

## CELESTINESCA



### A BRIEF HISTORY OF M. R. LIDA DE MALDIEL'S *CELESTINA* STUDIES



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María Rosa Lida de Malkiel will probably be best remembered for her two *magna opera*, generally recognized as "classics": her monograph on Juan de Mená as a figure of pre-Renaissance literature, an elaboration on her doctoral thesis; and the crowning accomplishment of her life, the book on the artistic originality of *La Celestina*. Aside from the twelve years separating their respective publication dates (1950, 1962), the two ventures had entirely different histories. *Juan de Mená, poeta del Prerrenacimiento español*, to be sure, had one brief but important prelude, a note dating back to 1941 ("Para la biografía de Juan de Mená");<sup>1</sup> but, on the whole, the author's Mená studies were conducted in highly concentrated fashion, giving rise to a monolithic book, written under severe pressure of time--a speedy, though by no means hasty, performance reminiscent, as regards sheer efficiency, of Félix Lecoy's work on his Hispanic masterpiece, *Recherches sur le "Libro de buen amor"* (Paris: Droz, 1938), which, I understand, required only three years of brilliantly organized research.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, María Rosa Lida, after trying her hand at a lengthy journal review of José Manuel Ble-cua's edition of the *Laberinto de La Fortuna*, decided on the spur of the moment to expand its draft into a bulky doctoral dissertation, which she completed, submitted, and defended, with exemplary alacrity, at her native Buenos Aires' Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, in 1947, at the heavy and painful cost of abruptly interrupting a major research project which had been much closer to her heart, revolving around Josephus.<sup>3</sup> Admittedly, in correcting at a leisurely pace (1948-49) the Mexican printer's proofs of her Mená book, María Rosa Lida de Malkiel engaged in some valuable additional research;<sup>4</sup> also, in the ensuing twelve-year segment of her life, she would again and again fill the wide margins of her desk copy with further data, ideas, and references, or else jot them down on slips and insert them between appropriate pages;<sup>5</sup> then again, she briefly reverted to Juan de Mená in subsequent writings, e.g., in *La idea de la fama en la Edad Media castellana*. But, granted the premonition and all these virtually unavoidable echoes of a major commitment, one can nonetheless speak of a single, sharply delimited "Juan de Mená period" in her life, which extended approximately from 1943 to 1947 and then, not least psychologically, came to a close, except for controlled re-visiting, at intervals.

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The situation was entirely different with *La Celestina*; a text which did not immediately engage her imagination, but once she began to identify herself with it, in 1947, it literally haunted her for fifteen long years, a fascination which prompted her to postpone--until it was too late--an equally tempting project on the medieval *Alexandre*.<sup>6</sup> One of the last public lectures she ever gave, upon her brief return to Argentina, effectively summed up a decade and a half of *Celestina* studies;<sup>7</sup> and one of the last scholarly books she examined--with a view to appraising it for the readers of *Romance Philology*--just a few months before her death on September 26, 1962 was a recently issued British monograph on the *Tragicomedia*.<sup>8</sup> This fairly late, but all the more enthusiastic conversion to *Celestina* studies, which culminated in the writing of three consecutive versions of *La originalidad artistica de "La Celestina"*, deserves, minimally, a short fact-finding account.

In summer 1973, on the occasion of my latest visit to Buenos Aires, I was fortunate enough to learn directly from Ana Rapaport (the later Sra. A. R. de Genijovich)--who had been María Rosa's best friend and *confidante* during their high-school years--just when, where, and under what circumstances the future author of *La originalidad artistica . . .* read *La Celestina* for the first time. The two girls, then perhaps twelve years old, attended the prestigious (if later dilapidated) Liceo de Señoritas N° 1 on Santa Fe 2729.<sup>9</sup> Classes would start at 8 A.M.; the friends would meet every weekday half an hour earlier, climb to the top of the staircase and, seating themselves on the steps, devour a few pages of the *Tragicomedia*. The two were immigrants' children, and their mothers, unfamiliar with the older Spanish literatures, were unlikely to be tempted to interfere with their preadolescent daughters' readings . . .<sup>10</sup> Frills apart, one is vividly reminded here of Friedrich Gundolf's stimulating theory of "Urerlebnis" vs. "Bildungserlebnis": The impact of later readings, in one's adulthood, is the stronger if the seeds fall on fertile soil through one's memorable childhood experiences. María Rosa Lida's early exposure to the *Tragicomedia* prepared the ground for her later self-immersion in, and, yes, infatuation with, the masterpiece.

