

THE FRENCH VERSION OF THE "PENITENCIA DE AMOR"

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Of all the Spanish imitations and continuations of the *Celestina* only three were translated or adapted into French in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The existence of the *Penitence Damour*, based on Pedro Manuel de Urrea's prose *Penitencia de Amor* (*Burgos: Fadrique de Basilea*, 1514), probably composed between 1530 and 1534 and published at Lyon in 1537, has been noted by the major critics, but some important features of the text have been missed.²⁰ The sole indication of authorship are the initials "R. B." which appear after the subtitle. These are generally thought to stand for René Bertaut de la Grise, secretary to one of François I's more important diplomats, the cardinal Gabriel de Gramont, and translator of Guevara's *Libro áureo* and *Relox de principes*. The royal privilege of the *Livre doré de Marc Aurele* (1531) informs us that "R. B. de la grise" is "René Bertaut secretaire de nostre trescher et aymé cousin le cardinal de Grantmont" and that he has accompanied the cardinal on voyages to both Spain and Italy. The preface of *Lhorloge des Princes* (1540) indicates that he was in

²⁰ For the Spanish text, see the edition by R. Foulché-Delbosc (*Bibliothèque hispanique*, no. 10 - Barcelona & Madrid, 1902), who published at the same time in the *Revue hispanique*, 9 (1902), 200-215, an article which devotes some space to the French translation, but which fails to connect either Urrea or Bertaut with Juan de Flores. See also M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, vol. 4 [1915] (Madrid, 1961), 8-14, Marcel Bataillon "La Célestine selon Fernando de Rojas" (Paris: Didier, 1961), María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *La originalidad artística de "La Celestina"* (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1962), Barbara Matulka, *The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion* [1931] (Geneva: Slatkine, 1974), 181-84. Another view of the genre and nature of the work is to be found in E. J. Webber, "The Literary Reputation of Terence and Plautus in Medieval and Pre-Renaissance Spain," *Hispanic Review* 24 (1956), 191-206. For the *Celestina* in France see the introduction of "La Célestine" in the *French Translation (1578)* by Jacques de Lavardin, ed. D. L. Drysdall (London: Tamesis, 1974) and *Celestine. A Critical Edition of the First French Translation*, ed. Gerard J. Brault (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1963).

In quotations from the French, abbreviations have been written out, and consonantal i and u rendered as j and v; final é has been given a regular accent.

Rome in 1529 and in Spain for a year from 1526-27 (i. e. 1527-28). For four months of this period he and the cardinal were imprisoned by Charles V, during which time, he tells us, he read such books as he could find there, and in particular the *Livre doré*. Gabriel de Gramont was bishop of Tarbes from 1524, archbishop of Bordeaux and cardinal of Toulouse from 1529. He had been in Spain to negotiate the release of the French princes and the treaty with Henry VIII, and undertook embassies to Rome in 1529, 1530, and 1531 with the cardinal de Tournon to obtain the dispensation necessary for François I to marry Eleanor, to support Henry's case for divorce, and to arrange the marriage of the dauphin Henri to Catherine of Medici. He died on 26 March 1534.²¹

The French text is a veritable patchwork of imitation and adaptation, for Bertaut has not only translated Urrea's work, itself an imitation, but, recognising that Urrea also used Juan de Flores' *Grisel y Mirabella* for his ending, he has returned to this source for his continuation, changing yet again the outcome of the story. In a long final addition, seemingly his own, he has extended considerably Urrea's use of devices, perhaps drawing for his colour symbolism on Flores' other novel, *Grimalte y Gradissa*.²²

At first sight Bertaut's intention in putting together his version of the work seems to be to add his own voice to the literary debate which he sees, correctly, as deriving from Juan de Flores with the discussion of a courtly *cuestión de amor* and continuing in Urrea, who provides a non-courtly, more conventional and christian solution to a similar situation. As a churchman, or the associate of one, Bertaut modifies the

