición dos celestinistas norteamericanas, KATHLEEN V. KISH (North Carolina-Greensboro) y URSULA RITZENHOFF (Tennessee). Según las últimas noticias, se encuentra muy adelantado el libro de estudios coleccionados--de tema celestinesco--que preparan ALAN DEYERMOND Y DOROTHY S. SEVERIN. Se publicará en Barcelona. Un estudio sobre las menciones y presencia de "Dios" en la *Celestina* aparecerá en breve entre las páginas de la *Revista canadiense de estudios hispánicos*, labor de JERRY RANK (Illinois-Chicago Circle).

No sabíamos, al informar a nuestros lectores de la ópera musical del profesor JEROME ROSEN (California-Davis), *Calisto y Melibea* (véase *Celestinesca* 3, num 2, pags. 27-30), que otro profesor de California había completado también una ópera musical basada en la *Celestina*. El músico es JOAQUIN NIN-CULMELL (Berkeley), antiguo profesor de ROSEN. En la actualidad está tramitando la producción de su *Celestina*, que está en español. Hay menos probabilidad que esto ocurra en Estados Unidos y más que pueda tener lugar en España. Esperemos que sí pueda efectuarse, ya que la ópera musical escrita por FELIPE PEDRELL (1903) y basada en *Celestina* no ha sido montada nunca en España (véase el artículo en *Celestinesca* 3, num 1: 19-32).

Quisiera mencionar aquí algunos nombres de personas que han dicho algo sobre la enseñanza de *LC* en sus clases durante el año pasado: KATHLEEN KISH (North Carolina-Greensboro); PATRICIA POGAL (Emory); JOHN K. WALSH y JERRY CRADDOCK (Berkeley), GEORGE SHIPLEY (Washington); NICASIO SALVADOR MIGUEL (Madrid). Esta revista tiene un vago plan de incluir en un número futuro una encuesta sobre las actividades relacionadas con la literatura celestinesca--toda su rica gama--para poder reflejar mejor los intereses bien amplios de sus lectores.

Como último proyecto no podemos dejar fuera éste sobre el marginalismo, tema que debe interesar a muchos celestinistas. Quien se interesa en la colaboración posible en este proyecto, cuyas finalidades se hallan explicadas en el anuncio a seguir, deben dirigirse al profesor JOSE LUIS

ALONSO, Planetenlaan 89, 9742 HC Groningen, HOLANDA. El texto de la comunicación:

Estimado/a colega:

Con objeto de coordinar una colaboración futura sobre estudios acerca de los marginalismos y establecer un contacto permanente entre los interesados - tal y como acordamos en la Sección especial: *Teorías de los marginalismos* del VII Congreso de Hispanistas - adjunto le envío un impreso para rellenar que debe devolverme cuanto antes.

A la vista de los datos recibidos nuestra intención es la de:

- a) establecer una lista lo más completa posible de marginalistas que se enviará a los interesados. Esta lista permitirá, esperamos, establecer contactos entre investigadores sobre temas semejantes y favorecer, así, un intercambio de opiniones.
- b) enviar a los interesados informaciones acerca de publicaciones o posibles reuniones sobre marginalismo.
- c) comenzar a preparar programas de estudio en colaboración que desembarcarían en reuniones parciales o en una Sección especial de investigadores ampliada del próximo Congreso de Hispanistas (sujeto al placer de la comisión local organizadora que sea).
- d) facilitar datos personales para la confección de la Bibliografía sobre el marginalismo que actualmente prepara L. Cardaillac y que se publicara en un próximo número de *Imprevue* (Universidad de Montpellier).
- e) estudiar la posibilidad de una publicación autónoma sobre temas marginales.

