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Celestinesca

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NOTA DEL EDITOR

Much has happened since the previous number of May 1989. Jeanne Moreau opened in *La Célestine* over the summer in Avignon (a new French adaptation, with many cast members from the Comédie Française), went with it to Barcelona for a few festival performances, and is now performing at L'Odéon in Paris. The Spanish version by Torrente Ballester and directed by Adolfo Marsillach (the new Ministerio de Cultura assistant for theatre, music and dance) made it to the Edinburgh Festival—where it was a popular hit and a critical failure. And Nuria Espert announced the postponement of her English *Celestina* (with Joan Plowright) until the autumn of 1990. Increasing interest in the ways twentieth-century theatrical versions of Rojas's work affect us was reflected in the previous issue's commentary by Cesar OLIVA and is continued in this issue with a comparatist study by Christoph RODIEK. See also the PREGONERO and Reviews sections for more material on these and other theatrical matters.

Note, too, the number of scholarly presentations that have dealt with the *Celestina* recently (PREGONERO section): they were particularly evident at this summer's meeting of the Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas in Barcelona and the autumn gathering of the Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval in Salamanca. It seems especially notable that so many *celestinistas* are exploring and discovering newer texts and their connections to *la celestinesca*—that genre whose ever-widening network of influences both great and small constantly offers up rich surprises.

Studies in this issue do some exploring and discovering of their own. Armistead and Monroe find analogies among *Celestina*'s "Muslim sisters," while Esteban Martín—in the fourth and concluding article in his series—shows the traces of Rojas's *Celestina* in two later works: *Comedia Florinea* and *Comedia Selvagia*. Keith Whinnom began an article for this journal but did not live to complete it: it was to be an exploration of *Celestina* and Von Eyb's 'Margarita Poetica': its initial pages—now edited by Alan Deyermond—reveal its premise and promise. Carole Holdsworth relates a short story by Thomas Pynchon indirectly to Rojas (through Azorin's mediation in "Las nubes") and Seniff & Wright give us a polished edition of one of the post-*Celestina* 'entierros'—yet another indication of the grip Rojas's work had on the literary imagination of subsequent generations of writers.

CELESTINESCA welcomes to its list of 'corresponsales' from France Prof. Michel García of the Sorbonne. New data on the colloquium held in Paris in the summer of 1988 in connection with the Paris Opera production of Maurice O'Hana's *Célestine*, provided by our new *corresponsal*, appears in the *Pregonero*.

Some apologies and corrections are in order, too. To Nicasio SALVADOR MIGUEL for misspelling his name (12, ii, p. 95). And to Luis M. ESTEBAN MARTIN for a mechanical error in *Celestinesca* 13, i, p. 85, which mistakenly attributed *his* article, "Huellas de *Celestina* en la *Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselia* de Sancho de Muñón" to Charles Faulhaber. My personal apology to all involved.

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Finally, and on a personal note, I mention—sadly—the death on March 23, 1989 of one of the earliest contributors to *Celestinesca*, the distinguished hispanist, **Joseph H. Silverman**. In Vol. 2, no. i (May of 1978), along with his long-time collaborator, Samuel G. Armistead, Joe Silverman penned "Un poema celestinesco en la tradición sefardí moderna," to which was added a 'nota adicional' in that year's November issue. His final illness prevented him from contributing a promised reflective assessment of Stephen Gilman to these pages. Joe Silverman offered this journal—and on several occasions—the support and encouragement it thrives on. His great good humor, sound judgment, sense of fairness, his warm presence and collegiality will be missed by all who knew him.

Joseph Snow



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CELESTINA'S MUSLIM SISTERS¹

Samuel G. Armistead
University of California, Davis

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University of California, Berkeley

The possible existence of Arabic analogues or even putative Semitic congeners of *Celestina* and of its central character has received little serious attention. To be sure, the type of the sly crone as go-between has been noted, both in Hispano-Arabic poetry and in the *Dove's Neck-Ring* of Ibn Hazm of Córdoba.² Such parallels, although interesting, imply, at most, the presence of a common motif, but certainly no genetic relationship. Recent scholarship suggests that it might be productive to approach *Celestina*, once again, with renewed attention to the multi-religious, pluralistic culture of medieval Spain.³ As has been suggestively argued in a paper by Juan Martínez Ruiz and Joaquina Albarracín Navarro: "*La Celestina* deberá estudiarse partiendo de la realidad hispánica ajena a otras literaturas románicas, de la convivencia, durante más de ocho siglos, de cristianos, moros y judíos, del continuo trasiego de usos, modos, costumbres y formas de expresión de los tres grupos étnicos y sociales."⁴ Indeed, as Francisco Márquez Villanueva now convincingly argues, in regard to the basic problem of the go-between and, more specifically, of the social and cultural context of *Celestina*, we should perhaps "completely forget the word *Renaissance*."⁵ In the present article, we would like to draw attention to certain parallels between *Celestina* and the great (if all too often unrecognized) Arabic masterpiece, *Kitāb Alf Layla wa-Layla—The 1001 Nights*.⁶

One tends to think of the *1001N* as a relatively modern work. And, when we speak of it in its better known forms, this is indeed the case. The vast "Egyptian Recension," which is the basis of most modern Western translations, was only put together in the late eighteenth century. But Jean Antoine Galland, the first Western translator, was working from a much shorter, late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century Syrian text, when he brought out his best-selling—we might even say, sensational—French adaptation, beginning in 1704.⁷ Now, after years of preparation, the *1001N* has finally been edited, by Muhsin Mahdi, according to its earliest known medieval sources.⁸ The relatively short medieval work that emerges from Professor Mahdi's edition is something quite different from the vast, multi-volume compilation familiar to those of us who have worked with the various Arabic editions, with the translations of Payne, Lane, Gabrieli, Littmann, and Vernet, or with the scandalous, and even plagiaristic adaptation of Burton.⁹ But there can be no doubt that the *1001N* already existed as an extensive and complex work in medieval

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times and we now have a much clearer idea of what that collection was like. With regard to its medieval origins, it is worth noting, too, that the *Nights* are crammed with medieval and even ancient personages and allusions which take us back, not only to Damascus, Baghdad, and Cairo of the eighth through the fifteenth centuries, but to Pre-Islamic India and Persia.¹⁰ There are, indeed, several medieval literary allusions to the *Nights* in Arabic writings of the ninth through the eleventh centuries and, to confirm definitively the work's high-medieval Arabic existence, a priceless ninth-century fragment of the *Nights* is extant in the library of the Oriental Institute in Chicago.¹¹

No Hispano-Arabic version or Hispano-Romance translation of the *1001N* or of any extensive portion of it has come down to us, to show that the work as a whole might have circulated in medieval Spain, but individual stories and entire works later absorbed into the *Nights* are indeed well represented in medieval Spanish literature. The famous story of Tawaddud (NN436-462), the brilliant and beautiful slave-girl, who, through her own knowledge and sharp wit, saves her master from bankruptcy, was translated into Spanish in the fifteenth century under the title of *La doncella Teodor*.¹² The *Sendebār*, known in Western Europe as the *Seven Sages of Rome*, was incorporated in its entirety into the *Nights* (NN578-606) and was well known in medieval Spain, where it was translated from the Arabic into Spanish in 1291.¹³ The story of *The Closed Chamber of Toledo*, present in late versions of the legend of Spain's conquest by the Muslims, is also included in the *1001N* (N272).¹⁴ The famous strophic song of *Las tres morillas en Jaén* derives from an obscene *1001N* anecdote, *Hārūn al-Rašid and the Three Slave Girls* (N387).¹⁵ And the picaresque *exemplum* of *The Weeping Bitch* (*De Canicula Lacrimante*), which includes the essential rôle of an aged, devious woman go-between, occurs both in the *Nights* (NN584-585) and in the early twelfth-century *Disciplina Clericalis*.¹⁶ So there is plenty of evidence that bits and pieces of the *Nights* were, in fact, well known in medieval Spain.

In some form or another—we are not certain exactly how—the outer frame story of the *1001N* was also known in the West, both before and during Rojas' lifetime. The outer frame was adapted by Giovanni Sercambi (1348-1424) in story CXVIII (=19) of his *Novelle* (completed in a first version in 1374 and revised ca. 1399-1400). In Naples, Astolfo, husband of the "bellissima e gentile" Lagrinta, returns home to find her in bed with her lover, the squire Nieri. Astolfo, being a true *gentiluomo*, does not take vengeance, but departs to the court of King Manfredi, where he remains, in a state of profound melancholy—reminiscent of that experienced by King Šāhzamān in the Arabic version. On secretly witnessing the relations of Manfredi's Queen Fiammetta with a crippled beggar, Astolfo decides that, by comparison, his own fate is not as bad as he had first imagined, and he puts on a joyful mien. Wondering at this change of heart, the king presses Astolfo for an explanation. The truth is revealed and both Astolfo and the king now witness another rendezvous of Fiammetta with the crippled rogue (*gaglioffo*). Profoundly disillusioned, Astolfo and Manfredi decide to undertake a secret journey, "con intenzione di mai non ritornare fine que qualche avventura non ci viene alle mani che ci faccia certi del nostro ritorno." After extensive travels, they are sitting under a tree, when a man approaches, carrying a large chest, out of which emerges a beautiful woman. While the man sleeps, she engages in sexual relations with both protagonists, thus proving to Manfredi that "la femina guardare no si può che non fallisca." They return to Naples, "dove ciascuno con bel modo la moglie castigò." In the light of this narrative, there can be no doubt that Sercambi knew the *Nights*' outer frame story. It has been shown that the latter is made up of three independent folktales that have been combined into one continuous narrative.¹⁷ Since Sercambi reproduces the Arabic ensemble, not just some of its parts, his source must have

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been the finished *Nights*, and not the discrete oral folk tradition from which the latter was derived.¹⁸

In the early sixteenth century (1516), in *Orlando furioso*, Ariosto adapted the frame story of the two kings' disillusionment caused by feminine infidelity, turning it into a bawdy Italian *fabliau* (*canto* 28.4-74). Ariosto also knew of a gigantic bird (corresponding perhaps to the *ruhḥ*) and the flying horse—a distant analogue, if not an antecedent, to Don Quijote's Clavileño.¹⁹ It is worth noting that Ariosto could hardly have used Sercambi as a source, since each author's version of the story varies widely from that of the other, while both faithfully reproduce different aspects of the same Arabic original.

Joanot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba, the authors of *Tirant lo Blanch* (written between 1460 and 1490), also knew the frame story of the *Nights*: As Tirant, disguised and in hiding, watches from a window, he sees his beloved, Carmesina, and her *donzella*, Plaerdemavida, disporting in a garden beside a stream (*séquia d'aigua*), in the company of two other damsels. At the insistence of the Viuda Reposada, Plaerdemavida, who has disguised herself as the black gardener, a man named Lauseta, pretends to fondle Carmesina and then leads her into the hut where the gardener keeps his tools. The young women laugh and take it all in jest, but it is, of course, a stratagem of the Viuda, who wants to separate Tirant from Princess Carmesina. In desperation and fury, Tirant later enters the garden, again in disguise, and slits the throat of the innocent and unsuspecting Lauseta (*negre hortolà*), who was out of town during the scene concocted by the Viuda.²⁰ Here, clearly—as in Sercambi and Ariosto—there is an echo of the *Nights'* outer frame story, in which King Šahriyār and his brother Šahzamān, in disguise, watch through the lattice as the king's wife copulates with the black slave, Mas'ūd, in a garden, beside a fountain (in the company of twenty of her female attendants and twenty black slaves who are simultaneously doing the same). Tirant's killing of Lauseta, which, in context, is a normal enough response, given the culture, may perhaps correspond to Šahzamān's earlier having dispatched—with a sword—both his own wife and the slave he surprised in amorous dalliance with her.²¹ It is significant that the authors of *Tirant* have obviously seen the *1001N* story quite independently from the Sercambi narrative, where the garden scene is not developed, the differences between the wives and their lovers are social and physical, but not racial, and there is no bloody vengeance.²² Here then, is clear textual evidence that the *Nights'* frame story had reached the Iberian Peninsula, albeit its periphery, by the late 1400's. All the same, whether Fernando de Rojas, in its Castilian heartlands, actually knew the *1001N* or any part of it is a very different matter.

There are in the *1001N* an impressive number of aged female go-betweens. The type is known in Arabic simply as *'ajūz* ('old woman'; lit. 'helpless one'). Some of the go-between figures in the *Nights* seem to be kindly, well-meaning assistants; others, like Celestina, are sly and devious creatures, motivated solely by personal gain, who have little regard for the well-being of the lovers they serve. The difference between the Arabic and Spanish portrayal of the procuress has to do with the differences in the nature of marriage in Islam and Christendom. In Islam, where the sexes are more strictly segregated, the institution of marriage-broker, male or female (*ḥaṭṭāb[a]*), constitutes a perfectly honorable profession. At the same time, the fact that Islam recognizes divorce makes matrimony a much more flexible state. This situation often encourages the illicit arts of the procurer or procuress (*qawwād[a]*).