²¹ It is the bibliographer Antoine Du Verdier, *Bibliothèque française* (Lyon, 1585), p. 1116 (in the 1772 ed., vol. 5, pp. 439-40), who identifies this "R. B." with René Bertaut de la Grise, the translator of Guevara's works. One other isolated reference to Bertaut is to be found in G. Guiffrey, *Dianne de Poitiers. Lettres inédites* (Paris, 1866), 14, note 2: it speaks of "un bon de cent livres tournois délivré de 10 septembre 1537 a René Bertault dicte [sic] la Grise 'pour avoir servy les moys d'avril & juing en plusieurs voyages & en son état & office' (Ms. fr. 3120, f.132)." For Gabriel de Gramont see the *Gallia christiana* (1917), I, cols. 1180 and 1239 ("Gabriel de Acro-monte"), II, cols. 1203-04, and *Catalogue des Actes de François Ier* (1887-1908), I, 591, and VI, 61 (with a correction, VIII, 799), VIII, 612: IX, 40 and 61: *Correspondance du Cardinal François de Tournon (1521-62)*, ed. M. François (Paris: Champion, 1946), nos. 16, 35, 70, 73.

²²

[a i r] *La Penitence Damour*

[a i v] La Penite[n]ce Damour en la quelle sont plusieurs Persuasio[n]s & respo[n]ces tresutiles & prouffitables, Pour la recreatio[n] des Esperitz qui ueulle[n]t tascher a ho[n]neste conuersation avec les Dames, Et les occasions que les Dames doibue[n]t fuyr de co[m]plaire par trop aux pourchatz des Hommes, & importunitez qui leur sont faictes soubz couleur de Service, Dont elles se trouent ou

work further in the same direction, using it as a vehicle to exemplify at some length the doctrine of penitence.

The didactic intention of Urrea's work is a matter of some discussion (see studies cited in note 1). In his dedication to his mother, Urrea defines his intention simply as a desire to please her. He describes the work as a mere love story, not to be taken seriously, and even affects some contempt for the profession of writing. His ending, in which a summary version of the judgement and "combat of generosity" from the *Grisel y Mirabella* is grafted on to a story of seduction crudely imitated from the *Celestina*, might be read as moral, but more precisely perhaps seeks to suggest another solution to the *cuestión de amor* posed by Juan de Flores. The latter's king has ruled the rigorous "law of Scotland" should apply: the more guilty of the two lovers should die, the other be imprisoned. The debate to decide the greater guilt takes place between the historical figure of the anti-feminist Catalan poet Per Torellas, and a literary champion of women, Braçayda, descendent of the Briseida of the *Trojan Chronicle*.²³ The decision goes against the women, but in the event both lovers die, and Flores declares his feminist preference by having Braçayda take brutal revenge on Torellas. The entire discussion takes place within courtly conventions; there is no question of non-courtly or religious morality or justice.

Urrea's lovers, Darino and Finoya, are condemned by Finoya's father Nertano, whose judgement implies the existence of a law, like that of Flores, demanding the death of the lovers. Nertano however refuses to apply such a law, determining instead to keep them both in prison for

trompees, ou Infames de leur Honneur.

R. B.

Auec priuilege.

Ms. on n° of flyleaf: Exemplaire de Méon, le seul connu, no. 2924. La marque de l'icare qui est sur le titre est la 1ere de Denis de Harsy imp. a Lyon. V. le Bulletin de Morgand p. Janv. 1888, p. 524. Il y a de plus *Sic in fati*s. And at the end (n vii n°):

Cy fine la Penitence Damour nouuellement Imprimee.

Mil.D.xxxvii.

The only known copy is in the Bib. Nat. (Res. p Y² 257), and bears neither place nor printer's name. The printer's mark on the title page is a figure referred to by Du Verdier and others as Icarus, which should perhaps be identified as Daedalus, since it represents a winged and bearded man; his left hand points up, his right down, and the device includes the motto: "Ne hault, ne bas, Médiocrement," and the words "Sic in fati)s."

