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"¡ADIOS PAREDES!": THE IMAGE OF THE HOME IN 'CELESTINA'

Deborah Ellis  
Berkeley, California

¿Qué sé yo quién está tras las puertas  
cerradas? ¿Qué sé yo si hay alguna traición?<sup>1</sup>

The paranoid world of *La tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* evokes all the insecurity of fifteenth-century Spain. In itself it is a new form, a hybrid "novel in dialogue" whose tension of form is matched by the theme of conflict throughout the book. Rojas most often expresses this conflict by a consistent imagery of the destruction of the home. This is a motif peculiarly applicable not only to the author, who observed his changing society from the peripheral vantage-point of the *converso*, but to that society as a whole, for "... in Rojas' Spain the difference between inside and outside, between being provided for and abandoned to chance, between shelter and exposure was so great as to be almost palpable."<sup>2</sup> Rojas uses the theme of the destroyed house to unite the world of personal isolation to that of social alienation, and he provides an introduction to his complex interrelationship of theme and narrative pattern in the Toledo edition of 1500. The long opening sentence of his introductory "El autor a un su amigo" leads into a characteristic labyrinth. Untangled into some of its component parts, this sentence summarizes many of the book's deepest concerns and prepares us to trace some of Rojas' consistent patterns of imagery.

Rojas begins his 'letter' with the idea of exile, so prominent throughout *Celestina*, and he links the exile of the *desterrado* to that of the *retraído*. Alienation can occur within doors as well as without: the exile of "los que de sus tierras ausentes se hallan" becomes through a narrowing focus the isolation of the author, "retraído en mi cámara, acostado sobre mi propia mano" (35). House imagery is perhaps the most consistent and evocative background through which the *tragicomedia* is projected, and this first sentence prepares us both to understand the later significance of Calisto's behavior as another *retraído en la cámara*, and to expect clarity of perception from the various alienated characters in the book. For Rojas' main point here is that distance alone allows a true perspective. On both a large and a small scale, distance permits the recognition of the obligations: "Suelen los que de sus tierras ausentes se



hallan, considerar ... [cómo] servir a los conterráneos, de quien en algún tiempo beneficio recibido tienen ..." (35); "... y viendo que legítima obligación a investigar lo semejante me compelia para pagar las muchas mercedes de vuestra libre liberalidad recibidas, asaz veces retraído en mi cámara ..." (35). Rojas goes further than establishing a simple connection between distance and observation (ausentes ... considerar; retraído ... investigar); he tells us that perception, in the form of diagnostic ability, is also a result of exile. "Suelen los que de sus tierras ausentes se hallan, considerar de qué cosa aquel lugar donde parten mayor inopia o falta padezca ..." This diagnostic ability of exiles on a grand scale is transmuted *in parvo*: "... retraído en mi cámara ... me venía a la memoria no sólo ... la muchedumbre de galanes y enamorados mancebos que [nuestra común patria] posee, pero aun en particular vuestra misma persona ..." (35-36). The author picks his benefactor out of the crowd and identifies his disease, much as his exiled countrymen had recognized and diagnosed their lost country. But then, having moved in two parallel lines from his central assumption that distance allows perspective, Rojas circles around to contrast the alien and mechanistic "grandes herrerías de Milán" with the 'homely' (that is, native and human) "claros ingenios de doctos varones castellanos" (36). The latter, not the former, provide the arms with which his young friend can defend himself from love. Paradoxically, Rojas has prepared us to accept the idea that illness can be cured only when a proper distance has been established, and then has undercut that expectation by telling us that healing can come only from one's home.<sup>3</sup> It is this paradoxical juncture of within and without that contains the major force of the work, and that provides the key to Celestina's character as she tries to merge *casa* and *calle*.

But before taking us into the *Tragicomedia* proper, Rojas pauses again for a set of introductory verses, containing an acrostic for his own name, and he follows those verses with the famous Petrarchan discussion of *la contienda* in life. As Gilman suggests, these verses reinforce the idea of alienation and distance that underlies the book as a whole. "El ambiente que rodea al hombre es *ajeno y extraño*, nos dice Rojas en sus versos preliminares, y en él estamos expuestos a la destrucción."<sup>4</sup> Rojas uses these two words to describe the newly winged ant, "El aire gozando ajeno y extraño, / Rapiña es ya hecha de aves que vuelan ..." As the proverb says, "Por su mal nacieron alas a la hormiga." But Rojas turns the proverb into something rich and strange, incorporating many of his symbolic motifs: the fall; fateful motion; the combination of belonging both to earth and air, and so to neither; and the idea of self-generating destruction. In the course of *Celestina* all of these ideas are expressed through house imagery, and most of them are associated with Celestina herself, who in turn is the one character most identified with her house.

Rojas introduces birds of prey into his introductory essay as well: "Hasta los groseros milanos insultan dentro en nuestras moradas los domésticos pollos y debajo las alas de sus madres los vienen a cazar" (42). Houses, families (especially mothers), friends and society in general prove themselves inadequate refuges throughout *Celestina*. Yet this image, precisely applicable though it is, does not compare in complexity to the parable of the ant, with its multifold applicability to Celestina. Celestina, as we shall see, transforms her home into a world half within

doors, half on the street; threatened in both settings, she can find some security only in a combination of the two. Like the winged ant, she too brings on her own destruction after an inexorable journey. And Celestina is associated with insects, primarily the bee and to a lesser extent the spider, throughout the *Tragicomedia*. By linking ant, bee and spider in a traditional medieval manner, we can approach a full appreciation of Celestina's complex relationship with her house.

Critics have long recognized the diabolical element in Celestina's character.<sup>5</sup> What is perhaps less immediately striking is the solid grounding of this diabolical element in house imagery. Celestina is seen as poisoning and corrupting the houses she enters; Alisa, in a typical minimizing of danger, recognizes this when she tells Melibea, "A tres veces que entre en una casa, [Celestina] engendra sospecha" (162). Once they are corrupted, all these houses are linked together into Celestina's web. There is more than a suggestion that Celestina is not only a witch, but a sort of gate-keeper of hell whose house acts as a passageway to the devil. Her house is not only a fulcrum for the corrupted houses around it, and the entrance to damnation for Celestina's victims, but also a parasite thriving on those other houses, as though it were weirdly and independently alive. Celestina's relationship with her house is complex and varied, but one of its clearer elements is in this diabolical aspect, for Celestina's *hechicerías* work only within-doors. Rojas first demonstrates this process in Celestina's initial approach to Calisto's house.

Calisto's relationship to his house is at least mildly perverted from the beginning; he is almost always, for instance, confined to one room, the *cámara*, and can function nowhere else in the house. His bedroom is itself a shrine to heresy. All this makes his house an easy target for Celestina's demonic captivation of it. There is a subtle transference of attitudes from her house to Calisto's. As Celestina leaves her own house, telling Elicia to shut the door--all the dominant characters in this book spend much of their time bidding others to open and close their doors, commands as emblematic of social power as of social intercourse--she almost personifies the house with her "¡Adiós, paredes!" (58). As soon as she and Sempronio reach Calisto's house, Sempronio copies her personifying attitude: "Callemos, que a la puerta estamos y como dicen, las paredes han oídos" (59). Although Sempronio lives in the house, he apparently has no keys and must demand entrance. His exclusion is underscored by Calisto's unique endearment: "¿Qué haces, llave de mi vida? Abre" (64). Celestina herself, like Leonor Alvarez de Rojas, would no doubt as a "symbol of her authority" have carried a "great bunch of keys ... at her waist" and from the dialogue we can imagine Sempronio similarly equipped.<sup>6</sup> Almost immediately after Celestina has entered his house, Calisto must assuage her doubts about payment by going to his coffer; he tells Sempronio, "... trae las llaves, que yo sanaré su duda" (65). This inconsistency in characterization, shifting the emphasis on Sempronio from exclusion to control, seems less surprising in view of the fact that those who associate with Celestina eventually share her powers. After Celestina's death, Areúsa plays celestinesque tricks and Elicia begins her own close identification with Celestina's house: "Qué allí, hermana, soy conocida, allí estoy aparrochada ... esos pocos amigos que me quedan, no me saben otra morada" (203).

Sempronio, then, comes to share Celestina's power of easy entrance into houses. Celestina can go in and out of other people's houses like a spider or like a bee. Like the spider, she is "arrinconada" (111); like the spider again, she is associated with thread and spinning: "... tomaba estambre de unas casas, dábalo a hilar en otras, por achaque de entrar en todas" (61). She enters Melibea's house easily, "Vender un poco de hilado, con que tengo cazadas más de treinta de su estado ..." (109). And once she has entered Calisto's house, we can see her poison at work in a magnified version of the parasitic attack that Sempronio has already threatened: "... traérgela he hasta la cama ..." (55). Pármeneo recognizes early that "en casa [de Calisto] habrán de ayunar estas franquezas [a Celestina]" (76), and each character in turn comes to recognize the same parasitic relationship between the two houses as well as the two people involved. Calisto indeed is the first to tell us that their houses are as involved in the situation as are he and Celestina: "Ve agora, madre, y consueta tu casa, y después ven y consueta la mía, y luego" (73). This has an especially ironic texture since it follows immediately upon Pármeneo's "No hay pestilencia más eficaz, que el enemigo de casa para empecer" (73). Calisto's house, already weakened by its owner's excesses, has fallen victim to Celestina's corrupting influence, and there is a sense of complete fitness in Calisto's later impatient exclamation to Celestina: "¡O, por Dios, toma toda esta casa y cuanto en ella hay ...!" (113). It seems doubly plausible that in converting (or rather subverting) Pármeneo, Celestina should use the expression "A tuerto o a derecho, nuestra casa hasta el techo" (69), for even at that point in the book the two of them do, to some extent, share Calisto's house. Celestina's later ambitions and ultimate fall stem from her first evil entrance into Calisto's house, more diabolical by far than her first approach to Melibea's house despite all the latter's "Conjúrote triste Plutón" overtones. By the time Pármeneo raids Calisto's larder for the party at Celestina's house, the parasitism and infection are more than clear, and Celestina's fantasies do not need to include any gratuitous killing off of the host house: "[Calisto es] ... hombre tan rico, que con los salvados de su casa podría yo salir de lacería, según lo mucho le sobra" (147).

Celestina can always elicit some sympathy as a victim of *lacería*, even from Pármeneo who knows her so well. Answering Sempronio's "Que no sé quién diablos le mostró tanta ruindad," Pármeneo replies, "La necesidad y pobreza, la hambre, que no hay mejor maestra en el mundo ..." (143). But this aspect of Celestina's life does more than place her in a literary picaresque tradition; it also humanizes her wickedness. It is true, for instance, that Celestina (abetted by a corrupt society) pimps in the church: "Allí se concertaban sus venidas a mi casa ..." (151). But her church-going is connected in an absolute way with her house and so with her vulnerability as well as with her diabolical quality. "Cuando hay que roer en casa, sanos están los santos; cuando va a la iglesia ... no sobra el comer en casa" (142). In an odd way, the roles of the church and Celestina's house are reversed, as the two become linked in Celestina's city-wide net of buildings. If the church gives an opportunity for pimping, so Celestina's house acts metaphorically to give salvation through identity. Although she lives "en una casa media caída" on the outskirts of town and thus seems the most peripheral character in the book, she becomes a defining center for the town. Those who do not know her must be



strangers: "En esta ciudad nacida, en ella criada, manteniendo honra como todo el mundo sabe, ¿conocida pues, no soy? Quien no supiere mi nombre y mi casa, tenle por extranjero" (81). There is blatant irony in this picture, as with most of Rojas' references to honor, but there is also consistency, for Celestina in the midst of her roving is a center of stability for the citizens. "A quien no me quiere no lo busco. De mi casa me vienen a sacar, en mi casa me ruegan ..." (182). This interdependence of stability and wandering is what gives Celestina's relationship to her house--a relationship that continues past her death--its special quality.

Celestina has an ambivalent relation to street-life, yet on balance her attitude towards the street is one of more security than her attitude towards her own house. It is true that in one of Rojas' great set pieces, Pármemo describes the general uproar that greets Celestina's progress through the streets:

Si pasa por los perros, aquella suena su ladrido, si está cerca las aves, otra cosa no cantan; si cerca los ganados, balando lo pregonan; si cerca las bestias, rebuznando dicen: '¡Putá vieja!' ... Sino que, si una piedra topa con otra, luego suena: '¡Putá vieja!' (59-60)

On the other hand, in this same speech Pármemo recognizes Celestina's complete satisfaction in her own rogue's progress: "Si entre cient mujeres va y alguno dice: '¡Putá vieja!', sin ningún empacho luego vuelve la cabeza y responde con alegre cara" (59). And the other characters also recognize the joy Celestina takes in being on the street. As she walks along in unwonted meditation, Sempronio asks her, "¿Quién jamás te vido por la calle, abajada la cabeza, puestos los ojos en el suelo, y no mirar a ninguno como ahora?" (103). Although, as Gilman points out, "el mundo de *La Celestina* ... está caracterizado por esa falta de techo o de refugio ..." (21), Celestina sees the ultimate failure of refuge not within but without doors: "¿Qué haré, cuitada, mezquina de mí, que ni el salir afuera es provechoso ...? (86). Celestina's panegyrics about Pármemo's mother, the only friend she ever mentions, are full of proud memories of her friend's air of being at home on the street: "En mi ánima, descubierta se iba hasta el cabo de la ciudad con su jarro en la mano, que en todo el camino no oía peor de 'Señora Claudina'" (82). This is, of course, an ironic echo of the "puta vieja" speech, and yet it also conveys Celestina's own confidence when out of doors. People in other houses are dangerous, and they must be placated and deceived; their very houses listen to Celestina's plots. Real neighbors are not those who live in nearby houses--after all, Areúsa's house is visible from Calisto's window--and in fact neighborhoods as such provide only gossips, spies and invidious comparisons: "... conozco yo en la calle donde ella vive," says Areúsa of Melibea, "cuatro doncellas, en quien Dios más repartió su gracia ..." (145). The real neighborhood is defined by the street. Celestina's ideal, as remembered of her alter ego Claudina, is to wander through friendly streets: "Si salíamos por la calle, cuantos topábamos eran sus ahijados" (123).

Yet it is also significant that Celestina's formulaic expression of friendship with Claudina is a double one: "En casa y fuera, como dos her-

manas ..." (81). It is this mixture of house and street that provides the most security, for each alone is a vulnerable setting. Celestina is always aware of the physical dangers of the street, and its potholes take on some of the force of personified evil that characterizes houses: "Nunca he tropezado como otras veces. Las piedras parece que se apartan y me hacen lugar que pase" (87). Symbiosis rather than parasitism is what most characterizes the relationship of street and house. For Calisto, the house acts primarily as a stage in which to act out his role as a lovesick youth, and the street acts as its extension " ... déjame ir por las calles con esta joya [el cordón] porque los que me vieren, sepan que no hay más bienandante hombre que yo" (116). Celestina uses the street to enhance her business pose, making street and house work for her in concert. As Rojas the law student has her point out, " ... es necesario que el buen procurador ponga de su casa algún trabajo, algunas fingidas razones ... ir y venir a juicio ..." (80). Despite her pleasure in being outdoors--a pleasure that Elicia attacks with "Éstas son tus venidas? Andar de noche es tu placer ... Nunca sales para volver a casa" (132)--she will not stir from her house without a business reason. Lucrecia cannot believe that Celestina would visit Alisa and Melibea for old times' sake: "¿A eso solo saliste de tu casa? Maravíllome de ti, que no es ésa tu costumbre ni sueles dar paso sin provecho" (88). And we have Celestina's own words to prove Lucrecia's point: "De mi casa mi vienen a sacar ..." (182).

It is natural for Celestina and her heir, Elicia, to link house and street in their lives and work. Celestina knows she has succeeded with Melibea, for instance, because she knows she can move freely between her street and Melibea's house. "Buena [esperanza] se puede decir, pues queda abierta puerta para mi tornada" (197). She had admitted to Melibea that she had worried about her success, "así en el camino, como en tu casa" (160), and Elicia after Celestina's death mourns with the same almost formulaic association, "Poco se visita mi casa, poco se pasea mi calle" (208). In fact, Elicia provides the clearest example of this interaction among individual, house, and street in her decision to rid herself of grief. In a description that spirals inward from yard to home to heart and back out through door and street, incorporating in one sentence the entire world of *Celestina*, she says, " ... contaré mis gallinas, haré mi cama, porque la limpieza alegra la corazón, barreré mi puerta y regaré la calle, porque los que pasaren vean que es ya desterrado el dolor" (209). It is significant that Rojas uses one of his most evocative words--*desterrado*--to characterize the grief that Elicia is too alienated to suffer. This linking of street and house, then, provides as total a refuge as anyone can experience in Celestina while at the same time showing the ultimate failure of such refuge.

One typically complex way in which Rojas expresses this ambivalence is in comparing Celestina to a bee. In the Middle Ages as a whole, the bee was particularly associated with the formation and maintenance of a stable home: "They live in definite houses. They build their homes with indescribable dexterity ..." <sup>7</sup> The early Middle Ages esteemed the bee not only for its industry but for its chastity, associating it with the Virgin Mary. <sup>8</sup> Francis Bacon summed up a long tradition of insect imagery in his comparison of insects with scientists:

The men of experiment are like the ant: they only collect and use; the reasoners resemble spiders, who make cobwebs out of their own substance. But the bee takes a middle course; it gathers its material from the flowers of the garden and the field, but transforms and digests it by a power of its own.<sup>9</sup>

Rojas had all three of these insects in mind as he wrote *Celestina*.<sup>10</sup> The ant provides a touchstone for the work as a whole, since its alienation and victimization in the preliminary verses foreshadow events in the *Tragicomedia*. Spiders are indirectly associated with *Celestina*. When she drives Melibea into a frenzy, she herself remains "Arrinconada, encogida, callando, muy gozosa de su ferocidad ..." (111), like the spider who waits for its prey to become fully entangled. Spiders, like *Celestina*, never stop working, are associated with doorways and corners, and seem never to be adequately fed: "A Spider ... is provided with nourishment from the air ... It never stops working ... [It] minutely and skilfully hangs [its] roomy webs in the doorways ..." <sup>11</sup> Spiders are traditionally associated with weaving and thus with women: God "gave women the knowledge of weaving and does not leave even the spider destitute of that wisdom."<sup>12</sup> *Celestina* too is specifically involved with weaving and with thread.<sup>13</sup> Rojas associates *Celestina* with cobwebs by the technique in which one character in describing another reveals himself, as when he has *Celestina* tell Melibea: "No semejes la telaraña, que no muestra su fuerza sino contra los flacos animales" (98). But Rojas is most explicit in comparing *Celestina* to a bee.<sup>14</sup>

The spider represents the negative, destructive, house-hugging side of *Celestina*: she is so identified with her house that her potions and webs do seem to come 'out of her own substance.' Conversely, the bee represents her positive side, linking outdoors and indoors and producing honey from the garden. The irony here is that the garden, belonging in a apian pun to Melibea, is violated, for *Celestina*'s honey is poison. As Pármemo complains, "A la vieja todo, porque venga cargada de mentiras como abeja ..." (113). Lies are indeed what *Celestina* harvests and transforms. She herself refers to her corruption of Melibea as the work of a bee: "La mayor gloria, que al secreto of'cio de la abeja se da ... es que todas cosas por ella tocadas convierte en mejor ... De esta manera ... su rigor [de Melibea] traigo convertido en miel ..." (108). But it is in Elicia's lament for *Celestina* that this bee imagery, transformed into part of Rojas' extensive house imagery, becomes most potent.