The year was, approximately, 1922. On internal evidence, the thrill, before long, began to fade away. After enrolling at the University, María Rosa Lida decided to major in classics, not in Castilian literature, so there was no requirement that might have induced her to wend her way back to the *Tragicomedia*. And as late as 1935-1943, i.e., after she had become a recognized research associate and a junior staff member of Amado Alonso's Instituto de Filología, her deliberate search for reverberations of classical themes in older Spanish literature pushed her in the direction of Lope de Vega, first and foremost,<sup>11</sup> and of other Spanish Golden Age playwrights--to the consistent exclusion of the period of incubation of the theater; astonishingly, in light of her later addiction to *La Celestina* and to the lesser plays that masterpiece inspired, for a while she almost deliberately circumnavigated the crucial 1480-1520 period.<sup>12</sup>

The turning-point was the author's transfer to this country, which took place in September 1947. As the beneficiary of a one-year post-doctoral grant by the Rockefeller Foundation, loosely attached as a visiting scholar to Harvard University for the first half of the academic year 1947/48, María Rosa Lida was expected to engage in advanced research, away from the class-

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room, and so she did. On her own, however, she included in her program the regular attendance, as auditor, of a seminar on *La Celestina*, conducted by Amado Alonso, who had meanwhile joined the Harvard faculty, preceding his prize pupil in this transfer to Cambridge by a margin of exactly one year. The unexpected renewal of close contact with the *Tragicomedia* thus turned out to be the spark needed to plunge her, before long, in a "mare magnum" of *Celestina* studies, weaning her away from earlier preoccupation with Juan Ruiz and Lope de Vega (as well as Lope's contemporaries)--although she surely did not suspect at that point that she was embarking on a fifteen-year venture. This almost passionate return to a distinctly earlier interest, based on a genuine experience which once marked her adolescence if not downright her childhood, obviously proves Friedrich Gundolf right. The passion was further fueled by a semi-conscious desire to strike out, energetically, in a new direction,<sup>13</sup> in preference to the less exciting alternative of merely elaborating on certain drafts of research papers (such as--I suspect--*La idea de la fama*) which she assuredly had brought over from Buenos Aires and conceivably discussed with another former teacher, Américo Castro, whom she briefly met at Princeton before proceeding from New York to the Boston area. Amado Alonso's Harvard seminar--which, so far as I know, led nowhere, or almost nowhere, as regards the senior scholar's own production--auspiciously provided a vital emotional bridge to her earlier years of study in the academic environment of Buenos Aires, now slightly romanticized in nostalgic retrospect.

After her transfer to Berkeley in February 1948, María Rosa continued working, without a break, on the first version of her *Celestina* for approximately one year, allowing herself to stop only to redeem her promise to prepare, for the newly-launched quarterly *Romance Philology*, a major article on Don Juan Manuel (conceivably her all-time best piece on 14th-century literature) and a celebrated review article on Ernst Robert Curtius' sensational post-war book.<sup>14</sup> Then she re-read her *Celestina* manuscript, and did not like it. As a result of this dissatisfaction, no chapter of the *Urfassung* appeared anywhere, to my knowledge, but a sort of epitome had meanwhile made its way into a Sunday Literary Supplement of the daily *La Nación*,<sup>15</sup> providing an oblique insight into what the original version of the book propounded.