The only account of the work, other than Du Verdier's, before Foulché-Delbosc (see above, note 1) is an item by Mercier de Saint-Léger in the *Magasin encyclopédique*, IVe année, tome 2 (Paris: an VI, i. e. 1798), 99-102, which Foulché-Delbosc reproduced almost completely. For Bertaut's use of devices, see my "An Early Use of Devices: René Bertaut de la Grise, *La Penitence Damour*," to ap-

the rest of their lives, on the grounds that he cannot bring himself to execute his own daughter, and that Darino will suffer greater punishment if he remains alive. It will be announced publicly however that Finoya is dead and that Darino has been exiled, so that the law will appear to be observed. Both lovers object to this sentence and claim the greater guilt. Finoya merely expresses remorse and accepts her imprisonment--which may or may not be regarded as a moralizing conclusion--but Darino's answer is more certainly revealing of Urrea's concerns. He accuses Nertano of not being courtly: "no te as regido en esto como cavallero" (69); he (Darino) should be put to death and Finoya should be set free; there has been no battle which justifies keeping him a prisoner. Further Darino pleads: "No uses de justicia de yglesia, que es misericordia que no mata a nadi" (69). He is thus portrayed as demanding justice by the courtly code, and as explicitly rejecting ecclesiastical justice and clemency. Nertano's decision however is not changed, and it is his non-courtly solution, recognizing paternal interest and, by implication, the church's point of view, which Urrea allows to stand. (The subject of penance is in fact hardly treated at all.) By contriving that the law should be kept in appearance only, Urrea may be saying that the courtly code should be treated for what it is, a literary ideal or fantasy not to be regarded as applicable to real life. He remains impartial with respect to the relative guilt of the lovers, showing no inclination to adopt Flores' feminist point of view.

Bertaut's sub-title declares a didactic intention: his work is addressed to those who wish to have honest dealings with women and warns the latter against deceitful and harmful solicitations (see note 3). His dedication adapts some two-thirds of Urrea's prologue to make an apologia of his own foray into literature and to explain his use of dialogue: "Et suivray le stille en colocutions de quatre personnes qui parlent & raisonnent ensemble. Et la cause de ce est pourtant que l'hystoire sera de plus clere intelligence combien que l'on puisse dire que ce soit invention a plaisir, encores cela ne pourroit estre reprehensible quant je suys noz predecesseurs" (a iii v°). He does not admit that he is translating Urrea's dialogue, despite the reference to predecessors, maintaining the fiction that he was told the story in Italy. Overtly he claims that the dialogue form will make for clarity, but it is noticeable that he has omitted Urrea's allusion to Terence and his use of the word *cenas*,²⁴ thus detaching his work from any association with

pear shortly in *Renaissance Quarterly*.

²³ For the background to these two names, see Matulka, pp. 88-137. In the Italian version these characters are called Afranio and Hortensia, with some consequent weakening of the effect achieved by Flores' use of a real contemporary for his male champion. See Matulka, pp. 173-76.

²⁴ Bertaud's dedication may not be intended for a real person, but designed simply to allow him to introduce his apologia. This is suggested by the anonymity of the addressee and by the fact that a large part is adapted from the Spanish: "Ya no va nadi a inferno

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dramatic forms.

In his interpolations his intentions are clearly defined and confirmed. These consist of two long "raisonnements" spoken by the heroine Lucrese and her confidante Dyane-- a new figure appearing only in this scene--in an exchange inserted before the lovers' fourth meeting, and several final episodes, some of which have the appearance of after-thoughts. Urrea's final scene is partly replaced and greatly extended by an account of the lovers' condemnation, imprisonment, release, and marriage (l iv r° -- m iii v°). This seems to be a coherent unit ending with what is apparently a concluding phrase: "...[la] religion de Mariage, en laquelle demourerent de leur vye en joye perpetuelle & consolation." There follows a moral reflexion on the subject of marriage (m iv v° -- n i v°). Finally there is a second moralising reflexion on the subject of "fortune," at the end of which we are told of Lucrese's death and Lancelot's mourning, an episode largely taken up with the description of a house whose decor symbolizes his penance.

