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ALVARO M. CUSTODIO (1913-1992)

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Michigan State University

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Celestinesca

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CONTENIDO

Mayo de 1992

NOTA DEL EDITOR: ALVARO M. CUSTODIO (1913-1992).....1-4

ARTICULOS

Alvaro Custodio, Introito a una comedia.....5-14

Ricardo Castells, Los refranes y la problemática autoría de la *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*.....15-23

NOTAS

Charles Faulhaber, The Heredia-Zabalburu Copy of the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, "Sevilla, 1502" [i.e., Rome: Marcellus Silber, Ca. 1516].....25-34

TEXTOS

Charles Platter y Barbara Welch, The Poetics of Prostitution: Buchanan's *Ars Lenae*.....35-81

RESEÑAS

Celestina on Radio Three (BBC) (David Hook).....83-84

"La Celestina" (teatro), Teatro Estable, Granada, (Dorothy S. Severin).....85-86

BIBLIOGRAFIA

Joseph T. Snow, *Celestina* de Fernando de Rojas: documento bibliográfico (catorceno suplemento).....87-98

PREGONERO.....99-104

ILUSTRACIONES.....20, 24, 33, 82, 98, 104, 105, 106

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ALVARO M. CUSTODIO (1913-1992)

Alvaro Muñoz Custodio (Ecija, 1913) passed away after a long illness at age 79, in Madrid on April 27, 1992. **Isabel Richart Sotes** (Madrid, 1914), his wife of over 50 years, and collaborator in many ventures, devastated, went to Los Angeles soon after to be with their daughter, Victoria. Absent Alvaro, her own decline came all too rapidly and she followed her husband on June 2, barely 5 weeks later.

I received news of this double tragedy from Los Angeles, from Victoria, on June 10, literally moments before the taxi would come to take me to the airport. My destination was Madrid. One of the projects I had in hand for the summer of 1992 was one Alvaro and I had spoken of often earlier, but it had been, for varied reasons (one his uncertain health) delayed: we had hoped to conduct an interview which would range over his long and varied associations with *Celestina* and *Celestina* productions. It was an interview I had long thought about, one I had planned for the pages of this journal--once they had been transcribed and edited. Now it cannot be. I cannot assess what has been lost, but I more than suspect that it is simply a tremendous amount of material--reminiscences, anecdotes, facts, and even documents--that would have greatly enriched the as-yet unwritten history of *Celestina* in the twentieth century.

It would be a disservice to suggest that Alvaro Custodio was in any sense exclusively interested in *Celestina*, but it certainly was one work that appealed greatly to him, and one to which he would return time and again. It was one of those works not originally written for a stage that he dreamed and worked into theatrical guise (I can cite his famed Cervantine synthesis, *El patio de Monopodio*, the entertaining *Corridos y Romances*, and his more recent version of *La regenta* as other examples of his fascination with these kinds of adaptations). Alvaro wrote also a number of original works for the stage, translated others (his *Hamlet* is a superlative example), and directed many dozens of others--with a strong leaning to

the classical theater of Spain (his final work, an adaptation, was Calderón's *La vida es sueño*, recently directed in Paris by José Luis Gómez).

Celestina, adapted by Custodio over a period of years, was selected for one of the inaugural year (1953) presentations of the stage company he founded in exile, the Teatro Español de México (later, in 1963, the name was changed to Teatro Clásico de México). He directed, and his wife, Isabel Richart created the costuming. The Spanish actress, Amparo Villegas, like Custodio, living in Mexico, was the perfect incarnation of Custodio's vision of *Celestina*¹ and Mexico's acclaimed actor, Ignacio López Tarso, was serendipitously cast as Pármeno (both Custodio, as director, and López Tarso, for his performance in this *Celestina*, won awards in 1953).

Even though Custodio kept busy in Mexico (1944-1974), as a theater critic, a frequent contributor to several journals, a speaker, a scriptwriter for films, and as translator, director, producer, and publisher, the theater was his life and directing plays was its very heart. His *Celestina* adaptation was revived often and it played over 300 times until it was scandalously banned in 1960 (a ban that would last almost 8 years). During the ban, only a very few scenes were replayed at a theater gala featuring Amparo Villegas. It was restaged in 1968 at the Teatro Reforma, again with costumes by Isabel Richart, but now with Virginia Manzano as *Celestina*. It was an invited production for the 1968 Olympic Games. And finally, Custodio staged his adaptation in 1978 in Los Angeles in a bi-lingual format, English and Spanish versions playing in alternation.²

I had met Alvaro in 1974 when he was a speaker at the Primer Congreso Internacional sobre *La Celestina* (organized by his friend, Manuel Criado de Val) and was impressed with his vigor and, when he spoke from the podium, with his love for Rojas' inimitable work. He went with Criado de Val to Toledo and there they attempted to interest the municipal authorities in staging a full-length version of *Celestina* (it never

¹ Amparo Villegas had much earlier played Melibea in what must be the first staged adaptation of Rojas' classic in this century (Madrid, 1909).

² More details can be gleaned from entries 978.1 to 978.10 in my '*Celestina*' by Fernando de Rojas: *An Annotated Bibliography of World Interest, 1930-1985* (Madison: HSMS, 1985), pp. 72-73.

took place).³ I later invited him to be a collaborator in early issues of *Celestinesca*, especially after Eleanore M. Dial had contributed a piece to this journal's very first number about his Teatro Clásico de México. It is a very great pleasure to report that he contributed, while alive, three pieces to *Celestinesca*, and a sadness to think that the final one (in this issue) must appear in a number that neither he nor his devoted Isabel will see.

Over the years, hale or ill, Alvaro, perhaps of the many subscribers to this journal, never once failed to write thanking me for what this journal was doing to keep alive the multiple approaches to understanding *Celestina*. I looked for those cards and notes with great anticipation. In the time of our friendship, which developed more after his return to Spain in 1980 and his settling in San Lorenzo de El Escorial (I was twice his guest there, and treasure certain photos I took of him and Isabel on their balcony with the towers of a parish church in the background, and the sierra they so loved even further distant, a hazy blue); Alvaro was to revive plans for a new production of his *Celestina* (events and funding sources conspired against this dream), and to successfully stage his "Eva y Don Juan" (March and May of 1982, with *Celestina* as one of many characters in it) for the Compañía Real Coliseo Carlos III, in San Lorenzo de El Escorial, with which company Custodio had direct and important contacts in and after his 1980 return to Spain).⁴

Later, Custodio would expand on ideas from "Eva y Don Juan,"--mixing characters from diverse works in a dramatic confrontation--in his new *comedia*, "El retorno de *Celestina*, don Juan y Don Quijote" (the introduction, or "introito" to which opens this number of *Celestinesca*). As far as I know, this work has not yet been produced. A gift copy of the "borrador" was sent to me by Alvaro for the archive I am creating: with his death, this copy becomes even an even more special addition to the *archivo*.

³ The idea lives on, however, in efforts by Emilio Martínez de Miguel and Jesús Puente to produce a full-length version sometime soon in Salamanca.

⁴ The final, authorized, script for "Eva y Don Juan" was published in *Canente*, no. 9 (1991): 95-146. The introduction provided there speaks to Custodio's involvement with the great fictional characters in Spanish letters.

Custodio expected that his work and figure would play a larger role in the contemporary theater scene in Spain than either was destined to have. Many of his projects received enthusiastic verbal support but did not win the all-important means to win through to actual production. Earlier heart problems (he had undergone a by-pass in the mid-1980's) returned and weakened him and even though his friends recall his exuberant participation in many a *tertulia*, his directorial energies were limited. In his final hospitalization, he withdrew more and more within himself, perhaps there to savor the many successes he shared with Isabel in earlier years.

In Alvaro M. Custodio's memory, and in that of his beloved Isabel, this small marker of his passing, and of the permanent impact on the iconography of *Celestina* on the twentieth century stage which is part of their legacy, this number of *Celestinesca* is appreciatively and admiringly dedicated.


Joseph Snow

*** CORRECTION ***

In *Celestinesca* 15.2 (Nov. 1991), several acknowledgements were inadvertently omitted from the study by Carol Salus, "Picasso's Version of 'Celestina' and Related Issues." The editor apologizes for the oversight. The omissions are as follows:

Figure 1 was reprinted with permission from the Musée Picasso (Paris/SPADEM);

Figures 2, 3, and 4 were reprinted with permission, and should have been captioned. "Copyright 1991 ARS, N. Y./SPADEM."

Finally, the following acknowledgement should have appeared at the end of the study: "Very special thanks and appreciation to Marilyn Olsen for her translations, suggestions and readings of several drafts of this paper."

INTROITO A UNA COMEDIA:
**(Disquisición sobre *Celestina*, *don Quijote*
y *Don Juan Tenorio*)**

Alvaro Custodiot
San Lorenzo de El Escorial

[*Nota de la redacción:* El autor de este 'Introito' a la comedia nueva, "El Retorno de *Celestina*, don Juan y Don Quijote," ha adaptado a la escena *La Celestina*, representada en México (1953 a 1973), y ha dirigido *Don Juan Tenorio* (México, de 1953 a 1960). Ha escrito y estrenado su fantasía escénica, "Eva y Don Juan (el mito de la seducción)," ensayo dramático sobre el donjuanismo. Ha compuesto una versión dialogada de *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (1989) para ser leída entre amigos o representada al aire libre (ocho horas de duración) o en fragmentos sobre el tablado de algún teatro. Su adaptación de *La Celestina* es ampliamente comentada por Rosa María Lida de Malkiel en *La originalidad artística de 'La Celestina'*: pp. 244, 280, 405 y otras.]

No sé si llamar curiosas o sorprendentes las coincidencias en muchos aspectos de esas tres obras maestras de la literatura española y sus principales personajes: *Celestina*, Don Quijote y el Don Juan Tenorio de Zorrilla. A primera vista quizá parezca que nada tiene que ver la una con la otra, pero si las parangonamos, encontraremos correlaciones que por supuesto arrancan de la *Celestina* a la que podemos considerar texto matriz de la novelística castellana. Resulta anómalo que siendo la *Celestina* una tragicomedia, aunque fuera concebida para leer, como afirma en el prólogo el autor o Proaza el editor: "Cuando diez personas se juntaren a oír esta comedia (...)," no influyese, como debiera, en el teatro--me refiero a la *comedia nueva*--que por las circunstancias del medio--presión religiosa, política y social--se apergaminó, no intentó profundizar en el carácter de los personajes, huyó del realismo verbal encerrado en el verso, y se sometió a conceptos tan abstractos como el

honor, la hidalguía, la limpieza de sangre y el amor cortés--y sólo muy rara vez al "loco amor" como el de Calixto--elevando además la poesía a primer plano en menoscabo del vigor dramático.

De ahí que no haya tragedias en el teatro español¹ y que sea válida la aseveración de Pedro Henríquez Ureña: "Si de la *Celestina* hubiera podido nacer directamente el gran teatro español se habría configurado de modo distinto al que tuvo."² Por otro lado, el propio Henríquez Ureña afirmará: "Sentimos esta obra cerca del drama de Shakespeare más que de Lope y Calderón."³

No soy un erudito ni un profesor de universidad de los que han buceado en ocasiones con tanto acierto en las obras maestras de la literatura española, sino un escritor, especialmente del género dramático y un director escénico,⁴ por lo que mis juicios de valor sobre las concomitancias de las tres obras antes citadas quizá puedan parecer a los profesionales de la investigación literaria un tanto peculiares. Pido anticipadamente perdón por mis osadías a quienes así las juzguen aunque siempre he pensado que las críticas de las grandes creaciones dramáticas nadie puede hacerlas más ajustadas a la verdad que los autores que son además directores escénicos y han profundizado en su lectura dándoles vida sobre el tablado de la antigua farsa, como es mi caso aunque peque de inmodesto.

¹ "El castigo sin venganza" de Lope de Vega, aunque su autor la llamó tragedia, no lo es "that breaks the heart, but is not tragedy but pathos" (Edith Hamilton) a pesar de su truculento final, que resulta también una de las más bellas piezas poéticas del Fénix del Ingenio.

² "Plenitud de España," en *Estudios de historia de la cultura* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1940): 139.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Sobre todo de espectáculos al aire libre de teatro clásico ante monumentos coloniales y pirámides precortesianas en México y en el Corral de Comedias de Almagro (siglo XVII) y Real Coliseo Carlos III (siglo XVIII) de S. Lorenzo de El Escorial.

¿Qué relación encuentro--que salta a la vista--entre la *Celestina* y *Don Juan Tenorio*? Por supuesto no en su expresión dramática--la una prosa y el otro verso--ambas de una sonoridad esplendente, con altibajos sobre todo en la última. En cambio los diálogos en *Don Quijote* le deben una gran porción de su estilo y contenido a la *Celestina*, principalmente en lo que se ha definido como sabiduría vulgar o realismo verosímil de la que el refranero, tan presente en ambas obras, se convierte en principal aglutinante.⁵ Lo que relaciona al *Don Juan Tenorio* de Zorrilla con la *Celestina* es la notabilísima descripción de sus tres principales caracteres: Don Juan (Calixto), Doña Inés (Melibea) y Brígida (Celestina) y su desarrollo escénico. No puede decirse lo mismo de *El Burlador de Sevilla* de Tirso, inventor del personaje, muy inferior a la creación zorrillesca en cuanto a teatralidad; de ahí la enorme popularidad del Don Juan romántico español que el público, a través de generaciones no se cansa de aplaudir cada 1º de noviembre.

¿Y qué tiene que ver Don Quijote con Don Juan? Aquel es un caballero andante quien quiere alcanzar el amor de una mujer inalcanzable (Dulcinea) y consagra su vida a reparar entuertos, vengar a los que reciben agravios y castigar alevosías, el típico gallardo español, que en el momento en que se siente humillado reclamará a su dama:

¿Dónde estás señora mía
que no te duele mi mal?
O no lo sabes, señora,
o eres falsa y desleal.

Don Juan, otro caballero andante consagra su vida al género femenino, arriesgándola como Don Quijote, otro gallardo español, lo que Don Juan resume cuando Don Luis Mejía le pregunta:

¿Cuántos días empleáis
en cada mujer que amáis?

⁵ Ambas creaciones son por tanto deudoras del Marqués de Santillana ("Refranes que dizen las viejas tras el fuego") y del Arcipreste de Talavera (*Corbacho*). Ya lo señalaba M. Menéndez y Pelayo en sus *Orígenes de la novela*, refiriéndose al *Corbacho*, y habría que agregar a Juan de Mal Lara ("Filosofía vulgar en Don Quijote") sin olvidar a Petrarca de quien tanto se empapa Rojas.

DON JUAN: Uno para enamorarlas
 otro para conseguir las
 otro para abandonarlas
 dos para sustituirlas
 y una hora para olvidarlas. (1º Acto)

Pero Zorrilla condensa en su Drama Religioso Fantástico al género femenino en la novicia Doña Inés. Si Dulcinea del Toboso representa en la mente y los propósitos de Don Quijote a la mujer ideal--amor cortés--Don Juan busca en todas ellas--amor loco--la mujer inalcanzable como Dulcinea, puesto que nunca se da por satisfecho con una sola hasta que aparece doña Inés desde el sepulcro. Respecto a la relación de Don Juan y Calixto resulta evidente: ambos son incondicionales del amor carnal y recurren a todos los medios para conseguirlo. Algunos estudiosos de *Celestina* han criticado la falta de motivación en Calixto, un rico caballero que la vieja describe así: "En Dios y en mi alma no tiene hiel, gracias dos mil; en franqueza, Alexandre, jamás reina en él tristeza, de noble sangre, en esfuerzo Héctor, gracioso. alegre, como sabes gran justador⁶ pues verlo armado es San Jorge, fuerza y esfuerzo no tuvo Hércules tanta, la presencia y facciones, disposición, desenvoltura, otra lengua habría menester para te las contar; todo junto semeja un ángel del cielo (...) (Aucto IV).

¿Por qué recurre a una alcahueta para alcanzar los favores de Melibea en vez de hacerlo rectamente pidiéndola en matrimonio a sus padres? Para un sinnúmero de analistas y críticos literarios, no está justificado que Calixto tenga que recurrir a Celestina.⁷ Otros han supuesto, sin mucha convicción, que una de las dos familias fuese judía y la otra cristiana. Para mí no existe falla alguna en Rojas--a quien considero único autor al menos de los XVI auctos de la primera edición--puesto que Calixto no pretende, no lo manifiesta un solo momento, casarse con Melibea sino poseerla del modo más rápido, si fuera posible

⁶ Justificación de que Calixto y Melibea se conocieran desde un principio.

⁷ Rosa Lida de Malkiel cita, entre otros, a Alberto Lista, Juan Valera, M. Menéndez y Pelayo, Azorín, Maeztu, Madariaga, etc. y la propia Lida de Malkiel lo considera una falla del "antiguo auctor" (*La originalidad artística de 'La Celestina'*, Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1962 <2ª ed. 1970>): 206 y 209.

como Don Juan y a fe que el galán no pierde tiempo puesto que la primera vez que se reúnen en el huerto no tarda tres minutos en cabalgarla:

CALIXTO: Perdona, señora, a mis desvergonzadas manos de tocar tu ropa con su indignidad y poco merecer; ahora gozan de llegar a tu gentil cuerpo y lindas y delicadas carnes.

MELIBEA: Apártate allá, Lucrecia.

CALIXTO: ¿Por qué, mi señora, Bien me huelgo que estén semejantes testigos de mi gloria.

MELIBEA: Yo no los quiero de mi yerro (...)
(Aucto XIV)

El cinismo de Calixto y su atrevimiento son similares a los de Don Juan en cada una de sus aventuras amorosas y corren parejas con la hipocresía o fingido melindre de Melibea que es una hembra de armas tomar, adelantándose en cinco siglos al descaro ante la menor insinuación masculina de la mayoría de las jóvenes de nuestro tiempo.⁸ Don Quijote se excusa con Maritornes de no folgar con ella, cuando cree que viene a visitarle en su camastro de la venta, por no caer en falta con su idealizada Dulcinea: fidelidad amorosa hasta los tuétanos. Otro cariz del gallardo español que encierra tanta pasión como la de Calixto por Melibea y Don Juan por Inés. En realidad Maritornes buscaba en la oscuridad a su amante el arriero que dormía a poca distancia de Don Quijote. No sabemos si Calixto es un Don Juan porque el autor no nos cuenta su pasado, pero su ímpetu amoroso es totalmente donjuanesco.

Don Quijote tiene la mente trastornada pero podemos pensar que en su fantasía concibiera alguna vez a Dulcinea no sólo como una gran dama bordando con hilos de oro, rodeada de servidores y enanos, como

⁸ El hispanista Otis Green atribuye la intención de rechazo--violenta en el primer acto y falsa en los restantes--a la actitud prescrita por el amor cortés a las damiselas pubescentes (cito por Lida de Malkiel: 208 n8).

él mismo se la describe a Sancho Panza, quedando por saber--lo cual se dejaría a la imaginación del lector--si alguna vez soñó con Dulcinea como una ninfa de la Edad de Oro, que Don Quijote tanto pondera, insinuante y desnuda bajo el chorro de una fuente de algún jardín florido, descripción que echamos de menos en la novela, ya que Cervantes describe con tanta sensualidad los pies de la pastora Marcela cuando se los refresca en un arroyo. La descripción corpórea de Dulcinea no desentona en nada con la que hace Calixto de Melibea: " (...) la hermosura sobrehumana pues en ella se vienen a hacer verdaderos todos los imposibles y quiméricos atributos de belleza que los poetas dan a sus damas; sus cabellos son de oro, su frente campos elíseos, sus cejas cercos de cielo, perlas sus dientes, alabastro su cuello, mármol su pecho, marfil sus manos, su blancura nieve y las partes que a la vista humana encubrió la honestidad son tales, según yo pienso que sólo la discreta consideración puede encarecerlas y no compararlas (...)" (Cap. XIII de la 1ª Parte).

Melibea y doña Inés son en todo semejantes: al principio ambas rechazan los galanteos de sus pretendientes: Calixto y de Don Juan. En el caso de Melibea, ésta, provocada por la irrupción de Calisto le interroga: "¿Por tan gran premio tienes esto, Calixto?" En el caso de Doña Inés, cuando Brígida le dice que le trae un libro de parte de Don Juan, exclama: "¡Oh! Yo no debo tomarle." Las dos ceden rápidamente ante las razones de la alcahueta, Melibea ante el dolor de muelas de Calisto y Doña Inés al decirle Brígida que Don Juan enfermaría si no lo toma. "¡Ah! No, no de esa manera le tomaré." Ya conocemos el desarrollo posterior: Melibea se derrite inmediatamente por Calixto a quien da todas las facilidades para que se vean en el huerto de su casa donde le entrega de buenas a primeras su virginidad. Doña Inés confesará a Brígida ya desde su celda del convento: "No sé que fascinación / en mis sentidos ejerce, / que siempre hacia él se me tuerce / la mente y el corazón. / Y aquí en el oratorio / y en todas partes advierto / que el pensamiento divierto / con la imagen de Tenorio."

Por su parte Melibea, que ya ha sido poseída por Calixto oye platicar a sus padres sobre su posible casamiento con algún desconocido doncel: "¿Quién no se hallará gozoso de tomar tal joya en su compañía? (...)." Comenta con su criada Lucrecia: "Déjalos pensar, déjalos que devaneen (...) Calixto es mi ánima, mi señor (...) ¿Quién es el que ha de

apartarme de mis placeres? (...) Déjenme mis padres gozar de él si ellos quieren gozar de mí (...) no piensen en estos casamientos que más vale ser buena amiga que mala casada. Déjenme gozar de mi mocedad alegre (...) No tengo otra lástima sino por el tiempo que perdí de no gozarlo, de no conocer después que a mí me sé conocer. No quiero marido (...) (acto XVI).

Las palabras de doña Inés en la quinta de don Juan no son menos contundentes, dirigidas a su raptor después de que el burlador le ha declarado su pasión:

Tu presencia me enajena
 tus palabras me alucinan
 y tus ojos me fascinan
 y tu aliento me envenena.
 ¡Don Juan! ¡Don Juan! Yo le imploro
 de tu hidalga compasión:
 o arráncame el corazón
 o ámame porque te adoro. (Acto IV)

En cuanto a Celestina y a Brígida, aunque la diferencia de tratamiento dramático sea considerable, puesto que aquélla es uno de los caracteres más logrados de la literatura española, el parecido es más que notable ya que Zorrilla se inspiró en el superlativo modelo creado por Rojas que ha pasado al léxico común como sinónimo de alcahueta. El poeta vallisoletano perfila exclusivamente una cómica proxeneta capaz de captar la voluntad de la ingenua doña Inés para que se rinda a las solicitudes de don Juan, como Celestina consiguiera en su visita a Melibea. Y a fe que las dos trotaconventos despertarán en ellas no ya el interés o curiosidad estimulados por su condición femenina sino una pasión gemela al celo en el mundo zoológico. Oigamos a Melibea y Celestina en la segunda visita, de la vieja a la doncella:

MELIBEA: ¡Oh género femíneo encogido y frágil! ¡Por qué no fue también a las hembras poder descubrir su congojoso y ardiente amor como a los varones! Que ni Calixto estuviera quejoso ni yo penada ... Mi mal es de corazón, la izquierda teta es su aposentamiento, tiende sus rayos a todas partes ... No otra cosa puedo sentir salvo la alteración que tú me causaste con la

demanda que sospeché de parte de aquel caballero ...