With research on a book--possibly stronger and more original in its elaborations than in its basic design, *La idea de la fama en la Edad Media castellana*--out of her way by 1951 (the book itself appeared the following year), María Rosa Lida de Malkiel felt that she had meanwhile gained sufficient perspective on her *Celestina* project, which had continued obsessing her all along, to attempt a thorough revision of the initial *redacción*, with much heavier emphasis on the delineation of the principal and secondary characters. Almost exclusive work on the painstaking conversion of a fairly slim monograph, the fruit of a single year's work, into a bulky, monumental "magnum opus", kept her steadily busy in the years 1951-1954, with an occasional article, note, essay, or book review bearing on some different topic inserted between chapters, by way of intellectual entertainment or diversion, as it were. So far as I recall, María Rosa took a copy of this second, vastly expanded *redacción* with her to Harvard, where she taught one semester as visiting lecturer, shortly after the arrival on the scene of her older brother Raimundo as a permanent replacement for their teacher, Amado

Alonso; and, equally important, she took this material with her to the Madison Campus of the University of Wisconsin, where she spent four weeks, in early 1955, on her way home to the West Coast and delivered a number of semipublic lectures at the behest of a great admirer of her scholarship, Dean J. Homer Herriott. This relatively short experience turned out to be thoroughly enjoyable, because Herriott had succeeded in assembling at Madison, a center of learning hitherto known solely for its dedication to Alfonsine studies, a separate group of *celestínófilos* and a collection of rare material bearing on the *Tragicomedia*, including all known translations and imitations. The contingent of María Rosa's sophisticated auditors at Madison included her *paisana* Erna R. Berndt (the present Mrs. Kelley), who later published a major *Celestina* study of her own: *Amor, muerte y fortuna en "La Celestina"* (Madrid: Gredos, 1963).

Intensive consultation, at Berkeley's U.C. Library, of every imaginable primary and secondary source (including, as the last component, specimens of the post-medieval "humanistic comedy" in Italy) and direct exposure, as a visiting professor, to the treasures amassed in other research libraries inevitably had the effect of, first, doubling and, next, tripling the size of an initially slender book manuscript. The author, at that point--i.e., in the early 'fifties--was not yet particularly concerned about the hazard of a certain unwieldiness in her steadily growing book project. Only at a distinctly later stage did she learn the subtle art of barring a few preceding critical explorations of *La Celestina* from consideration and possible rebuttal--in an effort not only to cut down on the sheer size and to maintain a much-needed architectural equilibrium, but also for more personal, consequently unacknowledged, reasons. Thus, she certainly familiarized herself by 1956 with her--and her brother Raimundo's--friend Stephen Gilman's controversial book, *The Art of "La Celestina"*;<sup>16</sup> but, the farther she advanced along her own path, which bade her place ever heavier emphasis on the characters, the "dramatis personae", of the *Tragicomedia*, the less she was prepared to agree with Gilman's diametrically opposed propensity.<sup>17</sup> Faced with the choice between an uncompromising statement of a sharp disagreement and complete silence, she opted, rather uncharacteristically, for the latter.<sup>18</sup> The other relevant book she had read with meticulous care and fundamentally objected to, despite her unstinted admiration for many other writings by its author, was Marcel Bataillon's 1961 *Celestina* venture, to which she could have reacted only in correcting the printer's proofs of her own pronouncement.<sup>19</sup> Here, the unbridgeable contrast between her own and the French scholar's perspectives on the *Tragicomedia* is crystal-clear: While she leaned toward emphasizing the artistic originality of the play, using its sources as a foil, the Collège de France professor inclined to stress its preeminently didactic message. Aside from her exhaustion and the time factor, María Rosa Lida de Malkiel was presumably not unaware of the fact that her earlier polemic stance vis-à-vis the writings of two highly influential critics--Dámaso Alonso's *La poesía de San Juan de la Cruz* and Menéndez Pidal's study of Fray Antonio de Guevara<sup>20</sup>--had raised eyebrows in many quarters and that the habit of passionate position-taking, which she did not shirk when confronted with two badly-skewed *Libro de buen amor* interpretations,<sup>21</sup> might in the end be prejudicial where personal friendships were involved. While it is idle to muse how she might have reacted to this or that book that appeared after her death, there is a good chance that Gilman's definitive venture of 1972 vintage: *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas; the In-*