In the first long interpolated speech, Lucrese tries to explain how she came to allow Lancelot access to her room (h vii v°--i ii v°). The balancing of his qualities and charms against the dangers of deception and dishonour are clearly Bertaut's attempt to carry out the promise of his sub-title. Dyane's reply is largely taken up with speculating on the possibility that Lancelot is using Lucrese as a cover for a supposed affair with Panthasilée, daughter of the duchess Palvesine (Palavicino), and a lengthy moralisation on such masculine deceptions (i ii v°--i v v°). This too clearly accords with the promise of the sub-title, but is quite irrelevant to the narrative. Dyane's tirade ends somewhat abruptly with the advice that it is better to avoid the occasion of temptation, but that since a promise has been given it should be kept for this once. Lucrese replies briefly that she is determined to be firm. The text then returns to the Spanish at "Mi alma, respondeme" (52).

The first major addition to the text concerns practical moral considerations. However Bertaut's personal ideas, and probably his professional position, have already led him to make certain other minor changes in Urrea's text. A feature of courtly love, often taken up and exaggerated by the imitations of the *Celestina*, is the tendency of the lover to deify the lady and thus to commit blasphemy. Darino does so in the first scene (5), and goes on to talk of dying in despair (19)--a mortal sin of course--and of his mistress's letter as his salvation (23); on leaving for the visit to Finoya's room he exclaims "Dios nos guje" (51), and once he has gained her favours, justifies himself with impudent casuistry (54). His blasphemies are crowned in the last meeting, when he declares: "El mayor plazer es pecar mortalmente" (66). Bertaut cuts out most of these and, for presumably similar reasons, he eschews the occasionally coarse tone of the original (the entire exchange of pleasantries between Renedo and Lantoyo is omitted).

..." to "por largos tiempos" (3-4). The scenes are marked in the Spanish by rubrics consisting of the speakers' names. In the French these rubrics are replaced by engravings.

The narrative begins to be modified radically when Bertaut comes to the judgement administered by the heroine's father. Here he translates almost word for word a large part of the king's speech in the *Grisel y Mirabella* to emphasize the ruler's duty to be impartial, especially since the accused is his own daughter.²⁵ But where Flores' king had resorted to the debate between Torellas and Braçayda, the Seigneur de Rochebianque, Lucesse's father, calls in his "fiscal," who explicitly rejects the decision reached in that debate: "Vous scavez que en [sic: un?] mesme cas est advenu en Espagne & dont a esté extraicte la Loy & la dispute de la Dame Brisayde, & du gentilhomme Toreilles, & par sentence trouvé la Dame estre loccasion de la perte des hommes, je ne scay pas bonnement sur quel fondement tel jugement peult estre assyz" (l vi r° - v°). He goes on to preach the weakness of human nature and the need for divine grace. Bertaut thus deliberately evokes again the courtly code of Flores' story in order to replace it by a specifically christian moral doctrine. Moreover his support for the female point of view (in this he is plainly in sympathy with Flores and the sentimental romance, rather than with Urrea and the imitations of the *Celestina*) leads him to underline the fact that Lancelot is guilty of using force and that Lucesse is to some extent "excusable" (l viii r°). Certain practical factors are also taken into account: Lancelot's nobility, the fact that he is not the Seigneur de Rochebianque's vassal and that he was the victim of passion, the absence of other heirs, the risk of scandal. The courtly judgement is thus further modified by the author's notion of the psychology of the situation, which leads him to favour the woman, and a desire to admit practical, real-life considerations. The Seigneur de Rochebianque delays, but takes a dream as a divine warning to accept the fiscal's recommendation. To satisfy the law, the lovers will be imprisoned for seven years and then allowed to marry.

In prison (m i v° - m iii r°) Lucesse is guarded by a doorkeeper whose beard is black and tawny (tanee)--colours which in the later descriptions of devices and of the house are seen to symbolize grief and anxiety²⁶ --and a warder who carries a mirror showing the benefit's

²⁵ See Matulka, pp. 357-58: "yo quisiera que consideraras ... quien me hozara supplicar por otro."