Tú trabajabas, yo holgaba; tú salías fuera, yo estaba encerrada; tú rota, yo vestida; tú entrabas continuo como abeja por casa, yo destruía, que otra cosa no sabía hacer. (201)

The comparison between bee and drone is clear. Elicia, though acting as a wage-earner within, never appears outside the house before *Celestina*'s death and is seen ultimately as the parasitic drone in the hive. *Celestina* is the productive member of this corrupt society, and her powers depend on her ability to go in and out of the house, to establish other houses as hers, and to make an alien street into a welcoming refuge. She is most

deadly when using her sting to control others' gardens.

Celestina is more identified with her house than the other characters are with theirs, especially when it is considered in isolation, without the extra element of the street. Where the houses of Calisto and Melibea are deceptive refuges, Celestina's house is a real one--if not for herself, at least for others. Sempronio and Pármeno offer hospitality to their lovers in her house, and flee to it when they are threatened (175). Elicia is completely protected there. It serves as a parody of the protected garden, reflowering dozens of ex-virgins, just as comparing Celestina to a bee parodies the medieval tradition. Celestina's house is in fact a complete extension of herself. Every corner of it, as Pármeno suggests, is devoted to some aspect of her work:

Y en su casa hacía perfumes, falsaba estoraques ...  
tenía una cámara llena de alambiques ... Aparejos para  
baños, esto es una maravilla, de las hierbas y raíces  
que tenía en el techo de su casa colgadas ... (61)

Yet Celestina is alienated from this complex expression of her work. She gives the impression that she knows every inch of her house, and that every room has a special purpose for her, but Rojas undercuts this impression immediately. "Pues sube presto al sobrado alto de la solana y baja acá el bote del aceite serpentino que hallarás colgado ..." (84), she tells Elicia, and with further precision, "Entra en la cámara de los ungüentos ..." (85). But Elicia's reply is, "Madre, no está donde dices. Jamás te acuerdas a cosa que guardas" (84). In addition, Celestina is most threatened in other people's houses: "Nunca me ha de faltar un diablo acá y acullá; escapóme Dios de Pármeno, y topóme con Lucrecia" (157), and her own home acts as a perverted home as well as a diabolical factory. There, as she says, "... tengo que mantener hijas ajenas ..." (88). Celestina feels isolated and threatened in all houses. Even her lies use this theme, as when she protests to Melibea, "¿Mías [necesidades], señora? Antes ajenas, como tengo dicho; que las mías de mi puerta adentro me las paso, sin que las sienta la tierra ..." (93). And again, when denying the chain to Sempronio and Pármeno, she tells them, "Entraron unos conocidos y familiares míos en aquella sazón aquí; temo no lá hayan llevado ..." (181). In Celestina's world, it is perfectly natural to assume that one's friends and allies have robbed one's own house; such people can be trusted only out in the street, where the mock-family world of *los ahijados* has more validity.

When Sempronio tells Pármeno, "... déjala barde sus paredes, que después bardará las nuestras ..." (107), he is using Celestina's own frame of reference. Celestina's sense of reality centers in her house: "Habíame de mantener del viento? ¿Heredé otra herencia? ¿Tengo otra casa o viña? ¿Conóceme otra hacienda ...?" (81). She constantly refers to houses in her metaphors and descriptions, often to invoke a sense of wholeness: "Nunca tú harás casa con sobrado" (129). That her own sense of wholeness and of integrity is expressed in her house appears most clearly in her death scene, where her outrage is for the simultaneous violation of herself and her house. After she fails to conciliate Pármeno and Sempronio, she defends herself within the limits of her own dignity:

... soy una vieja cual Dios me hizo, no peor que todas  
 ... A quien no me quiere no le busco. De mi casa me  
 vienen a sacar, en mi casa me ruegan ... Dejame en mi  
 fortuna. (182)

As the threat grows, Celestina's indignation at being attacked in her own house approaches frenzy:

¿Qué es esto, qué quieren decir tales amenazas en mi casa? ¿Con una oveja mansa tenéis vosotros manos y braveza? ¿Con una gallina atada? ¿Con una vieja de sesenta años? (183)

In fact, of course, she *is* "una vieja," very likely "de sesenta años" at that, but the paradox fits into the scene as a whole. Celestina, who had never felt comfortable in her house, who always had to ask Elicia for admission, who spun her webs from its corners and did not even own but rather rented the half-rotten building (203), nonetheless expected invulnerability within her house. Her sense of shock at the failure of that invulnerability resounds in her dying words, "¡justicia, justicia, señores vecinos; justicia, que me matan en mi casa estos rufianes!" (183). Her profound identification with her house persists even after her death. Our last glimpse of her is as "... llagada, tendida en su casa, llorándola una su criada" (187). And that same *criada*, Elicia, by taking over Celestina's house tries to take over her identity. She knows, after all, that "Jamás perderá aquella casa el nombre de Celestina ..." (203).

The houses of Calisto and Melibea offer no more security to their owners than Celestina's had, but Rojas develops this theme on an entirely different level with the two lovers. The identification between Calisto and his house is developed with simple irony. Calisto is always withdrawing into his bedroom, where he sets up elaborate scenes to express his lovelorn state. He begins on a relatively small scale: "Cierra la ventana y deja la tiniebla acompañar al triste" (47). When he is not in self-imposed exile in his bedroom, someone else will send him there: "... tórnate a la cámara y reposa, pues que tu negocio en tales manos está depositado" (74). Other parts of the house are mentioned only insofar as Calisto cannot cope with them. He cannot find the stableboy to get his horse out of the stable, his larder is raided to supply Celestina's table, he enters the *estrado* only to find the twilight zone, "Que ni ha dormido ni está despierto" (138). As his affair with Melibea progresses, his confinement to his bedroom takes on a more sinister aspect. The *cámara* had been since Act I a setting for heresy, but there it had been an exuberant and fantastic heresy, expressive of the future rather than the present: "Melibea soy y a Melibea adoro ..." (50). But once these boasts have become true, he renounces the outside world completely and opposes it to those two enclosed refuges, the bedroom and the garden. "No quiero ... otro padre ni madre, no otros deudos ni parientes. De día estaré en mi cámara, de noche en aquel paraíso dulce ..." (195-96). The parallel reversal of spending the day in the bedroom and the night in the garden links those two violated spaces: Melibea's *huerto* violated by Calisto, and Calisto's *cámara* violated by Celestina. Calisto's parallel victimization with Melibea's is suggested in his description as "... todos los días encerrado en casa ..." (206). He

has reversed roles with Melibea, who was never successfully *encerrada*. Calisto becomes more and more alienated from his own house, and eventually his entrance into it echoes Celestina's first stealthy approach: "Entrad callando, no nos sientan en casa" (193). While before he had wanted his servants to be an audience for his posturings in his room, now his solitude is complete: "... yo me quiero subir solo a mi cámara ... Id vosotros a vuestras camas" (193). As Celestina's poison takes a deeper hold on Calisto, he--like all the other characters she influences--comes to resemble her more and more, in this case by his deepening paranoia and alienation. The exception to this rule of general contagion is Melibea. Although she allows Celestina to corrupt her, she retains more of her original identity than do the other infected characters. A possible explanation of this anomaly is that Melibea's relationship to her house never changes. She was always alienated from it, because it always was not her own but rather her father's. It is in Melibea's house that we find the most coherent example of an aspect of house imagery dominant throughout *Celestina*, the house as a symbol for destruction.

Rojas introduces the theme of house as destruction in his preliminary essay. He presents this idea on two levels: a mock-heroic defense of the home ("Hasta los groseros milanos insultan dentro en nuestras moradas los domésticos pollos ..." 42), and the far more frightening casual destruction of buildings by fickle humanity: "¿quién explanará sus guerras ... Aquel mudar de trajes, aquel derribar y renovar edificios ...?" (42). The destruction of buildings is linked immediately by the topos of mutability and the rhetorical device of zeugma to the lack of proper perspective in mankind. Rojas uses rhetoric and irony here to support the implication of his imagery: that chaos necessarily invades both micro- and macrocosm, the house and the world. The house in *Celestina* acts throughout as a three-fold metaphor linking the failures of home, family, and society. Gilman apparently perceives this triad as one of increasingly wide scope, with the house providing the introduction to an alienating infinity, when he refers to Rojas' "visión del hombre en casa, en la sociedad y en el universo--del individuo en peligroso enfrentamiento consigo mismo, con otros y con las dimensiones de tiempo y lugar ..." (8). This clear parallelism stops short of capturing the full role of the image of the home as an emblem of destruction, for Rojas has it both ways. It is precisely the tension of crossed boundaries, when the "visión de casa" becomes the "enfrentamiento con otros," that makes the house into such a powerful symbol. The house thus serves both to define integrity and to signal collapse. Its underlying paradoxical quality derives from Rojas' initial assumption that isolation allows recognition and alienation, perception.

Several variants of this house-as-destruction theme have already become obvious. For instance, one cannot examine the diabolical aspect of Celestina's house without recognizing that in some senses her house appears to participate actively in sin, both as parasite and as progenitor, as we see from Pármeno's description (p. 61). Again, it is clear that one symptom of Calisto's increasing alienation and corruption is his inability to use the house as a whole rather than as a series of isolated rooms. And Rojas has also already suggested the failure of adjacent houses to be aligned into any kind of real neighborhood. This theme, strong enough in peripheral suggestion, becomes almost overpowering as a central motif.



Rojas initially sets up a different atmosphere than had appeared in Act I. There, the original author had befogged us as the house appears in turn as personified evil, an intricate stage, an extension of self, an inadequate refuge, and a series of disjointed parts (we gradually assume a picture of Calisto's house from the door, stairs, etc.). By Act II, house imagery is still strong but has become more consistently that of destruction. Pármeno, in deciding to go along with Celestina, says "Que si dijere comamos, yo también; si quiere derrocar la casa, aprobarlo; si quemar su hacienda, ir por fuego" (78). Sempronio, in asserting that it would be impossible "quemarnos con las centellas que resultan de este fuego de Calisto" (79), finds reassurance by comparing his master to a toppling house, in a phrase of brilliant foreshadowing: "El tiempo me dirá qué haga; que primero caiga del todo dará señal, como casa que se acuesta" (80). Early in *Celestina* Rojas adds another dimension to this image. He joins the assumption that control of one's home is control of one's self--the home: integrity equation that appears so clearly in Celestina's expectations--to its obverse, that lack of control over one's home leads to the destruction of both self and house. This dependent chaos is revealed most clearly in *Celestina* through discussions of the plight of servants. With masterful irony of structure, Rojas shows alienation through the eyes of alienation. Distance, he suggests once more, allows for diagnosis, though not a cure.

Most of the characters in the book suffer alienation and abuse in the homes of others, and this in fact is a characteristic expectation of service. Celestina praises Calisto by opposing him to other masters who reject their obligations: "Que no es de los que dicen, 'Vive conmigo y busca quien te mantenga'" (180). This is Rojas at his most ironic, for not only have Calisto's servants become the real retainers of Celestina, but also Calisto himself has less notion of his obligations than anyone else. His reaction to the deaths of Pármeno and Sempronio is adequately distraught but purely selfish: "veo la mengua de mi casa, la falta de mi servicio, la perdición de mi patrimonio, la infamia que tiene mi persona ..." (193). Here Calisto is only reiterating the viewpoint of the other masters in the book, who (often *in absentia*) make artificial connections between service, house and honor. Their connections are even more artificial when viewed against the real interdependence of those three aspects of the home, an interdependence as real for the servants as for their masters. The servants in *Celestina* have their own sense of honor, maintained despite their alienation within another's house. Forged through a suitably Petrarchan conflict, it is thus stronger than the sense of honor of their masters, which must be maintained through the appearance of an integral home. And Rojas undercuts any such appearances by presenting us with the servants' point of view. Pármeno makes the obvious connection between domestic work and alienation in his comment, "... he andado por casas ajenas harto tiempo y en lugares de harto trabajo" (176). Celestina herself formulates the escape from alienation that all these characters seek: *vivir reposado* means "... a vivir por ti, a no andar por casas ajenas ..." (121). In describing maidservants abused by their mistresses, Elicia makes an unconscious comparison of the idea of *honra* in these two classes. The mistresses, rather than meeting their obligations, throw their servants out of the house, "diciendo: 'Allá irás, ladrona, puta, no destruirás mi casa y honra'" (149). The servant, on the other hand, finds that whatever self-respect she has is

not in the rotten world of the upper classes, but out on the street. "La mejor honra que en sus casas tienen," says Elicia ironically, "es andar hechas callejeras, de dueña en dueña, con sus mensajes acuestas" (149). This is the same house/street tension that characterizes Celestina, and it is here widened to embrace all those in her social class: The perquisites of the home--honor, security, identity--are transmuted into the world of the street. Rojas shows us only two roads of escape from the alienation of servitude in another's house. One is independence within one's own home: "Por esto me vivo sobre mí, desde que me sé conocer ... Por esto, madre, he querido más vivir en mi pequeña casa, exenta y señora, que no en sus ricos palacios sojuzgada y cativa" (149, 150). The other is by seeking refuge outside the house, either by combining street and house, as do Celestina and the maids, or in the complete rejection of boundaries. It is a short step for Melibea from the garden to the outside world, for any space outside of the house is equally disorienting: "Si pasar quisiere la mar, con él iré; si rodear el mundo, lléveme consigo; si venderme en tierras de enemigos, no rehuiré su querer" (206).

Calisto's lament for his servants--"veo la mengua de mi casa"--conjoins every aspect of the upper class's alienation from their homes. His first confusions revolve around the disparity between secrecy and publicity that is his version of the lower class's *casa/calle* tension. This concern for the opinions of others leads him naturally into a quest for someone at home in whom he might confide:

¿Qué haré? ¿Qué consejo tomaré? ¿A quién descubriré  
mi mengua? ¿Por qué lo celo a los otros mis servidores  
y parientes? Tresquilanme en concejo y no lo saben en  
mi casa. Salir quiero ... (194)

Calisto's own process of thought has led him to his first uneasy glimmer that his best security might be outside his own house. "Salir quiero ..." He begins to try to extend his domestic world outside his own walls and then immediately retreats from what he implicitly recognizes is a departed world of social order and obligations: "Y para proveer amigos y criados antiguos, parientes y allegados, es menester tiempo ..." (194). He focuses his rage at the loss of this world against the judge who had sentenced Pármeno and Sempronio to death. "¡O cruel juez, y qué mal pago me has dado el pan que de mi padre comiste!" (194). The judge, who by his very role is most important in holding the bonds of society together, paradoxically appears to Calisto as the epitome of social anarchy.<sup>15</sup> In typical Rojas fashion, Calisto by accusing another condemns himself: "Mirarás que tú y los que mataste, en servir a mis pasados y a mí, érades compañeros; mas, cuando el vil está rico, no tiene pariente ni amigo" (194). Having lost Pármeno and Sempronio, Calisto has no one to turn to, neither companion, friend nor relation. He has, as in the words of the proverb he himself quotes, created his own demons within his own walls: "del monte sale con que se arde y que crié cuervo que me sacase el ojo" (194).

Calisto moves perilously close to a recognition of his own responsibility. We realize as he does that he is once more alone in his bedroom, isolated and alienated:

¿Pero qué digo? ¿Con quién hablo? ... Cata que estás en tu cámara. ¿No ves que el ofendedor no está presente? ¿Con quién lo has? Torna en ti. (194)

Rojas gives us a whole crumbling world in this brilliant sequence. Ultimately, Calisto is incapable of "tornar en sí" because he refuses to recognize that the offender is indeed present in the room with him. Only Calisto's *cámara* can be the appropriate setting for this edge and recoil from recognition. The bedroom is marginal to the house in the same way that Calisto is marginal to his society. According to Gilman, the *converso* "vivía al margen: observaba desde fuera: tenía una perspectiva y una capacidad de evaluación clínica ..." (14). Calisto, inspired to heresy by Melibea and converted to evil by Celestina, becomes alienated enough to see clearly from the periphery of events, but because he is ultimately entangled with and representative of the decaying social order in this world, he is denied the ability to understand what he observes. As he recoils from the edge of recognition, thus finally denying himself heroic status, he moves full circle to try and convince himself that, after all, perhaps the judge meant well. But this effort of imagination calls for a complete reversal of the social order: "... antes le quedo deudor y obligado para cuanto viva, no como a criado de mi padre, pero como a verdadero humano" (195). From this point on, Calisto can move only in the direction of increasing isolation, expressed in terms of alienation from his family, friends, and not least, his house. "No quiero ... otro padre ni madre, no otros deudos ni parientes. De día estaré en mi cámara ..." (196).

Melibea too reaches the same point of isolation: "... ni quiero marido ni quiero padre ni parientes ..." (207). But her isolation has taken a different route from Calisto's. He has changed his world (that is, his house) into a threat against himself; she has abused someone else's world (that is, her father's house) to try for a deceptive freedom. Melibea participates in the "world turned upside-down" motif by becoming enslaved to love:

... hácense siervas de quien eran señoras, dejan el mando y son mandadas, rompen paredes, abren ventanas ... a los chirriadores quicios de las puertas hacen con aceites usar su oficio sin ruido. (83)

Rather than becoming alienated from her house, as does Calisto, she extends her original alienation to the point where the house helps her to deceive her father. In Melibea's home, her servant is envious and discontented, her father is trapped in the honor-family-house nexus, and her mother is completely ineffectual. All these characterizations, particularly that of the mother, continue expectations previously set up by Rojas. From the introductory essay, when "los domésticos pollos" are hunted "dejabo las alas de sus madres" (42), mothers are portrayed as useless refugees. They are associated with perversion of the natural order--Melibea is described "así como corderica mansa que mama su madre y la ajena ..." (166). Melibea does in fact find a "madre ajena" in Celestina; this transference is suggested by dialogue, for all the characters call Celestine "madre" or, at worst, "tía," and it is confirmed by Melibea's actions.<sup>16</sup> She confesses to her father, "Descubría a ella lo que a mi

querida madre encubría" (230). Yet Rojas suggests that this filial perversity is at least as much as Alisa's fault as Melibea's, and he ultimately blames Pleberio. Not only does Alisa, though knowing better, abandon Melibea to Celestina's predatory visit, an act that "goes far beyond mere folly," but she is too useless even to appear at her daughter's death-scene.<sup>17</sup> "Tu madre está sin seso en oír tu mal: No pudo venir a verte de turbada" (226). Even Alisa's stymied activities here are the passive ones of hearing and seeing. The gift of diagnosis, let alone of cure, is denied Alisa; she is too far out on the margin of events.

