This is a study of sources: not of the grand literary matrices in the mind of the author as Celestina came to be, but of a cluster of small proverbial phrases in one corner of the text. The maxims are minor--barely a mote in the trove of influences beneath Celestina, barely a trickle alongside the flood of gnome and proverb that spills from Celestina as she casts the spell. Yet the use of the small proverb can be pivotal in the workings of Celestina. At one level, it can bring a mood of resonant perspective to the moment. It can also, by virtue of how it is framed in the dialectic, assert the speaker's social or ethical sway--its mere citation can wrest the authority in the exchange, and shift the status of the speaker and the rival. In Celestina it is as if the instinctive flow of proverb were itself proof of Celestina's edge over everyone in her orb. She has the hoard of proverb and cliché that can wear down and finally ensnare whomever she engages; she can trump the most resourceful rejoinders of her contenders, leaving disheveled their rhetoric; by the endless excess she can talk anyone into a fever; and when she whiffs victory (as at the end of Act IV) she can celebrate with a flair of proverbs, now gloatingly irreproachable.

Beyond the matter of finding literary antecedents, several contexts have been proposed to describe how the text of Celestina grew, and how such an agglomeration of proverbial phrases got into it. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel suggested a kind of critical and creative recital and circulation of the manuscript of Celestina among the circle of Rojas' scholar-friends at Salamanca, each free to suggest emendations or additions in a fluid and non-proprietary attitude toward authorship. Keith Whinnom warned that we should not dig for sources in complete classical texts, but in the compendia of proverbs or snippets of ethical advice from the classics that were so accessible to late-medieval and early-renaissance students and writers. Celestina is a work generated in a university milieu--but within the circle of students of law, rather than the great cadre of classicists that was forming in Salamanca around Nebrija. Peter Russell has proposed that the astute student of law would have learned from his lawbooks enough citations from the classics to make them familiar. And Stephen Gilman has shown that illustrations from the classics passed quite easily into the conversational rhetoric of the typical university student of the era. Such facets of learning and composition have a place in the discussion of how the set of proverbs we study came into Celestina--and how Celestina as the acquisitive text could turn proverbial trivialities into its prime tropes.

One compendium likely to have been in circulation at Salamanca and within easy reach of the author of Celestina is the work by Pero
Díaz de Toledo called *Proverbios de Séneca*. Díaz de Toledo was a *converso*, employed as jurist by the Marqués de Santillana, later by Fernán Alvarez de Toledo (Conde de Alba), and Alonso Carillo. He had a talent for translation, and his projects were a grade beyond the workaday products of Villena and others in the period. The book of *Proverbios de Séneca* was commissioned by Juan II, and probably written in the years 1442-1444. In Pero Díaz de Toledo's work, the proverbs number 365: 248 are translated from the Latin proverbs of Publilius Syrus called *Sententiae Senecae* or *Proverbia Senecae*; 65 from the pseudo-Senecan *De Moribus*; the rest from a variety of ancient writers. (It has been speculated that he expanded the original set so that one proverb would serve for each day of the year.) Díaz de Toledo's project also included an often lengthy *glosa* for each of the proverbs. (These *glosas* will be the crucial evidence in our discussion.) Though the *Proverbios de Séneca* is now scarcely cited in literary or cultural histories, it had an impressive circulation in its day, and the vogue held on for at least a century. It is difficult to name a vernacular Spanish prose work of the period with more manuscript copies (including a presentation volume for Juan II) and more early printed editions, among them three before the publication in 1499 of *Celestina* (Zamora 1482, Zaragoza 1491, Sevilla 1495).

Both F. Castro Guisasola and A. D. Deyermond have looked into the possibility that the pseudo-Senecan proverbs of Publilius Syrus (and perhaps Díaz de Toledo's translation and gloss of them) might have been a source for *Celestina*. Castro Guisasola (pp. 99-100) listed a dozen of the Latin proverbs from the *Sententiae Senecae* that seemed to be reflected in *Celestina*, though generally without a precise verbal correspondence that would affirm a direct connection. Castro Guisasola did not give the Castilian translations from Díaz de Toledo, so that it would be difficult to measure whether the author of *Celestina* drew directly from the *Proverbios* or from the *Sententiae*; he thought it likely that Rojas knew the Latin *Sententiae*, and vaguely possible that he had some contact with Díaz de Toledo's *Proverbios de Séneca*. But Castro Guisasola's general verdict was that Díaz de Toledo's work should be dismissed as a significant source for *Celestina*.