Here is a partial accounting of the occurrences of such figures in the *Nights*: In N18, a treacherous old woman leads astray one of the three ladies in the *Story of the Porter and the Three Ladies of Baghdad*. In N33, a hag leads the Barber's fifth brother

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to the house of a beautiful damsel, where he is humiliated, cruelly deceived, and brutally beaten. In NN121-122, in the story of 'Aziz and 'Aziza, a piously tearful old woman takes the hero to the house of an exquisitely beautiful girl, who has him seized and obliges him to choose between marriage and death. In the story of Ni'ma and his Slave-Girl Nu'm (NN237-238), the Umayyad governor Al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf (d. 714) uses a crone, posing as a pious holy woman, to gain access to Ni'ma's house and lead off his beautiful slave-girl. But the same old woman, later (in NN243-245), also helps to reunite the anguished lovers. Again, in *The Story of the Mock Halifa* (N292), an old woman persuades the protagonist to visit Zubayda, the Halifa's main wife, thus leading to the loss of his beloved Dunyā. The sly machinations of a cunning old go-between, in *The Story of the Old Woman and the Merchant's Son* (NN598-602), are too complex to outline here. The innumerable rogueries of *Dalila the Crafty* (NN700-701) include leading the beautiful Hātūn, wife of Amīr Ḥasan, to an assignation with a handsome young merchant. Again, a cunning and persistent old woman serves as go-between in the complex love-affair between Ardašir, prince of Shiraz, and Ḥayāt al-Nufūs, princess of Iraq (NN719-738). Thereafter, in NN894-5, an old woman makes it possible for a Muslim flax-merchant to unite with the wife of a Frankish Crusader. A number of additional examples could be cited.²³ Those given above, however, make it clear that old women occur as go-betweens almost at regular intervals throughout the *1001N*.



Zubayda and the old woman (N41) (*Les mille et une nuits: Contes arabes traduits par Galland...*, vol. II [Paris: Ernest Bourdin, n. d.], 488).

In all these cases, we are being regaled by the *topos* of the aged woman who acts as go-between. Beyond this community of Pan-Mediterranean motifs, there seems to be no possible direct relationship with *Celestina*. There is, however, one story in the *1001N* which transcends such vague, generic similarities, and in which parallels with Fernando de Rojas' masterpiece are not only arresting and numerous, but also border on the textual, and

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therefore merit our closer attention. This is *The Tailor's Story*, one of the enframed tales contained in *The Story of the Hunchback* (Mahdi NN140-143; Payne NN24-34).

Because of the unreliable character of most manuscripts, editions and translations of the *1001 Nights*, the nature of the relationship between the *The Tailor's Story* and the passage from *Celestina* under consideration cannot be appraised correctly without a brief discussion of the textual transmission of the *1001N*.

All but one of the many printed Arabic texts of the *1001N* in existence today derive from four basic editions: Calcutta I,²⁴ Breslau,²⁵ Būlāq I,²⁶ and Calcutta II.²⁷ Yet none of these four editions has any claim to "critical" status, in the proper sense of that word, for they regularly introduce changes in both the diction and the content of the manuscripts used, normally by classicizing what is colloquial in the sources, and by incorporating stories from manuscripts other than the one(s) serving as a basis for the edition. As a result, compilations that never existed in the manuscript tradition have been created, all without the slightest hint of a critical apparatus that might alert the unsuspecting reader to the alterations of the text that are being foisted upon him. Then too, as Professor Muhsin Mahdi points out, "the manuscripts of *1001N* which the four printings utilized had themselves been transcribed only a decade or two before being printed in that extensively revised fashion—all were transcribed during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first four decades of the nineteenth."²⁸ This means that they were composed almost a century after Jean Antoine Galland's pioneering French translation.²⁹ Galland's contribution was initially based on the oldest known manuscript, dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, to which he subsequently claims to have added stories derived from an oral source. There is good evidence to indicate that the modern manuscripts on which the four printed editions were based were even influenced by Galland's translation, and that some of his French tales were retranslated into Arabic. Furthermore, the modern manuscripts on which the four earliest printings relied, were also compilations produced, upon request, by scribes eager to satisfy the demand being made upon them for "complete" versions of the text, by scholars who took the title of the book literally, and were disappointed to find that, in the older manuscripts, the nights hardly added up to the magic number of 1001.³⁰ Thus, no critical edition of a work as influential as the *1001N* existed until 1984, when Mahdi published his edition based on the manuscript used by Galland.³¹ This means that the translations made into European languages, during the nineteenth century, rest on textual foundations that are not, strictly speaking, scholarly. If we consider only the three major translations made into English, we will find that Lane was translating (primarily) from Būlāq I,³² Payne from Calcutta II,³³ and that Burton, when he was not plagiarizing wholesale from Payne, was also leaning heavily on Calcutta II.³⁴ At the same time, all three authors were not above incorporating stories from various other sources into their amazingly eclectic recensions. Thus, if the modern manuscripts used by the four earliest printers were actually compilations, then the printed editions relying on these manuscripts were compilations of compilations, and the nineteenth-century European translations of the printed editions only succeeded in raising the art of compilation to the third power. All this suggests rather strongly, that one overriding purpose in publishing and translating the *1001N* during the past two centuries has been, primarily, to promote literary entertainment rather than scholarship. While this approach cannot be faulted from a creative point of view, it does raise crucial literary-historical problems that must be faced as we proceed.

Professor Mahdi's recent edition is a most welcome departure from the remarkably confusing state of affairs that prevails in studies of the *1001N*, insofar as it lays the foundation for a more reliable critical tradition than has hitherto been possible. In his

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examination of the early manuscripts, he distinguishes two main families: the Syrian and the Egyptian. The earliest extensive source known, with which Galland worked, and which served as a basis for Mahdi's edition, belongs to the Syrian family and happens to include *The Tailor's Story*. On the following pages, we provide our translation of Mahdi's edition of the Arabic text, accompanied by a critical apparatus indicating variant forms of key Arabic phrases, as they appear, not only in Mahdi, but in the major recensions of the Egyptian family, namely Calcutta I, Būlāq I, and Calcutta II. Insofar as Lane was translating from Būlāq I, and Payne from Calcutta II, we also include their translations of these passages, offering our own version of Calcutta I, which is the most aberrant edition, and which has not yet been translated. For Breslau, which tends to coincide with Mahdi because, here, it was using the Syrian, Galland MS, we provide Habicht's own, often paraphrastic and frequently unliteral, translation. The bracketed numerals we insert in the text refer to passages corresponding with *Celestina*, as classified thematically below.

THE TAILOR'S STORY³⁵

NIGHT 140

—Know, O assembly, that my father was one of the leading wealthy men of Baghdad, and that he was blessed with no son aside from myself. When I grew up and reached the age of reason, he was dispatched by death to the mercy of God (may He be exalted!) and he left me great wealth, so that I began to dress handsomely, and to enjoy a most pleasant life. God had made women distasteful to me, until one day, as I was strolling through the alleys of Baghdad, I saw a group of women coming toward me on the road. I fled from them and entered a cul-de-sac. I had not sat there for more than a short time, when a window was opened and there appeared from within it, a girl bright as the blazing sun, such that my eye had never seen one more beautiful. She smiled when she saw me, while she tended some plants at the window. Fire exploded inside my heart, dislike of women was turned to love, and I remained sitting, until the approach of sunset, in a state of distraction, when the Judge of the city appeared riding his mule. Then he descended, dismounted, and entered the house in which the girl dwelt, from which I realized that he must be her father.

[1] *Then I returned to my house full of sorrow, and feverishly collapsed on a bed of suffering.*³⁶ My relatives came to me, not knowing what was wrong with me, and I provided no answer to their questions. I remained thus for several days, while my family were reduced to tears on my account, until an old woman came in to me and saw me, and my condition became obvious to her. She sat next to my head and addressed me kindly, saying: [2]—*O my son,*³⁷ be of good cheer; acquaint me with your problem, and I will be the means of bringing about your love union.— Her words made an impression upon my heart so that I sat up and conversed with her.—

And Šahrazād perceived the dawn and interrupted her story. Then Dinārzād said: —How pleasant and unusual is your story, O sister.— Šahrazād replied: —What is this compared to what I will tell you tonight if I live and the King spares me?—

NIGHT 141

That night she said:

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—It has reached me, O King, that the tailor said to the king of China: —The youth said to the assembly: —When the old woman saw me she chanted and began to recite a poem:—

[49 lines of love-poetry follow]

And Šahrazād perceived the dawn and interrupted her story. Then Dinārzād said: —How pleasant and unusual is your story, O sister.— Šahrazād replied: —What is this compared to what I will tell you tonight if I live?—



Tāj al-Mulūk and the old woman (NN132-133) (Edward William Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights...*, I [London: Chatto & Windus, 1889], 519).

NIGHT 142

That night she said:

—It has reached me, O auspicious King, that the tailor said to the king of China: —The youth said to the assembly: —Then the old woman said: [2]—*O my son*,³⁸ acquaint me with your tale.— So I told her my story, and she said to me: [2]—*O my son*,³⁹ she is the daughter of the Judge of Baghdad, and is kept in close confinement. The place where you saw her is her floor of the building. Her father and mother occupy the large chamber below it, while she dwells alone on her floor. I often visit her, and yet I will take charge of this affair, [6] *for you will achieve your love-union only through me*.⁴⁰ Be strong.— I took courage when I heard her words and began to eat and drink, while my family rejoiced over me. The old woman left me that day, and at dawn she came back to me with her face altered, and said: [2]—*O my son*,⁴¹ do not ask what the girl did to me when I mentioned you to her, for the last thing I heard her say about you was: [3-4]—*If you do not shut up, O ill-omened old woman, and <do not> increase*

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*your prattling, I will assuredly do you the harm you deserve,*⁴² and if you mention this subject to me again, I will tell my father.— And yet, [2] *O my son,*⁴³ I swear by God that I will return to her once more regardless of what harm may befall me.— When I heard that, my illness increased and I began to say: —Alas, how hard is love!— The old woman began to visit me every day, as my illness became prolonged, while all my family, and all the physicians and doctors despaired of me. And one day the old woman came in to me, sat at my head, put her face next to mine, and said: [5]—*To give joy to my family, I desire from you a reward for good tidings.*⁴⁴— *When I heard that, I sat up and said to her: —I have the reward for your good tidings.*⁴⁵— She answered me: —O my lord, yesterday I went to the girl and found a way of dealing with her, for when she saw me with a broken heart and a weeping eye, she said to me: [2]—*O my maternal aunt,*⁴⁶ what is the matter with you, and what are you brooding over, that your breast is thus contracted?— So I said (as I wept) [2]—*O my lady,*⁴⁷ I have just this moment come to you [6] *from a youth who is seriously ill; whose family have despaired of him; who one moment faints, and who recovers the next, and [6] who is, without any doubt, perishing on your account.*⁴⁸— The girl said, as her heart relented: —What does this have to do with you?— I replied: [2]—*He is my son;*⁴⁹ some days ago he saw you at the window while you were watering your plants, and after beholding your face and wrist, his heart became attached to you and he fell madly in love with you. It is he who recited these lines:

[10 lines of love-poetry follow]

[2] *O my lady,*⁵⁰ when he sent me to you for the first time, [6] *there happened to me, on your account, what is well known to you.*—⁵¹

And Šahrazād perceived the dawn and interrupted her story. Then Dinārzād said to her sister: —How pleasant and how rare is your story.— Šahrazād replied: —What is this compared to what I will tell you tonight if I live and the King spares me?— And the King said: —By God, I will not kill her until I have heard the story of the hunchback.—

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That night Šahrazād said:

—It has reached me, O auspicious King, that the tailor said to the king of China: —The youth said to the assembly: —Then the old woman said: [2]—*O my lady*⁵² [6] *there happened to me, on your account, what is well known to you,*⁵³ so I went to him and informed him of it, and I despaired of him, [6] *for he became ill because of it, and took to his bed.*⁵⁴ *He is a dead man without any doubt.*⁵⁵— The girl said, as her complexion paled: [6]—*Is all this because of me?*⁵⁶— I said: —Aye, by God, [2] *O my lady,*⁵⁷ therefore what do you command me to do about him now?— She said: —When it is Friday, before the congregational prayers, let him come to this house, and when he arrives, I will descend to open the door for him, and lead him upstairs to my floor. He will sit here, and he and I will be together for a short while; then let him leave before my father returns.—When I heard, O assembly, the words of the old woman, [5] *the pain I had suffered ceased.*⁵⁸ She sat at my head, and then said: —Be ready on Friday, if God wills. [7]—*Then I gave her all the clothes I was wearing,*⁵⁹ and she departed, whereas I no longer felt any pain, and my family spread the good

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news of my recovery to one another. I remained in anticipation until Friday, when the old woman approached and came in to me, asking after my condition. I informed her that I was well and in good health. Then I arose and donned my clothes; I fumigated myself with incense and anointed myself with perfume. She asked me: —Why do you not go to the public bath and wash off the traces of illness?— I replied: —I have no need for the public bath, since I have already washed myself with water, yet I do want a barber to remove my hair.— Then I turned to the slave-boy and said to him: —Bring me a barber who is an intelligent man, not given to excess, lest he give me a headache from speaking overmuch.— So the slave-boy went forth and brought me this barber, wicked old devil that he is.—