Melibea destroys her home by destroying her parents, and her father's loss in particular is in turn expressed through the image of the destroyed house.<sup>18</sup> Melibea sums up a whole complex interrelationship when she cries, "¡o mi padre honrado, cómo he dañado tu fama y dado causa y lugar a quebrantar tu casa!" (192). For Melibea, it is always her father's house that she has destroyed. "Dile [a Calisto] entrada en tu casa. Quebrantó con escalas las paredes de tu huerto..." (230). She had in the beginning of her affair with Calisto tried to stop him by asking if he wished to "perder y destruir la casa y honra de mi padre" (96). Pleberio shares the same assumption; he asks Fortune, "¿por qué no quemaste mi morada?" (233) and "¿Quién acompañará mi desacompañada morada?" (235). Only on a small scale does the possessive pronoun change: "¿Qué haré, cuando entre en tu cámara y retraimiento y la halle sola?" (234). It is this sharp conflict between his space and Melibea's that makes his lament so poignant. Within his very walls, his own daughter had lived in "... un laberinto de errores, un desierto espantable, una morada de fieras ..." (233). The sudden loss of perspective is terrifying. Yet Pleberio is no more an innocent victim than is any other character. If Rojas identifies him with house and honor and destroys all three together, it is because of the intrinsic weakness of Pleberio's house.

All three of the women who live in this house--Alisa, Melibea and Lucrecia--are deeply alienated from any control over their lives. The word *ajeno*, so frequent throughout *Celestina*, seems even more frequently to characterize marriage, and Pleberio and Alisa are the only married couple in the book. Their discussion of marrying off Melibea is among the book's most ironic scenes, and not only because she is in effect already married. Pleberio's discourse on marriage moves with no sense of incongruity from grave to marital home: "... todos están en sus perpetuas moradas ... Demos nuestros hacienda a dulce sucesor ... [Melibea] parecerá ya mejor en su propia casa que en la nuestra" (204). Melibea does indeed prefer "su propia casa" but not surprisingly she interprets that home as the grave. She does not, after all, want "las maritales pisadas de ajeno hombre" (206). And she has a good model for disenfranchisement in her mother, who is alienated even from her natural office of matchmaker, leaving a vacuum which not Pleberio but Celestina must fill.<sup>19</sup> "Pero como esto sea oficio de los padres y muy ajeno a las mujeres ..." (204), Alisa says, contradicting (at the least) a long tradition of lyric poetry.<sup>20</sup> And Pleberio gives a further hint of the state of their marriage when he reminds an abstract Love, "Bien pensé que de tus lazos me había librado, cuando los cuarenta años toqué, cuando fui contento con mi conyugal compañera" (235). There is considerably more genuine sentiment, for all its parodic overtones, between Areúsa, the whore, and Pármeno, soon to be a murderer.

Pleberio, as the only example of a rich man with a family, belongs ultimately to the theme of the perverted house, in which the rich man's relatives "no ven la hora que tener a él so la tierra y lo suyo entre sus manos y darle a poca costa su morada para siempre" (91-92). It is perhaps significant that in this sentence the earlier reading for *morada* was *casa*: Rojas seems to have increasingly separated one's dwelling from one's home, for the latter is increasingly perceived as an illusory refuge.

Hilanderas, ¿Qué hicisteis o hilasteis,  
 si en marzo no curasteis?  
 Fui al mar, vine del mar,  
 hice casa sin hogar,  
 sin azada ni azadón,  
 y sin ayuda de varón ... 21

*Celestina* offers a rich and complex image of the home; but if any one idea predominates, it is, perhaps, that a woman alone has the ability to create a *casa* or an *hogar*, and only a woman can overcome the illusory refuges that pass as homes in the book. *Celestina* is a witch, Elicia and Areúsa are whores and Melibea is a suicide, but at least each of them consciously chose her own path. By contrast, Calisto, Pleberio, Pármeno, and Sempronio seem destroyed almost by accident, and none of them is able to find security even in a transient home. None of them is flexible enough to survive a world whose limits are disappearing and whose order is overturned. Each character in the book is threatened by this changing world, but each perceives it on a different scale: Elicia's lament is for *Celestina*, *Celestina*'s for her house, Calisto's for his identity, Pleberio's for "his" world. Nothing could be further from Pleberio's "un desierto espantable" than *Celestina*'s "Todo tiene sus límites, todo tiene sus grados" (150). Rojas creates a world of insecurity and destruction, but in this one aspect at least it bears comparison with the more stable world of the earlier Middle Ages. There too the women put everything into the making of a home, even "sin ayuda de varón"; and there too it is those on the margin of society who have the clearest vision and the most central roles.<sup>22</sup>



Zacacia Melibea Sofía Trifón Calisto

La muerte de Calisto.  
 ¿Burgos, 1499?  
 Auto 149



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*, ed. Dorothy S. Severin (Madrid: Alianza, 1969), p. 169. All quotations are from this edition and will be designated by page numbers in parentheses after the quotation.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Gilman, *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas* (Princeton: University Press, 1972), p. 425.

<sup>3</sup> For another perspective on the nature of healing in *Celestina*, see George Shipley, "Concerting through Conceit: Unconventional Uses of Conventional Sickness Images in *La Celestina*," *MLR*, 70 (1975), 324-32.

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Gilman, Introducción, *La Celestina*, ed. Severin, p. 21. Subsequent quotations from this prologue will be designated by page numbers in parentheses after the quotation.

<sup>5</sup> Notably Lida de Malkiel, Russell, Deyermond and Sánchez.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted from Gilman, *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas*, p. 422.

<sup>7</sup> T. H. White, *The Book of Beasts* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), p. 153.

<sup>8</sup> Francis Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 153.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Klingender, p. 492.

<sup>10</sup> Rojas' use of insect imagery is another manifestation of his general familiarity with bestiaries, already discussed by Alan Deyermond in "Symbolic Equivalence in *La Celestina*: A Postscript," *Celestinesca*, 2:1 (May 1978), 25-30. As George Shipley points out in a note to this article, "Rojas is not here alluding to a bestiary tale (i.e. pointing out from text to source) ... The resultant image is not learned but part of an associational cluster in Rojas' psyche" (n. 7, p. 29).

<sup>11</sup> White, pp. 191, 213.

<sup>12</sup> White, p. 213.

<sup>13</sup> See Alan Deyermond, "*Hilado-Cordón-Cadena*: Symbolic Equivalence in *La Celestina*," *Celestinesca*, 1:1 (May 1977), p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> George Shipley mentions the incongruity of associating *Celestina* with a bee in his unpublished paper, "Bestiary References in Fernando de Rojas' *La Celestina*: The Ironic Undermining of Authority" (p. 7 of mimeograph).

<sup>15</sup> As P. E. Russell has pointed out in "Estudios jurídicos de Fernando de Rojas," in *Temas de 'La Celestina'*..., esp. pp. 336-37, the judge did in fact act unjustly. Calisto's reactions, however, depend entirely on



his own desires rather than on any factual observations. He is entirely self-centered.

<sup>16</sup> For a discussion of Celestina's maternal aspect in the eyes of Melibea and, especially, Pármeno, see Jane Hawking, "Madre Celestina," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Sezione Romanza*, 9 (1967), 177-90.

<sup>17</sup> Deyermond, "*Hilado-Cordón-Cadena ...*", p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> On Melibea's destruction of her parents, see George Shipley's note to Deyermond, "Symbolic Equivalence ...", no. 10, p. 29.

<sup>19</sup> Earlier medieval Spanish laws, codified in the early thirteenth century, establish the mother's traditional role in marriage negotiations. See Heath Dillard, "Women in Reconquest Castile: The Fueros of Sepúlveda and Cuenca," in *Women in Medieval Society*, ed. Susan Stuard (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), esp. pp. 79-80.


<sup>20</sup> See J. G. Cummins, *The Spanish Traditional Lyric* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1977), pp. 54-57, 89-98.

<sup>21</sup> Cummins, p. 109.

<sup>22</sup> I wish to thank Professors Dorothy S. Severin and Alan D. Deyermond, who read and commented on an early version of this article. It was originally presented as a paper to their Medieval Spanish Research Seminar at Westfield College (London University), from which I received many helpful suggestions.



[CELESTINA]  
**TRAGICO**  
MEDIA DE CALIS.  
to y Mehbés, en la qual se cotio  
né de mas de su agradable y dul  
ce estilo muchas senuecias phi  
losofiales, y auisos muy mecesca  
sarios para mancebos, mostrá  
doles los engaños que está  
ancerrados en siruities  
y Alcahuetas.



Con licencia impressa  
EN ALCALA  
En casa de Iuan de  
Yillanueua. 1569.  
Acosta de Pedro del Bosque B  
brero en Alcalá.

ALCALA, 1569

ON TRANSLATING *HUEVOS ASADOS*: CLUES FROM CHRISTOF WIRSUNG

KATHLEEN KISH  
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and

URSULA RITZENHOFF  
U. OF TENNESSEE  
(KNOXVILLE)

Translations, with all their flaws and inaccuracies, can nevertheless provide valuable clues for deciphering arcane passages of a literary work. True, a translator may, deliberately or inadvertently, distort the meaning of his source, but his interpretive effort--even when it involves an obvious error or a suppression--deserves scrutiny. Pármeno's curious exclamation about Celestina's husband, which has prompted a variety of responses by exegetes of the *Tragicomedia*, from the work's early translators to the recent article by Miguel Garcí-Gómez, "*Huevos asados*: afrodisíaco para el marido de Celestina," *Celestinesca*, 5:1 (mayo 1981), 23-24, offers a case in point. Surprisingly, the German translator Christof Wirsung, who shows no sign in either of his renditions of the puzzling phrase (1520 and 1534) of having understood its connection to aphrodisiacs, supplies, in a circuitous fashion, support for Garcí-Gómez' thesis that Celestina's husband consumed *huevos asados* ("dried testicles") to reactivate his flagging libido.

If Wirsung, who was an apothecary by trade and therefore quite knowledgeable about aphrodisiacs, missed the erotic point of Pármeno's words here, he had good reason. The Italian translation that was his source said absolutely nothing about eggs, either in the literal or in the figurative sense. In fact, Alfonso Hordognez' version of the phrase, which is interesting in its own right,<sup>1</sup> seems to have led at least one other early translator astray, as the following catalogue demonstrates:

Rojas: ¡O qué comedor de huevos asados era su marido!

Hordognez (1506, 1514, 1515, Venice 1519): O che coman-  
dator de boni (1525, 1531, 1535, 1541: obi) arrosti  
era suo marito.

Wirsung, 1520: Ach was gutten anschaffers vorausz zu  
guten braten was jr man.

1527 French translation: omits the passage

## CELESTINESCA

Rastell (?), English adaptation, ca. 1530: omits the passage

Wirsung, 1534: Ach was guten anschaffers sonderlich zu brotessen was jr man.

Lavardin, 1578: O quel friand de bons rostiz, ô quel aualleur de bons morceaux estoit feu son mary!

Mabbe MS, ca. 1603-11: O what a devourer of roasted Egges was her husbände!

von Barth, 1624: Qualis, Dii boni, luroo ovorum assatorum erat quondam maritus ejus!

Mabbe, 1631: O what a deuourer of roasted egges was her husband?

French translation, 1633: O quel grand aualleur d'oeufs fris estoit son mary!<sup>2</sup>

To judge from this list, the early translators offer almost no help for understanding Pärmeno's cryptic exclamation. The last three merely follow the wording in the Spanish *Tragicomedia*. Unfortunately, von Barth's gloss on the problematic spot, "more plebis Hispanae" (p. 344) is neither elaborated nor substantiated. Lavardin, who blended the Italian and Spanish texts ("bons rostiz ... aualleur"), makes no reference to *huevos*, and his expansion of the original phrase fails to shed light on its meaning. The first French translator, who also had access to both the Spanish and the Italian, chose to omit the entire passage, as did the author of the *Interlude of Calisto and Melebea*. For his part, Wirsung, apparently dissatisfied with his attempt in 1520 at a literal translation of the original Italian reading, replaced "good roast" with "eating bread" in 1534. In short, if the translators spied an aphrodisiac in Pärmeno's remark about Celestina's husband, they either kept their own counsel on the matter, or else the key to their vocabulary code is no longer clear to the reader.<sup>3</sup>

What a welcome surprise it is, then, to encounter in the German translations a passage added to Pärmeno's register of Celestina's talents that does sharpen our understanding of her late husband's mysterious behavior. This passage, which occurs at the very end of the description of Celestina's *laboratorio*, immediately before Calisto impatiently puts an end to his servants' harangue: "Bien está, Pärmeno; déjalo para más oportunidad; asaz soy de ti avisado" (Severin ed., p. 62), is, to all appearances, Wirsung's own invention.<sup>4</sup> Without forgetting to have Pärmeno cast doubt on Celestina's supposed powers, the pharmacist Wirsung has him indicate exactly how she treated sexual dysfunction in old men. Since the 1520 and 1534 versions differ--and not just in content: Wirsung's second text shows marked linguistic and stylistic improvement--it is necessary to quote both:

1520

sy macht auch die man vermüglich  
in dem werck der vnkewsch da  
treymbt sy wüder mit/ darzu brauchet  
sy bibergailen/ spatzē hirn/  
würmlin haissen cantarides/  
stinci/ zibeto/ vñ vil der glei-  
chen sachen darumb sy von alten  
narrē oft besucht wirt/ von denen  
sy grosz gelt vñ klaine costung zu  
wegen bringt/ wasz bemüe ich mich  
zusagen von jrer boszhait vñ  
allerschnedesten dingen damit sy  
vmb get alsz im grund falsch  
erdicht erstuncken vñ erlogen  
also herr hastu ain tail doch  
den wenigsten erzelt vō jrem  
hantwerck (C<sub>i</sub>V)

1534

Vnd ob schon das alles/ nichts  
dann narrenweysz/ vnd ein betrug  
were/ ... Noch eins hette ich  
schier vergessen/ das jhr doch  
nit wenig nutz truge/ sy macht  
ein vermischung/ die altenn buler  
widder fruttig zu machen/ darumb  
sie von den altenn narren fast  
besucht ward/ denen sie auch der  
halffter am barn nit vergasz/  
sonder sie schand die auf das  
lebendig/ bracht auch mit ringem  
kostenn/ ein gute Summa gelts von  
jn/ zu disem braucht sie Bibergay-  
lenn/ Spatzenhiern/ stendelwurt-  
zen/ Klayne vnd grüne käfferlen/  
Zibeth/ Stinci ein würmlin vnnd  
dergleichen/ was bemühe ich mich  
zu sagen/ von jrer boszheytt vnnd  
büberey/ damit dise alte vmbge-  
het/ es wurde mir ain gantz jar  
dazü nicht genug sein. (E<sub>i</sub><sup>r</sup>-E<sub>i</sub><sup>v</sup>)

The ingredients in these two prescriptions, identical except for the addition of satyrion in the second--"small green beetles" (1534) are the equivalent of "cantharides" (1520)--were among those that tradition credited with aphrodisiac properties. Oddly, none of them figures in the part of Celestina's laboratory where she kept those things necessary "para remediar amores y para se querer bien" (p. 62), unless one wishes to view her "cabezas de codornices" as a mere variant of Wirsung's "sparrow brains."<sup>5</sup> Since, however, Pármeno concludes his list of Celestina's love

1520 TRANSLATION

She also makes men capable of un-  
chaste activity again. She deals  
in this, too. For this she uses  
beaver testicles, sparrow brains,  
little worms called cantharides.  
[Spanish fly], skink, civet, and  
many more such things, on account  
of which she is visited often by  
old fools, from whom she gets much  
money at little expense to herself.  
But how can I relate everything  
about her wickedness and the vile  
things with which she deals, which  
are completely false, made up,  
stinking, and wrapped in lies? Sir,  
I have told you something, even  
though the least part, of her trade.

1534 TRANSLATION

And even if all of that were naught  
but foolish tricks and fraud ...  
Another matter I almost forgot,  
which indeed brought her not a little  
profit. She made a mixture which  
makes decrepit lovers active again,  
for which reason she was visited  
often by old fools whom she left  
nothing, but rather skinned alive,  
extracting a goodly sum of money  
from them at small expense to her-  
self. For this mixture she uses  
beaver testicles; sparrow brains;  
satyrion; small, green beetles;  
civet; skink, a small worm; and  
the like. But how can I relate  
everything about her wickedness  
and the vicious deeds with which  
this old woman deals? A whole  
year would not be enough time for  
me to do that.

potions and cures with an inclusive "y otras mil cosas" (p. 62), we cannot go far wrong if we extend her stock of erotic remedies by the standard items named in the two Wirsung prescriptions. One of these, *algalia* 'civet', can be incorporated without question: Celestina had it on hand to prepare perfumes (p. 61).<sup>6</sup> There is no trouble, either, with including two others, skink and satyrion, because their widespread use in amatory medicine is confirmed by none other than Rodrigo Cota, who had Love imply to the old man whom he is trying to tempt that he can be rejuvenated without recourse to such aids:

Sin daño dela salud  
 puedo, con mi suficiencia,  
 convertir el impotencia  
 en muy potente virtud  
 sin calientes confaciones,  
 sin comeres muy abastos,  
 sin conservas ni piñones,  
 estincos, sateriones,  
 atincar ni otros gastos. 7

If, finally, we accept that Celestina's amatory arsenal could not have failed to contain the ubiquitous cantharides (cf. Garcí-Gómez, p. 25 and p. 31, n. 8), we have accounted for all but one of the ingredients in the prescriptions for impotent old men that Pármeno recites in the German *Celestina* translations.

This ingredient, beaver testicles--which is important enough to hold first place in both the 1520 and the 1534 prescriptions--represents our crucial missing link. If we can establish that it, or some closely related item, was as likely to have been recommended by Celestina as the other aphrodisiacs named by the Spanish Pármeno's German cousin, then Garcí-Gómez' reading of the *huevos asados* line becomes more than merely plausible. To do this, we need to take into account the clues supplied by Christof Wirsung in his professional capacity as pharmacist.

When Wirsung published, in 1568, the weighty compilation of medicinal remedies known as his *Artzneybuch*, which was to earn him a lasting international reputation, he included in it material gleaned from years of private study as well as from attendance at medical conventions in his native Augsburg, which regularly played host to doctors from many nations. To secure the confidence of his public--he possessed no medical degree--he had the book examined and approved in advance by a qualified physician.<sup>8</sup> This means for us that his medical advice should be seen not as that of an eccentric or a quack, but rather as representing what was at the time considered both customary and sound.