CELESTINA: ...Sin te romper las vestiduras se lanzó en tu pecho el amor, no rasgaré yo tus carnes para la curar ... Es un fuego escondido, una agradable llaga, un valioso veneno, una dulce amargura, una deleitable dolencia, un alegre tormento, una dulce y fiera herida, una blanda muerte ... (Acto X)

Melibea se desmayará al oír de nuevo el nombre de Calixto y cuando vuelve en sí, Celestina aprovecha para concertar una primera entrevista de los enamorados por entre las puertas del huerto de Melibea con las consecuencias que ya conocemos.

Cuando doña Inés le dice a Brígida que "siempre hacia él se te tuerce la mente y el corazón," responde Brígida:

¡Válgame Dios! Doña Inés
según lo vais explicando
tentaciones me van dando
de creer que eso amor es.
INÉS: ¿Amor ha dicho?
BRÍGIDA: Sí amor.
INÉS: ¡No de ninguna manera!
BRÍGIDA: Pues por amor lo entendiera el menor
entendedor...
(Acto III)

Después de leer la inspirada carta de don Juan que empieza: "Doña Inés del alma mía, luz de donde el sol la toma," la novicia al ver llegar a don Juan a su celda se desvanece como Melibea, lo que facilita los propósitos de don Juan: "En los brazos a tomarla / voy y, cuanto antes, ganemos / ese claustro solitario."

BRÍGIDA: ¡Oh, vais a sacarla así!
DON JUAN: Necia, ¿piensas que rompí
la clausura, temerario,
para dejármela aquí!
(Acto III)

Y en efecto se la lleva desmayada a su Quinta de Campo a orillas del Guadalquivir donde le declarará su amor sincero y puro con lo que Zorrilla le aparta de su papel de burlador convirtiéndole en un romántico doncel enamorado aunque las circunstancias--muerte del Comendador de Calatrava, padre de doña Inés, y de Don Luis Mejía--le obligan a escapar abandonando a su amada, que también morirá de tristeza, como Melibea al suicidarse, para convertirse en una sombra benéfica que salvará el alma condenada de don Juan al morir éste a la puerta de su casa en un duelo con el capitán Centellas. Ya dijimos que hay una enorme distancia entre la *Celestina* y *Don Juan Tenorio* en cuanto a su calibre artístico y su importancia en la historia de la literatura española, pero son dos obras maestras cada una en su género y en su tiempo, con relevantes coincidencias dentro de su diverso estilo.

En *Don Quijote de la Mancha* no actúa en favor del héroe ninguna alcahueta, pero cuando el Caballero de la Triste Figura topa con los galeotes que después liberará, encuentra entre ellos a:

Este hombre honrado va por cuatro años a galeras habiendo paseado las acostumbradas <calles> vestido en pompa y a caballo (por el numeroso séquito que les acompañaba).

-Eso es- dijo Sancho Panza -a lo que a mí me parece haber salido a la vergüenza.

-Así es- replicó el galeote. Y la culpa porque le dieron esta pena es por haber sido corredor de oreja y aun de todo el cuerpo. En efecto, quiero decir que este caballero va por alcahuete y por tener asimismo sus puntos y collar de hechicero.

-A no haber añadido esas puntas y collar- dijo Don Quijote -por solamente el alcahuete limpio⁹ no merecía él ir a bogar en las galeras sino a mandarlas y a ser general de ellas. Porque no es así como quiera el oficio de alcahuete, que es oficio de discretos y necesarísimo en

⁹ La palabra 'alcahueta' llegó a considerarse como una blasfemia, como actualmente en varios países de la América latina. Calderón hizo burla de ello en su comedia "Celos aun del aire matan," llamándole *agente de negocios de Cupido*.

la república bien ordenada y que no le debía ejercer sino gente muy bien nacida (...).

(Cap. XXII de la *Primera Parte*)

Así pues, según Don Quijote, el oficio de alcahuete exigía conocimientos y era *necesarísimo* en una república bien ordenada. Como quiera que sea la *Celestina*, dejó una enorme cauda de imitaciones e influyó de modo evidente en obras de gran calibre--no olvidemos los proxenetes de "El caballero de Olmedo" y *La Dorotea* de Lope de Vega, ejerciendo una evidente impronta en *Don Quijote de la Mancha*¹⁰ que como ya insinuamos adopta su estilo sencillo, de un realismo verosímil, llenándolo también de sentencias y proverbios con el mismo ingenio y la multitud de situaciones festivas y ocurrencias que enriquecen los dos libros. Por otro lado, *Celestina* es un reflejo de la comedia humanística medieval y *Don Quijote*, como dirá Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, se inspira también en las múltiples acciones caballerescas de aquella Reconquista que duraría ocho siglos. Y eso aparte de la burla que Cervantes hará de los libros de caballería que tan de moda habían estado durante todo el siglo XVI hasta el punto de ser citados incluso por Hernán Cortés ante el panorama maravilloso de la ciudad de Tenochtitlán (México).¹¹

No nos cansamos de releer y analizar estas tres obras cuyos tres máximos personajes, *Celestina*, Don Juan, y Don Quijote, coinciden en tantos puntos. Pero si no se hubieran escrito antes y decidiéramos escribirlas en nuestro tiempo, ¿cómo describiríamos a estos tres personajes y cuál sería su papel en nuestra sociedad de consumo? Tal es el tema de esta comedia a la que he titulado "El Retorno de *Celestina*, Don Juan y Don Quijote." ¡Que los dioses me sean propicios!

¹⁰ "Libro en verdad divi-
si ocultara más lo huma-

Así lo califica Cervantes como es sabido en sus versos de cabo roto "Al donoso poeta entreverado, a S. Panza y Rocinante," que anteceden a la novela.

¹¹ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "Raíces medievales del *Quijote*," en *Espanoles en su historia* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1969).

LOS REFRANES Y LA PROBLEMÁTICA AUTORÍA DE LA "COMEDIA DE CALISTO Y MELIBEA"

Ricardo Castells
Central Connecticut State University

para Miguel Garci-Gómez

Unos cuatrocientos cincuenta años después de la muerte de Fernando de Rojas, todavía existen dudas sobre el papel de Rojas como autor de la *Comedia y Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*. La gran mayoría de los críticos modernos acepta la idea que se presenta por primera vez en el "Autor a un su amigo" en la edición de Toledo 1500, que indica que Rojas encuentra un manuscrito anónimo en la ciudad universitaria de Salamanca, y que este manuscrito después viene a ser el primer acto de *Celestina*. Rojas se considera el autor principal de *Celestina* porque escribe quince de los dieciséis actos de la *Comedia* original, y también los actos interpolados en la *Tragicomedia*. A pesar del predominio de este punto de vista en los estudios celestinescos contemporáneos, el crítico español Fernando Cantalapiedra ha escrito un libro (1986a) y una serie de artículos (1894, 1986b, 1988, 1990) para presentar la interesante tesis de que los primeros doce actos de *Celestina* vienen de la pluma del anónimo antiguo autor, y de que Fernando de Rojas empieza a escribir la *Comedia* y la *Tragicomedia* sólo a partir del acto XIII.

El acercamiento crítico de Cantalapiedra es de emplear la semiótica y el estudio estadístico de *Celestina* para subrayar las aparentes diferencias entre los doce primeros actos por una parte (obra presuntamente del antiguo autor), y los actos restantes de la *Comedia* y

la *Tragicomedia* por otra (obra de Rojas). Aunque la metodología y los procedimientos de Cantalapiedra tienen un aspecto de rigor científico, Charles F. Fraker (1987) y David Hook (1989) han notado el carácter esencialmente subjetivo de este enfoque crítico. Para Fraker, por ejemplo, "The tables, the diagrams, ... and the technical vocabulary convey a toughness, a rigor, an impression of science and of objectivity at wide odds with mere opinion and taste. ... But ... the impression of rigor is entirely misleading" (525-26).

De acuerdo con Fraker, la metodología que emplea Cantalapiedra no es necesariamente deficiente, pero sí es probable que algunos de los procedimientos no se hayan llevado a cabo de una forma adecuada desde el punto de vista técnico y crítico. Se puede examinar la posibilidad que presenta Fraker mediante una revisión analítica del artículo citado de 1984, donde Cantalapiedra intenta probar la diferencia de autores a partir del acto XIII a través del estudio cuantitativo de los refranes en *Celestina*. Como este trabajo se basa en el examen del número de refranes en la obra, a primera vista el artículo parece ser el análisis más objetivo que hace Cantalapiedra de la cuestión de la autoría de *Celestina*. Sin embargo, un estudio más riguroso de los mismos datos que presenta Cantalapiedra, y con una metodología parecida a la que se emplea en el artículo citado, contradice la tesis fundamental del crítico español y sugiere que no hay ninguna diferencia significativa en el uso de los refranes después del acto XII.

De acuerdo con los datos que ofrece Cantalapiedra, los refranes en la *Comedia* se distribuyen de la siguiente manera:

NUMERO DE REFRANES POR ACTO EN LA 'COMEDIA'¹

A	B	C	$B \div C \times 100=D$
ACTO	REFRANES	LÍNEAS	REFRANES POR 100 LÍNEAS
I	32	996	3.21
II	9	172	5.23
III	13	213	6.10
IV	21	521	4.03
V	10	132	7.58
VI	7	409	1.71
VII	21	478	4.39
VIII	20	269	7.43
IX	27	355	7.60
X	3	318	0.94
XI	4	147	2.72
XII	18	531	3.39
XIII	4	143	2.80
XIV	2	135	1.48
XV	1	148	0.67
XVI	2	178	1.12

Como se puede ver en la columna B de la tabla y en el gráfico del apéndice I, desde luego hay un cambio notable en el número de refranes a partir del acto XIII. Los doce primeros actos de la *Comedia*

¹ Para el número de refranes en cada acto, véase Cantalapiedra (1984: 50). El número de líneas en cada acto de la *Comedia* está basado en la edición citada de *Celestina* de D. S. Severin. Una línea parcial se cuenta igual que una línea completa, y se restan las líneas interpoladas de la *Tragicomedia*.

Aunque este mismo análisis se puede hacer igual para la *Tragicomedia*, la *Comedia* resulta más eficiente no sólo por su mayor brevedad, sino también para estudiar la obra después de la primera intervención de Rojas, sin las posibles distorsiones de las interpolaciones posteriores de la *Tragicomedia*.

tienen un promedio de 15.4 refranes, mientras los últimos cuatro actos tienen un promedio de sólo 2.2, lo cual representa una reducción del 86%.² Hay que notar que este cambio se explica en parte por la muerte de Celestina, Pármeneo y Sempronio al final del acto XII, pero una diferencia tan marcada no deja de llamar la atención del lector moderno. Sin embargo, a pesar de la curiosidad que pueden despertar las cifras que presenta Cantalapiedra en este artículo, el estudio sufre de un gran defecto metodológico porque en ninguna parte se considera la extensión tan irregular de los dieciséis actos de la *Comedia*.

La extensión de los actos de la *Comedia* fluctúa entre las 132 líneas del acto V y las 996 líneas del primer acto, lo cual quiere decir que Cantalapiedra agrupa sin distinción un acto que es 7.5 veces más largo que otro. La distorsión en los procedimientos de Cantalapiedra viene del simple hecho de que los últimos cuatro actos de la *Comedia* tienen un promedio de sólo 151 líneas, o sea sólo el 40% del promedio de 378 líneas de los doce primeros actos. La diferencia en la extensión no se puede atribuir meramente a una diferencia de autor, pues también hay varios actos cortos entre los primeros doce (el II con 172 líneas; el V con 132; y el XI con 147). Empero, no es válido comparar el número de refranes en una población que tiene sólo el 40% de la extensión de otra, pues lógicamente habría que esperar que un grupo tuviera unos 2.5 veces más refranes que el otro.

Para examinar estos datos de una forma comparable, es necesario estudiar no el número absoluto de refranes en cada acto, sino el número relativo de refranes, teniendo en cuenta la extensión irregular de los

² Cantalapiedra (1984) indica que los doce primeros actos contienen un total de 185 refranes en la *Comedia* y 205 en la *Tragicomedia*, mientras el resto de la obra tiene 9 refranes en los últimos cuatro actos de la *Comedia* y 41 en los nueve restantes actos de la *Tragicomedia* (50). José Gella Iturriaga (1977) en cambio calcula un total de 444 refranes en la *Tragicomedia*, o sea 117% más que Cantalapiedra. Empero, esta cifra no cambiaría las conclusiones de nuestro estudio porque la relación entre los primeros doce actos y el resto de la obra es casi igual en los dos trabajos. Para Cantalapiedra, el 83% de los refranes aparecen en los doce primeros actos, mientras Gella Iturriaga calcula que debe ser el 81%.

diferentes actos. Esta información también se presenta en la misma tabla, donde la columna D indica el número de refranes por acto, pero esta vez por cada cien líneas de texto. De esta manera se analiza la frecuencia relativa de los refranes, eliminando de una forma muy sencilla la distorsión que resulta por la diferencia en la extensión de los actos. Como se ve en la tabla y todavía mejor en el gráfico del apéndice II, la gran reducción en el uso de los refranes comienza en el acto X de la *Comedia*, y desde luego no en el acto XIII. Lo que es más, el gráfico II indica muy claramente que el número proporcional de refranes en el acto XIII es casi igual al de los actos XI y XII, pues el uso de los refranes apenas varía entre los tres actos.

En vez de un cambio brusco entre los actos XII y XIII, en realidad hay sólo una leve disminución entre la frecuencia de refranes en los actos X a XII por una parte (un promedio de 2.5 refranes por cada cien líneas), y los actos XIII a XVI por otra (un promedio de 1.5 refranes por cada cien líneas). Estas dos cifras presentan una diferencia significativa si las comparamos con el promedio de 4.5 refranes por cada cien líneas en los actos I a IX,³ pero este contraste se puede explicar fácilmente por los cambios temáticos que empiezan en el acto X. En este acto, Melibea le admite a Celestina que ama a Calisto y que le quiere hablar esa misma noche. A partir de esta conversación entre la muchacha y la alcahueta, no caben los refranes ni los rodeos verbales de Celestina, ya que la acción gira en torno de la necesidad de llevar a cabo los amores de Calisto y Melibea. Si se usan menos refranes al final de la obra, es porque la trama de la obra ha tomado un rumbo nuevo, y desde luego no porque haya habido un cambio de autores.⁴

³ Si se suman los números presentados en la tabla, vemos que los actos I a IX de la *Comedia* tienen 160 refranes y 3,545 líneas. Los actos X a XII tienen 25 refranes y 996 líneas, y los actos XIII a XVI 9 refranes y 604 líneas.

⁴ Cantalapedra admite, en el libro citado (1986a) que "[s]e nos puede objetar, y con justa razón, que al ser los actos muy dispares entre sí, en cuanto a su extensión de páginas se refiere, que la media de refranes/actos no puede ser muy significativa. Como contraprueba, hemos realizado la media de refranes/página, y los resultados siguen

Como hemos visto, no existe ninguna ruptura entre los actos XII y XIII, y de ninguna manera el uso de los refranes apoya la tesis de Cantalapiedra de que Fernando de Rojas es el autor de sólo los últimos cuatro actos de la *Comedia*. Además, vemos muy claramente que el estudio matemático de la literatura, lejos de ser una tarea objetiva y científica, depende necesariamente de la capacidad subjetiva y creadora de cada crítico. En vez de usar las estadísticas sólo para comprobar ideas que uno mismo ha aceptado *a priori*, hay que tener en cuenta que las estadísticas y el análisis numérico también sirven para examinar estas ideas con un ojo crítico, y de esta manera hacer resaltar sus posibles defectos.



Aucto XIX Sevilla 1518

confirmando nuestra teoría" (184).

Dicha contraprueba consiste en contar los refranes por página, empleando la 3ª ed. de M. Criado de Val y G. D. Trotter (Madrid: CSIC, 1978). Este procedimiento indica que los actos I a XII contienen 1.03 refranes por página, mientras los actos XIII a XVI contienen sólo .42 refranes por página (184). El error en este procedimiento es que el alto número de refranes en los actos I a IX aumenta el promedio global de refranes para los primeros doce actos, aunque en realidad--como hemos señalado--hay sólo una pequeña diferencia en el uso de los refranes a partir del acto X.

Apéndice II

REFRANES POR CADA CIENTO LINEAS, LA COMEDIA DE CALISTO Y MELIBEA

8.0																			
7.8																			
7.6					xxx					xxx									
7.4					xxx					xxx xxx									
7.2					xxx					xxx xxx									
7.0					xxx					xxx xxx									
6.8					xxx					xxx xxx									
6.6					xxx					xxx xxx									
6.4					xxx					xxx xxx									
6.2			xxx		xxx					xxx xxx									
6.0			xxx		xxx					xxx xxx									
5.8			xxx		xxx					xxx xxx									
5.6			xxx		xxx					xxx xxx									
5.4			xxx		xxx					xxx xxx									
5.2		xxx xxx			xxx					xxx xxx									
5.0		xxx xxx			xxx					xxx xxx									
4.8		xxx xxx			xxx					xxx xxx									
4.6		xxx xxx			xxx					xxx xxx									
4.4		xxx xxx			xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
4.2		xxx xxx			xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
4.0		xxx xxx xxx xxx			xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
3.8		xxx xxx xxx xxx			xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
3.6		xxx xxx xxx xxx			xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
3.4		xxx xxx xxx xxx			xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
3.2	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
3.0	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx xxx xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
2.8	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx xxx xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
2.6	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx xxx xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
2.4	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx xxx xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
2.2	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx xxx xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
2.0	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx xxx xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
1.8	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx xxx xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
1.6	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx xxx xxx					xxx xxx xxx									
1.4	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx xxx xxx xxx					xxx xxx xxx xxx									
1.2	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx xxx xxx xxx					xxx xxx xxx xxx									
1.0	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx xxx xxx xxx					xxx xxx xxx xxx									
0.8	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx					xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx									
0.4	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx					xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx									
0.4	xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx				xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx					xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx									
0.2	xxx xxx				xxx xxx					xxx xxx									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		
		Actos																	

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FERNANDO DE ROJAS

LA
CELESTINA

TRAGICOMEDIA DE CALIXTO Y MELIBEA

Adaptación a la escena en tres actos de

ALVARO CUSTODIO



EDICIONES TEATRO CLASICO DE MEXICO

Adaptación-versión publicada en 1966. V.t. 105, 106.

THE HEREDIA-ZABALBURU COPY OF THE
TRAGICOMEDIA DE CALISTO Y MELIBEA
"SEVILLA, 1502" [I.E., ROME: MARCELLUS SILBER,
CA. 1516]

Charles B. Faulhaber
University of California, Berkeley

With the reopening of the Biblioteca Francisco de Zabálburu y Basabe,¹ *Celestina* scholarship once again has access to one of the three (known) extant copies of this edition of the *Celestina*.² Last mentioned

¹ Inaugurated by H.M. Doña Sofía on Friday, October 25th, 1991 (see Isabel Martos, "Caro Baroja: 'La Biblioteca Francisco Zabálburu es de un valor incalculable'" (ABC [1991-10-26]: 58), the library, owned by the Martos Zabálburu family (President of the Consejo Rector Doña María Trinidad Martos y Zabálburu, marquesa de Mondéjar), was opened to the scholarly public the following Monday, October 28th. It is located at Marqués del Duero, 7, 28001-Madrid (one block north of the Plaza de Cibeles on the east side of the Paseo de Recoletos). There is no external sign; to gain entrance one rings the bell at the westernmost of the three doors protected by a fin-de-siècle glass canopy. The library (tel.: 576 90 66) is open Monday-Friday 10-1; the librarian is Mercedes Noviembre.

² The only complete and currently located copy is that of Vincencio Zolla-J.P.R. Lyell-Philip Hofer-H.P. Kraus, now Boston Public Library *XD.170B.9 (Penney 98, Berndt-Kelley 10). The incomplete Seillière-Porquet-Quaritch copy is now in the British Library (C.20.b.15; cf. *Catalogue of Books Printed in Spain*. 168, Penney 98, Quaritch, n. 317). It is wanting the last leaf, which has been supplied in facsimile on the basis of the Seville: Estanislao Polono, 1501 ed. of the *Comedia*, thereby causing much confusion among early bibliographers (Foulché-Delbosc 71-73, 569n-570n).

The Biblioteca Zabálburu also possesses copies of the Venice: Estephano da Sabio, 1534 (shelfmark 37-49), and Antwerp: Plantin, 1599 (shelfmark 37-50)

in the sale catalog of the Heredia collection,³ its location has been unknown since 1892.

After F.J. Norton's fundamental work on printing in Spain during the early years of the sixteenth century, there can be no doubt that this is a copy of the Rome, ca. 1516 edition attributed in the verse colophon to "Sevilla, 1502."⁴ Marciales gives this edition the siglum K (1:7), which corresponds to Foulché-Delbosc's N (569) and to Herriott's J (4); a sampling of K's errata and unique variants with respect to this copy confirms this identification.⁵ While Norton identified the printer in his

editions of the *Tragicomedia*.

³ "S.l.n.d. (Seville, 1502), in-4, goth. à 37 lignes par page vign. sur bois, cart. perc. r. genre Bradel ... La présente édition est de la plus grande rareté, et quoique la souscription finale manque à notre exemplaire, il est probable que c'est celle de 1502, décrite par Brunet (I, col. 1716 et 1717), à moins que ce ne soit celle de 1501, qui, d'après le catalogue Seillière (vente de Londres, 1887), correspond exactement à celle de 1502. Nous n'avons ici que 74 ff. sur 82, sign. A à S par 4 ff. et 2 ff. du cahier T; il nous manque les ff. T i et T iv et le cahier U en entier (6 ff.) ... L'exemplaire est grand de marges. (H.: 209 mill. - L.: 146 mill.)" (249-50).

Penney (98) apparently knew this copy only through the citation in the Heredia catalogue. The copy was catalogued in 1988 in machine-readable form by the Centro del Patrimonio Bibliográfico (ref. 416-01-00030368-00000) for inclusion in the *Catálogo colectivo de obras impresas en el siglo XVI existentes en bibliotecas españolas*, now in progress.

⁴ Since the three Spanish editions of "Seville, 1502," assigned by Norton (*A Descriptive Catalogue*) to Seville: Jacobo Cromberger, ca. 1511 (n. 810), ca. 1513-15 (n. 878), and ca. 1518-20 (n. 942) are signed a-h⁸, by definition this copy cannot belong to any of those editions.

⁵ E.g., unique variants through the end of Act I (I follow Marciales's sigla for the various parts of the work as well as his reading of the critical text): AG a la presencia K a la presentia; AI Argumento del primer auto K Argumento del primer auctor; I.26 mata una anima K mata *vn* anima; I.33 todos passan K todos pansan I.90 confradias K *cu~*fradias; I.96 se encubrian K se encobria ; I.99 menjuy K meniuy; I.101 marrubios K marrumios; I.107 guija marina K *aguaja* marina; I.150 mas aina cae K mas ayna cay; I.170 se umilla K se humilia. The selected errata listed by Foulché-Delbosc (573) for the first six leaves also check exactly, although the following, listed by Foulché as on f. 6r (f. B2r), are in fact found on f. 6v (f.

Printing in Spain 1501-1529 (153), neither there nor--obviously--in *A Descriptive Catalogue* does he provide a detailed bibliographical description of the edition. That which follows is based on the Zabálburu copy, although completed with Foulché-Delbosc's description (569-83) of his own copy. The latter is invaluable because it is accompanied by numerous facsimiles, but it is not a complete bibliographical description. Lyell (158) describes his copy (now Boston Public Library) briefly, attributing it to the Roman printers Jacobo de Junta and Antonio de Salamanca, ca. 1515-1520.