The Tailor's Story subsequently develops along lines that are entirely different from *Celestina* and are thus not relevant to our present purpose. In contrast, each of the details we have boldfaced and italicized in the above translation bears a strikingly close correspondence to features present in Fernando de Rojas' work, although we must stress that, in the case of the latter, they are scattered about the text, in such a way that most of them do not occur in the same sequence as in the *1001N* story. Let us now look at these parallels: First of all, there is a general similarity in that, in both narratives, the young lover's passion is aroused through a purely chance encounter with the lady, although the individual circumstances are very different in either case. There are, however, throughout the episode, a number of close agreements in terms of detail: (1) Both in the *Nights* and in *Celestina*, the young man returns home and takes to his bed gravely ill: "[I] feverishly collapsed on a bed of suffering....he became ill...and took to his bed"; in *Celestina*, Calisto orders Sempronio to make up his bed: "Abre la cámara y endereza la cama" (*Auto I*, p. 47).⁶⁰ (2) We also note the intimate terms of relationship used by the protagonists toward one another: In the *1001N*, the old woman addresses the youth as her "son" and tells the girl: "He is my son"; the girl calls the go-between "my maternal aunt" and the latter answers her as "my lady", "my daughter". *Celestina* addresses Melibea in identical terms as "señora, hija" (IV.91); Melibea answers her as "madre" (IV.92), and Calisto also addresses her as "madre mía" (XI.164) and describes her as his "aunt" ("es mi tía") (I.59). (3) Melibea initially repulses *Celestina* with violent imprecations: "desvergonzada barbuda" and "alcahueta falsa" (IV.95), recalling the "ill-omened old woman" (*'ajūz an-naḥs*) of the *1001N*. (4) In her earlier rejection of Calisto, Melibea uses words that are quite similar to those of the Arabic story: "La paga será tan fiera cual [la] merece tu loco atrevimiento" (I.46-47). So too, in the *1001N*, the girl addresses the go-between: "I will assuredly do you the harm you *deserve*." (5) The old woman returns after her successful interview and cries out: "I desire from you a reward for good tidings (*al-biṣāra*)." Just so, *Celestina* addresses Calisto: "¡Dáme *albricias*! Decir te lo he" (VI.113).⁶¹ (6) Just as the Muslim go-between tells the damsel that her lover is "seriously ill...[and] perishing on your account....he is a dead man without any doubt," so *Celestina* describes Calisto to Melibea as "un enfermo a muerte," *whom only she can cure* ("...que con sola una palabra de tu noble boca...", etc. [IV. 94]).⁶² The final hint reminds us of the Arab go-between's telling the girl that the whole problem arose "on her account," as well as her warning to the lover: "For you will achieve your love-union *only through me*." (7) Finally, just as in the Arabic story, in *Celestina* Calisto first promises the bawd some articles of fine clothing as a reward: "un manto y una saya de aquel contray, que se sacó para frisado" (VI.113), but ends up giving her a precious golden chain instead: "En lugar de manto y saya,...toma esta cadenilla..." (XI.164).⁶³ We might mention too, in closing, the difference in rank between the merchant's son and the Judge of Baghdad's daughter, analogous to possible social differences between Calisto and Melibea, without forgetting that the more egalitarian

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society of Medieval Islam was not organized along the rigid vertical lines that held Medieval Europe within the bounds of feudalism.⁶⁴

In *The Tailor's Story*, we have, then, not only a general situation very similar to that of *Celestina*—as we saw in our many other examples of the go-between motif in the *1001N*—but here also there are a series of minor details, which agree, sometimes in a remarkably similar way, with the Spanish work. Did Fernando de Rojas, the *converso*, perhaps know some lost Spanish version or adaptation of the *1001N*? In principle, such a hypothesis is, as we have seen, not *ipso facto* impossible. As Mahdi shows us, *The Tailor's Story* already existed in the medieval forms of the *1001N* and, thanks to Sercambi, Ariosto, and the authors of *Tirant lo Blanch*, we know that the crucial frame story from the *Nights* was circulating in Mediterranean European communities during the period when Rojas composed *Celestina*, at the same time that living Arab and Spanish go-betweens were busily plying their trade in these same communities. Therefore, in theory at least, Rojas could have seen, heard, or actually experienced some form of *The Tailor's Story*. All the same, we have absolutely no evidence—beyond the internal testimony of the two narratives themselves—that such was actually the case. A good part of Rojas' personal library has survived to the present day and there is, needless to say, no trace of such a work in it. Indeed, had such a trace survived, this article would not have been necessary.⁶⁵ Regardless of any possible genetic relationship between individual episodes, both *Celestina* and the Arabic '*ajūz* spring 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.⁶⁶ All of the striking agreements we have pointed out could very well have been generated by the cultural context, or by the shared traditional and literary *topoi* found in both works. Here we will prudently rest our case. But with one additional observation: In 1980, Maria Kotzamanidou published a most important study of a still inadequately edited Arabic shadow-play, written in Egypt in the late thirteenth century: *Tayf al-Ḥayāl* ('The Phantom of the Imagination'), by Ibn Dāniyāl, who, to judge by his name, was, like Fernando de Rojas, either a Jew, or a Jewish convert, in this case, to Islam.⁶⁷ This play has, as one of its main characters, an old woman go-between, Umm Rašid, who is so similar to *Celestina* as to command our close attention. Just like the Spanish bawd, the Egyptian Umm Rašid is an all-rounder and multi-professional: She is a seamstress, a perfume vendor, a cosmetic-maker, a gynecologist, a sorceress, an associate of the devil, and a maker of magic potions, as well as a go-between. Both women, too, preside over houses of prostitution and both "have their measure of professional pride and self-respect."⁶⁸ So close are both characterizations that it is hard for us to restrain our enthusiasm for comparative studies as we contemplate them. Is there, perhaps, some distant (or not-so-distant) genetic relationship between these two texts? Do they perhaps revert to some common, now lost or still unknown source? Or do they merely spring from a shared cultural context of go-betweenery personally experienced by each author? If the latter, then such a cultural context, embracing both Arabic and Spanish, must have been a very close one. Consider the fact that the old woman in the *1001N*, like *Celestina*, resorts to a professional trick which consists in falsely reporting back to her lovelorn employer that his lady has repulsed her, all the more to milk his generosity to the limit. In this respect, the medieval Tunisian author Al-Nafzawī (wrote ca. 1410), in the chapter "On Pimps and Procuration" of his *Perfumed Garden*, is worth quoting. In the absence of an unequivocal Arabic original, we cite the recent anonymous translation at a place in which the author refers to old women ('*ajā'iz*) and effeminates (*muḥannaṭūn*) who specialize in the art of procuration. These, he states,

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have many crafty ways of extracting money which can easily fool many an old hand. For instance, the pimp, whether male or female, will approach some man and say, "I'd like to pair you off with the daughter—or wife—of so-and-so." The name of some high-class lady never before aspired to is dropped, and then comes a description attributing to her all the qualities that will induce the victim to set his heart on her. The story will be continually hammered home until the man in question finally calls on the procuress to fulfil the promises she has made. She, for her part, has him believe that she is risking her life for him, all the while drawing the matter out with promises. With each new promise and every detail added to the picture of things in store for him the man's eagerness mounts as the pimp all the while extracts money from him first for her hairdresser, then for her slave-girl, and so on all along the line. She will make him believe that she, the procuress, is the go-between essential to the attainment of his end. A type such as this may also deceive her client by feeding him the sort of tale or hopeful message that he unwittingly leads her to suppose he will believe. She follows this up by saying, "Just see now what you can send the lady." He then finds himself in such transports of delight that he is quite unable to think what to give and has to ask. In the end he asks the pimp, and she tells him exactly what she wants. When the old drab has got all she wants out of him, she goes off...⁶⁹

Until disproved, the relationship we have noticed must, therefore, continue to be viewed as generic rather than genetic; as a type-scene in Mediterranean literature about procuring. But the discovery of Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow-play, together with the parallels we have just discussed in the *1001N*, and those in the *Perfumed Garden*, all point to the necessity of studying the complex problem of *Celestina's* sources with renewed attention to their analogues in the vast and (more often than not) stubbornly ignored *terra incognita* of "Spain and the [Eastern] tradition."⁷⁰



"I will put [the crate] on my head, as a female broker, and I will go about and search for her in the houses" (N315) (Lane, II [1889], 400).

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NOTES

¹ The present paper was read by S. G. A. in preliminary versions at the Northern California Renaissance Conference (Davis, California, April, 1984) and at the Convention of the Modern Language Association of America (Chicago, December 27-30, 1985). See *La Corónica*, 14:1 (1985-1986), 91-92. We wish to thank our friend John Hayes who kindly read a later version of this paper, and made many valuable suggestions for improvement, all of which we have gratefully adopted.

² On Muslim go-betweens and *Celestina*, see especially María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *La originalidad artística de "La Celestina"*, 2d ed. (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1970), pp. 543, n. 18, 547-548, 550; also Emilio García Gómez, "Celestinas en la España Musulmana," *Correo Erudito*, 1 (1940), 190-191; Américo Castro, *La realidad histórica de España* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1954), pp. 435-437; Amado Alonso, "Sobre antecedentes de *La Celestina*," *RFH*, 4 (1942), 266-268.

³ Note Francisco Márquez Villanueva's groundbreaking article, "*La Celestina* as Hispano-Semitic Anthropology," *RLC*, 61:4 (1987), 425-453; also "'Os Judeus Casamenteiros' de Gil Vicente," *Les cultures ibériques en devenir: Essais publiés en hommage à la mémoire de Marcel Bataillon* (Paris: Fondation Singer-Polignac, 1979), pp. 375-379.

⁴ J. Martínez Ruiz and J. Albarracín Navarro, "Farmacopea en *La Celestina* y en un manuscrito árabe de Ocaña," *La Celestina y su contorno social*, ed. Manuel Criado de Val (Barcelona: Hispam, 1977), pp. 409-425, at 419.

⁵ Márquez Villanueva, "*La Celestina* as Hispano-Semitic Anthropology," p. 447.

⁶ Certain parallels between *Celestina* and the *1001N* were explored by Fernando de Toro-Garland: "La Celestina en *Las mil y una noches*," *Revista de Literatura*, 29:57-58 (1966), 5-33; also *Actas del Segundo Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas* (Nijmegen: Instituto Español de la Universidad de Nimega, 1967), pp. 627-634. On pp. 15-16 of his *Revista de Literatura* article, Toro-Garland even cites the passage that, in particular, will concern us here, but fails to compare it systematically with *Celestina*, thereby missing the point we will be making.

⁷ On Jean Antoine Galland's translation (12 vols., 1704-1713), see Victor Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885* (Liège and Leipzig: H. Vaillant-Carmanne & O. Harrassowitz, 1892-1922), IV, 93ff.; Nikita Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une nuits: Essai de classification* (Beirut: Institut Français de Damas, 1949), pp. 69-76. See, too, Mia I. Gerhardt's work (to be used with caution, because it is based on translations and rests on outmoded literary theory): *The Art of Story-Telling: A Literary Study of the Thousand and One Nights* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), pp. 10-11, 12-14, 67; and now Georges May, *Les mille et une nuits d'Antoine Galland ou le chef-d'oeuvre invisible* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de la France, 1986).

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⁸ Muhsin Mahdi (ed.), *The Thousand and One Nights (Alf Layla wa-Layla) from the Earliest Known Sources*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984). Mahdi's base text is, precisely, the MS used by Galland.

⁹ Payne and Lane use different Arabic versions. Their translations are reasonably accurate, although the latter expurgates his text according to Victorian canons. Enno Littmann's German translation (*Die Erzählungen aus den Tausendundein Nächten*, 2d ed., 6 vols. in 12, Wiesbaden: Insel, 1981), followed by Francesco Gabrieli's Italian translation (*Le mille e una notte*, 4 vols., 5th ed., Torino: Einaudi, 1981) and Juan Vernet's Spanish one (*Las mil y una noches*, 3 vols., Barcelona: Planeta, 1964) are a vast improvement on the now archaic-sounding French and English versions. We have not been able to see the translation by Juan A. G. Larraya and Leonor Martínez Martín, 3 vols., Barcelona, 1965, cited in Julio Samsó, *Antología de Las mil y una noches* (Madrid: Alianza, 1982), p. 394, n. 33. As Mahdi points out, the trouble with all these Western renderings is that they are based on eighteenth-century Arabic originals which were extensively altered, both in content and language, without regard for modern philological norms (p. iii). On Burton's version, once widely accepted as authoritative, but copied and adapted wholesale from Payne, see Christopher Knipp, "The Arabian Nights in England: Galland's Translation and its Successors," *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 5 (1974), 44-54; also Gerhardt, p. 82. Despite Burton's faults, in particular his anti-Victorian tendency to wallow in filth where his original has none, the notes to his text are sometimes useful. In subsequent citations, where stories are identified by the nights in which they are told, we normally follow Payne's translation, unless otherwise indicated. For references to the translations of Lane, Payne, and Burton, see nn. 32, 33, 34 below.