It is in this light that we must examine the relevant portions of the section of Wirsung's *Artzneybuch* entitled "Was Mannlicheit mehre und fürdre," "What increases and augments potency." Here we read, for example, that "the generation of the seede is hindred ... (amongst diuers other causes) of age also" (p. 294). When we scan the remedies proposed for this condition in an effort to find beaver testicles, we discover that they occur only in ointments. A typical recipe follows:



One may vse outwardly Waxe made to an Oyntment, with oyle of Beuercod. Or take Beuercod, Marierom gentle, oyle of *Costus*, of each a like much, put thereto a little Muske or *Zibeta*, and therewith annoynt the yarde, with other places adioyning vnto it. If you will haue a slighter, then take the gall of a Beare [sic].<sup>9</sup> (p. 295)

Did Celestina concoct such a preparation for her aging husband's use? Perhaps, but even if we imagine that she did--and this would mean that we would have to posit the existence of several additional ingredients in her laboratory (of those named in this prescription, only musk and civet are mentioned in the Spanish *Tragicomedia*)--we are still left wondering about her husband's dietary regime.

The picture becomes at once clearer and more confused when we look at some of the products that the *Artzneybuch* recommends that a man suffering from impotence ingest:

But in generall, these things are good for the increase of humaine seede, and to recouer the losse thereof againe, to wit, Eggs, Milks, Rise drest in Milke, Sparrowes braines, yea the whole birds. Also the stones of these Beasts following, vis. as of Bulls, Cocks, Bucks, Rams, Bores, and all their pissels. (p. 294)

This passage is vexing: on the one hand, since it prescribes animal testicles as a routine treatment for sexual dysfunction, it strongly suggests that Celestina the apothecary counted them among her amatory remedies; on the other, since it also mentions eggs in the same context, it fails to settle the issue of just what Pármeno meant when he said that Celestina's husband used to consume *huevos asados*. There is, however, one further bit of information in the *Artzneybuch* that appears to tip the scales in favor of Garci-Gómez' interpretation of this phrase. It reads as follows:

And aboue all other things is the confection *Diasatyrion* commended, for it strengtheneth the stomacke. (p. 294)

Leaving aside the implications of the second part of this comment (except to observe that the long-suffering patient would certainly need a strong stomach to be able to tolerate some of the mixtures made up for him by his would-be healer), let us consider what went into the confection diasatyrion.<sup>10</sup> Its chief ingredient, the satyr orchid, has long been credited with aphrodisiac power, as its name suggests. Most orchids, in fact, were likely candidates for such a distinction because of the shape of their tubers; the very word orchid derives from the Greek word for testicle.<sup>11</sup> Diasatyrion, though, did not rely for its effect on this suggestive plant alone. It also contained another potent ingredient: "Testiculorum vulpis."<sup>12</sup>

Summarizing the circumstantial evidence provided by Christof Wirsung, we see that it points to Garcí-Gómez' reading of Pármeno's exclamation about Celestina's husband, despite the garbling of this line in both German *Celestina* translations:

1. Wirsung adds a passage in each translation that shows Celestina as an expert in dealing with the sexual problems of old men.

2. The mixture she prepares to treat these elderly clients consists of standard aphrodisiacs.

3. The first ingredient in both prescriptions is beaver testicles.

4. Although this ingredient is designated exclusively for external use in this chapter of Wirsung's *Artzneybuch*, the testicles of other animals are there named among the foods useful for combatting impotence.

5. Eggs, though mentioned in this same list, pale into insignificance when set alongside the most highly touted remedy for this condition, diasatyrium.

6. This confection contained two powerful aphrodisiacs: the testicle-shaped tubers of the satyr orchid (which Wirsung, interestingly, added in 1534 to the list of ingredients in the mixture that Pármeno claims that Celestina prepared to rejuvenate doddering old men) and fox testicles.

Adding this assembly of facts to the analysis by Garcí-Gómez of the context (both literary and extra-literary) in which Pármeno's famous remark occurs, it seems now even more likely that its author meant to imply that Celestina's aging husband was in the habit of consuming aphrodisiac potions containing animal testicles. Perhaps, we might conjecture, his wife was kind enough to administer his medicine in the form of diasatyrium: of the satyr orchid we read "Sein geschmack ist etwas süßz" (Brunfels, p. XXXIX), "Its taste is somewhat sweet."

One final note. Garcí-Gómez' assertion: "¿Huevos testículos? A la mayor parte de los lectores de *Celestina* no se habrá escapado la asociación" (p. 27), is apparently not borne out by the translators of the *Tragicomedia*. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly true that at least some readers have jumped to the same conclusion that Garcí-Gómez so thoroughly documents. Let us mention just one case in point. During the discussion of a paper on Hordognez' *Celestina* translation, one member of the audience suggested translating *huevos asados* as "prairie oysters."<sup>13</sup> It may be that some of those present thought he was referring to the drink consisting of a raw egg, seasoned and swallowed whole, whose purported restorative power has made it a best-seller from New Orleans (especially during Mardi Gras) to Berlin. The more discerning listeners, however, were sure to have ruled out this possibility, since the *huevos* consumed by Celestina's husband were not raw, but *asados*. The only prairie oysters that make sense in this context are those defined as "the testicles of bull calves used as food."<sup>14</sup>

"Prairie oyster," or its variant "mountain oyster" 'the testis of a calf, sheep, pig, etc., used as food', could even be recommended to some

future English translator of *Celestina* as an ideal substitute for the *huevos asados* mentioned by Pármeno--accompanied by a scholarly note, of course.<sup>15</sup> Both of these terms, like their Spanish forerunner, connote an aphrodisiac (oysters, to the English-speaker, being at least as clear an erotic allusion as *huevos* to the speaker of Spanish), and all three are decipherable as euphemistic expressions for animal testicles: the all-important element in the German *Celestina*'s treatment of "decrepit lovers" and, to judge from the available evidence, a staple in the diet of her Spanish counterpart's late husband.<sup>16</sup>



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Whenever possible, references in these notes will be to 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)].

In refusing to accept the Italian translation of *Celestina* as an authentic textual witness, Garci-Gómez may be erring on the side of caution (see his article, pp. 30-31, n. 7). Distinguished scholars who have taken the opposite view include Emma Scoles, LCDB 521-22, and J. Homer Herriott, LCDB 56. It should be remembered that the Rome 1506 edition of the Italian translation appears to be the oldest extant version of the *Tragicomedia*, that it was written by a Spaniard, and that it is generally accurate. Hordognez was not, of course, infallible, and his rendition of the *huevos asados* passage may well have been erroneous. The *comedor* → *comandator* transformation aside (Garci-Gómez minimizes its importance), there remains that of *huevos* → *boni* (corrected to *obi* in some later editions). Perhaps Hordognez read, or thought he read, *buenos* rather than *huevos* in his Spanish source. If, on the other hand, Hordognez' wording correctly reflects that of his model (an early, lost *Tragicomedia*), the chapter of *Celestina* criticism on *huevos asados* may need to be expunged and replaced by one on *\*buenos asados*.

<sup>2</sup> This information has been assembled using the following editions:

Rojas; ed. Dorothy S. Severin, LCDB 176, p. 60 (and p. 247, n. 62);

Hordognez; ed. Kathleen V. Kish, LCDB 242, p. 62 (and pp. 20-21, n. 14); and Denis L. Drysdall, ed. Lavardin, LCDB 221, p. 28;

Wirsung (Augsburg: Grimm & Wirsung, 1520), B<sub>vii</sub><sup>v</sup>;

1527 French translation, ed. Gerard J. Brault, LCDB 220, p. 38 (and p. 247, n. 25);

Rastelli (?), LCDB 237, A<sub>v</sub><sup>v</sup>;

Wirsung (Augsburg: Steiner, 1534), Diiij<sup>r</sup>;

Lavardin, ed. Denis L. Drysdall, *LCDB* 221, p. 61;

Mabbe MS, ed Guadalupe Martínez Lacalle, *LCDB* 238, p. 134;

von Barth (Frankfurt: Typis Wecheliani apud Danielelem & Davidem  
Aubrios & Clementem Schleichium, 1624), p. 27;

Mabbe (London: J[ohn] B[eale] and sold by Robert Allot, 1631), p.  
15.

The reading of the French 1633 translation is given by Brault, p. 247, n.  
25. We have not yet examined the Flemish translation (first ed. 1550).

<sup>3</sup> There is some evidence that readers in former times might have recognized *huevos asados* as an aphrodisiac. In a "notable dietary for those who have weak backs . . . composed by a nameless English poet about the year 1597" we read:

An oyster pie & a Lobsters thighe  
hard eggs well drest in Marow  
This will ease your backes disease  
and make you good Cocksparrowe.

See Norman Douglas, *Paneros; Some Words on Aphrodisiacs and the Like* (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1932), pp. 40-41. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the most recent German *Celestina* translation, *LCDB* 205.1, p. 27, employs the phrase "many a hard egg" when rendering the *huevos asados* passage: "Ihr Mann hat manches harte Ei herunterwürgen müssen."

<sup>4</sup> Lorenzo González Agejas, who spotted this interpolation in the 1520 edition, included a Spanish translation of it (inaccurate in some details) in "*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, at p. 96. Considering it just one more piece of evidence for his theory of a lost, more "complete" *Celestina*, he offered no observations on its content.

<sup>5</sup> Douglas reports that "brains . . . have been acclaimed a precious ichor for increasing the geniture" (p. 33) and cites an aphrodisiac recipe containing "the brains of love-loving sparrows" (p. 74). Modesto Laza Palacios, *LCDB* 58, pp. 108-09, reports Gerónimo de Huertas' commentary, in his "Anotación al capítulo XXIII del libro X de Plinio," on quails, "estas aves tan falaces y luxuriosas." A versatile medicinal source, the quail, whose applications were many, including the following: its brain was used in a remedy for epilepsy; it was one of the ingredients in an ointment to cure sterility; and

Untando los testiculos con los huevos de estas aves causan delectación, y bebidos, estimulan la Venus y causan amor; y para el mismo efecto hace Kuesnero, médico, un linimento de su unto mezclado con elebro. (p. 109)

<sup>6</sup> Laza Palacios, after quoting Laguna (who notes that civet "despierta la facultud genital, y . . . da increíble deleite en el acto venéreo si se untan los dos competidores con ella"), concludes that "con seguridad Celestina sugeriría a su dirigidos que se frotasen bien con algalia y verían" (p. 94).

<sup>7</sup> *Diálogo entre el Amor y un viejo*, ed. Elisa Aragone (Firenze: Felice le Monnier, 1961), pp. 89-90, ll. 207-15. Of the items named here by Cota, Celestina's laboratory contains only one, *piñones* (p. 62), which she used, Pármeno says, to prepare "aceites . . . para el rostro" (p. 61). Note, however, that Laguna indicates that they also "aumentan la esperma, despiertan la virtud genital" (Laza Palacios, p. 169). Similar virtues were attributed to *estincos*, *sateriones*, and *atincas*; see these terms in Laza Palacio's "Glosario" and the comments of Aragone, ed., p. 90, n. to l. 314.

<sup>8</sup> See Julius Wilde, "Christophorus Wirsung, der bedeutendste Apotheker des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Süddeutsche Apotheker-Zeitung*, 77. Jahrgang, Nummer 76 (22. September 1937), 737-39; and our article, LCDB S396, p. 15, n. 11. In preparing the present article, we have used the first edition of the *Artzneybuch* and the first edition of its English translation, *Praxis Medicinæ uniuersalis; Or A generall practise of Physicke*, tr. Iacob Mosan (London: Edmund Bollifant, 1598), the source of the parenthetical page references in our text. Plate 1 shows the title page of the 1592 German edition.

<sup>9</sup> The last word here appears to be a typographical error; the German original specifies *Eber* 'boar' (*Artzneybuch*, p. 260).

<sup>10</sup> The prefix "dia" is explained in *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, ed. C. T. Onions et al. (1966; rev. 1969; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) as follows:

In Gr. medical terms *diá* with a genitive pl. was used to denote the composition of medicaments, as *diá triōn pēperēōn phármakon* drug made of three peppers, *diá tessárōn*, *diá pēnte* of four, five ingredients. Many of these were combined into single words by Latin physicians, whence DIAPENTE, DIATESSARON; the formation of some became obscured through apprehending Gr. *-ōn (w)* as *-on (ov)*, which was latinized as *-um*, as in DIACHYLUM.

<sup>11</sup> *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* entry has orchid "f. orchid-, wrongly assumed stem of L. *orchis* - Gr. *ōrchis* testicle." Orchids, particularly satyrion, have continued to rank high on the list of aphrodisiacs. Wirsung's contemporary Otto Brunfels, the noted botanist whose *magnum opus* was illustrated by Hans Weiditz (the artist for the German *Celestina* translations), begins his account of *Stendelwurtz* 'satyrion' with the remark "das es die mañ freydig macht vnnd wolgerüst," "that it makes men active and well armored"; *Contrafayt Kreüterbuch* (Strassburg: Hans Schotten, 1532), p. XXXVIII--a translation of the Latin first ed., 1530, whose title page we reproduce, Plate 2. For a seventeenth-century illustration and a capsule description, in verse, of this same plant (which was also known, among other things, as *Knabenkraut*) see Plate 3, reproduced from Joh. Joachim Becher, *Parnassus Medicinalis* (Ulm: Joh. Görlin, 1663). It is worth noting that the

tuber of the broad-leaved orchid is listed in Table 13-4. "Plants Used as Aphrodisiacs," of a recent textbook as "very valuable as restorative, tonic, and aphrodisiac; taken with milk as nutritive drink"; see Walter H. Lewis and Memory P. F. Elvin-Lewis, *Medical Botany; Plants Affecting Man's Health* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977), p. 330.

<sup>12</sup> See Laza Palacios, "Confaciones," where the source for this information is given as "un código semi-oficial, la Farmacopea Valentina" (p. 118). Under this same entry, the author supplies the following general information about confections:

Confación deriva del verbo latino conficere, que significa acabar o perfeccionar, y con esta palabra se designaban, según Palacios, diferentes medicamentos compuestos de simples electos, reducidos en polvos y confingidos con miel, o azúcar ...

<sup>13</sup> An abstract of this paper, by Kathleen Kish, appeared in the *South Atlantic Bulletin*, 37 (1972), 87-88.

<sup>14</sup> *Funk & Wagnalls Standard College Dictionary*, text ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963). This usage is apparently restricted to the United States and Canada.

<sup>15</sup> The definition of "mountain oyster," with a cross-reference to "prairie oyster," is given in *The Random House College Dictionary*, rev. ed. (New York: Random House, 1975).

<sup>16</sup> The research for this article was carried out at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, West Germany, in the summer of 1981. Financial assistance from the following sources is gratefully acknowledged: the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society; the College of Liberal Arts of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville; and the Research Council of the Graduate School of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. We wish to thank also Professors Henry Kratz and John Osborne, of the Department of Germanic and Slavic Languages of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, for numerous helpful suggestions.



Pármeno con Areúsa. Auto 7<sup>o</sup> ¿Burgos, 1499?

*Im Jahr 1597*  
*Recepten vnder 14000 St. vnder der Schreibweiss 1677*

# Ein new Arzneibuch

**Hartwilt alle äußerliche vnd innerliche Glieder des menschlichen Leibs / sampe ihren Kranckheiten vnd Gebrechen / von dem Haupte an biß zu den Füßen / vnd wie man die selbigen durch Gottes hilf noch fern darzu geschickel vnter / auff mancherley weß werden vnd curiren soll.**

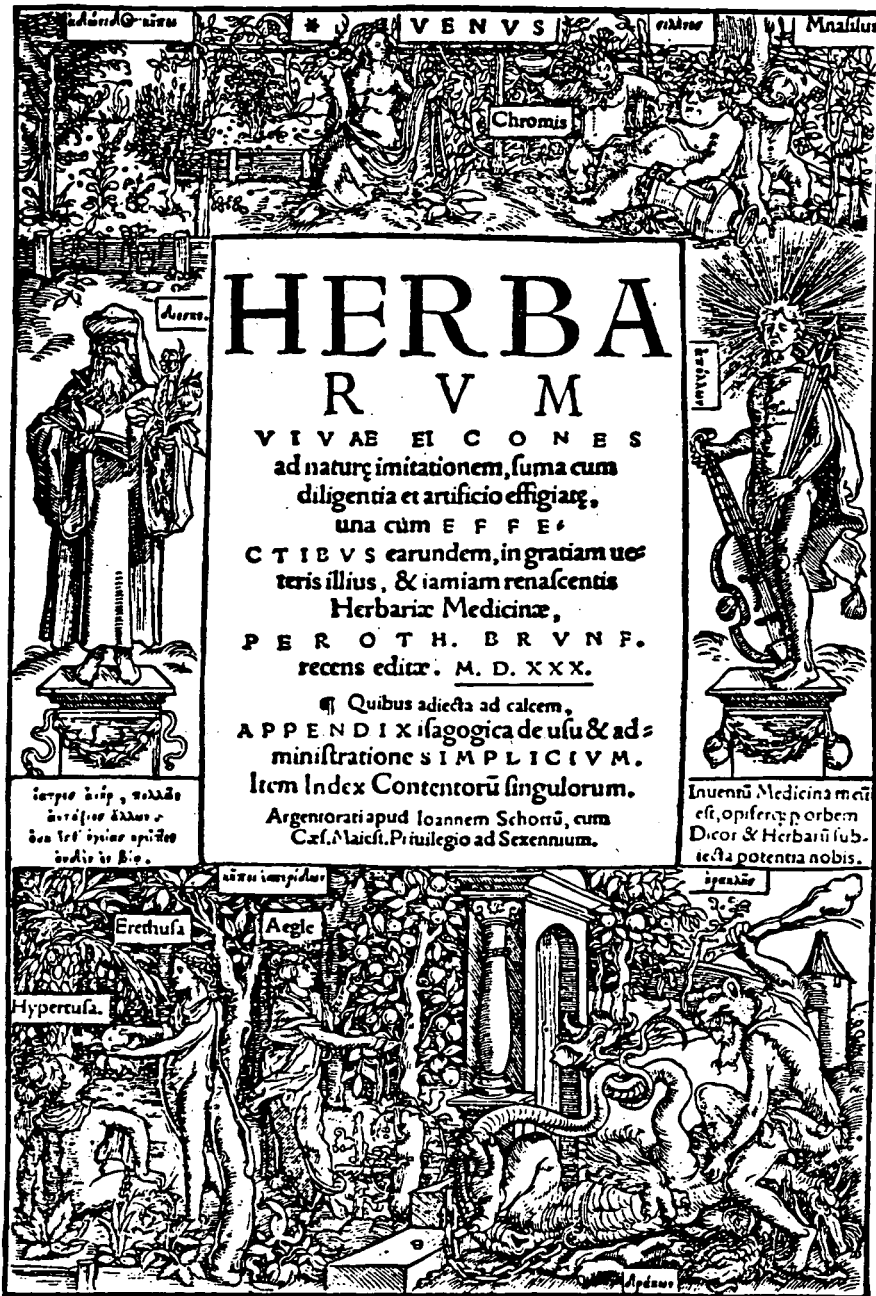
Durch den Ehrenvesten / achsbarn vnd fürnemen Herrn  
Christophorum Wirsung / mit sonderem stetz auß den berühmtesten Arzten / so wol der neuen als der alten geschriebenen Büchern / vnd sonderbare erfahrung zusammen getragen / vnd erslich in Druck verfertigt.