VI. CELESTINA EN EL MUNDO CULTURAL

Ha habido, que sepamos, varias producciones de *LC* últimamente. Dos de ellas se encuentran comentadas en otra parte de este mismo número de *Celestinesca*. Una de ellas, la ya conocida versión de la compañía de Teatro Repertorio de Nueva York, volvió a verse durante la celebración anual del "Siglo de Oro Drama Festival" en El Chamizal. Se había visto en años pasados y por lo tanto quedaba fuera de concurso, aunque recibió ovaciones calurosas de un público entusiasta. Desde su estreno (Nueva York, 1972) esta producción, dirigida por RENE BUCH, se ha sometido a varias modificaciones. *Celestinesca* acogió la reseña de ADRIENNE MANDEL cuando la compañía pasó con su *Celestina* por Berkeley (vol. 2, num. 1, pags. 31-33) y, en este número, las impresiones de EVERETT HESSE (San Diego) al verla en El Chamizal. Un tanto más críticos se hallan A. PEREZ y R. RODRIGUEZ ante esta producción en *Latin American Theatre Review* 13, num. ii (Spring, 1980), pag. 82: "Tal vez por no repetir [la primera representación de hacía tres años], el director, RENE BUCH, se inclinó más a la renovación del montaje, consistente éste en escaleras rematadas a distintos niveles en plataformas, que a la dicción y actuación de la obra de Fernando de Rojas. Los personajes masculinos resultaron, en general, débiles, y al verlos actuar el espectador no podía por menos de ver una sombra de *West Side Story*. La obra se mantuvo gracias a la veteranía de Ofelia González, quien encarnó vívidamente varios de los muchos aspectos de la vieja *Celestina*."

Otra vez en las tablas, ahora en Costa Rica, está la alcahueta conocida. Se estrenó el 20 de junio de 1980 en el Teatro del Angel de San José, la capital costarricense, la *Celestina* dirigida por ALEJANDRO SIEVEKING y patrocinada, en parte, por la Embajada de España. No era el primer montaje de *LC* por esta compañía de actores chilenos, radicados desde 1974 en Costa Rica: en el mismo 1974 comenzaron primero con una *Celestina* 'en cámara' que, un poco más tarde aquel mismo año, llegó a ser más sustancial. Este tercer montaje representa unos avances y mejoras sobre aquellos primeros intentos. Ahora dura dos horas y media--con un intermedio--pero, como afirma el director, se han debido sacrificar cosas.

Ahora hay una segunda película sobre *LC*. La primera, de 1969, dirigida por Cesar ARDAVIN, se repone a menudo en los cines de España. No es muy buena pero en ella uno reconoce la trama de Rojas. Ahora viene esta segunda, otros la han visto que nosotros no, que es inevitable resultado de la nueva libertad en España y que mucho menos 'tiene que ver con la textura verbal de la obra rojiana. Para una breve reseña-comentario a la película, véase la pag. 40 de este número de *Celestinesca*, la reseña firmada por MARY-ANN VETTERLING (Northeastern Univ.-Boston).

Se sabe que la Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Madrid presentó este verano pasado, entre las fechas del 26-29 de junio, y en el Claustro de San Pedro Mártir de Toledo, una nueva versión de *LC* en adaptación de Miguel Bilbátua. Si alguien la ha visto, se agradecería cualquier información sobre ella.

Hemos aprendido este verano que en Bruselas iban a montar una *Celestina* para noviembre de 1980. Estamos a la espera de más información sobre esta producción.



Reportaje sobre el acto celebrado en Talavera (véase también la carta, págs. 42-43): El País, 1 de noviembre, 1980, pág. 23.

Inhumación definitiva de los restos de Fernando de Rojas

AGENCIAS. Talavera de la Reina. La inhumación definitiva de los restos del dramaturgo Fernando de Rojas, autor de la obra *La Celestina*, se celebró ayer en la iglesia de Santa María la Mayor, de Talavera de la Reina. El alcalde de la ciudad, desde el balcón del Ayuntamiento, agradeció la visita de distintas autoridades culturales y glosó la figura de Fernando de Rojas, alcalde mayor de la villa en el siglo XVI. El traslado de los restos hasta la iglesia se realizó en una urna de cerámica toledana. En el acto intervinieron el profesor Criado de Val, quien se refirió a la recuperación de un hombre universal, y el grupo Renacimiento, que ofreció un concierto de música.

