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NOTA DEL EDITOR

Although this number is late in arriving, much of that has to do with the quality items we have included and the processing time this added to the normal procedures. Since the next issue (17.2) is also nearing completion, it appears that both 1993 numbers will be appearing within a brief time span. Which means that we expect to be *al día* with the Spring 1994 issue (the 18th year of our modest CELESTINESCA).

I would like here to express personal thanks to **Eloísa Palafox Morales**, whose invaluable assistance and editorial prowess over the past 2 years has enabled us to produce a slimmer, more industry-compatible format, inside and out. She is now Dr. Palafox (with a dissertation on *Celestina*) and teaches at Washington University in St. Louis. Taking her place is **Martín Reyes-Durán**, another computer-knowledgeable assistant who will serve this journal well. Martín did an MA thesis on *Celestina*-iconography at Texas A & M University with **Nancy Joe Dyer**. He had begun helping with the bibliographical supplements as well.

I think this number of *Celestinesca* in particular reflects the richness of the phenomenon that seems bottomless in its ability to inspire scholarship as well as new creative endeavor throughout the world. The *Tragedia Policiana* is aired again in these pages, with stunning results, in a well-argued piece by **Harry Vélez**, while a casual remark by Diane Hartunian--flavored by Bakhtin--has set **Robert Hathaway** on a search through graphic representations of Melibea to see if in fact contradictory claims about Melibea's breasts do not lead to some exaggeration of their importance as indicators of the shift from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. **Michael Harney's** essay on Melibea's mother explores the medieval kinship culture to produce some better understanding of Alisa's irrational-seeming behaviors.

Our "NOTAS" this time lean toward textual clarification, with another excursus into the 'huevos asados' reference from Act I by E. Fernández-Rivera; a study on 'lanillas' from *Celestina's* laboratory by Alicia Martínez Crespo; and three notes by José Fradejas Lebrero (adding to the previous studies on 'Minerva con Vulcán,' 'cazar aves con lumbre,' [*Celestinesca* seems destined to be a repository for comments on Act 11's *boezuelo*] and *Celestina's* correction of Parmeno's 'beber tres vezes' and her reply '... por treze, tres').

Celestina has a long tradition of theatrical linkings. We are delighted to present an English translation (by J. R. Jones and L. Guzzi) of the *Philodoxus* (ca 1424), a lively humanistic comedy by León Battista Alberti. There is, then, from the early eighteenth century (1702), an edition of the celestinesque *entremés* "Los Gigantones" (prepared and presented by Catalina Buezo). And representing the 20th century, enjoy the review of London's "Salsa *Celestina*" by Jane Whetnall.

The issue contains several illustrations and is rounded off by the usual bibliographical supplement. The *Pregonero* will make a new appearance in 17.2 and probably will be featured in future just once each volume year.

To all readers of this journal, subscribers or not, I thank the many of you who continue to send snippets of things that find their way into these pages (works-in-progress, theatrical adaptations in-the-works, unusual reviews of things in out-of-the-way places, and so much more), and I encourage all of you to keep right on sending me these small treasures. In the best of senses, *Celestinesca* can only be all it strives to be when it is a shared labor. The pace of things might be heating up, as many of us begin to turn our thoughts to the 500th anniversary of the *Comedia*, so the more collaborations, the better. Do keep in touch, won't you?

Quedaos adios ...

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Joseph T. Snow". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long, sweeping tail on the final letter.

CELESTINA "A LO DIVINO":
EL CASO DE LA TRAGEDIA POLICIANA¹

Harry Vélez Quiñones
University of Puget Sound

Y como hubo dicho esto,
volvió á los Judios, y les dice:
Yo no hallo en él crimen alguno.
San Juan XVIII, 38

Una de las más atractivas transformaciones que emprende la *Tragedia Policiana* (1547) radica en el tratamiento del principal personaje celestinesco, la alcahueta. El género celestinesco le debe a Sebastián Fernández mucho por tal contribución.² La vieja de la

¹ An earlier version of this article was read at the 1993 Louisiana Conference on Hispanic Languages and Literatures. I thank the Ford Foundation for its support during the time this work was being written.

² Las siete principales obras del género celestinesco son: Anónimo. *Comedia Thebaida* (1521), Feliciano de Silva, *Segunda comedia de Celestina* (1534), Gáspar Gómez de Toledo, *Tercera parte de la tragicomedia de Celestina* (1539), Sancho de Muñón, *Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselia* (1542), Sebastián Fernández, *Tragedia Policiana* (1547), Juan Rodríguez Florián, *Comedia llamada Florinea* (1554), Alonso Villegas Selvago, *Comedia llamada Selvagia* (1554). La *Comedia Euphrosina* (1555) del portugués Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos no entra propiamente dentro del marco genérico de las anteriores obras. Al igual que en *La Dorotea* (1632) de Lope de Vega, no hay apenas en la *Euphrosina* ni personajes ni situaciones que desciendan genéricamente de los de *La Celestina* y sus imitaciones. La ruptura

Policiana es interesante no solo en cuanto que personaje novedosamente reformulado sino también por sus implicaciones metaficcionales.³ Esta complejidad textual se debe a que la historia que se representa en esta quinta obra de la celestinesca no es otra que la de Claudina, descrita por Celestina en la Tragicomedia de Fernando de Rojas, como su difunta maestra y compañera. Mi lectura de esta "celestina" con minúscula, es decir, de este miembro del género de ficciones celestinescas, procura resaltar su importancia como intertexto, si bien apócrifo, de toda la celestinesca. Al apropiarse del principal lugar de honor en la serie de avatares de la alcahueta, la *Policiana* cambia de signo la lectura de dicho personaje y de manera cuasi-borgiana afecta la recepción actual del género.

Desde un principio, destaca en la vieja de Fernández su extremada honestidad. Claudina no busca impresionar a nadie para sacarle provecho, como hacía Celestina en la obra de Rojas. Compárese el modo en que se narra la primera aparición de Claudina en la celestinesca, contada por Celestina en el primer auto de la Tragicomedia y luego referida por la propia Claudina en la *Policiana*. Determinada a amilanar a Pármeno y a desbancar su pretendida virtud, Celestina le relata a éste la sórdida historia de su madre y de su amistad con ella. "¡Pues fuego malo te queme, que tan puta vieja era tu madre como yo!" (Rojas, *Celestina* 67) dirá Celestina echándole en cara a Pármeno la vileza de su sangre y logrando así "hacerle uno de nos" (Rojas, *Celestina* 67).

En la *Policiana*, cuando Claudina le cuenta la misma historia a Solino y a Salucio, criados del galán Policiano, su intención es muy distinta. Al desarrollarse temporalmente antes de la obra modelo su relato está avalado por la "historia" futura de Celestina, Calisto y Melibea en la Tragicomedia. Sus intertextos cumplen en este caso la función adicional de dar validez a sucesos que en teoría acaecen con anterioridad a los mismos. Claudina habla de su trabajo con total

con el género en la obra de Vasconcellos es más pronunciada aún dada la escasa importancia de la alcahueta, Philtra. Aun así, en gran medida la lectura de ambas obras asume un buen conocimiento del género. (Cf. Heugas, Pierre. *La Célestine et sa descendance directe*. Bordeaux: Bordeaux UP, 1973)

³ Cf. Rose, Margaret. *Parody / Meta-fiction*. Londres: Croom Helm, 1979 y Hutcheon, Linda. *A Poetics of Postmodernism*. Nueva York y Londres: Routledge, 1990 para una discusión de los vínculos entre parodia y metaficción.

soltura, no tanto por someter a nadie a su poder como por explicar lo arduo de su negocio el cual consiste, por la mayor parte, en despertar ingenios, es decir, "doctrinar modorros" (Fernández, *Policiana* 18a).

Mientras que para Celestina es oneroso el recuerdo de las veces que ha sido emplumada y empicotada por la justicia éste no lo es para Claudina. La vieja de Fernández opera abiertamente y cuando los mozos del galán, Policiano, le recuerdan su afrentosa "canonización" la vieja responde llanamente: "CLA.- Cosas son que acontecen, hijos, por mi vida. Cada día lo verás si sales al mercado" (Fernández, *Policiana* 18b). Para Claudina esto ha sido sencillamente un gaje del oficio y también algo más. La vieja ha sabido transformar su vergüenza en una gran oportunidad comercial:

porque hasta entonces, aunque algunos por secreta noticia que de mí tenían encargauan algun negocio, despues de passado aquel tranquillo ansi venian a mi casa personas necessitadas, como quien va a ganar indulgencia. (Fernández, *Policiana* 18b)

Más aun, ha sido el auge de su negocio a partir de su "canonización" lo que la motivó a imponer en el oficio a su comadre Celestina (Fernández, *Policiana* 18b). De esta manera, un cuento cuyo fin era el de amedrentar al inexperto criado de Calisto adquiere en boca de Claudina visos de autorizadas razones que prueban no solo que "no es malo el oficio que da de comer á su dueño" (Fernández, *Policiana* 18b) sino que -en cierto modo- un tal oficio también ha sabido dar de comer a Fernando de Rojas, Feliciano de Silva, Gaspar Gómez de Toledo y Sancho de Muñón y otros ingenios de la celestinesca.

La fusión de dos célebres intertextos de *La Celestina*; el soliloquio de la vieja camino a casa de la Melibea y su descarnada réplica a los embravecidos Pármemo y Sempronio justo antes de morir, permite aclarar un poco más las particularidades de la vieja de Fernández:

CLA.- O soberano Dios y a cuántos trabajos se pone quien con torpe vida quiere ganar de comer, cuánto deue vivir recatado quien mala vida biue. Mirad agora cuántos desdenes, quantas desgracias e sinsabores he rescebido en esta vida de personas a

quien con este mi officio he seruido . . . O mundo mentiroso y en quán baxa moneda pagas a quien mejor te sirue; pero andar, que por substentar esta negra honrra e por no venir en tiempo de pedir a los amigos prestado, a más que esto me tengo de poner, e si mal hago, para mí es el daño, e si a otros dañare con mi interessal doctrina, cada vno mire por si, que por esso da Dios libre el aluedrio por reprobado o aprobar. Yo hago mi officio, mire cada qual lo que haze. Conoscida soy, no se quexará nadie de mí que con fingida sanctidad le engañé . . . mi público tracto me relieua de todo cargo. (Fernández, *Policiana* 28b)

Claudina reconoce la bajeza y dificultad de su oficio pero también su relativa inculpabilidad. La vieja se sabe transgresora de determinados códigos morales y religiosos, y asume los riesgos que esto comporta. Hay una cierta nobleza en esta anciana alcahueta que se sabe abocada a "ganar de comer con torpe vida". El eco del "Llanto de Pleberio" se percibe en sus palabras: "O mundo mentiroso y en quán baxa moneda pagas a quien mejor te sirue"; sólo que esta vez la ausencia de toda sombra de desengaño da más valor a la queja. Más aun, la inmediata apostilla garantiza un añejo conocimiento del mundo: "pero andar, que por substentar esta negra honrra e por no venir en tiempo de pedir a los amigos prestado, a más que esto me tengo de poner".

La honestidad profesional de Claudina está emparentada con su postura en asuntos que afectan a su género. En comparación con sus hermanas en la celestinesca, Claudina es una defensora declarada de la mujer y una enemiga acérrima de la hipocresía masculina que la oprime. Su discurso es a menudo foro de radicales opiniones. En conversación con la madre de Philomena la sabia anciana expone la dificultosa situación de la mujer en una sociedad controlada por códigos masculinos:

CLA.- Nunca por buena que sea le faltan ocasiones para ser mala, ni aun por bien que se guarde carece de murmuradores. Si habla poco es tenida por grossera; si mucho por liuiana; a los que no saben les parece necia; e a los resabidos, maliciosa; si luego no responde, tienen la fantastiga, e si a todos da respuesta, a peligro de caer; si está assentada con reposo, nunca le falta un nombre de traydora

dissimulada; si alça los ojos e mira, luego dizen que allá miran ojos, etc *O señora Florinarda, e quien solo un juyzio tiene, cómo hará guisados que a tantos haya de contentar?* (Fernández, *Policiana* 23a, énfasis mío)

Lo primero que salta a la vista en este texto es su conclusión, cuyo intertexto se encuentra en el prólogo de la *Celestina*. La mujer, cual un libro en manos de diversos lectores, viene a ser según Claudina, "instrumento de lid o contienda . . . dando cada uno sentencia sobre ella a sabor de su voluntad" (Rojas, *Celestina* 42-43). Los "lectores" de sus actos ponen en duda su bondad y siempre se verá rodeada de "nuevos detractores". Cual profana Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz en prosa, Claudina resume bien la necedad de los hombres que sin razón acusan a la mujer de mil y una faltas. Esta defensa del género femenino se complementa más adelante con su desinteresada mediación en favor de Cornelia y Orosia, a quienes los rufianes Palermo y Piçarro pretenden meter "en el burdel con las mugeres públicas" (Fernández, *Policiana* 28b):

CLA.- Las mugeres han de ser de los hombres amparadas e no mal tractadas. Deueys os, hijos, acordar, que de ellas nacistes, para que ninguna por baxa de ley de vosotros sea deshorrada . . . Que no, hijos, por mi vida, sino pues son mugeres de honrra, y en ella han biuido hasta agora, que vosotros ayudeys a substentarlas en ella, y aun que siempre vayan adelante, *pues se llegaron a los buenos* . . . Por mi vida, hijos, que les deys su hato, e las dexeys yr a su posada, que si alguna costa han hecho, mugeres son para pagarla e quando no lo hizieren, yo me obligo por todo. (Fernández, *Policiana* 29ab, énfasis mío)

Claudina denuncia abiertamente la inmoralidad de un código legal y social que permite y alienta tanto la prostitución como el maltrato de quienes se ejercen en ella. Por "baxa de ley" que sea tenida una mujer jamás debe ser deshorrada por hombre alguno, afirma la vieja. Cornelia y Orosia, sostiene, merecen un trato respetable no obstante su profesión; son "mujeres de honra", a pesar de su público oficio, y por lo tanto merecen recibir el apoyo y el sustento no sólo de sus "amigos" sino también el suyo propio. Los servicios que rinde

Claudina se elevan por sobre el mero afán de lucro; son necesaria y justa labor.⁴

La bondad y sentido común de esta simpática alcahueta son puestas a prueba en el vigésimosegundo acto. Los rufianes que antes han amenazado a Cornelia y Orosia piden a la vieja nuevas amigas y en un arrebato de codicia ésta decide venderles a su pupila, Libertina, y a su propia hija, Parmenia. Escabroso pacto, la alarmada reacción de la niña no se hace esperar:

PAR.- Qué quieres, madre, que sienta? Pues que me veo moça y afligida e con desseo de gozar mi alegre moçedad, e toda mi vida encerrada hecha mesonera de vellacos, y agora que en tu vejez esperaua algun buen pago, has me vendido a un rufian, que no se lo que de mí querra hazer. Veome sola, e huerfana de padre, e desamparada de ti, que en fin eres mi madre, en quien he puesto mi amor toda mi vida.
(Fernández, *Policiana* 45b)

Claudina, sagaz y pragmática, intentará explicarle a la moza las razones que informan su decisión de la manera más descarnada: "CLA.- Si vas en compañía de Palermo, no vas a tierra de Moros, muestra te a dexar la teta, que ya es duro es el alcaçel para çampoñas" (Fernández, *Policiana* 45b-46a).⁵ Esta cruda respuesta encaja bien con el tono picaresco que impregna la obra. Ya antes, al hablar de la profesión de Cornelia y Orosia, había dicho la vieja que éstas merecían respeto pues que "se llegaron a los buenos", como luego lo hiciera el protopícaro Lázaro de Tormes. De manera análoga explica Claudina su decisión de vender a una hija que ya se le hace muy difícil mantener.

⁴ La nota picaresca que se anticipa en el modo de "allegarse a los buenos" de Cornelia y Orosia entronca más bien con la alegre solidaridad de entre "los de casa" que predicaba la *Comedia llamada Thebaida* (1521) que con la amargura de los futuros "libros de pícaros".

⁵ Covarrubias aclara el significado de las palabras de Claudina: "Duro es ya el alcacel para çampoñas"; los niños suelen hacer de las cañas del alcacel, quando está tierno, unas pipas que suenan; pero si se endurecen no les pueden servir para ellas; acomódase a los que están envejecidos en algún vicio, que aviéndole convertido en casi naturaleza no los pueden apartar dél" (70a).

En un marco netamente picaresco cabría esperar la pronta partida de la moza; no así en este caso. El quiebro hacia el futuro género de Lazarillos, Guzmanes y Buscones es sólo una insinuación. En el acto vigésimocuarto Claudina recapacita. Su soliloquio es uno de los más sinceros y conmovedores de toda la celestinesca. Después de sopesar las ventajas y desventajas económicas de la venta de la muchacha la vieja considera el aspecto humano de la transacción:

CLA.- Si a mi hija saco de mi compañía, para quién quiero mis alhajas? para quién guardo mis sauanas randadas, mis manteles de Alemania, mis tapices de Flandes e mi tinaja de harina? pues de ningun bien la possession es agradable sin compañía. Vna ánima sola ni canta ni llora. Que tengo yo de hazer entre quatro paredes sola? si me duele la cabeça, quién me pondra medicina? si mi dolencia me acude, a quién boluere mi cara? mal consejo ouiera tomado si de casa la ouiera embiado. Este se, huelgue se, goze de su moçedad, que ansi hize yo de la mia. En mi casa no le faltaran media dozena de amigos ni vna de reales que coma. (Fernández, *Policiana* 50a)

Ningún suceso externo provoca este cambio de parecer. Asistimos sencillamente al desarrollo de un pensamiento. La evolución de la "doctrina interessal" que anteriormente la vieja había confesado seguir culmina en este humilde -quizá patético- cuadro solidaridad humana.⁶ La vieja de Sebastián Fernández se va mostrando poco a poco como un ser de profunda humanidad. El catálogo de bienes que carecerían de sentido sin la compañía de la hija recuerda por segunda vez las palabras de Pleberio al final de la *Celestina*:

⁶ Contrario a otros usos del texto de Pleberio en la celestinesca, por ejemplo, la muerte de Celestina en la *Tercera parte de la tragicomedia de Celestina* (1539), la intención paródica está al servicio de una fina ironía; Claudina es meritoria receptora de los nobles sentimientos de Pleberio. El otro intertexto operante aquí refuerza al primero: "CEL.- Déjame tú a Pármemo, que yo te le haré uno de nos, y de lo que hubiéremos, démosle parte: *que los bienes si no son comunicados, no son bienes. Ganemos todos, partamos todos, holguemos todos*" (Rojas, *Celestina* 64, énfasis mío). En este texto Celestina expone su "interessal doctrina" para engañar tanto a Pármemo como a Sempronio. No tiene ella intención alguna de "comunicar bienes". En *La Policiana* el discurso de Claudina supera el estrecho cauce del interés y la codicia celestinesca. Su conciencia de la soledad, sentimiento que en la vieja de Rojas se confunde con el más burdo egoísmo, la hace vulnerable.

¿Para quién edificué torres; para quién adquirí honras; para quién planté árboles; para quién fabriqué navíos? . . . ¿Qué haré cuando entre en tu cámara y retraimiento y la halle sola? ¿Qué haré de que no me respondas, si te llamo? (Rojas, *Celestina* 234)

Si bien es paródica esta imitación del desconsolado "Llanto de Pleberio" no es satírica; su objetivo no parece ser el de ridiculizar los valores humanos que éste encierra. Se trata más bien de un fenómeno de apropiación.⁷ En la lucidez del discurso de Claudina se incorpora la percepción de realidades quizá más desoladoras que las que experimentara Pleberio. La conciencia de estar sola en un mundo fundamentalmente hostil hacen de Claudina un ser vulnerable. Tema de importancia en la obra de Rojas, la soledad vuelve a la celestinesca a través del discurso de la pobre vieja de la *Policiana*.

El problema de cómo explicar su muerte surge entonces con urgencia. A medida que disfruta de la presentación de una figura tan humanamente compleja el lector no pierde de vista que las exigencias del género determinan que Claudina muera de forma violenta. Con la excepción de la anónima *Comedia Thebaida* (1521) y de la *Segunda comedia de Celestina* (1534) de Feliciano de Silva no se concibe una celestina sin la muerte de la vieja. La solución de Fernández es sorprendente. Apropiándose de la historia de Claudina según se contara en la Tragicomedia de Rojas, restándole peso a la figura del amante, y cambiando de signo el papel que juega el padre de la dama, Fernández invierte solapadamente la interpretación moralista de la tragicomedia celestinesca. La vieja no muere por ser maligna ni tampoco perecen los amantes por haber transgredido determinadas normas. De cierta manera, el acontecimiento trágico en la *Policiana*, el suicidio de Philomena, es propiciado por el celo brutal de su padre, Theophilón. Cuando Theophilón ordena la muerte a palos de la vieja

⁷ Hacemos nuestra la advertencia de Linda Hutcheon adaptándola a nuestros propósitos: "Intertextual parody of canonical American and European classics is one mode of appropriating and reformulating - with significant change - the dominant white, male, middle-class, heterosexual, Euro-centric culture. It does not reject it, for it cannot" (130). El paródico "Llanto de Claudina" subvierte las expectativas del lector en términos de clase, género, valores morales, etc. para desbancar el monopolio que sobre estás y otras categorías ejercen personajes como Pleberio y Theophilón.

está también sellando la suerte de su hija y su propia desgracia. Claudina se convierte así en víctima inocente y su muerte es vengada "ex machina" en el texto.

Desde su aparición en el décimo acto Theophilón es descrito como "viejo caduco" empeñado en controlar estrechamente a su hija.⁸ Dorotea, criada de la dama y ejemplar personaje, en la medida en que no compromete su castidad en los tratos amorosos que mantiene con Silvanico, criado del amante de su señora, comenta así las primeras acciones de su amo:

DOR.- Por mi salud, el ánima le daua el negocio en que entendiamos. Bien predica la raposa las gallinas. En mi ánima estos viejos no son sino un terrón de molestia; como veen que se les acaua la candela, acuerdan de dar a Dios las heces de su vida loca, haziendo de perro del hortelano. . . Pues andate ay con tus sermones, que Dios no come palabras, e si piensas hazer sancta a tu hija Philomena, más vale una traspuesta que dos assomadas. (Fernández, *Policiana* 21a)

"Dios no come palabras" advierte con lucidez Dorotea. El fanatismo virtuoso de los viejos es visto como síntoma cobarde y egoísta del temor a la cercana muerte.

⁸ La más vistosa definición de la enojosa condición y falsa virtud de los viejos se halla en la comedia *El cuerdo en su casa*, de Lope de Vega. Hostigada por el padre de su marido, Antona sabrá leerle la cartilla:

ANT.- Nunca he visto viejo,/ a quien años sobren,/ que a sus mocedades/ la cabeza torne./ Con su helada sangre/ y el humor que corre,/ viendo que en la vida/ ya comen los postres,/ de todo se enfadan,/ porque no conocen/ lo que hay del que sale/ al sol que se pone. . . / Ya de vuestra edad (perdonad que nombre/ animal tan feo) (los hombres)/ parecéis lechones:/ que todo es gruñir,/ los días y noches, y hacer sepulturas/ con hocicos torpes./ No son de provecho hasta que les corten/ el cuello y les saquen/ lo guardado a golpes. (Vega, *El cuerdo* 550b-551a)

Theophilón es este tipo de viejo caduco, *durus pater* que se conforma a lo que otra criatura lopesca, Silvia, expone en *El piadoso veneciano*:

SIL.- ¡Voto al sol, que no habían/ de pasar los zagales de treinta años!/ Luego que canas crían,/ son de tratar y de sufrir extraños./ ¡Lindo humor se os ha hecho/ después que tenéis barbas en el pecho! (Vega, *El piadoso* 551a)

Fernández prepara exquisitamente el trágico desenlace. Los planes para el asesinato de Claudina delatan la subversión de los esquemas moralistas tradicionales. Desestimando las objeciones de su esposa, Florinarda, y el escepticismo de sus criados, Theophilón decreta la sentencia:

THEO.- Pues la conclusion de mi platica sea que yo estoy sentido de la nueua conuersacion de aquella vieja con mi muger e hija, e la he mandado que no entre en mi casa so pena de perder la vida. Cumple . . . mireys cautelosamente los passos de mi hija e andeys en acechança con esta vieja falsificada, e donde quiera que la pudieredes auer, viniendo a mi casa pública o secretamente, le acabeys la vida a palos (Fernández, *Policiana* 47b)

La reacción de los criados ante la condena a muerte subraya su total desacuerdo con el plan de Theophilón. Acabar a garrotazos con la vieja Claudina, si bien se ajusta a la legalidad vigente en la época, es presentado como un acto deshonesto y genuinamente impropio:

SILV.- Señor, hacer lo hemos como a tu servicio se deue, aunque yo no quisiera que la primera cosa de afrenta que me mandas fuera poner las manos en una muger e vieja, pero no quiero poner excusa porque no pienses que niego tu mandamiento. (Fernández, *Policiana* 47b)

La objeción de Silverio y Pámphilo garantiza que al final ambos puedan echarle en cara a Theophilón la crueldad de su proceder. A la hora de comunicarle la noticia de la muerte de Claudina, Pámphilo puntualiza:

PAM.- Siluerio e yo nos hallamos la noche passada a la puerta falsa con la vieja Claudina, e la hezimos tan buen tractamiento, que la embiamos a çenar al otro mundo. Y esto se hizo no tanto por la culpa que en ella hallamos quanto por cumplir lo que tú nos mandaste. (Fernández, *Policiana* 58b)

Cual Pilatos al decretar la sentencia de muerte contra el Cristo, los criados de Theophilón no hallaron "culpa en ella" y se limitan a

cumplir lo que otros exigen. El intertexto bíblico salta a la vista: "Y como hubo dicho esto, volvió á los Judios, y les dice: Yo no hallo en él crimen alguno" (San Juan XVIII, 38). Humilde y pecadora, Claudina se convierte a la hora de su muerte en un avatar más del hijo del dios cristiano. La vieja, pues, no merecía ser asesinada y Theophilón es el único responsable de ese bárbaro hecho. También ha sido su decisión haber dejado suelto el león que acaba con el joven amante de su hija, Policiano.

A estas alturas del texto, el lector ya sabe que Philomena se ha dado muerte con la espada de Policiano, ironía dramática que se disipa con la entrada en escena del hortelano Machorro.⁹ La desgracia de Theophilón toma entonces un giro hacia lo grotesco.¹⁰ La rústica comicidad del lenguaje del hortelano choca con la gravedad de la noticia:

MACH.- Qué, señor? que nuestrama la moça Dios prega es finada e alli esta patitendida en medio de acos (sic) tablares, que es mal dolor de otealla . . . Yergue te hay priado, que ni caté si está comida dell alimaña ni si murio de qualque dolencia; que alli vide tanto del sangradero, que vengo medio pasmado. (Fernández, *Policiana* 58)

El brutal contraste realza la subversión del modelo. Philomena muere como resultado del torpe celo de su padre, no a pesar de su desesperada protección. Su fanática defensa de la honra causa la

⁹ La muerte de Policiano y Philomena es anunciada de manera indirecta por medio de un recurso que será usado luego en la comedia. Antes que Dorotea descubra los cuerpos muertos de los amantes, su amigo, Silvanico ha entonando un premonitorio romance: "SIL.- Rio verde, rio verde,/ más negro vas que la tinta;/ entre ti e sierra bermeja/ murio gran caualleria" (Fernández, *Policiana* 57b). El romance de Silvanico abre paso al grotesco desenlace.

¹⁰ Cf. Thomson, Philip. *The Grotesque*. Londres: Methuen, 1972 y Jennings, Lee Byron. *The Ludicrous Demon: Aspects of the Grotesque in German Post-Romantic Prose*. University of California Publications in Modern Philology 71. Berkeley y Los Angeles: U of California P, 1963. Para Thomson es precisamente en la coexistencia de elementos risibles y monstruosos donde se origina el fenómeno grotesco. Ifland concuerda al afirmar que "The term currently tends to be applied not so much to the outright horrific or bizarre, but to what is in some way repulsive or distasteful and in some way laughable" (31).

muerte de la pobre vieja, del discreto galán y la noble doncella. La típica catástrofe celestinesca subraya en la *Policiana* no las pretendidas faltas morales de alcahuetas y sirvientes traidores, y amantes desesperados, sino el brutal proceder de un viejo caduco.

Claudina, la buena vieja de la *Policiana*, recibe de esta manera merecido honenaje como fundadora histórica de la caterva celestinesca. Los lectores de la *Tragicomedia de Calixto y Melibea* y sus imitaciones que consigan leer la inasequible *Tragedia Policiana*, forzosamente habrán de contender con esta reinterpretación "a lo divino" de la astuta y campechana alcahueta y tendrán que determinar hasta que punto es Claudina, en palabras de Celestina, "la prima de nuestro oficio y por tal era de todo el mundo conocida y querida, así de caballeros como de clérigos, casados, viejos, mozos y niños" (Rojas, *Celestina* 123).

Arcula.



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Medina del Campo, ¿1530-1540? (portada)

CONCERNING MELIBEA'S BREASTS

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In her recent feminist study of the *carpe diem* theme in *Celestina*, Diane Hartunian cites (50-51) the two conflicting descriptions of Melibea's breasts--that of the erotically enthused Calisto whose paean in general "is representative of the Renaissance concept of beauty" ("la redondez y forma de las pequeñas tetas" [I: 54]) and that of the aggressively derogatory Areúsa which "exemplifies a much more vulgar, exaggerated form of imagery" ("unas tetas tiene, para ser doncella, como si tres veces hobiese parido; no parecen sino dos grandes calabazas" [IX: 145])--and then comments:

The shift in vocabulary is the result of what Bakhtin defines as the downward thrust of images. In *Rabelais and His World* Bakhtin describes this evolution in vocabulary as a reflection of the conceptual reconstruction of the medieval topography of the universe from vertical to the new Renaissance cosmos

¹ Green makes the point that there was a flexible medieval poetic for this type of description; it was the custom to include the breasts. He cites E. Faral's *Arts poétiques* as evidence: "pour le corps, le cou et la nuque, les épaules, les bras, les mains, la poitrine, la taille, le ventre (à propos de quoi la rhétorique prête le voile de ses figures à des pointes licencieuses), les jambes et les pieds" (255). Calisto interjects his own enthusiasm, going beyond mere inventory to erotic meditation.

which is horizontal. A shift from a vertical spatial orientation produces new imagery that focuses on the human being and on the body. This change from top to bottom occurs both in space and metaphor and as a result, produces both a rejuvenation of the biological individual, and an abundance of erotic images.

It is only natural that the author be eager to prove her point and thus validate her choice of critical approach, but I do believe that she has overstated her case, has made a leap from the specific to the universal without the necessary intermediate application of the means for better understanding of the text, means which she presents elsewhere in her book. It is this lapse which inspires what follows.

TETAS.

Certainly the reader of *Celestina* is confronted by two greatly divergent images which, in an attempt to maintain both accuracy and a semblance of propriety, I shall not translate: *tetas* and *calabazas*. It is a constant in Rojas's text that persons, words, and actions are not necessarily what at a given moment they may seem or are described to be: besides irony at work, perspectivism.² Lacking the guidance and putative objectivity of an omniscient narrator/narrative voice, the reader in search of Truth and/or Reality in *Celestina* must rely on his or her own exegesis based on what is, in essence, a virtual journalistic exercise: who is saying what to whom and why?³

² Hartunian also remarks on this: "Through the technique of 'perspectivism,' Rojas presents a creative, modern version of the same *carpe diem* theme used since antiquity. Perspectivism is the portrayal of characters as described by the characters themselves" (19)--as well as by others, I must add; she calls her readers' attention to Gilman's *Art of "La Celestina"*, pp. 57-58.

³ And how? The reader has the words and can attempt to decipher context and intention but must extrapolate tone and modulation, volume and emotion, perhaps using as clue the inferred physical movement of the speaker. The opening scene of *Celestina* makes a handy exercise, even in the classroom: how to read Melibea's few words "Pues aun más igual galardón te daré yo, si perseveras" (I: 46)? Irony, mockery? Coquetry? Civil admonition, glinting threat? Calisto's clear misunderstanding of *galardón* as a euphemism for copulation, Melibea's subsequent irate threats, and even her later self-doubts ("¿Y no me fuera mejor conceder su petición y demanda ayer a Celestina, cuando de parte de aquel señor, cuya vista me cautivó, me fue rogado, y contentarle a él y

While it is true that Calisto repeats clichés in his description "hecha [...] de acuerdo con los modelos del Arcipreste [de Hita], de Boccaccio y de otros escritores en boga" (Berndt 40), one must also take into account the full description which Hartunian apparently did not: "la redondeza y forma de las pequeñas tetas, ¿quién te la podría figurar? Que se despereza el hombre cuando las mira" (I: 54). Shortly afterwards: "Aquella proporción que ver yo no pude, no sin duda por el bulto de fuera juzgo incomparablemente ser mejor que la que París juzgó entre las tres Deesas" (I: 55), provoking yet another interruption from the none-too-silently suffering Sempronio, "¿Has dicho?"

What in fact has Calisto *seen*? As for the well-skirted *bulto* we need spend no time in explanation but merely query, knowing how Melibea is depicted in the earliest *Celestina* editions, what there could be that might suggest with any accuracy the contours of any figure surpassing Aphrodite's.⁴ In the figures which illustrate this article, taken from reproductions in *Celestinesca*, one should inspect the necklines of those encompassing garments of Rojas's time: the most that is visible of any Melibeian breasts is only a partial quadrant of flesh of each and sufficient attendant bulk to prompt belief in their existence, and to delineate, albeit vaguely, the mammarian circumference. Of course, as Calisto points out, had he seen Melibea nude there would be no reason to waste time describing her perfections: "Y lo que te dijere será de lo descubierto; que, si de lo oculto yo hablarte supiera, no nos fuera necesario altercar tan miserablemente estas razones" (I: 54).