Teigandt aber  
Zu ehren der Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürstin vnd Fräwen  
Elisabeth Chelenen Herzogin zu Sachsen / Pfaltzgräfin des Rheins / Herzogin in Ober- / vnd Nieder-Sachsen vnd  
Carolinischen Reich vnter dem Namen Catharina Thiesdorffin Te.  
hauß hundert v. d. Herr Jaraco Düren in Hertzberg.



Was Niemandt Zeytlicher Vnterschied auß sehen / er auch nach zuwenden  
Erdacht zu Neustadt an der Haardt durch Wirsung Harnisch  
M. D. LXXVII.

WIRSUNG Chr.: ARZNEIBUCH 1592  
gedruckt bei M. Harnisch / Neustadt/Haardt



ἰσχυρὸν δὲ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς  
 ἀντιφύσεως ἔδωκεν ὁ  
 θεὸς τῆς ἰσχυρῆς ἀντιφύσεως  
 ἰσχυρῆς ἔδωκεν.



Inueniuntur Medicina mēta  
 est, opifera p̄ orbem  
 Dicor & Herbarū sub-  
 tectā potentia nobis.



Title page designed by Hans Weiditz / STRASBOURG 1530



PHYTHOLOGIA

14. Eimbeur / Palma Chilla / Erug Blum / Skur Crumbum / Zerbib



Eimbeur.

Zur

Die Eimbeur ist süß / erdmet und leicht /  
Die harte die Wurzel / ist ermeten Stücken reich.  
Dem Wärmern gibt sie Kraft / sie macht auch daß man  
Im Wärmern pil / wie sich gebühr / befrucht man.

Commentarius.

1. Tamen non dicitur.

Wahrheit / Eimbeur von 1. Zerkel / Chullu / Jernig / Teckur / Saryan.  
Die harte die Wurzel / ist ermeten Stücken reich. Es  
Dem Wärmern gibt sie Kraft / sie macht auch daß man  
Im Wärmern pil / wie sich gebühr / befrucht man.  
Die Eimbeur ist süß / erdmet und leicht /

Después de doce años y cinco meses de espera

## Los restos de Fernando de Rojas recibieron digna sepultura en la Colegiata de Talavera

TOLEDO (Luis Moreno Nieto, corresponsal). Exactamente doce años y cinco meses han esperado los restos del autor de «La Celestina» a recibir digna sepultura. Estaban depositados desde el día 30 de mayo de 1968 en el despacho oficial del alcalde de Talavera de la Reina. Al fin han sido inhumados en un nicho abierto sobre el muro lateral derecho del claustro ojival de la colegiata talaverana de Santa María, fundada en el siglo XIII por el cardenal Jiménez de Rada. El cadáver de Fernando de Rojas fue sepultado a raíz de su muerte, el 8 de abril del año 1541, junto al altar mayor de la Iglesia del convento de Madre de Dios, convento extinguido en 1930, fue en marzo de 1936 cuando el cónsul de España en Nueva Orleans, Luis de Carassa Echevarría, identificó los restos en presencia de varios académicos de la Lengua y de la Historia.

El traslado de los huesos del bachiller Fernando de Rojas tuvo lugar, solemnemente, desde el Ayuntamiento a la cercana iglesia colegial, con asistencia de personalidades del mundo literario, representaciones de los Ayuntamientos de Madrid y la Puebla de Montalbán, diputados, corporación municipal y millares de talaveranos. Ofició el clero local presidido por el arcipreste. Habían sido depositados en una pequeña urna de cerámica de medio metro de anchura. Otras dos urnas semejantes con los restos de su esposa y de uno de sus hijos fueron depositados en el mismo nicho cubierto con una placa también de cerámica y motivos ornamentales talaveranos en la que se lee: «Aquí yace el bachiller Fernando de Rojas que compuso la co-

media y tragicomedia de «Calisto y Melibea». Y fue nacido en la Puebla de Montalbán (Talavera de la Reina), 1541-1980.»

El alcalde de Talavera, Pablo Tello Díaz, pronunció un discurso exaltando la figura del genial escritor y aludiendo a las vicisitudes que explican, aunque no justifiquen, los sucesivos aplazamientos de la inhumación. El acto fue prologado la víspera por Dámaso Atonso que pronunció una conferencia sobre el presente y el futuro de la Lengua española en el mundo. El Ayuntamiento talaverano ha querido enmarcar el acontecimiento dentro de una semana cultural en la que hubo proyecciones de la película «La Celestina», representaciones teatrales de la obra, conciertos musicales, concurso literario, etc.

EL CONCEPTO DE LA MASCARA EN LA *CELESTINA*

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El estudio del personaje de ficción a veces queda supeditado al interés por otras estructuras literarias. Por ejemplo, la disposición de los núcleos narrativos o lo que llamamos trama, cobra mayor interés por ser la unidad orientadora del texto. Vista de esta manera, la caracterización del personaje se oculta bajo la primacía del movimiento narrativo; convirtiendo al agente de la acción en mera figura retórica y, a la vez, restándole la hondura psicológica que siempre refleja una visión más acabada y, por lo tanto, más verosímil del mundo ficticio.

Sin embargo, no propongo un estudio psicológico de la obra literaria, menos tratándose de una obra como la *Celestina*--tan ajena a los procedimientos de Freud. Lo que sí me interesaría destacar, antes de seguir con nuestro asunto más inmediato, es la estrechez íntima y necesaria que existe entre las llamadas "funciones cardinales" que distribuyen las acciones de base en el discurso y la caracterización verosímil en el dibujo de los agentes que informan esas acciones. La verosimilitud, en este sentido, se refiere a la habilidad técnica y artística de crear un mundo ficticio en el cual se impulsa en la sintaxis de la acción y se interioriza en los agentes narrativos la polémica entre el individuo y ciertos valores ideológicos de su sociedad. Es imprescindible, a menos por razones pedagógicas, atenerse a un concepto normativo y universal de la actividad humana. Me refiero específicamente al estado de tensión que siempre se produce en un contexto histórico dado, cuando el impulso instintivo del subconsciente choca contra los valores consagrados de la conciencia colectiva. Por consiguiente, utilizaré la palabra "psicología" y su correspondiente adjetivo "psicológico, -a" siempre que se quiera designar esa interiorización dinámica de los conflictos universales que se presentan artísticamente en la obra literaria como motor de las acciones.

Esta profundidad psicológica del ser ficticio suele considerarse poco consistente con las convenciones literarias del medioevo aunque podríamos, sin embargo, enumerar algunos personajes ficticios de esta época que tímidamente se desprenden de la acostumbrada caracterización retórica. Tal es el caso de Criseida, apasionada heroína de Chaucer, y de Helena que figura en el séptimo cuento del octavo día del *Decameron* de Boccaccio. Es interesante que estas mujeres participan de la misma frustración que notamos

en Melibea; frustración universal que resulta del choque entre el instinto femenino y la injusticia perjudicial del código vigente. En la literatura española hallamos uno de los primeros intentos de retratar una realidad más compleja con Juan Ruiz, el arcipreste de Hita en su *Libro de buen amor*. Con el uso de la contraposición en el enfoque narrativo para la descripción de las serranas y también con los deslizos del protagonista (Don Melón), este autor logra trazar unos personajes menos estéticos que se resisten a la interpretación unilateral.

Sin embargo, no alcanzamos una representación verdaderamente dinámica del personaje en la península Ibérica hasta 1499 con la primera edición de la *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* de Fernando de Rojas. En esta obra la motivación psicológica que mueve y determina la trayectoria de los caracteres se dibuja con tal artificio que muchos críticos han optado por refutar el concepto de "caracteres" a favor de términos más dinámicos. Stephen Gilman muy atinadamente ha insistido en llamarlos "vidas" para expresar ese sesgo vital que caracteriza a los personajes de esta obra. En efecto, el dinamismo de la obra se da a consecuencia de su condición dialógica en la que se observa con mayor realce la dialéctica entre el *tú* y el *yo* en un movimiento de espacio y tiempo dramático. "This tension between past and future, the theatrical 'present moment,' is what gives to acts, situations, and even such constituent elements as gestures and attitudes and tones, the peculiar intensity known as 'dramatic quality'." Si la *Celestina* se nos acerca más y más a los procedimientos novelísticos contemporáneos, no por esto es novela. Hay que investigar hasta qué punto se valen estos procedimientos novelísticos de la técnica teatral (Alain Robbe-Grillet, Manuel Puig, etc.). En todo caso, el "perpetual present moment" de la *Celestina* se basa en una técnica consistentemente equívoca que no da lugar al juicio paralizado de la tercera persona: el "ella" o el "él" fotográfico y narrativo.

Esta técnica se vale de otro concepto igualmente equívoco o arbitrario--la máscara. El concepto de "máscara" o "persona", según las definiciones de Carl Jung y el sociólogo Erving Goffman, nos facilita una penetración más aguda de los rasgos variables en cada personaje de la obra. Aparte del retrato externo, adentramos también en los aspectos psíquicos que mueven a estos individuos.

Las especulaciones sociológicas de Goffman sobre la interacción social se fundamentan sobre la metáfora clásica del *teatro mundi* o del mundo como escena para la representación humana. Por ejemplo, la acción total de una situación dada es, según Goffman, la representación o "performance"; aquellos individuos que no tienen ningún papel en la representación son los espectadores o "audience" y la región vedada al auditorio es el "backstage" o la parte detrás del telón teatral. Con la habilidad dramática que simboliza el uso de la máscara o máscaras, el individuo puede encarar los problemas diarios que le serían imposibles enfrentar con entera sinceridad. Jolande Jacobi en su libro *Masks of the Soul* nos dice lo siguiente:

By 'persona' Jung understands a psycho-physical attitude that mediates between the inner and outer worlds,

a kind of mask we develop to maintain a relatively consistent front to the outside world, through which those we meet may relate to us fittingly.<sup>2</sup>

Esta postura dramática de la conducta humana en general, se integra en la realidad del individuo y, a la vez, determina la interacción de éste con los otros que lo rodean. En la *Celestina* los caracteres o "vidas" son entes que se rigen por este marco ficticio que les impone su sociedad. Estas nociones de Goffman y Jung sobre la realidad humana se representan en la *Celestina* con una técnica literaria equívoca y arbitraria--la ironía y en desdoblamiento teatral de los personajes.

No solamente notamos esta técnica en las situaciones dramáticas--en que los personajes asumen una postura ficticia--sino también la observamos al nivel comunicativo o sea el uso de símbolos lingüísticos. En este último caso, advertimos la astucia de Rojas al oponer repetidamente los elementos del clásico antagonismo entre SER y PARECER; representados en la obra por la frecuente yuxtaposición de los verbos "encobrir" y "descobrir".

Si enfocamos este aspecto más detenidamente, podremos explicar la erudición en la *Celestina* como producto de la necesidad artística del texto sin negarle, por este motivo, la importancia de la erudición humanística en el contexto social de la obra. Desde esta perspectiva puramente artística, la erudición en la *Celestina* se podría ver como el medio dado a los personajes para urdir y elaborar sus correspondientes máscaras. Así vemos que la doblez lingüística de la obra se relaciona al *amplificatio* de la retórica clásica; o sea, la ornamentación estilística sirve para dilatar la narración de un hecho. Lo que aparentemente no han notado los críticos que censuran este proceso revelador (por falta de "decorum") es que los diálogos ampulosos de estos caracteres reflejan el juego insincero de la máscara al nivel verbal.

Cuando Celestina y Sempronio parten para la casa de Calisto en el primer acto, ella percibe la postura enmascarada que asume su acompañante: "Abrevia e ven al hecho, que vanamente se dice por muchas palabras lo que por pocas se puede entender."<sup>3</sup> Esta fórmula verbal que Ernst Curtius llama el "brevitas formula" se contrapone en la obra a la engañosa *amplificatio*. O sea, lo breve se consideraba más sincero por descartar los excesos de la verbosidad: "The good poet expresses himself briefly, so *brevitas* and *bonus* approach one another in meaning."<sup>4</sup> La originalidad de la *Celestina* reside en la técnica de trastornar estos valores equívocas; valores de una sociedad en conflicto con el pasado. Este procedimiento arbitrario refleja ese mundo fortuito; "sin orden ni concierto" que Pleberio resume en el último acto. El interés de Fernando de Rojas por el conflicto humano se presenta desde el inicio: "Sin lid y ofensión ninguna cosa engendró la natura, madre de todo," nos dice en el prólogo (pág. 40). En términos de la palabrería crítica contemporánea, podríamos observar que la *lógica semiológica* del discurso--la selección, la organización y la disposición de los signos comunicativos--está en perfecto acuerdo con la *lógica ideológica* que informa al texto.

Una de las escenas más ejemplares de la situación dramática es la del encuentro entre Celestina y Sempronio con Elicia y Crito en el primer acto. Lo que acontece resulta ser una situación jocosa--cómica por las enmarañadas maneras en que tratan de persuadir a Sempronio; pero es también lamentable por los medios ilícitos con que al fin logran disuadirlo de su intento. En esta escena notamos el cinismo inmoral de estas mujeres actuando con plena conciencia de su papel teatral.

Celestina inicia la primera mentira cuando le dice a Elicia "Dile que viene tu primo y mi familiar" (56) y el drama que se desenvuelve a partir de estas palabras es uno de los más eficaces de la obra. Elicia trata de despistar a Sempronio con su máscara de enfado al gritarle: "¡Ay! ¡Maldito seas, ¡ traidor!" (57). Luego, cuando Sempronio oye las pisadas de Crito arriba, ella le jura que son las de su enamorado; o sea, miente con la verdad. Elicia asume una máscara protectora con esta postura de enfado; ejemplo clásico de la técnica equívoca y arbitraria que he referido. Pero Sempronio insiste y sólo Celestina con sus muchas mañas, siendo dueña del desdoblamiento dramático, consigue aplacar su aparente ira. Elicia y Celestina resultan ser maestras de la improvisación teatral. Luego volverá a surgir esta actuación, como ya lo ha notado John Reynolds: "To me it is unquestionable that 'the girl who was awaiting the cleric' ... [in act I] is the same 'moga' mentioned in ... [act III], that is to say, a subterfuge to avoid naming Crito."<sup>5</sup> Esto es un ejemplo clave de lo que Goffman llama *dramaturgical discipline*. No solamente actúan aquí con plena conciencia del papel que representan, sino que después surge una situación parecida en la cual las "actrices" desempeñan el mismo papel; valiéndose de la misma máscara:

I refer to the fact that while the performer is ostensibly immersed and given over to the activity he is performing, and is apparently engrossed in his actions in a spontaneous, uncalculating way, he must none the less be effectively dissociated from his presentations in a way that leaves him free to cope with dramaturgical contingencies as they arise [...] A performer who is disciplined, dramaturgically speaking, is someone who remembers his part and does not commit unmeant gestures or faux pas in performing it.<sup>6</sup>

La situación referida por Goffman es una circunstancia que en otro ensayo suyo él ha llamado "face-work."<sup>7</sup> Elicia en esta ocasión se encuentra en un estado precario ("out of face") y con la ayuda de Celestina, quien desvía el argumento, recobra su compostura.

Celestina siempre está "in-face", inclusive cuando se encuentra sola. El conjuro diabólico del tercer acto saca a luz el problema de su condición de bruja. La polémica entre los que creen en su poder mágico y los que lo rechazan me parece un poco absurda--fuera del mundo ficticio el problema queda sin resolución. Lo importante en la obra es que se presenta el mundo sobrenatural como móvil de las acciones humanas. Por otro lado, es de suponer que Celestina cree sinceramente en su poder mágico si sus actividades de alcahueta merecen estimación para ella y para los otros en la obra. En la representación diaria pocas veces nos preguntamos si la

máscara que usamos es o no es sincera; esto equivale a la destrucción de tal postura por ser obviamente inquietante para el individuo:

Society actually requires that an individual have a category into which he can be fitted. Is he a doctor, lawyer, working man? Is he amiable, harsh, reliable? Society requires these easy classifications, and the individual in his turn seeks to create a mask to make such a satisfactory classification. The mask then becomes the conscious ideal of his personality, by which he seeks to represent himself in his social relations on the most favorable terms.<sup>8</sup>

Repito, lo interesante y esencial para una apreciación del arte de Rojas en este segmento diabólico es el hecho de que Celestina se crea capaz de su poder sobrenatural. Ya se ha mencionado que la caracterización estática (¿es o no es bruja?) no encaja en esta obra por su condición dialógica. Mejor sería reconocer que en esta situación o "representación," vemos a Celestina ejerciendo su poder mágico que la eleva a un nivel autoritario, motivando así sus acciones consecuentes de una manera verosímil; consistentes con su manera de ser. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel cristaliza esta opinión cuando nos dice: "Visiblemente, Celestina se acomoda a cada interlocutor para dominarle; su maniobra, idéntica en la intención aunque diversa en la forma, está en perfecto acuerdo con su carácter."<sup>9</sup> A Celestina le es imprescindible continuar a solas el papel que representa para los otros. En esta escena sobrenatural de la acción dramática no hay que fingir, puesto que no hay espectador del acontecimiento, pero sin embargo, sí existe la obligación y necesidad psicológica de continuar a solas la imagen que constituye su identidad. No obstante, tan convincentes han sido los poderes infernales de Celestina (o mejor dicho la habilidad artística de Rojas) en esta representación que algunos críticos han visto, de hecho, el efecto de su magia. Otis Green, por ejemplo, razona que fue este poder sobrenatural lo que transforma la furia de Melibea en el desmayo al oír el nombre de Calisto! No notó la suspicacia de Melibea en esta escena.<sup>10</sup>

Son estas máscaras sin embargo las que definen a los personajes; por ende resultan ser sumamente irónicas las palabras de Calisto cuando le dice a Celestina: " ... , por la filosofía [fisionomía] es conocida la virtud interior" (pág. 64). En fin, Celestina representa la actriz más acertada en este desdoblamiento teatral que se fracciona en el drama interior de un conflicto humano universal--la sinceridad. Es ahí precisamente donde se encuentra la verdadera dramatización en la *Celestina*, y ella (personaje principal en que converge la acción dramática) su mejor alcance.



NOTAS

<sup>1</sup> Susanne K. Langer, *Feeling and Form* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), pág. 308.