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*telectual and Social Landscape of "La Celestina"*--meticulously researched in archival terms, less experimental and dogmatic and, on balance, far more mature than his earlier work--might have strongly impressed her.<sup>22</sup> As for Bataillon, there can be no doubt of his having deeply appreciated his New World counterpart's marked restraint on this occasion: aside from writing, with his customary elegance, a moving necrological essay on his friend, he also dedicated practically an entire lecture course at the Collège to a critical elucidation of her posthumous *La originalidad artistica de "La Celestina"* and eventually distilled and tightened his thinking into, easily, the weightiest review article dedicated to the book.<sup>23</sup>

To revert to the mid 'fifties: any saving of space the author may have effected by curbing her critical militancy was insufficient to counterbalance the numerous additions and elaborations she was prone to indulging in, heedless of subsequent budgetary implications. As a young woman, the author--slightly spoiled in this respect--could afford to rely on the energetic sponsorship of her first book projects by such influential figures as Amado Alonso, Pedro Henríquez Ureña, and Alfonso Reyes--all of whom, in the end, invariably succeeded in finding the necessary funds. Now, in 1954, she was virtually on her own, and the two or three potential publishing houses in Latin America she contacted, or her brother thoughtfully contacted in her name, struck a lukewarm attitude after calculating the steep printing costs involved. The hypersensitive author, piqued by what she took to be a sign of indifference, went into a temporary spell of depression, and became more and more immersed in an entirely different project, originally embarked on in search of a brief respite or intellectual divertissement.<sup>24</sup> There arose the serious risk that María Rosa might altogether shunt off her practically finished *Celestina* monograph--the way she had, inexplicably, abandoned, around 1943, her ambitious Josephus project.<sup>25</sup> It took me an extraordinary effort, through appeal to every conceivable argument, to dissuade her from allowing a fresh interest, however tempting, from endangering the ripe yield of the investment of the best years of her life. Finally, she agreed to re-read her manuscript, only to find it less than satisfactory and in need of one more complete revision. Fortunately, this time, after all the *escarmentos*, her new plan provided for a certain balance between any further accretions and the elimination of any overgrowth through skillful surgery: such chapters (or sections of chapters) as could be smoothly sliced off from the main body would be transformed into middle-sized articles, qualifying as autonomous contributions to journals and special miscellanies, such as testimonial and memorial volumes.<sup>26</sup> (Whether this strategy was from the start neatly outlined, down to the last detail, in the author's mind by 1955 I do not undertake to vouch for; but she very clearly, indeed emphatically, stated it to me on the occasion of an extended discussion of her long-range plans, somewhere in 1959 or 1960.) The book that we have before us, and that has become so familiar to specialists the world over, namely *La originalidad artistica de "La Celestina"*, embodies then the third version of her project, and its actual writing was accomplished in the 1955-59 period; while splinter or satellite studies which have been appearing since the mid 'sixties, in strict harmony with the author's explicitly stated preference, in the aggregate represent a (sometimes slightly revised) spin-off from the second *redacción*, characteristic of her thinking in the early or, at the latest, the mid 'fifties.<sup>27</sup>

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The year 1959 was euphoric in the life of María Rosa Lida de Malkiel. The irrevocably final revision of the book that had presided over twelve years of her life had been completed, and the manuscript accepted for speedy publication by EUDEBA, the newly-founded University Press in her native Buenos Aires. Also, she had been appointed to a prestigious Miller Visiting Professorship by the University of Illinois, on its Champaign-Urbana campus. Her health bulletin was excellent, and nothing presaged an impending tragedy. In September, she took with her to her new Urbana headquarters a carbon copy of the definitive version of her book, which thus underlay both her classwork (to the extent that it covered this particular family of texts and the period involved) as well as four of the total of six public lectures that she delivered as a contractual part of her appointment; the two remaining lectures, which for transparent chronological reasons actually ushered in the cycle, were dedicated to Juan Ruiz.