¹⁰ For medieval allusions in the *1001N*, see Juan Vernet Ginés, *Las mil y una noches y su influencia en la novellística medieval española* (Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras, 1959), p. 21.

¹¹ For the ninth-century fragment and early allusions to the *1001N* in Arabic literature, see Nabia Abbott, "A Ninth-Century Fragment of the 'Thousand Nights': New Light on the Early History of the *Arabian Nights*," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 8 (1949), 129-164. The *Fihrist* of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm (ca. 935-990) indicates that the work was of Persian origin:

The first people to collect stories, devoting books to them and safeguarding them in libraries, some of them being written as though animals were speaking, were the early Persians. Then the Ashkānian kings, the third dynasty of Persian monarchs, took notice of this [literature]. The Sāsānian kings in their time adding to it and extending it. The Arabs translated it into the Arabic language and then, when masters of literary style and eloquence became interested, they refined and elaborated it, composing what was similar to it in content.

The first book to be written with this content was the book *Hazār Afsān*, which means "a thousand stories." The basis for this [name] was that one of their kings used to marry a woman, spend a night with her, and kill her the next day. Then he married a concubine of royal blood who had intelligence and wit. She was called Shāhrazād, and when she came to him she would begin a story, but leave off at the end of the night, which induced the king to spare her, asking her to finish it the night following. This happened to her for a thousand nights, during which time he [the king] had intercourse with her, until because of him she was granted a son,

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whom she showed to him, informing him of the trick played upon him. Then, appreciating her intelligence, he was well disposed towards her and kept her alive. The king had a head of the household named Dinār Zād who was in league with her in this matter. It is said that this book was composed for *Humā'ī*, the daughter of *Bahrām*, there being also additional information about it [...]. Thus also the kings who came after [Alexander] made use of the book *Hazār Afsān*, which although it was spread over a thousand nights contained less than two hundred tales, because one story might be told during a number of nights. I have seen it in complete form a number of times and it is a truly coarse book, without warmth in the telling.

The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture, ed. and trans. Bayard Dodge, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), II, 713-714.

¹² On Tawaddud (NN436-462) and Teodor, see Hermann Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial* (Tübingen: Der Literarische Verein in Stuttgart, 1879), pp. 506-517, 613-630, and Walter Mettmann, *La historia de la doncella Teodor: Ein spanisches Volksbuch arabischen Ursprungs* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1962). The narrative has survived as a popular chapbook almost down to the present day in various areas of the Hispanic world. Mettmann cites 26 Spanish editions up to circa 1890, 13 Portuguese editions through 1906, and one Brazilian edition (1856) (pp. 91-93). Thanks to our friend, Professor Manuel da Costa Fontes, we can add two more Portuguese editions to the list: *Historia da donzella Theodora em que se trata da sua grande fermosura e sabedoria. Traduzida do castellano em portuguez, por Carlos Ferreira Lisbonense* (Lisbon: Mathias José Marques da Silva, 1864), 24 pp.; and another printing, with essentially the same title page (Porto: Cruz Coutinho, 1869), 16 pp. For Philippino rhymed translations (including Tagalog: 1918, 1921, 1938; Ilocano: 1927, 1930), see Damiana L. Eugenio, "Awit" and "Korido": *A Study of Fifty Philippine Metrical Romances*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 301-312. Lastly, we should not forget that the theme was taken up by Lope de Vega in his play *La doncella Teodor* (B. A. A. E.E., vol. 246 [Madrid: Atlas, 1971], pp. 203-273). For still more eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Spanish chapbook versions, see Pilar García de Diego, "Pliegos de cordel," *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, 28 (1972), 317-360: p. 333, and now also François Lopez, "Notes sur le fonds ancien des recits en prose dans la 'littérature de cordel'," *Les productions populaires en Espagne 1850-1920* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986), pp. 9-23, and Jean-François Botrel, "Les historias de colportage: Essai de catalogue d'une Bibliothèque Bleue espagnole (1840-1936)," in the same volume, pp. 25-61: 36 (mo. 62).

¹³ *The Malice of Women* (NN578-606) corresponds to the Spanish *Sendebār*: Ángel González Palencia (ed.), *Versiones castellanas de "Sendebār"* (Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1946); John E. Keller (ed.), *El libro de los engaños* (Valencia: Castalia, 1959); Emilio Vuolo (ed.), *Libro de los engaños e los asayamientos de las mugeres* (Naples: Liguori, 1980). Concerning the O. Sp. *Sendebār*, see María Jesús Lacarra, *Cuentística medieval en España: Los orígenes* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1979). In a form derived from another branch of the same narrative, the *Sendebār* has continued to circulate in Spanish as a popular chapbook up to relatively recent times under the title: *Historia de los siete sabios de Roma*. For a Madrid, 1859, ed., see *Society of the Seven Sages: Newsletter*, 4, November, 1977. Note also Anthony J. Farrell, "En torno al sentido del *Libro de los siete sabios de Roma*, Burgos, 1530," *Actas del Sexto Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas*, ed. Alan M. Gordon and Evelyn Rugg (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1980), pp. 232-234. The Judeo-Spanish version, printed early in

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this century, is, however, based on the Greek (S. G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman, "New Evidence on the Publications of Yacob Abraham Yoná," *La Corónica*, 11:1 [1982-1983], 79-86).

¹⁴ Compare the locked tower (N72: *The City of Lebtait* [=Toledo or Ceuta?]) with the story of the locked chamber of Toledo: Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas: Rodrigo, el último godo*, 3 vols., (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1942-1956), I, 4 (=PCG, chap. 553), and Enno Littmann's comment, *Tausendundeine Nächte in der arabischen Literatur* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1923), p. 36. For more Spanish forms of the story, see María Goyri and Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero tradicional de las lenguas hispánicas*, ed. Diego Catalán et al., 12 vols. (Madrid: Gredos, 1957-1985), I, 17-22, 96-98; now also Michelle Débax, "Cómo el rey Rodrigo entró en la casa de Hércules," *Actas del Congreso Romancero-Cancionero, UCLA (1984)*, 2 vols., ed. Enrique Rodríguez Cepeda with Samuel G. Armistead (Madrid: Porrúa, 1989), I, 179-204.

¹⁵ N387 includes two variants of the same story; the motif reappears in song form in N963 (Payne, IX, 62-63). On this poem, which has been described as a *zajal* (which it is not, since it has no *vuelatas*), see Julián Ribera, *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain* (New York: Da Capo, 1970), pp. 162-170; María J. Rubiera Mata, "De nuevo sobre las tres morillas," *Al-Andalus*, 37 (1972), 133-143; for the song's early forms and continued existence in modern oral tradition, see Eduardo Martínez Torner, *Lírica hispánica: Relaciones entre lo popular y lo culto* (Madrid: Castalia, 1966), pp. 96, 409 (nos. 41, 253); Margit Frenk, *Corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica (siglos XV a XVII)* (Madrid: Castalia, 1987), nos. 16A-16B. The Spanish song reflects, of course, a *topos* of medieval Arabic poetry and need not derive specifically from the *1001N*. For the Near Eastern antecedents of this song, see Abū 'Abdullāh Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Nafzawi, *The Glory of the Perfumed Garden: The Missing Flowers*, translator anonymous (London: Spearman, 1975), pp. 297-298. It is a pleasure to thank our friend, Francisco Márquez Villanueva, for pointing out the existence of this hard-to-find work to us and generously providing us with a copy of it.

¹⁶ For *De Canicula Lacrimante*, compare NN584-585; *El libro de los engaños*, pp. 29-31; and Pedro Alfonso, *Disciplina Clericalis*, ed. Ángel González Palencia (Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1948), 32-34 (chap. XIII); other forms: Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *Types of the Folktale*, 2d revision (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1961), no. 1515.

¹⁷ See Enno Littmann, "Alf Layla wa-Layla," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition)*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1979), I, 358B-364B, at p. 362B.

¹⁸ See Giovanni Sercambi, *Novelle*, ed. Giovanni Sinicropi, 2 vols. (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza, 1971), II, 525-531, and the analysis in Pio Rajna, *Le fonti dell'Orlando Furioso* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1900), pp. 443-445. On Sercambi, see Ann West Vivarelli, "Giovanni Sercambi's *Novelle* and the Legacy of Boccaccio," *MLN*, 90 (1975), 109-127; Donald McGrady, "Were Sercambi's *Novelle* known from the Middle Ages on?," *Italica*, 57 (1980), 3-18. The crippled rogue's arrogant, indeed violent, treatment of the queen, in reproaching her for her delay in opening the door, suggests that Sercambi may also have known *The Story of the Enchanted Youth* (NN7-9), where, adding humiliation to adultery, the prince's wife beds down with a black slave in a filthy hut, after being similarly reproached and mistreated for her late arrival (Payne, I, 60-61). The crippled condition of the *gaglioffo* may perhaps suggest yet another echo of the *Nights*,

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where male characters are often seen as mutilated or disabled (NN10, 28, 31, 32, 33 et alibi). At first glance, the term *gaglioffo* ('lout, rogue'), which is qualified by Bruno Migliorini and Aldo Duro (*Prontuario etimologico della lingua italiana*, 3d ed. [Torino: G. B. Paravia, 1958], s.v.) with the words "etimo incerto," suggests an intriguing connection: That the term might somehow be related to the sixteenth-century Spanish *germania* word *gelfe* 'esclavo negro' (John M. Hill [ed.], *Poesías germanescas* [Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Publications, 1945], p. 115a; *Voces germanescas* [Bloomington: Indiana University, 1949], p. 91) or more likely *Gelofe*: "esclavo negro...de tierra de Gelofe" (Peter Boyd-Bowman, *Léxico hispanoamericano del siglo XVI* [London: Tamesis, 1972], p. 426b). Both Spanish forms derive from the early Senegalese (Wolof) word *jólof* ('Wolof; a speaker of Wolof; the land inhabited by speakers of Wolof'). For various forms of the word, see A. Meillet and Marcel Cohen, *Les langues du monde* (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1924), p. 556. We are indebted to Professor William A. Stewart for his learned advice concerning Wolof. But, aside from obvious phonological difficulties in connecting the Spanish forms to the Italian word (*g-*, *-gl-*), Juan Corominas' etymology of the related Spanish *gallofa* (*DCECH*, III, s.v.) is convincing, and any connection with *gelfe*, *gelofe*, would seem to be meritless. Again, most slaves sent to Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean would probably not have been Senegalese, but Central and East Africans, who reached the Mediterranean through Egypt or by a variety of trans-Saharan routes, as, for example, was the case, centuries later, with Muhammad 'Alī ibn Sa'id (alias Nicolas Said), of Bornu, who, between 1849 and 1851, arrived at Tripoli as a slave and, after incredibly complex adventures in East Africa, Turkey, and Eastern and Western Europe, came to serve as a soldier in the Union Army, during the Civil War (Allan D. Austin, *African Muslims in Ante-bellum America: A Sourcebook*. [New York: Garland, 1984], pp. 655-689). In any event, Sercambi's *gaglioffo* need not be black in order to support the narrative's derivation from the *1001N*.

¹⁹ For the frame story, monstrous bird, and flying horse, see Lodovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, ed. Dino Provenzal, 4 vols. (Milan: Rizzoli, 1955), *canti* 28.4-74, 33.84-87, 4.18-19. The *ruhḥ* appears in the second voyage of Sindbad (NN543-544) and the flying horse occupies NN357-371. Since the Sindbad stories were probably not a part of the *1001N* in its medieval modalities, Ariosto may have heard of the *ruhḥ* through some other channel (if indeed his monstrous *augello* really corresponds to the *ruhḥ*). Concerning the *ruhḥ* and its Classical analogues, see Gustave E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1953), pp. 301-302. On the winged horse, of Indic origin, and Clavileño, see Vernet, *Las mil y una noches y su influencia* (1959), p. 20, but the problem is much more complex and Cervantes' flying horse almost certainly did not come directly from the *Nights*. See Rodolfo Schevill, "El episodio de Clavileño," *Estudios...in Memoriam de Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Jaime Ratés, 1927-1930), I, 115-125; Joseph E. Gillet, "Clavileño: Su fuente directa y sus orígenes primitivos," *Anales Cervantinos*, 6 (1957), 250-255; Paul Aebischer, "Paléozoologie de l'*Equus Clavileñus*, Cervant.," *Études de Lettres*, 6 (1962), 93-130; Albert Henry, "L'ascendance littéraire de Clavileño," *Romania*, 98 (1969), 242-257; Franklin O. Brantley, "Sancho's Ascent into the Spheres," *Hispania*, 53 (1970), 37-45. From the perspective of Ariosto, see Rajna, *Le fonti*, pp. 114-120 (on the Ippogrifo) and 445-448 (on the relationship between Sercambi, Ariosto, and the *1001N*). Rajna concludes: "La novela ariosteica e la sercambiana risalgono dunque indipendentemente a un comune progenitore" (p. 448). We note, in passing, that Sercambi includes the motif of the woman imprisoned in a chest, while Ariosto does not.

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²⁰ See *Tirant lo Blanch*, ed. Martí de Riquer, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1969), II, chaps. CCLXXXIII (204-205) and CCLXXXVI (210).