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LA CELESTINA: DOCUMENTO BIBLIOGRAFICO

OCTAVO SUPLEMENTO

J. T. Snow
University of Georgia

I. PALABRAS PREVIAS

Seguimos en pie con estos suplementos, aunque a veces nos parece que es abrumador el trabajo. Quien quiere pronosticar que el interés en Celestina, Fernando de Rojas y la celestinesca pueda algún día disminuir no podrá basarse en las últimas estadísticas. En los últimos 6 meses--y con las imperfecciones implícitas en toda clase de recolección--hemos podido añadir 43 nuevas entradas para formar este octavo suplemento. Hay otras cosas "en preparación," algunas de ellas recogidas en el PREGONERO de este mismo número de *Celestinesca*.

Ahora bien, quiero expresar mi agradecimiento a todos los que han mandado informes, separatas, fotos y reseñas, todo lo cual ha contribuido no una pequeña parte a esta recopilación: H. Woodbridge, R. Tinnell, E. Naylor, L. Fothergill-Payne, M. Ferreccio, I. Azar; A. Deyermond, L. Doreste Silva, C. Griffin, D. W. McPheeters, K.-L. Selig, y D. Wise.

El asterisco (*) indicará que no he podido consultar directamente--al dar el suplemento a la imprenta--dicho estudio.

II. SUPLEMENTO

TESIS:

- S342. Dulick, Michael G. "*LC and Chaucer's Troilus: A Comparative Study*". St. Louis University, 1979. 227 pags. *DAI* 40/11 (1979-80), 5852A. Núm. 8010723.

Estudia fuentes comunes y las revisiones de los autores, y compara caracteres. No hay filiación directa aunque en el continuum histórico se llega a comprender cómo la historia de amor en Chaucer es seguida por otra de pasión en Rojas.

- S343. Giannone, Luigi. "Pietro Aretino and Spanish Literary Influences in His Works." New York Univ., 1979. 188 pags. *DAI* 40/3, 1452A. Núm. 7918962. R. J. Clements.

El capítulo 4 compara *LC* con *La Talanta* y *La Cortigiana* de Aretino.

- S344. Goddard, V.C. "Sancho de Muñón: A Background Study and a Critical Edition of his *Tragicomedia de Lysandro y Roselia*." Birkbeck College-U. of London, 1978.

S345. Hicks, Margaret R. "Love in *LC*." Tesina, Emory Univ., 1966. 85 pags. L. Alpera.

S346. Smith, Roy Roger. "Recapitulation, Reiteration and Repetition: Techniques of Restatement in *LC*." Univ. of Kentucky, 1979. 204 pags. *DAI* 40/11 (1979-80), 5891-92A. Núm. 8010521. Prof. John Lihani.

◀ EDICIONES POPULARIZANTES

S347. Rojas, F. de, *LC*. Prólogo y ed. de Pedro M. Piñero Ramírez. Seleccionaciones Austral, 73, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1980. 360 pags.

Trae una sustanciosa introducción de unas 75 pags. que trata plenamente del problema de la autoría, el género, el temario y los personajes, basándose en la crítica más sólida. La bibliografía básica es precisamente eso. La ed. va acompañada de notas, generosa ilustración de Valencia, 1514, y un índice útil de las palabras y expresiones tratadas en las notas.

S348. _____. *LC*. Clásicos universales de la literatura erótica, Madrid: Club Internacional del Libro, 1978. 254 pags.

Con una introd. breve (pags. 5-15) de I. G. Sanguinetti. La bibliografía de ocho entradas termina con 1965. Reproduce el texto más el auto de Traso. Sin notas, sin ilustraciones.

◀ TEATRALIZACIONES

S349. Rojas, F. de. *La Celestina en Cámara* (versión muy condensada para cinco actores).

Presentada en Mayo de 1974 en San José, Costa Rica, en el teatro Castilla. En ella aparecieron Alejandro Sieveking, Bélgica Castro, Lucho Barahona, y Dionisio Echeverría, miembros de una compañía chilena.