María Rosa conducted her classroom teaching at Urbana--as before at Ohio State, UCB, and Harvard, and as later at Stanford--entirely in Spanish, but the lectures were to be delivered in English, for a wider audience of humanistically-inclined faculty members and graduate students. This is how she went about this new assignment: she wrote up the text of the lectures in Spanish and polished it to a fine sheen; then, in part on her own, in part with the cheerfully-tendered help of a newly-acquired local friend known for her generosity toward foreign-born scholars, Angelina R. Pietrangeli, she translated every lecture into English, and engaged in some rehearsing of the actual delivery. The result was overwhelmingly favorable: one of her enthusiastic auditors established the necessary contact with the University of Illinois Press, which requested the privilege of publishing the six lectures, in English, with a minimum or modicum of elaborations. The addenda amounted to a Preface and to a sprinkling of footnotes, which, being stylistically somewhat less demanding, were cast in English right away. With so much efficiency shown by several parties, the book made its appearances in 1961, not very long after the author's return to her Berkeley home, under the title: *Two Spanish Masterpieces*, with the subtitle "*The Book of Good Love*" and "*La Celestina*" (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XLIX). As a result of the different speeds with which the publishers worked, the gist of the author's thinking about *La Celestina* thus became available in English fully one and a half years before her magnum opus was finally issued by EUDEBA.

This is not the end of the story: since the careful original Spanish wording of the lectures had been preserved, EUDEBA, commendably enough, decided to issue them posthumously as a separate booklet--a distillate, so far as the four chapters on *La Celestina* were concerned, of the monumental undertaking. A very obliging Raimundo Lida volunteered his services as translator of the Preface, the footnotes, and certain quotations, with the result that no suture appears to the naked eye: it takes a very powerful lens to recognize the minuscule differences between the stylistic predilections of brother and sister. The title of the 1966 restoration of the Illinois lectures is: *Dos obras maestras de la literatura española: El "Libro de buen amor" y "La Celestina"*; the venture coincided roughly with the issuance of a posthumous collection of articles, *Estudios de literatura española y comparada*, sponsored once more by EUDEBA.

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The year 1960 was dramatic in more than one way: a harmless-looking irritation of the inner ear, poorly diagnosed in Urbana, turned out to be the symptom of a brain tumor, requiring an emergency operation in July; the following fall marked the auspicious start of an expected long-term teaching career at near-by Stanford; and the foundations were laid for a return trip, in 1961, to the author's *alma mater*, with a short lecture tour to a few others among Argentina's "universidades nacionales". Of the two lectures that María Rosa offered on those occasions one was on *La Celestina*, the other on early New World literature.<sup>28</sup>

The return to her suburban Berkeley home and to her niche on the Stanford campus, very early in 1962,<sup>29</sup> before long was marred by María Rosa's sudden relapse into a cancerous condition, which medical science could temporarily stay, but no longer managed to cure. She rallied the necessary strength to teach--brilliantly--her last graduate course ever, on Don Juan Manuel, in UCB's summer session program that year, and, while doing so, to devote several hours every day to the meticulous correction of the printer's proof on *La originalidad artística de La Celestina* which had meanwhile reached her from Buenos Aires. (I made a point of rereading every single sheet of that page proof immediately thereafter, helping her to weed out several hundred printer's errors.) But her ebbing energy and weakening visual power no longer allowed her to make any major addenda, even if providing for such had been originally on her mind. She used judiciously the momentum of the chore to write a concluding book review--a favorable one--in the domain of *Celestina* studies, on Alan Deyermond's inquiry into the Petrarchan sources of the *Tragicomedia*. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel died on September 26, 1962; the advance copies of the book to whose writing she had given fifteen years of her life reached our home three months later.