* * *

Location: Biblioteca Francisco de Zabálburu y Basabe, Marqués del Duero, 7, 28001-Madrid.

Shelfmark: Vitrina.

Provenience: Ricardo Heredia, comte de Benahavis (his bookplate); *Catalogue*, 2:249-50, n. 2277. Prior owners unknown, since this copy cannot be identified with any of those listed by earlier bibliographers. Salvá gives an accurate description, but does not indicate the copy he saw, which was apparently complete.⁶ Palau describes it twice, and gets it wrong both times through confusion with other editions.⁷ Penney (98) lists the six copies known to her; however, one of

B2v): matere (for matare), guarcer (for guarecer), luad (for laud), volu-dad (for voluntad).

⁶ "... 4.º let. gót. sin fol. signs. A-U, de 4 hojas todas, menos la U que es de 6. Viñetas de madera. Brunet la menciona; pero la descripción la he tomado original del libro" (1:386a, n. 1157).

⁷ Under n. 51128 (3:364a) he describes the British Library copy (C.20.b.15), but ascribes it to the year 1501, deceived by the false final page, and gives it only 22 illustrations instead of 24. Under n. 51129 (ibid.) he confuses it with the Seville: Cromberger, ca. 1518-20 edition (*Libro de Calixto y Melibea y de la puta vieja Celestina* (BNM R 26.575; Marciales L), which, however, is signed a-h⁸, not A-T⁴V⁶. The latter description (n. 51129) is rectified in n. 275782 (17:344b), except that Palau now has the edition (Marciales L) signed "a⁸-4⁸" instead of a-h⁸. The former (n. 51128), however, is confused further in n. 275783 (17:344a-b), where our edition is now conflated with that of Seville: Cromberger, ca. 1511 (British Library C.20.c.17; Marciales H), apparently on the basis of the description given by Fernando Colón in the *Regestrum A*, n. 2417 (I cite the latter from Foulché-Delbosc, p. 584). Palau had previously described Marciales H under n. 51131

these corresponds to the edition of Seville: Cromberger, ca. 1511 (British Library C.20.c.17 = *Catalogue of Books Printed in Spain* 168, Marciales H).⁸ The location of three of the remaining five is known (see n. 2 above). Foulché-Delbosc owned a complete copy in 1936, different from the Boston Public Library copy, which J.P.R. Lyell had in his possession by 1926 at the latest. In the French scholar's description of his copy (569-81), he distinguishes it (570n) from the Heber-Soleinne-Techener copy seen by Brunet (1:1716-1717): "in-4, goth. ff. non chiff. sign. a-u par 4, excepté u qui est par 6, avec fig. en bois. Vend. rel. en mar. v. par Lewis, 3 liv. 3 sh. Heber, et porté à 400 fr. dans un catal. de M. Techener. Le titre de cette édition de 1502 est imprimé en 9 lignes, au-dessous d'une vignette en bois...." The Heredia-Zabálburu copy cannot be the Heber-Soleinne-Techener copy precisely because the latter was complete. Thus there would seem to be at least two more complete copies of this edition (Heber-Soleinne-Techener, Foulché-Delbosc) which remain unaccounted for.

Binding: late 19th-c. cloth, faded rose-brown (originally red? cf. the Heredia catalog description cited above n.3). Spine title: CALISTO | Y | MELIBEA (216 x 156 mm).

MS notes: There are four separate notes inside the front cover, the first two in pencil in a late 19th-c. hand, each one inscribed in a rectangle, the third in ink in an earlier 19th-c. hand (badly faded), and the fourth (partially covered by the Heredia bookplate) in pencil in a 19th-c. hand (a single [?] indicates that the reading of the previous word is questionable; a double [??] indicates an illegible word):

[1] "Paris Bibl: Nat: Reserve. | y + 6310.-Edition de 1501." A reference to the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (Sevilla: Estanislao Polono, 1501), *nunc* Paris Bibl. Nationale Rés. Yg.63 (Marciales D).

[2] "[Lexemplaire de Solar, de l'édition de Seville, 1502 a ete acheté | par la Bibl: Nationale. selon M^r Deschamps (Supplément au Manuel)]." The "Manuel" refers to Brunet. To the right of the note, the annotation "4^o." It is not clear which copy this note refers to. The Bibl. Nationale currently owns no copy of "Seville, 1502" according to Norton. Miss Penney (40) cites a Solar copy of "Salamanca, 1502" [i.e., Rome:

(3:364a-b).

⁸ The error is all the more striking in that Miss Penney lists the same copy separately as a different edition, with a facsimile of the title page (96).

Antonio de Blado for Antonio de Salamanca, ca. 1520; Marciales N].

[3] "Coll. [?] avec [?] l'Expl. [?] de Salamanca acheté par le | Baron [?] Allier [?]. L'Édition est de Sevilla 1502 y le | faltan al final 9. ff. [in pencil] V[ente]. Gancia 136 fr." The last note refers to the Gancia sale.

[4] "Seville 1502 | Brunet [...] [??] 1062 [?] | vol. 1. [...] et 1718 | [...] | 400 [??]."

On the verso of the front flyleaf there is another MS note in pencil: "1157 | N.º du | C^t Salvá | 6271."

Inside the rear cover there are two notes in pencil, the first in a fairly recent hand, the second in a late 19th- or early 20th-c. hand:

[1] "d/n [?] Ap. 50."

[2] "He visto el ejempl. del British | Museum N.º 10244 de la Lib. Grenvillana | ò sea "Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea" | [crossed out: y] 4.^{to} got. y cuya ult.^a pag. esta copiada | a la izd.^a [referring to the MS facsimile on the verso of the 2d of the 2 final flyleaves] siendo de Salamanca 1502 - | [crossed out: Este eje] Consta de cuadno. A-J (de 8 hoj.) | (9 x 8) = 76. El mio sienta [?] hasta el T pero | son de 4 hojas. los cuad - Segun el ejem | del B.M. me faltarian 6 hojas -."

Dimensions: lf. A2: 211 x 150 mm; text page f. B2r: 154 x 96 mm.

Number of ll. per p.: 37 (f. B2r)

Format: 4º

Foliation: [1] + [74] + [2]

Collation: A-X⁴V⁶. This copy is imperfect, wanting bifolium T1.4 and gathering V. On the verso of the 2d of the two end flyleaves a MS facsimile of the last page of British Library G.10244 (Rome: Antonio de Blado for Antonio de Salamanca, ca. 1520) has been added in ink, in 2 cols. Beneath the last line ("fue de Salamanca imp~sso acabado") the same hand has written "Sevilla"; below that a ¿different hand? has written in ink: "Manque 9 ff." Above and to the right of the latter note an attempt has been made to calculate the number of leaves (in very faint pencil): "18 | 4 | 76" [i.e., 18 x 4 = 76].

Watermarks: (1) gloved hand, fingers spread, surmounted by five-petaled flower, on bifolia A2.3, C2.3, D2.3, H1.4, T2.3 (resembles Briquet 10715 (1495-99)); (2) gloved hand with some sort of symbol (a circle?) in palm, fingers together, surmounted by star composed of 2 lines crossing diagonally at the chain line, on bifolia B2.3, E2.3, F2.3, G1.4, J2.3, M1.4, N2.3, O2.3, P2.3, Q1.4, R1.4, S2.3; (3) crown or fleur-de-lys inscribed in circle, on bifolia K2.3, L1.4.

Illustrations: There are 24, one on the title page and one at the beginning or in the middle of each act. Act XII carries an additional illustration (f. P4v), depicting the murder of Celestina by Pármeno and Sempronio and the latter's attempts to flee by jumping from Celestina's window. Of these illustrations only seven (or eight) are page-wide woodcuts, while the other 16 or 17⁹ are composed of individual cuts (factotum figures, buildings, or trees) arranged together in page-wide groups of five to represent the speakers and setting of a given act:

1. A1r = f. 1r (title page). The initial encounter of Calisto and Melibea (76 x 110). Facsm.: Heredia catalog (249) [Heredia-Zabálburu copy]; Lyell (156) [Boston Public Library copy]; Vindel, 2: n. 529; Foulché-Delbosc (568) [his copy]; *Theatre Arts Monthly* 19.9 (September 1935):723 [Boston Public Library copy; cited from Penney (98)]; Kraus (15) [Boston Public Library copy]; Penney (98).
2. B1v = f. 5v (beg. I, after arg.). 5 figures (but 7 names in the caption): Pármeno. Calisto. Melibea. Sempronio. Celestina. elicia. crito. Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (571).
3. D4v = f. 16v (beg. II). Tree + 3 figures (Calisto. Parmeno. Sempronio) + building.
4. E2v = f. 18v (beg. III). Building + 3 figures (Celestina. Sempronio. Elicia) + tree.
5. F1v = f. 21v (beg. IV). Building + 4 figures: Calisto. Celestina. Parmeno. Sempronio.
6. G4r = f. 28r (beg. V). Building + 4 figures: Calisto. Parmeno. Sempronio. Celestina.
7. H2r = f. 30r (beg. VI). Building + 4 figures: Calisto. Celestina. Parmeno. Sempronio.
8. J3r = f. 35r (beg. VII). 4 figures (Celestina. Parmeno. Areusa. Elicia) + building.
9. K4v = f. 40v (beg. VIII). 4 figures (Sempronio. Parmeno. Calisto. Areusa) + building.
10. L3v = f. 43v (beg. IX). 5 figures (but 6 names): Sempronio. Parmeno. Celestina. Lucrecia. Elicia. Areusa.

⁹ Foulché (569) states that the edition carries 24 illustrations; 21 are conserved in the Heredia-Zabálburu copy, while Foulché provides facsimiles of 2 more. The missing illustration probably corresponds to Act XX.

11. M4v = f. 48v (beg. X). 4 figures (Melibea. Celestina. Lucrecia. Alisa) + building.
12. N4r = f. 52r (beg. XI). 5 figures: Calisto. Celestina. Parmeno. Sempronio. Elicia.
13. O2v = f. 54v (beg. XII). 5 figures (but 9 names, in 2 ll.): Calisto. Lucrecia. Melibea. Parmeno. Sempronio. | Pleberio. Alisia. [!] Celestina. Elicia.
14. P4v = f. 60v (end XII). The murder of Celestina (41 x 97 mm.). Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (574).
15. Q1r = f. 61r (middle XIII). The execution of Pármeno and Sempronio (42 x 94 mm.). Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (575).
16. Q3r = f. 63r (middle XIV). Calisto climbing a ladder to gain access to the garden, with Sosia and Tristan to his left, outside the wall, and the heads of Melibea and Lucrecia to his right, inside the wall (47 x 93 mm.). Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (576).
17. R2r = f. 66r (beg. XV). Building + 3 figures (Elicia. Lucrecia. Areusa) + tree.
18. R4v = f. 68v (beg. XVI). 4 figures (Melibea. Lucrecia. Alisa. Pleberio) + tree.
19. S2v = f. 70v (beg. XVII, after arg.). Building + 3 figures (Elicia, Sosia [!], Areusa) + tree. Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (572). Sosia is represented by a female figure.
20. S4v = f. 72v (beg. XVIII). Tree + 3 figures (Areusa. Centurio. Elicia) + building.
21. T3r = f. 75r (middle XIX). Calisto climbing a ladder to gain access to the garden, with Sosia and Tristan to his left, outside the wall, and the heads of Melibea and Lucrecia to his right, inside the wall (repeated from f. Q3r; 47 x 93 mm.). Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (577).
- [22. T4v = f. 76v (middle XX).¹⁰ Sosia and Tristán carry 'away Calisto's body. Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (578).
23. V? = f.? (middle XX?).
24. V2v = f. 79v (end XX). Melibea falls from tower, flanked at left by Pleberio and at right by Lucrecia. Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (579).]

¹⁰ The descriptions of the illustrations for Act XX are taken from Foulché-Delbosc.

Fonts: Three type sizes are used, a large display type for the title (f. A1r) and the first line of the Incipit (f. B1r¹⁷), a small one for the Carta. El auctor a un su amigo (f. A1v), and an intermediate size for the rest of the text.

Text: [f. A1r] [Woodcut] [Title] Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea : [Subtitle] en la qual se contiene de mas | de su agradable & dulce estilo muchas sentencias filosofales : & auisos muy necesarios para mancebos: mostrandoles los engaños que | estan encerrados en seruietas & alcahuetas : & nueuamente añadido el tractado de Centurio.

[f. A1v] ¶El Auctor a vn suo amigo | S^[2]Uelen [!] los que de sus tierras ausentes se halla~ considerar:de que | cosa a quel lugar do~de parte~ mayor inopia:o falta padezca: para ... [l. 42] sin diuision en vn acto:o cena incluso hasta el segundo acto donde di | ze: Hermanos mios &c~. Uale.

[f. A2r] [Acrostic octaves] ¶El auctor escusando se de su yerro en esta | obra que escriuió contra si arguye & compara. | ¶El silencio escusa & suele encobrir ... [l. 37] amantes que os muestra salir de catiuo. [f. A2v] Comparacion. | Como el Doliente que pildora amarga | o la recela : o no puede tragar ... [f. A3r²⁶] a todo correr deueys de huyr | no os lance cupido sus tiros dorados.

[f. A3v] [Prologue] T^[2]Odas las cosas ser criadas a manera de co~tine~da [!] o ba~talla ... [B1r¹⁵] principal estudio con otras horas destinadas para recreacion: | puesto que no ha~ de faltar nuevos detractores ala nueua adicio~.

[f. B1r¹⁷] [Incipit] Sigue se la Comedia o Tragicome | dia de Calisto & Melibea:co~puesta en reprehension delos lo~cos enamorados: que vencidos en su desordenado apetito a sus | amigas llaman & dizen ser su dios. Assi mismo fecho en auiso d'los engaños d'las alcahuetas & malos & lisonjeros siruie~tes. | [Argumento general] ¶Argumento. | C^[2]Alisto fue de noble linaje:de claro ingenio: de gentil dispo | sicion ... [l. 34] lugar oportuno donde ala presentia [!] de Calisto se presento la | desseada Melibea.

[f. B1v] [Argumento del acto I] ¶Argumento del primer auctor [!] desta comedia. | ¶Entrando Calisto en vna huerta e~pos de vn falco~suyo : hall | lo ay a Melibea ... [l. 13] la qual mucho le dize delos fechos & conocimiento de su me~dre [!]:induziendo le amor & concordia de Sempronio. [Caption above factotum figures] Parmeno.Calisto.Melibea.Sempronio. Celestina.elicia.crito [set of 5

woodcut factotum figures]

[f. B1v¹⁶] [Text] ¶Enesto veo Melibea la grandeza de dios.(Me.) en q~ cali-|sto; (Ca.)en dar poder a natura que de tan perfecta fermosura te dotasse ... [Expl. incompl. f. T3v³⁶] ... le despedaces:no le trabajes sus mie~bros con tus pesados bra-|ços:dexa me gozar lo q~ es mio:no me ocupes mi plazer. (Ca.) [...]

[f. V6ra]¹¹ [Final octaves] Co~cluye el auctor aplica~do la | obra al proposito porq~ la acabo. | ¶Pues aqui vemos qua~ mal feneciero~ | a q~stos ama~tes:huygamos su dança: | ... [f. V6rb²⁵] llorando & riendo en tie~po & sazón | Descriue el tiempo en que | la obra se imprimio. | El carro de febo despues d' auer dado | mill & quinie~tas dos bueltas e~rueda | ambos ento~ces los hijos de leda | a phebo en su casa tiene~posentado | qua~do este muy dulce y breue tratado | despues de reuisto y bie~ corregido | co~ gra~ vigila~cia puntado y leydo | fue en Seuilla impresso acabado | ¶Finis.

Lenturio. Elicia. Breula.



VALENCIA 1514 Aucto 18

¹¹ Transcribed from facsm. in Foulché-Delbosc (589). Emphasis indicates resolved abbreviations that cannot be represented by standard type fonts.

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THE POETICS OF PROSTITUTION: BUCHANAN'S 'ARS LENAEE'

Charles Platter
University of Georgia

Barbara Welch
Gladwyn, Pennsylvania

[Welch, a scholar of Sixteenth-Century French literature, spotted the text and its relevance to *Celestina* studies and has here provided the introductory matter. Platter, a Classics scholar, has provided the translation and the extensive notes. Ed.]

Introduction

Unlike George Buchanan's political history and religious writing, his elegiac and erotic poetry have received little critical attention.¹ There has been no English translation of the Scottish poet's elegy *Apologia pro Lena*. The translation and notes offered here are particularly valuable for the scholar of the *Celestina* and its literary tradition in French letters. Buchanan's unusual elegy on the *lena* theme and his importance, together with that of Erasmus, in the development of extended verse satire in France, render his erotic poetry compelling for the student of the literary heritage of this theme.

In the 1540's Buchanan lived with Baif and had contact with Dorat and the young French poets Du Bellay and Ronsard.² Du Bellay's choice of Latin as the language of much of his poetry may have been due, in part, to Buchanan's influence, and his French translation of Buchanan's first elegy is well known. Likewise, his "Adieu aux Muses" is closely based on Buchanan's first elegy, "Quam misera sit". In

particular, Buchanan's poems addressed to Leonora and Neaera seem to have struck a chord with the early Pléaïde poets.³ In these iambic poems, Buchanan treats the courtesan Leonora with a range of emotion from near affection to detached amusement and harsh, vituperative satire similar to Catullus' treatment of Lesbia. Indeed, in Catullus the *lena* bears the brunt of the poet's wrath for corrupting his mistress, a *topos* that evokes the work of the Augustan poets, most notably of Propertius, and the theme of the *exclusus amator*, whose erotic ambitions are frustrated by various elegiac figures).⁴ Iambi 4 is Buchanan's most vituperative attack on Leonora. After having loved her, the poet is overcome with reason. He wonders in retrospect how he could have loved the creature he now graphically describes as painted, dirty, rotting, wrinkled and fat. The condemnation is specific and personal. By contrast the treatment of prostitution--and by implication of the prostitute--in the *pro Lena* is both positive and abstract. Indeed, to argue that prostitution is simply good and natural perhaps demands a measure of abstraction. Fittingly, the only proper names Buchanan includes--beyond that of his addressee Briand de Vallee--are from mythical *exempla*. The only local references are passing allusions to Bordeaux, specifically to an edict closing the brothels, and to the wild youth of Briand de Vallee (Vallius)⁵.

The *pro Lena* is addressed to Briand de Vallee, a *conseiller* in the Bordeaux Parliament from 1527-1544 and close friend of Buchanan. Buchanan exploits de Vallee's profession by rhetorically incorporating various legal terms and strategies into the structure of his poem. Further, after an initial expression of incredulity that Vallius should be opposed to whores, the defense of prostitution depends for its structure on an accumulation of points, as in traditional legal disputation. The appropriation of a non-poetic vocabulary for poetry is also reminiscent of Catullan aesthetics--for example, Poem 5, where the poet takes the unpoetic diction of business and finance and adapts it to his own purposes. Taken as a whole, Buchanan's diction and neoteric tendencies suggest the overall importance of Catullus as a model for the *pro Lena*, as the notes will show.

The relationship of the *pro Lena* to its literary heritage in late Republic and Augustan erotic poetry is very strong. The delicate argument on poetics which the text sustains gains an imperative voice if

one considers the poem's contemporary European climate and its receptiveness to paradoxical literature. We find striking examples of mock encomia for prostitution in passages of *Celestina* and Aretino's *Ragionamenti*. In addition there are eulogies on the same subject which share properties with the *pro Lena*. Niccolo Franco (Aretino's secretary) provides one such example in his *Epistle to Whores* (*Le pistole vulgari*, 1539). In a veritable catalogue of worldly delights, Franco credits courtesans with having reintroduced all the epicurean pleasures into Italy. Buchanan's text will go one step further by locating prostitution squarely among the virtues.

In the French tradition the Seigneur de la Borderie, in *L'amie de Court* (1543), presents a young woman's defense against all of love's entrapments. In exchange for goods and services, she entertains "serviteurs" in her bed, all the while proclaiming her "franc vouloir" and resistance to evil. The satirical eulogy ends with an ironic twist: acknowledging that beauty does not last forever, the protagonist admits her desire for marriage and conceives an imaginary marriage based on wisdom, honesty and mutual pleasure (rejoining Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptameron* by the back door, so to speak).

Panurge's "Praise of Debt" in Rabelais' *Tiers Livre* provides a well-known example of satirical eulogy in the French tradition, but more interesting are the similarities and differences between Buchanan's poem and Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* (1508), the Renaissance progenitor of all mock *apologia*. There, despite her roaming discourse, Folly's presence ultimately serves a didactic end: she exposes human failings and ignorance as well as healthy spontaneity and pleasure. Similarly, Buchanan's *pro Lena* displays a steady emphasis on the positive effects of the *lena* on man: she fires the imagination, cures diseases, ensures the continuation of the species, etc. The first-person narrator of the Praise of Folly adduces many personalized confirmations of Folly's argument. Buchanan's text differs radically by virtue of the narrator's apparent lack of personal interest in the subject and by the abstract nature of his defense. The institution rather than the individual is in question. Another difference between the two texts stems from the form of their respective arguments. Folly continually alters the subject of her attack, producing a highly digressive argument. Buchanan's defender of the "ars lenae" relies on the elucidation of interdependent causes and effects:

printing--1641), there is evidence that his verse circulated in France in manuscript form in the 1550's. A Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript prepared in the 1550's comprises a majority of the poems addressed to Neaera and Leonora and includes the *pro Lena*.

³See Ford (1978), pp. 513-524; see also MacFarlane (1968), pp. 223-245.

⁴See F. Copley, *Exclusus Amator* (Ann Arbor: 1956); for Ovid alone see J.T. Davis, *Fictus Adulter*, (Amsterdam: 1989).

⁵One reason for dating the *pro Lena* before 1544 is that Buchanan would have been unlikely to develop his playful defense of prostitution around the figure of Vallius after the latter's death. Cf. MacFarlane (1981), pp. 87-88.

⁶The *pro Lena* is also indirectly connected to the Latin rhetorical tradition, which, in the late Republic and under the Empire, practiced declamation through arguing various unreal cases called *suasoriae* and *contraversiae*. See E.J. Kenney, *The Cambridge History of Latin Literature* (Cambridge: 1982), pp. 8-9.

⁷For valuable studies on the indebtedness of Renaissance culture to the classics see now *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition*, eds. P. Godwin and O. Murray (Oxford: 1990).