Deyermond (p. 144), studying the mark of Petrarch in *Celestina*, noticed a similarity between Petrarch's phrase "Beneficium dando accepit qui digno dedit" (from *De Rebus memorandis*) and the passage in Act IV of *Celestina* "Porque hazer beneficio es semejar a Dios, e el que le da le recibe, quando a persona digna del le haze". He traced the phrase back through Petrarch's source (Publilius Syrus), went a step farther to the 1495 Seville printing of *Proverbios de Séneca*, and identified a relation between the first portion of the phrase in *Celestina* and a proverb-heading in *Proverbios de Seneca* ("¿Qué cosa es dar beneficio? Semejar a Dios").

What Castro Guisasola failed to see--apart from the verbal similarities of certain of the Castilian *Proverbios* and passages in *Celestina*--was the significance of the textual location of the pseudo-Senecan proverbs he collected as congeners of phrases in *Celestina*. In effect, all the proverbs (seven of them) that have recognizable verbal proximity to phrases in *Celestina* are found in Act IV.
Of itself, this tally of proverbs in Act IV of Celestina in common with the Proverbios de Séneca (and ultimately from Sententiae Senecae of Publilius Syrus) does not assure us that the author of Celestina was influenced directly by Díaz de Toledo's work, or that he consulted the text of the Proverbios. All of the proverbs could be from the type of sources (Aristotle, Boethius, Terence) common to both Rojas and Díaz de Toledo (or his own source, Publilius Syrus); they are not from the original glosas of Díaz de Toledo but from the pseudo-Senecan proverbs that are headings above his glosas. But in one additional example, found near the start of the same Act IV, the passage in Celestina echoes the prose of Díaz de Toledo's glosa to a proverb. The identification of the new passage would undermine Castro Guisasola's claim (p. 99) that—since he had not found a single case in which the material in Celestina came from Pero Díaz de Toledo's glosas—the text of Proverbios was probably not a source for Celestina. In the passage we identify, the text of Celestina is akin to a section in the glosa by Díaz de Toledo to such a degree that a borrowing would appear the sole explanation. Here is a pairing of the section in Celestina and the excerpt from a glosa for proverb 59 ("Las cosas bien pensadas puhan a sí mismas mas non peresçen del todo" < "Bene cogitata si excidunt non occidunt"):  

Celestina

Porque aquellas cosas que bien no son pensadas, aunque algunas vezes ayan buen fin, comúnmente crían desvariados efectos. (ed. Criado de Val and Trotter, p. 80)

Proverbios de Séneca

Ca las cosas que non son bien pensadas, aunque algunas vezes ayan buen fin, más comúnmente avrán desvariados efectos. (no. 59, ed. Riss, p. 65)

We might speculate, then, that in the creation of Act IV the author (or someone who set his hand to revision of the manuscript) had in reach the Castilian text of the Proverbios de Séneca, and filled the act with citations from it—looking at the glosas as well as the proverb-headings, and bringing at least one glosa into the text. Perhaps he found apt use for them in the long, coiling contest between Melibea and Celestina. Here is our précis of the context of the proverbs from Díaz de Toledo in Act IV of Celestina:

The first citation—the passage given above from the glosa—is near the very start of Act IV. Celestina is setting out to the house of Pleberio with the hilado and the high hope of help from the underworld. She is thinking aloud and summoning encouragement: calculating, measuring the whirl of things, the motives of Sempronio in the previous Act, the strategy she needs in the manipulation of Melibea. To collect her mood, to slow her anxieties, and to frame all that follows (in the monologue Gilman calls the "central moment of consciousness between the seemingly vain boasting of Act III and the real accomplishment of the seduction") she invokes Díaz de Toledo's glosa: "las cosas que non son bien pensadas ... más comúnmente avrán desvariados efectos".