(Sevilla, 1517-18)

"Yendo Calisto con Sosa y Tristan al huerto de Pleberio a visitar a Melibea, que lo estaba esperando, y con ella Lucrecia..." (Auto 19)

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> See *Revista de Filología Hispánica*, III: 2, 150-154.
- <sup>2</sup> I owe this bit of information to Lecoy himself.
- <sup>3</sup> The latest and most detailed description and assessment of what could be posthumously salvaged from this greatest *fracaso* in her life will be conveniently found, with references to earlier writings, in Lía Schwartz Lerner's excellent review article, "Un vasto proyecto recuperado . . .", *Romance Philology* 35 (1981-82), 374-388.
- <sup>4</sup> Having meanwhile had access to the treasures of Widener Library at Harvard and of the Library of the University of California at Berkeley--obviously far superior in the aggregate to the combined holdings of the Instituto de Filología and of the Biblioteca Central de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras in Buenos Aires.
- <sup>5</sup> This scattered material has now been assembled, deciphered, filtered, and transcribed; it is to go into the expanded 2d edn. of the Mena book, a venture on which the Colegio de México has, once more, embarked.
- <sup>6</sup> For which the author had received an award of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation (1949-51). She succeeded in carving out a note, a review article, and an article from the material she had amassed; two of these three separately published pieces were eventually amalgamated, in response to her own preference, in the posthumous miscellany *La tradición clásica en España*, Letras e Ideas, 4 (Barcelona: Ariel, 1975), pp. 165-197: "La leyenda de Alejandro en la literatura medieval".
- <sup>7</sup> For the text of that lecture ("La técnica dramática de *La Celestina*"), delivered at La Plata University on October 21, 1961, under the chairmanship of Clemente Hernando Balmori, and for all surrounding circumstances, see my contribution to the forthcoming *Homenaje a Ana María Barrenechea* launched by Isafías and Lía Lerner and sponsored by Madrid's Castalia. (Some of my findings were presented for the first time, very tentatively, in an informal *charla* delivered at London-Hampstead's Westfield College in 1974.)
- <sup>8</sup> The book in question was Alan D. Deyermond's *The Petrarchan Sources of "La Celestina"* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961). For the style of her note-taking see my page-filler, "Materiales del archivo de M.R.L. de M., 1: Esbozos de las últimas reseñas", *Romance Philology* 21 (1967-68), 611-12, where, it is true, the review copy not of Deyermond's monograph, but of Albert A. Sicroff's *Les Controverses des statuts de "pureté de sang" en Espagne du XVe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Didier, 1960) was chosen by way of specific illustration.
- <sup>9</sup> On April 29, 1981, this very same Liceo, in a solemn ceremony at which Renata Donghi de Halperín and Julieta Gómez Paz were the principal speakers, renamed its Library "Biblioteca María Rosa Lida de Malkiel". On



this event, see the metropolitan daily press as well as the forthcoming item in *Romance Philology* (Nov. 1982): "Recognition of M.R.L. de M. in her Native Argentina".

10 An amusing family anecdote testifies to another facet of María Rosa's precociousness: impatient about the decorous use of Greek in comments on certain passages of questionable morality in Latin comedies, the youthful reader, eager to understand everything, started learning Greek on her own. It was this, all told, trivial provocation that, in the end, turned her into an inspired Hellenist.

11 The amount of attention María Rosa, as a neophyte, lavished on Lope is not immediately recognizable from the record of her publications. As a matter of fact, one of her juvenilia, originally attached to her Josephus studies, made its appearance only posthumously, and its concluding section is little more than a bare sketch ("Lope de Vega y los judíos", *Bulletin Hispanique* 75 (1973), 73-113); to commemorate the tenth anniversary of her death, the Buenos Aires daily *La Nación*, in the Sunday Literary Supplements to its October 29 and November 5, 1972 issues, prepublished parts of that paper. The "cuando de conjunto" of the playwright she was commissioned to write for the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv) and actually sent off in December 1960 may meanwhile have appeared in a Hebrew translation, but has remained unavailable in any other language.