AD BRIANDUM VALLIUM BURDEGAL. PRO LENA APOLOGIA

Posse putet quisquam fieri, doctissime Valli,
 in famulas Veneris durus ut esse queas?
 Idem posse suos in fontes flumina labi
 Credat, & aversis astra redire rotis.
 5 Et tamen in fontes ut flumina lapsa recurrant,
 Et retro aversis astra ferantur equis:
 Non erit in Veneris, Valli, censura ministras
 Aspera, nec rigidis contrahet ora minis.
 10 Non ea rusticitas, rigor est nec tetricus illi,
 Cordaque montanis asperiora feris:

Sed facilis candor, doctisque exulta Camoenis
 Pectora, quae saevae nil feritatis habent:
 Quae jocus & salibus capiat condita venustas,
 quaeque juvent risus, gratia blanda, lepos.
 15 Adde quod est levibus non impenetrabile telis
 Cor tibi: sensisti tu quoque quid sit amor.
 Inter & ingenuas, praestas quibus omnibus, artes,
 Materiam flammis repperit ille suis.
 20 Cum tibi jucundo pectus premeretur amaro,
 Serperet in curas & nova cura tuas,
 Quae tibi mens! Quae vita animi, miserande, fuisset
 Tum tibi, si fidam lena negasset opem?
 Olim tu quod eras, alios nunc esse putato:
 Quaeque tibi fuerant, iis modo grata puta.
 25 Aut potius, iuvenes ceu sis revolutus in annos,
 Ante tuum hanc caussam finge tribunal agi.
 Finge ream lenam, iuveni quod morte sub ipsa
 Officii fuerit fida ministra sui:
 30 Quod medico certam nullo spondente salutem,
 Spem misero vitae fecit, opemque tulit:
 Quod natum patri, civem servaverit urbi:
 Haec, age, quo poenae nomine digna putes?
 At vos majorum requiescite molliter umbrae,
 Vestraque purpureo floreat urna croco,
 35 Qui bene servati statuistis praemia civis,
 Ut premeret fortes querna corona comas.
 Illo debuerat mulier tam strenua nasci
 Tempore, virtuti cum suus esset honos.
 40 Clarior haud esset Latiis Laurentia fastis,
 Aut Dea, quae nuda vult meretrice coli.
 At nunc invidiae est virtus: contemptus honesti,
 Neglecto recti pondere, regna tenet.
 Quae fora tot caperent statuas, si digna fuissent
 Reddita virtuti dona, virago, tuae?
 45 Quae nunc, me miserum, es rea criminis, id modo crimen
 Si sit, quo demto vivere nemo potest.
 Officium si crimen erit, si nocte dieque
 Aspera blandiloqua frangere corda prece:
 Vincula si Veneris sunt noxia, legibus arce:

- 50 Nulla dehinc ornet limina festus Hymen.
 Ne liceat gravibus medicos arcessere morbis,
 Si nullum, medicos qui vocet, esse licet.
 Sin & blanda Venus generantum secla propaget,
 Et medicam morbis addere fas fit opem:
- 55 Poscere sin fas est, quae fas fecisse, rogare
 Et medicum, & Venerem conciliare licet.
 Quod si parva licet magnis componere, lenae
 Munere comperies quot placuisse Deos?
 Anne aliud quam lena Venus, quam leno Cupido?
- 60 Quaeque praeest primis pronuba Juno toris?
 Quique domas duras Domiti, & Domiduce puellae
 Ductor ad externos cum venit illa Lares?
 Anne Jugatinum tibi, Pilumnumque Premamque,
 Pertundam, & Subigum, teque Hymenaeae canam?
- 65 Cumque Libentina Mantumam, Volupiamque,
 Et quae de timida virgine nomen habet?
 Sedula multorum, Valli, si lena Deorum
 Implevit partes, crimen id esse putas?
 Dedecus est homini, quod numinis aequat honores?
- 70 Res erit huic poenae quae dedit astra Deis?
 Sed neque connubiis praesunt haec numina solis,
 Et sine connubio est non inamoena Venus.
 Respice Pieridas, Valli, tua numina, Musas;
 Virgo in virgineo vix erit ulla choro.
- 75 Orphea mulcentem silvas agnoscit & amnes
 Calliope genetrix, Uranieque Linum.
 Furta tegens uterus reliquas facit esse pudicas:
 Quae casta est? sterilis, vel sine teste parens.
 Nec taedis super astra fides servata maritis,
- 80 Nec patrem appellas ipse, Gradive Jovem.
 Forte pudicitiae seclis fuit ampla vetustis
 Gloria: sed titulo gloria sola tenus.
 Quam nunc utilitas, mos, consensusque recusat
 Publicus, haud falso si licet ore loqui.
- 85 Cum mare, cum tellus homines populetur, & ignis,
 Tot pereant morbo, tot fera bella necent:
 Cumque hominum in pejus solertia callida semper
 Inveniat caussas in sua fata novas:

- Tun' prohibere potes Veneris commercia? lenas
 90 Si tollis, Veneris commoda quanta vetas!
 Tun' prohibere audes Veneris commercia, sola
 Humanum poterunt quae reparare genus?
 Nam neque Partheniis nunc quercubus editur Arcas,
 Curetes pluvio nec geniti imbre cadunt:
 95 Nec gravida fratres funduntur nube bimembres,
 Nec vivunt Pyrrhae saxa animata manu:
 Myrmidonas nusquam gignit formica, nec usquam
 Ficta Prometheo spirat imago luto.
 Una quidem superest, superest ars unica, Valli,
 100 Quae reparat nostrum continuatque genus.
 Huic quota pars restat detracto munere lenae,
 Sive torus, Veneris seu vaga furta placent?
 Lena toros auget foecunda prole maritos,
 Ne serie soboles deficiente cadat.
 105 At si legitimi serventur foedera lecti,
 Opprimet illustres quanta ruina domos?
 Juppiter & Bacchus succurret munere lenae,
 Atque geret partes Mars & Apollo viri.
 Gignit Alexandrum serpens, qui Persida vincat,
 110 Perniciem Libyes Scipiademque draco:
 Aut personatus juvenis sub nomine amicae
 Sacra Bonae intrabit non temeranda Deae.
 Sed neque conjugium conjux castum expetet ullus,
 Si quicquam sano in pectore mentis habet.
 115 Quae casta est, tetrica est, eadem tristisque, nec octo
 Diducit risu mensibus ora quater:
 Oscula dat veluti pulla cum sindone mater,
 Funera quae nati luget acerba sui.
 Praetereo prudens quos nox, thalamusque torusque
 120 Continet occultos & sine teste jocos:
 Quos mihi si tollis, nec casta Lucretia conjux
 Hac placeat lecto conditione meo.
 At quae furtivae Veneris commercia novit,
 Mille virum tristem leniet illa modis.
 125 Si peregre it, plorat: redeuntem amplectitur, ulnis
 Comprimit, exanimis deficit inque sinu:
 Accusatque moras, & verbis oscula jungit:

- Oscula dum jungit, fletibus ora rigat.
 Et queritur ceu laesa prior suspiria ducens,
 130 Percursatque agili sedulitate domum.
 Haec bona si doctae debent connubia lenae,
 Quantum illi coelebs debeat ergo torus?
 Debet ei coelebs, gelido quod sidere brumae
 Non cubet oclusas frigidus ante fores:
 135 Fabula quod non sit vulgi rumore sinistro,
 Aptam quod officiis tempora liber agat.
 Ipse tibi es testis, (quid enim manifesta negemus?)
 Ars lenae quantum commoditatis habet:
 Quae sit opera quondam te destituisset amantem,
 140 Venisset studiis heu mora quanta tuis?
 Publica Burdegalae prohibent decreta lupanar:
 Iudicio lenae nec licet esse tuo.
 Quid facient inopes juvenes peregrinaque turba?
 Quid miseri mystae, Funigerique greges?
 145 Quid Monachi reliqui? quorum tentigine nervos
 Assidue vexant vina, Juventa, quies?
 Claudere cum precibus possint Acheronta polumque,
 Et coeli, Stygias & reserare fores,
 Secure ut precibus possint intendere, apud te
 150 Illorum justas fac valuisse preces.
 Adde quod è furto proles feliciter exit,
 Quam cum legitimo vincula more ligant.
 Nempe quod assuetae Veneris fastidia gignit
 Copia, nec gratum quod licet, esse solet.
 155 Sensus hebes languet, torpetque ignava voluptas,
 Acrius ardescit saepe repulsus amor.
 De Junone Jovi satus est modo Mulciber unus,
 Claudus ab Aetnaeis squalidus usque rogis.
 Mars furto, & Pallas, Phoebus, Bacchusque Venusque,
 160 Et qui saxificae Gorgonis ora tulit:
 Quique tulit coelum, quique extulit igne parentem,
 Quemque suum auctorem Martia Roma vocat.
 Quosque foret longe numerare molestius, undae
 Quam Lybicae fluctus si numerare velis.
 165 Nec tamen hic metuit livor confingere crimen,
 Esse ubi par merito gratia nulla potest.

Nec satis hoc visum est meritis non praemia reddi,
 Sed vitii officio nomina falsa damus.
 Peccet ut hic vulgus, quisque ignorantia crassa
 170 Obsita Cimberia pectora nube premit:
 Absit ab ingenio, Valli, foedissima labes,
 Barbaries mores nec notet ista tuos;
 Quod fuit officium quondam melioribus annis,
 Ut vitium, crimen, nequitiamque putes.
 175 Nam neque vim vertit, nativaeque nomina rerum,
 Ut niveas tingit cana senecta comas.
 Nec si mutarit tempus cum corpore formam,
 In vitium virtus degenerare potest.
 Sola manet patiens aevi, securaque damni,
 180 Nec metuit longas temporis una moras.
 Virtutem appellem? quidni? quae noxia nulli,
 Eximia multis commoditate placet.
 Ut tibi non prosit, seris neque serviat annis,
 Utilis at nato forte erit illa tuo.
 185 Attamen haud Veneris tibi sic deferbuit ardor,
 Nullaque sub docto pectore flamma calet,
 Ut veteres penitus possis abdicere amores,
 Nullaque Cyprigenae gaudia nosse Deae.
 Nulla quoque ut capias, nimium livoris iniqui est,
 190 Queis careas, alios velle carere bonis.
 Nam licet acer equus senio sit fractus inertis,
 Bellica cum raucae signa dedere tubae,
 Mente furit, terramque ferit pede, surrigit aures,
 Robore adhuc retinens deficiente minas.
 195 Ductor & emeritis Martem qui deserit armis,
 Et procul à castris otia lentus agit,
 Instruit exemplis juvenes, hortatibus implet,
 Nec sibi calcatas obstruit ille vias.
 Absit, ut invidias aliis tendentibus illuc,
 200 Quo tibi, sed lenae munere, facta via est.
 Per Charites, Musasque tuas, Valli optime, quarum
 Funguntur lenae carmina saepe vice;
 Mystica per Veneris, quarum est lena una sacerdos,
 Perque Cupidineas, tela timenda, faces;
 205 Per Veneris comites Bacchum, risusque salesque,

Quaeque hilarent genium, gaudia laeta, tuum:
 Vel mitte innocuam, vel lenam absolve nocentem,
 Si modo, quod lena est, lena sit ulla nocens.
 Finge tibi pariter cunctas procumbere lenas,
 210 A quibus officium sedulitatis habes:
 Finge tibi pariter cunctas astare puellas,
 Oreque blandiloquo talia verba queri:
 Aut una damnato omnes, aut crimine solve,
 Juncta etiam nostris est tua caussa malis.
 215 Damna, si damnare potes, quae noxia nulli,
 Grata sua multis sedulitate fuit:
 Quam nemo accusat, quam nemo coarguit, idem
 Quin testis culpam publicet ipse suam.
 Illa potest mores, populo vel teste, tueri:
 220 Legitimus quaestus nunc facit esse ream.
 Si vitium esse putes, poteris non credere factum:
 Si factum credas, ne vitium esse putes.

To Briandus Vallius of Bordeaux: A Defense of the Lena

Most-learned Vallius, does anyone among the slaves of Venus
 Think he could become as hard as you?
 If so, let him also believe that rivers slip back into their sources
 And that the stars will turn back, their motion reversed.
 5 Nevertheless, even if the fallen waters run back to their sources,
 And if the celestial chariot reverses the stars' courses.
 Still, Vallius, there will be no harsh censure for the agents of
 Venus,
 Nor will her face be drawn from stern threats.
 She is not rude and has no gloomy stiffness
 10 No heart harsher than the wild mountains.
 But her kindness is easy to bear, and the perfect breasts of the
 learned Muses
 Have no trace of cruel wildness;
 What joke or refined elegance can hold without her,
 What laughter pleases, what pleasant grace and charm?

- 155 A dulled pleasure grows wearisome and unknown pleasure
smolders
But rejected love often burns more sharply.
Mulciber alone was born from Juppiter and Juno,
Ever-dirty shut up under the piles of Aetna.
But Mars was born in secret, and Pallas and Phoebus and
Bacchus; even Venus,
- 160 And he who carried the head of the stone-making
Gorgon;
So also he who bore the heavens, and he who carried his parent
from the flames,
And the one Martian Rome calls "father".
It would be more difficult to count the rest
Than if you wished to count the waves of the Libyan sea.
- 165 Nevertheless, malice does not fear to bring an accusation here,
Where nothing can be pleasing on its merit.
It did not seem enough that rewards were not given to the
deserving,
But we give false names of vice to a duty.
As a result the crowd 'sins", and ignorance presses on each one's
heart,
- 170 Dark with a thick Cimmerian cloud.
Let this foul defect escape your character, Vallius,
Let it not notice your barbarian habits.
Since what was once duty in better years,
You now regard as vice, a crime and a waste of time.
- 175 Your strength is not overthrown, not the proper names for things
Though white old age touches your snowy hair.
Not even if time shall have changed your body and its beauty
Can virtue degenerate into vice.
She alone remains patient through time, free from condemnation,
And she alone does not fear long delays.
- 180 Shall I call it a virtue? Why not? That which is harmful to none
Pleases many with great advantage.
Although she may not benefit you nor aid your older years,
She may by chance be useful for your son.
- 185 Still, the passion of Venus has hardly cooled from you,
And by no means have flames ceased to warm your
learned breast.

So that you can renounce old loves deep within
 And know no joys of the Cyprian goddess.
 But let it be that you have none of these things--excessive malice
 is unfair.

190 The goods you lack you deny to others as well.
 But a sharp old horse can be weak from sluggish old age.
 When they give the war call on the harsh trumpet,
 His mind rages, and he paws the earth with his foot, and pricks
 his ears,

 Keeping his old aspect, though his strength fails.
 195 So also the leader who leaves Mars and returns his weapons
 And slowly spends his leisure far from the camp.
 Still he instructs the youth with examples, fills them with
 exhortations,

 And he does not block the trodden roads.
 Release your envy of those others heading on that path
 200 Where your road was made by the lena's craft.
 By the Graces, by your Muses, most excellent Vallius,
 Whose songs the lenas often perform in turn;
 By the initiates of Venus, of whom the lena is the priestess,
 And by the Cupids, their fearful shafts and wedding
 torches;

205 By the comrades of Venus, Bacchus, laughter and wit,
 And whatever happy joys please your spirit.
 Either judge her harmless, or forgive her the injury she does.
 If the fact that she is a lena at all makes her injurious.

 Cause her to lie down beside the other lenas
 210 Whose service you have enjoyed.
 Have her stand beside all the girls
 And speak such words as these with a pleasing voice:
 "Condemn all together, or absolve us from crime;
 Your own case is linked to our evils."

215 Condemn if you can condemn, what is harmful to none,
 And pleasing with great service to many;
 Whom no one accuses, whom no one convicts.

 Let the witness truly publishes his own guilt.
 She can see the character of the crowd or the witness.
 220 This inquest now makes her a defendant.
 If you think it a vice you cannot believe in the deed--

If you believe in the deed, do not think it a vice."

COMMENTARY

The poem is written in elegiac couplets, a form which has implications that go beyond the poem's rhythm. It locates the *pro Lena* within the tradition of Roman elegy which begins with Catullus and has its fullest expression in the work of Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid. Buchanan's diction in the *pro Lena* relies most heavily on Ovid but borrows frequently from Propertius, Martial and Tibullus as well.¹

The elegiac tradition was in turn the Roman translation of the techniques and aesthetics of the Greek Alexandrian school, particularly of Callimachus. This poetry is characterized by its self-consciousness and the exclusiveness of its implied audience, a condition determined by the erudition required to read and appreciate it. In Roman hands this poetry became a vehicle for the sophisticated young poets to amuse each other and to develop a corresponding poetic diction which privileged ideas such as delicacy, lightness, style and wit. In addition, there is a distinct concern for virtuosity, as demonstrated by one's ability to make poetry from even the most unlikely source--the Alexandrian poet Nicander had written a poem about snakes. Thus, new metaphors are created by the poetic application of vocabularies never previously associated with poetry. A typical example is Catullus 5 (*da mi basia mille . . .*), where Catullus appropriates the language of business and accounting to articulate the subversive character of his passion for Lesbia. Though Ovid, from whom Buchanan borrows most heavily is not, strictly speaking, a neoteric, he is certainly a continuator of that part of the Catullan tradition and shares with Catullus the assumption of an audience both cosmopolitan and erudite.

Buchanan, therefore, takes over in his elegies a vocabulary enriched by the elegists, their contemporaries and successors. His *pro Lena* echoes both the vocabulary of the neoterics and the elegists, and also employs some of their methods, for example, Buchanan's appropriation of the apologetic conceit for the "defense" of the Lena, which is permeated with Roman legal terms (e.g. *noxia, rea, crimen*, etc.). In addition, Buchanan takes the sophisticated diction of the Roman poets

and redeploys it, thereby creating a work that is simultaneously imitation and continuation. It is this interplay of imitation and reformation that these notes seek to set out in some detail, for it is in the context of Buchanan's formal debts to his predecessors that his re-presentation of the *lena* can be most fully understood.

1. **doctissime**. **Doctus** is "educated" in the conventional sense, and by extension "cultivated" or "learned." The latter senses becomes prominent in poetry after Catullus, frequently with an ironic sense as the superlative **doctissime** here. Cf. Cat. 1.7, a dedication in which the poet refers to the history of Nepos as set forth in **volumes doctis . . . et laboriosis**. See also Horace, Sat. 1.5.3: **Graecorum longe doctissimus**. Cf. also the notes ad 131 and 186.

2. **famulas . . . durus**. Cf. Ovid A. 2.7.21-22: **quis Veneris famulae conubia liber inire . . . velit**. The sense of Buchanan's **famulas Veneris** is, however, unattested. It suggests a metaphor more closely connected with the depiction of Venus as a **domina**, the standard Latin term for describing the relationship between mistress and slave; e.g. Ovid A.A. 148: **tu Veneri dominae plaude favente manu** (see also Prop. 3.5.1–below). **Amor**, however, clearly is a slaveholder. Propertius (2.13a.35-36) imagines his own epitaph:

**et duo sint versus: qui nunc iacet horrida pulvis
unius hic quondam servus Amoris erat.**

Like **doctus** and other poetic words, **durus** cuts several ways: on the one hand it suggests the difficulties of the **amator**, whose desires are often frustrated by a multitude of agents: it is a favorite Propertian word in such contexts. **Amor** (Cupid) and **Liber** (Bacchus) are described as **durus** **uterque deus** (1.3.14). Likewise it is an epithet of the beloved: **quamvis dura, tamen rara puella fuit** (1.17.16). Her deeds disclose the same harsh character: **saepe ego multa tuae levitatis dura timebam** (1.15.1), though this is tempered by the sexual associations of the military metaphors. Thus Propertius makes a plea for peace in the name of **Amor**, whose blessing is enough for him: **stant mihi cum domina proelia dura mea** (3.5.1). The most fully developed representation of the lover as soldier is Ovid's A. 1.9 which begins **militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido**.

Durus appears in the other elegists also, often of the lover whose way seems forever barred by the gatekeeper before the "harsh gates" of the beloved (Tib. 1.1.56, 1.2.6, Ovid A. 1.6.24, Ars 3.587, etc.). The idea is as early as Catullus, as well as a suggested solution. In the face of a harsh environment, the lover must find a way to be equally hard. In Poem 8, ostensibly an address to himself, the poet uses the verb **obduro**, "toughen up", three times within the last nine lines, concluding with the poet's self-admonition to continue his new harshness. The voice is uncertain, however, and the poet's prospects for success seem remote.

The word appears in Buchanan, too, as a standard impossible to attain or to be rejected. This sense seems primarily to derive from Ovid, who often seems self-conscious of the possibilities in the language raised, though not explicitly formulated, by his predecessors. Ovid uses **durus** as Propertius and Tibullus do, but takes the next step and treats the idea as a literary device. Concerning conventional features of Menander he says

dum fallax servus, **durus** pater, improbus lena
vivent et **meretrix blanda**, Menandros erit

(A. 1. 15.17-18).

The underscored words all figure prominently in Buchanan's poem, and Ovid's rhetorical question in the *Remedia Amoris* closely resembles Buchanan's opening, while again locating **durus** within a poetic context: *quis poterit lecto durus discedere Gallo?* ((Rem. 765). For the collocation of **durus** and **quies** (nominal form of the verb *queo--pro Lena 2*), see also Prop. 1.18.27-28: *et datur inculto tramite dura quies*. Exile from Cynthia means peace, but at a price; the **dura quies** the poet experiences is not only separation from the beloved but also exile from the 'cultured' world she represents (*inculto tramite*).

Such an extended discussion of a single word in an apparently frivolous poem might seem at first glance unworthy, but if we are correct, the *pro Lena* is more than just a mock defence of the *ars lenae*. The opening address to Vallus and exordium are programmatic, exhibiting clear affiliations with Latin elegy and its relations, and invoking with the genre its self-conscious concern for poetics. Buchanan thus begins several poems here, one a light-hearted defense of prostitution, which itself has precursors going back as far as Gorgias' encomia for Helen of Troy and for salt, through Roman rhetorical education with its passion

for arguing irrealia; secondly, there is the humanist dialogue with classical Latin poetry and its poetics; thirdly, there is the tension between the parts of Buchanan's own oeuvre regarding prostitution, with the indulgent *pro Lena* at one end of the spectrum and the disapproving *Deanaera* and *Neaera* poems at the other.

3-4. *in fontes flumina labi . . .* The *adynata* topos goes all the way back to Archilochus (fr 78). Ford (Phillip Ford, *George Buchanan: Prince of Poets* [Aberdeen: 1982], 61) identifies Buchanan's model as Ovid's *Tristia* 1.8.1-2:

*in caput alta suum labentur ab aequore retro
flumina, conversis Solque recurret equis*

The theme, however, is a commonplace, for example:

*carmina sanguineae deducunt cornua lunae
et revocant niveos solis euntis equos;
carmine dissiliunt abruptis faucibus angues
inque suos fontes versa recurrit aqua;*

(A 2.1.23-26)

Cf. also Prop. 2.15.31-33, 3.19.6, etc.. For the phrase *aversis . . . equis* see Ars 3.786: *ut celer aversis utere Parthus equis*. Note that the metrical position of the two lines is identical. For the *adynata* topos in literature see E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W.Trask (New York: 1953), pp. 95-96.

7. *censura, . . . ministras*. *Censura* permits several connotations. The first is political, for the office of Censor was the summit of a political career under the Republic. This sense of the word appears even in poetry, as at Prop. 4.11.67: *filia, tu specimen censurae nata paternae*.

Another sense of *censura* is erotic and abusive, as at Martial 1.4.7-8:

*innocuos censura potest permittere lusus:
lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba.*

Likewise, Martial 1.34.9-10:

numquid dura tibi nimium censura videtur?

deprendi veto te, Lesbia, non futui.

Minister works similarly. Though primarily a poetic word, it can mean no more than an "agent"--of Augustus, for example. At the same time, it appears frequently in erotic contexts. Ovid dedicates his poems on the altar of Venus, calling them his *fidas . . . ministras* (A. 1.11.27)--a conceit borrowed by Buchanan in *Iambi* 4 and 5 (cf. also Horace *Odes* 1.5.13-16). Propertius, too, describes how *noctis et instituet sacra ministra Venus* (3.10.30). One might note already that Buchanan's rhetorical strategy seems to be to praise the *lena* through her undeniable association with Venus. This abstraction allows the poet considerably more freedom in his argument. Consider in this respect the equivocation it allows him to make at line 11 (*ad loc.*).