²⁶ It is difficult to deduce from Bertaut's text a complete and consistent colour symbolism, or to show that he is following any particular source. Some colours are readily defined, others are used less consistently. He is following a tradition which is similar in many points to that followed in *Grimalte y Gradissa*, but is not entirely faithful to it. In the *Cárcel de Amor*, which may have suggested the image of the prison to him, the three figures atop the tower are "leonado," "negro," and "pardillo;" these colours are said to represent respectively "tristeza," "congoja," and "trabajo" (ed. Keith Whinnom [1971], vol. 2, 85, 90). The episode of the symbolic tomb in the *Grimalte y Gradissa*, the work of a collaborator of Juan de Flores, one Alonso de Córdoba, may have inspired the house described by Bertaut and thus be another element connecting him to Flores' works.

she has formerly enjoyed. She is also attended by "passion avec ses complices de regretz innumerables" (m ii r°). It is clear from what follows that these are personifications. Lancelot too is visited by "regretz" who represent to him the sufferings of Lucesse. But he is also visited in the evenings by a lady dressed in grey--which seems to signify remorse, or, possibly, "travail"--and carrying a sphere which shows all his past life and causes him great grief, though even more for what he believes Lucesse is suffering. This same lady, however, comforts him, speaks to him of his approaching happiness, exhorts him not to despair, and to wear clothes of a violet colour as a sign of constancy ("se vestant de violet en fermetté" -- m iii r°). At sunrise she is replaced by "Regret" dressed in a garment of mirrors, at which Lancelot would have despaired if he had not been able to send the lady with the sphere, now named as "dame esperance," to relieve Lucesse of the presence of "Regret." After seven years the penance is completed and the lovers are released and allowed to marry. The prison is clearly designed to induce remorse, and the episode, whose basic image is taken perhaps from the *Cárcel de Amor*, is an allegory of the nature of penitence. Particularly notable here is the association in the one figure of remorse and hope. This teaching concerning hope in the doctrine of penitence is clearly intended to counteract the moral fatalism of Urrea's courtly lover.

It is possible that Bertaut intended to end his story here, having described more fully than Urrea the workings of penitence. However, he takes his teaching a step further by tacking on a section which places the story in a larger context of eternal values. Earthly happiness is now seen as subject to fortune and time. A lengthy reflection on marriage and procreation serves as a transition to an episode largely concerned with the devices and colours worn in the tournament and masques which accompany the wedding (m vi r°). In time, "La Fortune ennemye & adverse de vertu & plaisir" (n ii r°) strikes down Lucesse and puts an end to their happiness. This allows Bertaut to say that love cools when the beloved is dead and that there remains only the pursuit of heavenly joy. Lancelot spends the rest of his days in prayer believing that he has not satisfied "l'ire & indignation de Dieu contre luy" (n iv r°). This he does in a house whose decor symbolizes his final penitence (n iv v° - n vi r°). He refuses consolation, insisting that his loss is now irreparable in terms of this world and that he must henceforth seek divine forgiveness and blessing. Bertaut has therefore not only rejected Flores' purely courtly solution to the *cuestión de amor*. Taking a cue from Urrea, he proposes a non-courtly solution recognizing paternal interest and the moral teaching of the church, but then goes beyond his Spanish model in his attention to practical considerations and above all amplifies the illustration of the workings of penitence, firstly in the worldly context and then in the context of providence and the hereafter.