S350. Esta misma compañía chilena (v. S349) volvió permanentemente a Costa Rica en septiembre de 1974 y, hacia fines de aquel año, presentó una versión más amplia de *LC* en el teatro Nacional. Después, pasó al teatro de la Compañía Nacional de Teatro.

S351. Un tercer y aun más amplio arreglo de *LC* (v. S349) se estrenó el 20 de junio de 1980 en el Teatro del Angel (San José, Costa Rica), presentado por el mismo grupo chileno. Dirigió, encargándose también del diseño del vestuario (lo confeccionó Vicki Golobio), Alejandro Sieveking. La escenografía estuvo en manos de Lucho Barahona. Reparto parcial: Celestina, Bélgica Castro; Melibea, Lizbeth Quesada; Calisto, Lenín Vargas; y Ana Istaru y Alejandro Rueda.

a. *Ancora/La Nación* (San José, Costa Rica), 22 de junio, 1980, pags. 6-7, Norma Loaiza;

S352. Patrocinada por la Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Madrid y presentada en el Claustro de San Pedro Mártir de Toledo, hubo una nueva *Celestina* en versión de Miguel Bilbátua vista el 26-29 de junio de 1980. Dirigieron la producción el mismo Bilbátua y Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón; la iluminación estuvo a cargo de Teo Escamilla. Intervinieron en ella los actores Julia Martínez, Gabriel Llopart, Patricia Andriani, Maite Brik, Agustín Poveda, Mario Pardo, Vicente Cuesta, Lola Mateo, Virginia Mataix, Emilia Mellado y Vicente Gisbert. [*Guía del ocio* (22-29 junio, 1980), p. 8.]

☛ TRADUCCIONES

S353. Rojas, F. de. *LC*. A cura de Corrado Alvaro. Introduzione di Cesare Segre. Nuevo Portico, 15, Milano: Bompiani, 1980. 254 pags.

Esta traducción apareció por primera vez en la Colección Corona de la misma casa editora en 1943. Ahora va nuevamente impresa con una presentación por C. S. Texto completo de la *Tragicomedia* junto con el prefacio original del traductor (pags. 33-38). La introducción, además de discutir los avances de la crítica celestinesca en las últimas décadas, presenta una rica asamblea de pasajes del original con su traducción al italiano para que el lector pueda apreciar mejor la labor de la traducción.

☛ ADAPTACIONES, CONTINUACIONES. . .

S354. Rojas, F. de. *LC*. Bilbao: Ed. Cultura y Progreso, 1977. 184 pp.

Una novelización de la obra de Rojas, reduciéndola bastante. En ninguna parte se encuentra una atribución al responsable de esta adaptación, que parece va dirigida a jóvenes. Trae seis ilustraciones monocromáticas (en matices de rojo) de A. Ibarra.

S355. Salas Barbadillo, Alonso Gerónimo de. *La hija de Celestina*, ed. por J. Lopez Barbadillo (Madrid, 1907). Madrid: Akal Ed., 1978. 162 + 3 hs.

Una reimpresión de la edición que hizo J. L. B. en 1907, basándola en la original de Milano: J. B. Bidelo, 1616. Una de las famosas obras inspiradas en *LC* (sus cabezas de página rezan: "La hija de Pierres y Celestina") otra vez accesible.

☛ ESTUDIOS SOBRE *LC*:

S356. Arbea G., Antonio. "Una fuente latina ignorada del suicidio de Melibea." *Revista chilena de literatura*, num. 14 (1979), 55-73.

Se trata de la *Philogenia* de Hugolino Pisani de Parma, dada a luz a mediados del siglo XV. Tiene 16 escenas; en la tercera de ellas, la protagonista titular ofrece fingidamente arrojar desde el piso superior

de su casa. Ve en esto el autor "uno de los elementos que jugaron en la decisión del desenlace de la obra de Fernando de Rojas."