8. *rigidis . . . minis*. The precise phrase seems to be from Ovid A. 1.7.46: *nec nimium rigidas intonuisse minas*, but the sentiment is Propertian and, in particular, from the *Monobiblos*. Cf., for example, 1.7.12; 1.17.6; 1.19.24. Buchanan uses it elsewhere in his elegies (2.86): *De tetrica rigidas excute fronte minas*.

9. *rusticitas . . . tetricus*. *Rusticitas* is the antithesis of the elegiac ideal and apparently was a term of scorn. Cicero writes about the old Latin practice of dropping final -s, which he refers to as *subrusticus* and adds that the "'new poets' now flee it" (*Orat.* 161.1-6). Venus, as the goddess of sophisticated erotic pleasure, has no rustic face. Ovid uses the word as a contemptuous synonym for shame: *ei mihi, rusticitas, non pudor ille fuit* (*Ars* 1.672). There as here, however, one must keep in mind the highly rhetorical color of elegiac diction, with its self-conscious euphemisms (and dysphemisms). Ovid freely admits that he slanderously misrepresented the body of his girl (*Rem.* 315-22) and goes on to offer advice for manipulating the language:

et poterit dici 'petulans', quae rustica non est;
et poterit dici 'rustica', si qua proba est.

(329-30)

Tetricus occurs frequently in erotic contexts, associated with the grimness of chastity. In Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (1.721-722) the poet describes a seduction:

hoc aditu vidi tetricae data verba puella

qui fuerat cultor, factus amator erat.

Martial is proud to find his books circulating among the residents of Vienna and to have readers as unlikely as the *coram tetrico casta puella viro* (7.88.4). Here *tetricus* appears to be connected to chastity. Buchanan himself brings the two together later in the argument, their association heightened by double elision: *Quae casta est, tetrica est* (*pro Lena* 115).

10. *cordaque . . . asperiora*. See Martial 10.103.12.

11-12. *doctisque exulta Camoenis pectora*. *Camoena* is a Latin version of the Greek *Mou'sa*, or Muse. The phrase *exulta Camoenis* is borrowed from Martial: *fila lyrae movi Calabris exulta Camenis*, "I moved the strings of the lyre refined by the Calabrian Muses" (12.94.5).

Martial's epigram is a *recusatio*, a literary refusal to write more dignified verse such as tragedy or epic. It is a characteristic feature of the elegists as well (cf., for example, Ovid A. 1.1; 3.1; Prop. 1.7). It is interesting that such a context should be invoked at this point in the *pro Lena*, where Buchanan makes a further slide from his ostensible defense of prostitution. Where he seemed to be praising the *lena* through her association with the evident sophistication of Venus' gifts (1-10), we now discover that the learning of the Muses themselves somehow justifies the poet's claims. But about what? Surely not prostitution itself, and Buchanan, at this point in the poem has not yet begun to develop the connection between the Muses and Vallius (*pro Lena* 73, 201). In view of the passages cited above, which appear to connect the language of the *pro Lena* with the vocabulary of poetry (see *durus*, 2), it is possible to ask whether the poem could be a tacit defense of poetry itself. If so, the phrase borrowed from Martial's *recusatio* would hint at the intention of the poet to justify his practice before his admirers, an intention that would be no less present for its obscurity and the cleverness of its execution.

A comparison of respective usages tends to support this possibility. *exulta Camenis* occupies the same metrical position in Buchanan's line as in Martial's, implying that Martial is clearly the source text for Buchanan. The meaning of the phrase, however, is completely different. In the Martial passage *inculta* modifies *fila*, "string". Buchanan's syntax is completely different: *Camoenis* is dative, not ablative of agent, a fact that causes *exulta* to lose its passive sense (pf. pass. part. *excolo*) and become an adjective. Thus Buchanan's quotation

from Martial cannot be said to carry the same semantic value as the source text. Instead, what is invoked is the context of Martial's *recusatio*, his defense of the proper way to write poetry. Taken together with the extraordinary slide Buchanan makes in his argument at this point--based on the assumption that the implicit attack on Venus is equally an attack on the "learned Muses"--these aspects of the *pro Lena* make it reasonable to suspect that there is a complex poetic agenda at work here which coincides with the facetious defense of the *ars lenae*.

12. *quae saevae nil feritatis habent*. The model is Ovid, *Tristia* 5.7.46: *quamque lupi, saevae plus feritatis habent*. The immediate reference is the lawless men among whom the exiled Ovid finds himself. The greatest indignity, however turns out to be that no one there can speak good Latin, and therefore, no one can appreciate Ovid: *ille ego Romanus vates--ignoscite Musae!* he exclaims (5.7.55). Thus again Buchanan chooses to develop the vocabulary for his defense of prostitution from models inextricably linked with the writing of poetry.

13. *jocus & salibus . . . venustas*. *iocus* and *sal* are common in Latin poetry as prerequisites for entrance into the cultivated elite for which the poets write. A representative early example is Catullus 16 (*Pedicabo ego . . .*), a mock defense of neoteric poetic practice. He identifies *sal* along with *lepos* (cf. *pro Lena* 14) as the key ingredients of his verses:

*qui tum denique habent salem ac leporem,
si sunt molliculi ac parum pudici, (7-8)*

iocus is more closely connected with conviviality, as in Catullus' admonition to Marrucinus Assinus, the dinner guest who stole his host's napkins in *ioco atque vino* (12.1-3); cf. also Catullus 50.6. in this sense and in the literary sense discussed below.

Ovid makes clear an erotic link with his disposition of goods in the *Ars Amatoria* (2.175-76):

*proelia cum Parthis, cum culta pax sit amica
et iocus et causas quicquid amoris habet.*

He also makes the connection between *iocus* and adultery, a subject treated in detail by Buchanan later in the *pro Lena* (71 et seq.). Ovid's lovers attempt to conceal their affair from outsiders with, among other

things, *furtivos . . . iocos* (*Ars.* 3.640). For a further literary connection see Martial and his drunken books: *lascivis madidos iocis libellos* (4.14.12); cf. also 1.35.10. *venustas* is connected with *sal* at Catullus 86.3. It is also a *figura etymologica* recalling Venus.

14. *blanda*, *lepos*. Both words are poetic shorthand for the aesthetic values of the neoterics and their continuators the elegists. *Lepos*, "charm", figures most prominently in Catullus. For example, it appears in Poem 16 (cited in part above), which forms something like an obscene manifesto of this movement. His Poem 50 (*Hesterno, Licini, die . . .*) shows similar aesthetic allegiances; it is addressed to friend and fellow-poet Licinius Calvus, with whom he had spent the day extemporizing poetry:

*reddens mutua per iocum atque vinum.
atque illinc abii tuo lepore
incensus, Licini facetiisque, (6-8)*

Lepos and poetry are similarly combined in Martial (3.20.8-9):

*an otiosus in schola poetarum
lepore tinctos Attico sales narrat?*

Blandus, "pleasant", is associated directly with pleasure, even in Lucretius (*blanda voluptas*, RN 2.966), and appears frequently. Propertius writes as if were a label: *non sum de nihilo blandus amator ego* (2.3.16). It is connected with *blanditia* and both are staples of the Latin poetic repertoire, especially of Ovid and Propertius. See, for example Ovid's *quis sapiens blandis non misceat oscula verbis* (*Ars* 1.663) cf. also Prop. 1.8b.39-40:

*hanc ego non auro, non Indis flectere conchis,
sed potui blandi carminis obsequio*

Buchanan himself has *blanda Venus* (*pro Lena* 53) and twice uses the unclassical adjective *blandiloquus*, "sweet-speaking" (48, 212). His technique in the opening lines of the *pro Lena* appears to involve a virtual cataloguing of elegiac and neoteric tropes dealing with the interconnected practices of love and poetry.

16. *quid sit amor*. Buchanan alludes to the personal life of

Vallus, a theme to which he will return at 137-50. Vergil's poetry does not often directly influence the pro Lena, but this phrase goes back to *Eclogues* 8.43 (*nunc scio quid sit amor*), where it necessarily occurs in a hexameter line rather than in a pentameter as in Buchanan. Buchanan may well have it via its later development, however. Tibullus (Lygdamus) remodels the phrase within the context of elegy, again, however, at the beginning of the hexameter: *nescis quid sit amor* (3.4.73). Cf. also Ovid *Met.* 13.762-63 for the phrase introduced by the verb *sentire*:

*quid sit amor, sentit validaque cupidine captus
uritur oblitus pecorum antrorumque suorum.*

17. *inter & ingenuas . . . artes*. The phrase appears four times in Ovid as practically a synonym for the production or appreciation of poetry. Most revealing is *Ars* 2.121-22:

*Nec levis ingenuas pectus coluisse per artes
cura sit et linguas edidicisse duas.*

The pleas for bilingualism, however, turns out to have its application in Ulysses, who embodies the spirit of poetic versatility. Ovid explains his hold on Calypso by appealing to his abilities to constantly reshape Homeric narrative (2.128): *ille referre aliter saepe solebat idem*. For other occurrences see *A.* 3.8.1, *Epist. ex Ponto* 2.9.47, *Tristia* 1.9.45.

18. *materiam . . . repperit*. The "material for love" which, according to Buchanan, is furnished by Vallus has a parallel in Ovid, where the poet begins to advise the would-be seducer where to pick up girls (*Ars* 1.49-50:

*tu quoque, materiam longo qui quaeris amori,
ante frequens quo sit disce puella loco.*

Ovid's most common use of the word, however, is to describe the subject of his poetry in contrast to the meter, as at *A.* 1.1.1-2:

*arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam
edere, materia conveniente modis.*

A few lines later he concludes his complaint to Cupid for making him write elegy with the following: *nec mihi materia est numeris levioribus apta* (1.1.19). Most striking of all, in relation to the *pro Lena* and its appropriation of judicial language, is his remark in the *Remedia Amoris*:

*si mea materiae respondet Musa iocusae,
vicimus, et falsi criminis acta rea est.* (387-88)

Buchanan leads us to believe that there is material in Vallus for Love to work on (cf. especially *pro Lena* 140-42). From a poetic perspective Vallus is Buchanan's material as well, providing the basis for this exploration and defense of the aesthetic values of elegy. This point is strongly corroborated by Buchanan's choice of a metaphor that Ovid uses to describe both a potential subject for love and the amatory content of his own poetry. The double image in Ovid becomes collapsed in Buchanan into a single one, while apparently retaining all the associations of the Ovidian models. Such a method would seem to be analogous to the cataloguing technique Buchanan uses in his recreation of elegiac aesthetic principles (cf. note on 14).

repperit ille suis is perhaps based on Ovid's description of Daedalus: *audacem pinnis repperit ille viam* (*Ars* 2.22).

19. *cum . . . pectus premeretur*. The image suggests Prop. 1.1.4: *et caput impositis pressit Amor pedibus*.

20. *serperet*. For a similar idea see Ovid (*Rem.* 105): *interea tacitae serpunt in viscera flammae*.

22. *fidam lena . . . opem*. Outside of the title this is the first mention of the poet's ostensive subject. The move from Venus and the Muses to the defense of the Procuress is not a simple one, for the *lena* does not appear primarily in Latin poetry as the agent (*ministra*) of Venus. Far from it. Roman comedy is full of greedy pimps, male and female. They were borrowed from Greek New Comedy, particularly from Menander where they appear as stock figures, as Ovid indicates:

*dum fallax servus, durus pater, improbus lena
vivent et meretrix blanda, Menandros erit*
(A. 1. 15.17-18).

The elegists occasionally treat the word *lena* abstractly as that which 'sells' a woman. So Ovid in the *Ars Amatoria* encouragingly

explains:

grata mora venies, maxima lena mora est;
etsi turpis eris, formosa videbere potis; (*Ars* 3.751-52)

Much more frequently, however, she is an impediment to love due to her insatiable greed. Tibullus pictures her in as particularly monstrous (1.5.47-49):

haec nocuere mihi. quod adest huic dives amator,
venit in exitium callida lena meum.
sanguineas edat illa dapes atque ore cruento

Before the *lena* the elegiac lover finds the riches of the rival (the *dives amator*) preferred to his own extravagant passion. In Propertius 4.5 the poet delivers a long harangue against the rapacity of the *lena*, beginning and ending with the wish that her grave be covered by sharp spines or stones, and in addition to these, curses (*verba mala* 78). The spells belong to the *lena* herself in Ovid: *illa magas artes Aeaeaque carmina novit* (A. 1.8.5). Her Aeaeian (from Aeae, the home of Circe) songs turn back the rivers (6) and have alienated the poet's faithless mistress from him with the promise of a wealthier suitor (19-34). For further discussion of Buchanan's unelegiac representation of the *lena* see V. Chaney, "The Elegies of George Buchanan in Relation to those of the Roman Elegists and to the Latin Elegies of John Milton" (diss. Vanderbilt: 1961), pp 54-55. Thus, the expression "faithful work of the procuress", in addition its hyperbole, is also a virtual oxymoron, since inconstancy is the essence of the procuress' message. Buchanan's *pro Lena* may have in its background other mock encomia such as Lucian's *de Parasitu* or Erasmus' *Encomium Moriae*; nevertheless, it is an audacious move for him to attempt to rehabilitate the *ars lenae* within a poetical tradition so patently hostile to it. It is scarcely odd, then, that he takes great pains to prepare his path by the elaborate evocation of elegiac aesthetics and the powers of love.

26. *ante tuum hanc caussam finge tribunal agi*. The elegists were fond of borrowing legal words, particularly those denoting criminality (*iniuria*, *crimen*, etc.) but Buchanan expands the concept from frequently used but isolated metaphor to a full-fledged conceit. Ford (59) connects this with Briand de Valée's legal profession, a supposition

corroborated by the way Buchanan personalizes his hypothetical inquest by referring to *tuum . . . tribunal*. *Agere* is a common judicial word in prose as well; *rem agere* is to hear a case, *reos (reas) agere* to prosecute. The expression *ingere causas* is itself flexible, due in part to the extreme malleability of *ingere*, which means both 'consider' and 'fabricate'; cf. Tibullus on the unexpected consequences of teaching deceit to his lover:

. . . heu heu nunc premor arte mea.
ingere tunc didicit causas ut sola cubaret,
 cardine tunc tacito vertere posse fores

(16.10-12)

27. *ingere ream*. The repeated use of *ingere* may suggest in advance the innocence of the Procuress. *Reus (rea)* is neutral in prose, but in the hyperbolic language of elegy "to be accused" is often "to be wrongly accused." Cf. Ovid in the *Remedia Amoris* (387-88):

si mea materiae respondet Musa iocosae,
 vicimus, et falsi criminis acta rea est.

The phrase was so good he quoted himself years later in the *Fasti* (4.308).

28. *officii . . . fida ministra sui*. This collocation picks up associations established earlier in the poem: *Veneris . . . ministras* (7)--among whom we are presumable to include the Procuress--and the *fidam . . . opem* which the Procuress did not "deny" (28) are here fused into a single image. Cf. also *opemque tulit* (30).

29. *Quod medico . . .* This claim occurs in the middle of this short catalogue of the Procuress' virtues. She performs her *officium* (cf. 47, 136, 168, 173, 210, cures the incurable, and is patriotic beyond measure (29-31). The medical parallel, however, is revived and expanded later in the poem (51-56), where Buchanan argues that the validity of putting oneself under a doctor's care is the equivalent of seeking relief from the Procuress. It is also here where Buchanan begins to develop the idea of the *ars lenae*, which reappears throughout the poem (99-101, 137-40).

32. *poenae*. This rhetorical question of this line, which follows the catalogue of human virtues possessed by the Procuress, is balanced by another: *Res erit huic poenae quae dedit astra Deis?* (70), a part of

Buchanan's justification of sexual activity by appealing to the behavior of the gods.

33-36. The allusion is to the honors paid a Roman soldier who saved the life of a citizen in battle. For an account from Imperial times see Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.21.8-10:

Rufus Helvius gregarius miles servati civis decus rettulit
donatusque est ab Apronio torquibus et hasta. Caesar addidit civicam
coronam,

querna corona (36), as noted by Ford (61), is based on Ovid (*Tristia* 3.1.36), where the reference is to a crown given to Augustus, but the context here makes clear that the traditional Roman appreciation of individual heroism in battle is what Buchanan intends to apply to the Procress. Note also the addition of the *civicam coronam* by Tiberius in Tacitus' account.

33. at vos majorum requiescite molliter umbrae. Cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* 7.10: *requiesce sub umbra*, for the pastoral conceit of shaded rest from the mid-day heat makes possible the singing of the shepherds. For the funereal sense, particularly in view of the next line, see Ovid's memorial to Tibullus (*A.* 3.9.67-68):

ossa quieta, precor, tuta requiescite in urna,
et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo.

Likewise, Martial writes of the untimely death of a child (10.61.1): *hic festinata requiescit Erotion umbra*.

Molliter is another word with elegiac associations. Its delicacy links it with words like *blandus* and *lepos*, as well as its adjectival form *mollis*. Like the rest of the line it has funerary and poetic associations as well; see Vergil, *Ecl.* 10.33-34:

. . . o mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant,
vestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores.

For the funerary alone see Prop. 1.17.22, Ovid, *A.* 1.8.108, *Her.* 7.164. The poetic connection is perhaps best seen in Ovid (*Ars* 3.343-44):

deve tribus libris, titulo quos signat AMORUM,

elige, quod docili **molliter** ore legas,

34. **floreat urna**. The allusion is to the burial urn and flowers growing upon the grave. Cf. Juvenal 7.207-08:

Di, maiorum, umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram,
spirantesque crocos et in urna perpetua ver.

39. **Laurentia**. Acca Larentia was the nurse of Romulus and Remus, as Livy relates (1.3.10). He gives two explanations of the twin's salvation. In the first they are suckled by a wolf (**lupa**) until discovered by Faustulus, husband of Acca Larentia, who raised them. The rationalizing account of the story has the boys given to Larentia, a prostitute (**lupa**), thus doing away with the miraculous suckling by the literal she-wolf. Cf. also St. Augustine *De Civitate Dei*, 6.7. The Larentalia, a festival in her honor to which Buchanan alludes was held on the 23rd of December. Larentia as prostitute is a perfect emblem for Buchanan's **lena**. Just as she saved the life of Rome's founder and was honored (*melioribus annis*, 173), so the **lena**, who performs an analogous service for the state, has an equal claim to the city's gratitude.

40. **dea . . . nuda . . . meretrice**. The word placement is elegant. **nuda** falls at the end of the first hemistich. The **-a**, therefore, is of uncertain metrical quantity so as to be taken equally with the goddess or the prostitute. The poetic connotations of **meretrix** are far less unpleasant than those of **lena**. Ovid's **meretrix blanda** (A. 1.15.18) has been quoted already. The same indulgence appears in his provocative claim **sacrilegas meretricum** ut persequare artes (Ars 1.135), which perhaps is behind Buchanan's idea of the **lena's** artisanship (*pro Lena* 29-30, 148, et passim).

41. **invidiae est virtus**. The transvaluation of ancient virtues in contemporary life is a common figure. Buchanan's poem, however, is the most flagrant example of all, when it comes to an attempt to overturn the mores maiorum with the rehabilitation of the Procuress. The jingling repetition of **vi-** is heightened by elision, which causes the **-ae** of **invidiae** to be dropped. The line is highly rhetorical, even in a poem so dependent on rhetorical artifice. It recalls Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* 323-24, with the alliterative collocation of virtue and ill will:

et mala sunt vicina bonis: errore sub illo

pro vitia virtus crimina saepe tulit.

Cf. also note on *rusticas* (9), which quotes the continuation of this passage for Ovid's discussion of the spin an elegiac poet can put on his subject.

44. *virago*. A particularly elevated and audacious description of the Procuress. Related to *virgo*, "virgin", the word is only used in the *Aeneid* (12.468) and the *Metamorphoses* (2.765, 6.130), and there only to describe the virgin goddesses Juturna and Minerva.

45-70. Buchanan returns to the dubious question of the Procuress's crime and punishment.

45. *me miserum . . . rea criminis. me miserum* is the standard elegiac cry of lament. Cf. Prop. 1.1.1: *Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis*. For the judicial conceit, see note ad 26 and 27.

47. *officium si crimen erit*. The description of the Procuress as a patriotic soldier (31-38) bolsters Buchanan's earlier characterization of her work as *officium*, "duty", which is repeated here and will allow him to make a more dignified link between her work and the divine duties of *blanda Venus* (53).

48. *aspera blandiloquo. blandiloquus*, as mentioned before, is unclassical. Martial has *silvis aspera, blanda domi* of a hunting dog (11.69.2). The violent image *frangere corda* perhaps has a model in Tibullus 3.2.5-6:

non ego firmus in hoc, non haec patientia nostro
ingenio: frangit fortia corda dolor.

For *aspera . . . corda* cf. *pro Lena* 10: *cordaque . . . asperiora*. The juxtaposition of opposites here as elsewhere (*fidam lena*, 22; *invidiae est virtus*, 41, etc.) is appropriate in a poem that attempts a complete rehabilitation of the reviled Procuress.

49. *vincula . . . si sunt noxia*. The lover's chains are a common feature of elegy. Here, however, the elegiac vocabulary is fused with the language of the law. *noxia* in legal language denotes a particular type of *iniuria*. On this and related terms see David Daube, "Noxa and Nocere," *The Cambridge Law Journal*, 7 (1939-41), 23-55. The above protasis, though rhetorically expressed as a simple condition, is regarded as absolutely unreal by the poet, as is indicated by his later use of *noxia*. He uses it twice more, both times in his characterization of the *ars lenae*

as *noxia nulli* (181, 215). *legibus arce*, the apodosis of Buchanan's condition, continues the judicial motif and also stands in ironic contrast to the *publica Burdegalae*, who have in fact closed the brothels by their laws (141).

50. *Hymen*. The god of marriage, under whose auspices the bride and groom were conducted home by their crowd of well-wishers on their wedding night.

51-56. The skill of the Procuress appeared first as a supplement to the defective art of medicine (cf. 29-30); now the poet implies that they form a single continuous art, such that to reject a part is to reject the whole (51-52). He makes a similar claim for the relationship between prostitution and marriage, for he claims that the denial of the one will lead to the obliteration of the other (50). It is the analogy based on the following proportion:

ars lenae : marriage :: ars lenae: medicine

Thus, both marriage and medicine can now be used interchangeably as premises in the argument that follows and justifies the joint consultation of doctors and of Venus (53-56).

53. *sin et blanda Venus generantium secla propaget*. The expression is from Lucretius, the only poet to use *saeclum*, "age", in this way: *efficis [sc. Venus] ut cupide generatim saecla propagent* (RN 1.20). Cf. also RN 2.173: *et res per Veneris blanditur saecla propagent*. This strictly utilitarian view of marriage makes it easier to see how prostitution can be seen as a supplement to marriage, rather than a subversive alternative. It also will provide the poet implicit support for his praise of *Venus sine connubio* (71-84). for *blanda Venus* see also Ovid, A. 3.2.55 and *Ars* 1.362.

57. *parva . . . magnis componere*. The phrase is Vergil's. See G. 4. 176-77:

*non aliter, si parva licet componere magnis,
Cecropias innatus apes amor urget habendi*

Cf. also *Ecl.* 1.23; Ovid, *Met.* 5.416-17.