<sup>2</sup> *Masks of the Soul*, traducido por Ean Begg (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William Eerdmans, 1976), pág. 36

<sup>3</sup> En la edición de la *Tragicomedia* de D. S. Severin (Madrid: Alianza Ed., 1969). Esta cita en la pág. 58. De aquí en adelante las citas aparecerán en el texto.

<sup>4</sup> Ernst R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, traducido por W. R. Trask (New York: Harper & Row, 1953), pág. 488.

<sup>5</sup> J. J. Reynolds, "La moça que esperava al ministro (*Celestina*: Aucto III)," *Romance Notes* 5 (1963-64), 202.

<sup>6</sup> Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Edinburgh: The University, 1956), pág. 137.

<sup>7</sup> "On Face-Work: An Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction," en *Interpersonal Dynamics: Essays and Readings on Human Interaction*, ed. W. G. Bennis et al (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1968), pág. 227.

<sup>8</sup> Ira Progoff, *Jung's Psychology and Its Social Meaning* (New York: Anchor Books, 1973), pág. 72.

<sup>9</sup> *La originalidad artistica de 'La Celestina'* (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1962), pág. 99.

<sup>10</sup> "La furia de Melibea," *Clavileño* 4 (marzo-abril, 1953), 1-3.



Calisto rumbo a la Magdalena. Auto 80

¿Burgos, 1499?





## UNOS MOMENTOS EN LA VIDA DE FERNANDO DE ROJAS

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Leyendo el trabajo de Orlando Martínez-Miller, *La ética judía y La Celestina como alegoría*,<sup>1</sup> el lector se encuentra al llegar a las págs. 154 y sigs. con ciertos curiosos comentarios a la carta de "El auctor a vn su amigo" de Rojas; y dentro de los mismos una peculiar interpretación de unos momentos en la vida de ese autor. Son esos momentos en que

... assaz vezes retraydo en mi camara, acostado sobre mi propia mano, echando mis sentidos por ventores y mi juyzio a bolar, me venia a la memoria ... la necesidad que nuestra comun patria tiene de la presente obra ...<sup>2</sup>

Momentos claves y definitivos tanto para el autor como para su creación ya que tras ellos se puede adivinar la génesis de esa su obra. A este respecto comenta Martínez-Miller:

¿No resulta extraño que Rojas sea tan cuidadoso en describir la forma en que concibió *La Celestina*? ¿Por qué tuvo que ser acostado en la cama, detalle que a nadie le interesa? Rojas pudo haber eliminado detalle tan superfluo a no ser que tenga alguna significación de importancia.<sup>3</sup>

También a mí he ha solido llamar la atención la aparente superfluidad de esa postura y el énfasis que parece poner el autor en ella, y aun como Martínez-Miller he sospechado que la tal tuviera alguna significación de importancia.

Ahora bien, admitido que ese estar " ... assaz vezes retraydo en mi camara, acostado sobre mi propia mano ..." no es una intrascendente información sin ulterior significado, ocurre que mi interpretación de esa postura difiere de la de Martínez-Miller, y así me voy a permitir echar mi cuarto a espadas en el asunto. Entiéndase aquí que mi interpretación no ha de ser vista como ataque a o exclusión de la suya; aunque la de él puede verse como suficientemente esotérica y discutible, discutible podrá parecer también la mía, siquiera por aquello de que si sus comentarios pueden calificarse de ejercicio en esoterismo, los míos, ya se verá, son uno en imaginación. De cualquier forma, tan válida puede resultar su inter-

pretación como la mía y aun pudieran perfectamente complementarse.

Una distinta visualización de la postura de Rojas aparece a la base de mi disensión. Para Martínez-Miller,

Acostado sobre su propia mano indica con los codos puestos sobre la cama y las manos sujetando su cabeza, posición típica del que lee en la cama acostado boca abajo. (*La ética*, p. 157)

Personalmente, considero esta visualización un poco excesivamente forzada. Ese estar "con los codos puestos sobre la cama" y "acostado boca abajo" en ella, no corresponde con el "acostado sobre mi propia mano" de Rojas; de haber pretendido el mismo presentarse en esa posición de decúbito prono, nos hubiera dicho "de bruces," "boca abajo" o expresión similar; claramente dice "mano" en singular, y no "mis propias manos," con lo que es mucho más seguro visualizar a Rojas en la cama, apoyado sobre su codo y con la mejilla en la palma de la mano; en otras palabras, la típica postura del pensador y/o soñador que tan magnífica secuela va a tener en representaciones literario-icónicas de siglos posteriores,<sup>4</sup> y que Covarrubias en su *Tesoro* ya nos informa que se definía como *cubare*, *a cubitu* en su glosa del vocablo *acostar*; lo que importa aquí, ahora, son los comentarios que el mismo Covarrubias proporciona para explicar la razón de esta específica postura; dice:

teníase por cosa fea si ningún soldado ... se echase a dormir a pierna tendida, y los más ciudadosos dormían puesta la mano en la mexilla, reclinado el codo sobre alguna cosa, y esto se llamava *cubare*, *a cubitu*.

El hecho de que Covarrubias aun la recoja a principios del XVII mucho nos dice del valor y relieve que esta práctica militar debió tener en sus tiempos anteriores, tiempos en que, a no dudar, habrá que incluir esos últimos años del XV con sus continuas y señaladas guerras de Granada, y, no menos, las inmediatamente contemporáneas de Italia.

Así las cosas, si ese "echando mis sentidos por ventores y mi juyzio a bolar" nos presenta un primer y obvio significado de esa postura como la de un Rojas pensador-soñador ["auteur-songeur" para Bataillon] siguiendo a Covarrubias, ¿habrá que presumir que tras ese "acostado sobre mi propia mano" se esconde un ulterior significado, el de un segundo Rojas, un Rojas guerrero, si no en profesión y obras sí en espíritu? Quizá, sí, aunque sólo sea considerando el prólogo de la edición de 1502, en que tras citar --como sabemos--ese "Omnia secundum litem fiunt" de Heráclito, afirma que es "Sentencia a mi ver digna de perpetua y recordable memoria," que pocas dudas deja respecto a su opinión personal.

Se me permitirá, pues, ver en esa postura a un Rojas letrado bajo el que subyace una definida veta de guerrero, de un guerrero en potencia que nunca llegó en cristalizar. En términos modernos, se podría ver en la misma una freudiana expresión de una tendencia, más o menos conscientemente reprimida, de la manifestación de un anhelo que las circunstancias sociales han imposibilitado, pero que las mismas han alimentado de un modo u otro.

No olvidemos el momento histórico que le tocó vivir. Y en este momento histórico hay que hacer un mínimo de hincapié, porque, en mi opinión, son las constantes sociales de ese momento las que ayudan a entender mejor esa postura.

No voy a decir--no puedo decir--a este respecto, mucho más de lo que ya han dicho--y bien dicho--Gilman y Maravall.<sup>5</sup> Me limitaré, puesto que entre letrados y guerreros, o letrados-guerreros anda el juego, al tan conocido *topos* de las armas y las letras. Cuando Don Quijote lo recoge en su famoso discurso esa figura del guerrero literato era ya, más que otra cosa, una nostálgica figura sin soporte real común en la vida cotidiana. Muy por el contrario ocurría allá por los años juveniles de Rojas. La personalidad combinada de hombre de armas y letras era más que suficientemente conocida, y modelos señeros de ello son, por ejemplo, Jorge Manrique, su tío, Lope de Stúñiga y un largo etcétera que se advierte con sólo acudir a la nómina del *Cancionero* de Hernando del Castillo. Es decir, que a lo largo de esos años esa comunión del *agenda y scribenda* clásicos flotaba en el ambiente, era habitual valor reconocido y sentido por los miembros de esa sociedad castellana.

Y me detendré ahora, por lo que a mi exposición interesa, en otro ejemplo que si bien menor--o nulo, quizá--en cuanto a su relieve histórico respecto a esos Manriques y a ese largo etcétera, es, en cambio, enormemente sugestivo como magnífica representación plástica de esa mentalidad.

Cualquiera que haya visitado la catedral de Sigüenza habrá contemplado con admiración una de las más excelsas obras de la escultura castellana de finales del XV: "obra maestra de la escultura funeraria del último tercio de siglo" la llama Jiménez Placer.<sup>6</sup> Hablo del famoso y así llamado *Doncel de Sigüenza*, sepulcro elevado a la memoria del caballero de Santiago, Martín Vázquez de Arce alrededor de 1490 tras su muerte en el cerco de Granada en 1486 (véase la ilustración en la página siguiente).<sup>7</sup>

Recordemos su postura; este *Doncel* se nos presenta reclinado en su lecho, acostado sobre su codo derecho que reposa en un cojín de laureles y sosteniendo con ambas manos un libro abierto en el que lee con un aire entre melancólico y nostálgico--sus ojos--y apacible y sonriente--sus labios; su esclavina con la cruz de Santiago y bajo ella su cota de malla evidencian al guerrero; su específico acodarse, rasgo que lo distingue frente a otras esculturas funerarias, lo confirma--recuérdese a Covarrubias. Hombre de armas, sí, este *Doncel* ... pero, ¿hombre de letras? Evidentemente, no; al menos no en cuanto autor-pensador. Lejos este *Doncel* de equipararse a Rojas en esto, ya que nada sabemos de que Vázquez de Arce profesara en letras; ni, por otra parte, como pensador-soñador; se limita, simplemente, a leer. Si algo de hombre de letras tiene, es como asiduo y quizá infatigable lector, si hemos de atender a la definitiva postura que lo ha inmortalizado para la eternidad, como guerrero que aprovecha las treguas bélicas y sus ocios campamentales demorándose complacido en ciertas páginas favoritas, y aun, posiblemente, y como Don Quijote hará más tarde, alimentando el recóndito deseo de tomar la pluma para seguir los pasos de un Santillana o de un Mena.

Si antes he sugerido un Rojas hombre de letras frustrado hombre de



Martín Vázquez de Arce, from his monument, c. 1488. *Sigüenza Cathedral*

armas, en la misma línea imaginativa bien se puede conjeturar un Vázquez de Arce hombre de armas frustrado hombre de letras, y quizá la distancia entre ambos se sintetice en la que hay entre una mano que sostiene una mejilla frente a otra que sostiene un libro. Sea esto como sea, lo cierto es que, de algún modo, ambos se nos presentan como complementarios en cuanto a lo que les falta a lo que les sobra, y hasta es muy probable que la diferencia que cimienta y posibilita esa complementareidad sea, en último término, la misma que divide, aunque sin solución de continuidad, una época histórica que muere de otra que surge, o, en sucintas palabras de Maravall, "la conciencia de crisis del siglo XV," como subtitula el cap. I de su obra.

En ella, Maravall ve esa crisis desde la apropiada y necesaria perspectiva que le interesa: la de los personajes de *La Celestina*, y muy justamente nos señala que

El rico ha desplazado al noble de rancio linaje ... Bajo este aspecto nos aparecen ya los ricos del mundo social de la *Celestina*.

Más concretamente destaca al personaje del mercader--simbolizado en Pleberio, ya sabemos--como uno de los elementos sociales provocador y representativo de esa crisis.<sup>8</sup> Y digo como uno de los elementos porque otro corresponde tener en cuenta a estas alturas.

Pleberio el mercader, personaje de Rojas, representa, por un lado, esa crisis, pero por el otro será Rojas, personaje de sí mismo, no de su obra, quien la represente y simbolice; si la profesión de mercader acreditada a Pleberio como prototipo de la tal crisis, su profesión valdrá también para el caso de Rojas: su profesión de jurista, de letrado.

Cierto es que el tipo del mercader es personaje clave para esos críticos momentos de la segunda mitad del XV, pero no lo es menos, y bien lo saben quienes algo conocen de la historia social de esos tiempos, el del letrado. Venga a cuento una cita cuya extensión se perdonará por lo importante:

When the nobles abandoned their earlier roles as national political leaders, their places were quickly filled by equally ambitious and newly prestigious professionals--the *letrados*. As the *letrados* increasingly gained control over the Castilian monarchy's political policies, they also assumed the intellectual leadership of Castilian society, substituting their own theories and values for those of the caballeros. The change in political leadership became apparent at the Cortes de Toledo in 1480 when Fernando and Isabel ... changed the size and composition of the *consejo real*, which previously had a majority of caballeros, so that henceforth seven of its twelve members were to be *letrados*. The *consejo real*, which had traditionally been dominated by the military aristocracy, would now be dominated by the legal profession.<sup>9</sup>

También nos lo confirma otra historiadora;

Le letrado est de loin le criado le mieux remuneré. En 1488, il reçoit de 50.000 mrs. à 100.000 par an. C'est là un signe des temps; le savoir rapporte davantage que l'art de combattre, ce qui annonce la grande époque des letrados, le XVI siècle. Cette carrière qui s'avère si avantageuse commence à attirer fortement la noblesse.

En efecto, el *Doncel*, guerrero que lee y lee quizá porque ya presiente la importancia y predominio que esa naciente carrera acabará teniendo (luego, poco después, vendrán los Conchillos, los Cobos, los Galíndez de Carvajal), se irá viendo desplazado y sustituido por ese Rojas que con la mano en la mejilla piensa, sobre todo piensa, y no necesita ya mucho de leer porque como buen letrado--recordemos la inmediata etimología--tiene ya suficientes letras, pábulo para su pensar y su crear.

Y aun cuando necesitara leer más o quisiera hacerlo, quizá otras más serias cuitas vendrían a impedirselo; las sintetizadas en esa postura y que podemos desmenuzar en sus tres componentes: por un lado, esas dificultades, hostilidad e ingratitud con que va a enfrentarse su obra como señala Bataillon; por otro, esos mismos temores y dificultades pero aquí no a nivel de creación artística--como simple creador--sino, en más amplio círculo, a nivel de hombre total, de plena proyección de su personalidad como joven converso que, inevitablemente, tiene que ingresar de lleno en esa dura, hostil y crítica España que le toca vivir y que bien ha visto Gilman; y, por último, y en plano todavía más genérico, como español que ha adquirido completa conciencia de esa crisis de sus años históricos--vuelve aquí Maravall--y en la que no puede dejar de pensar.

Y para acabar con "mis mal doladas razones" que diría Rojas, un último ejercicio en imaginación. Si de Rojas es válido afirmar que no lee en esos momentos--su mente en soñador vuelo o dolorosa congoja--del *Doncel* sí sabemos que lee y aun muy atentamente, y conviene preguntarse, ¿qué es lo que lee?

No lo sabemos, pero sí, en cambio, sabemos--o hay quien afirma saberlo--lo que él mismo ha leído en su lecho de muerte y/o le han leído a un famosísimo converso, el obispo Alonso de Cartagena. De su sepulcro de c. 1480 en la catedral de Burgos dice Müller:

At the feet of the recumbent effigy of the bishop the sculptor has placed his acolyte holding open the pages of a bible.<sup>11</sup>

Y sabemos también que dentro del ritual judaico uno de los momentos decisivos en que debe recitarse la *Shema* es, precisamente, en el lecho de muerte; y así mismo es sabido que por lo que respecta a esa *Shema* no hay gran diferencia entre Biblia y Torah puesto que básicamente dicha *Shema* consiste de tres porciones del Pentateuco, dos del Deuteronomio y una de Números; Pentateuco común a Biblia y Torah.<sup>12</sup>

Lícito es, pues, sospechar que lo que le han leído o él mismo, Alonso de Cartagena, ha leído, es la *Shema* ritual judaica secretamente disfrazada --si necesario fuera--bajo apariencia de Biblia cristiana, y así se nos aparece simbólicamente inmortalizado en ese monumento.

Conviene recordar aquí que el autor de ese sepulcro es Gil de Siloé del que se ha supuesto con muchos visos de seguridad ser judío, traído a España por ese mismo Cartagena y haber cambiado "su nombre de Abraham por el pintoresco y extraño de Gil de Siloé" según afirma Jiménez Placer.<sup>13</sup> Contra él, no considero ni extraño ni pintoresco ese Siloé; es, simplemente, la adopción del nombre de la piscina en que un ciego de nacimiento recobra la vista lavándose allá por mandato de Jesús,<sup>14</sup> lo que, para mí, confirma esa su condición de judío; sorprende, por otra parte, el que este Gil de Siloé sea también el escultor de otros tres sepulcros--cf. láms. 156b, 157a y 157b en Müller--en que, de un modo u otro, también los representados aparecen claramente como lectores en ese trance final. ¿Es ese rasgo una simple peculiaridad artística de Siloé sin otra trascendencia, o escultórica proyección de su obsesiva necesidad de perpetuar en piedra ese característico rito judaico de la *Shema*? No lo sé, pero sea como sea, algo se esconde tras ello, ya que esa peculiaridad artística se presenta como rasgo prácticamente exclusivo de la escultura de un período--finales siglo XV--y de una región--Castilla--muy específicos, como puede comprobarse con sólo ojear las láminas de las dos obras sobre arte que vengo citando. Quede esto para posterior trabajo con más tiempo y datos.

Volviendo, ahora, al *Doncél*, ¿lee también éste la *Shema* como el obispo Cartagena?; lo que equivale a preguntarse, ¿fué también converso Vázquez de Arce, y aún, quizá, alboraiico? Desgraciadamente no puedo documentarlo por ahora, pero sí puedo, en cambio, señalar un interesante indicio.

Quando se consultan las relaciones que Bernáldez o Alonso de Palencia o Santa Cruz, por ejemplo, dan en sus crónicas del suceso bélico en que perdió la vida este guerrero, sólo tenemos someras descripciones en las que no se citan nombres; en la *Historia de la Orden de Santiago* de la Parra que se interrumpe in 1488, es decir, dos años inmediatamente después de ese suceso por lo cual se debe colegir que él mismo estaba fresco en la memoria de esos autores, al hablar del tal suceso, tampoco se le menciona, lo que resulta más intrigante si se recuerda que Vázquez de Arce era caballero de Santiago.<sup>15</sup> Y en cambio, y muy curiosamente en mi opinión, será Hernando del Pulgar quien en su Crónica nos dé nombres precisos; dice:

Murieron en aquella pelea dos caualleros principales; el vno se llamaua el comendador Martin Vazquez de Arce, e el otro llamauan Juan de Bustamante, e otros algunos de los cristianos.<sup>16</sup>

destacando de modo claro a esos dos caballeros por su nombre--y Vázquez de Arce el primero--frente a esa inmediata indeterminación de "e otros algunos de los cristianos."