Celestina reaches the house, and with little effort—as though some infernal blessing were upon her—finds herself alone with Melibea.
She begins the long and difficult conversion, holding back enough to taunt Melibea and orchestrate her swells of temper. She moves into forthright flattery of Melibea—first with praise of her beauty, then with reference to her grace and lineage—and then makes a vaguely stated request that Melibea grant a word of blessing to one who is suffering. Melibea nearly succumbs, but answers that she can give no reply unless Celestina be more specific about the request and its source. She insists that in general she is disposed to act charitably "para salud de algún cristiano". And it is in defense of this virtue and stance that Melibea gives a conglutination of three consecutive pseudo-Senecan proverbs (with a crucial adjustment from an image of death to one of sickness in the third example):

Porque hacer beneficio es semejar a Dios. (p. 91)

¿Qué cosa es dar beneficio?—Semejar a Dios. (no. 305, p. 258)

E l que le da le recibe, quando a persona digna dél le haze. (p. 91)

El que dio beneficio al digno, dándolo, rescibiólo. (no. 45, p. 53)

Y el que puede sanar al que padesce, no lo haziendo, le mata. (p. 91)

El que puede socorrer al que pereșçe, non socorriendo, lo mata. (no. 301, p. 255)

As the conversion progresses, Celestina begins to reveal piecemeal the purpose of the call. She twice mentions the name of Calisto, and each time Melibea flares. The next use of a proverb from Díaz de Toledo comes as part of Melibea's whirling reply that she will grant no favor to this Calisto:

Que por demás es ruego a quien no puede aver misericordia. (p. 94)

Por demás ruegan al que non puede aver misericordia. (no. 124, p. 141)

The last clump of proverbs comes toward the end of Act IV. The ordeal has ended and the pieces have fallen into place for Celestina. Melibea is now repentant, nearly begging for pardon after what she is made to perceive as the excesses of her "airada lengua". Celestina is making arrangements, closing up the conversation, forgiving Melibea her "mucha sospecha", advising her to practice mesura, indulging her with righteous consolation. In the process Celestina thrice employs the proverbs in a kind of benevolent scolding of Melibea, sometimes adjusting the general proverbial voice to the first-person:

Que bien veo que tu mucha sospecha echó, como suele, mis razones a la más triste parte. (p. 99)

La mucha sospecha sienpre echa las cosas a la más triste parte. (no. 7, p. 30)

del ayrado es de apartar por poco tiempo; del enemigo por mucho. (p. 100)

del yrado apártate por poco tiempo; del enemigo por largo. (no. 189, p. 180)
Porque con la yra morando poder, no es sino rayo (p. 101) donde con el poder mora la yra, rayo es. (no. 138, p. 151)

The question is why the author would seek out and draw from Díaz de Toledo's Proverbios here in Act IV, but not (at least noticeably) elsewhere in the work. Perhaps the impetus in consulting the Proverbios came as part of the search for a new verbal mold as he moved to the new milieu of act IV—a more elevated and pseudo-philosophic compass, with social and moral coloration at each turn in the conversation. Here in Act IV, Celestina is not baiting the easy prey of Acts I-III: whetting the hopes of the lovesick Calisto, bossing Sempronio, wearing-down Pármeno with personal connections he cannot counter. She is now in colloquy and debate with a young woman of noble bearing and polished and insistent wit, a lady of "excelentísimo ingenio" (Calisto's phrase). With the prospect of this new rhetorical scope—with the need for a mark of urbanity and even pleasance behind the tough debate—it may have occurred to the author that Díaz de Toledo's trove of eloquent maxims could summon the apt tone.

George Shipley, in his characteristically engrossing discussion of the meeting between Celestina and Melibea and the particular imagery and strategy it engenders, followed its distinctive dialogue and dialectic: Celestina's orthodox and Stoic (via Díaz de Toledo?) topics at the start, Melibea's use of "the conventions of social propriety" as her initial weapons, Celestina's "delicate exposition of her mission"—in figurative images of infirmity that Melibea takes literally, then Celestina's cunning appropriation of the sickness-cure motif in her major strategy (the invention of Calisto's toothache and the request for a prayer to cure it). For a goodly part of the exchange, Melibea holds her own, with Celestina and retorts with eloquent cliché and sententia that match Celestina's commodious repertoire. The dialogue is long and winding rencontre—not an easy morning for Celestina. In some measure, the debate seems grounded in the polite and stolid moralistic rhetoric of the compendia, so that the vein of high-toned maxims from Díaz de Toledo would adhere readily to the author's plan. It may be that the sayings were filled-in after Act IV was sketched in raw form, by direct consultation of the Proverbios; but it is also feasible that the first gesture in working-up the design of Act IV was a look into the Proverbios de Séneca—that the temper of the Proverbios is what irradiated all of Act IV.