Despite the overt allusion to Spain and the Spanish debate, which is mentioned for the first time in the "Argument de l'oeuvre," Bertaut is at some pains to change the setting of his story. In his introduction, he relates that, following his master between Parma and Milan on 12 November 1530, he himself encountered, near Rochebianque (Roccabianca,

29 km from Parma), an Italian gentleman who told him the story, situating it in the period when "Monsieur de Lautrec estoit en Millan,"²⁷ and later naming the father of the heroine as the Seigneur de Rochebj-anque. The association of the story with real places and persons in the immediate past is so deliberate that one is tempted to ask whether Bertaut is thinking of particular individuals.²⁸ However this may be, he clearly wishes to set his moral tale historically and geographically in the real world--a desire which would be in accord with the concern for practical considerations to be seen in the trial episode. At the same time he may have thought also, in adopting the Italian setting, to benefit from the fact that Italy was a more fashionable literary model at this period than Spain. Spain, of course, was the enemy, and a Spanish story might be regarded with less sympathy. An allusion to Spain in Angis' examples of women who have caused great harm ("mira a Caua que por ella se perdió España--p. 18) is deleted by Bertaut.²⁹

As for genre, Bertaut, despite his dialogue, writes a sentimental romance. Even more than Urrea's stilted speeches, Bertaut's exchanges are undramatic "raisonnements," and several speeches or isolated phrases of the Spanish are transposed to the French as author's narrative. It is quite possible that Bertaut did not recognize his model as an imitation of the essentially dramatic *Celestina* or as a humanistic comedy, but regarded it as belonging to the same genre as *Grisel y Mirabella*. It seems certain that he would not have wanted his work to be associated with them in his reader's minds. As an example of the sentimental romance the *Penitence Damour* has little or no literary value. The writing is unpolished and not infrequently ungrammatical, the episodes

²⁷ (a v v°). Odet de Foix, vicomte de Lautrec, succeeded Charles de Bourbon as governor of the Milanais in 1516, but was defeated by the Spaniards and forced to withdraw in 1522. He reconquered the territory in 1527, defeating and killing the traitor De Bourbon, but died of plague at the siege of Naples on 15 August 1528. See Brantome, *Grands Capitaines*, I, no. 108. Lancelot's meeting with Prospero Colonna (d. 1523), "dernierement" in Parma (i i r°), suggests Bertaut is referring to the earlier period between 1516 and 1522.

²⁸ The work, or the first part of it, was probably written before 26 March 1534, since Bertaut does not refer here to his master as the "late lord cardinal," as he does in 1540. Lancelot is said to be a Frenchman known to the Seigneur de Lescud (Lescun? i. e., Thomas de Foix, the brother of Lautrec and his successor in the Milanais; d. 1525 at Pavia), Prospero Colonna, the Contesse de Nicosia, and the Marquise Palevesine, and perhaps to be courting Panthasilée her daughter; Lucesse, we are told, was brought up in the household of Lucesse, duchesse de Ferrare (Lucrezia Borgia, d. 1519).

²⁹ Curiously Bertaut does not seem to have known the already existing Italian version of Flores' story (*Aurelio e Isabella*--1521), or the French version based on it (*Le Ivgement damovr*--n. d.). There is a hint in a variant of the title of the first French *Celestina* that the

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loosely appended. It did not share the popularity of Flores' story, which in the Italian version was to become one of the most frequently printed of all the sixteenth-century sentimental romances. Historically it is interesting evidence for one way in which the genre was treated, with the attempt to turn it to religious moral teaching, and for its use of devices to reinforce an admonitory portrayal of human love, its pain, despair, and eventual death.



AUCTO X. José Segrelles

(1948)

Celestina Melíbea

publisher preferred to let it be thought that the work originated in Italy (see the editions cited in note 1). On the other hand the early editions of *Le Ivgement damoyr* consistently declare it is translated from the Spanish.

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FERNANDO DE ROJAS

LA
CELESTINA

TRAGI-COMEDIA DE

CALISTO Y MELIBEA

EN LA CUAL SE CONTIENEN
DEMÁS DE SU AMBABLE Y DULCE ESTILO, MUCHAS SENTENCIAS FILOSOFICAS
Y ADVISOS MUY NECESARIOS PARA MANCEBOS,
MOSTRANDOLEN LOS ENGAÑOS QUE ESTÁN ENCERRADOS EN SIRVIENTES
Y ALCAHUELAS

El primer acto se atribuye á Juan de Mena ó á Rodrigo Cota



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