Calisto is a reader. Even Sempronio recognizes the literary nature of his master's excited volubility: "Vosotros los filósofos de Cupido [...]", "¿No has leído de Pasife [...]?", "Lee los historiales,

sanar a mí [...]?" (X: 153)) may give direction but only that, not definition.

⁴ For a review of the forms of skirts see Berndt-Kelley's illustrations. For contemporary representations of the nude, see as examples Raphael's "Three Graces" and Giorgione's "Venus" and "Concerto campestre"; the illustration of the Judgement of Paris in the *Recueil des histoires de troyes* (1495) by Raoul Le Fèvre (Ehrhart 214) is also interesting. Picasso's nude of--presumably--Melibea is *zaftig* but does not portray *calabazas* (*Celestinesca* 10.2 [1986], 16). For a literalist artistic rendering of Calisto's *tetas* description see the 1974 illustration by L. Goñi reproduced in *Celestinesca* 8.1 (1984), 54.

estudia los filósofos, mira los poetas", "¿No has leído el filósofo, do dice: «Así como la materia apetece a la forma, así la mujer al varón?»" (I: 50, 51, 52, and 55), and later "Lee más adelante; vuelve la hoja" (II: 75). Expressing himself with the vocabulary of the cancionero texts which shape his rhetoric, it is a Melibea-text, in effect, which Calisto is now (re)writing, perhaps subtly influenced as well by memories of iconographic presentations of that mythic standard of feminine perfection: a literate imagination at work. This is not unlike the moment--more comic because more sophomorically and, yes, bookishly passionate--when he receives the cordón from Celestina:

CAL.— [...] ¡Gozarán mis ojos con todos los otros sentidos, pues juntos han sido apasionados! ¡Gozará mi lastimado corazón, aquel que nunca recibió momento de placer, después aquella señora conoció! Todos los sentidos le llagaron, todos acorrieron a él con sus esportillas de trabajo. Cada uno le lastimó quanto más pudo; los ojos en vella, los oídos en oílla, las manos en tocalla.

CEL.—¿Que la has tocado, dices? Mucho me espantas.

CAL.—Entre sueños, digo.

CEL.—¿En sueños?

CAL.—En sueños la veo tantas noches, que temo no me acontezca como a Alcibiades [...]" (VI: 114)

Hartunian aptly refers to Mary Gossy's fascinating study of the hymen a a non-text (86), citing her statement that it "is simply a membrane-text, before, during, after, and irrespective of phallic narrative or interpretive action": "All it tells is that it is and it has nothing to do with the stories told about it" (Gossy 51). Breasts signify lactiferous glands, but by virtue of being to some degree visible they are also within the scope of the male phallogentric and eroticized gaze/interpretation which Hartunian has opportunely described, with appropriate references to Lacan, Freud, and Paul Julian Smith, an interpretation to which I refer as (re)writing.

This has more than a little to do with Calisto. He is defensive as he talks with Sempronio, more experienced in matters sexual



Iconografía de algunas Melibeas.

(albeit not sufficiently to be wiser and to lose his gullibility⁵) yet a "pseudo misogynist [who] needs the erotic attention Elicia provides him" (Swietlicki 8). Calisto is justifying not only love of woman but also his choice of beloved, his stance as a lover so ardent that the lady is his religion: "Melibeo soy y a Melibea adoro y en Melibea creo y a Melibea amo" (I: 50; cf. Gossy 26-28), hyperbole sufficient to make one wonder what indeed he really means--and why did he not add "a Melibea deseo" and be done with it? He does not initially seem to expect any assistance from his servant but is merely ventilating his hyperactive imaginings and neophytic yearnings. Sempronio does recognize the priapic (phallogentric) urge and concomitant reification which Calisto would prefer to idealize ([re]write) in terms of the *cancionero* poetry which has so obviously been his text-mentor (as opposed to his servant's instructor, the living, willing, and verifiably able Elicia).

The description of Melibea does not reflect the "*Renaissance* concept of beauty" (Hartunian 52, emphasis added); he is mouthing the words of the praises of beauty in the terms of the late medieval *cancioneros* where indeed a beloved as physical presence is not even necessary as a point of departure for poetic creation: "El poeta, más que un enamorado de veras, es un *representante* de la pasión amorosa; que la *represente* bien es lo que vale, ya la sienta de verdad, ya se precie de sentirla, ya la finja " (Salinas 33, his emphases).⁶ Melibea is fine--"mujer moza, muy generosa, de alta y serenísima sangre, sublimada en próspero estado" ("Argumento": 45)--so all else must be fine, including those *partes* to which, however much their existence may inflame Calisto's imagination, he has never been privy and about which, for now, he can only dream of claiming as a *gloria* of his own--and "own" in the sexually possessive sense. It must be insistently pointed out that Calisto's dreams and imaginings (and Melibea's: see below) are of and directed toward gender: Melibea is woman because the text (including the mammarian chapter) says so and it is

⁵ I refer of course to the moment when Elicia believes that she can trick him with the truth, that "Un mi enamorado" is the cause of Crito's footsteps heard upstairs in Celestina's house (I: 57).

⁶ Cf. Baena: "e otrosy que [the poet] sea amador, e que siempre se precie e se finja de ser enamorado; porque es opynion de muchos sabyos, que todo omme que sea enamorado, conuene a saber, que ame a quien deue e como deue e donde deue, afirman e disen qu'el tal de todas buenas dotrinas es doctado" (15).

woman, with the constituent genitalia thereunder pertaining, that is Calisto's principal and overriding interest and goal as a man--if he can ever figure out how to get to where he wants to go.⁷ Sempronio's intervention is crucial to the turn of the plot:

Del elogio por Calisto de su amada como superior a toda la creación e inalcanzable por lo tanto, la acción de LC salta abruptamente a la decisión del protagonista, instado por Sempronio, de solicitar la ayuda de Celestina para que le traiga a Melibea 'hasta la cama,' lo cual basta para negar la idealización anterior de aquélla y desvía la acción hacia la consumación del *deseo*, gracias a la intervención de la trotaconventos, sin que en ningún instante se piense en el matrimonio como el vehículo más a propósito para saciar aquél. (Rodríguez-Luis 340)⁸

And this *deseo* is as well the case with Melibea herself even though at the moment of Calisto's praises the reader does not know it; she will learn of it only later in the course of her self-doubting monologue: "¿Y no me fuera mejor conceder su petición y demanda ayer a Celestina, cuando de parte de aquel señor, cuya vista me cautivó, me fue rogado, y contentarle a él y sanar a mí [...]?" (X: 153).

⁷ Castells studies the Bakhtinian "decline into grotesque realism" (12) operative in *aucto* I and aptly characterizes Calisto's quandary: "The contrast between appearance and existence, the living and the painted, and the shadow and the real underlines his central conflict between the uncertain reality which surrounds him and the visions that haunt him" (14).

⁸ Once copulation seems possible or later has been achieved Calisto can leave behind the pose of a thwarted lover of *belle dame sans merci* and vaunt his incipient virility, as when he dismisses Celestina's possible punishment for her intervention, "cumpla conmigo y emplúmenla la cuarta [vez]" (II: 77), or when in the *Tragicomedia* he finds himself close by that "dulce puerto" (XIV: 191) once more and callously states "el que quiere comer el ave, quita primero las plumas" (XIX: 222).

Of interest in determining Calisto's character (though I doubt that it be directly applicable) is an explication of Sallust's *Concerning the Gods and the Universe* (ca. 363): "In [his] psychological allegory of the Judgment [of Paris], the choice-of-lives theme is viewed from a [classical] Neoplatonic perspective. Paris [=Calisto] represents the soul who cannot transcend sense perception and is thus blind to all but beauty, represented by Aphrodite [=Melibea]" (Ehrhart 22-23).

Hartunian correctly notes that Rojas introduces the *carpe diem* injunction to each sex through the character of Celestina herself, but misinterprets it as leading to erasing sexual distinctions: "The ungendering of the *carpe diem* call [...] is highly significant in terms of the feminist struggle, the main goal of which is to deconstruct the denigrating fundamental binary opposition, masculine/feminine. Rojas achieves this through his androgynous *carpe diem* call, implying that the warning to enjoy youth and the fear of the brevity of life are inclusive of both sexes" (80)--but both sexes as sexes, I maintain, as genders, distinctive and yet equally open to *jouissance* in the fashion of each.⁹ Recall that Melibea, begging Lucrecia to keep secret her dealings with Celestina, offers as justification "porque goce yo de tan suave amor" (X: 161).

We are left, then, with *tetas* only as an imprecise categorization (even with the adjective *pequeñas*), a gender-laden word chosen more for its carnal or sexual denotation than for specificity of actual objects.¹⁰ They have not been wholly seen and therefore

⁹ Smith discusses one of the *Emblemas morales* of Sebastián de Covarrubias (1610), "a bearded lady, standing solemnly in front of a rural landscape. The motto reads 'Neutrumque et utrumque' or 'Neither and both', and the verse reads in translation: 'I am *hic*, *haec*, and *hoc*. I decline myself. I am man and woman, and I am a third which is neither one nor the other, and it is not clear which of these things I am'" (16). In *Celestina*, by force of the ever-present *carpe diem* (I believe Hartunian might agree), there is only *hic* and *haec* and the prospect of pleasure.

(I would feel more secure in my argument had Rojas allowed us to learn Melibea's thoughts about the *bulto* she might have perceived on Calisto's person, but he did not completely plumb the cause of her libidinous attraction. The woodcuts do not provide us with sufficient evidence to treat this matter beyond a footnote parenthesis: Calisto is depicted wearing anything from a mid-hip-length tunic to an ankle-length overgarment [see Berndt-Kelley, *passim*]. Hartunian here is influenced by Lacan's "Of the Gaze as *Objet Petit*": "The eyes are the instruments with which the subject executes his [I add: or her] drive. The eye is therefore both an organ of perception and of pleasure [...] and the gaze perceives a fantasy" [78]; Smith notes that "female sexuality [...] is auto-erotic" [20]. And of course we have seen Rojas cite Aristotle: «Así como la materia apetece a la forma, así la mujer al varón» [Sempronio in I: 55].)

¹⁰ In the 1499 *Comedia* the only other use of *teta* is in the singular, when Melibea localizes the pain of her new infirmity: "la izquierda teta es su aposentamiento" (X: 156), apparently an anatomic reference devoid of sexuality. Covarrubias makes no stylistic distinction between *teta* (which he likens to the

cannot be accurately quantified, perhaps only affectively so; they are imagined according to a poetic/artistic canon and are thus qualified in the terms of an ideal of beauty praised though not perceived: a pleased fantasy.

CALABAZAS.

Hartunian accurately describes Areúsa as "a spontaneous, natural, and sensual being who pays special attention to the care of her body and thus reveals graphically the *carpe diem* theme" (26). Her outburst comes in a scene fraught with the social friction which is so much a part of *Celestina* (Rodríguez-Luis, *passim*). In the house of the *alcahueta* are congregated the *mochachas* and Calisto's servants, Pármeno now one of the company by virtue of his dalliance with Areúsa. Sempronio makes the mistake of praising his master's beloved, "aquella graciosa y gentil Melibea" (IX: 144): "La menciona ante las dos rameras, y defiende su punto de vista sin darse cuenta de picar en las telas que más nublan la mirada femenina. La reacción es como un martilleo estratificador de impresiones revulsivas e imágenes estropeadas" (Gariano 4). Elicia explodes with envy and spite: "¡Jesú, Jesú, y qué hastío y enojo es ver tu poca vergüenza!" (IX: 145). The principal theme of her tirade is that Melibea has advantages as the daughter of a monied merchant; her words call forth her colleague's agreement:

ELIC.—[...] Aquella hermosura por una moneda se compra en la tienda. Por cierto, que conozco yo en la calle donde ella vive cuatro doncellas, en quien Dios más repartió su gracia que no en Melibea. Que si en

Greek theta "a la qual la teta de la muger tiene mucha semejança, por quanto es en forma redonda y enmedio tiene el peçón semejante al punto de la dicha letra" [960b]) and *seno* ("también significa el pecho" [933b]) though this latter word is not defined in any mammarian sense but only as "la parte anterior del animal desde la garganta hasta el vientre" (858b). Areúsa refers to her breasts as *pechos* as does *Celestina* (VII: 127).

In a passage influenced by Calisto's description, Juan del Encina's *Égloga de Plácida y Vitoriano* has Vitoriano also enthuse: "¡Y qué pechos / tan perfetos, tan bien hechos / que me ponen mil antojos!" (342); rather more forthright is the *aguador* in the *Farsa llamada Ardamisa* (1530?) by Diego de Negueruela when he sees the lovely Ardamisa: "¡Quien se pudiesse frotar / en esos tan lindos pechos!" (10).

algo tiene de hermosura, es por buenos atavíos que trae. Ponelos a un palo, también diréis que es gentil. Por mi vida, que no lo digo por alabarme; mas creo que soy tan hermosa como vuestra Melibea.

AREU.— Pues no la has tú visto como yo, hermana mía. [She describes Melibea's toilette.] Las riquezas las hacen a éstas hermosas y ser alabadas; que no las gracias de su cuerpo. Que así goce de mí, unas tetas tiene [etc.]. (IX: 145)

It is certain that Melibea can buy for herself perfumes and powders which may be unavailable to the *mochachas*, and to be sure, given the family wealth, she can purchase whatever *atavíos* she may fancy and they cannot afford. But if Elicia wishes to wipe the reference from Sempronio's lips and mind, thus to protect her own self-image, so also does Areúsa wish to belittle Melibea's *gracias* by enlarging her breasts to *grandes calabazas*, a keenly ironic process. Melibea cannot be what she seems because Areúsa wishes to seem what she is not, one of the *buenas* instead of one of the *públicas*--which technically she is despite her concubinage with but a sole provider.

He has just left her, but his treatment of her has had special meaning as she tells Celestina: "Sabes que se partió ayer aquel mi amigo con su capitán a la guerra. [...] Que me da todo lo que he menester, tiéneme honrada, favoréceme y trátame como si fuese su señora" (VII: 128).¹¹ She initially tells Celestina that she does not want to admit another lover, her relationship with the *amigo* and her own *pundonor* given as reasons: "¿cómo quieres que haga tal cosa, que tengo a quien dar cuenta, como has oído, y si soy sentida, matarme ha? Tengo vecinas envidiosas. Luego lo dirán. Así que, aunque no haya más mal de perderle, será más que ganaré en agradar al que me

¹¹ The unseen *amigo*, given the accommodation he has provided, might be an *alférez*; the phrase "con su capitán" does not sound to me like a captain/common soldier relationship. One should recall in this context Swietlicki's comment: "In contrast to most authors of his day, Rojas does not treat women as a moral issue, and he sees them as social beings. Moreover, his female characters serve in a wide variety of social functions, with some of them showing individual reactions to the standards of behavior imposed on them by their social status. [...] Areusa and Elicia use the world's oldest profession as a means of independence. In these 'mochachas' and in Lucrecia one finds some resentment of the wealthy class, as well as a tendency to ape them" (8-9).

mandas" (VII: 129). In the *Tragicomedia* text she adds "no soy de las que públicamente están a vender sus cuerpos por dinero" (VII: 131). And yet she does admit Pármeneo even though the prospect of material gain could not be much less satisfactory, given what we know of his earnings in Calisto's service (and even were the tale true of monies from his father guarded for him by Celestina, Pármeneo has just promised them all to the bawd if she can procure Areúsa for him: another keen irony).

Areúsa's comments on makeup may be telling if one listens as well to Gossy: "Makeup works to play into fantasies of what makes a woman desirable, so that the woman can gain power through attracting and marrying a man, and thus perhaps reach some position of security. She rewrites herself so that he is willing to read her. The makeup covers who she is underneath; it paints the label *object* on a subject" (50: her emphasis). At the end of her comments Areúsa adds "No sé qué se ha visto Calisto, porque deja de amar otras que más ligeramente podría haber y con quien más él holgase" (IX: 145).¹² It does not seem to me to distort the text to infer that she may here be referring to her own fantasy of attracting, if not Calisto, someone like him. Realizing the impossibility of this--Melibea has done what she cannot--also prompts her to lash out in sweet vengeance:¹³ what must be *pequeñas tetas* as Calisto warmly

¹² The sentence goes on in the *Tragicomedia*: "sino que el gusto dañado muchas veces juzga por dulce lo amargo"; it continues the malevolence but has no effect on my interpretation. Areúsa returns to the topic of Melibea later, and less violently: "no juzgues [to Sempronio] la bondad y hermosura de Melibea por ser eso que afirmas" (IX: 146).

¹³ I offer with trepidation a very precarious hypothesis: when younger, Areúsa might have been a serving girl in Pleberio's household, and mistreated to boot. Evidences of such a past vocation?: her scathing criticism of *señoras* in the ninth aucto [148-50]; her exclamation in the *Tragicomedia* text, "¡Oh tía, y qué duro nombre y qué grave y soberbio es «señora» continuo en la boca!" (149); and her decision to live "en mi pequeña casa, exenta y señora, que no en sus ricos palacios sojuzgada y cativa" (IX: 150). One of the topics *señoras* throw in the face of criadas is their *tratos amorosos*; Areúsa gives two examples in the *Tragicomedia*: "¿Estás preñada?" and "¿Cómo te va con él?" (IX: 149). The diatribe has the flavor of experience but of course there is no link to Pleberio's household. (Were it possible to place her there as camarera to Melibea, what credence then would need be given her comment on *calabazas*, what great changes in *Celestina* exegeses!)

imagines, must be *grandes calabazas* or something similar as Areúsa also indulges her imagination, but caustically deforming them, and that prize-winning *bulto* as well: "El vientre no se le he visto; pero, juzgando por lo otro, creo que le tiene tan flojo, como vieja de cincuenta años" (IX: 145).¹⁴

What in fact has Areúsa *seen*? Nothing more nor less than Calisto, some glimpse of upper bosom and a voluminous skirt which must cover something. If the hymen is "simply a membrane-text" to which is assigned meaning, then so also is a *bulto* defined or (de)constructed according to its location above or below the beltline, a "*pecho-text*" and "*vientre-text*" for each viewer-exegete to interpret, to (re)write. In a manner akin to that of Calisto, who writes Melibea's body as better than that of the pagan goddess and thus perfectly suited for his erotic fantasy if not his sexual pleasure, Areúsa writes it in accord with her intent to bring her down from feminine perfection, to reduce her to the base level of oft-serviced breeder, or worse.¹⁵

One does, then, encounter the Bakhtinian "downward thrust of images" and "decline into grotesque realism," but certainly not for reasons which approach either the universal or the cosmological. Whinnom's thought about the author's implied purpose provides a timely comment: "his egalitarianism levels by pulling down, not by raising up, by demonstrating, that is, the baseness of the aristocracy rather than the dignity of the commoner" (66): Calisto sees in Melibea

¹⁴ "El abultamiento somático es la medida del resentimiento," writes Gariano, and a few lines later fashions the statement that "la más bella mujer queda convertida en un monstruo dentro de un contexto humano y ambiental que forma un foro apropiado: esto es, el banquete de una proxeneta patrocinadora junto con la canalla y la putalla hermanadas en el gusto y la perversidad" (4). In his closing paragraph Gariano states that it seems that "la pensativa sonrisa hebrea de Fernando de Rojas captara con simultánea ambivalencia el sentido ideal del amor sublime y el contrasentido real del pragmatismo erótico" (13).

¹⁵ Round ends this comment by citing Thomas Middleton's *Women Beware Women*: "Areúsa's crudely-worded abuse of Melibea's physical charms brings her to the level of the girls in the brothel. The effect of this reductive movement on the book's presentation of value is familiar to us from Jacobean tragedy, at the disturbed and questioning latter end of the Renaissance experience:

Lust and forgetfulness has been among us,
And we are brought to nothing." (51)

a high-born *doncella* as a sex object with the *pequeñas tetas* (hedonism and sexuality) which befit the beckoning image he conjures up; in somewhat parallel fashion the vindictive and class-conscious Areúsa reduces Melibea to perhaps no better than a slut and concomitantly her breasts become *grandes calabazas* (multiple procreation and lactation).

In sum, I believe that the two passages which prompt Hartunian's remarks have more to do with the inner world of Fernando de Rojas's *Celestina* than with the Bakhtinian vision of the Renaissance world without.



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Celestina. De la capa del t. I de *Literatura española. Textos, crítica y relaciones* (Madrid:Alhambra, 1985)

Fernando de Rojas

Born in 1465, Fernando de Rojas is now known to be the author of *La Comedia de Celestina y Melibea*, better known as *La Celestina*. De Rojas was the child of Jewish parents forcibly converted to Christianity. De Rojas was at pains to conceal his authorship of the book, of which the surviving edition dates from 1499, by presenting it as the unfinished work of an earlier writer which he merely transposed and completed. In 1502 he published a new edition in which the original 16 'acts' were extended to 21. The most important character in the book is the old bawd Celestina, around whom revolve the amusing and licentious scenes of low life which give the book its appeal. Its popularity is attested by at least 60 reprints in the 16th century alone. It was translated into English in 1631 by James Mabbe as *The Spanish Bawd*. De Rojas died in 1541.



Programa (detalle). Ver pp. 135-138.

MELIBEA'S MOTHER AND CELESTINA

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In Act IV of *Celestina* the title character is admitted into Melibea's house. Alisa, Melibea's mother, is reminded by the servant girl Lucrecia that this is that same old woman who had once been pilloried "por hechizera," who "vendía las moças a los abades y descasava mil casados." Apparently ignoring this seemingly sinister intelligence, Alisa inquires as to the old woman's "oficio." Lucrecia, after mentioning perfumer "y otros treynta officios," declares her best known as an herbalist, a healer of infants, a lapidary. When Lucrecia, after some hesitation, pronounces Celestina's name, Alisa, laughingly recalling the old woman as "una buena pieça," orders Lucrecia to admit her. Addressing Celestina as "vezina honrrada," Alisa declares that her guest's "razón y offrecimiento" inspire such sympathy that she would rather aid the old lady in some way than buy the thread offered for sale—although she would, at the same time, be glad to pay handsomely for the Celestina's wares. A moment later, Alisa tells her daughter to remain with this "mujer honrrada," while she, Alisa, pays an urgent visit to her ailing sister. To this Celestina observes, in an aside: "Por aquí anda el diablo aparejando oportunidad,

arreziano el mal a la otra." Alisa, as she takes her leave, entreats Celestina to pray for the afflicted sister.¹

Why does Melibea's mother feel obligated to let Celestina into her home and, once there, why is the crone treated with such deference? Hispanomedievalists have tended to assume that Alisa's response indicates either stupidity or susceptibility to Celestina's supernatural influence. Stephen Gilman has suggested the former interpretation, while Peter Russell proposes the latter.² Alisa, in this view, seems guilty of negligence if not of downright complicity. Without trying to diminish the importance of the supernatural or diabolic element, and without suggesting any preemptive explanation for Alisa's motives, I submit that a clue to her behavior may be sought in the feminine subculture—or counterculture—of traditional patrilineal societies. Medieval European kinship, as has been demonstrated by much recent social historiography, had, by the end of the fifteenth century, been characterized for several centuries by a thoroughly agnatic (i.e., patrilineal) ideology. The essential elements of this system were primogeniture, involving exclusion of all but the eldest male from direct inheritance and control of the patrimonial estate, and strict control of the sexuality and marriage of daughters. The typical pattern was one of disinheritance of younger sons; a marrying off of daughters, through politically advantageous matchmaking with dowry paid as a lump-sum payment to daughters and their new household; or, in the case of brotherless daughters (the apparent situation of Melibea), the recruitment of sons-in-law as surrogate male heirs of their brides' lineage (i.e., as providers of inheriting grandchildren for that lineage), in the pattern known as the *epiclerate*.³ The *epiclerate* and similar filiacentric solutions were of

¹ *La Celestina*, ed. Dorothy S. Severin (Madrid: Cátedra, 1988), 152-154. This is the ed. cited throughout the present essay.

² Gilman, *The Spain of Fernando Rojas: the Intellectual and Social Landscape of "La Celestina"* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1972), 251; Russell, *Temas de «La Celestina» y otros estudios del «Cid» al «Quijote»* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1978), 263; both cited in Severin's ed., n 13, pp. 153-154.

³ The implications of agnatic policy are summarized by David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 82-3. The principal work of defining medieval agnatic ideology and practice has been done by Georges Duby, in a number of articles and books too numerous of citation here. See relevant index headings and bibliographic references in Herlihy. For

special importance in Peninsular tradition, given that, as Julian Pitt-Rivers observes, the woman retains not only her maiden name, bequeathed to her children as their second surname, but also any titles that may be transmitted through her, "in default of a male heir in the same degree of kinship." A brotherless daughter, then, may bear a title hereditary in her patrilineage; her husband "takes it by courtesy, as her consort." In this sense, Pitt-Rivers affirms, the women "take on a social attribute of men, becoming substitutes for them." The general import of such practices, whether with regard to titles or property or both, is that "a Spanish woman of high birth is able to transmit her patrilineal status to her children."⁴

Agnation and the epiclerate—albeit in somewhat modified form—are clearly implied in the *Celestina*, although these concerns are not at the forefront of the drama. With regard to property and status, we have Calisto's allusion to Melibea's "nobleza," the "antigüedad de su linaje," and her "grandísimo patrimonio" (I, p. 100). Much later Pleberio imparts to his wife some of the essential elements of the epiclerate, including the dilemma of the family without male heirs and the need to recruit an appropriate son-in-law:

Demos nuestra hazienda a dulce successor;
acompañemos nuestra única hija con marido, cual
nuestro estado requiere. . . Lo qual con mucha
diligencia devemos poner desde agora por obra. . . [y]
No quede por nuestra negligencia nuestra hija en
manos de tutores, pues parecerá ya mejor en su
propia casa que en la nuestra (XVI, p. 302).

The factor that does not correspond to the epiclerate as typically practiced is the implied post-marital residence of Melibea, in the

broad literary and cultural implications, see R. Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies. A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 92-127. For the epiclerate and its implications, see Jack Goody, "Strategies of Heirship," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15 (1973): 3-20 (10-13), and his *Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), 43, 53, 259, 261.

⁴ Pitt-Rivers, "Honour and Social Status," in *Honour and Shame. The Values of Mediterranean Society*, ed. J. G. Peristiany (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966. Rpt., 1974), 21-77 (68-69).

match envisioned by Pleberio. Where the *epiclerate* customarily involves a son-in-law taking up residence with his bride's kin (what Jack Goody calls a "filiacentric union"), the *Celestina* conveys a notion of neolocal (involving an independent household for the married couple) or perhaps patrilocal residence (i.e., with husband's kin). The latter possibility may be preferred in the society for which the work was written, even in cases of heiresses who, like Melibea, are only children. Pleberio, in his lament, speaks to his wife of their daughter: "vez allí a la que tú pariste y yo engendré, hecha pedacos" (XXI, p. 336). This notion of the paternal procreative function and its maternal, merely uterine correlative is a central tenet of agnatic ideology. The *Poema de Mio Cid* makes the Cid's daughter's express the identical sentiment to their father: "Vós nos engendrastes, nuestra madre nos parió" (2595).⁵ One need not invoke Aristotle's concepts of masculine form and feminine matter to account for this agnatic commonplace. At the same time, there is likewise no need to minimize the classical learning that underlies the work's conscious philosophical outlook (one of its most copiously documented aspects). Let us say, rather, that the same Hellenic culture which gave us Aristotle, with his notions of sexuality, inheritance, and lineage, also gave us the very term *epiclerate*. We might even say, then, that what attracts Rojas and all his generation to the Aristotelian view of procreation and genealogy is the convergent social evolution that produced agnatic ideologies in both Ancient Greece and later Medieval Europe.⁶

What is the place of a *Celestina* in this patrilineal context? To answer this question we must clarify what I am tempted to call her job description. To begin with the superficial: she is a vender of household services, of medicines, of baubles. What the late John K. Walsh said of Juan Ruiz's *Trotacaventos* applies as well to *Celestina*: her figure is surrounded with "long lists of her drugs and potions, jewels and trinkets, her devices and ruses. . . so that her definition and character. . . rise from the bizarre web she makes of people and

⁵ *Poema de mio Cid*, ed. Ian Michael, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Castalia, 1984).

⁶ Michael Gagarin (*Early Greek Law*, Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1986) glosses the term *epiclēros* in its original context, as applying "only to a woman who in the absence of male heirs is temporarily 'attached to the estate (*klēros*)' until some man, normally a relative of hers, marries her and takes control of the property, which will eventually pass to their offspring" (67, n 72).

things."⁷ This description harmonizes with Julio Caro Baroja's characterization—based on a contrast suggested by Jacob Burckhardt—of the Mediterranean style of witch. As typified by the Italian *streghe*, such witches lived by fortune telling and divining, although, according to popular belief, they supplemented these activities by the purveyance of love potions. Their magical and pharmacological faculties could inflict disease and infirmity, particularly on children. The Mediterranean witch contrasts with Germanic and Nordic sorceresses—given to well-known mystic and orgiastic excesses—by her canny pragmatism, her sensible commitment to witchcraft as a trade. In it for the money, she is above all "an aider and abettor of pleasure." Regional and ethnic distinctions, suggests Caro Baroja, are therefore not the explanation for the difference. The contrast is more likely rural and urban, with Celestina the "archetype" of the Castilian or Andalusian witch so common in towns like Toledo, Salamanca and Seville in late medieval and Renaissance times.

Despite Rojas's use of classical literary models, his personage corresponds very closely to the "real thing." The typical profile revealed in the records of inquisitorial tribunals corresponds to a likeness of Celestina: a prostitute in her youth, she "becomes a procuress and go-between in her old age," as well as a fabricator of perfumes, cosmetics and beauty products. Proficient in magic, especially erotic spells and potions, she is also a skilled herbalist, a conjurer of devils, a deviser of spells and encantations, often requiring illicit or deviant materials (e.g., fat of the dead or of children). Her collaborators, clients, and victims are "all city-dwellers living in a pleasure-loving society." Relying on "serving maids, keepers of hosteleries, female hermits, prostitutes, young gipsies and girls of Moorish descent" as co-conspirators, these old women were supported by a clientele of "rogues and bandits at one end of the social scale and knights at the other." Celestina is, in short, "a low-

⁷ John K. Walsh, "The Names of the Bawd in the *Libro de buen amor*," in *Florilegium Hispanicum: Medieval and Golden Age Studies Presented to Dorothy Clotelle Clarke*, eds. John Geary, Charles Faulhaber, et. al. (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1983), 155.

born daughter of an *urban* area, an intelligent and evil offspring of the city."⁸

This urban world is obsessed with reputation, with the point of honor as a matter of the *¿qué dirán?* In this intimate community, characterized by Johan Huizinga as an environment of "cruel publicity," everybody knows everybody. It has been observed that honor and shame, as functions of public opinion, have an overwhelming influence on the inhabitants of "small scale, exclusive societies where face to face personal, as opposed to anonymous, relations are of paramount importance."⁹ What might be useful to remember is that men and women may have different notions of what constitutes reputation and social standing. This is a kin-ordered world, dominated, from the patriarchal viewpoint, by the notion of the heiress as vector of lineal identity and continuity. With regard to official agnatic marital policy, we note that all may not be taken at face value as to the efficiency or consistency of such policy in controlling the marriages of daughters. Certainly the official notion that women circulate among lineages, as commodified representatives of lineal prestige and inter-lineage alliance, is to be taken with the proverbial grain of salt.

Male patrilineal informants tell ethnographers what the text of *Celestina* tells us: that the source of tension in any tale of illicit love derives from the fact that agnatic policy makes the go-between and her youthful collaborators fear discovery by the lineage of the intended bride. But the vigilance of enforcers of such policy of itself implies a frequent resistance; women do not quietly submit. The "exchangist" procedure critiqued by Luce Irigaray in her analysis of circulation, exchange and commodification of women, as practiced by men in real-world patriarchal societies, and as theoretically analyzed by anthropologists like Claude Lévi-Strauss, is in fact as abstract in the field of practice as it is in the ethnographer's theoretical speculation. Irigaray observes that in ethnographic theory and in phallogocentric practice, "women always pass from one man to another, from one group of men to another." Man, in this pattern, "begets man as his own likeness," while "wives, daughters, and sisters have value

⁸ Julio Caro Baroja, *The World of the Witches*, trans. O. N. V. Glendinning (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 99-102.

⁹ Peristiany, intro. to *Honour and Shame. The Values of Mediterranean Society*, 11.

only in that they serve as the possibility of, and potential benefit in, relations among men." In such a scheme, the "use of and traffic in women" underwrites a system whereby "men make commerce of [women], but they do not enter into any exchanges *with* them."¹⁰

This assessment of marital exchange and commodification accepts the official intentions of patrilineal matchmaking as actual practice. It takes at face value the agnatic contention that such policy, in furtherance of the controlling directives of patrilineal logic and its priorities, is implemented with strict efficiency and above all with the unwavering conformity of mothers and daughters. It has been suggested that critiques such as Irigaray's, in taking agnation at its word, are giving such ideology too much credit. To do so induces a disregard of the preferential aspect of marriage rules. Such rules, in this literal view, are thus taken as actual depictions of marital practice, rather than the ideals of would-be patriarchs, or idealizing models invoked for heuristic purposes (however rigid and "legalistic" these, in their theoretical austerity, may seem to be) by such persuaded structuralists as Lévi-Strauss and Dumont.¹¹ Laurel Bossen, for example, criticizes transactional terminology such as that employed by Irigaray. Men are indeed transactors, women are indeed transacted. But this is a preference expressed, within patrilineal systems, as if it were a description of actual practice. In point of fact, it may be "certain types of rights in women (labor, sexual, reproductive) [that] are what are being transacted, not the women themselves." Bossen argues that the transactional paradigm, in its simplicity, overlooks the fact that "women often reject, veto, or nullify the agreements made between men, making men scramble to restore economic order when women disrupt their arrangements." Two

¹⁰ Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which is Not One* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 171-172, 193.