59. *aliud quam lena Venus . . .* This reformulation of the Venus-lena relationship inverts the previous, in which the lena was styled by the poet as a Venus or, at the very least, her *ministra* (7, et

passim). The reputation of the procuress was bolstered by assimilating her with the goddess in the early part of the poem. Now it is the goddess who takes on the characteristics of the human *lena*, as the divine basis for prostitution is given.

60-80. The justification of the Procuress' art from a divine perspective is divided into two sections, concerning legitimate (60-70) and illegitimate (71-77) sexual activity, respectively.

60-65. This catalogue of Roman marriage gods is borrowed almost entirely from St. Augustine, who satirizes the profusion of Roman divinities in farming and doorkeeping as well (*De Civitate Dei*, 4.8 and 6.9--summarized below, notes 61-65). They derive--as Augustine makes clear--from the Roman encyclopaedist Varro.

60. *pronuba Juno. pronuba* is a standard epithet of Juno in poetry. Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 4.166, Ovid, *Her.* 6.43, *Met.* 6.428, 9.762.

61. *domiti . . . domiduce*. This sequence is hysteron proteron. According to Augustine, Domiducus is the god under whose auspices the new bride was escorted to the home of her husband. Domitius was entrusted to see that she remained there.

62. *ad externos . . . lares*. The Lares, along with the Penates, were an important part of daily household cult. A consequence of marriage was that the bride passed out of the old cult of the Lares of her blood relatives and into that of her husband's family.

63-65. *Jugatinum, etc . . . Jugatinus* was invoked at the marriage ceremony to join the couple; *Pilumnus* is derived from *pilum*, "pestle", and is one of the three gods who guard a woman after childbirth. *Prema* (Presser) and *Subigus* (Subdoer) are female and male divinities connected with the consummation of the marriage, as is *Pertunda* (from *pertundare*, "thrust through"; cf. Catullus 32.11). Augustine sends this last away for the preservation of at least some modesty and adds: *agat aliquid et maritus*. *Hymenaeus* is the marriage god par excellence. His name is shouted by the revelers escorting the newly-married couple homewards; e.g. Ovid, *Ars* 1.563, *Fasti* 2.561. *Manturna's* name comes from *manere*, "remain", who sees to it that the bride remains with her husband. *Libentina* and *Volupia* are goddesses of lust and pleasure, and provide the poet a transition from licit to illicit liaisons.

67-68. *si lena deorum implevit partes*. The relationship between human and divine is again reversed (cf. 59 and note), with the Procuress taking on the functions of the gods. Buchanan inverts this as well when he discusses how *geret partes Mars et Apollo viri* (108).

70. *Res erit huic poenae . . .* This rhetorical question balances that of line 30, and continues Buchanan's denial of criminality on behalf of the Procuress. *res*, though a common word, has a specific legal sense in phrases like *rem agere*, "to hear a case."

73. *Pieridas*. The Muses are regarded as native either to Helicon, a mountain in Boeotia or to Pieria, a district in northern Thessaly between Mount Olympus and the sea.

74. *Virgo in virgineo . . .* The alliterative effect of this line is intensified by the placement of *vix* immediately after the mandatory caesura between the two hemiepes.

75-76. *Orphea . . . Linum*. For the collocation of these two singers, both sons of unchaste goddesses for Buchanan's purposes see Vergil, *Ecl.* 4.55-57:

non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus
nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,
Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.

Buchanan follows Vergil in making Orpheus the son of Calliope, but for obvious reasons chooses the version of the Linus myth told by Pausanias (9.29.6) which has the singer born to Amphimarus and the Muse Urania. For the effect of Orpheus' song see Ovid, *Met.* 11.1-2.

77-78. *Furta tegens . . . sine teste parens*. The rest of the Muses are implicated by the absence of evidence. Though perhaps bad reasoning from an appellate perspective, the reasoning is appropriately elegiac. Deception is a standard feature of erotic poetry and once introduced, it is impossible to control. Tibullus' self-reproach for having taught Delia to deceive has been quoted already (see note ad 26). *sterilis* is often used of land and plants; e.g. Ovid, *Met.* 8.789 (of Scythia): *triste solum sterilis sine fruge sine arbore tellus*. *sine teste* should refer to a birth "unwitnessed", but it is possible that there is a pun on *testis*, "testicles". Cf. Martial, 7.62.6, where the same pun is made on *sine teste*.

80. *Gradive*. *Gradivus* is a common epithet of Mars, often used metonymically for battle. Though usually reckoned a son of Jupiter and Juno, Ovid preserves a rare version (*Fasti*, 5.255-58) in which she conceives without him.

81-106. After acknowledging that modesty (*pudicitia* 81) may have had a place in the distant past Buchanan turns to consider the need for human reproduction. This inspires a catalogue of dangers to human

life (85-86) sea, earth, fire, disease and war. The progression is natural. The first four depend on nothing but man's presence for their danger; the fifth, however, is bound up with the arts (man's *solertia callida* 87) and is capable of indefinite expansion (88). Thus, not only is the art of the Procuress an acknowledged benefit for man by nature (83-84), but its importance will only continue to grow as man's technological prowess increases, lest the earth become depopulated.

89-92. *tun' prohibere potes . . . reparare genus*. *Tune* suggests emotional color, if only rhetorically; cf. Prop. 1.8a.1: *Tune igitur demens, nec te mea cura moratur*. The incredulity of the first question, "Can you forbid . . ." is replaced by an even stronger version, "Dare you to forbid . . ." The use of the shortened colloquial version further heightens the immediacy. *Commercium* is a common prose word used infrequently as a metaphor by the poets. Ovid (*Ars* 3.549) asks girls to be kind to poets since "*est deus in nobis et sunt commercia caeli*." *reparare genus* is unparalleled as a combination, but Buchanan's model is clearly Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 1.363-64:

O utinam possim populos reparare paternis
Artibus atque animas formatae infundere terrae!

The speaker is Deucalion after the devastation of the flood. Both his father, Prometheus, and his wife/sister, Pyrrha, are mentioned by Buchanan in the short catalogue of asexual births that follows (94-98).

93. *Partheniis . . . Arcas*. The name of the mountain appropriately suggests *parqevno*, "virgin." The allusion to Arcas is obscure. He was the eponymous ancestor of the Arcadians, and a son of Jupiter and the nymph Callisto, who was turned into a bear (see Ovid, *Met.* 2.401-95). He is said to have been given to Maia, mother of Hermes, to raise after the death of his mother. There is no trace of a birth from oak trees, though Pelasgus, Arcus' great grandfather, who first settled Arcadia even before the moon was in place, first taught his subjects to eat acorns (in place of poisonous plants, etc.); these became the staple of the proverbially frugal Arcadian diet.

94. *Curetes*. The Curetes were Cretan demigods known for their boisterous dancing, which drowned out the cries of the baby Jupiter hidden in a cave on Mount Ida in Crete. Buchanan's model is Ovid, *Met.* 4.282, where they are called: *largoque satos Curetas ab imbri*.

95. *fratres . . . bimembres*. These are the Centaurs. Their father

Ixion was overcome with desire for Juno. Jupiter made an image of her in the shape from a cloud and the result of this union were the Centaurs. Vergil (*Aen.* 8.293) names two and describes them as *nubigenas* (cf. also *Aen.* 7. 674, Ovid, *Met.* 12.211).

96. **Pyrrha.** Deucalion and Pyrrha, children of the Titan Prometheus, survived the deluge in a boat. When the waters receded, they were counseled by Themis to take the bones of their mother and throw them over their shoulders. After their initial horror, they decided that Earth was the mother of all and that stones were her bones. Taking up these they threw them over their shoulders and humans began to form from them, male and female, according to who had thrown them (see Ovid, *Met.* 1.363-413).

97. **Myrmidonas.** The Myrmidons' name means "ants" (fr. *muvrmhx*). Jupiter caused them to be human to replenish the island of Aegina after a plague (Ovid, *Met.* 7.615-57). They were led by Achilles in the *Iliad*.

98. **Ficta Prometheo.** Prometheus formed the first human from clay. To be "made from Promethean clay" was a proverbial expression of ancient ancestry, as in Martial 10.39.4, the model for Buchanan's line: *ficta Prometheo diceris esse luto*.

99. **superest, superest.** The anaphora suggests the inescapability of the poet's conclusion.

104. **serie . . . deficiente.** The phrase is perhaps modeled on Tibullus 1.1.69: *et teneam moriens deficiente manu*, closely imitated by Ovid (*A.* 3.9.58): *me tenuit moriens deficiente manu*.

105. **legitimi . . . foedera lecti.** Buchanan's inclusion of *legitimi* is not fortuitous. The appropriation of *foedus*, "pact", by the poets began with Catullus (e.g. 64.335). It is the later elegists, however, who exploit the metaphor most profitably. *foedere lecti* appears first in Tibullus, where the irony of a *foedus* in an illicit liaison is made clear: *parce tamen, per te furtivi foedere lecti* (1.5.7). Propertius similarly tips his hand: *incorrupta mei conserva foedera lecti!* (4.3.69). Cf. also Ovid, *Ars* 3.593, *Her.* 5.101, *Met.* 7.710, etc.

107. **Juppiter et Bacchus succurret.** The so-called *schema pindaricum* (pl. subject, sg. verb) usually occurs with pairs of nouns—as here and in the next line. *succurrere* has definite associations with erotic poetry. Best known is probably Ovid's advice to his mistress for secret signs at a dinner party (*A.* 1.4.21-22):

cum tibi succurret Veneris lascivia nostrae,
purpureas tenero pollice tange genas;

Cf. also Prop. 1.5.23, Tib. 1.3.27, etc.

109-12. The reference to the Bona Dea affair (see note below) makes the sequence of exempla somewhat obscure. The cases of Alexander and Scipio seem to follow naturally from Buchanan's claim that the gods will do their part to prevent the extinction of great houses (106-08). The entire series, however, leads up to the climax of 113-14: many remarkable things can happen "but let no spouse expect a chaste marriage."

109-10. **gignit Alexandrum . . . Scipiodemque draco.** Both Alexander and Scipio Africanus the Elder were reportedly conceived by snakes. This, of course, was taken as an indication their future greatness. For the details see Livy 26.19.

111-12. The cult of the Bona Dea was a women's cult whose proceedings could be viewed by no man. Even her name is a secret, though less scrupulous writers report it variously. The implication, of course, is that male intrusions such as this provided the occasion for illicit liaisons. Cf. Ovid, *A.* 3.634-36. The specific allusion is to Publius Clodius, arch-enemy of Cicero and brother to Catullus' Lesbia (Clodia Metalla). Clodius, dressed as a women, attended the festival, which was being held in the house of Julius Caesar with whose wife he was allegedly having an affair. For the diction cf. Tibullus 1.6.21-22, which looks like Buchanan's model:

exhibit quam saepe, time, seu visere dicet
sacra Bonae maribus non adeunda Deae.

113. **coniugium conjux castum.** The alliteration emphasizes the absurdity of such an expectation.

115-30. The life of chastity is again criticized (cf. 78ff. and by implication 8-14), this time for its lack of eros. Instead of denying the possibility of chastity, Buchanan contrasts it with the **furtivae Veneris commercia** (123).

115-16. **quae casta . . . ora quater.** For the phrase cf. **quae casta est?** (78). Ford (61) identifies Horace, *Sat.* 1.10.7 as the model for the rest of the couplet: **non satis est risu diducere rictum auditoris.**

117-22. **Oscula dat . . .** Martial 11.104 heavily influences the

thought here. He complains to his wife that she needs to follow his tastes (*moribus . . . nostris* 1), and continues with a list of her faults:

*basia me capiunt blandas imitata columbas:
tu mihi das aviae qualia mane soles.* (9-10)

In Buchanan the "grandmother kisses" become those of a mourning parent. He continues with a *praeteritio* (119) that at first seems obscurely motivated and out of place. His satirical description of the chaste woman does not seem to need a reference to *occultos et sine teste jocos* (120). They more easily go with the *mille . . . modis* with which a good wife will please her husband (124). His *prudens*, likewise, seems too strong for the vague language he uses and has used elsewhere (note the repetition of *jocus* (13) and *sine teste* (78) earlier in the poem). The key to Buchanan's practice lies in the continuation of the Martial epigram, where the poet continues with a graphic catalogue of sexual acts, which he alleges other notable Roman matrons were willing to perform for their husbands (13-20). It is to this catalogue which Buchanan alludes and decorously omits to imitate. At the same time his "prudent" *praeteritio* makes it clear to his reader just what part of the poem he declines to render.

121-22. *Lucretia . . .* The last of the Roman kings, Tarquinius Superbus raped Lucretia while her husband was away with the army. She reported the deed and thereupon stabbed herself in the chest. The vengeance extracted by her family and friends drove the Tarquin dynasty from Rome and led to the foundation of the Roman Republic. Her name becomes proverbial for female chastity. Buchanan's disavowal of Lucretia comes from the same epigram. Martial concludes:

*si te delectat gravitas, Lucretia toto
sis licet usque die; Laida nocte volo.* (22-23)

123. *Veneris commercia.* Cf. 89-90. Such commerce has an application in happily married life. The description that follows (125-30)--Buchanan's rewrite of Martial 11.104--creates an elegiac fantasy using the appropriate vocabulary. One could say that Buchanan describes what it would look like if the elegiac dream of a true *furtivi foedera lecti* (cf. note on 105) were realizable. Most of the words are explicitly erotic; others like *sedulitas* (130) can be appropriated in that

way, as Ovid does: *sit suus in blanda sedulitate modus* (*Ars* 2.334).

131. *doctae . . . lenae*. As discussed above (cf. note ad *doctissime* 1), *doctus* is a key word in Latin poetry. Catullus' decision to call his mistress "Lesbia" is a learned complement, referring to Sappho. Propertius represents Cynthia as a singer as well and in another poem (1.7) describes what he hopes will be his *fama* (9) as follows: *me laudent doctae solum placuisse puellae* (11). They attract Ovid, too, though he views them with characteristic irony:

*sunt tamen et doctae, rarissima turba, puellae;
altera non doctae turba, sed esse volunt.
(Ars 2.281-82)*

132. The importance of *eros* in married life serves also to underscore the importance of the same *commercia* for bachelors.

133-34. *Debet ei coelebs . . .* As has been discussed, Buchanan inverts the usual elegiac representation of the Procuree (cf. note on 22). In choosing to depict her as a true facilitator instead of as an impediment to love, he avoids the need to discuss the fate of the elegiac lover who invariably becomes an *exclusus amator*. Only here does Buchanan allude to this figure, standard in Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid who lies before the gates (*fores*) of his beloved in the cold (variously described) and addresses the gates; cf. Prop 3.7.72, Ovid, *Ars* 3.581, *A.* 2.21-22, Tib. 1.1.56, etc. For the figure of the *exclusus amator* see F. Copley, *Exclusus Amator* (Ann Arbor: 1956).

135. *Fabula*. For *fabula* denoting a source of gossip see Tib. 2.3.31, Prop. 2.24.1, Ovid, *A.* 3.1.21. *rumore sinistro* appears at Persius 5.164.

137-150. Buchanan abruptly addresses Vallus, recalling the innuendo of 15-16, 21-26, and giving for the first time a motive for his poem: a recent decree closing the brothels of Bordeaux.

137. *tibi es testis . . . manifesta*. *Testis* has already occurred twice, both times in the phrase *sine teste* (78, 120). On each occasion an erotic situation is discussed for which there are no witnesses due to the privacy of the act. The only witnesses are the participants. Vallus' competence to judge in this case before his tribunal (21-26) turns out to be an admission about his own sexual misconduct, a fact elegantly restated here. *Manifestus* is a legal term for a crime discovered in *flagranti delicto*. Ovid cautions his reader: *ne sis manifesta, caveto* (*Ars*

3.801). For the phrase *manifesta negare* see his *Her.* 4.111.

140-46. The reference to Vallus' younger days introduces the crowd of students, monks and others that are a familiar feature of Buchanan's epigrammatic and iambic invectives against the courtesans Neaera and Leonora (e.g. *Iambi* 5). Buchanan later in the *pro Lena* denies that in *vitium virtus degenerare potest* (178), but in these poems the virtues of prostitution disappear completely.

147-48. *Acheronta . . . Stygias*. Styx and Acheron are both rivers of Hades that stand metonymically for the Underworld as a whole. *coeli* with *polum* is pleonastic. The expression here is somewhat exaggerated.

149. *intendere*. Buchanan introduces another legal term; *intendere* means "to bring a charge." Lucretius says that nature *iustam intendere litem* (3.950); cf. *justas . . . preces* (150).

151-64. Buchanan returns to the pleasures of Venus *sine connubio* (cf. 72, 131-32), which had been interrupted by the personal appeal to Vallus. His concern again is with with "furtive Venus" (123). He earlier couched the praise of her strictly in terms of divine behavior (72-80) and in his fantasy of nuptial bliss (123-30--see note). Now he maintains his indirect praise of extra-marital affairs by appealing to the example of the gods, but also introduces it with a less 'prudent' justification of adultery from the perspective of the elegiac lover.

152. *vincula*. For the chains of Venus cf. 49: *Vincula si Veneris sunt noxia, legibus arce*. Attempts to regulate *eros* through *mos*, "custom" are here shown to be equally vain.

153-54. *assuetae Veneris fastidia gignit copia*. "Customary Venus" seems borrowed from Prop. 1.1.36, although the sentiment is completely the opposite, as Propertius cautions lovers to remain faithful: *neque assueto mutet amore locum*. For *fastidia* cf. Ovid (*Rem.* 542: *et fastidia non iuuet esse domo*).

155. *sensus hebes languet torpetque ignava voluptas*. The line is a patchwork of Ovid; see his *languet amor* (*Ars* 2.436), and a few lines later:

*sic, ubi pigra situ securaque pectora torpent,
acribus est stimulis eliciendus amor.*

(2.443-44)

Cf. also *Ars* 3.799-800:

infelix, cui torpet hebes locus ille, puella,

quo pariter debent femina virque frui.

156. Acrius ardescit saepe repulsus amor. For *acer* in this context see Ovid, *Ars* 2.244 (quoted above on 155). *saepe repulsus amor* is likewise from Ovid (*A.1.8.76*): *neve relentescat saepe repulsus amor*.

157-64. Buchanan returns to the behavior of the gods and their numerous and fruitful extra-marital liaisons.

157-58. Mulciber. Mulciber is another name for Vulcan. His claim to be the only legitimate child of Juno and Jupiter is consistent with Buchanan's version of Mars' birth from Juno alone (80, alluded to again at 159). His forges are located deep within Mount Aetna in Sicily.

159. Mars, etc . . . Mars and Pallas (Minerva) were born a a single parent, Mars from Juno, Minerva from the head of Jupiter, as related in Hesiod's *Theogony*. Phoebus and Bacchus were sons of Jupiter through affairs with a Titan (Leto, mother of Apollo) and a mortal (Semele, mother of Bacchus). Buchanan apparently follows the tradition that Venus was born from Jupiter and Dione (see Ovid, *Met.* 14.585).

160-62. Buchanan passes on to heroes. Perseus killed the Gorgon Medusa. Ovid refers to her *saxificos vultus* (*Met.* 5.217). *Quiqui tulit coelum* apparently refers to Hercules, who held up the heavens while Atlas fetched for him the apples of the Hesperides as one of his famous labors. He was the son of Jupiter and Alcmena. Aeneas carried his father out of the flames of Troy (cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 2, Ovid, *Met.* 13.624). His mother was Venus, whom Jupiter caused to be overwhelmed with lust for the Trojan shepherd Anchises. Mars was the father of Romulus (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15.863). His mother was Rhea Silvia, one of the Vestal Virgins.

163-64. numerare molestius . . . For the conceit see Ovid, *Ars* 3.149-51:

sed neque ramosa numerabis in ilice glandes,
nec quot apes Hybla nec quot in Alpe ferae,
nec mihi tot positus numero comprehendere fas est.

Cf. also Martial 6.34.1-3 for the inclusion of the ocean waves among the numberless:

basia da nobis, Diadumene, pressa. 'quot' inquis?
Oceani fluctus me numerare iubet

et maris Aegaei sparsas per litora conchas.

165-70. Buchanan returns again to consider the unhappy decision to call the art of the *lena* a crime (cf. 32,45,68). *contingere* is the legal term for the fabrication of a crime. The jurist Ulpian discusses *homicidium fingere* (*Dig.* 48.18.1.27). *livor* means "bruise" and by extension "spite". The representation of the criticism of the *lena* as defective corresponds to Buchanan's later description of it as a *foedissima labes* (171). *labes* is another term for defect, used to describe the blemish that disqualifies a sacrificial victim and, by extension, defects of character. Cf. Ovid, *A.* 3.5.44.

167. *meritis non praemia reddi*. The phrase suggests returning a favor, as opposed to giving a reward. See Ovid, *A.* 1.6.23: *redde vicem meritis: grato licet esse, quod optas*.

168. *officio*. The bases of Buchanan's defense has been his characterization of prostitution as both an art and a duty (*officium*) in the service of the city (28, 47, 136). This conception of *officium* leads up to its next appearance at 210, where it is deflated by its euphemistic application to Vallus' own sexual liaisons.

169-70. Presumably the crowd only *thinks* it is sinning because the citizens of Bordeaux have spitefully declared that prostitution is a crime. Thus their ignorant hearts are oppressed by care. *queis* is an alternate form of *quibus*. The land of the Cimmerians (modern Crimea) was proverbial for bad weather thanks to Ovid. Cf. for example, *ex Ponto* 4.10. 1-2.

173. *melioribus annis*. For the phrase see Ovid, *Tristia* 4.10.93, Vergil, *Aen.* 6.649.

174. To *vitium* and *crimen*, ideas that have come up frequently in his defence, Buchanan now adds *nequitia*, "triviality". It is used ironically by Ovid of his own poetry (*A.* 2.1.1-2):

hoc quoque composui Paelignis natus aquosis
ille ego nequitiae Naso poeta meae;

Martial uses it in an explicitly erotic context, asking whether someone prefers *sobriasque . . . certae nequitias fututionis* (1.106.5-6).

176. *cana senecta*. The standard depiction of "white old age", with the assurance that time does not change all things, prefigures the exemplum of the old war horse who pricks his ears at the sound of battle

(191-96). the expression recalls Tibullus (1.8.41-42):

heu sero revocatur amor seroque iuventas
cum vetus infecit cana senecta caput.

Cf. also Catullus 108.1, Ovid *Her.* 14.109.

177-78. **mutarit . . . degenerare potest.** **mutarit** is a syncopated form of **mutaverit**. For the mutability topos see Horace, *Epist.* 2.1.94: **coepit et in vitium fortuna labier aequa.**

179-81. The transvaluation of the lena's art takes its final step here as it is assigned among the 'virtues' and is therefore timeless (**patiens aevi**, etc). Unlike those educated in the **commercia Veneris** (123) who criticize delays as an expression of their passion (**accusatque moras** 127), her art is so secure that even long delays do not affect it at all (**nec metuit longas . . . moras** 180).

181. **noxia nulli.** The phrase seems to be adapted from Prop 1.2.21: **sed facies aderat nullis obnoxia gemmis.** Cf. also Ovid, *Met.* 15.853.

182. **multis . . . placet.** This line is modeled on Ovid, *A.* 2.2.13-14:

sed gerat ille suo morem furiosus amori
et castum, **multis quod placet**, esse putet;

183-84. Buchanan reprises his advice that Vallus not censure what served him well in his youth (cf. 23-24, 137-50). The advice is further personalized by the suggestion that the beneficiaries shall not be simply the anonymous **inopes juvenes** (143) and lustful monks, but Vallus' own son.