Ni quito ni pongo rey, pero, ¿no es eso sugestivo si recordamos la confesada condición de converso de este cronista? Si así fuera, si ese *Doncél* fuera la inmortalización en alabastro de un converso alboraiico que recita su *Shema* en su lecho de muerte para merecerse, así, el paraíso de Abraham; la postura análoga de otro converso--Rojas--, además de significarnos sus sueños, penares y aún el tránsito crítico de una época a otra, vendría a resultar también una prueba de la identificación de ambos en la fe de sus mayores y que ellos en esos momentos están alimentando y recreando; y el específico lugar en que se produce esa identifica-

ción--lecho de muerte, cama de vivo--ámbito de recogimiento, tanto para ellos como para otros tantos correligionarios suyos, en donde poder aislarse para dedicarse a esa recreación, a esa afirmación interna de su fe oficial y externamente rechazada.

Y de ser así la hipótesis de Martínez-Miller de que

Todo hace indicar que Rojas estaba recitando la Semah, debido a que era la única forma viable para él de practicar su verdadera religión ... (*La ética*, p. 157)

O, dicho de otro modo, que Rojas recitaba su *Shema* en algunos de los intervalos en que no pensaba o soñaba o se acongojaba, se vería confirmada. Claro está que todas estas coincidencias y relaciones que he destacado como puntos de partida para mis ejercicios imaginativos bien pudieran ser, perfecta y simplemente, productos puros de un azar, pero no olvidemos que más de una vez se ha dicho--y Borges es testigo de ello--que el azar es el nombre que damos a lo que desconocemos.



## NOTAS

- <sup>1</sup> Miami: Ed. Universal, 1978.
- <sup>2</sup> Cito por la ed. de Criado de Val y Trotter (Madrid: CSIC, 1970), p. 3.
- <sup>3</sup> *La ética*, p. 157.
- <sup>4</sup> Así lo vio ya Bataillon dando, a la vez, la interpretación más obvia y clásica; la del autor que medita " ... sur la hardiesse de son enterprise, sur les difficultés qu'il affronte, sur l'ingratitude ou l'hostilité qui le guettent." (cf. M. Bataillon. *La Célestine selon Fernando de Rojas* [Paris, Didier, 1961] p. 209), y ahí ya recuerda la imagen que a sí mismo se aplica Cervantes en el prólogo a su *Quijote*, y a la que me permitiré añadir, por ejemplo, el conocido capricho goyesco de "El sueño de la razón produce monstruos", la famosa escultura "Le penseur" de Rodin, y aun la coplilla que A. Machado asestó a Kant, diciéndole: !Tartarín de Koenisberg! /Con el puño en la mejilla/todo lo llegó a saber. (no. LXXVII de sus *Proverbios y cantares*).
- <sup>5</sup> Stephen Gilman. *La España de Fernando de Rojas* (Madrid: Taurus, 1978) y J. A. Maravall. *El mundo social de "La Celestina"* (Madrid: Gredos, 1968).
- <sup>6</sup> F. Jiménez Placer. *Historia del arte español* (Barcelona: Labor, 1955), vol. I, p. 411.
- <sup>7</sup> El sepulcro " ... was in course of construction in 1488", dice T. Müller. *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France and Spain: 1400 to*



1500 (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1966) p. 146; para su muerte, cf. H. del Pulgar. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. Mata Carriazo (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1946), vol. II, p. 238.

<sup>8</sup> Maravall, *El mundo social*, cap. II, *passim*; cita en p. 40.

<sup>9</sup> Helen Nader. *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance: 1350 to 1550* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1979), cf. cap. VI, *passim*; cita en p. 128.

<sup>10</sup> M. Claude Gerbet. *La noblesse dans le Royaume de Castille* (Paris: Univ. de Paris-IV, 1979), p. 338.

<sup>11</sup> Müller, *Sculpture*, p. 152. El monumento sepulcral en lámina no. 155.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, Keter Publ. House, 1971), vol. XIV, col. 1370 para composición *Shema*; col. 1372 para ritual de recitación; y col. 1371 para razones de ese ritual.

<sup>13</sup> Jiménez Placer, *Historia del arte español*, p. 415 para cita e información.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Evang.*, Juan 9; a observar ahí la fascinante doble connotación del episodio: para el escultor la del lodo que da vista, barro que recrea una vida; para el converso, ciego que recobra la vista; *id est*, personaje que supera su ceguera judaica adquiriendo una nueva fe; y, por fin, esatípica adopción de un toponímico como nuevo nombre suficientemente conocida entre ciertos conversos.

<sup>15</sup> Pedro de Orozco y Juan de la Parra. *Historia de La Orden de Santiago*; MS del sig. XV publicado por el Marqués de Sieteiglesias en Badajoz, Diput. Prov., 1978; para ese año 1486, cf. f. 117v.

<sup>16</sup> Pulgar, *Crónica* (ver arriba, nota 7), v. II, p. 238.

*el*

Fleberio y Alisa contemplan el cuerpo despedazado de Melibea.  
Auto 159 ¿Burgos, 1499?



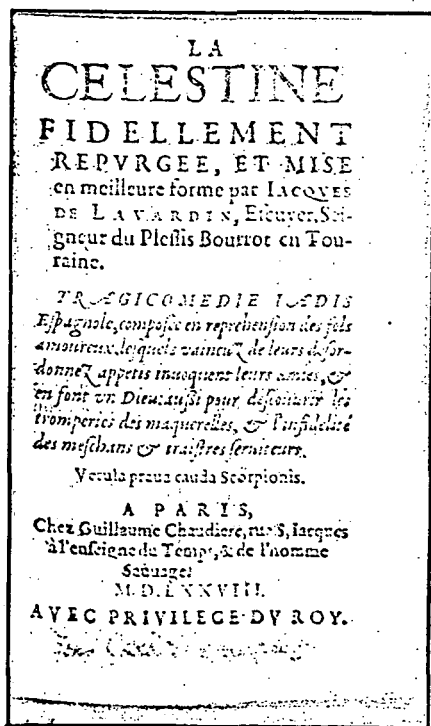
OFELIA GONZALEZ como Celestina. Producción del Teatro Repertorio Español de Nueva York. 1981.





THE GUILLAUME CHAUDIÈRE EDITION OF JACQUES DE LAVARDIN'S *CELESTINE*

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A lucky chance, for which I have to thank M. Pierre Aquilon of the Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance at Tours, makes it possible to confirm the existence of this hitherto unproven edition.<sup>1</sup> A Chaudière edition was in fact quoted by the contemporary Du Verdier for the year 1578. It was also reported by Nicolas Antonio, who gave the date as '1598'--when the Rouen editions appeared--and by St Venant, who gave '1576'--when Chaudière published Lavardin's *Histoire de Georges Castriot*.<sup>2</sup> Miss C. L. Penney reported a copy of a Chaudière edition of 1578 in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal,<sup>3</sup> although the copies I have seen in the library (8° BL 16051 and Re 6553) are of the Robinot edition (for description see the critical edition, pp. 31-32). The Chaudière edition therefore remained unconfirmed. However, the library of the Musée Condé at Chantilly does own a copy (shelf-mark XI. F. 56), the title page of which is reproduced here. With the excep-

tion of Chaudière's imprint, the edition is the same as that of Gilles Robinot (1578, 16°, 12 unnumbered and 284 numbered folios), whose name alone appears in the privilege on the verso of the title. Robinot was therefore probably the main partner in a shared edition. The ms. *ex libris* at the foot of the page reads: 'Jean Heller de Strasbourg'.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> In a critical edition (Tamesis, 1974), p. 24) I incorrectly stated there was no such edition.

<sup>2</sup> Du Verdier, *Bibliothèque de ...* (Lyon, 1585), p. 608; in the Rigoley de Juvigny edition (1772-3), IV, 288. N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca hispana nova ...* (Rome, 1672), II, 212 (Madrid, 1783-8), II, 263-4. R. Barré de St Venant, *Dictionnaire ... du Vendômois ...* (Blois, 1913-15), II, 260.

<sup>3</sup> *The Book called 'Celestina' ...* (New York, 1954), p. 117.



PARIS 1527



MIGÜEL MARCIALES

KEITH WHINNOM  
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Miguel Marciales is dead. After suffering for two years from chronic renal disfunction, which put him into hospital twice and then into a wheelchair, he died on 23 December 1980, still conducting his classes and pursuing his research. The copious tributes which have appeared in the Venezuelan press, notably on the occasion of the unveiling of a plaque to his memory in his Universidad de los Andes, describe a man of immense charm, great modesty, enormous erudition, and manifold talents: a poet, a polymath and polyglot (Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, English, French, German, Italian, Russian, Arabic, Japanese), and a brilliant lecturer and conversationalist. In Mérida, Venezuela, he was a phenomenon; to the vast majority of Hispanists, and even to *Celestina*-scholars, to whom in the not-too-distant future his name must surely become a household word, he is as yet unknown.

Marciales began his academic career as a classicist (and remained Head of the Department of Literatura Clásica), but ranged over a variety of disciplines, producing, for instance, a massive *Geografía histórica y económica del norte de Santander* (sc. Columbia) (Bogotá, 1943), and from 1965 on devoted his energies to Rojas and *Celestina*. The fruits of these labours are a critical edition of *Celestina*, his *Carta al profesor Gilman sobre problemas de la 'Celestina'* (Mérida, 1975; see *Celestinesca*, I, 1, p. 28, S6), and a critical edition of the anonymous Spanish translation of Piccolomini's *Historia de duobus amantibus*, which Marciales believed to be the work of Rojas. Whether this latter edition, of which I have a carbon copy of a draft, will ever see the light of day, must be doubtful; the *Carta al profesor Gilman*, now in the press (Universidad de Mérida), has already reached various interested readers in its duplicated format; but it is now imperative that the edition of *Celestina* be published in the form it deserves. For patriotic motives, which some may feel were misguided, Marciales was determined that the work should appear in Venezuela, but shortage of funds has grievously delayed its publication, and the stop-gap cyclostyled version (1977) is available only to a handful of people. There are, for instance, just two copies in Great Britain: mine and P. E. Russell's. And the only other recipients whose names are known to me are Marcel Bataillon, Stephen Gilman, and Miroslav Marcovich.

The work merits a fifteen-page review, but I confine myself to a brief description. This Edición Crítica, entitled *Comedia o Tragicomedia de Ca-*

*liso y Melibea*, consists of five folio volumes, densely typed (one-and-a-half spacing, no margins). Vol. IV (123 pp.) contains the *Texto Crítico*, including the *Auto de Traso*. The acts are divided into scenes, and a complex system of numbering (dividing long speeches, lumping fragments of rapid dialogue) permits quick reference to any passage in the work. Within this typescript text, underlining, double underlining, dotted underlining, square brackets, and oblique strokes indicate precisely how the editor has modified his base texts. Where there is unmanageably great variation, the text is printed in parallel columns. Vol. V, *Aparato Crítico* (135 pp.), records variants from fourteen early editions, with occasional reference to later editions, and to the Italian and Latin translations of Ordóñez (c. 1505) and Barth (1624); it includes some explanation and 'translation' of the most difficult passages; and it justifies not only the emendations but the retention of peculiar early readings by copious reference to other fifteenth and sixteenth-century writers. Although it may not prove impossible to take issue with Marciales on some of his choices of readings, the evidence and reasoning are there for all to see, and it can scarcely be disputed that this is simply the best edition of *Celestina* so far produced.

In a sense, however--and I am forcibly reminded of Alan Deyermond's printing his edition of *Moçedades* as an appendix to his *Epic Poetry and the Clergy* (London, 1968)--this invaluable edition is a mere postscript to volumes I, II, and III (over 310 pp.--lettered insertions, 99a, etc., make computation difficult). This *Introducción*, which could run to a thousand normal printed pages, addresses itself not to literary criticism (except tangentially) but to the perennial fundamental problems: the affiliation of the texts, the identity of the authors, and the biographies of Rojas and other hypothetical contributors. It is at once sensational and near-indigestible, demanding months of patient study. Marciales writes with tremendous verve and style ('ese don de creación verbal que me recuerda a nuestro Rabelais', wrote Bataillon), leading the eager reader on, only to force him to stop and go back, to attempt properly to assimilate some essential point in the coherent and densely-woven argument. Some self-contained theses may be more easily grasped: that Cota wrote the 'esbozo', that Rojas was not a student when he wrote the *Comedia*, that he was the translator of Piccolomini's erotic tale (of this I remain sceptical, but the detailed evidence was to have formed part of another work), that most of the *Tratado de Centurio* was composed by someone else, probably Sanabria, that Rojas was mayor of Talavera before his documented taking over, temporarily, as an ex-mayor, of the post left vacant by the death of the elected *alcalde*, and so forth. Some of these appear in the copious supporting evidence, in his *Carta al profesor Gilman*. That book, described as 'impresionante' by our editor, Joseph T. Snow, is in fact, in comparison with his *Introducción*, as a book-review to a book.

Although eminent colleagues have responded to my printed references to Marciales' work by demanding to know who and what he was, he did not work wholly in isolation. If he was no conference-attender, he was a Visiting Professor in Michigan and Miami, was a prolific and generous correspondent, and was in contact with (to my knowledge) Raymond Moloney, Robert Herron, J. Homer Herriott, Leslie Byrd Simpson, Stephen Gilman, the invaluable Tomás Magallón, Dennis E. Rhodes, R. J. Norton, Dalmiro de la Válgoma, Marcel Bataillon, P. E. Russell, and, primarily because of my review of Herriott

(he accepted neither of our schemes of affiliation), myself. But it is tragic that he did not receive before his death, not from a handful of scholars but from the academic Hispanist community at large, the recognition due to someone who, *post mortem*, must inevitably be acknowledged to be one of the greatest *Celestina*-scholars of our time.



Celestina. Ilustración  
a la edición húngara  
[1979]. Artista:  
Gyula FELEDY.



## UNA CELESTINA ROMANA Y FRANCESA

Ya el puro trazado geométrico del teatro antiguo de Vaison-la-Romaine dibujaba un espacio donde la razón reprime las pasiones más locas. En aquella noche del 29 de julio de 1981, Celestina tejía otra vez su tela de araña y hacia correr un aire de azufre sobre el 29º festival de música, baile y teatro de la ciudad provenzal. Pero la araña era cartesiana (más que todas las de su especie) y el diablo no apareció. La nueva adaptación de la *Tragicomedia* por Pierre Laville, quien presentó una primera versión en 1975 a la Comédie Française, parecía ser escrita por un epígono de Molière y Marivaux a la vez. El espectador que conocía el texto de Rojas no podía echar en cara del adaptador una traición de contenido. Todos los temas esenciales de la obra original estaban presentes con alguna que otra insistencia sobre aspectos de moda como la reivindicación feminista. También los trazos líricos han sido interpretados con mucha sensibilidad y elegancia, no sé si por contacto con el suelo patrio del amor cortés. La traición, pues, era espiritual. La reducción, que cualquier representación escénica de *Celestina* supone, realizaba los papeles de la alcahueta y de Sempronio. Quizá ese enfoque se debía al juego de los dos extraordinarios comediantes que encarnaban a los personajes. Al lado de Judith Magre, toda contraste, y François Clavier, todo truculencia, los demás actores casi se esfumaban.

Algunas inversiones en la trama (asesino de Celestina como remate de la pieza, tras la muerte de los amantes), junto con supresiones deliberadas (los padres de Melibea, Centurio, Sosia), instauran una lógica, un *courseus dramatique* ajenos a Rojas. Choca también la visión que tiene Pierre Laville de personajes como Lucrecia convertida en mujer sexualmente frustrada, histérica y hasta necrófila.

No creo que la riqueza de la obra de Fernando de Rojas permita tales desvíos y recreaciones (1), pero queda confirmado que Celestina sigue hablando a los creadores y público contemporáneos. Lo que dice y cómo lo dice cambia generación tras generación. Esta perogrullada no deja de fascinar al "celestinesco."

Jacques JOSET

Universidad de Amberes-U.I.A.

N.B. Según los periódicos franceses, la versión de Pierre Laville también se representó en Carcassonne los 25 y 27 de julio y en Sarlat los 9 y 10 de agosto de 1981.

(1) "Ce qu'elle [= la obra] dit au premier degré est souvent périmé. Mais ce qu'elle permet de recréer par ses arrières plans [sic], est d'une grande richesse." (Pierre LAVILLE, texto del programa)



THREE POEMS INSPIRED BY ROJAS' *CELESTINA*

That there is in the text of Rojas' *Celestina* an inherently poetic level seems evident to its readers. Almost since their first appearance, the imaginative sweep of the lovers' entanglements and the profoundly human characterizations with which Rojas articulates his peculiar, or rather, individual view of Spanish reality have been translated into poetic form. This poetry is both serious and satirical and its history--as a genuine aspect of *la literatura celestinesca*--has yet to be written. When it is, the following texts will need to be evaluated. The first two, by a young Spaniard named Joaquín Benito de Lucas who belongs to the "Generación del 70", first appeared in a literary review from Murcia, *Tránsito* (no. 7, 1980). The third, until now *inédito*, is by a young Spaniard from Galicia, and now a student in the United States, Angel Loureiro. These poems are presented for the enjoyment of all *celestinófilos*. [Ed.]

## DOS POEMAS DE AMOR

## ◀ CALISTO ▶

¿Ves el paisaje de la orilla izquierda,  
 su verdor en la tarde, el mar de juncos  
 y más lejos los álamos temblando?  
 Pues así tiemblo yo cuando atravieso  
 el puente y miro tu balcón, tu cuerpo  
 si estás en la azotea o si te asomas  
 a la ventana para ver la tarde  
 caer rosada como tus mejillas.

Con los vencejos que de puente a puente  
 imitan en el aire un río de alas  
 entro en tu casa, aire y fuego juntos,  
 buscando entre tus joyas mi recuerdo,  
 en tus baúles ropas que me llamen,  
 por detrás de tu espejo mi retrato.  
 Y sólo encuentro restos de verano,  
 paisajes amarillos, breves músicas  
 hechas de duras notas y de lágrimas  
 que se vencen desnudas hacia el mar de la noche.

## CELESTINESCA

### MELIBEA

Estas tapias que ves, las de mi huerto,  
son de mi corazón. Vivo encerrada  
sin ver el sol ni respirar el aire  
que trae perfume de palabras tuyas.  
Vivo encerrada en cárceles de pluma,  
con ventanas que dan a un mar de plata  
donde tu voz apenas llega como una brisa.  
Y desde esta prisión, acariciando  
las rejas que la espuma ha levantado,  
te contemplo pasar dulce y remoto  
por el fondo azulado de mis pupilas ciegas.

JOAQUIN BENITO DE LUCAS



### CALIXTO EN EL JARDIN DE MELIBEA

Te reclama el palpitar  
silencioso de la tierra.

Te sientes como exceso y buscas  
en la noche el reposo  
de un lecho  
de limo y lirios entre círculos de piedra  
donde hallas el consuelo del rumor  
reconocido del mar  
vastísimo de su corazón:  
a la sombra de un sueño de cipreses  
hundes  
tu luz impura en un abismo  
de abiertas azucenas.

Derrumbe  
inexorable de los astros  
la noche se despeña  
por la escala  
que el tiempo  
tiende entre un río  
de sombras y el lugar  
sin nombre  
de la luz perpetua.