¹¹ For structuralist models of exchange, see chaps. 8, 9 and 10 of Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, rev. ed., trans., James Harle Bell, John Richard von Sturmer, and Rodney Needham (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), and Dumont, "Marriage Alliance," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. David L. Sills, 17 vols. (New York: MacMillan, 1968): 10: 19-23 (20-21).

questions must therefore be asked: "why women permit themselves to be transacted," and "whether men are transacted."¹²

Given that "official" agnatic ideology may not always get its way, we may suppose that the the zone of operation of a *Celestina* is the gap between the intention and the execution of patriliney. At the same time, women, if they are circulated and commodified, may well not view the proceedings of agnation with the same concern or understanding as their husbands, fathers, and brothers. To put it yet another way: there are two Alisa's, two Melibea's, two *Celestina*'s, all of whom must be born in mind when reading the *Celestina*. There is an Alisa who is a typical real mother of an only daughter in late medieval patrilineal society. There is a typical Melibea, an heiress with her own idiosyncratic desires and life-preferences. And finally, there is a real *Celestina* who must make her way in a world officially dominated by men and men's legitimizing laws and codes, a world made vulnerable by its very rigidity to the unhampered finesse of the go-between. This *Celestina*'s chief function is brokerage in all its forms. Her real power derives from the unintended perquisites of brokerage and mediation in a system which marginalizes sentiment and sexuality. The genuine magic of the go-between is her ability to expedite romance, in a context in which romance—a spinoff of agnatic commodification—is relegated to an emotional black market.

If *Celestina*'s drawing card as an amorous go-between is the prurience of the illicit, it is because the patrilineal system insists on establishing a taboo around the question of marital consent. From the twelfth century, we know, the Church had inculcated the notion of individual consent as the definitive factor in matrimony. We know as well that for centuries lines were drawn within extended families between the control-obsessed patriarchal minority and the liberationist majority, with many a family and clan torn by the

¹² Laurel Bossen, "Toward a Theory of Marriage: The Economic Anthropology of Marriage Transactions," *Ethnology* 27 (1988): 127-144 (133, 142); both Irigary and Bossen cited by Flanagan, who summarizes the recent feminist polemic concerning the "androcentric bias" of Lévi-Strauss's model of the circulation and exchange of women" (251-2).

dispute between the two factions.¹³ From the perspective of a patrilineal mentality ever on the defensive, "love" decodes as "willful and selfish disregard of clanic imperatives in favor of individual amorous or marital preference." It is in light of this kind of tension that we may better understand Pleberio's lament, which condemns love as the ultimate cause of disaster: "Del mundo me queixo," cries Melibea's father, "porque en sí me crió, porque no me dando vida no engendrara en él a Melibea; no nascida, no amara; no amando, cessara mi quexosa y desconsolada postremería" (XXI, p. 343).

The taboo which is at the center of the drama is that the female shall not make her own marriage; this is the privilege assumed by Pleberio in his desperate reference to the need to find Melibea a husband. When all goes according to plan in a patrilineal system employing primogeniture or epicleate on the one hand (with the latter a female rendition of the former), and dowry and disinheritance on the other (with the former frequently a dissembled version of the latter), women with male siblings are married "up and out," and with dowry, often in the pattern known as hypergamy (woman marrying up), while younger male siblings are cut adrift, forming a de facto youth subculture, the unruly and bellicose unmarried *juvenes* first defined by Georges Duby.¹⁴ It was this youth which was very

¹³ The bibliography on this topic is enormous. Duby (*Medieval Marriage. Two Models from Twelfth-Century France*, trans. Elborg Forster, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1978) provides the elegant model of two marriages: one laic, involving a *pactum conjugale*, a "treaty. . . between two houses" (4); one ecclesiastical, emphasizing "the union of two hearts in marriage" and the "consent (*consensus*) of the two individuals" (17). For the social implications of this conflict between kin-ordered economic and political pragmatism and consensual individualism, see Goody, *Development of the Family and Marriage*, 146-153. For a thorough presentation of doctrinal background, see James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1987), 235-42, 262-78.

¹⁴ Georges Duby, "Dans la France du Nord-Ouest au XII^e siècle: les 'Jeunes' dans la société aristocratique," in his *Hommes et structures du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Mouton, 1973) 213-225; for the Spanish version of this youth culture, see Susana M. Belmartino, "Estructura de la familia y 'edades sociales' en la aristocracia de León y Castilla según las fuentes literarias e historiográficas (siglos X-XIII)," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 47-48 (1968): 287-95, 301-302, 313-319. A thorough presentation of the dowry problem is that of Diane Owen Hughes, "From Brideprice to Dowry in Mediterranean Europe," *Journal of Family History* 3 (1978): 262-96 (262-69, 276-85, 288-90).

possibly the pool from which families compelled to resort to the epiclerate might recruit their sons-in-law marrying in. The configuration of variables resulting from this agnatic equation—primogeniture, disinheritance of daughters and younger sons, hypogamy with dowry, hypogamy with epiclerate—appears to have lasted for centuries, with variable consistency, but enough coherence as an array of marital contingencies and strategies to yield a variety of familiar literary models (*Amadís*, Oriana and the latter's younger sister; *Tirant*, Carmesina and the latter's elder sister; the *Zifar's* Roboán and his bride Seringa; *Curial*, Güelfa and the latter's brother).¹⁵

Pierre Bourdieu's treatment of marriage offers much which is applicable to all of Mediterranean culture, on both North and South shores. Providing the outlines of a definition of what he calls the "unofficial" female culture of the patrilineal society, he shows how the "official" agnatic culture of the clan world presents a codified,

¹⁵ For the hypogamic tendencies of the marriage market resulting from agnatic ideology and the youth subculture, see Duby, "Le mariage dans la société du haut moyen âge," in *Matrimonio nella società altomedievale. Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo*, 2 vols. (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro), 1: 15-39 (29-30); also Fernand Verkauteren, "A Kindred in Northern France in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Medieval Nobility*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Oxford: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1978), 223-245 (228-37). Concerning parallels between *Amadís* and *Celestina*, Américo Castro ("*La Celestina*" como *contienda literaria*, Madrid: Ediciones Revista de Occidente, 1965) remarks that love for *Amadís* "posee dimensión social y pública," while Calisto's love "es hermético y sigiloso" (159). While chivalric love—always pointing to its eventual public revindication, which is also a vindication of the "institución caballeresca"—is only secret at first, the love of Calisto for Melibea is the "ansia impotente de un joven adinerado encendido de sensualidad" (160). Don Américo perhaps compares the two lovers unfairly: it is not chivalry, public or private, authentic or bastardized, that makes them comparable, but their marginalization, which is to say their impotence. What makes Calisto's story a tragedy is his eventual failure in death; what makes *Amadís's* story a romance is the eventual marriage and living happily ever after. *Amadís*—in its extant form, we recall, practically contemporary to *Celestina*—is as far removed as the latter work, in historical time, from the era when one could plausibly speak of chivalry as a social institution. The love of *Amadís* and Oriana is thus the fantasy fulfillment of the same desire which is ultimately repressed in *Celestina*. Justina Ruiz de Conde offers a more nuanced approach to amorous secrecy and its functions; see her *El Amor y el matrimonio secreto en los libros de caballerías* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1948), 201-13, 218-227.

unified, dignified face to the world. The masculine domain is the world. Thus the emphasis on male networks, friendships, alliances, connections, standing in the community, in ever broader concentric rings of influence or prestige, out from the nucleus of the hearth (and always—implicitly—in potential competition with other males similarly emanating from their respective familial epicenters). The official agnatic rhetoric is always that of masculine solidarity, spontaneous teamwork, unrehearsed compliance by all clan members with the mandates of male-defined clanic policies, and in support of official (i.e., machista or phallogocentric) agendas. Especially with regard to that most pivotal institution: marriage, which in the traditional world always represents a political alliance, an exchange, a linkage to broader networks for the multifarious purposes of official male culture.¹⁶

Woman's world is the hearth and household. Women are, as Bourdieu puts it, "excluded from representational kinship" (66). But their sphere, imposing its own tendencies and contradictions, is not without its own networks and agendas. Where husbands, fathers, and brothers and principal male kinsmen emphasize the pragmatic (economic, political, honorific) aspects of marital candidates, women often disregard these factors in favor of the personal happiness of their children (often especially their female children). Fathers emphasize esprit de corps: one for all. Mothers fiercely defend the specific, immediate interests of their offspring: all for one. In the cluttered reality of family life, a dialectic of role distribution insures that families argue things out, each party and its agenda against the other. The eventual marriage announcement publicly proclaimed as a unitary, self-evident statement of clanic policy is in reality the outcome of vigorous, chaotic bargaining, negotiation, rethinking, dickering, deal-making, callings-in of markers, etc. Everybody in the clan—starting with nuclear family members, but often including prestigious or otherwise influential relatives with privileged-speaker status—has his or her say, and often his or her re-say. Never mentioned publicly or officially are the candidates considered but rejected. Marriage, and all other clanic decisions, are, in other words, compromises which are hammered out rather than decrees which are

¹⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice, Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1977), 52-58, 59-64.

foreordained (in which guise—in accordance with the needs of official male dignity—they are frequently divulged to society at large).

Despite the image of unanimity projected by the official patrilineage, the traditional kin-ordered environment is pervasively dissident and negotiatory, both between and within lineages. Hence the niche that arises for brokerage in its many guises and functions. Hence the yenta, the go-between, the matchmaker as fixtures of numerous cultures whose chief common denominator is an emphasis on agnatic control over marriage and female sexuality. As Francisco Márquez-Villanueva demonstrates, medieval Spain's "preference for arranged marriages" reveals "a certain uniformity of customs" among Christians, Moors, and Jews. Old women, often disguised as trinket sellers, are a common type of matchmaker in traditional Muslim society. Pandering and proxenetism, the blackmarket shadows of the licit matrimonial commerce represented by matchmaking, are likewise pervasive in the Orient. The clandestinity imposed by patriarchal control, with its reclusion of women, insures that the go-between "must basically be able to penetrate the privacy of women's quarters to inspect the 'market' and try to persuade the innocent during unsupervised conversation." Thus arises, according to Márquez-Villanueva, the matchmaker as "a female engaged in an apparently harmless activity, like the selling of trinkets or cosmetics, or as a doctor for feminine ailments."¹⁷ Samuel Armistead and James Monroe have documented numerous striking parallels between the personages, themes, and incidents of *La Celestina* and a number of texts from the Muslim world, including several tales from various recensions of the *Thousand and One Nights*. While the Spanish work might well have incorporated elements from such Oriental texts, analogies between the *Celestina* and her "Muslim sisters" arise from "the common cultural background of a Mediterranean honor and shame society, in which women were carefully quarantined from contact with the opposite sex and the rôle of the go-between consequently acquired crucial significance." The relationship of the *Celestina* to her Muslim analogues is to be understood, in other words,

¹⁷ Márquez-Villanueva, "La Celestina as Hispano-Semitic Anthropology," *Revue de Littérature Comparée* 61 (1987): 425-56 (427, 429-30).

"as generic rather than genetic," and as the natural thematic outcome of "Mediterranean literature about procuring."¹⁸

The unofficial female culture, less constrained than official patriarchy by custom, tradition, or public opinion, has the most leeway for improvisation, for establishment of negotiatory channels while maintaining escape valves that allow for, among other things, scrutiny of an expanded range of marital candidates, allowance for personal sentimental preferences, establishment of tentative or temporary relations between families, and avoidance, as Bourdieu phrases it, of "the humiliating rebuff." Hence, possibly, the reason why brokers might tend to be women unencumbered by familial restrictions—thus the crone, the spinster, the widow as go-between and matchmaker. Other functions—gossip monger, fortune teller, spellmaker, witch, sorceress, peddler, hawker, money-lender, etc.—naturally accrete to the nebulous job description of mediator. Proxenetism would be among these naturally auxiliary functions. Although Márquez-Villanueva rightly emphasizes the opposite nature of matchmaking and procuring—the former operates openly and "to the benefit of both genders," while the latter works "outside or against the 'system' and "represents a threat to the institution of arranged marriage"—the contrary nature of the functions by no means precludes their simultaneous performance by a single person.¹⁹ Hence the power of the matchmaker/procuress/witch in the unofficial, female, hearth-centered world.

To alienate the matchmaker is to risk not only the opprobrium of the lady herself—with all that this implies in the way of natural and supernatural disfavor (e.g., failure to secure appropriate matches for one's children, injurious rumors of all sorts, infertility, impotence, bad luck, and necromantical tribulations for one's self, kith, and kin)—but also to provoke the contumely of one's fellow goodwives. The matchmaker, in other words, is the boss-lady of female society, on whose bad side one does not get. Hence the spontaneous hospitality that would be shown by a real Melibea's real mother toward a real Celestina. Speculations as to female motives which limit themselves to the supernatural menace of Celestina, or to the

¹⁸ Armistead and Monroe, "Celestina's Muslim Sisters," *Celestinesca* 13,2 (1989): 3-27 (12-13).

¹⁹ Márquez-Villanueva, 430.

assumed naïveté or outright stupidity of Melibea's mother (and the girl herself, for that matter) impede understanding that Celestina's undoubted magical potential, her skill at voodoo stupefaction and manipulation, are, in a sense, the result of her special communal standing, not the cause of it. A real-life Alisa, therefore, would show good diplomatic sense in offering consideration and trust toward a real Celestina, while a real-life Melibea might well be all too eager to resort to such a go-between precisely because of the latter's power to subvert the agnatic regime that dooms such a daughter to spinsterhood or unwanted marriage.

The probable realism of this depiction does not necessarily indicate the author's understanding or approval of the cultural circumstance he portrays. Seeing the real Celestina behind the work named for her is like trying to understand the real Hannibal or the real Spartacus by means of those unsympathetic accounts of them written by Roman historians who are our only available sources: significant details emerge from the biased narrative, but they are an inadvertent lapse, the stuff of a psycho-historical reading between the lines. Similarly, the author of *La Celestina* presents not real women but their gullible or self-serving or corrupt effigies; any realism we may discern or deduce is accidental, a detail that manages to get through the static of agnatic propaganda. The characters as portrayed are alternate renditions of real-life female personages, embodying, by their acting-out of the story as thematic scenario, a defense of patriarchal prerogatives and all that these imply in the way of commodification of the female. Women are shown, in other words, to be destructive of a mythical patrilineal concord whose defenders could effectively quell familial dissension and clanic deterioration—thus threats to male honor—only in the wish-fulfilling fantasy of literary representation.

TRES NOTAS A «LA CELESTINA»

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I

MINERVA CON VULCÁN

El pecado de bestialidad ha sido frecuentemente mencionado en la literatura y en la *Celestina* es famoso el diálogo entre Sempronio y Calisto:

Sempronio. ¿No has leído de Pasifae con el toro, de Minerva con el can?

Calisto. No lo creo, hablillas son.

Sempronio. Lo de tu abuela con el ximio, ¿hablilla fue? Testigo el cuchillo de tu abuelo.¹

Prefiero la vieja lectura, sin la corrección propuesta por Green y generalmente aceptada, aunque nadie se explique qué aventura es la de Minerva con Vulcán, como tampoco la de Minerva con el can; por esta razón, aunque sea la menos popular, acepto la *lectio difficilior*.

¹ *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (único texto auténtico de la *Celestina*). Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Bibliotheca Hispánica, 1900, Acto I, p. 12..

Tiene a su favor el que figure en la *Tragicomedia* y en este otro texto de Cristóbal de Villalón:

Pues si viniese con ellos a descender en particular
contaros ya hazañas, ingestos habominables, ni
penseis que començaría por Pasiphae que tuvo açeso
con el toro, ni por Minerua que se juntó con el can, ny
por otra que se llegó con el ximio.²

Obsérvese que el ximio que quedaba descolgado de la tradición antigua, de Pasifae, de Minerva, y refería a algo próximo, en Villalón forma parte de la trilogía antigua, al menos no se diferencia temporalmente y forma parte de la enumeración que, por otro lado, se aclara en cada caso: tener açeso, se juntó, se llegó, respectivamente.

Villalón, al parecer, toma la *Celestina* como fuente y aún va más lejos; a sus conocimientos humanísticos no le repele el açeso de Minerva con el can que, por otro lado, no se suele encontrar. He aquí algunos ejemplos de Lope de Vega en que no aparece en extensas enumeraciones:

Pues Pasiphae un toro amó
Cipariso un ciervo, y dio
a toda la Persia espanto
Jerjes, poniendo su amor
en un plátano; un caballo
Semíramis quiso, y calló
otros muchos por su honor.³

Más extensa es esta otra:

Semíramis, siendo tal,
a un caballo se rindió;
Pasifae a otro animal,
Jerjes una planta amó,
y el cónsul Crispo un moral;

² C. de Villalón, *El Scholástico*, ed. Richard J.A. Kerr, Clas. Hispánicos, serie II, Ediciones Críticas, XIV (Madrid: CSIC, 1967), 179.

³ Lope de Vega Carpio, *La prueba de los ingenios*. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 246 (Madrid: Atlas 1971), Acto II, pp. 307-308.

a su sombra amó Narciso,
 a un ciervo amó Cipariso,
 Pocio a una imagen de Elena,
 Antonio amó una murena,
 y Suevio una yegua quiso;
 Juno, Alcides, Pigmaleón,
 a tres mármoles amaron;
 a un ateniense, en razón
 castigó su religión:
 que con un mármol le hallaron,
 Según esto, ¿qué te admira
 que ame el príncipe a una piedra?⁴

El último aspecto también tiene su antecedente:

Amando una estatua un hombre,
 que tan importuno al cielo,
 que se la volvió mujer.⁵

No voy a detenerme en explicar orígenes y fuentes, pero obsérvese que, al lado de los animales terrestres y acuáticos, los hay marítimos y hasta plantas y piedras; que no son solo las mujeres, que también los hombres cayeron en el delito. Aún más, no se menciona la mujer y el asno de Lucio Apuleyo, (ni los casos de Pasífae, Cipariso, Semíramis.)

Es curioso que en el *Motif-Index* de Stith Thompson, al mencionar la Bestialidad, figure:

T-465.3. Homo centauros born as a result of
 bestiality.

Y refiriéndose al matrimonio, figuren:

B 601.1. Marriage to bear
 H 601.2. Marriage to dog
 B 601.7. Marriage to monkey

⁴ Lope de Vega Carpio, *El mármol de Felisardo*. BAE 246 (ver n3), Acto III, p. 395.

⁵ *La prueba de los ingenios*, acto III, p. 292.

B 611.1. Bear paramour

B 611.2. Dog paramour

y no figuren ni el caballo, ni el toro, ni el ciervo.

Algunos de estos aspectos son casos fortuitos, otros novelescos (*Mil y una noches*, trad. J. Vernet, noche 355-357, T. II, pp.230-232) y *Miscelánea Tai-pin* [s. VII]; otros son expresión de un origen mítico: de un *Cuervo*

A 13.2.1. Los esquimales

A 522.2.2. Los indios de Norteamérica.

La Biblia prohíbe: «No te ayuntarás con bestia, manchándote con ella» (*Levítico* 18:22) y maldice al practicante del hecho: «Maldito quien tuviere parte con una bestia cualquiera» (*Deuteronomio* 27:21). Los hombres del Renacimiento creían posible la procreación en estas uniones, por ejemplo, Huarte de San Juan:

Desta doctrina se colige ser verdad lo que muchas historias auténticas afirman: que un perro, teniendo cuenta con una mujer, la empreñó; y lo mesmo hizo un oso con una doncella que halló sola en el campo; y de un jimio que tuvo dos hijos en otra mujer; y de otra que andándose paseando por la ribera del mar, salió un pescado del agua y la empreñó.⁶

En consecuencia, en los siglos áureos estaban bien informados de este pecado y podían olvidar y criticar; Villalón era un admirador de la *Celestina*, sin duda:

Mostró ser esto que digo verdad aquel gracioso y más que ingenioso auctor de *Celestina* obra de artificio admirable⁷

⁶ J. Huarte de San Juan, *Examen de ingenios*, ed. R. Sanz, Biblioteca de Filósofos Españoles (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1930), II: 415.

⁷ Villalón, *El Scholástico*, 165.

pero también era un *humanista* y sabía criticar cuando lo consideraba oportuno y necesario. Hubiera error o invención, en este caso no lo hizo. ¿Por considerar conocidos los hechos enumerados? ¿Por el prestigio que el autor de la *Celestina* tenía? Y si un humanista como él no vio necesaria la corrección—quizá porque estuviera en la cultura oral universitaria—, ¿por qué no voy a aceptar yo la *lectio difficilior* en una enumeración ampliable?

II

CAZAR AVES CON LUMBRE

Desde que en 1980, con intereses diferentes, la Dra. Severin y yo hablamos, repetidamente, de la caza de aves o perdices con lumbre (calderilla o linterna), se han publicado varias notas en *Celestinesca*, de Severin, Whinnom (q.e.p.d.), Hook, Seniff (q.e.p.d.) y Gerli, a quien respondió sabia y juiciosamente el Dr. Salvador Miguel. Como parece que no se agota el tema, daré otras dos noticias:

1. Juan de Aviñón escribió en 1419 su *Sevillana medicina*, publicada por N. Monardes en 1545, y allí, cap. XXI:

Perdiz es llamada gallina montesina, y es semejante a la gallina en bondad [...] y las perdizes que son caçadas con redes y tomadas con LANTERNAS, estas son malas por quanto las tienen alcahazadas [enjauladas] grandes días.⁸

2. Luis Zapata de Chaves publicó su poema épico *Carlo famoso* en 1566 y en el Canto XXXVII, fol. 201^vb, los dos últimos versos de la primera octava real dicen:

Como uan con candil con los turiones
en La Serena a caça de sisones.

Por tanto, en la comarca extremeña de La Serena, en el siglo XVI, se utilizaba esta forma villana o campesina de caza de aves comestibles. El sisón, deslumbrado con el candil, es golpeado con la

⁸ *Sevillana medicina* (Sevilla: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces, 1885), 118.

vara de adelfa, muy flexible, por lo cual se suele utilizar para varear las aceitunas.

De forma, pues, que la caza puede ser de cuadrúpedos: liebres, ciervos; aves: perdices, sisonos, verderoles, avutardas; tanto en Provenza como en Italia y en España en muy diversas regiones (Sevilla, Castilla, Extremadura, León...). El astuto método es dúplice: con lumbre oculta para deslumbrar: linterna, candil o farol, y estaca para golpear: turión, espada, estaca o red; o mediante el engaño de esquilón al cuello de un buey, mula o rebaño vacuno, pero no se las mataba, sino solamente se las atontaba y enjaulaban para comerlas cuando fuera oportuno y por esa razón no eran tan sabrosas como las cazadas con azor, que eran muertas sorpresivamente.

* * * * *

Por cierto, Sr. Gerli: *La venganza de don Mendo*, cuya edición de 1942 poseo, fue estrenada en 1920, y su autor fue Don Pedro Muñoz Seca, nacido en El Puerto de Santamaría, Cádiz, en 1881 y murió asesinado en Paracuellos del Jarama en 1936. No es, por tanto, «a seventeenth-century comedia».

Yo nunca dije tal. Vd. debió entender mal. Como cuando dice: «El Barón (read varón)». No, Sr. Gerli, Barón -con B- es un título nobiliario.

III

DE NUEVO SOBRE «BEBER TRES VEZES»

En el acto IX de *Celestina* se produce este diálogo entre Pármeno y Celestina:

Pármeno. Madre, pues tres veces dizen que es lo bueno y honesto [beber] todos los que escrivieron.

Celestina. Hijo estará corrupta la letra; por treze, tres.

Los diversos editores no han prestado atención a quienes «escrivieron»; Cejador--como en algunas otras ocasiones--se sale por la tangente y se refiere a «beber los kiries» o lo asocia a «estar en sus

trece»;⁹ Severin¹⁰ recuerda el villancico a que se refirió Menéndez Pidal,¹¹ donde este aspecto se usaba como broma en el siglo XVI; pero últimamente Peter E. Russell anota, irónica e incongruentemente, así:

Celestina, para defenderse se muestra ahora al tanto de los problemas de malas lecciones en manuscritos u obras impresas. ¡No faltaba más!¹²

Esta observación irónica de Russell me ha movido a buscar más autoridades para aclarar la referencia. Pues no nos faltaba más que la ironía sustituyese la búsqueda entre los escritores. Porque, efectivamente, en Juan de Aviñón, en su *Sevillana medicina* (1419), manuscrita hasta 1545 en que N. Monardes la editó, se lee:

Franceses usan beber muchas vegadas en la mesa y poco cada vez, y en esta tierra se usa de beber tres vezes en comunal contía en cada vez, la primera vez quando han comido el tercio de vianda, y la segunda al otro tercio, y la tercera al otro tercio y este es el mejor ordenamiento.¹³

Francisco Monzón, catedrático de Teología en Coimbra y predicador de don Juan III de Portugal (1521-1557), publica un *Espejo del príncipe christiano* (Lisboa, 1544) en cuyo capítulo xxxviii enumera las reglas que ha de tener presente el Rey si ha de beber vino, y así:

La quinta regla es que ordinariamente en una comida se deuen de beuer tres vezes las quales los antiguos declarauan diziendo: que la primera vez era para matar la sed, y la segunda para contentamiento, y la

⁹ *Celestina*. Ed. J. Cejador, Clásicos castellanos (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1931), I: 30.

¹⁰ *Celestina*, ed. D. Severin (Madrid: Cátedra, 1991), 225.

¹¹ *Revista de Filología Española* 4 (1917), 50-51.

¹² *Celestina*, ed. P. E. Russell (Madrid: Castalia, 1991), 406.

¹³ Juan de Aviñón, *Sevillana medicina*, capítulo XXVII: "De la orden del comer," pág. 168.

tercera para rescebir un poco de deleite. Pero si se passaua a la quarta dezía Anacharsis Scitha que se auía de atribuir a embriaguez y locura.

Este número de vezes aprouó Eubolo poeta, aunque las declaró de otra manera: diziendo que la primera vez aproueche para la salud, y la segunda era dedicada al amor, y la tercera dezía que se auía de consagrar a Mercurio, porque era buena para dormir, y él era el dios del sueño. Y de aquí dezía que no se auía de passar por ser tres las gracias que estauan presentes a la mesa con los que comen.

Esta sentencia pareció muy razonable a los Sumos Pontífices Romanos, pues en sus sacros cánones tassaron a los clérigos que en una comida no beuan más de tres vezes, aunque algunos con gracearse se atreuen a dezir que esta errada la letra y que por treze dize tres (folios 120v-121r).

Obsérvese que es obra publicada con anterioridad a la *Sevillana medicina* (1545); que utiliza fuentes clásicas, entre ellas Anacarsis, a quien F. Castro Guisasola menciona en relación con la tela de araña;¹⁴ que da dos razonamientos explicativos, cosa que no hace Juan de Aviñón y menos aún Pármeno. De forma, pues, que con anterioridad a 1419, y quizá de forma legendaria existía —al parecer— una creencia médico-popular. Y se asegura que se incluyó en los cánones como prohibición a los clérigos, lo cual da lugar a que los burladores, por «gracearse» lo corrijan. Este último aspecto, pues, o procede de *La Celestina* o ésta no hizo más que repetir un juego clerical frecuente, par del villancico citado por Menéndez Pidal.

La broma de Celestina adquiere pronto carácter paremiológico, aunque Cejador no la incluye en los «Refranes y frases proverbiales» con que finaliza su edición (Clásicos Castellanos, II: 233-237) ni tampoco E. O'Kane en sus *Refranes ... de la Edad Media* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1959). Pero en 1555, cuando León

¹⁴ *Observaciones sobre las fuentes literarias de 'La Celestina'* (1924, reimpreso Madrid: CSIC, 1973), 35.

de Castro publica el *Refranero* de Hernán Núñez , aparece como el noveno de sus refranes:

A buen comer o mal comer, tres veces beber

que incluye, tomándolo de él, Martínez Kleiser en el *Refranero General*, pero que Gonzalo Correas amplifica así:

A buen comer o mal comer, tres veces beber: la primera pura, la segunda como Dios la crió en la uva, la tercera como sale de la cuba.

Y continúa la historia: En 1558 Pedro de Mercado publicó unos *Diálogos de filosofía natural* de gran interés. Y allí, en el Diálogo IV, sobre «La Cena», se dice:

Tres vezes podeys beber sobre los manjares, y esto se escriue de Iulio César que solas tres vezes bebía en la cena, aunque los sacrificadores de Baco alegan estar corrompida la letra (fol. 107v).

Se nos ocurren varias consideraciones: Suetonio en su *Vida de César* (cap. 53) dice que "su extrema sobriedad en el uso del vino no han podido negarla sus mismos enemigos." cita que Alfonso X, en su *Primera Crónica General de España* (cap. 117, t. I: 93), traduce así:

Era omne que beuie muy poco uino, et esto no lo dizien sus amigos tan solamiente, mas sus enemigos lo otorgauan.

Tampoco Plutarco menciona este detalle biográfico, y confieso no haber hallado una biografía de César, anterior a 1558, donde se halle tal dato, ni siquiera en Juan de Sedeño.

No obstante, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, en su *Mar de Historias* (cap. xxv) insiste:

beuía muy poco vino, e por esto dizen, que dezía Catón, que de todos los que quisieron destruir la

república non ouo alguno templado en el beuer, sino él.¹⁵

Pero consideremos la corrupción de la letra por «los sacrificadores de Baco», que no es más que otra versión de los que «gracean» de Monzón y, en último extremo, de la posible burla clerical de Celestina.

No paran ahí las cosas, pues en 1616 Juan Sorapán de Rieros publica su *Medicina española contenida en proverbios*. En el refrán XXXVI: «Quien tuuiere buen vino, bébalo, no lo dé a su vezino», afirma lo siguiente:

Y el poeta griego Cipro, hablando con Menelao dize, que los diosses criaron el vino para tres fines, para la salud de los hombres, para la qual conuiene la primera vez que se bebe en la comida; y para que se amen, dize que ha de beber la segunda vez; y la tercera para el sueño. Refiere esta doctrina Celio Rodiginio [Ludovico Ricchieri], en el libro XIII de sus *Lecciones* [*Antiquae lectiones* (1516)], cap. II, el qual la confirma en el libro 28, cap. 29 (págs. 329-30).

La autoridad ahora es Cipro, no Eubolo pero, si no lo tomó de Monzón, los aprovechamientos coinciden: 1º. Salud, 2º. Amor, 3º. Sueño.

En conclusión, un médico--Juan de Aviñón (1419)--aboga por beber tres veces, según costumbre sevillana; dos humanistas (Monzón y Mercado) se basan en fuentes clásicas o autoridades históricas, las primeras quizá utilizadas por Sorapán de Rieros, atribuyéndola a Celio Rodiginio (1469-1525) («sanitati primum, amori alterum ac voluptati, tertium denique somno»). Parece que sería excesivo pensar que su fuente, al menos en Monzón y Mercado, por el sentido humorístico final, sea *La Celestina*; me inclino más a una costumbre acreditada entre las gentes de iglesia, que en los aficionados al vino (sacrificadores de Baco, gracejadores o poetas humorísticos--villancico) se convierte en burla que Celestina repite.

¹⁵ Ver *Revue Hispanique* 28 (1913), 489.

HUEVOS ASADOS: NOTA MARGINAL

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Entre los muchos interrogantes que aun plantea *Celestina* está la interpretación de alguno de sus pasajes. En este grupo se hallan las palabras de Pármeno referidas al marido de Celestina: "¡O, qué comedor de uevos assados era su marido!" (Aucto I, 92, 2:35).¹

Varias han sido las interpretaciones dadas a esta frase. Joseph E. Gillet, "Comedor de huevos'(?)" (*Celestina: Auto I*), *Hispanic Review* 24 (1956), 144-147, apunta la posibilidad de los efectos afrodisíacos de los huevos. Sin embargo prefiere la variante "encomendador / comendador de huevos asados." Esta variante aparece por vez primera en la traducción italiana de Alfonso Ordóñez, Roma, 1506.² Correas (*Vocabulario de refranes*, [Madrid, 1924], cit. por Gillet p. 145) incluye "Encomendador de huevos asados" entre sus refranes y dice: "[...] tiene el vulgo hablilla y opinión que encomendando los huevos que se ponen a asar a un cornudo no se quebrarán," y más adelante: "porque tienen armas [los cornudos] con que defenderles y guardar [...]."

¹ Las citas son de la edición de Marciales, indicando entre paréntesis acto, división, volumen y página. Miguel Marciales, *Celestina: Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, al cuidado de Brian Dutton y Joseph T. Snow, Illinois Medieval Monographs, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985. 2 vols.

² Aparece también en ediciones españolas del siglo XVI. Para las diferentes variantes véase el aparato crítico de la edición de Marciales al pasaje (Acto I, 92, 2:35).

Peter B. Goldman, "A new interpretation of 'comedor de huevos asados' (*La Celestina*, Acto I)," *Romanische Forschungen* 77 (1965), 363-367, ve en el pasaje una alusión a la práctica judaica de comer huevos asados o cocidos tras la muerte de un familiar como símbolo de lamentación. El pesaroso marido de Celestina se consolaría así de las continuas infidelidades de su mujer.