- S357. Azar, Inés. "Metáfora, literalidad, transgresión: Amor-Muerte en *LC* y en la *Egloga II* de Garcilaso." *Lexis* 3, num. 1 (julio 1979), 57-65. (= S321)

El revestir con una 'historia' o trama las metáforas poéticas del lenguaje poético trovadoresco, es decir su *literalización*, lleva a su desvalorización en *LC*. El resultado es un mundo caótico, sin centro moral, límites, alternativas; en el cual surge como principio estructurante el puro egoísmo. El juego amor/muerte (que en la metáfora trovadora significaba la misma cosa) en el decir presente del poeta de siglos posteriores viene a ser, por mediación del egoísmo, una verdad.

- S358. Beltrán, Luis. "La envidia de Pármeno y la corrupción de Melibea." *Insula*, num. 398 (enero, 1980), 3, 10. (= S321)

Una lectura de *LC* que lleva a la conclusión que le falta cualquier nota que pudiera interpretarse como verdadera señal de la presencia en aquel mundo de la esperanza, la fe, la caridad.

- S359. Berrettini, Célia. "O conflito amor/sociedade em *LC*." *O Estado de São Paulo*, suplemento literario, núm. 90 (16 de julio, 1978), pags. 3-4.

Pasa revista de las hipótesis de Garrido Pallardó y de Orozco Díaz (*LCDE* 51 y 385) que afirman que Melibea es conversa, concluyendo que así explicada, la narración de los acontecimientos en *LC* adquiere mayor dimensión y significado.

- S360. Blanco White, José María, "*LC*," en *Antología*, ed. V. Llorens (Textos hispánicos modernos, 12, Madrid: Labor, 1971), 181-211.

Republicación del famoso ensayo (1824) considerado como comienzo del estudio moderno de *LC* (Ver *LCDB* 62). El análisis de B.W. concluye que Rojas era autor único de *LC*.

- S361. Deyermond, Alan. "La Celestina," en *Historia y crítica de la literatura española*, t. I: *Edad Media*, ed. gen. F. Rico (Barcelona: Ed. Crítica--Col. Páginas de Filología, 1980), 485-528.

Presenta Deyermond, prologándolos con una densa y útil orientación bibliográfica, excerpts sobre *LC* que abarcan la más variada temática. Incluidos: trozos de Lida de Malkiel [1962], Green [1963, tr. esp. 1969], Russell [1963], Maravall [1964], Bataillon [1961], Gilman [1972], Castro [1965].

- S362. Díaz-Solís, Ramón. *Tarde en España: de 'LC' y otros renacientes* (Bogotá: Ed. Tercer Mundo, 1980). 201 pags. (*)

- S363. DiFranco, Ralph. "Hispanic Biographical Criticism: The *Converso*

Question." *The Michigan Academician* 12 (1979-80), 85-96.

Presenta la crítica--y la polémica a veces--centrada en la vida y obra de Juan de Mena y Fernando de Rojas. Pasa revista del pro y del contra objetivamente.

S364. Duque Díaz de Cerio, Pedro Juan. "La presencia de España en *Romeo y Julieta*." *Letras de Deusto* 9, num. 18 (1979), 63-94. (*)

S365. Gallardo, José Luis. "Hacia una interpretación "otra" de *LC*." *Boletín Millares Carlo* I, num. 1 (junio, 1980), 167-178.

Contiene unos apuntes 'interpretativos' de aspectos de *LC*, que darán una idea de las direcciones que una lectura completa semiótica tomaría (cosa no intentada todavía), basada en los principios de J. Lacan. Unos apartados: 'El modelo estructural'; 'Dramatis causae'; 'El simbolismo del nombre: la revelación del amor mediante el nombre del amado'; 'Ironía trágica' y 'Estructura topológica'.

S366. Geritz, Albert J. "*Calisto and Melebea* (ca 1530)." *Celestinesca* 4, i (Mayo, 1980), 17-29.

Discusión del "Interlude" de Johannes Rastell (?) y su relación con *LC*. Logra no solo observar las diferencias y semejanzas sino que también ofrece valioso comentario sobre el distinto propósito moral de la versión inglesa y sobre su unidad literaria interna.