²¹ See Payne, I, 3-5; Lane (I, 5-7) bowdlerizes his text. Later, Šahriyār has his wife and all his slave-girls and concubines killed (Payne, I, 8); Mahdi (ed.), *The Thousand and One Nights (Alf Layla wa-Layla) from the Earliest Known Sources*, I, 65.

²² There does, however, seem to be a vestige of the garden scene in Sercambi, for it is in a garden that Lagrinta first meets the squire Nieri: "...divenne che più volte trovatasi la ditta donna a solazzo a certi giardini con alquante donne e baroni..." (ed. Sinicropi, I, 525.14-16). Sercambi, born in Lucca, a few kms. from Livorno, and Ariosto, from Reggio Emilia and Ferrara, like the Catalan authors of *Tirant*, participated in a Pan-Mediterranean mercantile culture (reflected earlier in Boccaccio's "epopea dei mercatanti," and later in Rojas' *Celestina*, in which Melibea's father, Pleberio, owned a fleet of merchant ships that, if some scholars are correct, appear to have sailed the seas [!] of Toledo) open to multiple influences from the East. It is no wonder then that, in each case, the authors independently picked up and adapted the frame story of the *1001N*.

²³ Additional instances: An old woman serves as an emissary between prince Tāj al-Mulūk and the princess Duniyā (NN132-137); a virtuous old woman who poses as a Celestina-like character hawks her wares from door to door (N315) to arrange for the escape of the fair Zumurrud, held captive by perfidious Christians (NN308-326); in *Uns al-Wujūd and the Vizier's Daughter Al-Ward fī l-Akmām* (NN371-381), the girl's nurse serves as go-between for the two lovers (she may, perhaps, be a younger woman). We note, too, the evil old woman who devises an elaborate deception by which Hārūn al-Rašid's chief wife, Zubayda, can justify the disappearance of her rival, a beautiful slave-girl favored by the Ḥalifa (N41). An important facet of Celestina's character is her magical and medicinal knowledge and this is also characteristic of Muslim "Celestinas." Note the wise old woman in *The King's Daughter and the Ape* (NN355-357) and the commentary by Toro-Garland (1966), pp. 30-31.

²⁴ 1st ed.: *The Arabian Nights Entertainments in the Original Arabic. Published under the Patronage of the College of Fort William by Sheykh Uhmud bin Moohummud Sheerwanee ool Yumunee* (1814-1818), 2 vols.

²⁵ 1st ed.: *Tausend und Eine Nacht Arabisch. Nach einer Handschrift aus Tunis. Herausgegeben von Dr. Maximilian Habicht* (1825-1838), 8 vols. After Habicht's death, and between 1842 and 1843, H. Fleischer added 4 vols.

²⁶ 1st ed.: (1835), 2 vols.

²⁷ 1st ed.: *The Alif Laila or Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night, Commonly known as The Arabian Nights' Entertainments; Now, for the First Time, Published Complete in The Original Arabic, From an Egyptian Manuscript Brought to India by the Late Major Turner Macan, Editor of the Shah-Nameh*. Edited by W. H. Macnaghten (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1839-1842), 4 vols.

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²⁸ *The Thousand and One Nights (Alf Layla wa-Layla) from the Earliest Known Sources*, p. v.

²⁹ 1st ed.: *Les mille et une Nuits, contes arabes, traduits en Français* (Paris: Chez la Veuve Claude Barbin au Palais, 1704-1717), 12 vols.

³⁰ On this point, see E. Littmann, "Alf Layla wa-Layla," p. 362A.

³¹ See n. 8, above.

³² 1st ed.: *The Thousand and One Nights, commonly called in England "The Arabian Nights' Entertainments," a new translation from the Arabic with copious notes* by Edward William Lane (London: Charles Knight and Comp., 1839-1841), 3 vols.

³³ 1st ed.: *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night: Now first completely done into English prose and verse from the original Arabic* (London: Villon Society, 1882-1889), 9 vols.

³⁴ 1st ed.: *Plain and Literal Translation of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, now Entitled the Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (Benares-London: Kamashastra Society, 1885), 10 vols.; (1886-1888), 6 supplementary vols.

³⁵ Based on Mahdi's ed., *The Thousand And One Nights (Alf Layla wa-Layla) from the Earliest Known Sources*, I, 328-334. References: Calcutta I: 1814. Cited from the reprint: *Arabian Nights Entertainments In the Original Arabic, Reprinted from the Edition Published by Shuekh Uhmud Son of Moohumud of Shirwan in Yumun. The Two Vols. In One, Containing Two Hundred Nights* (Calcutta: Asiatic Lithographic Company's Press, 1829), 274-278. Būlāq I: 1835. Cited from the reprint ed. Al-Šayḥ Muhammad Qittat al-'Adwī, *Alf Layla wa-Layla: at-tab'at al-'ūlā*, 2 vols. (Baghdād: Maktabat al-Muṭannā, 1964?), I, 88-89. Calcutta II: W. H. MacNaghten (ed.), *The Alif Laila or Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night, Commonly known as The Arabian Nights' Entertainments; Now, for the First Time, Published Complete in The Original Arabic, From an Egyptian Manuscript Brought to India by the Late Major Turner Macan, Editor of the Shah-Nameh*, 4 vols. (Calcutta and London: W. Thacker & Co. and W. H. Allen & Co, 1839-1842), I, 236-238. Breslau: Maximilian Habicht (ed.), *Tausend und Eine Nacht. Arabisch. Nach einer Handschrift aus Tunis*, 8 vols. (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1825-1838), II, 212-226. Habicht: *Tausend und Eine Nacht. Arabische Erzählungen. Zum erstenmal aus einer Tunesischen Handschrift ergänzt und vollständig übersetzt von Max. Habicht, F. H. van der Hagen und Karl Schall*, 20 vols. (Vienna: Anton von Haykul, 1826), V, 32-39. Lane: 1839-1841. Cited from Edward William Lane (trans.), *The Thousand and One Nights*, 3 vols. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1889), I, 329-331. Payne: 1882-1884. Cited from John Payne (trans.), *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night: Now First Completely Done into English Prose and Verse, From the Original Arabic*, 9 vols. (London: For subscribers only, 1884), I, 269-272.

³⁶ *Fa-jīt 'ilā baytī wa-'anā makrūbun wa-talaqqahtu 'alā firāšī d-danā mahmūm. Būlāq I: Tumma 'innī ji'tu manzilī wa-'anā makrūbun wa-waqa'tu 'alā l-*

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firāši mahmūman (Lane: 'I then returned to my house, sorrowful; and fell upon my bed, full of anxious thoughts'). Breslau: *Fa-jīt 'ilā bayti wa-'anā makrūbun wa-talaqqahtu 'alā firāši d-danā mahmūm* (Habicht: 'Ich kam in meine Wohnung in einem Zustande, sehr verschieden von dem, in welchem ich sie verlassen hatte, erregt von einer Leidenschaft, die um so heftiger war, da ich ihre Regung noch niemals empfunden hatte; und ich legte mich in einem heftigen Fieber, welches eine große Betrübniß in meinem Hause verursachte, zu Bette'). Calcutta I: *Fa-qumtu musri'an wa-raja'tu 'alā warā'i qāšidan ilā l-bayti wa-'anā min al-ḥubbi makrūbun wa-l-'aqlu min-nī maslūbun wa-l-fū'ādu bi-'alhāzi-hā manhūbun wa-hāja bi-jismiya r-rasisu li-fiqdāni l-anīsi n-nafisi* ('So I arose hastily and turned back seeking my home, being saddened by love, with my mind captivated, my heart seized by her glances, while fever raged in my body for lack of the precious companion'). Calcutta II: *Tumma 'innī ji'tu 'ilā manzilī wa-'anā makrūbun wa-waqa'tu 'alā l-firāši mahmūman* (Payne: 'So I went home, sorrowful, and fell on my bed, oppressed with melancholy thoughts'). Here, Lane's "anxious thoughts," and Payne's "melancholy thoughts" reflect the Arabic *mahmūm* found in both Būlāq I and Calcutta II, from which those two authors were translating, respectively. In contrast, Mahdī is reading *mahmūm* "feverishly."

37 *Yā waladī*. Būlāq I: *Yā waladī* (Payne: 'O my son'). Breslau: *Yā waladī* (Habicht: 'Mein Sohn'). Calcutta I: *Yā waladī wa-nūra 'aynī* ('O my son and light of my eye'). Calcutta II: *Yā waladī* (Lane: 'O my son').

38 *Yā waladī*. Būlāq I: *Yā waladī* (Payne: 'O my son'). Breslau: *Yā waladī*. Not in Habicht or Calcutta I. Calcutta II: *Yā waladī* (Lane: 'O my son').

39 *Yā waladī*. Būlāq I: *Yā waladī* (Payne: 'O my son'). Breslau: *Yā waladī* (Habicht: 'Mein Sohn'). Calcutta I: *Yā waladī*. Calcutta II: *Yā waladī* (Lane: 'O my son').

40 *Wa-lā ta'rifu wišāla-ka 'illā min-nī*. Būlāq I: *Wa-lā ta'rifu wišāla-hā 'illā min-nī* (Lane: 'Thou canst obtain an interview with her only through me'). Breslau: *Wa-lā ta'rifu wišāla-ka 'illā min-nī*. Not in Habicht. Calcutta I: *Fa-lā budda min wuṣūli-ka 'ilay-hā* ('You will certainly be united with her'). Calcutta II: *Wa-lākin lam ta'rif wišāla-hā illā min-nī* (Payne: 'And thou shalt not come at her but through me').

41 *Yā waladī*. Būlāq I: *Yā waladī* (Payne: 'O my son'). Breslau: *Yā waladī* (Habicht: 'Mein Sohn'). Calcutta I: *Yā waladī*. Calcutta II: *Yā waladī* (Lane: 'O my son').

42 *Id lam taskutī yā 'ajūza n-naḥsi wa-<lā> takturī kalāma-ki la-'af'alanna bi-ki mā tastahiqqī-hi min aš-šarri*. Būlāq I: *In lam taskutī yā 'ajūza n-naḥsi 'an hādā l-kalāmi la-'af'alanna bi-ki mā tastahiqqīna-hu* (Lane: 'If thou abstain not, O ill-omened old woman, from this discourse, I will treat thee as thou deservest'). Breslau: *In lam taskutī yā 'ajūza n-naḥsi wa-takturī kalāma-ki la-'af'alanna bi-ki mā tastahiqqī-hi min aš-šarri* (Habicht: 'Ihr seid sehr dreist, mir solch einen Antrag zu machen, und ich verbiete euch, mich jemals wiederzusehen, wenn ihr solche Reden führen wollt'). Calcutta I: *Yā 'ajūza n-naḥsi 'in lam taskutī wa-taqta' hādā l-kalāma fa'altu bi-ki mā yubki-ki* ('O ill-omened old woman, if you do not hold your peace and desist from these words, I will do with you what will cause you to weep'). Calcutta II: *In lam taskutī yā 'ajūza n-naḥsi 'an hādā l-kalāmi la-'af'alanna bi-ki mā tastahiqqīna* (Payne: 'An thou leave not this talk, pestilent hag that thou art, I will assuredly use thee as thou deservest').

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⁴³ *Yā waladī*. Būlāq I: *Yā waladī* (Lane: 'O my son'). Breslau: *Yā waladī*. Not in Habicht. Calcutta I: *Yā waladī*. Calcutta II: *Yā waladī* (Payne: 'O my son').

⁴⁴ *Surran min ahli 'urīdu min-ka l-biṣāra*. Būlāq I: *Yā waladī 'urīdu min-ka l-biṣāra* (Lane: 'O my son, I desire of thee a reward for good tidings'). Breslau: *Surran min ahli 'urīdu min-ka l-biṣāra* (Habicht: 'Denket auf das Geschenk, welches ihr mir für die ganze Nachricht, die ich euch bringe, zu machen habt'). Calcutta I: *Surran urīdu min-ka l-biṣāra* ('For the sake of joy, I desire from you a reward for good tidings'). Calcutta II: *Yā waladī 'urīdu min-ka l-biṣāra* (Payne: 'O my son, I must have of thee a present for good news').

⁴⁵ *Fa-lammā sami'tu dālika jalastu wa-qultu la-hā: 'indī biṣāratu-ki*. Būlāq I: *Fa-lammā sami'tu dālika min-hā raddat rūhī 'ilā jismī wa-qultu la-hā: la-ki 'indī kullu hayrin* (Lane: 'My soul returned to my body at these words, and I replied, Thou shalt receive from me everything that thou canst wish'). Breslau: *Fa-lammā sami'tu dālika jalastu wa-qultu la-hā: 'indī biṣāratu-ki* (Habicht: 'Diese Worte brachten eine wunderbare Wirkung hervor, ich erhob mich auf meinem Sitze und erwiederte ihr mit Entzücken: "Am Geschenke soll's nicht fehlen"). Calcutta I: *Fa-lammā sami'tu bi-dālika jalastu wa-qultu la-hā: 'indiya l-biṣāratu wa-'a'zamu min-hā* ('And when I heard that, I sat up and said to her:—I have the reward for good tidings and even more'). Calcutta II: *Fa-lammā sami'tu dālika min-hā raddat rūhī wa-qultu la-hā: la-ki kullu hayrin* (Payne: 'With this, life returned to me, and I said, "Whatever thou wilt is thine"').