Miguel Garci-Gómez, "*Huevos asados*: afrodisíaco para el marido de Celestina," *Celestinesca* 5:1 (mayo 1981), 23-24, aporta elementos para la interpretación de huevos como estimulantes sexuales al identificarlos con el uso de los testículos de animal secados y machacados. En la misma línea está el artículo de Kathleen Kish y Ursula Ritzenhoff, "On Translating '*huevos asados*': Clues from Christof Wirsung," *Celestinesca* 5:2 (noviembre 1981), 19-31, que añade como argumento la traducción al alemán de Christof Wirsung (1520 y 1534). Este, boticario de profesión y por tanto buen conocedor de los afrodisíacos de la época, indirectamente aporta elementos para apoyar la interpretación de huevos como afrodisíacos por más que su traducción de la frase en cuestión no siga esa línea.

Miguel Marciales en su edición de *Celestina* escribe en el aparato crítico del pasaje:

'Comedor de uevoos assados' es lo mismo que come güevos, i.e. cinedo, meretriz o ninario. 'Huevo/güevo' = miembro viril en amplísimas zonas de América [...] 'huevo cocido, huevo asado, huevo duro' = pene erecto. El marido de Celestina era un come güevos = ninario = cornudo aprovechado = encomendador de los huevos asados a su propia mujer. (Aucto I, 92, 2:35)

Hasta aquí han llegado los exégetas modernos del dificultoso pasaje. Pero resulta muy interesante volver atrás en el tiempo y examinar la glosa que el primer crítico de la obra escribió sobre esta frase. Nos referimos al anónimo autor del poco conocido pero importante manuscrito *Celestina comentada*, MS. 17.631 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Se trata del primer comentario conservado de *Celestina*. La fecha de su composición se estima en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI y su autor se sospecha que es un jurista profesional o un eclesiástico con

formación en leyes.³ El manuscrito de 221 folios se preocupa especialmente de identificar citas religiosas, clásicas y jurídicas con que apoyar la validez y exactitud del contenido de *Celestina*. Aporta cientos de citas latinas de Séneca, Cicerón, la Vulgata, San Jerónimo, Petrarca y un largo etcétera que en opinión del comentarista apoyarían la rectitud de la doctrina contenida en *Celestina*.⁴

Pero lo que nos interesa en este caso es la proximidad temporal del comentarista con el autor de la *Tragicomedia*. Además, si es un jurista, hemos de suponerle un bagaje intelectual similar al de Rojas. Así dice Marciales en su edición: "El Comentarista Anónimo es un abogado de Castilla la Nueva, cosa que se deduce por las citas jurídicas que hace; es de Castilla la Nueva por su lengua que es la de Valdés y prácticamente la del mismo Rojas" (I, 262). Russell señala que "de vez en cuando el conocimiento personal de la vida de la época que tenía el autor [el comentarista] le permite aclarar el significado de algunos pasajes que escapan a los lectores modernos" (305).

En el folio 36r del manuscrito el comentarista subraya en *Celestina* "¡O qué comedor de huevos!" y debajo escribe una larga glosa:

Esto dízelo author como por muestra que conocía Pármeno a su marido de ésta o por buena seña. Y pues que aquí se haze mención de huevos aunque sea algo fuera de propósito diremos alguna cosa acerca de ellos. Pues que doctor de derecho habla bien largo como es Chassaneo en el *Catalogo gloriae mundi* en la final parte consideración 82 onde dize que avemos de tener en mucho los huevos pues la quarta parte de los hombres se mantienen con ellos si bien lo queremos mirar pues quasi en todos los manjares se echan huevos y de ellos crían tantas aves. Y allí dize cuáles sean mejores porque los de gallinas o perdices o faisanes son los mejores y los

³ Para un estudio detallado del manuscrito véase Peter E. Russell "El primer comentarista crítico de *La Celestina*: cómo un legalista del siglo XVI interpretaba la *Tragicomedia*," en *Temas de La Celestina y otros estudios del Cid al Quijote*, Barcelona: Ariel, 1978, pp. 293-321.

⁴ Para un estudio parcial de las citas en el manuscrito véase M. Fernández Vázquez, "Estudio Filológico del Ms. 17.631 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid: Fuentes de *La Celestina*," Tesis doctoral, Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1984.

peores los de todos los ánsares y de los abestruzes [...] [el subrayado es nuestro].⁵

La glosa continúa en el folio siguiente (36v) citando a Plinio sobre cómo hacer pasar un huevo por un anillo tras haberlo remojado en vinagre (*Historia naturalis*, XIX, 167) y añadiendo más muestras de erudición. Pero lo que queda patente es que el comentarista no entiende el pasaje en cuestión y se ha limitado a dar una serie de informaciones muy "fuera de propósito."

Sin embargo aparece en el manuscrito una anotación en el margen derecho del texto de *Celestina* junto al obscuro pasaje. Este tipo de anotaciones marginales e interpolaciones aparecen de la misma mano del comentarista con mucha frecuencia en el manuscrito dando alguna información adicional que a la hora de escribir la glosa no incluyó, como citas adicionales, localización exacta de una cita, etc. Así dice la nota al margen:

alias a de dezir: ¡O qué conmendador de huevos! para dar a entender que era comudo.(fol. 36r, margen)

Ahora, con la lectura "conmendador," sí ha entendido el pasaje que con la lectura "comedor" le había resultado indescifrable.

El texto de *Celestina* que aparece en el manuscrito es de la familia de Toledo 1538, conteniendo el Aucto de Traso, aunque con variantes procedentes de otras ediciones (Marciales, tomo I: 262-267). El comentarista no especifica en qué edición ha visto esa variante que ya había aparecido en ediciones anteriores. Pero lo importante es constatar que es únicamente cuando conoce la lectura "conmendador" que escribe la breve nota marginal interpretando coherentemente el pasaje en vez de la larga y desatinada glosa. Si el anónimo comentarista, tan cercano en el tiempo y por su formación a Rojas, no entiende el pasaje hasta que en alguna otra edición ve la variante "conmendador," hemos de concluir que la expresión "comendador de huevos" era común en la época para indicar "comudo" y que "comedor de huevos" resultaba tan obscura que daba lugar a interpretaciones "fuera de propósito."

⁵ La transcripción es conservadora, regularizando sólo puntuación, mayúsculas y separación de palabras; las abreviaturas están resueltas. La cita en esta glosa es Barthélemy de Chasseneux, *Catalogus gloriae mundi, laudes, honores, excellentias ac preeminentias omnium fere statuum plurimarumque rerum illius continens*, Paris: D. de Harsy, 1529.

**LLANILLAS, LANILLAS:
ALGO MAS SOBRE EL LABORATORIO DE CELESTINA**

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En la detallada descripción del laboratorio de la alcahueta que se hace en el Primer Auto de la *Celestina*, se da cuenta de las mañas de la vieja quien, entre otras muchas actividades, "hazía solimán, afeyte cosido, argentadas, bujelladas, cerillas, llanillas, unturillas, lustres, lucentores, clarimientes, alvalines y otras aguas de rostro...",¹ todas ellas sustancias y preparados para embellecer el rostro. De estos términos, la forma *llanillas* aparece en las ediciones de la *Comedia* de Burgos² 1499 y Toledo 1500, mientras que en la de Sevilla de 1501 se sustituye por *lanillas*.³ Semejante vacilación encontramos en la *Tragicomedia*. *Llanillas* se lee en las ediciones de Zaragoza 1507 y de Valencia 1514, pero *lanillas* en Sevilla 1523, 1528, Medina del Campo 1530, Toledo 1538, sólo por citar algunas.

¹ Ed. Dorothy S. Severin (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990⁴), 111.

² Ed. facsímil (1909); reimpresso, Nueva York: *The Hispanic Society of America*, 1970.

³ Para estas dos últimas ediciones mencionadas he consultado la edición crítica de Jerry R. Rank, *Comedia de Calisto & Melibea*, Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1978, que ofrece las variantes de las tres ediciones de la *Comedia*.

En las primeras traducciones italianas y francesas se ignora el término *lanillas* o *llanillas*, quizá por tratarse de una palabra demasiado específica, difícil de trasladar, y lo que se hace es englobarla dentro de términos más generales relativos a los afeites.⁴

Para terminar. En el manuscrito recientemente encontrado en la Biblioteca de Palacio de Madrid del Primer Auto de la *Celestina* la forma que aparece es *lanyllas*.⁵ El *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* define *lanilla* como "Especie de afeite que usaban antiguamente las mujeres."⁶ *Llanilla* no aparece, y la definición más común de esta palabra que se encuentra en las notas o glosarios de muchos editores modernos de la *Celestina* es la que ofrece Laza Palacios en su estudio *El laboratorio de Celestina*, y que dice así:

Sin duda se trata de un diminutivo, y seguramente de "llana" (del latín *plana*), que según el Diccionario es una "herramienta compuesta de una plancha de hierro o acero y una manija o un asa, que emplean los albañiles para extender y allanar el yeso o la argamasa." [...] Bien podrían llamarse llanillas a pequeñas espátulas metálicas o de hueso o marfil que sirvieran para extender sobre el paramento del rostro los afeites adecuados para hermosarlo.⁷

Otra definición de *llanilla* la había dado Julio Cejador y Frauca en su edición de la *Celestina*: "*Llanillas* para allanar asperezas del rostro."⁸

⁴ "Faceua belletti cocti, lustru et chiarimenti et mille altre brutte untore," Kathleen V. Kish, ed. *An Edition of the First Italian Translation of the Celestina* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1973), 63; "Elle faisoit du soliman, vin cuyt et autres eaues pour le visage," Gérard J. Brault, ed., *Célestine. A Critical Edition of the First French Translation (1527)* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1963), 40.

⁵ Palacio MS. II-1520, fol. 100r.

⁶ Madrid: Gredos, 1992. No aparece esta acepción en el *Diccionario de Autoridades*, ed. facsímil, Madrid: 1964, ni tampoco *llanillas*.

⁷ Málaga: Antonio Gutiérrez, 1958, 154.

⁸ Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1945³, 73.

Como se puede apreciar, la etimología de *llanilla* se asocia, de un modo u otro, al latín *planus*. Si aceptamos la poco convincente explicación de Laza Palacios, *llanillas* no tendría por qué ir agrupada con las sustancias que Celestina "hace," puesto que según el estudioso se trata de un instrumento del que, supuestamente, se servían las mujeres en sus tareas de embellecimiento. Sí que podría considerarse, sin embargo, no tanto el instrumento como su finalidad, como después se verá.

Llanillas y *lanillas* aparecen--también vacilantes, aunque por distintas razones que en la *Celestina*--en los cuatro manuscritos conservados de los *Proverbios Morales* de Don Sem Tob:

un año casa nueva,
en quanto la llanilla
es blanca, fasta llueva
e torne amarilla.⁹

La explicación que ofrece García Calvo es la siguiente:

Leo, con el códice C, "llanilla," mejor que "lanilla" que dan los otros tres, y aunque no identifico con certidumbre la palabra, supongo que viene a equivaler a lo que hoy en albañilería se llama 'plano' (con una forma culta de la misma raíz), y así lo traduzco por 'revoco', pensando que se trate de muros revocados de blanco o 'enjalbegados'.¹⁰

Lectura muy razonable si se acepta la variante *casa* de los MSS C y M, y mucho más si se tiene en cuenta que es el MS C, con *casa* y *llanilla*, el más fidedigno en la conservación del original.¹¹ Este significado de *llanillas* enlazaría entonces con la explicación de Cejador, afeite

⁹ Ed. Agustín García Calvo (Madrid, 1983²), 117.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 201-202.

¹¹ Véase Emilio Alarcos Llorach, "La lengua de los *Proverbios Morales* de Don Sem Tob," *Revista de Filología Española* 35 (1951): 249-309. Si por el contrario, se considera la variante *cosa* de los MSS N y E, también tiene sentido la forma *lanilla* (lana) de los MSS M, N y E; véase la edición de los *Proverbios* de Sanford Shepard, Madrid: Castalia, 1985.

para alisar las asperezas del rostro, y que implica en cierta forma revocarlo.

Llanilla aparece también documentada, con el sentido de afeitte, en una obra siempre relacionada con el Primer Auto de la *Celestina*, se trata de las *Coplas de las comadres* de Rodrigo de Reinosa:

Gran maestra de cerillas
hace tres esclarecimientos
muy finos e oropimentes,
aluarinos y *llanillas*.¹²

Ahora bien, en este caso hay que considerar que este autor presenta como uno de los rasgos fonéticos más frecuentes la palatalización de l- y -l-.¹³ Podría ser, entonces, que *llanillas* derivara de una palatalización de la l- inicial de *lanillas*, fenómeno muy corriente en leonés, aragonés y catalán, si bien raramente aparece en el castellano literario, "toda vez que siempre fue considerada la palatalización como cosa muy vulgar."¹⁴

¹² He consultado los pliegos sueltos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid R/2296, R/9455, R/100.073³⁸ y el de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo de Santander R.VI.A-1720. En todos ellos aparece la forma *llanillas*. No obstante, hay que apuntar aquí que en la edición moderna de María Inés Chamorro Fernández de las *Coplas* (Madrid: Taurus, 1970), 54, se transcribe *lanillas*. No he podido comprobar si se trata de un error o no, puesto que la estudiosa no cita el original de la edición que utiliza; tampoco incluye en el vocabulario la palabra en cuestión.

Para la estrecha relación entre el texto de Reinosa y el Primer Auto de *Celestina* véase el artículo de Stephen Gilman y Michael J. Ruggerio, "Rodrigo de Reinosa and *La Celestina*," *Romanische Forschungen* 73 (1961): 255-284. Quizá sea ésta una prueba más que haya que tener en cuenta para estudiar las conexiones entre los dos textos.

¹³ Véase José M. Cabrales Arteaga, *La poesía de Rodrigo de Reinosa* (Santander: Instituto Cultural de Cantabria, 1980), 227.

¹⁴ Cf. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, "A propósito de ll y l latinas. Colonización suditálica en España," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 24 (1954), p. 170. Joan Corominas documenta bajo *lana* la forma *llana*, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Madrid: Gredos, 1980-1991, 6 vols.

Esta palatización, aunque en la palabra *lana*, se ha podido constatar en otro texto del siglo XV -que parece ser una adaptación en castellano del homónimo texto del médico hispano-árabe Ibn al-Jatib, *Tratado de Patología general*,¹⁵ en el que, en ocasiones, aparece la forma *lana* y *llana* con el mismo significado.¹⁶ Por consiguiente, si tomámos la forma *lanillas*, habría que asociar su etimología a *lana*, puesto que, además, se ha podido comprobar que se trata de una preparación a base de lana sucia y otros ingredientes que se dejan secar al sol. Veamos a continuación su composición exacta sacada del manuscrito *Manual de mugeres en el qual se contienen muchas y diversas reçeutas muy buenas* (1475-1525):¹⁷

PARA EL PAÑO DEL ROSTRO

Mostarda y oruga molida, miel blanca y hiel de vaca: todo junto e muy batido. E hechar dentro lana suzia y batirlo todo mucho. Secar esta lana al sol en sus bedijas hasta que se cure bien. Y la muger que tubiere paño en el rostro, eche estas *lanillas* en remojo en agua de rostro, e déxelas en remojo una ora o dos. E después póngalas en el rostro de noche o de día como quisiere. Quita el paño.

También en el MS 2019 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, del mismo tipo que el anterior, aunque más tardío, hay una receta titulada "las lanillas para las manos," que se hace mezclando numerosos ingredientes e impregnando con ellos "pedaços de lana suzia."¹⁸

¹⁵ Ed. M^a Teresa Herrera, Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987 (ed. en microfichas).

¹⁶ Por ejemplo: "E panos de lino & *llana* quemada," fol. 108v.

¹⁷ Fol. 10v; véase mi edición del *Manual de mugeres* (en prensa). Consiste en un tratado práctico de las actividades que tengan que llevar a cabo las mujeres de alto rango en el ámbito familiar, con numerosas recetas de medicina, cocina y cosmética.

¹⁸ Fols. 138v-139r.

Parece, pues, evidente que a lo que se alude en el laboratorio de *Celestina* es a esta preparación concreta que se aplica en el rostro o manos, y cuya elaboración y utilización era bien conocida por las mujeres de la época. El problema está en la procedencia de su denominación. *Llanillas*, si aceptamos que este afeite alisa las asperezas del rostro. Finalidad que no queda nada clara y que Cejador pudo deducir confiado en su supuesta etimología asociada a *planus*; en ese caso, además, hubiera sido más lógico que en la *Celestina* apareciera agrupada con las sustancias con las que la alcahueta "adelgazava los cueros," es decir, los alisaba.

Lanillas, si consideramos su composición, la posible palatalización de la *l-* y la función de este afeite que, según se desprende de la receta arriba mencionada, sirve para quitar el paño del rostro, es decir, las manchas de la piel; por lo que, en principio, no guarda ninguna relación con allanar el rostro.



Ed. Valencia 1946. Ilustración por J. Segrelles al Aucto XIV.

EN TORNO A LA PRESENCIA DE CELESTINA EN EL
TEATRO BREVE DE LOS SIGLOS XVII Y XVIII.
EDICION DE *LOS GIGANTONES*, ENTREMES DE
FRANCISCO DE CASTRO

Catalina Buezo
Madrid

Días ha grandes que conozco en fin desta vezindad una vieja barbuda que se dize Celestina, hechizera, astuta, sagaz en quantas maldades hay. Entiendo que passan de cinco mil virgos los que se han hecho y deshecho por su autoridad en esta cibdad. A las duras peñas promoverá a luxuria, si quiere (I, 103)¹

Celestina aparece descrita por primera vez en el acto I, cuando Sempronio le habla a Calisto de ella y la retrata como una vieja barbuda, hechicera y alcahueta. Estas características, como veremos, tendrán las "Celestinas nuevas" que reencontramos, por lo general

¹ Esta cita de *La Celestina* remite a la edición de D.S. Severin (Madrid: Cátedra, 1987), con el núm. de auto seguido del núm. de página. Cf. A. Vian Herrero, "El pensamiento mágico en *Celestina*, instrumento de lid o contienda," *Celestinesca* 14.ii (1990), 45.

ligadas a la magia, en el teatro cómico breve de los siglos XVII y XVIII.²

Salvo el *Paso de negros* y el *Paso de vizcaíno*, incluidos en la *Segunda Celestina* y en la *Tercera Celestina*, respectivamente,³ los entremeses posteriores sólo toman del modelo celestinesco el personaje central. De algunos de ellos ya han dado cuenta varios estudiosos: así, Ivy A. Corfis edita el *Primer entremés de Selestina*, del siglo XVI,⁴ mientras J. Huerta Calvo nota la influencia de la obra de Rojas en *La Celestina*, de Navarro de Espinosa, *La inocente enredadora*, e incluso *La vieja Muñatonos*, de Quevedo.⁵

Siguiendo esta línea de investigación, y sin la pretensión de agotar en este trabajo el tema, damos cuenta a continuación de algunos entremeses, bailes y mojigangas que explotan dramáticamente la figura de Celestina.

Conservamos un baile, atribuido a Calderón o a Moreto, titulado precisamente *La Celestina*.⁶ El tema más usual en estas

² Sobre el personaje de Celestina como fuente de inspiración de los autores del Siglo de Oro, véase L. Fothergill-Payne, "Celestina transformada en figura teatral," *Iberoromania* 23 (1986): 149-55.

³ P. Heugas, "*La Célestine*" et sa descendance directe (Burdeos: Institut d'Études Ibériques et Ibéro-Américains de l'Université, 1973), 262-265.

⁴ "The *Primer entremés de Selestina*: An edition, with an Introduction, Notes and Reading Text of an Anonymous Celestinesque Work of the Sixteenth Century," *Celestinesca* 6.1 (1981): 15-29.

⁵ "Los géneros teatrales menores en el Siglo de Oro: status y prospectiva de la investigación," en *El teatro menor en España a partir del siglo XVI. Actas del Coloquio celebrado en Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 20-22 de mayo de 1982*, ed. L. García Lorenzo (Madrid: CSIC, 1983), 23-62.

⁶ BNM, MS 16.242, núm. 43, 5 págs, 4º, l. del siglo XVIII, Osuna. Nota de A. Paz y Mélia (*Catálogo de las piezas de teatro que se conservan en el departamento de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, 1899; 2ª ed. 1934, vol. I, núm. 630): "Villarreal atribuye a Calderón una comedia con aquel título, y es de las que, según el editor de sus comedias, Vera Tasis, ofreció insertar en la parte 10; pero que no llegó a imprimirse." M. L. Lobato, en su edición del teatro breve de Moreto [en prensa] advierte, tras analizar el volumen BNM MS 16.242, que las piezas en él recogidas no tienen por qué necesariamente ser sólo obra de

piezas era la sátira moral en forma alegórica. Aquí se menciona "el tribunal de Amor" (v. 116), pero el juez que despacha los asuntos amorosos no es otro que una "barbuda barbada" (v. 8), "prima de Celestina" (vv. 18-19) y a su vez "Celestina nueva" (v. 38), si bien sigue siendo tan materialista y pragmática como su predecesora: "que no hay más amor en el mundo / que tener o no tener" (vv. 88-89). Nota A. Vian que:

Los oficios de Celestina estaban entonces menos separados que hoy. Es hechicera, sí, pero también posee conocimientos de tipo empírico que le permiten ejercer de envenenadora y perfumista, dos actividades muy unidas hasta mucho después del Renacimiento. Es cosmetóloga y boticaria, curandera, "física" (es decir, médica de niños), partera y conocedora profunda de la psicología humana.⁷

Aquí Celestina se presenta como gran psicóloga y hechicera, a tenor de las mercancías que vende:

Las virtudes del imán
traigo, que trae los sentidos;
granos de leche, cogidos
la víspera de San Juan;
traigo habas, que, quien las tiene,
poniendo de un hombre el nombre,
embozando vaya el hombre:
tras quien las tiene, se van.

(vv. 56-63)⁸

Calderón o de Moreto, pese a que en el encabezamiento del mismo se lee:
"Estos sainetes son de los / dos mexores Yngenios de Es/paña
D. Pedro Calderón, y / D. Agustín Moreto, los / quales no se
han impreso, por/que lo rehusaron / sus Autohores."

⁷ A. Vian Herrero, "El pensamiento mágico," pp. 60-61.

⁸ Cf. BNM, MS 16.242, núm. 43, vv. 56-63. Se emplea *traer* en la acepción de "atraer o tirar hacia sí, como el imán al acero" y *embozar* con el sentido de influir en el ánimo y de guiar las pasiones, lo que se consigue, en este caso, mediante las habas, "uno de los procedimientos más populares de adivinación en cuestiones amorosas," como señala Vian Herrero, p. 47.

A continuación aconseja a tres damas en sus cuitas: una le pregunta cómo ha de hacer para salir de la pobreza siendo hermosa; otra, cuál es la forma de sacarle el dinero a un galán que no lo da, y la tercera, qué cualidades han de distinguir al mejor enamorado. El interés de la pieza reside, con todo, en las repetidas indicaciones que confirman la popularidad de Celestina en el teatro breve:

CELESTINA. Celestina soy, señores,
que, do hay Celestinas tantas,
que entre ellas puede caber
una barbuda barbada.
(vv. 5-8)

A muy buen puerto ha llegado
con buena mercaduría,
pues ya las tías y suegras
de oficio celestinizan.
(vv. 24-27)

Otro demonio tan presto
yo pienso que hay en la villa,
para cada niña sola
un millón de Celestinas.
(vv. 40-43)

De los versos anteriores se desprende que no sólo las hechiceras y boticarias que desfilan a lo largo de estas piezas guardan semejanza con Celestina, sino también todas las suegras y tías "tomajonas," como diría Quevedo.⁹

⁹ Leemos en el quevediano entremés de *La vieja Muñatonos* (en *Itinerario del entremés, desde Lope de Rueda a Quiñones de Benavente*, ed. Eugenio Asensio, Madrid: Gredos, 1971, 2ª ed., p. 287):

CARDOSO. ¿Es alcahueta?

PEREDA. Ya pereció ese nombre, ni ay quien le oyga. No se llaman ya sino tías, madres, amigas conocidas, comadres, criadas, coches y sillas. Persínese bien, que la bieja tratante en niñas y tendera de plaçeres es muger que con un bostezo haçe una jornada d'aquí a Lixboa y con el aliento se sorbe vn mayorazgo.

En otras composiciones la vieja alcahueta aparece como personaje secundario, aunque actante. En el entremés de Francisco de Castro que lleva por título *Los gigantes* (1702), el desfile ridículo de los gigantes del Corpus se origina a raíz de los antojos de una gallega y del conjuro de una hechicera, de nombre Celestina, que los hace salir a escena.¹⁰

Esta invocación a las fuerzas infernales no es, sin embargo, remedo del conjuro a Plutón incluido en el acto III de la *Tragicomedia*, medio del que se vale Celestina para hechizar el hilado que causará la *philocaptio* de Melibea. Ahora bien, sin entrar en la polémica en torno a la magia que divide a los estudiosos de la obra de Rojas,¹¹ sí merece la pena recordar que A. Castro notó, en lo que respecta al conjuro a Plutón, su condición de parodia de la plegaria cristiana, y nos interesa destacar este aspecto porque el conjuro de *Los gigantes* sigue esta línea burlesca.

Este camino era, de cualquier modo, el único posible, pues la caracterización ridícula de las hechiceras del teatro breve evitaba el temor y el miedo que tales figuras despertaban. En el caso de *Los gigantes* nos hallamos ante una "buena mujer" que hace un "gigote al cancerbero," orientándose la magia hacia lo gastronómico y culinario. Se trata de un personaje que propicia deseos, que da vía libre al mundo del inconsciente, de lo irreal, de lo lúdico del Carnaval, que controla la Naturaleza. Su función es la de proporcionar una diversión--la magia sirve a la acción, pues hace salir las figuras deseadas--y contribuir a la alegría general.

Por esa razón paulatinamente van a parar al género de la mojiganga dramática la mayor parte de los astrólogos, mágicos y hechiceras del teatro breve, personajes que, mediante una invocación burlesca, hacen aparecer el baile de mojiganga que el alcalde, por lo general, busca. La figura de la bruja o la hechicera, dionisiaca y

¹⁰ Se incluye en la 2ª parte de *Alegría cómica, explicada en diferentes asuntos jocosos*, de Francisco de Castro (Zaragoza, 1702, ff. 79-87). También se conserva un pliego suelto en la Biblioteca Municipal de Montpellier (núm. V, 11.293, núm. 25). Ver Catalina Buezo, *La mojiganga dramática. De la fiesta al teatro. I. Estudio* (Kassel: Reichenberger/Caja de Madrid, 1993), 428.

¹¹ Analiza las distintas "lecturas" del conjuro del acto III A. Vian Herrero, "El pensamiento mágico," pp. 62-63.

desordenada, aflora así en el universo deliberadamente caótico de la mojiganga, donde es tratado con humorismo.¹²

Del entremés de *Los gigantones* escribió en 1705 Francisco de Castro una versión de mojiganga: *El antojo de la gallega*.¹³ Nuevamente un tercer personaje--el estudiante mago--ayuda a la gallega embarazada que tiene el antojo de ver un "mundi nuevo," e indirectamente al golilla, encargado de las fiestas del Corpus. Hace, pues, salir el estudiante una mojiganga del "mundi nuevo" que lleva un titiritero, y el atuendo de éste, disfrazado por delante de italiano y por detrás de dueña "Celestina," nos trae a la memoria la realidad bifronte del Carnaval.

Por otro lado, Zamora, autor de una mojiganga titulada asimismo *Los gigantones*,¹⁴ debió de conocer el entremés homónimo de Castro, puesto que, si bien aquí los encantos de Clara son más físicos que de otra clase, el conjuro es básicamente el mismo. Dice así la imprecación de la Celestina de Castro:

HECHICERA. Gigantillos mínimos,
gigantillos párvulos,
las lóbregas cláusulas
oid de mi cántico.
(vv. 151-154).

Númenes diabólicos,
genios zurumbáticos,
las lóbregas cláusulas

¹² C. Buezo, *La mojiganga dramática*, 196. Abundando en lo anterior, opina J. Caro Baroja en *Las brujas y su mundo* (Madrid: Alianza, 1979), 268-70, que la brujería es "un tema/personaje aparentemente inocuo y al servicio de la burla del entremés, pero plenamente significativo, en cuanto signo de una crisis de irracionalismo colectivo y representante de una fuerza anarquizante habitualmente reprimida por la sociedad establecida."

¹³ Se encuentra en los MSS 14.804 y 15.200 de la BNM y en el MS 61.540 de la B.I.T.B. Cf. C. Buezo, *La mogiganga dramática*, 425 y "Apuntes sobre la ritual expulsión del mal en la plaza pública y edición de *El antojo de la gallega*, mojiganga de Francisco de Castro," *Revista de Literatura* [en prensa].

¹⁴ Conservada en BNM MSS 14.518 y 14.090 y en el MS 46.923 de la B.I.T.B. Ver C. Buezo, *La mogiganga dramática*, 463-464.

oid de mi cántico.
(vv. 161-164).

Y se lee en *Los gigantones*, de Zamora:

CLARA. Gigantillos mínimos,
gigantillos párvulos,
las sonoras cláusulas
oid de mis cánticos.
Dejad, pues, el ébreo
y, volviendo al ábrego,
en formas ridículas
tomad bultos mágicos.
(*Los gigantones*, vv. 160-167)

En ambos casos la invocación es cantada y, al carácter paródico que proporcionan los términos esdrújulos en eje de rima,¹⁵ hay que añadir, en la composición de Castro, la mención del término 'andola'--"como padres de la andola," se lee en el v. 160--, es decir, se trataba de una cancioncilla popular del siglo XVII. Este hecho permite aventurar otra hipótesis: estamos--como sucede con otros tantos conjuros, ensalmos, oraciones, etc.--ante una forma marginal de poesía oral, ligada en su poética a cancioncillas tradicionales, romances, etc.¹⁶ Pero la inserción del mencionado conjuro cantado por parte de Zamora no significa que necesariamente éste conociera el entremés de Castro y únicamente es índice de la popularidad de este cantarcillo por esos años.

Finalmente, en otras piezas, por analogía, se emplea la denominación Celestina para referirse a algunas viejas farmaceuticas y cosmetólogas, como la que encontramos en la versión entremesada de *Las beatas*, quien, tras tomar una redoma, dice:

VIEJA. Esta es agua celestial,
alcanfor y cardenillo,

¹⁵ Se lee en el v. 164 de *Los gigantones*, de Zamora, *ébreo* [sic] por *erebo* ("infierno") para posibilitar la rima con *ábrego* ("viento sur").

¹⁶ J. M. Díez Borque, "Conjuros, oraciones, ensalmos...: formas marginales de poesía oral en los Siglos de Oro," *Bulletin Hispanique* 87 (1985), 47-87.

caracolillos y agraz,
 cábila y adormideras,
 mostaza y haba de mar;
 el alcanfor es gran cosa,
 en él fundo mi beldad,
 que el solimán ha de hacer
 que parezca sol y man.
 Mucho me ha crecido el vello,
 no he de poderme afeitar,
 mas así voy por los cascós
 de aquel quebrado orinal. *Vase.*

Luego otro personaje exclame:

JOSEFA. Me río de Celestina
 con aquesta vieja.
 (vv. 168-182)¹⁷

Desde antiguo y hasta el siglo XVIII se extienden las creencias en la efectividad de fórmulas y ungüentos mágicos entre eruditos y pueblo llano. En el universo del "mundo al revés" del teatro breve, y especialmente en las mojígangas dramáticas, las hechiceras son, sin embargo, bondadosas y atractivas; sus conjuros, y cancioncillas populares, mueven, en cualquier caso, más a la risa que al temor.

* * * * *

Nuestros criterios de edición son los siguientes: modernización de la puntuación, la acentuación y las grañas-- cuando no tienen relevancia fonética; regularización de los nombres de los personajes y resolución de las abreviaturas.

El texto-base se inserta en la 2ª parte de *Alegría cómica* (ff. 79-87).¹⁸

¹⁷ Se halla en *Laurel de entremeses varios* (Zaragoza, 1660) como entremés, y en otras colecciones como mojíanga. Ver C. Buezo, *La mojíanga dramática*, 400-401. En el acto IV, 152, Lucrecia señala que Celestina hace solimán y tiene grandes conocimientos de herboristería. Sobre este aspecto véase M. Laza Palacios, *El laboratorio de Celestina* (Málaga: Antonio Gutiérrez, 1958).

¹⁸ Cf n10.

Versificación: 176 vv. Romance octosílabo con rima *é-o*, exceptuando los vv. 165-168, romance octosílabo con rima *á-o*, y las intervenciones cantadas de los vv. 101-112 (heptasílabos y endecasílabos de rima asonante *é-o*, con esquema xaxA); 151-154 y 161-164 (hexasílabos de rima asonante *i-o* y esquema xaxa), y 169-176 (octosílabos de rima asonante *i-a* e *i-o*, con esquema xaxa).

Ecceſtina.

TRAGICOMEDIA DE CALISTO ET ME
LIBEA NVOVAMENTE TRADOTTA

*De lingua Caſtigliana in Italiano idioma . A giortoui di
nacuo tutto quello che ſun al giorno preſente li manca
ua. Dapoi ogni altra impreſſione nouiſſimamen
te corretta, diſtinta, ordinata, et in piu cò
moda forma redotta , adornata le
qual coſe nelle altre impreſ
ſione non ſi troua.*



Venecia: P.N. da Sabio, 1535. Portada.

ENTREMES DE LOS GIGANTONES,
DE
FRANCISCO DE CASTRO¹⁹

Personas

Una gallega	Hombre 2.
Un estudiante	Una hechicera
Hombre 1.	Seis gigantones
Dos gigantillas	Un gaitero

Salen la gallega, estudiante y hombre 1, corriendo.