S367. Griffin, Clive. "Four rare editions of *LC*." *MLR* 75 (1980), 561-574.

Describe bibliográficamente, y comenta la importancia, de cuatro ejemplares de ediciones de *LC* que o fueron considerados inexistentes por los bibliógrafos o que solo ahora salen a la luz. Son: Valladolid: Impta. N. Thierry, entre 1526 y 1540 (reposa ahora en Leningrado); Estella. A. de Anvers, 1560; Cuenca: Impta. J. de Cánova, 1561; y Medina del Campo: F. del Canto, 1563 (todas las tres están en la Jagellion Library de Cracovia, Polonia).

S368. Griffin, Julia Ortíz. "Class Struggle in *LC*." *Homenaje a Humberto Piñera: Estudios de literatura, arte e historia* (Madrid: Playor, 1979), pags. 187-95. (*)

S369. Heugas, Pierre. "Sur une scène censurée: Encina et *La Célestine*." *Les cultures ibériques en devenir: Essais publiés en hommage à la mémoire de Marcel Bataillon (1896-1977)* (Paris: Fondation Singer-Polignac, 1979), 397-403. (*)

S370. Kulin, Katalin. "Leyendo *LC*." *Celestinesca* 4, i (Mayo, 1980), 9-15.

Una traducción por la autora de su 'posfacio' a la traducción de *LC* en lengua húngara (ver S317). Pretende explicar para sus lectores la fascinación que ha tenido siempre esta obra maestra española.

S371. LeMartinel, Jean. "Quelques remarques sur le texte de la *Célestine*." *Mélanges à la mémoire d'André Joucla-Ruau*. Univ. of Provence, 1978), 865-69. (*)

S372. Lihani, John. "The Intrinsic and Dramatic Values of *Celestina*'s Gold Chain." *Studies in Honor of Gerald E. Wade*, ed. S. Bowman et al (Studia Humanitatis, Madrid: Porrúa, 1979), pags. 151-65.

Es un elogio a la técnica de recapitulación dramática que tan gran parte ocupa en el arte de Rojas. Viene ejemplificada en el papel que hace 'la cadenilla de oro'--regalo de Calisto a *Celestina*--en la intrincada red de codicia, envidia, y *cupiditas* que desencadena la serie de muertes de *LC*. La primera sección del artículo se dedica al cálculo del valor del regalo para que se vea cuánta motivación y codicia una tal cadena podría despertar.

S373. Martínez Lacalle, Guadalupe. *La Traducción de "LC" de James Mabbe: Estudio de un manuscrito del siglo XVII* (Madrid, 1970). 61 pags.

Es un extracto de su tesis doctoral y un avance de su estudio y edición publicadas en Londres (LCDB 238).

S374. Montañes, Luis. "Sobre la manipulación de una octava del exordio de *LC* en las ediciones de la tragicomedia." *Cuadernos de Bibliofilia*, num. 3 (enero 1980), 5-15.

Pretende desentrañar la verdadera fortuna de la última octava de la famosa serie acróstica de la *Comedia* (Toledo 1500; Sevilla, 1501), transplantada con varias modificaciones a la *Tragicomedia* para formar la primera octava de "Concluye el autor". Casi nadie ha comentado esta transposición, la cual usa M. para afirmar la autoría única a la vez que la cristianidad de Rojas.

S375. Oyola, Eliezer. "La *Celestina*," en *Los pecados capitales en la literatura medieval española* (Barcelona: Puvill, Biblioteca Universal Puvill; Ensayos, 3, 1979), pags. 163-255.

Consiste este cuarto capítulo de su libro en un recuento algo fácil de la trama de *LC* en que principalmente señala, con generosas citas, manifestaciones de la lujuria, la avaricia y la ira.

a. *ZRP* 95 (1979), 533-35, A. Gier;

S376. Ramírez Calvente, A. "Jarchas, Moaxajas, Zejeles (II)." *Al-Andalus* 41 (1976), 147-78.

El apartado 'C' (p. 152) habla de "Una nueva concordancia Ben Quzman-Celestina." Se trata del vino como 'escalentador de cama' en el zéjel 96 de B. Q. y la idea paralela en *LC*, IX.