⁴⁶ *Yā hālatī*. Būlāq I: *Yā hālatī* (Lane: 'O my aunt'). Breslau: *Yā hālatī* (Habicht: 'Meine gute Mutter'). Calcutta I: *Yā hālatī*. Calcutta II: *Yā hālatī* (Payne: 'O my aunt').

⁴⁷ *Yā sayyidatī*. Būlāq I: *Yā bintī wa-sayyidatī* (Lane: 'O my daughter and mistress'). Breslau: *Yā sayyidatī* (Habicht: 'Mein liebes und verehrungswürdiges Fräulein'). Calcutta I: *Yā bintī* ('O my daughter'). Calcutta II: *Yā sittī* (Payne: 'O my lady').

⁴⁸ *Min 'indī fatan mudnifin...wa-huwa lā šakka hālikun min ajli-ki*. Būlāq I: *Min 'indī fatan yahwā-ki wa-huwa muṣrifun 'alā l-mawtī min ajli-ki* (Lane: 'From visiting a youth who loveth thee, and he is on the point of death on thy account'). Breslau: *Min 'indī fatan mudnifin...wa-huwa lā šakka hālikun min ajli-ki* (Habicht: 'Von dem jungen Herrn...er wird aus Liebe zu euch das Leben verlieren'). Calcutta I: *Min 'indī fulānin il-hazīni l-walhāni...wa-huwa lā šakka qādin nahbu-hu li-'ajli-ki* ('From so-and-so, the sorrowful, the impassioned...whose death is close, without a doubt, on your account'). Calcutta II: *Min 'inda fatan yahwā-ki wa-huwa muṣrifun 'alā l-mawtī min ajli-ki* (Payne: 'From a youth who loves thee and is like to die for thy sake').

⁴⁹ *Huwa waladī*. Būlāq I: *Huwa waladī wa-ṭamaratu fu'ādī* (Lane: 'He is my son, and the child that is dear to my soul'). Breslau: *Huwa waladī*. Not in Habicht. Calcutta I: *Huwa waladī*. Calcutta II: *Huwa waladī wa-ṭamaratu fu'ādī* (Payne: 'He is my son...and the darling of my heart').

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⁵⁰ *Yā sayyidatī*. Not in Būlāq I. Breslau: *Yā sayyidatī* (Habicht: 'Werthes Fräulein'). Not in Calcutta I, or Calcutta II, and consequently not in Lane or Payne.

⁵¹ *Jarā 'alayya min-kī mā jarā*. Not in Būlāq I and, consequently, not in Lane. Breslau: *Jarā 'alayya min-kī mā jarā* (Habicht: 'Ihr erinnert euch wohl, werthes Fräulein, wie streng ihr mich kürzlich behandeltet, als ich euch von seiner Krankheit erzählen und euch ein Mittel vorschlagen wollte, ihn aus der Gefahr, in welcher er sich befand, zu retten'). Calcutta I: *Fa-jarā 'alayya min-kī mā jarā* ('So there happened to me, on your account, what is well known'). Calcutta II: *A 'lamtu-hu bi-mā jarā lī ma'a-ki* (Payne: 'I told him what passed between thee and me').

⁵² *Yā sayyidatī*. Not in Būlāq I. Breslau: *Yā sayyidatī* (Habicht: 'Werthes Fräulein'). Not in Calcutta I, or Calcutta II, and consequently not in Lane or Payne.

⁵³ *Jarā 'alayya min-kī mā jarā*. Not in Būlāq I and, consequently, not in Lane. Breslau: *Jarā 'alayya min-kī mā jarā* (Habicht: 'Ihr erinnert euch wohl, werthes Fräulein, wie streng ihr mich kürzlich behandeltet, als ich euch von seiner Krankheit erzählen und euch ein Mittel vorschlagen wollte, ihn aus der Gefahr, in welcher er sich befand, zu retten'). Calcutta I: *Fa-jarā 'alayya min-kī mā jarā* ('So there happened to me, on your account, what is well known'). Calcutta II: *A 'lamtu-hu bi-mā jarā lī ma'a-ki* (Payne: 'I told him what passed between thee and me').

⁵⁴ *Wa-marida li-dālika wa-lazima l-firāša*. Būlāq I: *Fa-zāda maraḍu-hu wa-lazima l-wisādata* (Lane: 'Upon which his disorder increased, and he took to his pillow'). Breslau: *Wa-marida li-dālika wa-lazima l-firāša* (Habicht: 'Als sein Uebel sich verdoppelte'). Calcutta I: *Fa-zdāda maraḍu-hu wa-lazima l-firāša* ('And his illness increased, and he took to his bed'). Calcutta II: *Fa-zāda maraḍu-hu wa-lazima l-wisādata* (Payne: 'Whereupon his disorder increased and he took to his bed').

⁵⁵ *Wa-huwa mayyitun lā maḥālah*. Būlāq I: *Wa-mā huwa 'illā mayyitun lā maḥālata* (Lane: 'He is now dying, and there is no doubt of his fate'). Breslau: *Wa-huwa mayyitun lā maḥālata* (Habicht: 'Seit dieser Zeit ist er dem Tode nahe'). Calcutta I: *Wa-huwa mayyitun lā maḥālata* ('He is a dead man without any doubt'). Calcutta II: *Wa-mā huwa 'illā mayyitun lā maḥālata* (Payne: 'And [he] will surely die').

⁵⁶ *Hādihi kullu-hu li-'ajli*. Būlāq I: *Hal hādā kullu-hu min 'ajli* (Lane: 'Is this all on my account?'). Breslau: *Hādā kullu-hu li-'ajli* (Habicht: 'Ist er wirklich nur aus Liebe zu mir so krank?'). Calcutta I: *Hādā kullu-hu li-'ajli* ('Is all this because of me?'). Calcutta II: *Hādā kullu-hu min 'ajli* (Payne: 'Is all this on my account').

⁵⁷ *Yā sayyidatī*. Not in Būlāq I. Breslau: *Yā sayyidatī*. Not in Habicht. Calcutta I: *Yā ḥabibatī* ('O my love'). Not in Calcutta II, and consequently not in Lane or Payne.

⁵⁸ *Zāla 'an-nī mā kuntu 'ajidu min al-alam*. Būlāq I: *Zāla mā kuntu 'ajidu-hu min al-alam wa-starāḥa qalbī* (Lane: 'The anguish which I had suffered ceased; my heart was set at rest...'). Breslau: *Zāla 'an-nī mā kuntu 'ajidu-hu min al-alam* (Habicht: 'Mein Uebel sich minderte'). Calcutta I: *Zāla 'an-nī mā kuntu 'ajidu-hu min al-alam* ('The pain I had suffered ceased'). Calcutta II: *Zāla mā kuntu 'ajidu-hu min al-alam fa-ṭāba qalbī* (Payne: 'My anguish ceased and my heart was comforted').

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⁵⁹ *Tumma dafa'tu la-hā jamī'a mā kāna 'alayya min atwābī*. Būlāq I: *Wa-dafa'tu 'ilay-hā mā kāna 'alayya min at-ṭiyābī* (Lane: 'And I gave her the suit of clothes which I was then wearing'). Breslau: *Tumma dafa'tu la-hā jamī'a mā kāna 'alayya min atwābī* (Habicht: 'Indem ich ihr einen ganz vollen Beutel gab'). Calcutta I: *Wa-dafa'tu 'ilā l-'ajūzi ṣurrata darāhimin* ('And I gave the old woman a purse full of silver'). Calcutta II: *Wa-dafa'tu la-hā mā kāna 'alayya min at-ṭiyābī* (Payne: 'So I took off the clothes I was wearing and gave them to the old woman').

⁶⁰ All subsequent references are to *Auto*, and to the page numbers in the edition of Dorothy S. Severin: *La Celestina: Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (Madrid: Alianza, 1971). Note that Lane's translation of 1001N, at this point, reads: "[I] fell upon my bed, full of anxious thoughts" (Būlāq I, Calcutta II: *mahmūm*), corresponding to Calisto's "pensamientos tristes" (I.47).

⁶¹ At this point Būlāq I and Lane's translation attest to two further parallels: Calisto immediately answers Celestina's demand for *albricias*: "¡Oh, por Dios, toma toda esta casa y cuanto en ella hay y dímelo o pide lo que querrás" (VI.113). So also in Būlāq I and Lane, the Arab merchant's son answers: "Thou shalt receive from me everything that thou canst wish" (*la-ki 'indī kullu ḥayrin*). Here, also, on hearing the go-between's request for a reward, the merchant's son says that his "soul returned to [his] body at these words" (Lane, I, 330). Later, after words corresponding to "the pain I had suffered ceased" (Mahdi: *Zāla 'an-nī mā kuntu 'ajidu min al-alam*), Būlāq I adds "my heart was set at rest" (*wa-starāḥa qalbī*) (Lane, I, 331). In these passages from Būlāq I/Lane, one cannot but recall Calisto's exclamation on seeing Celestina: "¡Sano soy, vivo soy!" and his description of the old bawd as the "vivificación de mi vida, resurrección de mi muerte" (I.64). Again, when Celestina returns from her successful mission to Melibea, Calisto, overjoyed, exclaims: "Ya me reposa el corazón, ya descansa mi pensamiento" (VI.109). Būlāq I is, of course, a relatively modern eighteenth-century Egyptian recension, supported by the derivative Calcutta II (*fa-tāba qalbī*). All the same, these readings could very well hark back to a medieval original and thus cannot be rejected out of hand.

⁶² One important *topos* of both narratives is the concept of love as a disease. On this point, we refer to the comments of Keith Whinnom (ed. Diego de San Pedro, *Obras completas*, II: *Cárcel de amor* [Madrid: Castalia, 1971], pp. 13-14 and n. 16). See, too, John Livingston Lowes, "The Loveres maladye of hereos," *MPh*, 10 (1913-1914), 491-546, and Bruno Nardi, "L'amore e i medici medievali," *Studi...Angelo Monteverdi*, II (Modena: Società Tipografica Editrice Modense, 1959), 517-542; also Emilio García Gómez, "El collar de la paloma y la medicina occidental," *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: C. S. I. C., 1954), I, 701-706; Aldo D. Scaglione, *Nature and Love in the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 60-65, 181-183. For additional bibliography and discussion, see J. T. Monroe, "Wanton Poets and Would-Be Paleographers (Prolegomena to Ibn Quzmān's *Zajal No. 10*)," *La Corónica*, 16:1 (1987-1988), 1-42, at pp. 22-32, 38-42.

⁶³ On the artistic function of the chain, see Alan D. Deyermond, "Hilado-Cordón-Cadena: Symbolic Equivalence in *LC*," *Celestinesca*, 1:1 (1977), 7-12; 2:1 (1978), 25-30; John Lihani, "The Intrinsic and Dramatic Values of Celestina's Golden Chain," *Studies in Honor of Gerald E. Wade*, ed. S. Bowman et al. (Madrid: Porrúa, 1979), pp. 151-165; Manuel da Costa Fontes, "Celestina's 'Hilado' and Related Symbols," *Celestinesca*, 8:1

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(1984), 3-13; 9:1 (1985), 33-38. Here, as elsewhere, we are indebted to Joseph T. Snow's indispensable *Annotated Bibliography* (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1985). A gift of clothing is fully in line with established practice, as much in Medieval Spain as in the Near East. See R. Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1944-1946), III, s.vv. *calças* and *manto* (p. 747.23-26). On the great value of good clothing in the Middle Ages, especially in the Near East, see S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 5 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967-1988), I, 150; IV, 151, 153, 172. In giving the go-between articles of clothing, the merchant's son (and Calisto) do her a far greater honor than would seem immediately apparent in terms of modern values: "Receiving the discarded garment of one's superior, and in particular of a ruler, was a high honor, customary in the Near East since remote antiquity" (Goitein, IV, 184; also 191, 262). This custom is related to the "robe of honor" (*hil'a*), so frequently mentioned in the *1001N*: "The Fatimid government...operated large workshops, especially for the manufacture of textiles required for the imperial wardrobe and for the distribution of robes of honor" (Goitein, I, 115). These remarks are also true for most medieval Islamic dynasties (including the Umayyads of Andalus), under whom the manufacture of royal *tirāz*-cloth was a state monopoly. Calisto, on the other hand (as also apparently in the earlier Medieval Spanish instances cited by Menéndez Pidal), orders Celestina's "manto y saya" especially made from new cloth he has been keeping at home.

⁶⁴ This is not to argue, of course, that Melibea may be a *conversa* over against Calisto as a *cristiano viejo*. On such theories as an oversimplification of a very complex problem, see Márquez Villanueva, "La Celestina as Hispano-Semitic Anthropology," p. 452.

⁶⁵ On Rojas' personal library, see Stephen Gilman, *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas: The Intellectual and Social Landscape of "La Celestina"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 430-456, 530-536. The absence of such a hypothetical source means nothing: "Rojas all during his life had access to many more books than he owned" (438). Beyond borrowed volumes, the possibility of an orally transmitted narrative cannot be discounted—on the contrary, it must be considered when dealing with a work such as the *1001N*.