GALLEGA. ¡Ay de mí, coitada!

ESTUDIANTE. Aguarda,
domina.

[HOMBRE] 1. Di ¿con qué intento
das esas voces? ¿Qué tienes?

ESTUDIANTE. *Apropinquate at parlendum.*ⁿ

GALLEGA. ¡Déjenme fusir!ⁿ

LOS DOS. Aguarda.

[HOMBRE] 1. ¿Qué tienes?

GALLEGA. ¡Malparir queiro!

5

Hace que se va y la detienen.

[HOMBRE] 1. ¡Pléguete Cristo conmigo!

ESTUDIANTE. ¿Pues ahora sales con eso?

GALLEGA. ¡Ay, ay, ay Santo Dumiñoⁿ
de Guriñón, que revento!ⁿ

ESTUDIANTE. ¿Es de antojo? Proseguid.

GALLEGA. Escoitadme, cabaleiros:
anoite me convidaron

10

¹⁹ Las notas a este texto se encuentran al final del mismo, en orden numérico de acuerdo a la línea citada, y designadas con una "n".

para ver un nacimeinto, 15
 y estaba muito garrido,
 y vi en él...¡Ay, ay!

Vuelve a hacer extremos y la detienen.

LOS DOS. Teneos.
 GALLEGA ...Unos gigantes de pasta
 ballando; yo, como teño 20
 la barriga hasta la boca,
 aficionándome delos
 los queiro aquí ver ballar;
 voy a buscarlos, no encuentro
 a mis gigantones ya,
 que estaba todo deseito. 25
 Me han dicho que por aquí
 viven, verlos ballar queiro,
 ey si no malpariré:
 Gigantones queiro presto:
 ¡enséñemelos al punto, 30
 por la santa cruz de o ferro!

ESTUDIANTE. ¡Pléguete Cristo conmigo!
 ¿Ahora salimos con eso?

GALLEGA. ¡Ay, ay, ay, que se me escurre!
 [HOMBRE] 1. No es posible.

GALLEGA. ¡Parir queiro! 35

ESTUDIANTE. ¿A las doce de la noche
 quién ha de enseñarlos?

[HOMBRE] 1. Eso
 es menos dificultoso,
 y lo más es que deshechos
 los tendrán, porque en la Pascua 40
 de Navidad de provecho
 no son, pues sólo en Corpusⁿ
 sirven siempre.

GALLEGA. ¡Parir queiro!
 ESTUDIANTE. ¿Quién demonios me ha metido
 a mí en tal lance?

[Entra hombre 2.]

HOMBRE 2. ¿Qué es esto? 45

¿Para qué hacen tanto ruido,
interrumpiendo el sosiego
de los que están entregados
en los brazos de Morfeo?
¡Váyanse de aquí, o por vida
que los haré...!

ESTUDIANTE. Caballero,
la causa de este alboroto
es esta mujer.

[HOMBRE] 2. ¡Qué veo!
¿Dominga Varela no es,
la medidora?

GALLEGA. Eso es cierto,
medidora soy." 55

ESTUDIANTE. ¿Qué dice?
[HOMBRE] 1. ¡Vive Dios! ¿Y por aquesto
estamos tan afligidos?
Para u reviente.

Hace que se va y le detienen.

ESTUDIANTE. Teneos,
porque dos hombres de bien,
cuando en un lance se vieron
como éste, no han de mirar
ni distinguir de sujetos:
es mujer, y eso le basta. 60

GALLEGA. Habláis como caballeiro;
miré usté que se resbala. 65

[HOMBRE] 1. Sosegaos.

GALLEGA. ¡Ay!

ESTUDIANTE. ¿Quereisnos
decir quién es el que cuida
de los gigantones? Que eso
ver ahora se le antojó
a esta pobrecilla. 70

GALLEGO. ¡Queiro
gigantones o malparo!

[HOMBRE] 2. En esta puerta llamemos,
que aquí vive.

ESTUDIANTE. Ya lo hago. *Llaman.*

[HOMBRE] 2. No responden.

- [HOMBRE] 1. Pues ¿qué haremos? 75
- [HOMBRE] 2. Es excusado llamar
porque, ahora que me acuerdo,
esta mañana fue al Pradoⁿ
con su mujer.
- ESTUDIANTE. Peor es eso.
- [HOMBRE] 1. ¿Ahora salimos con ello?ⁿ 80
- GALLEGA. ¡Ay, ay!
- ESTUDIANTE. ¡Voto a San Peco!
- [HOMBRE] 2. Si me queréis escuchar
yo daré a todo remedio.
- GALLEGA. ¡Ay miño morgado!ⁿ
- ESTUDIANTE. Di.
- [HOMBRE] 2. ¿Habéis de guardar secreto? 85
- ESTUDIANTE. De eso doy mano y palabra.
- [HOMBRE] 2. Pues atended, que en fe de eso
os diré cómo aquí vive
una hechicera. Teneos, *Espántase todos.*
no os espanteis, que es mi amiga, 90
y, si la llamo, al momento
saldrá y hará que al instante
la danza salga; mas quiero
advertiros que es preciso
darla su porqué.ⁿ
- LOS DOS. Eso es cierto. 95
- [HOMBRE] 2. Es una buena mujer
y la pobre come de eso.
- GALLEGA. *Deus* se lo lleve adelante.
- ESTUDIANTE. ¿Y hay gigantes?
- GALLEGA. Eso queiro.
- [HOMBRE] 2. ¡Ah, señora Celestina! 100

Sale una hechicera con un cucurucho de candelillas.ⁿ

- HECHICERA. (*Canta.*) ¿Quién me llama? ¿Qué quiere,
quitándome el contento
de andar en mi botica
componiendo en los botes los unguentos?
Déjenme, no me impidan, 105
porque entre manos tengo
unas muelas de ahorcadoⁿ
para hacer un gigote al cancerbero.

- ¿No me ven que la cima
del pelicranio llevoⁿ 110
adornada de luces
que componen pirámides de fuego?
- [HOMBRE] 2. Sosiégate, porque soy
Santiago el sotacohero,ⁿ
que te traigo aquí una obra 115
que hagas hoy por mí.
- ESTUDIANTE. ¡Qué aspecto!
[HOMBRE] 1. Temblando estoy ¡vive Dios!
- GALLEGA. ¡San Martín de Ribadeo
me acompañe en miña cuita!
- HECHICERA. Sosiéguese, caballeros. 120
¿Qué se ofrece, mi Santiago?
Ya sabes lo que te debo,
y por ti haré que al instante
suba aquí el diablo cojueloⁿ
y se lleve, si tú gustas, 125
cuantos me escuchan.
- GALLEGA. ¡San Pedro!
[HOMBRE] 2. Estos señores se hallan
aquí con un grande aprieto,
y es que aquesta Dominguilla
está preñada, y deseo 130
u antojo tiene de ver
los gigantones, y viendo
está fuera el que los guarda,
yo les consolé diciendo
cómo vos haríais que 135
saliesen luego al momento
y se cumpliría el antojo.
- HECHICERA. Yo lo haré, pero primero
es menester se me dé
mi trabajo y estipendio, 140
que es preciso regalar
a Bercebú y Asmodeo
como padres de la andola.

Echan mano a las faltriqueras y le dan lo que quieren.

- ESTUDIANTE. Aquí tenéis.
[HOMBRE] 1. Aquí tengo.

- LOS DOS. En este bolsillo todo 145
 nuestro caudal y dinero.
- HECHICERA. Pues empiezo así el conjuro.
- GALLEGA. ¡Válgame la cruz del ferro!
- HECHICERA. Y vuesarcedes repitan
 lo que yo fuere diciendo. 150
- HECHICERA. (*Canta.*) ¡Gigantillos mínimos, *Repiten.*
 gigantillos párvulos, *Repiten.*
 las lóbregas cláusulas *Repiten.*
 oid de mi cántico! *Repiten.*
- ESTUDIANTE. Ya las paredes se arruinanⁿ 155
 y desde este sitio veo
 algunos de los gigantes. *Truenos dentro.*
- [HOMBRE] 2. ¡Fuego de Cristo! ¡Qué estruendo!
- GALLEGA. Proseguid en el conjuro.
- HECHICERA. Ya le prosigo ¡silencio! 160
 (*Canta.*) ¡Númenes diabólicos,
 genios zurumbáticos,ⁿ
 las lóbregas cláusulas
 oid de mi cántico!
 ¿No os movéis?
- GIGANTONES. Ya obedecemos. 165
- ESTUDIANTE. Pues vayan saliendo a rancho.
- GALLEGA. Tras ellos nos hemos de ir,
 todas las calles ballando.

Van saliendo al son de la gaita, por en medio del teatro los gigantones; primeramente dos niños de gigantillos con sonajas, y detrás de ellos los ocho gigantones, dos a dos, siendo cuatro de mujer, imitando en vestido y severidad a los naturales, y cuatro hombres del propio género, con sus posturas al natural, y como van saliendo van echando por de fuera, y hacen el arrimónⁿ, quedándose en media luna en ala, y las dos mujeres, una negra y otra turca, se quedan por guías, y en haciendo el arrimón para la gaita, tocan los instrumentos el cumbé y la negra toma las sonajas de uno de los gigantillos, que están en las esquinas del tablado, y va pasando cantando su copla por delante de todos, y los gigantes y gigantas se descomponen y bailan el cumbé. Vuelve a tocar la gaita y se vuelven a quedar graves así que la oyen, y hacen una mudanza al son de ella, volviendo a tomar las guías como salieron los gigantillos, y se quedan en la misma forma que al principio, haciendo el arrimón. Para la gaita, tocan instrumentos, vuelven a bailar, toca la gaita, se paran los instrumentos, y al fin de la postrer copla se entran todos al mismo son y la gallega tras ellos.

NOTAS AL TEXTO

5. Era usual el latín macarrónico en boca de escolares, médicos y sacristanes. Denota pedantería y sirve para enfatizar el carácter ridículo del personaje, provocando, en consecuencia, la carcajada en el espectador.

6. *fusir*: "huir". Una de las hablas más caricaturizadas en los géneros del teatro breve era la gallega, que se presenta, al igual que la de los italianos, negros o moros, como una lengua inventada, de capricho. La servidumbre madrileña procedía mayoritariamente de Galicia, dibujada por los poetas de la Corte como una tierra pobre y mísera (*vid.* M. Herrero García, *Ideas de los españoles en el siglo XVII*, Madrid: Gredos, 1966, 195-215). De ahí que en los entremeses abunden criados y mozos gallegos, que resultan ridículos por su forma cerrada de hablar y su escasa inteligencia. Normalmente recibían el nombre burlesco de "Domingo" o "Dominga" ("Dominga Varela" se lee en el v. 54, mientras en *El antojo de la gallega* se llama "Dominga de Guriyón," v. 190). Aquí, además, se denomina a la gallega "Dominguilla" (v. 129), apelativo carnavalesco (era el "dominguillo" el pelele empleado en las mojigangas taurinas) con que se subraya el aspecto grotesco del personaje, presentado en escena con un enorme y abultado vientre.

10-11. *Santo Domingo de Guriñón*: santo burlesco que reencontramos en *El antojo de la gallega* (vv. 5-6). También en esta mojiganga se impreca, como en los vv. 31 y 81, a la "¡Santa Croiz de o ferro!" (v. 50) y a San Peco (v. 42). Cf. C. Buezo, "Apuntes sobre la ritual expulsión del mal. Sobre invocaciones a los santos, con fines cómicos, véase A. Iglesias, "Iconicidad y parodia: los santos del panteón burlesco en la literatura clásica y el folkore," *Criticón* 20 (1982): 5-83.

42. Los gigantes bailaban en la procesión del Corpus una danza que llevaba su nombre y desfilaban formando una familia de gigantones y de gigantillos. Véase B. S. Castellanos, "De la procesión del Corpus en Madrid, Sevilla, Toledo y Valencia, y de las galanterías usadas en esta solemnidad," *Museo de las Familias* 4 (1846): 111-12, y F. G. Very, *The Spanish Corpus Christi Procession* (Valencia, 1962), 73. Cf. C. Buezo, *La mojiganga dramática* 8.

55. *medidora*: "oficial que mide los granos y líquidos."

78. Destaca El Pardo por su situación, bosque y caza, como nota Calderón en la mojiganga *Los sitios de recreación del Rey* (cf. Pedro Calderón de la Barca: *Entremeses, jácaras y mojigangas*, ed. de

E. Rodríguez y A. Tordera, Madrid: Castalia, 1982, 345-346n). No creemos que aquí se aluda a ese sitio regio sino al "Prado", paseo público de los madrileños y, por consiguiente, enmendamos el texto (*Pardo* [sic]). Sobre los paseos, véase J. M. Díez Borque, *La vida española en el Siglo de Oro según los extranjeros* (Barcelona: Serbal, 1990), 220-21.

80. Corregimos el texto, donde se lee: *ella* [sic].

84. *morgado*: [sic] por *morgaño* ("especie de ratón del campo, musgaño"). Voz usada metafóricamente, con un sentido afectivo, en la pieza.

95. *porqué*: "ganancia, sueldo, retribución."

* Acotación Cital. Entre los accesorios de mágicos y hechiceros hallábanse cucuruchos con luces, como se desprende de esta acotación y de la que encontramos en el entremés cantado de Quiñones de Benavente, *El mago* (*Sale Salvador con muchas luces en la cabeza*). Edita esta pieza C. C. García Valdés (*Antología del entremés barroco*, Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1985, 314-334), que recuerda que se ejecutó durante una fiesta nocturna, por lo que la iluminación tuvo un gran efecto escénico (320 * Acot.). Aquí se indica que son "las doce de la noche" (v. 36); pero no sabemos si se simuló una representación a oscuras a plena luz del día o si, por el contrario, este entremés dieciochesco se hizo de noche en casa de un particular.

107. Entre los ingredientes de los filtros amorosos estaban los dientes, muelas, zapatos y aun la sogá del ahorcado, pues se creía que por magia simpática pasaban al vivo cualidades fisiológicas del muerto a través de objetos suyos. Véase A. Vian Herrero, "El pensamiento mágico en *Celestina*, 57-58.

110. *pelicranio*: creación nominal de tipo humorístico a partir de "pelo" y "cráneo", con cierto parecido fonético con *pelicano* ("de pelo cano").

114. *sotacochoero*: ayudante o sustituto de cochoero.

124. Alusión a la conocida obra de Vélez de Guevara, que sirvió de fuente de inspiración para algunas piezas de teatro breve (en la mojiganga de Sebastián de Villaviciosa, *Las figuras y lo que pasa en una noche*, el diablo destapa los tejados de las casas para formar la fiesta deseada).

* Acotación Cital. Las mutaciones ("Ya las paredes se arruinan", v. 155) seguidas de truenos abundan en la puesta en escena del teatro breve de fines del XVII y principios del XVIII.

162. *zurumbáticos*: término creado presumiblemente a partir de *zurumberâ* ("bramadera," "juguete"), por lo que significaría "ruidosos, alborotadores".

* Acotación Cital. *hacer el arrimón*: "ir arrimándose a las paredes por no poderse tener bien en pie a causa de la embriaguez"; fam. "estar los gigantones arrimados a una pared". No menciona E. Cotarelo y Mori el *cumbé*, aunque sí el *paracumbé*, del cual el primero sería una variante. Véase su *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII* (Madrid: Bailly-Baillière, NBAE, 1911), CCLV.

170-71. Para la medida octosilábica proponemos leer "ua" por *una* (v. 170) y "eu" por *le* (v. 171).



Barcelona: T. Gorchs, 1841. Ilustración al Aucto IX



Celestina. Vlady (México, 1953).

LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI'S PHILODOXUS (c. 1424)
AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

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For most students of *Celestina*, the principal value of a translation of Alberti's *Philodoxus* is that it adds one more example to the small but growing number of humanistic comedies available in modern languages. For readers with a limited knowledge of Renaissance Latin, it provides at least an indirect acquaintance with a rare segment of the literary patrimony of the late fifteenth century and helps to restore balance to "the precarious state of our information about the theater that the authors of *Celestina* knew or might have known."¹ It allows such readers to judge for themselves the reliability of critical assessments made by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, and others who have studied *Philodoxus* as a possible source of inspiration for the authors of *Celestina*.

Philodoxus is, according to Lida de Malkiel (380), the humanistic comedy that is perhaps the most remote from *Celestina* in its emotional tone: it has a happy ending. It is also among the

¹ María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *La originalidad artística de La Celestina* (EUDEBA: Buenos Aires, 1970. 2nd ed.), 38n6. (Hereafter abbreviated MRL.)

examples of such works that stick closest to the Renaissance idea of Roman comedy (e.g., it preserves the unities) and are thus farthest from the non-classical freedom of the Spanish work. It stands at the other end of the spectrum from the contemporary *Comedia Poliscena*, which in the view of Menéndez-Pelayo and Lida de Malkiel is the closest to *Celestina* of these Renaissance dramatic productions. But its very differences from *Poliscena* and *Celestina* make it all the more valuable as an example of the surprising variety to be found in this lost genre.

Except among *celestinistas*, the humanistic comedy continues to lie in relative obscurity. Even after the appearance of *La originalidad artística de 'La Celestina'* in 1962, those few scholars who studied humanistic comedy tended to see it either as an unsuccessful imitation of Roman comedy, as a minor tributary of the modern drama, or--in the case of hispanists--mainly as a possible source of *Celestina*, not as a genre with significant literary merits. While Lida de Malkiel's object in reviewing the humanistic comedy was to assay its contribution to the creation of *Celestina*, her classical preparation and critical sensibility forced her, *de paso*, to give the genre its due. Those familiar with this book will recognize the extent to which the remarks that follow are based on her work.

It is deplorable that non-Hispanic students of the genre took so little notice of *La originalidad artística* when it appeared, because--at least in the three studies which are pertinent to this essay--their work is parochial and aesthetically short-sighted in areas where Lida de Malkiel's book might have provided a different vantage point from which to re-examine the subject. The fact that many of the greatest literary minds of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries read and wrote these plays should at the very least have suggested that there must be something in them that attracted such exceptionally intelligent men. Yet the researcher who consults these books will find little that is positive and much that is apologetic or negative. Antonio Stauble's careful and useful study (1968), for example, describes *Poliscena*, the most popular of all these comedies, as a work of small literary value, with psychologically ill-defined characters and disregard for the unity of time; the best that can be said for it is that,

in spite of its "uncertainties," it is a conscious imitation of Roman comedy.² Faint praise, indeed.

Alessandro Perosa's equally useful collection of seven humanistic comedies in Italian translation (not including *Poliscena* or *Philodoxus*) characterizes *Philodoxus*'s allegorical plot as *pesante*, though of a certain historical importance, while it mentions Alberti's antiquarian maintenance of the unities in positive terms.³ Even Lucia Martinelli's preface to her meticulous edition of the text has little to suggest that the play is anything but a youthful and generally unsuccessful copy of Terence. She clearly perceives, however, the high seriousness of the underlying theme (*virtu vs. fortuna*: man's effort to control his destiny) and relates it to an important current of humanist thought.⁴

Stauble, at least, knew that the humanistic comedy had played some part in the genesis of *Celestina*,⁵ while Perosa's book scarcely looks beyond the pieces written in Latin, and his historical survey concludes with the following dubious thesis: "with the appearance and spread of comedies and tragedies in the modern national languages (in Italy first, then in France, Germany, and England), the history of the humanistic comedy ends." (Perosa 51) Perosa is apparently unaware that poor Spain, lagging behind France, Germany, and England, had produced a world-class descendant of humanist comedy in *Celestina*, and that because of *Celestina*, Spanish literature contains an extraordinary family of works indirectly related to the *commedia umanistica* which culminates in the seventeenth

² Antonio Stauble, *La commedia umanistica del quattrocento* (Florence: Inst. Nazionale de Studi sul Rinascimento: 1968), 13.

³ Alessando Perosa, *Teatro umanistico* (Milan: Nuova Accademia, 1965), 22-23.

⁴ Lucia Cesarini Martinelli, ed., "Leon Battista Alberti, *Philodoxeos fabula*," *Rinascimento* 17 (1977), "Introduzione," especially p. 113 and n3.

⁵ Stauble notes that "individual comedias appear to have had a certain resonance in Spain": at least four appear in Spanish libraries, two were published by Spanish presses, and "above all, there exist analogies of situations, intentions, characters, and content" between some of the plays and *Celestina*. Stauble's information comes mainly from Casas Homs. See p. 247 and notes 1-3.

century with yet another masterpiece, Lope's autobiographical *acción en prosa*.

The authors of humanistic comedies were consciously reviving Roman comedy, certainly; but they made an effort, however tentative it may seem now, to surpass their models. As a group, their works display a new freedom of form, combining the archaic language of Roman comedy with medieval notions of drama and the humanists' love of satire; a wider range of characters (particularly the low-born types treated with sympathy) in an uncomplicated action; allusions to contemporary life; plots taken from *novelle* and other sources; and a tragic view of love that comes neither from Roman comedy nor the medieval elegiac comedy. The development of the implicit stage-direction, monologues by characters of low estate, an effort to make the aside seem more realistic, and in particular the "fluid and impressionistic" use of place and time, with a slower dramatic tempo, all contribute to the well-rounded characters and credible atmosphere of the works. (MRL 42)

An indirect proof of the novelty of the playlets is found in prefaces where authors reveal their awareness of the originality of their subjects and techniques (MRL 42). They often defend themselves against accusations of crudeness in plot and style--which suggests that other humanists found their works unacceptably original. Alberti displays the same artistic touchiness in the preface to the second version of his play, where he counters critical disapproval by trying to persuade his readers that the play is morally improving and that the unusual simplicity of the plot is an added delight.⁶ The urge to do something new also shows in his combination of ancient elements with non-classical allegory (MRL 32 n. 6; 42). Alberti takes the hackneyed Graeco-Roman plot (a young

⁶ There are other similarities between the prefaces of *Philodoxus* and *Celestina*. The authors of many humanistic comedies claim, like Rojas, that they wrote their plays a youths or university students--a complaisant allusion, probably, to Terence's prologue to *Heauton timorumenos*. (MRL 13-15; 15 note 3). Alberti, for example, says that he wrote the first version of his play while a student of canon law at Bologna, before he was twenty. Alberti allowed his work, minus his name, to circulate among people who undoubtedly knew its true author, whatever he may later have said to the contrary, and he only laid claim to the piece when it had gained a certain popularity. Rojas, whose name appears first in an acrostic, shows a similar reluctance to reveal himself as author.

man loves a pretty girl and wins her, in spite of his blustering rival, with the help of clever servants) and makes it "mean" that Virtue, with the aid of Prudence and Industry, triumphs over Fortune and attains true Glory.

The humanistic comedy also surpasses the Roman comedy in the creation of servant-types (MRL 628n17), like Alberti's ex-slave Dynastes, the heroine's neighbor, who at first agrees to help the love-sick Philodoxus and then reveals the lover's plan to the rival suitor, Fortunius, who is the son of Dynastes' patroness. The ex-slave is one of two servants who interrupt the *tête-a-tête* between the lovers and cause Philodoxus to excoriate all slaves.

Servant women also constitute an important new dramatic group. They guide the heroine's actions: with virtue in *Philodoxus*, in pursuit of pleasure in certain others. They are not the *ancillae* of Roman comedy, who have nothing to do with the plot, but are remote descendants of the nurse of ancient tragedy. There is considerable variety among these female characters. In *Philodoxus* the example is Mnimia, the allegorical figure of memory, whose participation in the action is, according to Mrs. Malkiel, "embroiled and confused" (MRL 648).

However original in some aspects of his work, Alberti stands out among other humanistic playwrights for his conscious imitation of certain Roman dramatic practices, two in particular: locating all actions in a single street-scene; and reporting rather than showing actions important to the plot. Alberti's play is, in fact, the extreme example among the humanistic comedies with regard to unity of place. But Alberti uses the convention with considerable ingenuity, as when he has Philodoxus describe how he sneaked into Doxia's room, how she refused to speak to him unchaperoned and has told him to meet her outside. The interview then takes place in the doorway. Because Alberti was an important architect, he was one of the first humanists to understand the limitations that the Roman stage placed on its playwrights; but, as a good humanist, he took pride in observing the conventions (MRL 97, 113, 156 and n2). Another convention is the so-called unity of time, ignored in the humanistic comedies that scholars now find the most interestingly original, but carefully preserved by the classicalizing Alberti (MRL 186).

Alberti also adapts, in his two rival suitors, the Roman custom of pairing characters (MRL 277). And he takes as his protagonist another type inherited from the limited *dramatis personae* of ancient comedy, the feckless lover aided by servants (MRL 373)--the best of the "ineptly-drawn" characters (in Lida de Malkiel's opinion) in *Philodoxus*. The hero's friend reveals his origin, status, and qualities in the succinct style of characterization found in Roman comedy. Philodoxus himself and several other characters state that he is the plaything of conflicting passions, but in fact (in contrast with *Celestina*) this emotional turmoil does not show up in his actions or words. Following the pattern fixed by the conventions of Latin comedy, Philodoxus owes to his friend Phroneus the interview with his beloved Doxia and to Phroneus' wife the happy outcome and wedding. The failure of his own plan underlines his incapacity for action.

The scenes in which the protagonist seems most lifelike are those in which he reports his meeting with Doxia, who has refused to speak to him in private; he then practices what he is going to say to her; and when she arrives, the dialogue unrolls with passion on his part and with courteous dignity on the lady's part. When Doxia dismisses him, in order to protect her reputation, Philodoxus obeys respectfully. Later the hero reproaches himself--quite undeservedly--for his lack of eloquence (which introduces a note of humor), and he pronounces the words that he wishes he had said. The conflicting feelings, lover's verbosity, self-reproach, and leaving action to others are the best-drawn traits of the character of Philodoxus. They are present in the character of Calisto, but not necessarily because of the influence of Alberti's work, since except for the Philodoxus's passionate eloquence, these same traits are part of the type of the lover in the New Comedy (MRL 380, paraphrased).

Alberti improves what Mrs. Malkiel calls Plautus's "oratorical dialogues" (longer, more rhetorical speeches punctuated by brief replies, which tend to slow the action in the ancient plays) by carefully suiting the dialogue to the situation and making it dynamic rather than static. An example in *Philodoxus* is scene XIII, in which Phroneus reveals himself to his wife. The dialogue is almost philosophical in tone, with aphoristic lines on human dissatisfaction and an aside on the folly of women. From Terence, Alberti takes the short, rapid-fire dialogue (MRL 116) and the combination of longer speeches with brief replies, used to narrate unrepresented actions--as

in this same scene (MRL 113). Lida de Malkiel, who contradicts Menéndez-Pelayo on this point, believes that *Philodoxus* is among the humanistic comedies that influenced the authors of *Celestina* in their own dialogue-writing (MRL 108-110). *Philodoxus* also has good examples of the Terentian monologue used to clarify the plot; to describe a person or social class; to moralize; and to express a lover's anxiety--all present in *Celestina* (MRL 130n12).

Celestina-scholars began to show an interest in Alberti around 1900, when an important group of historians of European drama that includes Wilhelm Creizenach, Ireneo Sanesi, and Menéndez-Pelayo began to see points of contact between the *Tragicomedia* and humanistic comedies. Menéndez-Pelayo, in his *Orígenes de la novela*, reviews the available literature and rejects the possible influence of all the known humanistic comedies except *Poliscena*, attributed to Leonardo Bruni d'Arezzo. Nevertheless, he devotes several pages (III, 322-325 in the 1961 edition of his *Obras completas*) to Alberti's *Philodoxus* because it was circulating in Spain around the time Rojas was writing and was, as far as anyone then knew, the only such work printed in Spain: printed in Salamanca, in fact, where Rojas had been a student.⁷ In 1501, a professor of poetry at Salamanca named Quirós, edited it.⁸ But Menéndez y Pelayo concludes that if, as

⁷ Mrs. Malkiel reports two other plays printed in 1502 and discusses the question of possible unknown pre-*Celestina* plays, pp. 37-38 and note 6.

⁸ Quirós's dedication, reproduced by Menéndez y Pelayo, reads as follows:

From the Bachalarius Quirós to his teacher Alfonso Ticio [Tizón ?], holder of degrees, professor of grammar at the University of Salamanca:

When some days ago, dear teacher, I showed the play *Philodoxus*, which Battista Alberti, a man of singular wit, composed with great elegance and charm, to some of my pupils (to whom I teach Virgil at public lectures and for some of whom I explicate Juvenal's satires and Lucan's *Pharsalia* in private), they immediately began to urge me not to permit such a beautiful work--one that is unknown to everyone here--to lie hidden among us any longer. But I thought I should refuse their zealous requests, blameless though they were, as long as I had to comply with you, who had committed it to my safekeeping. And so, with your guidance and command, I have undertaken the printing of the comedy--which I believe will give it both dignity and authority.

If I sense that my effort in this affair has pleased you, perhaps I shall do greater things with you; and I will judge that by one thing in particular: if you will

Quirós says, the play was unknown at Salamanca until its publication in 1501, then Rojas could not have seen it. In any case, the great scholar eliminates it as a direct source and judges it languid and tedious, "though of impeccable morality."

Alberti's general influence, in spite of Menéndez y Pelayo's haughty dismissal, is still an open question. The first version of his play circulated quickly. There is correspondence between *il Panormita*--the future biographer of Alfonso of Naples--and *il Toscanella* which proves that as early as 1426 the work of "Lepidus" (Alberti's *nom de plume*) had found favor with the most advanced humanists. It retained a limited popularity for more than a century, as the survival of twenty-one manuscripts and two imprints proves. It was the only humanistic comedy reprinted in Italy in the sixteenth century (at Lucca by Aldo Manuzio, 1588), when others had completely disappeared from circulation and even from the memory of scholars interested in the history of the drama. (Martinelli 111, 116-118; Stauble 241)

Celestinistas have long had an interest in *Philodoxus* for another reason. It inspired the plot and allegory of the *Comedia Eufrosina*, one of many imitations of *Celestina*. Written between 1542 and 1543 by Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos, the *Comedia Eufrosina* impressed both Lope de Vega, whose *Dorotea* is probably indebted to it (Lope alludes to it in his preface),⁹ and Quevedo, who contributed a preface to the early seventeenth-century translation. In the eighteenth century, when it was re-issued by the royal librarian Blas Nasarre, Gregorio Mayáns classed it with *Celestina* as one of the two best hispanic

strive to make me aware that I have become exceedingly popular among the students themselves because of your recommendation. . . . Your devoted pupil [etc.].

⁹ Edwin S. Morby, ed., *La Dorotea* (Madrid, 1958). In 1632 Lope published his famous *acción en prosa*, with a preface by himself, in which he mentions as models of modern drama *Celestina* and *Eufrosina*. Morby, however, doubts that the Portuguese work has any appreciable effect on Lope.(48n4)

comedies (MRL 59).¹⁰ Thus indirectly the *Philodoxus* has had an effect in Spanish letters that it seems not to have had anywhere else.

The translation which follows is based on the critical edition prepared by Martinelli and published in *Rinascimento* 17, 111-234 (Menéndez y Pelayo and Lida de Malkiel used a version printed by A. Bonucci in 1843 in the *Opere vulgari*). Dottoressa Lucia Guzzi and I prepared our version under the watchful eye of our Classics colleague, Terence O. Tunberg, to whom we express our gratitude, and whom we absolve from any errors we may have made in our version. We have tried to strike a balance between the racy-sounding and the rhetorical, while staying as close to the Latin as possible, since one of our objectives was to provide a guide for students who want to use it as an aid to the study of the Latin text. Page numbers in Martinelli's text are indicated in brackets. We have also made a few explanatory additions to the text and have added stage directions--all in square brackets--to assist the reader in imagining the scenic possibilities. *Lege feliciter*.

¹⁰ *Comedia Eufrosina*, (ed. E. Asensio, Madrid, 1951) Mrs. Malkiel refers constantly to the *Comedia Eufrosina*, which she considers one of the two best imitations of *Celestina* (397)--the other being Lope's *Dorotea*--because of its skilful use of dramatic motivation, coherence of plot (257), convincingly life-like characters (462) and emotional development (464), clever dialogue, and original variations on traditional protagonist- and servant-types. Vasconcellos' contributions to the genre include the use of erudition and literary topics as an independent element (398) and the division of the go-between's functions among four mediators (574).

The *Comedia Eufrosina* is the story of the aristocratic young lady whose mother is dead and whose father is absent. Zelótipo, a poor gentleman, falls in love with her and persuades his cousin Silvia, who is Eufrosina's lady-in-waiting and companion, to act as his go-between. By piquing Eufrosina's curiosity and vanity, Silvia succeeds in bringing the lovers together. When they discover that Eufrosina's father is planning to wed her to another, the lovers marry in secret, and after the predictable upheaval when the father discovers the marriage, the two lovers are allowed to live happily ever after.

THE ALLEGORY?

Mrs. Malkiel describes the Portuguese play as "conversations bound together by an action" (242-3) and as a *comedia de costumbres* (463). It reappeared in 1631, in a Castilian version by Fernando de Ballesteros y Saavedra, with a preface by Quevedo.