ANGEL LOUREIRO



# CELESTINESCA

## PREGONERO



". . . los bienes, so no son  
comunicados, no son bienes."  
*CELESTINA*, auto 1

Since the last number of *Celestinesca*, we have received the news of the death of two Latinamerican scholars, each of whom worked with *Celestina*. We are all saddened by the passing of Prof. FRIDA WEBER DE KURLAT of Argentina, long associated with the work of Buenos Aires' Instituto de Filología. And also by the demise of Prof. MIGUEL MARCIALES of Venezuela (see the note by K. Whinnom elsewhere in this issue).

*Retirement of PETER E. RUSSELL from Oxford.* In anticipation of the official retirement of Peter RUSSELL from the Oxford Chair of Spanish, which he held for twenty-eight years, in October of 1981, a group of his friends and colleagues gathered in July at a seven-course banquet to mark the occasion and to render homage to his impressive achievements as teacher and scholar.

Presented to Russell on the festive evening was a special collection of papers in the form of a *feestschrift*: MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES ON SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. The fifteen studies are mostly by former students of Russell, and three of them reflect his abiding interest in Rojas' *Celestina*. Each of them is an important contribution to our understanding of Rojas, the world he lived in and the art of the *Celestina*, as their titles suggest:

Douglas J. GIFFORD contributes "Magical Patter: The Place of Verbal Fascination in *LC*." The article of Nicholas G. ROUND deals expertly with the theme of "Conduct and Values in *LC*," while Keith WHINNOM offers a truly provocative study on "Interpreting *LC*: The Motives and the Personality of Fernando de Rojas." It is a handsome volume and a dignified tribute to Russell who--in Spring of 1982--will be Visiting Professor at the University of Virginia (and teaching a course on celestinesque literature). The editors, Profs. Hodcroft, Pattison, Pring-Mill and Truman, have done a splendid job.

NEW STUDIES ON *CELESTINA*: In addition to the three studies included in the above notice, the following have appeared since the ninth supplement to my *Celestina* bibliography (I will provide annotations in my now-in-progress survey of *Celestina* studies: 1930-1980):

ARBEA, G. "Una fuente latina ignorada del suicidio de Melibea," *Revista chilena de literatura*, no. 14 (1979), 55-73 (On H. Pisani de Parma's *Philogenia*).

- CORONADO, Juan. "Celestina: imagen de una batalla en campo de plumas," *Plural*, no. 118 (1981), 28-31 (Eros triumphant).
- DIAZ-SOLIS, Ramón. *Tarde en España: de LC y otros renacientes* (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo, 1980). 201 pp. (This will be reviewed in the May 1982 *Celestinesca*.)
- GALLARDO, José Luis. "Hacia una interpretación 'otra' de LC," *Boletín Mi-llares Carlo I* (June, 1980), 167-78 (Semiotics).
- GRIFFIN, Julia Ortiz. "Class struggle in LC," *Homenaje a Humberto Piñera* (Madrid: Playor, 1979), 187-95.
- HUGHES, John B. "Orígenes de la novela picaresca: LC y *La lozana andaluza*," *La picaresca: Orígenes, textos y estructuras* (Madrid: Fundación Univ. Española, 1979), 327-34.
- LEMARTINEL, Jean. "Sobre el supuesto judaísmo de LC," *Hommage des hispanistes français à N. Salomon* (Barcelona: Laia, 1979), 509-16, (Rojas' converso status is superfluous to an understanding and appreciation of the work).
- MCCORMICK, Robert. "New Approaches in Literary Criticism. Maeztu's *Don Quijote*, *Don Juan* y *La Celestina* and Psychohistory," *Basque Artistic Expression* 2 (1981) (not seen).
- MCPHEETERS, D. W. "La 'dulce ymaginación' de Calisto," *Actas del Sexto Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, Dept. of Spanish & Portuguese, 1980), 499-501 (an analysis of Calisto's act 14 soliloquy).
- MONTAÑES FONTENLA, Luis. "Un análisis bibliográfico de las modernas ediciones de LC," *El libro español*, no. 270 (June 1980) and no. 271 (July 1980) (on 28 modern editions from 1912 to 1977).
- MORO, Donatella. "El Buscón de Quevedo a la luz de LC y de *El Lazarillo*," *La picaresca* (see HUGHES entry, above), 689-704.
- SAMONÀ, Carmelo. "Una reminiscenza della *Celestina* nell' *Auto de los desposorios de Joseph*," *Aspetti e problemi delle letterature iberiche: Studi offerti a F. Meregalli*, ed. Giuseppe Bellini (Rome: Bulzoni, 1981), 353-58 (parallels and verbal echoes of Pleberio and Alisa's parental conversations about Melibea).
- SEVERIN, Dorothy S. "Parodia y sátira en LC," *Actas* (see McPheeters entry, above), 695-97 (high and low levels of humor in LC).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Aristotle's *Ethics* and LC," *La corónica* 10:1 (1981-82), 54-8.

NEW DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS: Two new 1981 dissertations on *Celestina* have been finished and for our readers the abstracts follow. The first, by Patricia S. FINCH, was completed at Catholic University (Washington, D. C.)

under the direction of Bruno Damiani. It is titled: MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT IN "CELESTINA" AND ITS IMITATIONS:

"What differentiates *Celestina* from previous literary figures such as *Trotaconventos* is her unique relationship with the world of the occult. One of the constant elements that runs like a thread from the *Celestina* through all of its imitations is the recourse by the characters to magic and witchcraft. This dissertation takes up the question of how magic functions in the *Celestina* and seven of its imitations: *Segunda Celestina* by Feliciano de Silva (1534), *Tercera Celestina* by Gaspar Gómez de Toledo (1536), *Lisandro y Roselia* by Sancho de Muñón (1542), *Tragedia Policiana* by Sebastián Fernández (1547), *Comedia Salvaje* by Romero de Cepeda (1554), *Lozana Andaluza* by Francisco Delicado (1528), and *La Dorotea* by Lope de Vega (1631).

"As a prelude to the examination of magic and witchcraft in the *Celestina* and its imitations, Chapter I provides an historical survey of the nature and social and political significance of magic and witchcraft in classical antiquity and in the Middle Ages, and its assimilation in Spanish Renaissance and Baroque literatures. This provides a perspective on the religious and social climate and the literary tradition in which the *Celestinesque* works were produced.

"As an authentic *bruja*, *Celestina* is a servant of Satan, but she is also a Christian, and supposedly a servant of God. Chapter II includes a definition of magic and takes up the distinctions between magic and religion. The instances of religion and magic in the eight works are discussed as to their validity as "pure" magical or "religious" acts. It was found that what appear to be "religious" acts, as performed by *Celestina*, are in fact as "magical" as her practice of magic. This symbiotic relationship between magic and religion is another of Rojas' strokes of genius which sets his work apart from its successors.

"The social function of magic and witchcraft is studied in Chapter III, which examines the many occupations of the witch in Renaissance Spain and the societal attitudes toward witchcraft, including that of the Inquisition.

"The esthetic function of magic and witchcraft is examined in Chapter IV: its participation in the causal relations of the plot, its use to characterize and to justify otherwise implausible character changes, its relationship to style and, finally, the use of magic for achieving *admiratio* while retaining a tenuous hold on verisimilitude. It is clear that Rojas' use of magic anticipates a standard Renaissance prescription for the achievement of *admiratio* within the bounds of verisimilitude, and that the ambiguity as to the efficacy of *Celestina's* *conjuro* provides an almost perfect reconciliation of these two opposing artistic goals.

"The last chapter deals with the moral function of magic and witchcraft. It takes up the questions of the efficacy of the *Celestinas'* magic and the alternative explanations for the changes in the characters. In the appraisal of the didactic intent of the author, the question of whether the witchcraft is viewed as efficacious and evil (the demonic) or as

essentially fruitless and perhaps comic (satire and ridicule) is taken up. In contrasting the comic works with the tragic ones it becomes evident that only in the latter works, where the magic is taken seriously, it is a significant element in the moral lesson."

The second new dissertation is by Olga DELLA CHIODI and it was done at UCLA under the direction of Enrique Rodríguez-Cepeda. Its title is PASADO Y FUTURO EN LOS PERSONAJES DE *LC*: CAUSA Y EFECTO and the abstract is as follows:

"The present study focuses on two important aspects of *La Celestina*. First, the past of the characters and its influence on their present behavior and secondly, the manner these two phases of their lives relate to the principle of causality.

"To a greater or lesser extent, all the main *dramatis personae* are concerned about their past histories. However, the reactions to and interpretation of past events strictly depend on the idiosyncrasy of the individual. In this respect Sempronio's attitude has to be defined as entirely negative. In his opinion, only the present moment can be viewed as valuable since all occurrences, whatever their magnitude, are divested of their importance and relegated to total oblivion by the passage of time.

"Celestina's point of view in this matter opposes that of Sempronio's. For the old bawd, the usefulness she derives from her past is two-fold. On the one hand, she manipulates her own memories and those of Pármeno's mother, Claudina, to partly subjugate the young man's will-power and assure herself of his cooperation while she manages Calisto's love affair. On the other hand, her past can also be a haven where remembrances of the happiness and prosperity of times long past act as a protective device against the dreariness and impecuniosity of her present-day life.

"As for Pármeno, he establishes a correlation between past and present and views the former as a source of knowledge from which to gain a better understanding of the latter. He considers it a learning tool which properly used can successfully guide the decision-making process.

"A high degree of pessimism distinguishes Fernando de Rojas' work from beginning to end. And it is reflected in the world he has created for his personages to live in. It is a place ridden by injustice and deceit and arbitrarily ruled by laws of cause and effect that seem to lie beyond human comprehension. Within this framework, the characters of the *Tragicomedia* set about the almost impossible task of understanding reality in order to take advantage of every propitious occasion that might bring forth positive results. They all have in common the desire for personal success, whether represented by money or love, and will stop at nothing to attain it. Ironically, such a highly developed sense of self-realization leads to a highly developed individualism which in turn tends to accentuate their feelings of isolation. In *La Celestina*, life has become synonymous with strife and Calisto and Melibea as well as Celestina and her allies, are combatants engaged in an ever losing struggle. They are destined to failure, for even death--a possible escape--offers no solution since it entails the destruction of their own identities.

"This failure partly stems from their inability to fully understand the world; change according to the circumstances and accept the consequences of their actions. For those who do (Elicia and Areusa), there is a gleam of hope; for the others, utter solitude; as Pleberio says, "in hac lachrymarum valle."

CELESTINA ON STAGE. In June and July of this year, Pierre Laville's *Celestina* was presented to audiences in the garden of Paris' Petit-Palais (see a review of this production by Jacques Joset elsewhere in this issue). Laville's version is new, based on the one directed by Marcel Maréchal earlier (and produced for the Comédie-Française [1975]). It was directed by Jean-Claude Amyl with sets by Jean-Guy Lecat and Hortense Guillemard, the latter of whom also designed the costumes. The performance of Judith Magre as *Celestina* was widely acclaimed. Others appearing were Michel Robbe (Calisto), Monique Brun (Melibea), François Clavier (Sempronio), Emmanuel Dechartre (Pármeno), Catherin Hubeau (Areúsa), Sylvie Orcier (Elicia) and Emmanuèle Stochl (Lucrecia). After the Paris performances, the production travelled to the summer festivals at Sarlat and Carcassonne.

An additional note on the CELESTINA of Alfonso SASTRE, reported on earlier in PREGONERO and in the bibliographic sections of this *boletín*. In a wide-ranging interview printed in *Hispania* 64 (1981), he comments on his adaptation, which debuted in Rome. Here is the relevant excerpt:

QUESTIONER: ¿Por qué tienes interés en *La Celestina*?

A. Sastre: *LC* a mí es uno de los libros en ese proceso de reconsideración con la literatura. . . . Deslumbró sobre todo su prosa, ya que su estructura dramática es una estructura bien complicada.

Q.: ¿La consideras una obra dramática, principalmente?

AS.: Sí. Ya sé que sobre eso hay grandes discusiones, y ahora alguien dijo que en la Universidad del Sur de California un profesor Sackett está trabajando sobre lo que él llama las novelas dramatizadas. Pone "novela" como sustantivo y "dramáticas" como adjetivo--las novelas dramáticas. . . . El sustantivo para mí está en que son dramas, dramas de estructura muy compleja; pero me parece que Rojas se adelanta genialmente a las concepciones, por ejemplo, de Bertolt Brecht, cuando habla de un teatro narrativo. Un drama narrativo está hecho en *La Celestina*, y claro, yo encuentro que es una obra maestra, una de las grandes obras de nuestra literatura.

Q.: Estabas hablando de tu interés en *La Celestina*, y fue, dijiste por el lenguaje, y no por la estructura.

AS.: Sí, el lenguaje. La estructura en el sentido de que era una estructura libre, no tanto en que fuera una estructura bien conseguida, en la medida en que no es fácil bien determinar dónde empieza y termina la obra de Rojas. . . . Hay un autor colectivo en cierto modo aparte de Rojas; hay unos tratamientos posteriores, unas interpolaciones de este de Proaza, y una serie de cosas que hacen que el texto reaparezca como demasiado abigarrado. . . . Desde el punto de vista teatral podría hacerle a uno pensar en hacer una adaptación de *La Celestina*. . . . Y era sobre todo eso. Y

también los caracteres, no tanto los caracteres . . . como el carácter de la Celestina--gran descubrimiento, el personaje. Yo estaba así cuando en Italia me encargaron hacer una versión de *La Celestina*. "¿Por qué no hace Ud. una versión de *La Celestina*?" Entonces, yo dije: "Creo que sí"; porque claro, yo tenía mucho honor. Pero al estudiarla, llego al punto de que me gusta mucho, prácticamente todo, menos las interpolaciones. . . . Me daba mucha pena hacer un trabajo que consistiera en una reducción del texto, que es lo que generalmente se ha hecho con *La Celestina*. Hacer una nueva versión no me pareció un proyecto interesante. Entonces yo estubo a punto de decir que no; y después pensé que podría muy bien hacer la cosa; y era--dejar *La Celestina* tal como es, no tocarla . . . hacer otra obra a propósito de *La Celestina*. Una *Celestina* mfa . . . en la que Calisto es un señor bastante viejo; Melibea es una jovencita. Calisto es un fraile que se ha salido del convento; es un hereje, discípulo de Miguel Servet, que está perseguido por la Inquisición. Todo es un invento. Entonces, al venir de la Inquisición, le consiguen que lo acepten en un convento de monjas para estar refugiado allí, en Salamanca. . . . Entonces Calisto conoce en el convento a la madre abadesa del convento, que es Melibea. Es una mujer que ha sido prostituta; se arrepiente hoy y entra en la religión. Ella entró en la religión cuando él se había salido de la religión por su herejía. Pero son dos mundos incommunicables; el amor es imposible. Hay una razón mucho más fuerte en esta obra para que este amor sea imposible que en la obra de Rojas, quien no nos dice por qué, ni siquiera en forma de clases. . . . En algunas momentos hay unas citas literales de *La Celestina*, porque yo pongo la acción un siglo después de la acción de *La Celestina* de Rojas; y estos dos personajes ya conocen la obra de Rojas. . . .

CELESTINA ON THE PROGRAM OF PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS. In a former PREGONERO, I inadvertently omitted a paper on *Celestina* read at the 16th International Conference on Medieval Studies (Kalamazoo, May 1980): it was "Evaluative Point of View in *LC*," by Antonio C. M. Gil of the Ohio State University. The paper dealt with the well-known *perspectivismo* of *Celestina* and the need to understand the literary technique in order to appreciate Rojas' fine ironical sense.

More recently, Anthony Cárdenas presented his "The Arcipreste de Talavera's 'complisiones de onbres' and the Males of the *Celestina*," at the 31st Mountain Interstate Foreign Language Conference at Eastern Kentucky University, October, 1981.

At the Modern Language Association of America meetings in New York, December 27-30, 1981, the following presentations are scheduled: in session 79 (Spanish Sentimental Romance), Patricia E. Grieve will be reading her study, "'Nunc Scio Quid Sit Amor': Love as Destroyer in *Grisel y Mirabella* and *LC*," at 8:30-9:45 a.m. in Royal B (Sheraton) on December 28th; later, in session 199 (Spanish Medieval Language and Literature) in the Regency Foyer (Sheraton) at 1:45-3:00, also on the 28th, María Eugenia Lacarra of Occidental Coll. (California) will present "*LC*: El fracaso del amor cortés en la sociedad mercantil y urbana."

CELESTINERÍAS! A few issues back, our colleague Hensley WOODBRIDGE (Southern Illinois Univ.) wondered how deeply the impact of *LC* had been on the Spanish language? By far and away the most pervasive noun has been the



name of the bawd, as in "ella es una celestina." Woodbridge contributed "celestineo" which he'd run across in a 1972 text by F. Bravo Morada [see *Celestinesca* 4:2 (1980), 41-42]. Another noun to be found in Miguel Herro García, *Estimaciones literarias del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Voluntad, 1930) is 'celestinería': "Góngora sorprendió también este matiz [la mentirosa religión de las mujeres] de la celestinería" (p. 45).

To illustrate, I located two seventeenth-century strophes which, while not ostensibly modeled on *Celestina*, do present vivid images of the *celestinería* that went on in her literary wake. The first one is an *octavo* from José de Valdivieso's very long poem *Sagrario de Toledo* (1616) which describes the worldly temptations facing the young (San) Ildefonso:

Halló del plazer torpe las terceras  
 Que perturbaron las honestas casas,  
 Y las ya descartadas hechizaras,  
 fuelles que encienden dormitadas brasas:  
 De sus cuerpos no escasas las rameras,  
 y del dinero incasto siempre escasas  
 con ellas las lascivas dancadoras  
 de venereos engaños inventoras.

The second is an "epitafio" added to the third printing of Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo's *El sagaz Estacio*:

Esconde esta tierra fría  
 una muger bien lograda,  
 de sus amigas amada,  
 aunque a todas vendía.  
 A los ollereros y ollereras  
 muy útil a ser vendrá,  
 que es la tierra que aquí está  
 buena para coberteras.





Medina del Campo, 1530-1540(?)

CELESTINESCA

H O J A T A L O N A R I A

El año de expiración de la suscripción aparece en la etiqueta de envío. Por favor, si Vd. está al día o adelantado en su suscripción, tenga la bondad de pasar esta hoja a otro aficionado celestinófilo. Gracias.

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Dirección: \_\_\_\_\_

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\_\_\_\_\_ tomo 3 (1979)

\_\_\_\_\_ tomo 4 (1980)

\_\_\_\_\_ tomo 5 (1981)

\_\_\_\_\_ tomo 6 (1982)

\_\_\_\_\_ tomo 7 (1983)

He incluido la suma de (o el equivalente de) \$US \_\_\_\_\_.

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(firma)





## Editorial Policies

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Leliso



Burgos

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