⁶⁶ As Márquez Villanueva has pointed out, there are substantial differences between the procuress in Arabic and in Spanish society and literature ("*La Celestina* as Hispano-Semitic Anthropology," pp. 443-445 et alibi).

⁶⁷ On *Tayf al-Ḥayāl*, see Maria Kotzamanidou, "The Spanish and Arabic Characterization of the Go-Between in the Light of Popular Performance," *HR*, 48 (1980), 91-109; for a plot summary of Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow-plays, see Muhammad Mustafa Badawi, "Medieval Arabic Drama: Ibn Dāniyāl," *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 13 (1982), 83-107. Given the considerable importance of *Tayf al-Ḥayāl*, both for Arabic and for Spanish literature, we look forward to Peter D. Molan's forthcoming unexpurgated edition, translation, and brilliant literary analysis of that work.

⁶⁸ Kotzamanidou, p. 97. On the multi-professionalism of Trotaconventos and Celestina, see Félix Lecoy, *Recherches sur le "Libro de buen amor" de Juan Ruiz Arcipreste de Hita*, ed. Alan D. Deyermond (Westmead, England: Gregg International, 1974), pp. 321-322; Augusta Espantoso Foley, *Occult Arts and Doctrine in the Theater of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón* (Geneva: Droz, 1972), p. 19. On Celestina's professional pride,

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see María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *Originalidad*, pp. 515-519. On Celestina's medical knowledge, see Guillermo Folch Jou et al., "La Celestina: ¿hechicera o boticaria?" *La Celestina y su contorno social*, ed. Manuel Criado de Val (Barcelona: Hispam, 1977), pp. 163-167. On the go-between as medieval-sorceress-evolving-into-Renaissance-witch, see Michael J. Ruggerio, *The Evolution of the Go-Between in Spanish Literature Through the Sixteenth Century*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol. 78 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966). All these crafts were also cultivated by Celestina's Muslim sisters: See Al-Nafzawī, *The Glory of the Perfumed Garden: The Missing Flowers*, chap. IV, "On Pimps and Procuration," 72-96. The following passage suggests that various Celestina-like activities continued to be widely practiced in the late eighteenth century by certain Jewish women in Turkey: "Il y a beaucoup de Juifs épars dans toute l'étendue de l'Empire Ottoman....Leurs Compagnes font le métier de Courtière. Elles portent aux jeunes Femmes enfermées dans les Harems, des marchandises en pierreries, étoffes, cosmétiques, &c.; mais elles sont bien & duement visitées par les Eunuques, qui ne leur font aucune grace. Il faut qu'elles soient bien connues, pour être admises en la présence des Princesses du sang Ottoman. En un mot, ces Femmes Juives ressemblent assez à nos Revendeuses à la Toilette; elles en connoissent toutes les allures, &c." (Sylvain Maréchal, *Costumes civils actuels de tous les peuples connus...*, II [Paris: Pavard, 1788], fascicule [30]: *Notice historique sur les turcs*, p. 17).

⁶⁹ Al-Nafzawī, pp. 82-83. In the introduction to his translation of this text (pp. 7-16), the anonymous translator (who gives only his initials: H. E. J., on p. 16) indicates that since there is no critical edition of the Arabic text of the *Perfumed Garden*, he is working on the basis of a modern copy of a single, unpublished MS which he does not identify (p. 12). He also points out that it is probable that Al-Nafzawī's original version was relatively short, and that later compilers added to it, adducing as one proof for this statement that even sixteenth-century authors are quoted in the recension he is using (p. cit., n. 20). Such a shaky state of textual affairs raises the question whether we are entitled, chronologically speaking, to consider the passage quoted above an analogue to medieval Spanish works such as *Celestina* and *Libro de buen amor*. To any possible objections on this score, we point out that the medieval author Abū l-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Yamanī, Ibn Qulayta (or Fulayta), al-Kātib (d. 845) includes the very same passage in his work *Ruṣd al-labīb ilā mu'āṣarat al-ḥabīb* ('Guidance of the Intelligent to Intimacy with the Beloved'), chap. 12, "Dikru l-qiyāda wa-ahli-hā" ('On Procuring and its Experts'), Escorial Arabic MS No. 563, fol. 103 recto; 105 verso. See Hartwig Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial*, 2 vols. (I, Paris: E. Leroux, 1884; II, Paris: P. Geuthner, 1943), I, p. 388. In the process of binding, the folios of the Escorial MS have been placed out of order. Hence an entire folio interrupts our passage at the place indicated below. In the original, the words in angular brackets have been crossed out by the hand of the scribe. Punctuation, on the other hand, is editorially ours. The Escorial MS version reads as follows:

[103 recto, l. 4] wa-li-l-'ajā'izi wa-l-muḥannaṭina min ahli ḥādihi ṣ-ṣinā'ati hiyalun 'alā 'aḥḍi d-darāhimi tajūzu 'alā kaṭīri man yuḥādiru r-rijāla wa-dālika 'anna l-wāhidata 'awi l-wāhida min-hum ya'ti r-rajula fa-yaqūlu la-hu: "'urīdu 'ajma'u bayna-ka wa-bayna binti fulānin aw zawjati fulānin," yaḍkuru la-hu mra'atan min dawāti l-aqdāri l-jalilati lam yakun yaṭma'u fi-hā, tumma yašra'u la-hu fi waṣfi-hā bi-mā ta'allāqa qalbu [read: yu'alliqu qalba]-hu bi-hā wa-yukarriru-hu <bi-hā> huwa ḥattā yakūna huwa l-muṭāliba la-hā bi-mā wa'adat-hu fa-tūhimu-hu 'anna-hā tuḥāṭiru ma'a-hā bi-nafsi-hā li-'ajli-hi wa-tuṭīlu ntizāra-hu bi-l-mawā'idi wa-tuzīdu fi ḥirṣi-hi bi-l-mawā'idi wa-l-awṣāfi wa-hiya ḥilāla dālika ta'ḥuḍu darāhima-hu tāratan li-māṣiṭati-hā wa-tāratan li-jāriyati-hā, wa-tūhimu-hu 'anna-hā rasūlu ḥājati-

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him ilay-hi, wa-rubbamā dassat 'alay-hi ba'du [105 verso, l. 1] l-'ajā'izi bi-mā tulqī-hā 'iyyā-hu mimmā <tulqī-hi> yuṣaddiqu qawla-hā 'inda-hu wa-min al-biṣārati 'alā lisāni-hā, tumma taqūlu la-hu: "nzur mā tursilu bi-hi 'ilā l-mar'ati," fa-mā yadrī min dahaṣi-hi wa-faraḥi-hi mā yu'ṭi ḥattā yas'ala-hā fa-tuṣira bi-mā 'arādat, fa-'idā qad ḥāzat min-hu mā turidu min-hu 'amadat ilā ba'ḍi 'atrāfin...

In discussing *The Tale of the Tailor*, Burton points out that the old woman's tactics are "the usual 'pander-dodge' to get more money," adding that "the old woman's account [to the lover] was all false, to increase apparent difficulties and *pour se faire valoir*" (*The Book of a Thousand Nights and a Night*, I, 302, nn. 2, 3.). The same stratagem is employed by Trotaconventos in Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor*: "Amigo, segund creo, por mí avredes conorte; / por mí verná la dueña andar al estricote; / mas yo de vos non tengo sinon este pellote: / si buen manjar queredes, pagad bien el escote" (ed. Jacques Joret, 2 vols. [Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1974], stanza 815; also 782 ff).

⁷⁰ A forthcoming article, finally identifying Calisto's enigmatic "abuela con el ximio," not to mention his knife-brandishing grandfather (*Celestina*, I.51)—after years of double-speak emanating from the well-blinded perspective of exclusivist Occidentalism—will reinforce such a contention.



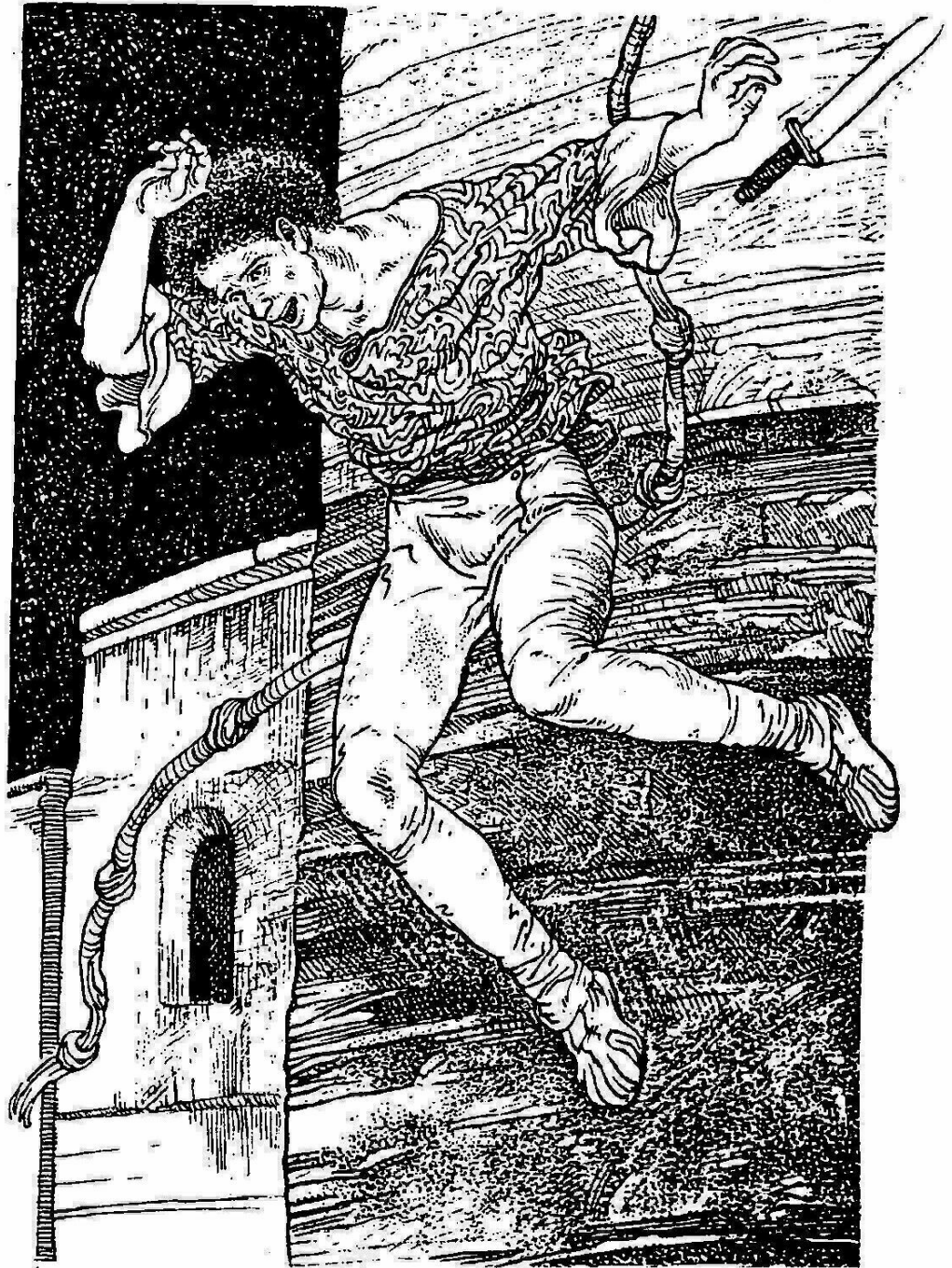
Tāj al-Mulūk and Princess Duniyā (N135) (Lane, I [1889], 535).

"¡Oh! Váleme
Santa María!
¡Muerto soy!"

Ilustración
al
Auto XIX

Javier
Serrano
Pérez

Madrid:
Anaya,
1986.



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HUELLAS DE 'CELESTINA' EN LA 'COMEDIA FLORINEA' Y EN LA 'COMEDIA SELVAGIA'

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A Gema, por su amor
y su alegría

Dos obras cierran el *corpus* que vengo denominando como continuaciones de *Celestina*: la *Comedia Florinea*, de Joan Rodríguez, y la *Comedia Selvagia*, de Alonso de Villegas Selvago,¹ ambas diferentes en diversos aspectos pero, al mismo tiempo, con notables similitudes que justifican su análisis conjunto en estas páginas. Así, ambas obras, al margen de alusiones esporádicas en trabajos como los de Menéndez Pelayo, Grismer, Lida, Heugas y más recientemente en un trabajo de Vigier,² han caído en el olvido más absoluto por parte

¹ A estas obras añade Stefano Arata la por él titulada *Tragicomedia de Polidoro y Casandria*, obra anónima, en donde la alcahueta Corneja se presenta como discípula de las terceras más famosas del ciclo: Claudina, Celestina y Elicia ("Una nueva tragicomedia celestinesca del siglo XVI," *Celestinesca* 12, i [1988]: 45-50).