[144] **PHILODOXUS**
 A Play by Leon Battista Alberti

To the illustrious lord Lionello d'Este:

It has been the custom of many to dedicate their writings to princes and illustrious men because they are anxious either to win their good will or to add thereby a certain authority to their own works. But neither of these reasons spurred me to offer this play of mine to you, most illustrious prince. For since I am a very close friend of your brother Meliadusius, an extremely kind man and one who has always encouraged me greatly, I was not so foolish as to believe that you would be moved more by my plays than by the opinion and good will of your devoted brother; nor was I so influenced by the desire for praise that I preferred to use some other thing as an intermediary to you rather than Meliadusius himself, by whom I am well regarded; because I never approved the practice of those who wish to be honored through the favor of others rather than for their own talent (though my own talent is not so great that your authority will not be very helpful, if it does come to my aid!). Nevertheless, it was more important to me, though many friends begged me for this play, to choose you alone, whom I judged the most deserving of my gift. And so I hope that this play will not be displeasing to you and that you will daily perceive that I have sent it to you more as an expression of affection--because I greatly admire you for your virtues--than for the purpose of gaining favor. So read it, and know that I am your devoted servant. Farewell.

A Commentary on PHILODOXUS, a play by Leone Baptista Alberti

This play concerns morals; for it teaches that the studious and industrious man no less than the rich and fortunate can achieve glory: hence the title of the play, PHILODOXUS, because *philo* means "I love" and *doxa* means "glory."

PHEMIA, [145] which Latin-speakers translate as "fame," with the closest word, is Doxa's sister. We pretend that both are Roman ladies, because all the histories testify that Rome was the home of glory.

PHRONEUS, the friend of the suitor, we can call wise and prudent; because whoever is desirous of glory must be not imprudent but clever indeed in managing his affairs. Both men are Athenians, because Athens was the inventor and student of the fine arts and higher learning.

Next, ARGOS and MINERVA, the parents of the young man Philodoxus: one of whom we interpret as prudence and the other as study and industry.

To TYCHIA (whom we call *fortuna*: fickle, and a faithful spouse to no man), since she delights in characters of this sort, we have given an adopted son [FORTUNIUS], a rash young man, born to THRASO and AUTADIA. For Thraso is audacious and pompous, and Autadia means insolence and arrogance.

DYNASTES is [Tychia's, that is,] Fortuna's slave. We call him *dynastes*, tyranny or power, because power is especially subject to fortune.

APHTHONUS,¹¹ Doxa's neighbor, a freedman of Tychia's, stands for riches and wealth, which provide the easiest means for attaining glory. Furthermore, I wanted him to be a freedman and to enter Doxa's house by trickery, because this plainly teaches that wealth is obtained by calculation, that it is hard to obtain at first try, but afterwards offers itself easily, and that it is unfaithful and has learned to flee from harsh possessors quickly. It says that DOXA¹² wants to speak to her suitor openly and publicly; which shows that true glory, with fame as companion, likes crowds and hates solitude.

CHRONOS is time.

And ALETHIA his daughter is called *veritas*, truth, among Latin-speakers; she is present and sees everything in the uproar [, during which] Doxa had climbed to the roof-top. So it turns out for those who, not by study and the help of industriousness but by a certain rash boldness and even audacity, seek that which is worthy of glory; for with the help of fortune, such people acquire fame, but not true glory.

Alethia's guardian is MNIMIA, that is, study and memory, and she is Phroneus's wife. For if study ceases, memory rejects the things that are most valuable for knowledge. Hence before Doxa is joined to her suitor, memory is restored by study. Finally, Doxa is given to her suitor as a legitimate wife, when petulant Tychia begs for the kidnapped girl to be given to her son--which Time does not grant freely but yet does not refuse.

There are also many other things full of wit which I omit for the sake of brevity.

[146] And so my play, as I have shown, has material that is not without elegance and that any man of learning who is not envious will not despise, though it was written by a young man no older than twenty; for it has that

¹¹ Name Aphthonus replaced by Ditonus in later version.

¹² Doxa replaced by Doxia in later version.

eloquence that up until now all those educated in Latin literature approved and even believed to be the work of some ancient writer, with the result that no one read it without great wonder, many committed it to memory, and not a few consumed a great deal of effort in copying it over and over.

This is a good place for me to explain how it is that they do not know that this play is mine.

After my father Lorenzo Alberti died, while I was studying canon law at Bologna, I tried to make such progress in that discipline that I would be dearer to my family and an ornament to our house. There were among my relatives some who cruelly and vehemently envied my reputation, which was growing and beginning to flower (so to speak), persons whom--though I daily experienced them to be unjust and too harsh--nevertheless I could not hate or not love, for I believed that they could do as they pleased regarding me. I therefore bore their cruelty towards me in a spirit that was not hostile and was more mindful of their service and kindness than of wrongs, until I myself began to understand plainly that all of my efforts to win the favor and good will of my relatives were ineffectual and useless. For that reason, while in that sorrow because of my troubles and the unkindness of those to whom all good men wished me to be dearest, I wrote this play, to console myself. A certain acquaintance who is very attached to me stole it, unpolished and absolutely rough, and in secret copied it very rapidly in a few hours. For which reason it happens that, because of this person's haste, many errors were added to my own mistakes in writing. Nevertheless, against my wishes he made his copy public, where it has of course been rendered entirely corrupt by the ignorance of the copyists; and everybody interpreted, according to his own judgment, things in it that had been copied carelessly. Nor were there lacking some who, aware of my sense of humor though not admirers of it, when they suspected that it was my play, for that reason inserted numerous obscenities. And so this play of my youth, unfinished and full of errors, was held in esteem so long as people were unaware that it was by me; and no one was held to be a connoisseur of the comic poets to whom PHILODOXUS was not familiar.

When I realized that the play was winning applause and was being sought by scholars everywhere [147] because it was thought to be an ancient work, I persuaded--with a little lie--those who kept asking me where I had gotten it that it was taken from a very ancient codex. They all assented easily, because it was redolent both of the comic style of speech and of a certain primitive quality, and it was not hard to believe that I, a young man occupied with writings of the popes, would shrink from any praise for [secular] eloquence. Add to this the fact that at the time, no one believed that talents of this sort were flourishing. Nevertheless, so that I would not have wasted my midnight oil, I added a prologue in which I wanted my education and age and all the rest of these things about me made known, so

that if it should ever suit me, I could claim what is clearly mine--which I have done.

Finally, the play circulated for ten years, until I graduated from pontifical studies, provided with a gold ring and a hood. But since I have returned to these studies of philosophy, this play has become more polished and decent with my corrections. Now that I have claimed my legitimate rights over it, however, envy has made it less pleasing, and there are few who do not censure what everybody once wanted, even though it was obscene and crude. What times we live in! And if there are some who long ago highly praised and now reprehend my wit and eloquence, they are either censuring their original judgment or declaring how envious and fickle they are by nature. If they have harmed me, I have punished the barbs of their envy; if they have not been able to harm me, I can consider them inconsequential, since because of their dishonesty, good men esteem rather than despise me.

Now, however, you learned men, who put your effort into cultivating virtue and not into placing obstacles in the path of others, if it is your duty to encourage talents of this sort and not the lazy and idle, I beg and entreat you, I call upon you to stand up for your faith and the most holy religion of literature! Defend your friend, Leone Baptista Alberti, of all men the most devoted to scholars; defend me, I say, from the slanders of the envious, so that when leisure allows, strengthened by good hope and your approval, I may for many years with tranquil spirit and divine inspiration write other, more important works of this sort, with which you will be amused and because of which you will be able to love me all the more. Farewell!

The End.

[148] The Prologue to the play PHILODOXUS, by the comic poet Lepidus.

Read it and enjoy!

LEPIDUS [*tipsy and incoherent*]: Not much time has gone by since I had a drink--I don't know if I drank too much, but you'll be able to tell how far I have exceeded the limits of drinking if I speak gibberish here before you: now listen and decide. I come here to request from you, to beg from you, with entreaties, this one small favor: to be understood, not to be insulted at the end, if contrary to your expectation of me I've set myself up in the business of writing plays--which I'll take as well worth the effort--as it will be--if I perceive it's possible to get this favor from you because of your

benevolence--, and I'll distribute the play that I have here until it gets into the hands of the public.

In fact, if find that *this* play is familiar to you, perhaps I'll discipline my mind to produce the rest of them. Now accept it from the ki-kind-kindness of your heart and make allowances because of my youth and entreaties here before you--let me beg you. Because I don't desire, I don't seek to be held in esteem because I wrote--rather unskillfully--this play in the twentieth life of my year; but I hope you'll not consider me empty-headed or think that I've lived out my years with no sense of responsibility whatsoever.

[149] Now will you grant me this favor? I see that you will. So you want the play from me. By Hercules, it's a nice little play. It has people who are in love, who deceive, who arrange celebrations. I am giving you the facts: [*waving the manuscript about*] this is the play; this play is called PHILODOXUS. What are you staring at? What are you waiting for? That's the name of the play. Oh, now I see! You want to know more about *me*. I'll tell you: I am a demented wit and an ignorant sage. You already know my name, Lepidus--"charming." Ha ha, and you are charming too! So here is the play.

[151] Plot summary: Philodoxus, an Athenian youth, is madly in love with Doxia, a Roman citizen; and he has a companion, Phroneus, attached to him with exceptional loyalty and singular friendship, with whom he takes counsel. Phroneus, for the sake of his friend, makes an effort to win the good will of Ditonus, a freedman who is a neighbor of the beloved girl. This man promises that he will never fail in their affairs. But meanwhile, Fortunius, an insolent young man, also a citizen, at the persuasion of Dynastes, begins to lust after this same Doxia; but he is driven away by a very clever trick of Phroneus, until the lover Philodoxus ingratiates himself with the women with a long speech. Finally, the young man Fortunius, scorned, enters the house by force and kidnaps Phemia, Doxia's sister. At length, after Mnimia, Doxia's guardian, finds her husband Phroneus, she and Tychia, the mother of Fortunius, humbly beg Chronos, the captain of the guards, to resolve everything. Thereupon, Fortunius keeps the kidnapped girl, and Philodoxus marries his beloved Doxia.

Here begins the play PHILODOXUS by Leone Battista Alberti. Read it and enjoy!

[*A street in Rome, with three doors: in the center, an elegant one, with columns, leading to Doxia's house; to the left, a half-ruined door to Ditonus' house, next to which is a statue of Pluto; and to the right, a third door leading to Climarchus the barber's establishment.*]

[Scene I] PHRONEUS

I'm very grateful to the gods because they allow me to enjoy my life freely and do as I wish. How much happier I am than the man who sent me here. [153] I'm not afflicted by any care, as he is by all cares, which he's probably reviewing mentally now, as he often does: "That's what I ought to have done . . ." "Had I done that . . ." "I started all right . . ." He's probably saying something like this: "Surely this will happen . . ." "I wouldn't want . . ." "I *would* want . . ." "I forbid it!" "May the gods make it come out all right!"

I'm truly grateful to the gods because I live as I wish, which is the first gift of freedom. Nevertheless, I'm gravely concerned about him, because I see how madly he loves, how he fears, how he's on tenterhooks. What is this torture, that pushes and tears and agitates man's soul? I've tried, by Hercules, to eradicate this great fury from his sick mind. No use! This evil has already put down too many roots. But oh god! What kind of marvel is this, that a man is a perfect enemy to himself because he loves someone else? These torments with which the lover afflicts himself are beyond doubt greater than those that come from enemies. The soul of the lover is never free of sad care and anxiety. So I often debate with myself--quite rightly--about which madness is greater, the one with which Mars agitates us or the one with which Venus infects us. On either side it seems to me to be a forceful and ambiguous argument. But it's clear that this friend of mine is becoming madder day by day because of love.

And how carefully, with what forethought he ordered me to arrange this business! This is what he said: "You know I love you: do you know the street where I spend and consume all my effort, my time, my wretched self? Go there, and if you see anything or anyone passing by, spy on them. There--straight ahead, on the left, almost next to the house of my beloved--there is a door, half ruined and rotten from rain, where the statue of Pluto is set up. That building will be very useful to me, if you insinuate us into friendship with the man who lives there. You should meet the man: be a friend to a friend, and give life to my life, so to speak. Beyond this, I'm not warning you about anything or giving you orders: you're wise and discreet. So that you recognize the man, pay attention: he is dark, has a beard and long hair, limps, and has bleary eyes."

That's what he said. Then I myself left, and came here again [155] and again. Twice I've rushed about through all the wine taverns, and I haven't found the man anywhere. So I'll hide here, tired as I am, in case he returns. [*He sits down wearily.*] But who's that speaking as he comes this way? Why, it's he himself.

[Scene II] DITONUS, PHRONEUS

DIT. [*To himself.*] Now it has turned out just as I persuaded myself it was going to do. The harder I work to satisfy my creditors, the closer I come to being sold into slavery again. They are certainly a hard lot of men. What do you think they're going to do to *others* if they can, when they cheat *themselves* of their own pleasure and destroy their own sustenance? And it's not enough for them that by my effort I provided all those things which have to do with domestic matters and costs; they still want to return me to slavery!

I admit that I'm blind; I admit that I'm lame: but not to such an extent that I can't see or run away when it's necessary. [*He sees Phroneus, who is paying no attention to him. Ditonus is terrified and cowers.*]

But who is this man sitting here? Could it be one of them sent to catch me, wretch that I am? [*Addressing Phroneus timidly.*] Who are you, and why are you here? Do you hear? What are you doing? I tell you this: any injury done to me, a freedman, is done to a person who remembers and avenges everything. Do you hear? I am Ditonus; I was Tychia's servant; but now on account of her favor and because I deserve well of her, since I do everything according to her will and command, she has set me free. Didn't you hear? I'm now a free man and more free than you, a free man; because in her I have both a patron of freedom and a refuge against injuries, so that you may not touch me in a harmful way. I'm telling you this so that you will watch out for yourself and not be over-confident in your rash behavior.

[157] PHRON. [*Absorbed with his own problems.*] Oh god, what a job he's given me. I hope--no less than I fear--that the affair will turn out as he wants.

DIT. [*Continuing his tirade.*] But by Hercules you people are not acting like good men when you're so cruel to me. I try to win the good will of everyone, especially of you. Surely I don't deserve this from you for my efforts, when I'm trying to do the impossible. You're hard men; with you, cooperation doesn't win your approval; it destroys it.

PHRON. [*Suddenly addresses Ditonus.*] You! Come here!

DIT. Me? Don't touch me or grab me! I'll consider it assault and battery.

PHRON. Come here, I say!

DIT. I don't want to, I say. Hey, are you laying hands on me? Help, people! Bring help! Come running! Bring help quickly! Let me go, I say; don't hold me!

PHRON. Why are you so upset?

DIT. Why don't you people stop these repeated outrages and stop making me afraid and suspicious?

PHRON. Listen for a second. I want you to know that I'm a person who's fond of you . . .

DIT. Why do you do it? What did I do to you, to make you humiliate me so and try to harm poor me?

PHRON. I tell you that I'm very fond of you, just like the people who particularly love you.

DIT. I don't have anybody that I can really trust. I know all about people's habits because of my age and experience. They cultivate friendships in order to receive benefits or because they expect them from the friendship, as if they were the fruits of the earth: favors are bought with words, and favors are sold for gifts. It not right for you to be friendly to a person you're planning to trick.

PHRON. Ah my dear man, if you'll allow me, I want to be a source of honor and profit for you, as much as possible. It won't do to be afraid of everything you're uncertain about, and it's not useful always [158] to be in fear of things that happen all the time. Because it often occurs that what you did yesterday often and easily, today you can scarcely do a few times. With this right hand, I pledge you my loyalty, which I want to be the firm and perpetual bond of our friendship--the gods and your honesty being my witnesses.

DIT. Who are you? Do you know me?

PHRON. You're Ditonus, a very close friend of friends of friends. So give me an opportunity, I humbly beg, to speak a few words with you.

DIT. Speak.

PHRON. I have always heard that one should approach friendly and virtuous men, who are important because of their character and intelligence, with simple and open friendship. So I'm speaking frankly, because I've always heard that you are trustworthy and honest. A young man loves this neighbor of yours. She, in my opinion, doesn't take it ill. She shows herself attractively dressed and with some frequency. In other matters, I assume that she does what lovers do. He, because he loves her a great deal, or because he has to be careful about his reputation, would like to make use of your house, so that away from the public and from gossip, he can constantly feast

his eyes on her. For this reason alone, I offer and put at your disposal him, his property, and myself, so that we may be of service to you, as you deserve. In exchange for this simple thing, you'll have assured yourself the firm and perpetual right to generous and ready friendship, and you'll obtain from it no small benefit and protection. Because as a result of our effort and diligence, we have--thanks to the gods--several obliging and intimate friends whom we've proven to be extremely helpful to us in favorable and unfavorable circumstances, and who spare neither their wealth nor, if necessary, their lives for us and for those who favor us. In the future, there will be no reason for you to worry about those creditors who are unfriendly to you. And don't hesitate to make use of your friendship with us in this affair.

Sometimes the best things are granted by the fates; sometimes they're forced upon mortals; sometimes [161] they're merely indicated. We pursue--why, I don't know--with too much effort and too eagerly those things which are indicated; we refuse, with all our power (so to speak) those things that are thrust upon us.

Believe me: this kindness of yours will be extremely pleasing to a worthy man, who'll be very friendly to you from now on. I want to speak frankly. He's not a Roman citizen but an Athenian from a very good family; his parents are Argos and Minerva. He came here to gain experience by observing numerous affairs, but not to dedicate himself to business to such an extent as to make himself unworthy of his parents. But when he saw *her*--I don't know by what bad luck--he fell in love at first sight.

DIT. Isn't he the one I've often seen in our street with his head covered with a white Greek cloak? Haven't I seen him with you?

PHRON. He's the one.

DIT. And good natured, by Hercules.

PHRON. And virtuous.

DIT. May the gods prosper him as I desire, and you as you both wish, for you deserve their favor and my cooperation.

PHRON. Oh my good man, give me your hand! We weren't wrong about you, by Pollux. Let him to come to you so that you may get to know him and so that he may show you his gratitude for such a great service.

DIT. I wish I could do greater things. Tell him to consider me, my house, and whatever I can do, as his own. But isn't it time to eat? Will you have dinner with me?

PHRON. I'm always with you in spirit, but I'll be elsewhere in body, at your service. And now farewell.

[*Exeunt.*]

[163] [Scene III] DYNASTES, a slave; FORTUNIUS

DYN. That's the way the situation is. When you've seen her, you'll have to agree.

FORT. Is she beautiful?

DYN. Of such beauty and character that it's not possible to add anything or want anything more, since I think she's more beautiful than Venus--or at least a lot like her: graceful head, charming face, cheerful appearance, a modest gait, and finally her disposition, movement, words, and gestures are of the same sort that you praise in a Roman matron and citizen.

FORT. I very much want to see her in person.

DYN. I'll see to it, and I'm making arrangements for it at this very moment.

FORT. How's that?

DYN. Because she lives in this splendid house, next door, as you see.

FORT. And how will I be able to . . . , from where will I speak to her?

DYN. I want you to know this: everything must be done quickly and properly. Behave so that she first sees a man who's not immodest or dirty or insolent; then let her become familiar with both your appearance and your habits, so that at first she sees you willingly and then eagerly; next, speak, talk to her. The value of these last favors from those who're in love depends on how they're perceived, and even if someone thinks they're of no importance, still it's not proper to ask for them from an unknown person. But first, we'll arrange for you to see her.

FORT. I want you to know this about me, because I am resolved: I'm not a person who can ever be induced to waste effort and money in vain, loitering in these porticoes.

DYN. Now you're acting like a philosopher!

FORT. Well what do you expect? How could I tolerate the rule of a woman?

DYN. Then you don't know what love is, young man. Loves takes away all pride from the spirit and makes one humble.

FORT. Do you think I don't know that those who are determined to keep love's misery in their heart--as I see many do--are in deepest sadness, so that they become willing slaves, though they are free? It's a man's duty to detest all silly women; we're in their favor only so long as our gifts pay for it: [165] so that she finally deigns to look at us--and that very grudgingly--after we've sated her with wine and entertainment. A very bad sort of creature!

DYN. What you've said is beside the point, because we have a place from which you can safely watch and converse whenever you wish.

FORT. Well, that would be exciting.

DYN. I know a man who was formerly a slave with me; now he is my best friend, and I can easily obtain from him whatever favors I ask, even if they're big ones. You see that statue by the door? He owns that house. I'll call on him; I'll say that from his garden, I want . . . Well, I'll say *something*.

FORT. I'll go with you.

DYN. Certainly not. Because I want him to flatter you and beg you to take him into your favor.

FORT. What a clever mind! So?

DYN. So get going. I'll go in now, when the doors open.

FORT. Excellent. [Exit]

DYN. [Sees *Philodoxus and Phroneus approaching*] Oh-oh, who is this? Why are the doors opening? But I'm an old friend: they're always open to me. I'll go in. Hello in there!

[Exit]

[Scene IV] PHILODOXUS, PHRONEUS

PHIL. My journey is like a triumphal procession, and this whole way is full of joy. I can hardly contain myself. I greet everything I see, as if I wanted everything to share my joy. Hail, excellent household gods! Hail, even if you're unfair to me, because you're allowed to see and hear this divine girl so often. Hail heavenly gods, and you, illustrious father of the gods! [167] I'm grateful to you. And my brother, don't you exult at such great joy? I'll repay this great kindness from you with enormous favors--and I hope they're

worthy of you and are what you want. Didn't you say that it's certain that I can hear her from there?

PHRON. I said that you can hear and see her when time and place permit.

PHIL. Oh god! If I could see and hear her all the time, I would always regard you as the most fortunate of men.

PHRON. Please be quiet!

PHIL. I must do what my heart tells me! I'm going to let it expand and frolic a little while, for joy.

[Enter Ditonus and Dynastes, from Ditonus' house]

PHRON. Hush, hush, I say! I think I see some arrogant hanger-on entering and leaving my friend's house.

PHIL. Hah, that's the man!

PHRON. Get behind this corner or the column, so they won't see us. We'll listen to what plans they're making.

PHIL. Ah me, how I fear that it will go badly for our affairs.

PHRON. Hush.

PHIL. O ye gods, ye gods! Take Fortunius away!

PHRON. Silence.

[Scene V] DITONUS, DYNASTES, FORTUNIUS,
PHILODOXUS, PHRONEUS

DIT. Where is he?

DYN. He'll be here any minute. It's good for friends to meet together like this, so that with a generous spirit they can both consult and help each other, as we're doing among ourselves: you can receive no better advice. But here he is. [Enter Fortunius] Greetings! You're just in time.

FORT. Greetings to you both.

[169] DYN. [Aside to Ditonus] If you knew how much this man wants you to count him among your close friends, you'd certainly be friendly to him.

FORT. May the gods love you well.

DYN. [*To Fortunius*] I have described your parents, character, virtues, honesty, and all the rest of your affairs as well as I could.

FORT. May the gods love you well!

DIT. He has told me all about you; but if you don't mind, please tell me who your real parents were.

FORT. Thraso and Aphthadia.

PHIL. [*Hidden behind column, to Phroneus*] I'm a dead man! It's he! It's Fortunius, Tychia's adopted son. Ditonus was formerly her slave; so now my opportunity to make use of this house will be snatched away. I'm dead!

DIT. As I was looking at you a little while ago, I finally recognized you. Greetings! Do you still remember how I used to carry you, when you were very small, from your father's house to ours?

FORT. Hundreds of times.

DIT. What a sly little boy you were! You were always pulling hard on my beard and hair.

DYN. [*To Fortunius*] He always loved you the best. How charmingly he used to praise you.

FORT. Ha ha ha.

DIT. Now pay attention. Previously, I had never watched my neighbor closely, because I'm not often at home, and I have quite a lot of business with which to occupy myself (may the gods ruin everything for those moneylenders who are plotting with such great cunning to return me to wretched slavery); but recently as I was returning home to eat, some man approached me and asked me to let him use my house, for the very same purpose.

I promised to help. He went away to fetch the friend on whose account he had asked for this favor.

DYN. Who was the friend?

DIT. An Athenian whose parents are Argos and Minerva.

DYN. I have seen him.

DIT. Afterwards, I went up to the tower, and through the little opening I saw her in the upper dining-room earnestly playing a harp and singing verses in praise of Hercules and the gods. By Pollux, to me she seemed more beautiful than Venus. But to return to the subject: I'm fond of you two. I'd be unwilling, if he should return ...

DYN. I understand. You're speaking cautiously.

FORT. Surely we're not afraid of people who have nothing but their lives, which they possess only because they haven't been crucified yet: . . .

PHIL. May the gods enrich you with evil! You've done your duty, then you babble words--as befits you, who own nothing but that stinking, wicked tongue, which grows worse day by day.

PHRON. Quiet! They are whispering their plans in his ear.

FORT. . . . I am certainly not afraid of them.

DIT. [*To Dynastes*] Did you understand?

DYN. Beautiful!

FORT. [*To Ditonus*] What did you say?

DYN. He said that he wants them filled with promises and saturated with hope, and then thrown out.

PHIL. I'm doomed! There's no room for hope left for us. [173] It's like that trite proverb: "Hope lives with perfect faith secure: When faith is broken, hope can't endure."

PHRON. And it's trite because "What's is ground to dust, Its taste hath lost." Hush! Keep your chin up! "Every journey has its end."

PHIL. Woe is me!

PHRON. Silence. I have a bright idea. Ha ha he! Oh gods, what I am about to do! [*Phroneus begins to smear mud on his face*]

PHIL. What are you doing? Why are you acting like a madman? Why are you fouling yourself with such filthy mud? May the gods be my witnesses: you are raving.

PHRON. [*To himself*] Aha, what next? Ah, my cloak! [*Phroneus wraps his cloak around his leg*]

PHIL. Hey, you crazy man, why are you wrapping your leg?

PHRON. Just be quiet and see! [*Phroneus starts toward Ditonus's door*] If you see that you can do so, come quickly.

PHIL. Where are you going?

[Scene VI] PHRONEUS, DYNASTES, FORTUNIUS,
DITONUS, PHILODOXUS

PHRON. [*Approaching the group*] Woe is me!

DYN. Who is weeping here?

FORT. What do you want, you drunkard?

PHRON. [*Aside*] That's just the kind of help I expected you to give. [*He collapses*]

FORT. How drunk he is! He's so drunk he can't stand up.

PHRON. O heavens, O gods! I'm begging for help. Oh, woe is me.

DIT. Get up. Don't cry.

DYN. What's wrong with you?

PHRON. I'm about to take my last breath.

DIT. Go on, speak: what is it?

PHRON. I'll explain. I was looking for Philodoxus; but as I am approaching--oh, I hurt all over from the blow!

[175] PHIL. [*Still concealed.*] I wonder what his wits will invent now?

DYN. Who hit you?

PHRON. I'll tell you. Since the ambassadors from Africa had successfully concluded their business and were passing though the Forum with great pomp, I stopped to watch the parade, which you would have called a triumphal procession. There were trumpets, chariots, horses, lions, panthers, and--in short--remarkable and innumerable things, which it's certainly worth the effort to see. Meanwhile, a boy was severely punishing an unruly horse with a stick and spurs. I don't know how he managed it; I certainly know this: my leg is almost broken.

FORT. And what were the ambassadors like?

PHRON. Dreadful!

DYN. From Africa?

FORT. And there are panthers?

PHRON. I hope they have a permanent pain in the heart like this one!

FORT. Panthers? Oh how I wish I could've seen them!

PHRON. I wish I hadn't seen them this way, believe me! If you go quickly, you can see them too. But I paid for the pleasure of watching them: my being there cost me a lot!

DYN. [*Fortunius tugs at Dynastes*] Where are you taking me? Where are you going in such a hurry?

FORT. To the panthers, horses, trumpets--to the panthers!

DYN. I'll bow to your wishes, even in a more important thing. Go on ahead, I'll follow.

FORT. [*To Phroneus*] Which way should we go?

PHRON. Straight down this street, straight toward the Forum. They're filling the air with shouting and uproar, so that you can hear from far away.

[177] FORT. Follow the panthers! [*Exeunt Fortunius and Dynastes*]

DIT. [*To Phroneus*] Your case touches me deeply, by Hercules. [*Feeling Phroneus for injuries.*]

PHRON. Ah, how cruelly you mistreat me! I'm done for! My whole side will never be sound again, truly.

DIT. Don't you believe it! Cheer up! Why, here in this barber shop is Climarcus, a singular doctor in his practice with cattle and all quadrupeds--and with humans.

PHRON. A friend of yours?

DIT. The best. [*Approaching Climarcus's door*]

PHRON. [*Motioning to Philodoxus and speaking in a loud whisper*] Why are you standing there? Am I not talking to you?

PHIL. Are you calling me?

PHRON. Yes, you, by Pollux!

DIT. To whom are you speaking?

PHRON. [*Aside to Philodoxus, who is hesitant*] Go on in!

DIT. Did you speak to me?

PHRON. Yes. Why don't you go to the doctor? Go in, woe is me!

DIT. Why should go in? [*Aside*] This man's mind is wandering because of pain, no doubt.

PHRON. Oh, bring the doctor.

[*Philodoxus enters Doxia's house*]

DIT. Who entered that house?

PHRON. I beg you to call him.

DIT. Who went into this building? I heard him when he reached the door.

PHRON. Kind sir, please come here. Why don't you go?

DIT. Who, I say, entered here? Oh, if I take up this walking-stick . . . !
[*Philodoxus peeks out*] Aha, I see you!

PHRON. But there's no one there. Don't you feel sorry for me? You see what pain I'm in. Please go!

DIT. Very well, but if I thought . . .

PHRON. Listen: lend me your stick.

DIT. What for? You sit down instead.

[179] PHRON. Thank the gods, I will not be utterly miserable. So lead me while the injury is still warm; I don't want to stay here alone getting colder.
[*Exeunt*]

[Scene VII] PHILODOXUS, DOXIA, PHIMIA

[A short time later. *Philodoxus emerges from Doxia's house*]

PHIL. [*Alone*] A great deed is not done without brains and courage. I was amazed at Phroneus's crazy antics, when he disguised himself with mud and acting.

May the gods make this convenient arrangement permanent for me! May the gods favor similar deeds! Oh gods, how the affair is succeeding according to my wishes! I went into the house: I'm listening, feeling my way, approaching, observing, turning back. Meanwhile, I seem to hear Doxia's voice--which it was. I go to her, I beg her favor, then I speak. She says it's not proper to be there in a lonely, out-of-the-way place, and she orders me to come to her front door, if I want something, and that she will be there. But what will I say, wretch that I am? Where will I begin my speech? And what if I said this: "I love you, I am burning, I am dying. You see it, and I don't know why you allow it. Where is your pity, where is your mercy, where is that distinguished spirit worthy of this beauty of yours?" Or what if I said, "If ever to me ..." [*Enter Doxia and Phimia*] But here she is! Oh me, my mind is tormented by joy, by care, by fear!

DOXIA. Stay, sister, while I speak; please stay. I don't want this man, who may have honorable feelings toward me, to be in danger on my account. I want to do this small favor for him; because to alleviate a lover's greatest care, when you do nothing to harm your reputation, never brings dishonor, in my opinion. So stay here, sister. But here he is. I see that he is really even more in love than I previously thought. Philodoxus, may the gods love you!

PHIL. And may the gods make you love me, as is right--me, who wants you, more than himself, to enjoy all the best! May the gods make you love me, since I desire it and seek it with generous respect and honorable intentions.

[181] DOX. May the gods preserve me for the sake of my reputation, as I have always desired and striven. Tell me: what is it that you want of me? Speak.

PHIL. You know that I've loved you for a long time, but perhaps you don't know with what a solicitous and what an unwavering spirit mind I've felt affection for you--as is the case. For, as you've been able to see perfectly, I've always been very careful of your reputation, and unless I'm mistaken, on that account perhaps, I've merited--many times--this great favor from you: that you grant as a gift to me, your wretched lover, the words by which you revive this life of mine, which has already been poured out in sighs and tears, and restore to life my runaway heart, which is scorched by care: all of them indeed have long since submitted to your power. There is no reason for

me to ask for these things, if it is not suitable or pleasant to do them. But oh, if only I could thank you for this great favor! If only I could beg from you such a great kindness--if anything is due to me for my pure affection for you! If only you could take pity on my life, since it is decreed by my fate that I should be yours! And if only you would you prefer me alive (since perhaps I can be of some little service to you) instead of destroyed by your cruelty, so to speak; which will contribute neither to your praise nor to any sort of benefits whatsoever.

DOX. I've seen and I know that you love me, and I accept it with a grateful spirit; nor do I now judge that anything evil has entered your heart through my fault.

PHIL. I agree, and for that reason you're deserving of the greatest praise and meritorious merit. And I would not have wanted to say these things, if they are disagreeable to you. But if out of your pity and extraordinary kindness--as is proper in a noble spirit--it is permitted for me to ask you for this, I beg you for the opportunity and means to see you frequently.

PHIM. I don't know why this is innate in you lovers, that what is too much is never enough.

PHIL. I'm not asking for what is too much, and I wouldn't want what is enough, if it didn't suit you; nor have I asked of you anything hard to do, though important [183] and pleasing to me. Nor do I want anything else but that you share my pleasure and company with a spirit neither harsh nor gloomy. Let me walk with you, let me see you: this means my happiness; this means my life. I wanted you to know what I had on my mind.

PHIM. You have spoken beautifully, but you would be doing us a favor if you left.

PHIL. Why?

PHIM. Because it would be good for our reputation.

PHIL. If this is what you command: for as you well know, I have always had regard for your reputation, out of spirit and zeal.

PHIM. Then go, because I see someone coming this way.