186. **docto . . . calet.** For the implications of **doctus** see notes on 1 and 131. **docto pectore** appears in poetic contexts; cf. Martial 9.77.3-4:

et multi dulci, multi sublimi refert,
sed cuncta **docto pectore.**

See also Martial 1.25.1-2. **flamma calet** seems derived from Ovid (*Ars.* 1.525-26):

ecce, suum vatem Liber vocat: hic quoque amantis
adiuvat et flammae, qua calet ipse, favet.

188. *Cyprigenae*. Venus was connected with Cyprus from earliest our earliest literary sources. *Cyprigena*, however, appears in no classical sources. Buchanan's use of the word may come via a later author or through Plutarch, who uses *kuprigeneiva* (*Art.* 28).

189-90. The political world of Bordeaux collapses into the experience of Vallus. Their motive for outlawing prostitution—obscure up to now except for the vague *livor* of 163—is now seen to be Vallus' expression of resentment (*livor*) at his sexual impotence.

191-94. The picture of the old war horse is drawn from Ovid, *Met.* 7.542-44:

acer equus quondam magnaue in pulvere famae
degenerat palmas veterumque oblitus honorum
ad praesepe gemit leto moriturus inerti.

It is combined with a description of an active horse (*Met.* 3.704-05):

ut fremit acer equus cum bellicus aere canoro
signa dedit tubicen pugnaeque adsumit amorem

The *robore . . . deficiente* of the horse who is to serve as a model for Vallus, alludes to the threatened ruin of illustrious houses *serie . . . deficiente* (104-06). *Signa dedere tuba* (192) recalls Ovid, *Met.* 10.652: *signa tuba dederunt . . .* For *ferit pede* Chaney (p. 148) notes *Fasti* 1.506: *Pinea non sano ter pede texta ferit.*

195-97. *Ductor . . . hortatibus implet*. The world of *arma* is usually a part of the elegiac poet's *recusatio*; e.g. Ovid, *A.* 1.1.1: *arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam*. Buchanan's understanding of the relevance of the *exemplum*, however, is thoroughly elegiac. Even in his retirement the old general attempts to inspire his the young with a love of their duty. When this *exemplum* is applied to Vallus he becomes a metaphorical *leno* himself, equivalent to the *praeceptor amoris*, a role created by Ovid for himself in the *Ars Amatoria* (1.17). *otia lentus agit* is perhaps modeled on Ovid, *Fasti* 2.724, where Ovid describes a lull in camp: *luditur in castris, otia miles agit*. Cf. also *Fasti* 4.926: *nil opus est illis; otia mundus agit*.

199-200. The road metaphor is continued from the *calcatas* . . . *vias* of 198. The principle of reciprocity is again invoked. Vallus should not block the road the *lena* made for him earlier.

201-06. The divinities are invoked who have a share in the *lena's* art. The Muses and the Graces take pride of place. Given the frequency with which the art of the *lena* and its defense have been linked with poetry, it comes as no surprise that the *lena* seems to stand in for the Muses by the end of the poem where we learn that the assembled Procuresses frequently perform the Muses' songs (202). She is also a priestess of Venus, a designation anticipated as early as *Veneris* . . . *ministras* (7). For the faces of Amor see Prop. 1.16.16, Ovid, *Rem.* 140. The mention of *risusque salesque* likewise recalls the description of Venus the poem's beginning (13--see note for parallel passages).

207-12. The final section of the poem returns to the *apologia* proper. Note the repetition of *finge* (209 and again at 212) from the passage where Buchanan decided to constitute a tribunal with Vallus at its head (26). The poet frames his plea to the judge (Vallus) as a dilemma (207-08). Suddenly, however, the abstract *lena* of the previous 208 lines becomes individualized. Nor is it a single Procuress that appears, but all of them whose "zealous duty" Vallus had benefited from in the past (210). It is they who make the final address to the court.

210. officium sedulitatis. Both words have a history in the poem, *officium* as the inflated expression of the *lena's* work (28, 47, 136, 168, 173), *sedulitas* as the zeal with which the fantasy wife seeks to please her husband (130). Both terms rebound on Vallus here, as Buchanan returns to the claim he makes from beginning about Vallus' mores: *sensisti tu quoque quid sit amor* (16).

212. oreque blandiloquo. For *blandus* and *blandiloquus* in the poem cf. 14, 53, 48.

213-22. The address of the Procuresses to Vallus alludes to his former complicity, they say: "Your cause is joined to ours" (214) and call him a witness who publishes his own guilt (219). Their address is a tissue of themes reiterated from the body of the defense. *caussa* (214) recalls *ante tuum hanc caussam finge tribunal agi* (26). *noxia nulli* (215) is repeated from Buchanan's assignment of prostitution among the virtues (181). *Grata . . . multis* (216) repeats *multis . . . placet* (182), as does *sedulitate* (216 = 130, 210), *testis, teste* (218, 219 = 78, 120, 137), *legitimus* (220 = 105, 152) *ream* (220 = 27, 45). The concluding dilemma proposed by the *cunctas puellas* (211) addresses for the final time the

spurious claim that prostitution is a defect (*vitium* 221). The logic of the Procuresses is valid, but completely *ad hominem*; in their view the belief that prostitution is a vice is incompatible with taking advantage of its pleasures. The only person named in the poem with a history of these practices is the judge, whose assumed agreement to hear the case turns out to be equivalent to his dismissal of it.

¹As G.W. Pigman notes, it is often difficult in Neo-Latin poetry to judge accurately where unconscious reminiscence leaves off and engaged imitation begins. He cites an illuminating example of the Petrarch's theory and practice. G.W. Pigman III, "Neo-Latin Imitation of the Latin Classics," in *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition*, eds. P. Godwin and O. Murray (Oxford: 1990), pp. 199-210. Nevertheless, unlike Buchanan's hendecasyllabic poetry, for example, which heavily borrows from Catullus, his elegiac borrowings are from elegy. This suggests conscious rather than unconscious imitation and, therefore, the imitation and the source texts should be regarded as having a complex intertextual relationship.



Aucto XVI. Valencia 1514



Aucto XIX. Artista: Feledy Gyula (traducción húngara, 1979)

RESEÑAS

Celestina on Radio Three (BBC). October, 1992.

BBC Radio 3, the elite cultural channel in the United Kingdom, broadcast a new adaptation of *Celestina* on Sunday October 4, 1992 from 7:30-9:00 p.m. Based on the *Comedia* text, John Clifford's translation and adaptation was fairly free in some important respects, yet faithfully preserved certain significant nuances (e.g., the anticlericalism, and even key verbal details such as Sempronio's "Little share? I don't like the sound of that!"). The cast consisted of Celestina, Calisto, Melibea, Pleberio, Parmeno, Sempronio, Elicia, Areusa, and Lucrecia; Tristan, Sosia, and Alisa played no part.

Clifford's adaptation significantly changes the order of events. The play opens with Pleberio (in this version, already a widower) counselling Melibea prudence while he is away. His departure is followed immediately by Calisto's arrival in the garden in search of his hawk. Swiftly dismissed by Melibea, he returns home to bed. Sempronio's monologue is turned into a dialogue between the latter and Parmeno, but the main outlines are well preserved. The character of Parmeno is somewhat modified by the fact that were originally Sempronio's arguments against women are voiced by him; not does he protest at Calisto's offer of a cloak. In general, however, the relationship between the servants is accurately conveyed, as is the role of Celestina and the world inhabited by Elicia and Areusa. Other changes are Melibea's being alone with Lucrecia when Celestina arrives to sell her thread, and Pleberio's being given the role of voicing what was originally Alisa's advice to Melibea against meeting Celestina, which he does by letter during his absence. Calisto's death precedes that of Celestina; his first visit to Melibea to arrange a later tryst is rapidly followed by his return to her garden with Parmeno and Sempronio in order to consummate the relationship. After this is done (with a fond promise from Calisto to return: "I will come, my lady... Have no fear: love will give me wings"), he falls from the ladder, as a result of Parmeno and Sempronio's failing to help him when he descends. The servants abandon their master, with Melibea lamenting in the background, in their haste to go to Celestina to ask for a share in the chain; Parmeno seems to have

more qualms about this than does Sempronio. We briefly return to Melibea, lamenting at the top of the tower, before the action turns again to Celestina's house. Her murder is followed by the death's of Parmeno and Sempronio; they jump from her windows, screaming, and the dying Celestina is heard saying "Scrape them off the ground and hang them in the square, and that's justice, justice." We once more switch back to Melibea's grief, and her explanation of the situation to her father, which is followed by her suicide and Pleberio's solitary lament. The tone of this is relatively true to the original, despite cuts and reordering of the content.

One significant detail of interpretation is that Melibea and Pleberio are both explicitly and implicitly identified as Jewish on several occasions (Parmeno: "You lost your hawk...and will lose all your property..and all for a Jew"; Pleberio: "the malice of Christians," "reputation is a thing our race cannot afford to lose"). Celestina's witchcraft was also presented very seriously.

The play was accompanied by musical interludes at various points; the music was composed by Neil Brand, with flamenco sung by Miguel Sanchez. The director was Owen O'Callaghan. Hardly a crib for students studying the text, but as an original interpretation of the sixteen-act *Celestina* the broadcast was successful, and listening to a radio version is, after all, probably closer to circumstances envisaged by Proaza's final verses (and by the "cuando diez personas se juntaren a oír esta comedia" of the Prologue) than attending a stage production. This broadcast version also successfully conveyed the sheer rapidity of events in the *Comedia*.

David Hook

King's College, London

"La Celestina" (teatro). Teatro Estable, Granada. Director: Fernando Cobos. Marzo 1992.

On the 20th of April of 1992, demolition work is due to begin on the premises of the Teatro Estable of Granada, the brainchild of the formerly-exiled theatrical director Fernando Cobos, an 'autor' in the classical sense of the word. Cobos has had a long career in Spanish and international theatres, starting with the direction of the Teatro Universitario in Madrid in the early fifties. He ran the Teatro Ibero-Latino Americano de París in the sixties and the Le Théâtre de l'Ensemble and Le Théâtre du Hangar in the seventies. The latter presented and toured "La Celestina," with Cobos playing the lead role.¹

Cobos' present small repertory company has been operating since 1987, and the theatre, a renovated studio, was opened in 1989. The company tours worldwide each year with a repertory of Spanish and international classics, and while at home plays every night except Wednesdays. The current repertory includes "Casa con dos puertas...", "El vergonzoso en palacio," Cobos' own "Cristóbal Colón," and works by Shakespeare, Brecht, and Joyce. The Ayuntamiento of Granada has decided to allow demolition of the row of studios to make way for an apartment block, despite protests in the national press.

As Cobos explained to the small audience on the Monday evening when I attended the hour and a half production, any staged version of Rojas' *Celestina* must be a selective adaptation, and he chose this time to emphasize the youthful vitality of the comic side of the work, ignoring the tragic side entirely.

Thus his *Celestina* is played by a young woman dressed in gypsy fashion, whose only concession to age is a crone-like voice and a spectacularly back-combed wig. Flamenco music is supplied by the famed Granadine singer Enrique Morente. Eva Castro is exceptional in the role of *Celestina* which--in this production--demands a fair amount of athleticism, as the set is a tall construction platform of tubular steel, on wheels for mobility. This provides a see-through tower and rooms for the three houses of the work, those of Calisto, Melibea, and *Celestina*. *Celestina*'s house is rendered even more effective by the use of a huge

¹ In Madrid, this Cobos version played the Teatro Alfil, August 30-September 4, 1977. It was reviewed by L. López Sancho in *ABC*, September 1, 1977, on page 40.

cloak which she wears at the top of the tower to cover the entire structure. This is particularly telling in the 'Crito' scene, with Crito, Elicia and Sempronio popping in and out of the covering cape.

Cobos has made an intelligent selection of the text and has used his cast of six characters effectively. The well-endowed Sonia García Valdecasas plays both Melibea and Areúsa. Areúsa is another comic turn, a big girl in underwear sitting in a 'bower' suspended from the platform. Melibea, too, is house-bound; we never see her garden and only hear Pleberio's voice once. Cobos' adaptation concentrates on Celestina's seduction of Melibea in acts 4 and 10. Very effective use is made of the swirling cape in the scene of Celestina's return with the *cordón* and the good news. (The *cordón* itself is an extraordinary garment with bra and panties sewn into a tulle and feather strip, which Melibea at first wears on her head.) The fetichism of Calisto (Daniel Tunes) when he receives this garment is much emphasized. The remaining roles were played by Sara Fernández as Elicia, Pablo Guzmán as Pármeno, and Johannes Walkenhorst as Sempronio.

All in all there may be too much sexual simulation on stage for the taste of some theatre-goers, and one would not necessarily recommend seeing this production accompanied by one's maiden aunt. On the other hand, a good part of the lubricious behavior is explicit in the text, and those who are bored with nudity on the Spanish stage will be relieved to hear that clothing is worn throughout.

Cobos makes his selection of the text with a sure hand, and I would only quibble with a few modernized words which miss the meaning of the original. The sequence of acts and action is maintained until near the end, when suddenly we skip Act 9, and at the end of Act 10 we are startled to hear that Celestina is arranging the assignation of Calisto and Melibea at her house and not Pleberio's! This gives Cobos the chance to run the seduction and the banquet scenes together and the play ends suddenly with Calisto's sudden entrance and announcement that machines have appeared to destroy their 'corral de comedias.' This seems a quite tragic enough ending to this experiment in live theatre in Granada. Let us hope that the Teatro Estable will survive the loss of its performing space and will continue to tour with its classical repertory.

Dorothy S. Severin

University of Liverpool

**FERNANDO DE ROJAS Y 'CELESTINA':
DOCUMENTO BIBLIOGRÁFICO**
(catorceno suplemento)

Joseph Thomas Snow
Michigan State University

[Como siempre, el suplemento se hace con la alerta inteligencia y la generosa ayuda de varios amigos celestinistas. Quisiera expresar mis gracias por las aportaciones a éste de: P. Botta, S. Bryant-Bertail, A. Deyermond, I. Corfis, H. DeVries, J. C. Conde, y H. Vélez Quiñones.]

451. ASKINS, Arthur L.F., y V. INFANTES. "Las 'coplas' celestinescas de ¿tremar?: Una historia casi completa de medio pliego." *Celestinesca* 15.2 (Nov. 1991), 31-51.

Estudio detectivesco y pormenorizado de un medio pliego de hacia 1515 (de la sevillana imprenta de los Cromberger) de tema celestinesco, sin mención de autor. Acaba con una sólida hipótesis de atribución al autor de otro medio pliego: Rodrigo de Reinoso. Con amplia documentación.

452. BARBERA, Raymond. "'No puede creer que lo tenga en su poder....'" *Romanic Review* 82.1 (1991), 105-109.

Estudio de esta frase y su sintaxis ambigua como técnica del arte de Rojas. Esta discusión de la 'cadenilla' ilumina no sólo el contexto, sino que profundiza en los múltiples niveles de significado, desde lo real hasta lo más metafórico.

453. BOBES NAVES, María del Carmen. "La aparición del diálogo

dramático: *La Celestina*," en *El diálogo. Estudio pragmático, lingüístico y literario*, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica-Estudios y Ensayos 375 (Madrid: Gredos, 1992), 270-284.

Después de afirmar que el texto es 'netamente dramático' (270), señalando que su diálogo tiene una perfecta autonomía, lo caracteriza--con ejemplos en cada caso--a la luz de cuatro puntos centrales: su vinculación con una situación exterior, la técnica de exposición (el acto informativo), el manejo de acotaciones dialógicas y de apartes. La paradoja es que este diálogo, como forma de la comunicación humana, fracasa totalmente.

454. BOTTA, Patrizia. "Vtilidad (*Celestina*, Trag. XIV, 242.8)." *Cultura Neolatina* 51 (1991), 65-99.

Esta palabra del aucto XIV de la invectiva contra el juez recibe aquí un estudio exhaustivo histórico (58 ediciones españolas, mas traducciones) para presentar, al final, como posible enmendación, la voz 'punibilidad.' Bien documentado y razonado.

455. BRYANT-BERTAIL, Sarah. "Space/Time as Historical Sign: Essay on *La Célestine*, in Memory of Antoine Vitez." *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism* (Spring 1991), 101-120.

Producto de una noche con la *Celestina* de Vitez (F. Delay, traductora, Jeanne Moreau en *Celestina*) en julio de 1989, este estudio pretende desentrañar el poder que tiene el teatro, en manos de tal director, de presentarse como signo de la historicidad, reflejando la imagen que la sociedad tiene de sí misma, aun cuando esta imagen tiene que confrontar las fuerzas de su destrucción (es éste un fuerte paralelo entre la época de Rojas y la nuestra). Es el uso del espacio y del tiempo que son "la gramática" de esta conceptualización teatral de *Celestina*, y la discusión del tema visual ("la Caída"), el decorado (espacios verticales), y la manera en que *Celestina* invade todos los espacios, ella misma *metteuse en scène* de su propio escenario dentro de la ficción teatral, nos ayudan a comprenderlo.

456. CASTELLS, Ricardo Enrique. "Calisto's Dream and the

Celestinesque Tradition: A Re-Reading of *Celestina*. Ph.D., Duke Univ, 1991. Director: B. Wardropper.

Extiende la teoría de M. Garci-Gómez, de que la acción de la primera escena ocurre en un sueño de Calisto, a las obras concebidas como continuaciones e imitaciones y descubre que estos autores "leyeron" la escena inicial de la obra de Rojas de esta manera.

457. _____. "Calisto and the Imputed Parody of Courtly Love." *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 15 (1990-1991), 209-220.

Una lectura de Calisto como cortés, ensoñador, creativo (lectura que se opone a las de J. McCash, A. Deyermond, D. S. Severin, y de otros), a la luz de una presentación de argumentos sostenidos por pasajes del *De amore* de Capellanus. Importante a este argumento es la aceptación que tuvo este "Calisto" entre los autores de obras posteriores celestinescas.

458. CORDERO GARCIA, Guillermo. "Recreación de La Celestina." *Cabañuela*, no. 1 (marzo-mayo 1990), 23-28.

Un diálogo entre Calisto (inspirado en Rojas) y Mefistófeles. Una nueva aportación a la literatura imaginativa neo-celestinesca.

459. CORFIS, Ivy A. "Laws of Head of Household in *Celestina*," en *RLA. Romance Languages Annual* (Purdue Univ.), eds. J. Beer, C. Ganelin, y A. J. Tamburri (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue Research Foundation, 1992), 397-401.

Corfis, basándose en el MS anónimo de *Celestina comentada* (mediados del s. XVI), demuestra que los personajes de la TCM son conscientes de las leyes que operan en la sociedad a finales del XV y comienzos del XVI. Aduce ejemplos del acto VII (leyes de adopción) y del auto XVI (leyes pertenecientes al matrimonio).

460. _____. "Legal Obligation and Intention in *Celestina*." *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 16 (1991-1992), 11-21.

Hubo leyes y tradiciones legales que gobernaban la obligación y la intención en época de Rojas que están claramente reflejadas en *Celestina* y, a mediados del siglo XVI, subrayadas en *Celestina comentada*, obra anónima. Aquí se presentan elementos de la persuasión de Pármeno por Celestina (Aucto I) y de Melibea por la misma (Aucto IV).

461. DeVRIES, Henk. "Estructuras literarias calculadas (once ejemplos)," en *Actas. II Congreso Internacional de la AHLM (Segovia, 5-9 oct., 1987)*, ed. J. M. Lucía, P. García Alonso, y C. Martín Daza (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad, 1992): II, 887-905.

Uno de los 11 ejemplos, discutidos a la luz de sus estructuras numerológicas, es *Celestina* (896-897), en la versión *Comedia*. La idea de un 'antiguo autor' es nada menos que una mistificación que el mismo Rojas logra anular en el texto.

462. DEYERMOND, A. D. "*Celestina* and *Libro de buen amor*" (barcarolas humorísticas)." *Celestinesca* 15.2 (Nov 1991), 83.

Dos poesías que condensan la trama de estas obras con toques de humor.

463. ESTEBAN MARTIN, Luis Mariano. "Feliciano de Silva en el ciclo celestinesco." *La corónica* 20.2 (1991-1992), 42-49.

F. de Silva visto como co-fundador del género celestinesco. Interesante asesoramiento de los elementos nuevos, o más desarrollados en la *Segunda Celestina* que en la original de Rojas, y su aparición e influencia en otras obras posteriores.

464. _____. "Edición y estudio de la *Tragedia Policiana*, de Sebastián Fernández." Tesis doctoral, Univ. Complutense de Madrid, 1992. Director: Víctor Infantes.

Una edición muy cuidada, con amplias notas y variantes. La bibliografía es extensísima. El estudio propio ubica la *Policiana* en el ciclo celestinesco con énfasis particular en los personajes (los amantes, los padres, la alcahueta, y los criados, putos y rufianes).

465. FEITO, Ruth. "Acerca del género y de la parodia en *La Celestina*." *Revista de Lengua y Literatura* (Dept. de Letras, Univ. Nacional de Comahue, Argentina) 5 (Nov 1991), 17-35.

Rojas es autor/lector de la *Tragicomedia*, y está en el centro y a los márgenes de la obra; media la(s) lectura(s) en una época-cruce de la oralidad y la escritura. No hay portavoz rojano. Parece ver en el rechazo de la alegoría y simbolismo, y de la palabra 'ennoblecida' en LC (determinantes de la 'novela' de su época) una tendencia hacia el género dramático y terenciano. La parodia de la "épica de la honra" (en aucto IV) y otras inversiones burlescas subrayan el estilo paródico de la obra.

466. FERNANDEZ GUTIERREZ, José M. *Guía de lectura de "La Celestina"*. Madrid: Akal, 1992. Rústica, 78 pp. Ilustrada.

Para estudiantes que leen por primera vez la obra de Rojas. Recorre, en capítulos breves con ejercicios y preguntas, la historia textual de la TCM, sus probables autores, los personajes de la obra, los logros de su prosa. También toca en algunos textos complementarios, entre ellos la *Segunda Celestina* de Feliciano de Silva. La bibliografía es mínima e incompleta. Las ilustraciones abarcan desde ediciones tempranas hasta fotos de teatralizaciones del siglo XX.

467. FONTES, Manuel da Costa. "Fernando de Rojas, Cervantes, and Two Portuguese Folktales," en *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Samuel G. Armistead*, ed. E. M. Gerli y H. L. Sharrer (Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1992), 85-96.

Hay elementos en la obra de Rojas y en la de Cervantes cuyo origen es con toda probabilidad la tradición oral folclórica (muestras aquí en portugués, con analogías del chino y del hebreo). En Rojas, es el vocabulario de *coser y tejer* que enriquece con sus doble entendidos el diálogo de Melibea con Celestina en el auto X, un vocabulario repetido en Cervantes pero tal vez no con la misma intencionalidad. En Cervantes, su afición a la literatura oral se asocia con la anécdota del loco que infla un

perro.

468. HERMENEGILDO, Alfredo. "El arte celestinesco y las marcas de teatralidad." *Incipit* 11 (1991), 127-151.

Dejando para el futuro el análisis de los actos 2-21, aquí analiza en el auto primero toda la gama de órdenes de representación (didascalias) que delatan la potencialidad teatral de Celestina. Identifica los 'signos condicionantes de la hipotética representación' (132), así determinando que todo esto ha de coincidir con el intento de sus autores.

[451]. INFANTES, Víctor. Ver ASKINS (arriba).