- S377. Russell, Peter. "LC" y los estudios jurídicos de Fernando de Rojas." *Temas de "LC" y otros estudios* (Barcelona: Ariel, Letras e Ideas, Maior, 14, 1978), 323-40.

Hay varias ocasiones en *LC* cuando--al observar de cerca las reacciones a determinadas situaciones--se descubre el enfoque jurista de Fernando de Rojas. Dos de ellas en particular se hallan elaboradas aquí: la historia del proceso contra Claudina (Acto VII) y la actuación del juez en la sentencia a Pármeno y Sempronio (en el monólogo de Calisto del Acto XIV).

- S378. Russell, Peter E. *Temas de "LC" y otros estudios*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1978. 508 pags.

Vuelven a reimprimirse unos artículos y reseñas [LCDB 302 (algo actualizada), 60y, 550, 53j] y uno nuevo [v. en este número S377]. Ocupan las pags. 241-375.

a: *MLN* 95 (1980), 480-82, P. Dunn;

- S379. Severin, Dorothy S. "Cota, His Imitator, and *LC*: The Evidence Re-Examined." *Celestinesca* 4, i (Mayo, 1980), 3-8.

Pasa revista de los argumentos presentados por S. Martínez en favor de la autoría de Rodrigo de Cota de los actos I-XVI de *LC* (ver S334) y concluye que la evidencia no permite tal identificación.

- S380. Severin, Dorothy S. "'El falso boezuelo', or the Partridge and the Pantomine Ox." *Celestinesca* 4, i (Mayo 1980), 31-33.

Explica e ilustra (con un grabado italiano de 1601) la alusión al 'falso boezuelo' del *auto* XI. Esta manera de cazar perdices recibe un apoyo en la interpretación ofrecida por el anónimo autor de *Celestina comentada* (s. XVI).

- S381. Selig, Karl-Ludwig. "Identification and Information in the *Celestina*: Prolegomenon by Way of a Florilegium," *Les cultures ibériques en devenir: Essais publiés en hommage à la mémoire de Marcel Bataillon* (Paris: Fondation Singer-Polignac, 1979), 393-96.

Contiene unas reflexiones sobre el recuerdo de situaciones anteriores (en el devenir del tiempo) a la acción principal del texto de *LC* (distintos recuerdos de *Celestina*, de Claudina, etc.). Representan claves narrativas.

- S382. Snow, Joseph T., "*LC*: documento bibliográfico. Séptimo suplemento." *Celestinesca* 4, i (Mayo 1980), 51-58.

Incluye 41 de las más recientes manifestaciones del interés mundial en *LC* (tesis, teatro, traducciones, libros, ediciones, artículos).

- S383. Snow, Joseph. "An Additional Attestation to the Popularity of Rojas' Character Creations from an Early Seventeenth-Century Manuscript." *HR* 48 (1980), 479-86.

El manuscrito (1612) titulado *Rueda de la fortuna* de Miguel Casanova ofrece toda una serie de adivinanzas humorísticas destinada al entretenimiento. Entre los muchísimos personajes literarios que entran en estos juegos son: Celestina, Elicia, Calisto y Melibea. Sus actuaciones nos iluminan unas maneras en que fue leído e interpretado el texto de Rojas en el siglo XVII.

- S384. Wise, David O. "Reflections of Andreas Capellanus's *De reprobatio amoris* in Juan Ruiz, Alfonso Martínez, and Fernando de Rojas." *Hispania* 63 (1980), 506-13.

Recapitula los puntos de contacto entre la exposición de Andreas sobre (1) los efectos malos del amor y (2) los males de la mujer, y los textos escogidos para reforzar cierta continuidad en la tradición eclesiástica contra el amor cortés. Es el *Reprobatio* un compendio de motivos que sirven a los autores castellanos durante largos siglos para una desvalorización crítica del amor mundano.

Melibea



Calisto

Toledo, 1500



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.

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



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Lalito



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Burgos