12 To cite just one example of the penumbra into which *La Celestina* temporarily moved for the author: Her *Dido y su defensa en la literatura española*, in its original version of 1942, contains just two fleeting references to the *Tragicomedia* (see pp. 38 y 89 of the expanded posthumous edn. of 1974). Yet the same monograph cites, in varying degrees of detail and frequency, 11 different works by Calderón; 19 works by Cervantes; and as many as 45 works by Lope de Vega--aside from repeated general references to each writer's *œuvre*!

13 Objectors to this view could point to the fact that the author's Juan de Mena book, basically concluded by 1946, not only contains a big chunk of *Celestina* analyses (pp. 477-486) in the lengthy chapter on "Influences", but also offers numerous briefer references to the *Tragicomedia*, in a long string of consecutive chapters (see pp. 97, 127, 143, 148, 150, 153, 174, 207, 240, 263, 269, 438, 489f., 505, 517f., 524). Equally or even more significant, the book bristles with brief or extended discussions of the imitations of *La Celestina*: such plays as Ferreira de Vasconcellos' *Comedia Eufrosina*, Juan Rodríguez Florián's *Comedia Florinea*, Villegas Selvago's *Comedia Selvagia*, Romero de Cepeda's *Comedia Salvage*, Perálvarez de Ayllón's *Comedia Tíbalda*, the anonymous *Comedia Seraphina* and *Comedia Thebaida*, etc. (for clues see p. 567a). It is highly probable that many if not most of these passages were added in proof, by 1948-49. Nevertheless, there surely is some substance to the suspicion that inquiries into late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth-century reverberations of Mena's *œuvre* constitute a link between the author's early exposure to the charm of *La Celestina* and her eventual self-immersion in the new research project.

14 See "Tres notas sobre Don Juan Manuel" and "Perduración de la litera-

tura antigua en Occidente", in *Romance Philology* 4 (1950-51), 155-194, and 5 (1951-52), 99-131, respectively. The former was reprinted in *Estudios de literatura española y comparada* (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1966), pp. 92-133; the latter, with elaborations, in *La Tradición clásica en España*, pp. 269-338.

15 "Originalidad de *La Celestina*", *La Nación*, January 16, 1949, pp. 3-4.

16 Of this book, originally issued by the University of Wisconsin Press, there exists a translation into Spanish, prepared by Margit Frenk de Alatorre: "*La Celestina*", *arte y estructura* (Madrid: Taurus, 1974). The change in the title is noteworthy; in size, the translation exceeds the original by a significant margin. It may be worth investigating to what extent--if to any--the author took into account the Bataillon and the Lida de Malkiel books, in addition to his own subsequent inquiries (see below).

17 Edwin S. Morby's by no means unsympathetic review of Gilman's *The Art. . .*, with strictures by and large limited to the treatment of genre and characters, in *RPh* 10 (1956-57), 302-304, lends itself to meaningful comparison with the same reviewer's critical appraisal of *La originalidad. . .*, in *CL* 16 (1964), 269-274.

18 She may have, additionally, been motivated in this decision by knowledge of how deeply Gilman had been hurt by Leo Spitzer's acerbic reaction to his book (*HR* 25 [1957], 1-25).

19 María Rosa had her private reasons for feeling slightly unhappy about Bataillon's 1955 note, "Les Patagons dans le *Primaleón* de 1524", which involved disagreement with her own analysis, as offered in a short piece: "Para la toponimia argentina: *Patagonia*", *HR* 20 (1952), 321-323. Being the gentleman that Bataillon notoriously was, he later modified or withdrew his criticism: "Acerca de los patagones: *Retractatio*", in an issue of *Filología* dedicated to the memory of his lamented *contrincante*: 8 (1962 [1964]), 27-45. For additional clues to this controversy see the Bibliography appended to the 2d (c. 1970), or any later, edn. of *La originalidad. . .*, 770b (Bataillon and Lida de Malkiel met only once, briefly, on the occasion of lectures which they delivered--on the same day, through a strange twist of circumstances--at the University of Buenos Aires (1961).