PHIL. Farewell. And you, farewell, and keep me in your memory.
[*Exeunt the women*]

[Scene VIII] PHILODOXUS

PHIL. Indeed it is often said, and not without reason, that when people are in love and first come together to speak, because they exchange souls, they immediately forget how to speak; and in fact I have just now experienced it myself. Because at first when I wanted to express something in words, whatever soul I had leaped into her heart, so that I--poor wretch--was almost oblivious to myself and my words. I should have said the finest words, pleading words, words of praise, that would have stirred up and fostered not quarreling and hate but benevolence and love. This is what I should have said: "As love is often a pleasure for others, so for me not the fact that I am in love but that I am in love with you--because I love most passionately--is my pleasure and happiness. For you are charming, you are beautiful, and outstanding for your character and every virtue, and [185] exceptionally singular in other things. But since I see myself stuck in such great unhappiness on account of love, to the point that I sometimes feel pity for my own miserable life, I wanted to ask this favor of you. Night and day do their duty to me in a perverse way: for you are always present before my eyes, always in my mind, always rooted in this breast of mine. I might want many things for my own sake, yet I do not desire far more, in order not to harm your reputation. I am not my own, I am yours, Doxia, I am yours; so I beg you to take what is yours and keep what is yours for ever."

But why don't I stop acting the fool? What if these people who are coming this way heard me? They are near and perhaps they heard and saw everything. In short, I've become too careless since I fell in love. Because I dread everything, I fear nothing, and though everything makes me suspicious, yet it happens that I always act negligent and careless. Love alone encourages this strange apathy. I'm unsure what other things I should do now. But I must reject idleness; therefore I'll set everything aside and find Phroneus, my fabricator of frauds, so that I can tell him these things, in order that he may safely accomplish, with advice and effort, what the situation requires. [*Enter Ditonus and Dynastes.*] But what are these slaves muttering about? I want to listen to them secretly from here. [*He conceals himself*]

[187] [Scene IX] DITONUS, a freedman,
DYNASTES, a slave

DIT. This is what I think: you're a legate who deserves this province because, since you're a veteran go-between of lovers, all of women's habits are clearly known to you, so that if they blame or object, you'll refute them on the spot.

DYN. I, on the other hand, believe that this province has been delegated to you by right, both because you're far more forceful in speaking and because, as her neighbor, you can do things much more discreetly.

DIT. Do you think so?

DYN. I think so.

DIT. That is your decision?

DYN. That's it.

DIT. May the gods favor it. And how shall I begin?

DYN. With tales and women's chit-chat: ask about the goose or about the rooster; or ask for cucumber seeds--or some such thing.

DIT. Do you know what I was thinking? That I should buy some food before I start talking. Because the words come out more fitting and much richer, and--in case you don't know--I've interrupted today's dinner more than a hundred times! I can't think straight when I stand here starving.

DYN. For the sake of friends, people who are true friends often endure and permit many things that are not in their own interest.

DIT. You're talking nonsense. I know myself well. I want you to be aware of this: in an orator, there is nothing more detestable than to speak jejeunely--that is, with your stomach upset. Why, the wine goblets themselves pour out a full and easy speech.

DYN. Good, beautiful, fine! But it's well not to waste what [189] is now left of the best time for our worthy effort. It's shameful idleness to lose the desired opportunity through negligence. Get going! I'll be there after you, and if you go off course, I'll set you straight, as if I were at the rudder.

DIT. So: *I go into the house, you follow.* But a little wine ...

DYN. As you wish.

DIT. *You go first; I will follow.*

[*Exeunt*]

[Scene X] PHILODOXUS, PHRONEUS

PHIL. Slavery is never noble, and freedom is never despicable-- which is why people say that Loyalty is [freeborn and] divine and dwells in the

highest heaven; because you'll never find any loyalty in slaves, who are certainly the lowest class among mortals. But how utterly dull-witted and slow I am, since I foresaw all this by conjecture and suspected that these men were undermining all of my affairs; but I have done nothing to shore up my business! It was certainly necessary to say [to the women] that these slaves have bad reputations and to persuade them not to listen to anything or believe anything or answer anything: it's disreputable not to loathe people who are disreputable. And these things needed to be said: because [the servants] know how deeply I am in love. I didn't hide it--woe is me! And it never occurred to me in time that I should warn those women. But what is it with love? Our wits grow dull when they need to be wise; and no man is more clever than a lover when it is of no benefit. And isn't this the greatest torment in love? That we never realize that we've made a mistake by loving until there is nothing left but to suffer and kill ourselves with bitterest reproaches? And so the inexperienced lover continually makes mistakes, the experienced one continually suffers.

{Enter Phroneus.}

PHRON. I'll go see what our Philodoxus is doing. But here he is in front of the house. Hey, my good man, did it go well with the diplomatic mission?

PHIL. Hmm. You're here. So-so.

PHRON. Why didn't it go perfectly.

PHIL. Because the "diplomats" and revellers arrived at the same time--damn them!

PHRON. How so?

[191] PHIL. Well, while I was talking here in front of this house, Ditonus and another slave appeared and interrupted our conversation. The girls left. I drew aside and listened. Then the men argued like this: "Why don't you, because you are her neighbor ... you should start with womanish chit-chat ..." So I gather that that playboy Fortunius, who, if I live ...

PHRON. Now listen a minute. I myself was at Climarcus the doctor's; and while I was there, [Fortunius] Thrasis shows up again, makes threats because I played tricks on him, then summons Ditonus. They make plans; they decide: "Say it as I said it, with my words ... and then say this ..." Fortunius said these things to Ditonus, but I couldn't catch anything else of what they said. I at once began to concentrate on them with my eyes and mind, and I followed them at a distance, concealing myself, as they were hurrying in this direction.

PHIL. So, what do you think?

PHRON. I think . . . This is what I think: that they think that we think that they think the wrong thing.

[*Phroneus sits and crosses his legs. Enter Fortunius*]

[Scene XI] FORTUNIUS, PHRONEUS, PHILODOXUS

FORT. Really, I see nothing particularly excellent given to mortals by the gods other than this: that for good things to happen, if you want something, you must seek it from yourself.

All the gods love me well when my mother loves me. I am a god, since I lack nothing: I have everything [193] that the gods have except immortality. I have pleasure, and I do as I wish; I'm in the prime of life and strength, and I'm not the last among the first in charming good-looks. Money, good will, honors, and all that a man can want—I have them. Furthermore, there are a great many people here who extol me with praises, for whom I could do favors, and who always strive to heap up and accumulate as much as possible for my use and pleasure. If this life lasts forever, I am Apollo!

I had neither seen nor known about, nor was I looking for anything in this neighborhood; but on their own, they're offering everything that's excellent. In addition, they're begging me to accept, as a gift offered to me, a not inconsiderable benefit. So I've decided to go along with them. I'll go and meet Doxia very nicely. As soon as I enter the house, I'll order, "Bring the bench," and when she finally comes, I'll stand up for a moment; I'll say, "Hello. How are you? I'll treat you well, I'll hug you, I'll cover you with love-bites." This is the way all suitors should act, because a woman who is badly treated loves well. These are the gifts and pledges of love, which though they cause suffering nevertheless bring the loved one back into memory and keep him there.

PHRON. [*Aside*] Oh, you foolish man! Even if what you say is true, how you rave, totally out of your head!

PHIL. [*Aside to Phroneus*] Ha ha ha. How true.

FORT. But who's laughing here? So then, by Hercules, I'm a joke to you? I'll turn it to weeping if I catch you!

PHIL. I ask for your favor and kind words.

[193] FORT. And why are you here? Are you watching me? And you: you're here, too? Don't let me see you here from now on.

PHIL. [*With mock terror*] Oh, what a severe, harsh command.

FORT. That's my command.

PHRON. And it will certainly be obeyed--if you'll close your eyes!

FORT. And you lend your support to these jokes, too? If you annoy me, you jail-bird ...

PHRON. My, what arrogance!

FORT. ... if you annoy me, I'll see to it that you get that leg of yours out of your lap and fly into the Tiber--and go straight to hell!

PHRON. And I swear this: you'll never make me run, unless I'm chasing you, and I won't look lame, if I don't want to--and not without the greatest harm to you.

FORT. O Jupiter! Why am I not in my usual rage? And you will be powerless, Jupiter, to prevent me from killing this man today! But what am I doing, fool that I am? It is not proper for a soldier to squabble with a camp-drudge. So I'll be on my way to visit to these people. [*At Ditonus' door*] Is anybody at home? Hey, Ditonus! Where is that gang of drunkards? There's no one here, but I'll go in.

[*Exit*]

[197] [Sc. XII] MNIMIA, PHRONEUS, PHILODOXUS, ALITHIA

[*Enter Mnimia and Alithia*]

MNI. Oh, I can scarcely speak from fright, not only because of other matters but also especially because of this young woman; for in the uproar, she was in danger. O immortal gods! Did anyone ever see or hear such a thing anywhere? By Hercules, it is amazing and incredible for someone to love a girl he's never seen and to be so affected by something he knows nothing about!

PHRON. I'll approach, so that I may inquire: Why are you distressed, madam?

MNI. Because you behave so cruelly towards this household.

PHIL. Why so? Nothing is less true.

MNI. Because you heard the great commotion, because you didn't bring help at once, because you stood back and watched.

PHIL. What commotion? Please explain.

MNI. [*Sobbing*] [Fortunius] Thrasis came ...

PHIL. I'm afraid ...

MNI. ... he broke in ...

PHIL. Oh!

MNI. ... he entered ...

PHIL. Bad!

MNI. ... he carried off ...

[199] PHIL. Oh what an unlucky wretch I am!

MNI. I don't know what I'm saying, I'm not in my right mind, and I haven't the strength to speak.

PHIL. Go on, please, tell me.

MNI. I'll speak, but let me catch my breath for a moment.

PHIL. O bitterest day! Did that monster kidnap Doxia, and did he dare even to look at her impudently, while I am still alive?

MNI. Not Doxia!

PHIL. Well, explain it quickly, whatever it is, so that we're not too late if it's necessary to do something.

MNI. But brief accounts do not describe a great misfortune properly.

PHRON. This is double torture, because you're bringing news that is sad *and* drawn-out. Please speak.

MNI. I am speaking. Doxia, Doxia's sister Phimia, Alithia (this girl), and I were in the garden looking at flowers and watching the busy bees, for recreation; and this old man, a neighbor, out of his little garden next door, which is fenced off from Doxia's by trellis-work, keeps talking to us: "What's going on?" he says. "Will one never be allowed to be free of business? It's good occasionally to turn the mind from work to harmless pleasures, which is what I am doing. When time and place permit, I act silly in everything, with all my energy and effort; because I consider it to be the duty of prudent men to be wise around philosophers and jolly around wine-cups; for whoever wants to be serious in all places and at all times, and to look grave,

restrained, and gloomy, [201] is always foolish, in my opinion. But because I know how to behave in both situations, no one rejects me in serious matters, and all admit me in amusing ones.

For that reason, Fortunius Thrasis, the handsomest young man of all, the most generous of all, has urgently commanded me to come to a sumptuous dinner that he has arranged today at his house, at which if I am not mistaken, I will act as *maitre-d'hotel*, or *chef de cuisine*, or ruler of the wine-jug. O gods! first, what cups I shall drain; then, when I have quite driven thirst away, what amusing gestures I will make before everyone. O [Fortunius] Thrasis, O youth worthy to be a general, with such great generosity; I shall sing the praises of you whom everyone loves. May I perish if the only thing you lack for perfect happiness is a wife equal to your character and nobility. Fortunate are you who will be his wife, who will marry this handsome, good-looking young man! I earnestly desire, dear Doxia, for him to be your husband, and I'll work to see that he doesn't refuse you."

We immediately began to wonder at the man. Then he said, "[Fortunius] Thrasis, are you here? Why, you have arranged a wedding feast. So that a bride will not be lacking, I beg you to take Doxia as your wife." We, shocked by such words, immediately said, "Goodby. We have to think about it." And we fled into the house. They at once knocked down the trellises and pursued us, who were frightened and anxious. They break down the doors, burst in, rush about. We are separated: Doxia had fled to the roof of the building; I was hiding and listening to all the noise from afar. Alithia, you, who were in the middle of it all and saw it, tell how the rest of the things happened.

[203] ALITH. What else? When they had grabbed Phimia, they left.

PHRON. What a wicked deed!

PHIL. Are the rest of you all right?

MNI. Fine, if this business about Phimia were not so serious; but ...

PHIL. Ye gods! What shamelessness, what madness, what injustice in those men! How I hope you get your just deserts, you wicked man!

MNI. And so these things have been done, as you see. Let's go, young lady, so we can inform her father about this affair: that the crime was committed in this house.

PHIL. You, Phroneus, will accompany these ladies. I'll go to the forum to bring the old man back home, if I see him.

[Exit]

[Scene XIII] MNIMIA, ALITHIA, PHRONEUS

MNI. Well, what the fates give us, we must endure. What can mortals do if the gods are unwilling?

ALITH. Shall we go home, then?

MNI. That's what we're doing. [*She looks intently at Phroneus*] But woe is me, how many things of this sort now come back to my mind, so that in frustration I finally choose the very thing I don't want, partly, and do want, partly.

PHRON. This is the lot of mankind, to want and not to want. But wanting or not wanting what is appropriate is truly the way of wise men. Not wanting what you should want, or wanting what you can't have, is the way of those who believe in, and are interested in, themselves alone. The wicked always smell of their crimes, and crime always betrays itself, so that it gets the punishment it deserves. This one will not escape the gods unpunished.

MNI. I don't doubt it will be so, as you say. But beside that, I blame my own folly--and my husband's, too: I was divorced from him [205] at Athens almost three years ago, because I refused his request of me for certain rings and gold tokens, the result of his labor, which he had given me for safekeeping. I did as almost all of us women who are foolish do, especially if we are beautiful. I was stubborn, and I took delight in my husband's vainly demanding from me, with entreaties and cajoling, what I should have handed over willingly; the result of which is that the next day he left in a fury. If I had not been cruel to him, I would undoubtedly be leading a life neither commonplace nor indigent, and I would certainly not be wandering. But these things came back to my memory, because my husband had the very same name, Phroneus.

PHRON. What kind of life have you sought in this city since you divorced your husband in that way?

MNI. Well, I have always tried to lead an upright life with decent people, to the extent of my ability. I had heard that my husband had come here to Rome. And what could I do, left alone? So I came here--in vain--so that, having laid aside my pride, I might live with my husband, to whom I am indebted and whom I love; but since I have not found him anywhere, I entered the service of Alithia's father, whose name is Chronos.

PHRON. I know him: decrepit, gray, severe; and he is the head of the watchmen, if I remember correctly.

MNI. The same. He has this daughter whom he loves devotedly; he entrusted her to me to guide and watch over. Then those matrons who take great delight in this young lady's disposition and wit became friends with her family through my effort; consequently they meet very often, and they eventually make me a party to everything; I make use of each family as if I were a member, and they trust me and obey me.

PHRON. Tell me, please, what your name is.

MNI. Mnimia.

PHRON. And you, Mnimia, preferred to lose the rings rather than return them to your husband?

MNI. Poor, unwise me! I wasn't denying then that I would give them back, and I haven't lost them; but I was acting rather insanely, in the way women do.

PHRON. So you finally lost the rings *and* your husband?

MNI. If I had my husband, as I have the rings, I would esteem the rings of greater value than I did before. I have waited long enough looking for him; I have done my duty; perhaps I will give them to this young woman as a gift, since I have delayed long enough.

[207] PHRON. [*Aside*] This is what I really think the "duty" of women is: to struggle, with jealousy and obstinacy, against those who love them, and to hate all men whom they have found to be good-natured and indulgent. [*Aloud*] But I want to hear this from you: do you have the rings and gold tokens?

MNI. I have them; I am holding on to them and keeping them.

PHRON. But are they all safe?

MNI. So that nothing will be missing.

PHRON. Give me your hand! There is nothing that I want more.

MNI. Ah, my husband, stop. I recognize these fingers, these rings. But how unlike what you used to be, how unsightly!

PHRON. Probably because, as they say, new habits bring new faces. But you, who used to look hard and obstinate, how gentle you now look. I rejoice, by Pollux, and it is wonderful that we have found each other. Come here, so that I can embrace you.

MNI. I rejoice. And let there be a sacrifice to the gods for such a great favor. Have you been quite well, dear husband?

PHRON. Quite.

MNI. What is between you and that young man?

PHRON. Genuine, sincere good will; generous and continuous familiarity; firm and honest friendship.

MNI. And why were you two lurking over there?

PHRON. You are asking what I want you to know. He loves this Doxia of yours passionately, and, if it is acceptable to each party, there is nothing that I approve of more than that there should be a marriage between these two: for he is a noble young man, learned, prudent, and as you see, outstanding in looks and disposition.

MNI. He deserves to be loved, certainly. I knew all that.

PHRON. What? Does Doxia love him?

MNI. You will find no woman so gloomy and cold that she rejects a handsome lover.

PHRON. What if you encourage it?

MNI. I can do some good, certainly.

PHRON. I beg you, if you have any influence with these women, that you try with all your effort and skill to arrange a marriage.

[209] MNI. Goodby, dear husband. I'll do as you wish. I'll go and leave this girl at home. Then I'll immediately go visit Doxia; I'll try by persuasion and entreaties to conduct the affair according to your wish, and I believe that I can promise you a good outcome.

[Exeunt Mnimia and Alithia]

PHRON. I'll go find Philodoxus. But first I'll wash off this filth and mud in this alley and clean myself up.

[Scene XIV] PHRONEUS, CHRONOS, PHILODOXUS

PHRON. O immortal gods! How powerful, how efficient is absence at severing all time-tested relationships. If it could be arranged that a person should have neither conversation with himself nor keep company with

himself in anything for a certain time, I believe that he would like himself very little or not at all.

[Enter Chronos and Philodoxus]

CHRON. I heard, I say, and I understand everything. Henceforth, my task will be to do those things that apparently must be done according to law. The judge must first satisfy the law, not man.

PHIL. But I think it must be attended to immediately, so that the criminals won't try some new disturbance.

CHRON. Perhaps you have persuaded yourself, because you see me so heavy and slow and, as they say, *kaput*, that I am unable to run. You are wrong if you think so. For many have discovered that I, at my age, have the ability to run. But it almost always turns out that what we do in good time comes late for those who are too anxious; and those to whom the same matter will be annoying accuse us of having done it too quickly.

See how while we did something else we have now arrived? But I am exhausted. I have to sit down here for a while.

PHIL. That's fine. But here is Phroneus in this very same street, arranging the folds of his clothing; I will approach and bring him back here.

[Scene XV] PHRONEUS, PHILODOXUS

PHRON. Do I see Philodoxus? It's he. Do I see the old man? It's he. I will hurry so that I can fill Philodoxus with joy, partly mine and partly his. Unless I am mistaken, Mnimia will arrange things just as we want.

PHIL. No doubt this bad business is starting up again. I'll hurry to inquire. [211] Well? Have those thugs tried to do anything violent against Doxia again? Go on, tell whatever bad news you are bringing.

PHRON. Calm down. I'm bringing you very good news.

PHIL. By Hercules, that's more than I hoped for. Doxia's misfortune today has affected me that way: it's made me terrified of everything, everywhere.

PHRON. To change the subject: where did you find the young lady's father so quickly?

PHIL. He was on his way to his house. By the gods, I've never seen a slower man.

PHRON. He's worn out by old age and full of years.

PHIL. Nevertheless, he says he's strong enough to run, but he moves as if he has to count every one of the stones with his feet. But what do you know that will make me happy, after you've calmed my fear?

PHRON. Do you remember how often I've explored with you both my adventures and my foolish mistakes, how I was driven by such a slight offense to divorce my wife? How often I used to say "if only she were here"? Do you remember?

PHIL. Of course.

PHRON. I've found her!

PHIL. Oh? Where? Is she all right?

PHRON. She's fine; and she's has the rings and all the gold tokens safe and sound, and--for which you can be even more pleased--she is the guardian of this young lady Alithia, the daughter of this old gentlemen.

PHIL. Is she the same woman I left you with when I went away just now? The reddish-haired, quarrelsome one, with a harsh expression, bulging eyes, sharp nose, pointed chin--the scrawny one? Golly, Phroneus, you have found a beautiful wife.

PHRON. Well, she has a good character, if she's no beauty. And it's not easy to explain how comforting it is to have an ugly wife: her husband is the only man she doesn't hate, because nobody loves an ugly woman, and she frees a jealous husband from suspicions.

PHIL. Didn't you recognize her at first? What were you afraid of, that I would burst out laughing in front of her?

PHRON. Let's skip all of that. This is what will fill you with happiness: my wife has taken up the business about Doxia. With Mnimia as go-between, you'll get Doxia for a wife, I hope.

PHIL. Oh, most beautiful Mnimia! Oh, wife most worthy to be loved by you!

PHRON. And now let's go meet the old man, who is coming toward us.

[Chronos has risen and shuffles toward them]

[213] [Scene XVI] CHRONOS, PHRONEUS, PHILODOXUS

CHRON. Nobody commiserates or grieves for any misfortunes of his friends as long as he does for his own. The young man who just now fetched me seemed to be tortured by this single care; yet here he comes with his expression changed suddenly, excited about some sort of good news. My heart almost fails me, because I am in suspense over my daughter, even though I suspect nothing of this sort of the chaste girl.

PHRON. We greet you, Chronos.

CHR. And you: were you there when these things occurred?

PHRON. This man and I have just heard everything from the women who were there--Mnimia and Alithia--whom I took to your house.

CHR. Is my daughter all right?

PHRON. As I say, she's safe at your house.

CHR. I'm delighted. But what vile, low man dared to cause such a commotion?

PHRON. I don't know, really; but it's clear that Fortunius, Tychia's son, broke into the house by force and abused the household with violence and insults.

CHR. [*To an attendant*] You go as bailiff and bring that man to me immediately. And you, Phroneus, bring all the women who are in this house out here in public. It's reasonable to inquire into a capital offence here publicly. Meanwhile, I'll go into this tavern in order to write down the supplies we need. I'll be back in a moment.

PHRON. I'm on my way.

[*Exeunt omnes; enter Tychia*]

[Scene XVII] TYCHIA

TY. How pleasant in every life is affability, especially to those with whom you live, and how valuable for those who know how to make use of this same virtue. Everybody, known and unknown, hates an unpleasant person, and there is nobody who does not love a good-natured, indulgent person. One can learn this from me, because I treat my son with courtesy and kindness. Whatever he does, he tells me, of his own free will. Whatever he does that is good, I openly approve and assist; when he tries to do or to allow something bad, I immediately oppose the improper action, when it

appears, with reason and moderation. Thus I restrain and repress future ills. For a great evil [215] has small beginnings; if you take them away, you remove everything. Trained in these habits, my son just now came to me, weeping, and said, "Mother, I have sinned; I have kidnapped a woman who is a citizen. I admit that I have acted foolishly. You must look to our affairs and reputation and safety." I was pained, and I castigated him verbally for many things, but the time seemed riper for other things than to be wasted in scolding. Therefore I have decided to go to Doxia, and I will refuse no conditions, provided I allay the ill-will; then I will look into reforming my son.

[*Chronos returns, speaking to Calilogus--"beautiful speaker"--his secretary, unseen off-stage*]

But here is the old man. Now I will not be able to do anything that I had intended. I must change my plan.

[Scene XVIII] CHRONOS, TYCHIA, PHRONEUS

CHR. A different reason moves me, Calilogus, to think that it should be written this way; but I praise your wit and cleverness. Bring me those reports, so that I may re-read them, because it is the greatest negligence not to reexamine what you have written before you seal it.

TYCH. [*Aside*] Woe is me, what plan shall I follow? I think I must approach this man and find out what he is planning to do to us, so that I may quickly placate him, if he is becoming more angry. And besides, my case is not entirely bad or out of the ordinary. Who doesn't know that you must overlook and tolerate many things in every age? It is proper for the young to love and play, for grown men to be greedy for gain and plunder, for old men to be frugal and slow. In fact, if there's anything I am sorry about in this business, it's only this: that he did it without consulting me. For although I want those I love and those I admit among my intimate friends to be high-spirited and bold, still I would have preferred for Fortunius to satisfy his love a different way--by gifts and deception--rather than by kidnapping. But I will meet the old man, and then I will decide what to do as the occasion demands. [*Aloud*] Greetings, Chronos, what do you need here with so many documents?

CHR. Ha! As if you didn't know, or as if these things occurred against you will. Was it proper to do such things to a free-born woman, who is a citizen?

TYCH. Permit me to explain, please.

CHR. People permit you too many things, Tychia. Kidnapping! Scandalous high-living! And with your approval! Explain yourself!

TYCH. I have found out what was done here, I admit, and if they had been carried out with my knowledge, I would confess them openly. But I don't see that anything has occurred for which I should fear an upright, fair judge: for if Phimia is free-born, she has freely chosen for herself a free-born husband.

[Enter Phroneus]

[217] PHRON. I've come back. I delivered the message. Doxia is getting dressed to come out.

CHR. [To Tychia] You're very wicked. By Pollux, you're a--woman! Was it proper for there to be such an irregular wedding-ceremony? Breaking in, disturbing the peace, carrying off by force and violence? Did I not command that wicked man to be found? Will you flout me like this?

TYCH. I'll do what you command.

CHRON. I command it.

TYCH. [To Phroneus] Say, my good man, do you know my son?

PHRON. I have seen him.

TYCH. Do you know my house?

PHRON. I'd be more certain if you would show me.

TYCH. Well, pay attention. Go straight down this street to the tax collectors' house, then turn left until you come to the bakery, then go up to the square. There on the right, in full view, you will see a shield hanging by the door-posts, as usual, on which these words are inscribed in gold letters: Nisi iam forte, "By Any Chance." That's our house. Call my son. Did you understand?

PHRON. I didn't listen, and I'd never find it. Send one of your servants.

[Exit Phroneus]

TYCH. May the gods destroy you! [To "Flying-feet," perhaps Mercury, her servant] You, Volipeda, run, order Fortunius to come here immediately. What are you waiting for? [So that Chronos cannot hear] But when you come back, say that you didn't find him anywhere.

[Scene XIX] MNIMIA, CHRONOS, ALITHIA, TYCHIA

[Enter *Mnimia and Alithia*]

MNI. Come with me, Alithia, so that we can carry out my husband's commands. It will be to your benefit. By Pollux, how I'd like to do something useful for that modest young man about his love-affair. Let's call on Doxia. First, we'll calm her mind, which is now agitated. Why? Because this one case will help what we have started, so that hereafter no one will dare to harm two people, bride and groom, with one injury. The audacity of lustful men is directed at unmarried women and widows. But why do I see our old gentleman here? I shall go there. Hello, Chronos.

CHRON. Where is my daughter?

MNI. There she is. Come here, Alithia.

ALITH. Hello, father.

[219] CHRON. Did these things happen as people say? The doors broken open, someone kidnapped by force?

ALITH. Yes, father.

CHRON. By Jupiter, what a detestable crime.

TYCH. [*To Mnimia*] My dear, let us entreat the old gentleman. Chronos, listen, I implore you.

CHRON. Why should I listen to you?

TYCH. Not because it is lawful for us who are guilty to speak to you, but because it is right for a kind, humane man like you to listen.

CHRON. Speak.

TYCH. If I did not understand that all these things that you are preparing, dear Chronos, are directed at seeing justice done for those to whom the injury was apparently done, I might fear your severity toward my son. But since you yourself know that these things were done both by a young person and also by one who is suffering from passionate love, and that they were done to that woman, who may be suffering all these things willingly from the man she loves: will it not be inconsistent with your justice, if you do not pardon him for this one offense, partly out of regard for us, partly out of your own kindness? Let me implore you. Imagine that it is happening to you; pretend that something bad has happened to your daughter: you will

understand how perversely all their children's evil deeds reflect on the parents. What do you say, Chronos? And you, Mnimia, I beg you, persuade him. Go on!

MNI. Stop poking me in the ribs, dear Chronos. Show your customary gentle humanity; let her entreat you.

CHRON. What do you want done?

TYCH. I'd like for you to do this favor for me, the mother; and if you do it, you will be doing something that is at the same time just and agreeable to all of these people.

MNI. Dear Chronos, say yes, I beg you.

CHRON. What is it?

TYCH. I want Phimia to be my son's wife.

CHRON. Provided she doesn't refuse it.

TYCH. May the gods love you, may the gods preserve you always! I'll go home and bring my son to the wedding.

[221] CHRON. I don't reject this plan concerning Phimia, as long as the ill-fame of the kidnapping is blotted out by a legal marriage. [*Exit Tychia*] What else shall we do here, then? I will go back to the forum in order to dismiss these messengers with the documents. You, Mnimia, take care of the young lady entrusted to you.

[*Enter Phroneus, Philodoxus, Doxia*]

[Scene XX] PHILODOXUS, PHRONEUS, MNIMIA,
CHRONOS, DOXIA [, ALITHIA]

PHIL. Phroneus, if because of my singular regard for you I have ever deserved to be able to ask or expect anything from you, I now beg you to offer, as you always do, not only everything you owe me but everything you can do for the sake of your best friend. I commend, I entrust myself to your care.

PHRON. Oh, you're too kind.

PHIL. Not at all. But because I desire so strongly, I love so passionately, for that reason I am begging earnestly.

MNI. My dear man, cheer up!

CHRON. What are you all talking about over there? Do you disapprove of what we did about Phimia?

MNI. Not at all. I'm speaking to my newly rediscovered husband.

CHRON. This man is your husband?

MNI. My very own.

CHRON. I'm delighted. And what is it that you are discussing? If I can be of any service, you'll tell me?

MNI. I'll tell you, with pleasure. This young man is an Athenian. I knew his parents, upright and important people in our city. He would like, with my help and yours, for Doxia to become his new wife. She, if I guess correctly, does not reject the idea altogether. I believe that if you undertake this, with our persuasion we can arrange for each to be satisfied according to his expectation and desire.

CHRON. And is the dowry suitable?

MNI. She brings enough of a dowry of this sort: she is a modest, compliant woman.

[223] PHIL. I don't care about the dowry.

CHRON. So why don't we do this now, Mnimia?

[Enter Doxia]

MNI. Excellent. But here is Doxia.

DOX. Phroneus, in a hurry, with Chronos' words, commanded me to leave my house.

MNI. Here Doxia, come here to us, my precious. Do you know what Chronos has done about Phimia while you were absent? He has decided that it is better for her, under the circumstances, to be called "wife" in Fortunius' house than to be called a ruined woman in your house. For that reason he has betrothed her to Fortunius, who asked for her hand. What do you say?

DOX. Since the matter has gone so far that it is not possible to expect anything better, I consider it to be prudent to choose the lesser of the evils.

MNI. Not without reason am I often profoundly amazed at your prudence and extremely kind nature, not only because of other reasons but also especially because at your house in these affairs that require action, you had little need either of our entreaties or of lengthy persuasion, because you knew how much care and diligence we take for the protection of your advantages and honor.

Now, I have explained how Philodoxus feels about you, what he is asking for. I consulted the old gentleman; he approves the idea; for which reason he sent for you so that you could inform us how you feel about a wedding.

DOX. I know that you are both endowed with such virtue that I may safely believe you and do as you wish. I will accept--and I will reject--a husband and everything else according to your wish and decision, as long as I understand that it is pleasing and acceptable to you. It is your duty to find a place for me.

PHIL. [*Aside*] Oh, worthy of praise and worthy to be loved, with this eloquence and wonderful modesty. But I fear that this old gentleman may fail to persuade her.

CHRON. I want you to know that I do not totally approve that a young woman--certainly not one with such beauty and at this age--should remain at home too long. If such a thing often happens because there is nobody suitable for a girl to marry or because fathers want to invest their substance in more aristocratic families, nevertheless, I disapprove of your doing so, because you are alone (which, certainly, is not devoid of sinister suspicion) and because all the other things that often delay the arranging of marriages are completely absent: for neither the dowry nor relatives nor his character provide any excuse for you reasonably to refuse the marriage. Since this man asks for no dowry, you see what kind of husband you are going to have.

MNI. By Hercules, you have beautifully told how the matter stands, Chronos. [*To Philodoxus and Doxia.*] And the more I think about it, the more I believe that [225] a marriage between you is auspicious and lucky. In short, it is necessary for you to marry, and I want the wedding to take place. There's no time like the present. Give me your hand, and you, your hand. Do you take this man for your husband? Do you take this woman for your wife? Do you wish it?

PHIL. I do.

MNI. And do you wish it? Doxia nodded, so she agrees.

DOX. I do.

CHRON. Well done!

PHIL. Immortal gods, I am grateful to you because you have been far more favorable to me than I dared to hope. Oh, how happy I am!

MNI. Do you see how much pleasure a criminal's offense sometimes brings to good people?

PHIL. I am exulting with happiness. Applaud, spectators, for this my good fortune. [*He looks fondly at Doxia.*]. Applaud! And you, trumpeter, play the wedding march. We will follow. Farewell.

THE END



RESEÑAS

SALSA CELESTINA (Musical theatre). Watford Palace, 11 June-3 July, 1993. Director: **Lou Stein**.

Billed as a 'dance musical,' **Lou Stein's *Salsa Celestina*** transposes Rojas's play to a nightclub in present-day Cuba, where the resident dancers reenact the story of Calisto (**Jason Riddington**) and Melibea (**Marie Theodore**) in honour of the namesake and the alleged ancestors of the club's owner.

The nightclub set, with a V-shaped apron jutting into the stalls and, stage left, a red-curtained alcove housing the band, is basically *Celestina's* space, but it is used ingeniously to represent the other three houses. It is installed in the shell of a colonial ruin which is also the decaying exterior of Pleberio's mansion: the nightclub entrance up a flight of steps centre back becomes the front door of Pleberio's house when a diptych opens up to reveal a double arc of fairy lights. Here Melibea, in a simple white dress, makes a memorable first appearance, framed like a Virgin in a kitsch shrine.