469. MARQUEZ VILLANUEVA, Francisco. "La Celestina y el pseudo-Boecio *De disciplinis scholarium*," en *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Samuel G. Armistead*, ed. E. M. Gerli y H. L. Sharrer (Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1992), 221-242.

El libro titular se conocía en la Salamanca a finales del siglo XV y tiene un pasaje que es una clásica estampa del tema del criado malo, eco del de la comedia elegíaca. Es más: la violencia de Pármeno y Sempronio se acerca más a la de los siervos del pseudo-Boecio que a ningún aspecto de los criados en las comedias clásicas, y hay otras reminiscencias también que en *Celestina* pueden bien reflejar una lectura de este tan popular texto.

470. _____. "Ecos de las Celestinas, en su *Fuentes literarias cervantinas*, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica-Estudios y Ensayos, 199 (Madrid: Gredos, 1973), 55-63.

Influencias de Rojas, Feliciano de Silva (en el *Celoso extremeño*), Sancho de Muñón, Sebastián Fernández, y otros (para sus figuras fanfarronescas), y en especial Gáspar Gómez y su *Tercera Celestina* para un antecedente del episodio de la embajada de Sancho Panza a Toboso.

471. MICHAEL, Ian. "La Celestina de Palacio: el redescubrimiento del MS

II-1520 (sign. ant. 2.A.4) y su procedencia segoviana." *Revista de literatura medieval* 3 (1991), 149-161.

Amplía lo "re-descubierto" por C. Faulhaber (*Celestinesca* 14.2 y 15.1) al trazar el origen del MS a Segovia, colocándolo en manos de uno que pudo haber sido contemporáneo de Rojas en Salamanca. Rechaza la hipótesis de la 2ª parte del estudio de Faulhaber en la que se habla de un MS autógrafo. Sugiere que si no es copia de una desconocida, temprana ed. de la *Comedia*, podría ser una copia de otra que circulaba en MS en Salamanca, y que fue guardada como recuerdo de la juventud del segoviano: Sebastián de Peralta.

472. MIGUEL MARTINEZ, Emilio de. "La Celestina, Acto XXI" (parodia en prosa). *Marcapasos de Cursos Internacionales* (Salamanca) 5, núm. 38 (29 agosto 1991), 232. Reimpresión en *Celestinesca* 15.2 (Nov 1991), 78-79.

Una parodia en prosa que rinde homenaje al estilo de Rojas.

473. PENSADO, José Luis. "'A Dios Paredes.'" *Celestinesca* 15.2 (Nov 1991), 63-66.

Breve estudio que pretende que 'paredes' no es sustantivo sino forma plural del verbo 'parar,' equivalente a "Quédate a Dios."

474. PEREZ PRIEGO, Miguel Angel. "La Celestina y el teatro del siglo XVI." *Epos* 7 (1991), 291-311.

Celestina como estímulo para la inspiración teatral en el siglo XVI, principalmente en modos parciales (una situación, unos personajes, giros u otros patrones de la lengua viva, y etcétera). Incluye esta discusión obras como la "Egloga de Plácida y Vitoriano" (Encina), la "Egloga de Calixto y Melibea" (Urrea), la "Comedia Himenea" (Torres Naharro), la "Comedia Ypólita" (anónimo), dos comedias del aragonés, Jaime de Huete (la "Tesorina" y la "Vidriana"), la comedia "Tidea" (Francisco de las Natas), y en un "Auto de Clarindo," así llegando a mediados del siglo. Comienza a apagarse como influencia en el teatro hacia finales del siglo y se detecta esporádicamente como, por ejemplo, en "El infamador" (Juan de la Cueva) o la "Comedia Salvaje"

(Romero de Cepeda).

475. RANK, Jerry R. "Marciales's *Celestina*." *Romance Philology* 45 (1991-1992), 149-161.

Una reseña-artículo de esta edición "única" que se hace a base de la evolución del texto en vez de sobre la secuencia tradicional de lectura. Enjuicia los asertos sobre la autoría del primer aucto, atribuido a Cota, la valorización del papel de las tres *Comedias*, las filiaciones y las imprentas en la historia del texto, y el uso de la *Celestina comentada* y de las traducciones tempranas en la elaboración de esta edición.

476. REYES-DURAN, Martín. "Examen crítico-analítico de las ilustraciones encontradas en tres *Celestinas* (Burgos 1499; Sevilla 1502; Valencia 1514)." Tesina de licenciatura, Texas A & M University, 1992. 180 pp. Directora: N. J. Dyer.

Un análisis de los grabados de las 3 ediciones como reflejo/distorsión del texto rojano y como comentario social en su momento histórico. El valor simbólico de los objetos representados en las ilustraciones ha merecido una serie de observaciones, al igual que el valor artístico de cada serie de esquemas ilustrativos.

477. RICO, Francisco. "Las primeras 'Celestinas' de Picasso." *Bulletin Hispanique* 92 (1990), 609-626.

Una interesante serie de puntualizaciones sobre el cuadro de *Celestina* (Modelo: Carlota Valdivia, 1904), y sobre otros de posible inspiración celestinesca. Da pormenores útiles sobre las *Celestinas* que rodeaban a Picasso (en música, arte, y en los mismos textos literarios, algunos de ellos ilustrados).

478. ROJAS, Fernando de. *La Celestina*. Prólogo y presentación de Francesc-Lluís Cardona. Edición de José Ibáñez Campos. Barcelona: Edicomunicación, 1992. Rústica, 282 pp. Cubierta ilustrada.

Edición de la TCM, modernizada y con unas cuantas notas, las más de tipo léxico. La bibliografía que se ofrece, lamentablemente, sólo incluye ediciones. La introducción da una orientación al texto, su momento histórico y sus "problemas," sin contar con estudios importantes de la última década. Sin ilustraciones.

479. _____. Basel: Theater Basel-Komödie, 1992. Rústica, 52 pp. Con 35 fotos.

Programa que acompañó el estreno de esta versión alemana de *Celestina*, en la traducción (abreviada) de Fritz Vögelsang (estreno: el 5 de febrero, 1992).

a. *Basler Zeitung* (7 febrero 1992), C. Richard (con 1 foto).

480. _____. *La Celestina*. Libros de la literatura española, 8, Santiago de Chile: Ercilla, 1984. Rústica, 254 pp.

Es la TCM completa, en lenguaje modernizado. Las notas son de tipo léxico. Sin ilustraciones.

481. _____. LC. Colección Teatro, México: Editores Mexicanos Unidos, 3ª ed, 1985. Rústica, 206 pp. Cubierta ilustrada (diseño de Sergio Padilla).

Es la TCM completa, con un prólogo mínimo y sin bibliografía. Las notas son de tipo léxico.

482. ROUND, Nicholas G. "There once was a lad named Calixtus" (poema). *Celestinesca* 15.2 (Nov. 1991), 83-85.

Un resumen inspirado, marcado por sus gratas invenciones, del primer *aucto* de *Celestina*. Comprende dieciocho cuartetos (en inglés).

483. SAGE, Jack W. "El caballero de Olmedo and *La Celestina*," en su *Lope de Vega*. 'El caballero de Olmedo' (London: Grant &

Cutler/Támesis, *Critical Guides to Spanish Texts* 6, 1974), 41-43.

Lope incorpora en obras suyas actitudes hacia la brujería (Fabia) y la tendencia de presentar su protagonista (Alonso) como una parodia del amante cortés. Son actitudes y tendencias ya manifiestas en *Celestina*.

484. SALUS, Carol. "Picasso's Version of 'Celestina' and Related Issues." *Celestinesca* 15.2 (Nov 1991), 3-17. Con cuatro ilustraciones.

Un estudio que compara el resultado estético del cuadro de 1904 (del llamado período azul) con las circunstancias culturales de aquella época y como pudieron haberle llevado a Picasso a cultivar interés en este tema en particular. El movimiento modernista y el ambiente político son factores a considerar.

85. SALVADOR MIGUEL, Nicasio. "La autoría de *La Celestina* y la fama de Rojas." *Epos* 7 (1991), 275-290.

Un extenso recorrido de la historia crítica de las atribuciones de una y otra parte de *Celestina* a Fernando de Rojas, en particular la autoría del primer auto. Concluye que las declaraciones de Rojas (en los preliminares) deben respetarse y que no es autor de ese auto (ni del Auto de Traso). Rojas merece, sin embargo, reconocerse como autor de la obra por la fama que ha alcanzado su invención.

486. SEARS, Teresa A. "Love and the Lure of Chaos: Difference and Disorder in *Celestina*." *Romanic Review* 83.1 (1992), 94-106.

Una lectura de LC que presta especial atención a la destrucción (de diferencias) ocasionada por el deseo en busca de la unidad. Rojas utiliza el lenguaje y los símbolos con plena conciencia de la paradoja que encierran (son puentes a la vez que son muros). El desorden en la obra de Rojas dista bastante del de Shakespeare en *Romeo y Julieta* y, al mismo tiempo, hace que se piense en las tapias poéticas de Robert Frost.

487. SMITH, R. Roger. "Recapitulation: A Technique of Character

Portrayal in *Celestina*." *Celestinesca* 15.2 (Nov. 1991), 53-62.

Explora cómo esta técnica afecta la caracterización: en la intensificación de su presentación, para realzar cambios en el carácter de un personaje o señalar defectos ('flaws'); se utiliza en la creación de ambiente y para establecer motivaciones, para apoyar unidades estructurales y desarrollar ironías. Con ejemplos y análisis.

488. SNOW, J. T. "*Celestina* de Fernando de Rojas: documento bibliográfico (treceno suplemento)." *Celestinesca* 15.2 (Nov. 1991), 87-97.

47 entradas (nos. 404-450). Continúa adicionando así su libro de 1985 ("*Celestina*" by Fernando de Rojas. *An Annotated Bibliography of World Interest: 1930-1985*).

489. _____. "Dos congresos en 1991 celebran el 450° aniversario de la muerte de Fernando de Rojas." *Celestinesca* 15.2 (Nov. 1991), 75-85.

Los dos son: Salamanca (agosto) y West Lafayette, Indiana (Purdue Univ., noviembre). El informe incluye nombres, títulos de las aportaciones, reportaje, y los textos de algunas obras de tipo creativo que estos dos congresos ocasionaron.

490. _____. "La muerte de *Celestina*" (poema). *Marcapasos de Cursos Internacionales* (Salamanca) 5, no. 38 (29 agosto 1991), 225. Reimpreso en *Celestinesca* 15.2 (Nov. 1991), 79-80.

Recreación--en 7 redondillas--del ambiente del asesinato que la misma *Celestina* tanto ha hecho para desencadenar.

491. VELEZ-QUIÑONES, Harry. "La celestinesca, la comedia, y *La Dorotea*: Huellas de un intertexto." Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1990. 329 pp. Director: Francisco Márquez Villanueva. Núm. de pedido (*Dissertation Abstracts International*): 9113229.

Una exposición teórica de las 'relaciones' entre *Celestina* (Rojas),

la 'celestinesca' (a partir de *La comedia Tebaida*), y diversas obras de Lope de Vega (*La Dorotea*, en especial) que se funda en una discusión y aplicación de las ideas contemporáneas de la *imitatio*. Estas ideas proceden de la época clásica y pasan por Petrarca, Bembo, Pico della Mirandola, López Pinciano y otros en el renacimiento, y su dilucidación ayuda en esta valoración de la presencia en Lope de Rojas y de sus imitadores, siempre de manera original.

492. WHINNOM, Keith. "The 'Argumento' of *Celestina*" (ed. por A. Deyermond). *Celestinesca* 15.2 (Nov 1991), 19-30.

Avanza poderosos argumentos para que aceptemos el "argumento de toda la obra" como creación de Rojas (si no tanto los argumentos de los actos individuales). Admite, con todo, que estos argumentos no explican las discrepancias entre el tono de los materiales prologales y lo que ocurre en el texto propiamente dicho.



Aucto X. Valencia 1514.



PREGONERO

"contarte he maravillas"
Auto VIII

[Esta vez, el retraso en la salida de la revista sólo permite la inclusión de unas cuantas de las noticias acumuladas. Reservamos para el numero 2 de este tomo las otras noticias de las que disponemos en el archivo. Ed.]

PONENCIAS:

He aquí una recopilación la más completa posible de las presentaciones públicas sobre temas celestinescos: cubre desde la primavera de 1991.

Las siguientes se leyeron en Purdue University (West Lafayette IN, noviembre de 1991) en un simposio internacional convocado para conmemorar el 450º aniversario de la muerte de Fernando de Rojas.

DEYERMOND, Alan. "Female Societies in *Celestina*."

LACARRA, María Eugenia. "La evolución de la prostitución en la Castilla del siglo XV y la mancebía de Salamanca en tiempos de Fernando de Rojas."

MALKIEL, Yakov. "Analysis of Early Critical Reactions to María Rosa Lida's *La originalidad artística de 'La Celestina'*."

ROUND, Nicholas G. "Aucto I: A Platonic Echo and Its Resonances."

FOTHERGILL-PAYNE, Louise. "'Conséjate con Séneca': *Auctoritas* in

Celestina and *Celestina comentada*."

FRAKER, Charles F. "The Four Humors in *Celestina*."

RANK, Jerry R. "'O cruel juez, y que mal pago me has dado ...': Or Calisto's Urban Network."

SEVERIN, Dorothy S. "Celestina as a Comic Figure."

RICAPITO, Joseph V. "People, Character, and Roles: A View of Characterization in *Celestina*."

BERNDT-KELLEY, Erna R. "Mute Commentaries on a Text: The Illustrations of the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*."

CARPENTER, Dwayne E. "The Sacred in the Profane: Jewish Scriptures and the First Comedy in Hebrew."

BEARDSLEY, JR., Theodore S. "Kaspar von Barth's Neo-Latin Translation of *Celestina* (1624)."

KISH, Kathleen V. "Eighteenth-Century *Celestina* Reincarnations."

SNOW, Joseph T. "Five Centuries of *Celestina* Readings: An Overview and An Example from the Nineteenth-Century."

SCHIZZANO MANDEL, Adrienne. "*Celestina's* Seductive Power in France: An Operatic Debut."

PEREZ PRIEGO, Miguel Angel. "Celestina en escena: el personaje de la vieja alcahueta y hechicera en el teatro renacentista."

MIGUEL MARTINEZ, Miguel de. "*Celestina*, teatro."

BURKE, James F. "Law of the Father--Law of the Mother in *Celestina*."

FRIEDMAN, Edward H. "Celestina, Melibea, and the Persuasive Arts."

STAMM, James R. "Reading and Listening in *Celestina*."

ARDEMAGNI, Enrica J. "Celestina's Laboratory: A Translator's Dilemma."

SALVADOR MIGUEL, Nicasio. "De una ave llamada rocho': para la historia literaria del ruj."

IV Colloquium of XVc Literature (Queen Mary & Westfield College, Londres, 3-4 julio, 1992):

MICHAEL, Ian, Dorothy S. SEVERIN, y Juan Carlos CONDE LOPEZ, Tabla redonda sobre el MS II-1520, Biblioteca de Palacio (Madrid), con una copia parcial del primer auto de la *Comedia*.

Curso de Verano de la Complutense (Almería, 6-10 julio, 1992):

SNOW, Joseph T. "El demonio en *Celestina*."

Asoc. Internacional de Hispanistas (Irvine CA, agosto 1992):

NOVELLA, Cecilia. "Juan Rodríguez del Padrón en *Celestina*."

PROYECTOS

El proyecto de la edición de la *Celestina comentada* sigue en pie, obra de colaboración (Ivy Corfis, Louise Fothergill-Payne y Michel Garcia) ahora bastante adelantada. No se sabe todavía exactamente cuando puede aparecer.

Robert Hathaway promete seguir con unas ideas para un estudio de la misoginia en varias obras de Pedro Manuel Ximénex de Urrea, poeta y dramaturgo--contemporáneo de Rojas y gran conocedor de *Celestina*, especialmente reflejado en el uso que hace de ella en sus "Eglogas" y en su *Penitencia de amor*.

ESTUDIOS

En el tomo de homenaje a Carlos Fraker (en prensa con la Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (Wisconsin)) aparecerán tres estudios relacionados con *Celestina* y son:

Alan DEYERMOND, "Keith Whinnom's *Celestina* Book.
Ivy CORFIS, "Judges and Laws of Justice in *Celestina*
Joseph SNOW, "Fernando de Rojas as First Reader: Reader
Response Criticism and *Celestina*."

TEATRALIZACIONES:

LOS ANGELES. La BILINGUAL FOUNDATION FOR THE ARTS, con ayudas importantes de la FORD FOUNDATION, presenta *La Celestina* en una adaptación de Margarita Galbán y Margarita Stocker. La traducción al inglés es de Margarita Stocker. Sus dos estrenos (en sendos idiomas) son el 25 de septiembre de 1992 y el 2 de octubre, en el LITTLE THEATRE de la BFA. Ha dirigido María Elena Rivera.

CUBA. De fecha incierta. " ... yo siempre me acuerdo de que trabajé como asesor literario con José Campejo para hacer una adaptación teatral de *La Celestina* y de cómo lo que en su tiempo, en 1499, la Inquisición no suprimió ni expurgó, sí se mutiló en Cuba, donde por fin la obra fue prohibida" (Reinaldo Arenas [1943-1990], de una entrevista publicada en *La Nación* [Buenos Aires][26 de julio, 1992, sección 7-Supl. literario], 1-2. Esta cita es de la pág. 2 y la debemos al buen ojo del prof. Aníbal Biglieri).

BASILEA. El THEATER BASEL-KOMÖDIE, en la temporada 1991/1992, presentó *La Celestina*, en una adaptación en lengua alemana basada en la traducción de Fritz Vogelsang [ver la reseña de ésta por G. Siebenmann en *Celestinesca* 15.2]. La adaptación es de François Michel Presenti, Stefanie Carp, y Anne Pleis. El mismo Presenti dirigió y diseñó el vestuario. Tuvo su estreno el 5 de febrero de 1992 con el elenco a seguir: Nikola Weisse (*Celestina*), Martin Horn (*Calisto*), Marie-Lou Sellem (*Melibea*), Nicolas Rasat (*Sempronio*), Alexander Tschernek (*Pármeno*), Inka Friedrich (*Areúsa*), Deborah Epstein (*Lucrecia*), Adolph Spahlinger (*Pleberio*), Judith Melles (*Alisa*), Hans Jürg Müller (*Sosia*), y Javier Bargas (*Tristán*). El programa--un envío del celestinista Henk DEVRIES, a quien quedamos muy agradecidos--se ilustra con 35 fotos (blanco y negro) de los actores en escena.

CINE:

Desde noviembre de 1991 se ha venido diciendo que Nuria

Espert va a debutar como directora de cine con una *Celestina*. Ella misma dijo a *El país* (17-XI-91), p. 24: "La idea viene de lejos. Yo tenía que hacer la obra para el Teatro Nacional de Londres [*Celestinesca* lo ha notado dos o tres veces en versiones anteriores de este PREGONERO], y preparándola me di cuenta de que por su estructura no era una novela ni una obra de teatro (!), sino un guión cinematográfico. Me parecía que sería muy sencillo hacer una buena película e imposible, al menos para mí, hacerla en teatro."

RESEÑAS:

N. G. Round, de la edición bilingüe de *Celestina*, ed. D. S. Severin (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1987), in *Modern Language Review* 87 (1992): 773.

David Pharies, de la misma, en *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 106 (1990): 737-738.

D. McGrady, de Charles F. Fraker, '*Celestina*': *Genre and Rhetoric* (Londres: Támesis, 1990), in *Hispanic Review* 60 (1992): 82-84.

J. A. Drinkwater, de *The Untold Story: Women and Theory in Golden Age Texts* (con un cap. sobre LC) por Mary Gossy (Michigan Univ. Press, 1989), in *Modern Language Review* 87 (1992): 776-777.

Ruth El Saffar, de la misma obra, en *Renaissance Quarterly* 44 (1991): 155-157.

J. Estruch Tobella, de *Fernando de Rojas y 'La Celestina'* de A. Sánchez y R. Prieto de la Yglesia (Barcelona: Teide, 1991), en *El Observador* (Barcelona, 14 de mayo, 1992), sección 'Libros,' p. 6.

J. M. Balcells, de la misma obra, en *El norte de Castilla* (Valladolid, 15 de febrero, 1992), secc. 'Letras,' ii.

F. Lázaro Carreter, de la ed. de P. E. Russell de la *Comedia o Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (Madrid: Castalia, 1991), en *ABC Internacional* (15/21 enero, 1992): 21.

Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas, de la misma, en *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 16 (1991-1992): 59-64.

HONORES: Louise Fothergill-Payne, recién jubilada de la Universidad de Calgary, ha merecido dos honores este año. Primero fue elegida miembro correspondiente de The Hispanic Society of America. Y segundo, la Royal Society of Canada la seleccionó para ocupar una silla en la Academy of Humanities and Social Sciences. Había enseñado 25 años en Calgary. Sus estudios sobre el teatro del Siglo de Oro son tan conocidos como otros sobre *Celestina*: su libro más reciente es *Séneca y "Celestina"* (Cambridge UP) y de momento está trabajando con otros en una edición de *Celestina comentada*. ¡Muchas felicidades!



Record jacket illustration. BBC Recording of
Calisto & Melibea (John Rastell, printer, c. 1525)
Dover Publications, 1970.



Amparo Villegas en "La Celestina" cuadro al óleo de Vlady

De la edición-adaptación de Alvaro M. Custodio, 1966.



Portada (detalle de la edición-adaptación de
Alvaro M. Custodio, 1966.

EDITORIAL POLICIES

CELESTINESCA generally accepts articles and notes 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, submissions longer than 35 pages (notes 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 *Celestina*, its imitations, continuations, translations, theatrical adaptations, etc. Items may treat matters of literary, linguistic, stylistic or other concerns. Bibliographies dealing with works related to *Celestina* 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 Manual (1985) or the MHRA Style Book are two acceptable guides to form, but internal consistency is a must. Material in the notes ought to be fully documented (to include publishers), and may, whenever practical, be abbreviated by using the reference no. of items from '*Celestina*' by Fernando de Rojas: *An Annotated Bibliography of World Interest, 1930-1985*, and subsequent supplements (numbered consecutively appearing in this journal).

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 sent to The Editor, Rom/Classical Langs, Michigan State University, E. Lansing MI 48824-1112 (USA).

Celestinesca

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VOL 16, NO 1

CONTENIDO

Mayo de 1992

NOTA DEL EDITOR: ALVARO M. CUSTODIO (1913-1992).....1-4

ARTICULOS

Alvaro Custodio, Introito a una comedia.....5-14

Ricardo Castells, Los refranes y la problemática autoría de la *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*.....15-23

NOTAS

Charles Faulhaber, The Heredia-Zabalburu Copy of the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, "Sevilla, 1502" [i.e., Rome: Marcellus Silber, Ca. 1516].....25-34

TEXTOS

Charles Platter y Barbara Welch, The Poetics of Prostitution: Buchanan's *Ars Lenae*.....35-81

RESEÑAS

Celestina on Radio Three (BBC) (David Hook).....83-84

"La Celestina" (teatro), Teatro Estable, Granada, (Dorothy S. Severin).....85-86

BIBLIOGRAFIA

Joseph T. Snow, *Celestina* de Fernando de Rojas: documento bibliográfico (catorceno suplemento).....87-98

PREGONERO.....99-104

ILUSTRACIONES.....20, 24, 33, 82, 98, 104, 105, 106