20 The extended review of Alonso's book (1942) appeared the following year in *RFH*, 5: 377-395; for the Madrid scholar's rebuttal see the later editions of his book on San Juan de la Cruz. Further disagreements of María Rosa Lida de Malkiel with D. Alonso's approach appear in her (editorially censored) "Nuevas notas para la interpretación del *Libro de buen amor*", *NRFH* 13 (1959), 17-82.

21 Cf. these two items: "Una interpretación más de Juan Ruiz" [on Ulrich Leo], *RPh* 14 (1960-61), 228-237; and review of Thomas R. Hart, *La alegoría en el "LBA"*, in the same volume of the journal, pp. 340-343.

22 And even aided her in writing the book that was next on her agenda, on Fray Luis de León.

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23 The necrology appeared in *BH* 65 (1963), 189-191; the article in dual form, as "L'originalité de *La Celestina* d'après un ouvrage récent", in *RLC* 39 (1965), 109-123, and as "La originalidad artística de *La Celestina*", in *NRPH* 17 (1963-64 [1966]), 264-90. I owe my knowledge of the underlying lecture course to a personal letter of Bataillon's addressed to myself.

24 A major fragment of this piece, on which the author interrupted work rather reluctantly, was in the end salvaged posthumously, with some help from Raimundo Lida, Aldo D. Scaglione, and Charles B. Faulhaber: "La dama como obra maestra de Dios", *RPh* 28 (1974-75), 267-324.

25 Chiefly to accelerate the completion, under pressure of time, of her doctoral dissertation on Juan de Mena, which grew out of an (unpublished) review of José Manuel Blecuá's edition of the *Trezientas*. See the various comments accompanying the expanded 2d edn. of her Mena book, expected to be published, again by the Colegio de México, in 1983.

26 The first short piece that spun off the major work was a paper written for the *Joseph E. Gillet Memorial Volume*: "De Centurio al Mariscal de Turena: Fortuna de una frase de *La Celestina*"; see *HR* 27 (1959), 150-166.

27 Published so far have been two major slices: "El ambiente concreto en *La Celestina*; fragmentos de un capítulo no aprovechado para *O.A.C.*", *Estudios dedicados a James Homer Herriott* (University of Wisconsin, 1966), pp. 145-164; and "Elementos técnicos del teatro romano desechados en *La Celestina*", *RPh* 27 (1973-74), 1-12.

28 The alternative piece, titled "Fantasía y realidad en la conquista de América", appeared eventually in the 1975 *Homenaje al Instituto de Filología y Literaturas Hispánicas*. . . piloted by Frida Weber de Kurlat (pp. 210-220). The *Celestina* lecture is to be published with comments, as remarked above, in the testimonial volume in honor of Ana María Barrenechea. Interestingly, according to Benjamin M. Woodbridge, Jr. ("The Romance Philology Lectures, 1949-1957"), her first lecture delivered in this country, under the chairmanship of Percival B. Fay, in Berkeley, on November 10, 1950, was titled "Originalidad artística de *La Celestina*"; see *RPh* 11 (1957-58), 199.

29 Lest there arise any misunderstandings, let me stress the fact that a doctoral dissertation on *La Celestina* completed by another "porteño" ca. 1960 had not at all benefited from María Rosa Lida's guidance. She--no doubt reluctantly--agreed to serve on the dissertation "jury" or committee, read the typescript, and found it very disappointing. This is the extent of her connection with the project and with the candidate.





**Libro de Calixto y  
Melibea y dela pu-  
ta vieja Celestina.**

Título de la edición de Sevilla [1517-18].  
Una de las llamadas ediciones de "Sevilla,  
1502," y editada por Criado de Val-Trotter  
en 1958. Ver las pp. 9 y 24 de este núme-  
ro para otros dos grabados de esta edición.