The excellent salsa band (Orquesta La Clave) is undoubtedly the *cornerstone of the production*, setting a mood of exuberant Latinity. Authentic salsa lyrics (sung in Spanish) accompany nearly all the dance routines and incidental music orchestrates other moments (drumbeats for the climax of *Celestina's* demonic trance and

Melibea's fainting fit). Dance arises naturally out of the action in the low-life scenes, providing the ideal showcase for Elicia (Debra Michaels) and Areúsa (Linda Mae Brewer), as well as an enviably simple solution to all the on-stage coupling.

The axing of Pleberio and Alisa (they are 'away' for all the relevant scenes) represents the most significant departure of the adaptation. Considering the whole is over in a two-hour stretch crammed with musical numbers, it gives a remarkably full and close account of the original. The script is freely rendered into idiomatic English, with some notable one-liners ('As for the actual screwing, rabbits have more fun') and occasional snatches of Spanish ('*Mamacita*, what time do you call this?'). Sometimes the translation respects the letter of the text even when this is flatly contradicted by the visual interpretation. Celestina (Dollie Henry), for example, we hear described as 'old lady,' complaining of poverty, frailty and loss of libido. But the Celestina we see, resplendent in black and gold, snapping the band into action, is some way off retirement age and very much in control. This is Celestina in her heyday, not her decline. Similarly, in the absence of Pleberio, there is no evidence of patriarchal authority to back up Melibea's threats or justify Celestina's fears. The tawdry opulence of the set, the costumes, and the sunny rhythms combine to foreground the values of the demi-monde as positive, dominant and unchallenged.

The basic outline of the plot follows the *Comedia*, involving one inversion and, in the second half, some schematic borrowing from the *Tragicomedia*. Thus the play proper opens with Celestina introducing herself to the audience with passages from Pármeno's 'puta vieja' speech, before setting the scene for the first encounter between the lovers. Sempronio (Omar F. Okal) and Pármeno (Paul J. Medford) are nicely characterized as wide boy and whiner, quickly establishing rapport with the audience at the expense of Calisto, whose calls for his guitar become a running joke. Both girls are raunchy rather than sluttish: we actually get to see Elicia two-timing it with Crito, courtesy of the lead singer from the band, and Areúsa makes an early appearance dancing out Pármeno's fantasy in the background to his *tête à tête* with Celestina. Later, Celestina and the two servants seal their alliance with a jaunty song-and-dance routine, 'Dinero' (English lyrics, Spanish refrain). The conjuration scene takes instant effect by transporting Celestina magically to Melibea's unchaperoned presence, though Lucrecia (Flip Webster) is soon seen

peeping round the door. (Lucrecia is the first surprise of the evening: a prim duenna of uncertain age, she is the only character to speak with an English accent and her voice and manner project a cynical aloofness associated in cinematic tradition with the British butler abroad.) Act 4 has been pared down to essentials, Melibea's acquiescence being secured more by witchcraft than persuasion. Acts 5 and 6 are run together as Celestina returns home to Sempronio with the *cordón* (a white silk scarf, which Melibea wears round her waist) and they are joined there by Pármeno and Calisto, who receives the *cordón* without comment, fondling it to his face like a long-lost security blanket.

The second half begins in the middle of Act 7, with Areúsa writhing in pain centre stage and her remedy fast approaching from the auditorium. Acts 8-11 follow in original sequence, all much abridged. Calisto goes alone to Melibea's house for the Act 12 assignation; her part in their hasty exchange is conducted from an upstairs window. After the murder, which is neatly choreographed (Pármeno does the deed while Sempronio struggles with Elicia) the lead singer steps down once again, this time as Sosia, to inform Calisto of the three deaths. A token debate with his conscience and he is ready to keep the appointment with Melibea. Act 14 opens with the dialogue from Act 16 in which Melibea counters the marriage rumour with an impassioned defence of free love. In the absence of her parents she is able to entertain Calisto in her house, which he enters by 'a ladder outside the garden window,' opened in the set for this scene only. Melibea offers no resistance to the seduction, which takes the form of a decorous ballroom shuffle whose symbolism is explained in a sardonic commentary by Lucrecia. The dance is prolonged wordlessly to represent their continuing liaison while Elicia and Areúsa, stage left, mourn Celestina, curse the lovers, and plot the revenge. A (rather quiet) scuffle in the street brings Calisto to his fatal fall, Melibea kneels to address her suicide speech to the audience *in loco Pleberii* and then steps up to the centre doorway where, instead of leaping into the void, she finds Calisto waiting for her and the pair embrace in a mist of dry ice. After this apotheosis, Elicia's resolve to put off mourning (from Act 17) leads smoothly into a finale for which Celestina is reincarnated in her original role as nightclub proprietress.

I thought the first half, fast-moving and funny, worked very well. However, things fell apart in the second half as plot development defeated expectations and the carnival mood, once

established, proved impossible to dispel. If audience response is anything to go by, Calisto's death was the highpoint of the evening. Lucrecia's complacent announcement 'Your lover has fallen off the ladder' was greeted by gales of delighted laughter.

Lucrecia's careful delivery of this line (and the next) was calculated to draw a laugh, but the audience's receptive callousness has to be blamed on the adaptation as a whole, in which Calisto and Melibea command as much interest and respect as the juvenile leads in a 'Carry On' film. In musical terms the love story is downgraded (Calisto and Melibea do not sing a love duet, for example), and severe cuts to their scenes inhibit our sympathy with either character. Having no illusions about Calisto, I enjoyed this portrait of the complete fall guy, but Melibea, surely, is treated unfairly by the script. In her uppity phase she is downright disagreeable (to both Calisto and Celestina) and the *volte face* through meltdown to liberation is too sudden to be convincing.

I felt the production would have worked better if the tragic outcome had been shunted off to an epilogue, played out in dumb show, or recounted by the survivors (why not have Elicia, for example, tell the whole story?). Or perhaps the director should have been bolder about eliminating the elements of his source incompatible with the upbeat treatment. For all its idiosyncrasies, this interpretation of the Celestina story provides much food for thought about the original. As used here, the interpolations from the *Tragicomedia* do much, by default, to suggest the artistic superiority of the sixteen-act version, with its swift and shocking decent into catastrophe. And if at the end of the evening the humour seemed vapid without its moral underpinning, a treatment that laid exclusive stress on the dark side would be equally unbalanced. More positively, and unforgettably, *Salsa Celestina* brings out the inherent theatricality of Rojas's play, its eminent stageability. The first half, in particular, by exploiting its natural affinities with pantomime and music hall, conveys very credibly the *Comedia's* roots in humanistic comedy.

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

Joseph T. Snow
Martín Reyes-Durán
Michigan State University

Siempre es grato agradecer el envío de materiales que entran en estos suplementos. Esta vez, gracias a P. Botta, J. L. Canet, Ian MacPherson, y Celia Seniff. Este suplemento está dominado por los artículos en las actas del congreso de Purdue (1991), del cual una reseña aparecerá en el 17.2.

N.B. Utilizamos en este suplemento una abreviatura convencional (= Fifth Centenary) para señalar las entradas correspondientes a las actas del simposio internacional de 1991, celebrada en West Lafayette, Indiana, USA (ver CORFIS, abajo). [Ed.]

523. ARDEMAGNI, Enrica. "Celestina's Laboratory: A Translator's Dilemma," *Fifth Centenary*: 383-391.

Confronta el dilema que encara a los que pretenden traducir *Celestina*; dilema debido a las múltiples opciones de palabras y terminologías que se pueden usar, o debido a los contextos culturales e históricos diferentes que las traducciones de este texto de por sí encierran. Se hace mención a la traducción de James Mabbe hecha en 1631 al inglés, *The Spanish Bawd, Represented in Celestina: or, the Tragicke-Comedy of Calisto and Melibea*, y saca varios ejemplos de la traducción italiana de Ordóñez (1506).

524. BEARDSLEY, Jr., Theodore S. "Kaspar von Barth's Neo-Latin Translation of *Celestina* (1624)," *Fifth Centenary*: 237-250.

Presenta un análisis parcial de la traducción al latín de *Celestina*, hecha por Kaspar von Barth (1624). Está obviamente escrita no por un latino-parlante sino más bien por un alemán. Sin embargo, las anotaciones de Barth al texto constituyen el primer intento académico de hacer una edición crítica (ejemplificado con varios modelos, entre ellos, el caso de 'huevos asados'). Ediciones también útiles para comprender su *modus operandi* son la de Gérard J. Brault, *Célestine, A Critical Edition of the First French Translation* (1527), y la de Kathleen V. Kish, *An Edition of the First Italian Translation of the "Celestina"*.

525. BERNDT KELLEY, Erna. "Mute Commentaries on a Text: The Illustrations of the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*," *Fifth Centenary*: 193-227.

Analiza clara y concisamente algunas de las ilustraciones que acompañan a la *Celestina* de ¿1499?. Señala que los tallados fueron incluidas para iluminar y reflejar fielmente las acciones descritas en el texto. Propone la idea que los artesanos contratados por Fadrique Alemán de Basilea, impresor de esta edición de *Celestina*, pudieron haber sido influenciados por otras ilustraciones que acompañan las obras de teatro de Johan Grüninger.

526. BOTTA, Patrizia, y Elisabetta VACCARO. "Un esemplare annotato della *Celestina* e la traduzione inglese di Mabbe." *Cultura Neolatina* 52 (1992): 353-419.

Se trata de Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid) R/13.410, un ejemplar de la edición española plantiniana de 1599, profusamente anotado en inglés, en una mano que con casi toda seguridad es la de James Mabbe. Con una serie de agudas observaciones hechas por Botta, y una serie de ejemplos presentados sistemáticamente por Vaccaro, ha sido posible reconstruir nuevas relaciones entre el manuscrito de Alnwick Castle (1598) y la traducción impresa en 1631 (ambas obras de Mabbe): ese manuscrito (desaparecido) habría contado con dos 'fuentes'--la traducción italiana de Hordognez (1506) y la ed. española plantiniana de 1595--y que, en su momento, modificado, produce el manuscrito extante (fechable ca. 1603-1611). Mabbe, al pensar su traducción de nuevo, tiene en mano la plantiniana de 1599 (el ejemplar encontrado ahora con sus anotaciones, o glosas, en inglés), y tiene su antiguo manuscrito (que nunca llegó a publicarse); utilizará ambos en producir una nueva traducción manuscrita hacia

1629-1630, que es la que llega a imprimirse el año después. Un estudio de gran importancia.

527. BURKE, James F. "Law of the Father--Law of the Mother in *Celestina*," *Fifth Centenary*: 347-357.

La "ley del padre" es el orden simbólico basado en el lenguaje (y que ejerce autoridad moral). La "ley de la madre" es el imperio de la imaginación (en Rojas, el mundo de *Celestina*). En un estudio denso, B. quiere señalar como ninguna de las dos leyes puede sostener el mundo de manera completa, satisfactoria y la sensación de vacío que Pleberio desencadena en el último auto lo confirma.

528. CANET VALLES, José Luis. *De la comedia humanística al teatro representable*. Colección Oberta, Serie Textos Teatrales Hispánicos del Siglo XVI, 2, Sevilla/Valencia: Univ. Nacional de Educación a Distancia [=UNED], 1993. Rústica, 398 pp.

Contiene una introducción (11-89, con una bibliografía muy al día) que ilumina el período en que la comedia humanística comienza a ceder ante los intentos de la representación. Edita, con notas explicativas, cinco obras de los años 1513-1521, que se conocen tradicionalmente como las primeras imitaciones celestinescas, y son: *Egloga de la tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, *Penitencia de amor* (ambas de P. M. Ximénez de Urrea), *Comedia Thebayda*, *Comedia Hipólita*, y *Comedia Serafina* (todas oficialmente anónimas, aunque Canet sugiere posibles autores, pp. 68-78).

529. CARPENTER, Dwayne E. "The Sacred in the Profane: Jewish Scriptures and the First Comedy in Hebrew," *Fifth Centenary*: 229-236.

Comenta brevemente la vida de Joseph ben Samuel Tsarfati (también conocido como Giuseppe Gallo); gran médico papal y académico judío de comienzos del siglo XVI. El artículo propone que Tsarfati supuestamente fue el primero en traducir *Celestina* al hebreo (texto hoy perdido), además de escribir un poema introductorio, todavía extante, a la obra teniendo como personajes principales a Melibea y Calisto (mencionando a los personajes en ese orden). Analiza la importancia de este poema, y sus referencias bíblicas, litúrgicas, y talmúdicas, para las investigaciones actuales de *Celestina* con enfoque didáctico y religioso.

530. CASTELLS, Ricardo. "El mal de amores de Calisto y el diagnóstico de Eras y Crato, médicos." *Hispania* 76 (1993): 55-60.

El autor prefiere la lectura de la CCM ("Eras y Crato") a la de la TCM (primero, "Crato y Galieno," y luego "Erasístrato"), siendo que estos dos médicos de la vista y del oído son los que hubieran entendido el mal de amores de Calisto (enfermedad que se producía a través de los ojos y de los oídos del galán). Hay referencias a tratados de amor y a episodios paralelos aparecidos en *Tirant lo Blanc* y en *La vita nuova* de Dante.

531. CORFIS, Ivy A., y J. T. SNOW, eds. *Fernando de Rojas and "Celestina": Approaching the Fifth Centenary. Proceedings of an International Conference in Commemoration of the 450th Anniversary of the Death of Fernando de Rojas, Purdue University, 21-24 November 1991*. Madison, Wisconsin: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1993. xx + 439 pp.

Actas de un simposio: los estudios están anotados en este mismo suplemento.

532. ____ (see SNOW, abajo, núm. 560).

533. DAVIES, G. A. "Destellos de un sub-texto literario. La rememoración del pasado en *La Celestina*." *Leeds Papers on Hispanic Drama*, ed. Margaret A. Rees (Leeds: Univ. of Leeds, Trinity and All Saint's College, 1991): 9-41. (*)

534. DEBAX, Michelle. "El yo problemático en la Celestina." *Compás de Letras* 1 (1992): 64-74.

Hay un 'yo' aparente (el del paratexto, o sea, de los preliminares, posliminares, etc.) y un 'yo' oculto (el del texto *Comedia / Tragicomedia*) en *Celestina*. El acercamiento lingüístico al "hacer textual" podría servir para localizar la presencia del 'yo' oculto: por ejemplo, en considerar algunas de las expansiones o interpolaciones (*Tragicomedia*) en función de un 'yo' que así implica indirectamente el entendimiento del 'tú'-receptor, o tratar el doble nivel de los textos citados (autores clásicos, refranes en sus varios contextos) como otra manera que tiene el 'yo' de enganchar al 'tú', de llamarle la atención a la necesidad de sopesar siempre dos versiones de todo, proceso éste que se podría equiparar con el tema de 'contienda' que inicia el 'yo' aparente de los materiales preliminares.

535. DEYERMOND, Alan. "Female Societies in *Celestina*," *Fifth Centenary*: 1-31.

Presenta cuatro tipos de micro-sociedades femeninas latentes en la Edad Media; 1) la corte u hogar: gobernado por la mujer cuyo marido se encuentra ausente; 2) el convento: donde las monjas conviven, aunque la *vocación* radique en la esperanza de encontrar una vida mejor fuera de sus hogares; 3) la *hacienda* de una viuda; y 4) el burdel, micro-sociedad femenina que se ejemplifica plenamente en *Celestina* y cuyas implicaciones son ampliamente expuestas en este estudio. En la micro-sociedad de *Celestina*, es ella que rige y son los hombres los marginados: es interesante notar que esta micro-sociedad es la única proveniente del proletariado y también la única que, a últimas instancias, es destruida por la violencia de los hombres. Explica como las relaciones hombre-mujer (Calisto-Melibea, Pármeno-Areúsa) sirven para definir el cosmos de esta sociedad femenina, ya sea por motivaciones de comercio, de amor, o de lujuria.

536. FOTHERGILL-PAYNE, Louise. "'Conséjate con Séneca': Auctoritas in *Celestina* and *Celestina comentada*," *Fifth Centenary*: 113-128.

Esta *Celestina Comentada*, obra de un autor anónimo, escrita a mediados del siglo XVI, pone anotaciones a las palabras de los interlocutores de Rojas, con la ayuda de *auctoritates*. El artículo comenta el pasaje de Sempronio sobre los vicios de las mujeres (Aucto I), elucidando los procedimientos del comentarista al señalar una jerarquía de fuentes que comienza con André Tiraqueau y su *De legibus connubialibus* (1513) y llegan a Séneca, Ovidio, Juvenal, Petrarca, y otros. El cotejo de Rojas y su comentarista revela que el humor del autor fue recibido a veces con demasiado literalismo y seriedad.

537. FRAKER, Charles F. "The Four Humors in *Celestina*," *Fifth Centenary*: 129-154.

Cita estudios de J. W. Draper sobre los cuatro humores (sangre, flema, melancolía, cólera) en las tragedias de Shakespeare, y se pregunta si tal estudio ha de ser realizado con respecto a *Celestina*, adicionando los trabajos por F. de Armas y P. Cátedra. Hay dos dificultades a confrontarse: 1) la perspectiva bradeliana que obliga al lector a tratar a los personajes ficcionales como si fueran reales, o como si fueran concebidos de la misma manera que los personajes de la ficción clásica, 2) el hecho de que los personajes celestinescos son más difíciles de analizar en sus humores que los de Shakespeare. Da un buen resumen/definición de los cuatro humores (utilizando el *Regimen sanitatis salernitanum*), antes de adentrarse en el texto

celestinesco. ¿Tenían Rojas y el presunto primer autor conocimientos de la teoría de los humores? ¿Está implícita o explícitamente presente en la obra? Sugiere los humores de unos personajes celestinescos (Pármeno y Sempronio--flemáticos; Celestina--melancólica y colérica; Elicia y Areúsa--coléricas, etc.).

538. FRIEDMAN, Edward H. "Rhetoric at Work: Celestina, Melibea, and the Persuasive Arts," *Fifth Centenary*: 359-370.

Al interesarse por el lenguaje retórico en *Celestina*, explica la dicotomía retórica/gramática: la primera es libre, sin reglas, mientras la otra es rígida y normativa. Por medio del modelo deconstructivo, muestra como la retórica y los códigos lingüísticos modifican y crean los papeles de cada personaje; y también como cada personaje se vale de las mismas técnicas lingüísticas para comunicar sólo a medias sus intenciones reales, a la vez que dejan entrever su realidad escondida. La destrucción de Melibea es una prueba de "como el poder del lenguaje puede dominar, excluir, mantener prioridades, y distanciar al hablante."

539. GARCÍ-GÓMEZ, Miguel. "El cabello de Melibea (Medusa): Entre la petrificación y el emborrucamiento," en *Estudios en homenaje a Enrique Ruiz-Fornells*, ed. J. Fernández-Jiménez et al (Erie, Pennsylvania: ALDEEU, 1990), pp. 233-239.

Los cabellos como fetiche sexual, como potencias para congelarle al hombre que los trasmuta por los pelos escondidos de la mujer en sus fantasías. La referencia es del auto Iº, el diálogo entre Calisto y Sempronio. La exploración del símbolo del cabello--y del "emborrucamiento" del hombre ante él--pasa por la psicología moderna, la mitología, la Biblia, y el *Poema de Mio Cid*.

540. GASCON VERA, Elena. "Visión y razón: elementos trágicos en *La Celestina*," en *Estudios .. Ruiz-Fornells* (Erie, PA: ALDEEU, 1990), pp. 246-254.

Explora el conflicto "luz/razón" en las imágenes y situaciones del texto para iluminar mejor su papel en las eventuales tragedias ocurridas a Calisto y Melibea por Sempronio (los jóvenes), y Celestina, Pleberio y Alisa (los mayores). Expone sistemáticamente los instantes de *Celestina* donde, ya sea por destino humano, codicia servil, o ya sea por las intervenciones de la vieja alcahueta, se vislumbran estos elementos trágicos entremezclados en la trama de la obra. Sostiene que la contienda o batalla en la que están configurados los personajes principales de la obra (contienda que será la causa de su destrucción moral y de su muerte) está ya

determinada por el uso que hacen de sus facultades de la vista y de la razón: tal proceso de la destrucción moral es un eje organizador de la obra.

541. GIMENO CASALDUERO, Joaquín. "El mundo de *La Celestina*." Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica 40 (1992): 99-116.

Llama la atención a la influencia que tuvo en Rojas las Coplas de Jorge Manrique; el cual a su vez ya había sido influenciado por las homilias de San Gregorio dedicadas al Evangelio. Se trata del ajuste--o transformación--que Rojas consigue, con respecto a las *Coplas*, del tono moralizador, asignando las diferencias a los dos mundos presentados: el del pecado y el de la gracia. Expone plenamente la relación opuesta que existe entre los escritos gregorianos y las adaptaciones manriqueñas de la trascendencia de la muerte--que moralizan dentro de este mundo de la gracia--con el mundo del pecado que expone Rojas; ya que aunque ambos mundos reflejan el dolor y la angustia relacionadas con la muerte, en uno existe la esperanza de la eternidad mientras que en el otro reluce la idea de la temporalidad.

542. KISH, Kathleen V. "Eighteenth Century Celestina Reincarnations," *Fifth Centenary*: 251-265.

Comenta el resurgimiento de Celestina después de la censura, a través del desarrollo de adaptaciones celestinescas en Inglaterra durante el siglo XVIII (y después), destacando las adaptaciones de John Savage ("Tragicomedia...adaptada al escenario Inglés"), del Capitán John Stevens (*Celestina, the Bawd of Madrid*), y de Ashley Dukes (*Five Plays of Other Times*). La traducción de *Celestina* por James Mabbe influye en algunas de estas adaptaciones. En las bellas artes, se destacan las pinturas de Goya: *La madre Celestina, Maja and Celestina on a Balcony*.

543. LACARRA, María Eugenia. "La evolución de la prostitución en la Castilla del siglo XV y la mancebía en Salamanca en tiempos de Fernando de Rojas," *Fifth Centenary*: 33-78.

Detalla la trayectoria histórica de las prostitutas en la Edad Media española, expone la definición de tales de acuerdo al *Fuero Juzgo*, junto con sus respectivas penalidades. Describe niveles de alcahuetería de acuerdo al *Fuero Real* y las *Partidas*; esta categorización alfonsí es esencial para la comprensión de la caracterización de la alcahueta de Rojas. Describe también el establecimiento de las mancebías y su trascendencia e influencia en la creación de leyes restrictivas durante estos siglos. Aclara, con

ejemplos de *Celestina*, el paralelo de la prostitución y alcahuetería ficcionales con la realidad histórica de la época.

544. McGRADY, Donald, y Suzanne Freeman, eds. Lope de Vega, *La bella malmaridada*. Charlottesville, Virginia: Biblioteca Siglo de Oro, Num. 6, 1986.

En la introducción y las notas llaman la atención a la influencia de Rojas y *Celestina* en esta obra de Lope.

545. MACPHERSON, Ian. "Celestina labranderera." *Revista de literatura medieval* 4 (Madrid: Gredos, 1992): 177-186.

Expone un interesante recuento de las acciones ocurridas en el Aucto IV de *Celestina*; en el cual la vieja alcahueta hace su primera entrada en la casa de Melibea con el pretexto de vender un hilado (oficio de labranderera o costurera). Plantea interesantes preguntas acerca de las actitudes y acciones que presentan algunos de los personajes en este fatídico Aucto IV (entre otras preguntas; ¿por qué deja Alisa entrar a Celestina después de reconocerla? y ¿por qué deja a su hija sola con ella más adelante en la escena?) Comenta como Rojas posiblemente utilizó la escena diabólica con Celestina en el Aucto III para justificar la partida inverosímil de Alisa. Sin embargo, a través del uso de la ironía verbal y dramática, Rojas también hace un retrato caricaturesco y cruel de la burguesía al presentar a Alisa como una mujer tonta, ciega, irreflexiva, antipática y muy crédula.

546. MALKIEL, Yakov. "Analysis of Early Critical Reactions to María Rosa Lida de Malkiel's *La originalidad artística de 'La Celestina'*," *Fifth Centenary*: 79-92.

El libro de 1962 hizo época, eso sí. Aquí, casi 30 años después, se intenta matizar las más de 70 reacciones al libro (mayormente reseñas) que reconocieron anticipadamente los que serían sus valores permanentes.

547. MIGUEL MARTINEZ, Emilio de. "*Celestina*, teatro," *Fifth Centenary*: 321-345.

La esencia dramática y teatral de *Celestina* se propone en este estudio desde una docena de perspectivas (teóricas, prácticas), y con una energía poco usual hasta la fecha. Quienes abogan por una naturaleza novelística para *Celestina* tendrán que confrontar los argumentos aquí ofrecidos, y en su conjunto.

548. MUÑOZ, Raul. "La función temática de los objetos inanimados en *La Celestina*," en *Estudios ... Ruiz-Fornells* (Erie, PA: ALDEEU, 1990), pp. 432-437.

Señala que en *Celestina* se encuentra un gran número de objetos inanimados (huerto, torre, escaleras, ventanas, calles, puertas, paredes, murallas) que adquieren gran importancia como elementos indispensables a la estructura irónica de la obra. Pretende enfocar la atención a estos objetos más como barreras simbólicas al amor sensual y a la engañosa naturaleza humana que meros elementos decorativos del espacio físico.

549. PEREZ PRIEGO, Miguel Angel. "Celestina en escena: el personaje de la vieja alcahueta y hechicera en el teatro renacentista," *Fifth Centenary*: 295-319.

Sigue las huellas del personaje celestinesco en estas obras del siglo XVI: la *Egloga de Plácida y Vitoriano* (h. 1513), la *Egloga II* de Ximénez de Urrea (h. 1516), la *Comedia Tideia* (pre-1550), el *Auto de Clarindo* (h. 1535), la *Comedia Pródiga* (pre-1554), la *Farsa de la hechicera* (pre-1547), y la *Farsa de la Esposa de los Cantares* (h. 1560). Con muchas citas textuales.

550. RANK, Jerry R. "'O cruel juez, y que mal pago me has dado ...': Or Calisto's Urban Network," *Fifth Centenary*: 155-164.

Fernando de Rojas provee a sus personajes con un *pasado*, para que de esta manera entendamos sus acciones dentro del marco *celestinesco* y las circunstancias sociales que los rodean. Como ejemplo, nos da Calisto como un *aristócrata urbano*, y nos deja entrever ciertos lazos íntimos--si no corruptos--entre el cruel juez del auto XIV y la familia de Calisto. *Celestina* puede servir para entender cómo era la sociedad urbana del siglo XV (una mezcla de prostitutas, alcahuetas, corrupción, contrabando y soborno).

551. RICAPITO, Joseph V. "People, Characters, and Roles: A View of Characterization in *Celestina*," *Fifth Centenary*: 181-191.

Utiliza los trabajos de Lida de Malkiel y Gilman para repasar los estrechos vínculos que unen los personajes *celestinescos* y los modelos de la comedia humanística. Da amplios ejemplos de como el diálogo y las acciones se convierten en elementos fundamentales para la creación de nuevas dimensiones en la caracterización de ellos, a quienes clasifica en tres categorías; 1) los convencionales (Calisto, Sempronio y Elicia), 2) los que se alejan un poco de las tipologías

convencionales (Pármeno y Areúsa), y 3) los que se alejan más de las tipologías (Melíbea y Pleberio). *Celestina* es categoría aparte.

552. RODRIGO, Antonina. *Margarita Xirgu y su teatro*. Barcelona: Planeta, 1974.

En las páginas 276 y 297-300 se encuentran interesantes detalles sobre la representación de *Celestina* que hizo la Xirgu en Montevideo (1949) y Buenos Aires (1956). Foto entre 304-305.

553. ROUND, Nicholas G. "*Celestina*, Aucto I: A Platonic Echo and Its Resonances," *Fifth Centenary*: 93-112.

Depende del lector y la lectura que se haga de un texto el observar trazas de influencias de otros autores u otros textos. Múltiples relecturas y el estado anímico del momento pueden resultar en conclusiones diversas. De su propia lectura de *Celestina*, Round identifica en el auto 1º unas instancias donde se encuentran ecos de Platón. Estos sirven para descartar a Mena y a Cota como posible *Antiguo Auctor*, aunque si recalca el hecho de que tal autor debía ser de una generación anterior a la de Rojas. A su vez propone a Fernando de Roa profesor de Rojas en Salamanca) como candidato.

554. SABAT DE RIVERS, Georgina. "Los problemas de *La segunda Celestina*." *Nueva revista de filología hispánica* 40 (1992): 493-512.

Después de todo lo escrito sobre la autoría/no autoría de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz de un tercer auto de la comedia comenzada en España por Salazar y Torres en 1575 (comedia también acabada por Vera Tassis), titulada "*La Segunda Celestina*" (Vera Tassis: "El encanto es la hermosura"), Sabat de Rivers repasa minuciosamente los argumentos y la evidencia y, sin poder resolver la cuestión, sí demuestra que no se puede eliminar a Sor Juana como candidata, como algunos han pretendido hacer.

555. SALVADOR MIGUEL, Nicasio. "'De una ave llamada rocho': para la historia literaria del ruj," *Fifth Centenary*: 393-411.

Esta referencia a una ave fantástica aparece en el prólogo a la *Tragicomedia*, y en este artículo, se estudia la etimología de la palabra y su historia durante y después de la Edad Media.

556. SCHIZZANO MANDEL, Adrienne. "Celestina's Seductive Power in France: An Operatic Debut," *Fifth Centenary*: 283-293.

Historia y significado de la obra operática de Maurice O'Hana que tuvo su estreno en París en 1988. Describe, escena por escena, el progreso de la acción (y la música), con un sentido crítico y comparativo (con la obra de Rojas).

557. SENIFF, Dennis P. *Antología de la literatura hispánica medieval*. Biblioteca Románica Hispánica VI. Antología Hispánica, 38, Madrid: Gredos, 1992.

En esta novísima antología, los excerpts de *Celestina* (llamada 'novela dialogada'; propone a Cota como probable colaborador de Rojas) están en las páginas 621-45. Da una idea de la obra, sobre todo del primer auto. Hay un ensayo bibliográfico en 62 y una lista de estudios y otros comentarios en 114-117.

558. SEVERIN, Dorothy S. "Celestina as a Comic Figure," *Fifth Centenary*: 165-179.

Con citas generosas de los actos en que aparece Celestina, nos hace sentir como varias escenas--unas de humor ligero, otras con más sátira--son (o podrán ser) recibidas por los oyentes de la *Tragicomedia*. Tanto depende, con todo--la autora señala--en el arte de la intérprete en el papel de Celestina.

559. SNOW, Joseph Thomas. "Five Centuries of *Celestina* Readings: An Overview and an Example From the Nineteenth Century," *Fifth Centenary*: 267-281.

La idea es que las obras celestinescas pueden estudiarse para sacar de ellas diversas fuentes de inspiración particulares encontradas por estos lectores/autores en la obra de Rojas, y así ir comprendiendo mejor las verdaderas (y a veces sorprendentes) dimensiones de ella. Aquí el ejemplo comentado es S. Estébanez Calderón, su artículo costumbrista, "La Celestina" (hacia 1843).

560. ____ (con Ivy A. Corfis). "*Celestina* and Celestinas: Nearing the Fifth Centenary," *Fifth Centenary*: xi-xx.

Intenta dar una visión panorámica de la prole de *Celestina después de publicada la inmensamente popular* Tragicomedia. Sólo tiene como finalidad realzar la extraordinaria riqueza creadora que la obra original ha estimulado a lo largo de casi cinco siglos.

561. STAMM, James R. "Reading and Listening in *Celestina*," *Fifth Centenary*: 371-381.

Define dos significados del verbo *leer* presentes en la *Comedia*; (1) leer la obra para sí mismo y, (2) leer la obra para un público. Señala como Alonso de Proaza (corrector de la obra) promueve la segunda opción, mientras la lectura silenciosa es lo que se sospecha para Rojas. Aduce ejemplos para demostrar como el texto mismo se inclina por la adquisición de sabiduría en una forma oral (Pármeno), mientras que en otras instancias se adquiere por medio de la palabra escrita (Melibea). Pero *de los dos*, el habla se representa con más frecuencia (refranes, anécdotas, proverbios etc.). De los siete personajes principales, *Celestina*, Pármeno y Areúsa utilizan el habla; Calisto, Melibea y Pleberio utilizan la lectura, mientras que Sempronio utiliza ambos.

562. VILANOVA, Antonio, ed. Francisco Delicado. *La lozana andaluza*. Barcelona: Selecciones Bibliófilas, 1952.

Esta edición contiene un prólogo (XI-LX) que tiene una breve presentación de la vida de Francisco Delicado, y de la importancia histórica y lingüística de *La Lozana andaluza*. La obra en sí incluye la primera proyección de la novela celestinesca española por el suelo italiano, además de señalar el inicio de la picaresca dentro del mundo rufianesco de la prostitución romana. La obra presenta la vida de una nueva *Celestina* cordobesa entre las meretrices romanas y las cortesanas españolas en Italia. Facsímil de la portada de la primera edición de *Lozana* en la página iv.

563. WHITBOURNE, Christine. *Knaves and Swindlers: Essays on the Picaresque Novel in Europe*. London/New York/Toronto: Oxford UP, 1974.

En el primer ensayo, "Moral Ambiguity in the Spanish Picaresque Tradition," se arguye la importancia de *Celestina* en el trayecto de la ficción picaresca, tanto en el caso de ciertos personajes como en su estilo y retórica (ver, especialmente, las pp. 4-7 y 14)

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Submissions for articles longer than 35 pages (text + notes) are not encouraged. In special instances, prior consultation with the Editor may determine a special need for an extended study. Notes and brief studies should treat well-defined points concerning either the text or the interpretation of *Celestina*, its imitations, continuations, translations, theatrical adaptations, et cetera. We welcome items dealing with literary, linguistic, stylistic, and other concerns. Specialized bibliographic items will be considered for publication, if suitable to the aims of *Celestinesca*.

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