Put another way: The appropriations from the Proverbios in Act IV of Celestina are part of the business of dialogic framing—of Melibea or Celestina each taking up strands from the other's speech and reforming or relocating them to affirm her own moral or social vantage. The verbal leverage of Celestina will bridge the social disparities, so that they become equals in their assessment of one another's wiles in the conversation, until Celestina pulls ahead at the end. Part of the process in the exchange is a "literary" framing, in which familiarity with and recital of a voice from the sententiae puts one in the
ascendant. (We are not suggesting, of course, that the toe hold in dialectic depends upon which of the two can ingest and declaim more pseudo-Seneca or Díaz de Toledo, or any other voice from the florilegiae; but that their rivalry is sustained in the expectation of quotation from the sententiae each can claim as part of her life and rhetoric.) The contexts of two separate sequences of pseudo-Senecan proverbs in Act IV of Celestina can be taken as samples of the device: The first is Melibea's initial flurry of three pseudo-Senecan maxims when Celestina requests a favor for the still-anonymous "enfermo". Melibea invokes them to assert her standing as a charitable Christian whose motives have a proverbial-evangelical ring; incidentally, the three proverbs serve to develop (though a minor adjustment to Díaz de Toledo's text) the new imagery of sickness and cure--"literalizing" the metaphor. The second illustration is the set of sententiae from Díaz de Toledo recited by Celestina at the end of Act IV: Celestina has now ground-down Melibea by suggesting she is amiss in religion--that her reluctance to offer a prayer from St. Appollonia (the patroness of those plagued by toothache) would hint of unorthodoxy. Now that Celestina has control, she can indulge in a crowing sententiousness, a stretch of sermonizing and proverb-spouting--giving herself the aura of sage, and affirming in the process her dominion in the affair.

We note that toward the end of the meeting Celestina seems to be quoting directly from Díaz de Toledo, rather than serving up the proverb as though it were part of her own rhetorical self:

Señora, que te acuerde la oración, para que la mandes escribir e que aprenda de mí a tener mesura en el tiempo de tu yra, en la cual yo usé lo que se dize: que del ayrado es de apartar por poco tiempo, del enemigo por mucho.

The bridge-phrase "lo que se dize" is Celestina's nod toward some outer authority and circulation behind the proverb, and possibly to the text of a florilegia. Perhaps it is also the author giving the text of Proverbios de Séneca its due--the open clue that the cumulative mark of Díaz de Toledo's proverb-book went beyond proverb and ornament in the making of Act IV.
On the tradition of *sententiae* in *Celestina*, and their rhetorical function and exchange in the text, see Charles F. Fraker, "Declamation and the *Celestina*," *Celestinesca* 9 (1985): 47-64.

2María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *La originalidad artística de La Celestina* (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1962), pp. 23-24. Edwin S. Morby, in his review of *La originalidad* (Comparative Literature 16 [1964]: 270) expands the discussion of friends who may have provided "sesudas y adornadas sentencias" for *Celestina*; he suggests "there are plenty of examples of such compositional methods in the studios of contemporary painters".


4Urbano González de la Calle, "Contribución al estudio de la primera versión castellana de la *Eneida*," *Anales de la Universidad de Madrid* (Letras) 2 (1933): 133ff.


8See Nicholas G. Round's fundamental study of the subject, "*Pero Díaz de Toledo*: a study of a fifteenth-century 'converso' translator in his background," unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1967. In addition to the *Proverbios* Díaz de Toledo's extant writings include: a translation of *Axiochus* (ca. 1444-1445), a gloss to Santillana's *Proverbios* (ca. 1445-46), a translation and limited gloss to Plato's *Phaedo* (ca. 1446-47), the *Diálogo e razonamiento en la muerte del Marqués de Santillana* (ca. 1462-63), a gloss to the first nine stanzas of Gómez Manrique's *Exclamación e querella en el fecho de la gobernación*.


9Riss discusses more than a dozen manuscripts (pp. xxxiii-xxxix) and an equal number of 15th- and 16th-c. editions (pp. xxxix-xlii).


In addition to the study of sententiae by Castro Guisasola and Deyermond, Julio Cejador y Frauca, in his edition of La Celestina (Madrid, 1913; Clásicos Castellanos 20 and 23), noted in two places the correspondence between passages in Celestina and the editions of Proverbios de Séneca published in Seville, 1495 and 1500: "Que bien veo que tu mucha sospecha echó, como suele, mis razones a la más triste parte" (Celestina IV, p. 189) and "La mucha sospecha siempre echa las cosas a la más triste parte" (Proverbios de Séneca, Seville 1495 edition); "que del ayyado es de apartar por poco tiempo, del enemigo por mucho" (Celestina IV, p. 191) and "Del ayyado apártate por poco tiempo, del enemigo por largo" Proverbios). Elsewhere in the notes to his text, Cejador cited only one other similarity between Celestina and Proverbios de Séneca, but here it is not such that an influence could be defended: "No desconfíe, señora, tu noble juventud de salud. Que cuando el alto Dios da la llaga, tras ella embía el remedio" (Celestina X, p. 60) and "Esa misma cosa que llaga del amor fázeela sana" (Proverbios, no. 30, ed. Riss, p. 44).

11After solving one part of the passage in Act IV, Deyermond speculated: "It is thus possible that the whole [of the phrase "Porque hazer beneficio ... digna dél le haze"] has its source not in Petrarck, but in some other edition of Publilius Syrus, which I have not, however, been able to trace". The solution would be that the two parts of the phrase in Act IV are from the same source (Proverbios de Séneca) but from two separate proverbs in it: the first ("Porque hazer beneficio...") from proverb no. 305; the second ("e el que le da le recibe...") from no. 45.

12The proverbs cited by Castro Guisasola from other sections of Celestina generally do not have very close verbal affinities to related passages in Proverbios. For the sake of comparison, we list them here:

Sententiae Aut amat aut odit mulier: nihil est tertium; Celestina que la muger o ama mucho a aquél de quien es requerida, o le tiene grande odio (Act III, p. 75); Proverbios La muger ama o aborresce, non hay tercera cosa (no. 6, p. 29).

Sententiae Amoris vulnus idem sanat qui facit; Celestina quien dio la herida la cura (VI, p. 125); Proverbios Esa misma cosa que llaga de amor, sana la faze (no. 30, p. 44).

Sententiae Quod taciturn esse vis, nemini dixeris, quia non poteris ab alio exigere silentium, si tibi ipse non praestas; Celestina Cata no
CELESTINESCA

confies que tu amigo te ha de tener secreto de lo que le dixeres, pues tú no le sabes a ti mismo tener (X, p. 188); Proverbios Lo que quisieres que sea secreto, a ninguno lo digas; ¿cómo podrás pedir que otro te tenga secreto si tú non lo toviste a ti mismo? (no. 310, p. 263).

We also register a correspondence not included in Castro Guisasola: Sententiae Numquam periculum sine periculo vincitur; Celestina que nunca peligro sin peligro se vence (Act X, p. 188); Proverbios Non se vense peligro sin peligro (no. 244, p. 209).


14 Here we cite the form in the edition of 1499; the edition of 1502 changed the phrase to "e más que el que haze beneficio lo recibe quando es a persona que lo merece" (see Deyermond, p. 144).

15 Aspects of Melibea's bearing and learning are studied by D. W. McPheeters, "Melibea, mujer del Renacimiento," in Estudios humanisticos sobre 'La Celestina' (Potomac, Maryland: Scripta Humanistica, 1985), pp. 7-19, at pp. 15-17.


17 The adjustment in Melibea's proverb (from "El que puede socorrer al que perese, non socorriendo, lo mata" in Proverbios to "Dizen que el que puede sanar al que padece, no lo faziendo le mata" in Celestina) is a first step in the main pattern (of obsessions and images of sickness and cure) that will prevail in Acts IV and X.


dialogues or "problematic encounters" in Don Quijote (between Sancho and Doña Rodríguez, Don Quijote and the Duke, etc.) that should have some bearing in an analysis of the meeting of Melibea and Celestina. Matters relating to the social implications of proverb and cliché are discussed by Esperanza Gurza, "La oralidad y La Celestina," in Renaissance and Golden Age Essays in Honor of D. W. McPheeters, ed. by Bruno M. Damiani (Potomac, Md.: Scripta Humanística, 1986), pp. 94-105.


Illustration to Act IV. Barcelona, 1883 [Escobar]