² M. Menéndez Pelayo [*Orígenes de la novela*, III (Madrid: NBAE, 1910)]; R. L. Grismer ["The *Celestina* and its Continuations," in *The Influence of Plautus in Spain before Lope de Vega* (New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1944): 101-110]; Lida de Malkiel [*La originalidad artística de 'La Celestina'* (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1970, 2ª ed.); P. Heugas [*'La Celestine' et sa descendance directe* (Bordeaux: Editions Bière, 1973)] y Françoise Vigier ["Quelques Réflexions sur le lignage, la parenté et la famille dans la 'célestinesque,'" en *Autour des Parentés en Espagne aux XVI et XVII Siècles. Histoire, Mythe et Littérature. Etudes réunis et présentées par A. Redondo* (Paris: La Sorbonne, 1987): 157-174].

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de los celestinófilos, de tal forma que solo tenemos las reimpresiones hechas por Menéndez Pelayo en el volumen 14 de la NBAE y un breve trabajo de Sánchez Romeralo sobre Alonso de Villegas.³

Por otro lado, si exceptuamos la *Segunda Celestina*, estas dos obras son las únicas que aparecen denominadas como "comedias" dentro del ciclo, entendiendo bajo esta denominación obras con final feliz, en lo cual entroncan con el planteamiento de Silva, a quien, por otra parte, deben más de un elemento dramático como, por ejemplo, la utilización de cartas entre los enamorados, o el plantear el matrimonio como única solución a los lances amorosos de las parejas de protagonistas.

I

Los ecos y reminiscencias fraseológicas en la *Comedia Florinea* descienden considerablemente en relación con las continuaciones anteriores. No obstante, existen claros ecos de *Celestina* en algunos elementos estructurales de la obra como en la existencia de una "carta del autor a un amigo" o en las diez octavas del autor, donde nos encontramos con una intención moralizadora similar a la de Rojas aun cuando se señala que la obra no nace para avisar a los enamorados, sino a los padres para que casen pronto a sus hijas (4^a octava). Con todo, es en la antepenúltima octava donde nos encontramos con una clara reminiscencia del texto rojano:

Tendras gran auiso quando esto leyeres
guardar la manera que cada cual quiere
o que graue o triste, o alegre, o qual fuere
hablar alto, o baxo, segun que entendieres.⁴

El recuerdo de la cuarta octava de Proaza en *Celestina* es evidente, lo cual nos sitúa ante una de las cuestiones más discutidas de la obra de Rojas y de sus continuadores: el género.

No es propósito de estas páginas entrar en tan ardua cuestión, pero sí conviene precisar que la similitud entre Proaza y J. Rodríguez a la hora de clasificar las dos obras nos sitúa en un concepto de teatro concebido para ser leído, usual en la época en escuelas y universidades. Es decir, como anota Stamm, estaríamos ante un "«closet drama», o sea, obra dramática destinada a leerse o representarse mínimamente *in camera* ante grupitos pequeños de amigos o aficionados,"⁵ práctica ésta testificada por el propio Rojas en el *Prólogo* hasta el punto de alterar el texto para complacer los deseos de unos receptores inmediatos.

En el acto I, Floriano declara a su criado Fulminato, dentro del tono cancioneril que caracteriza a los enamorados en el ciclo celestinesco, su pasión por Belisea, a lo cual el criado, sorprendido por las palabras de su amo, exclama en un aparte:

³ J. Sánchez Romeralo, "Alonso de Villegas: semblanza del autor de la *Selvagia*," *Actas del Quinto Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas*, II (Bordeaux: 1977): 783-93.

⁴ Para todas las citas de la *Comedia Florinea* sigo la edición de Medina del Campo (1554), ejemplar de la Biblioteca Nacional (R. 1387)

⁵ J. R. Stamm, *La estructura de 'La Celestina'* Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 1988): 31.

O hi de puta, (...) ¿no basta loco, sino herege? [I, iii (r)]

En el acto I de *Celestina*, tras señalar Calisto su pasión por Melibea, exclama en un aparte Sempronio:

(Algo es lo que digo; a más ha de ir este hecho; no basta loco, sino hereje)
[I, 49]⁶

Al margen de la textualidad con respecto a *Celestina*, en ambos casos nos encontramos con un hecho similar: la incompreensión del lenguaje cancioneril del enamorado por parte de sus criados, lo cual nos presenta en las obras—al menos *a priori*—una doble visión del amor: la más idealizada, representada por los amos, y la más vulgar, representada por los criados, si bien Calisto no dudará en gozar de Melibea, solicitando incluso testigos,⁷ y Floriano renuncia a satisfacer su pasión para así, por deseo expreso de Belisea, poder casarse con ella.

En el acto V volvemos a encontrarnos con una cierta reminiscencia del auto I de *Celestina* cuando, ante las palabras de Floriano que ensalzan las cualidades de su amada, Lydorio opone un auténtico discurso misógino corroborado por los ejemplos de personajes como Salomón, Virgilio, Petrarca, Ovidio y Juvenal, y por mujeres perniciosas como Eva, Pasife, Minerva, etc. [V, xvi (v) y ss.]. En *Celestina*, tras recriminar Calisto a Sempronio el haber llamado "mujer" a Melibea y no "dios" [I, 51], el criado apela a ejemplos similares a los que hemos visto en Lydorio para demostrar el error de su amo [I, 52].

Asimismo, de posible procedencia del texto de Rojas es el planteamiento de Lucendo, padre de Belisea, de casar a su hija pero oyendo primero la opinión de ésta [acto XXII]. Al margen de la liberalidad de Lucendo, que entronca con la de Pleberio en el auto XVI,⁸ la funcionalidad de la postura de ambas doncellas es completamente distinta. Mientras Melibea señala a Lucrecia su rechazo al matrimonio, incluso con Calisto, denotando así una concepción amorosa—cancioneril o no—que no admite ser canalizada racional ni socialmente, Belisea dice a Justina que no puede proponer como marido a Floriano—de quien explícitamente se ha declarado enamorada en diversas ocasiones a partir del acto XV—sencillamente por desconocer su linaje y fortuna [XXIII, lxxx (v)] y de ahí que Justina proponga que lo más inminente es, a través de Marcelia, enterarse de la situación de Floriano [XXIII, lxxxi (r)], con quien al final de la obra planteará casarse.

Quizá lo más destacable de ambas situaciones sea—y esto sí me parece fundamental para la interpretación de las razones por las que el matrimonio está ausente en *Celestina*—cómo las palabras de Melibea y de Belisea ante el matrimonio son absolutamente esenciales en la explicación del desarrollo y final de la trama amorosa de ambas obras. El rechazo de Melibea al matrimonio da sentido al planteamiento amoroso de toda la obra, planteamiento

⁶ Para todas las alusiones a *Celestina* sigo la edición de Dorothy S. Severin (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1982, 9ª ed.).

⁷ Stamm ve en este hecho un claro choque con la delicadeza pregonada por el amor cortés (*La estructura*, 130).

⁸ Independientemente de que Alfonso X (Partida IV, título I, ley 10) y don Juan Manuel (*El Conde Lucanor*, ejemplo XXVII) aludiesen a que debía otorgar la mujer su consentimiento para ser casada, lo cierto es que esto no era lo normal en el siglo XVI [ver Mariló Vigil, *La vida de las mujeres en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Siglo XXI Editores, 1986): 76 y ss.].

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dentro de las normas del amor cortés, al menos en su aspecto formal. Las palabras de Belisea justifican el que todo el proceso amoroso de la *Comedia Florinea* se encamine al matrimonio de los enamorados,⁹ quedando éste—como en la *Segunda Celestina*—planteado para una próxima continuación que el mismo Joan Fernández promete en la décima octava.

La *Comedia Selvagia* presenta en cuanto a ecos y reminiscencias de *Celestina* una situación similar a la que hemos visto en la obra anterior. La obra, dividida en cinco actos y diversas escenas, presenta como nota más original el sentirse deudora explícita de todas las obras del ciclo que la han precedido, de ahí que, junto a las alusiones a personajes y situaciones de *Celestina*, aparezcan referencias a personajes y hechos de las restantes continuaciones.

Tras un prólogo dirigido al lector dentro de la más pura tradición de la *captatio benevolentiae*, donde alude a Silva como maestro difícil de imitar [i (v)],¹⁰ se incluyen dieciséis octavas en donde, junto a la insistencia en el valor moral de la obra,¹¹ alude de manera explícita a Rojas y a Silva al hablar del estilo de su *Comedia Selvagia*:

Osado se puede sin dubda llamar [su estilo]
mirada sus faltas y pocos primores
ques quiere sin fuerças con otras mejores
valer: siendo pobre de baxo lugar
sabemos de cota que pudo empear
obrando su sciencia la gran celestina
labrose por rojas su fin con muy fina
ambrosia: que nunca se puede estimar.

Compuso la parte segunda partida
osándo por causa passar de lo humano
materia teniendo de Feliciano
en quien elegancia no tiene medida. [ii (v)-iii]

Alonso de Villegas apunta la posibilidad de que Cota, autor citado junto a Mena por Rojas en la *Carta a un su amigo*, sea el primer autor de *Celestina* y señala en cualquier caso, cómo Rojas es un continuador de un texto recibido.¹²

⁹ De ahí que Polytes, paje de Floriano, tras gozar a Justina, señale al final de la obra:

(...) aun Floriano temo que no va tan sobre seguro como yo: porque Belisea todo me parece que lo encamina por un amor virtuoso, si no buelue la hoja.
[XLIII, cli (v)]

¹⁰ Para todas las alusiones sigo la edición de Toledo, 1554, ejemplar de la Biblioteca Nacional con la signatura R.12794.

¹¹ No olvidemos que Alonso de Villegas en 1576 aparece como capellán de los mozárabes de Toledo y que es uno de los más importantes autores hagiográficos de la época, tal y como lo manifiestan los cinco volúmenes de su *Flos Sanctorum* (citado por M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Orígenes*, cclxiii y ss.).

¹² Recientemente hay dos nuevos trabajos que insisten sobre este aspecto de tan amplia bibliografía. J.R. Stamm señala que hay "que suponer tres autores distintos para el *Auto*, la

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Tras esto no encontramos más reminiscencias de *Celestina* salvo en un diálogo entre Dolosina y Escalión donde se alude a la regla según la cual es conveniente beber tres veces vino.

- ESC. Ce señora dolosina mira que no guardas la ley de palacio que has beuido tres vezes con el primer manjar.
- DOL. Hijo por esso estamos agora en la sala donde ay otra ley: que bien sabes que dixo el sabio quando estuuieres en roma biue como en roma: por esto quiero yo guardar la ley de sala pues en ella estoy.
- ESC. Madre quantas vezes (tu que sabras todas las opiniones) es licito beuer en vna comida.
- DOL. Por cierto hijo abusion (*sic*) es que nunca la cato ni la puedo hallar lo firme: vnos por ser maluenturados dizen tres: otros casi semejantes dizen cinco: otros nueue: otros treze y otros (de qual opinion soy yo) dizen treynta y seys vezes: mas empero yo por cumplir con todos beuo tres y despues seys y assi adelante hasta el vltimo termino por topar y cumplir lo mas cierto. [V, I, lxx (r) y (v)]¹³

II

Al igual que en las continuaciones precedentes, es el recuerdo a personajes del texto rojano donde tanto Joan Fernández como Alonso de Villegas manifiestan una más clara utilización de *Celestina*, y dentro de ello es la vieja alcahueta de Rojas quien mayor atracción ejerce sobre estos autores.

Así, en la *Comedia Florinea*, en el diálogo entre Bracilia y Liberia sobre el oficio de puta de la primera, encontramos el siguiente pasaje:

- BRA. (...) mira que dize vn autentico original: que de cosario a cosario, no ay mas aventura de en las vasijas.
- LIB. A la fe prima esse original en el texto de la ley celestinesca esta estampado: y aun son palabras que dixo la vieja hablando con Areusa. Y aun el verdadero trasunto del texto no dize como le acotaste: sino que de cosario a cosario no se pierde sino los barriles. [XXX, cv (v)]

Comedia y el 'Tratado' [de Centurio]—y posiblemente un cuarto para el trozo lírico [del acto XIX] (*La estructura*, 187). Por su parte, Amancio Labandeira resume en un extenso trabajo las distintas tesis sobre este asunto, defendiendo al final que Rojas no es el autor del auto I ["Sobre el autor o autores de *La Celestina*," *Cuadernos para la Investigación de la Literatura Hispánica* (Madrid), N° 8 (1987): 7-27].

¹³ Sobre esta alusión, ver mi artículo, "Huellas de *Celestina* en la *Tercera Celestina*, de Gaspar Gómez de Toledo," *Celestinesca* 11, ii (1987): 3-19, especialmente las páginas 5-6.

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En efecto, tal y como señala Liberia, Bracilia no ha citado correctamente el texto de *Celestina*; donde, en el auto VII, Celestina dice a Areúsa, ante el retraimiento de ésta porque la vieja presencie su ayuntamiento con Pármeno:

Parece que ayer nací, según tu encubrimiento. Por hacerte a ti honesta, me haces a mi necia y vergonzosa y de poco secreto y sin experiencia y me amenguas en mi oficio por alzar a ti en el tuyo. Pues de cosario a cosario no se pierden sino los barriles. [VII, 132]

Esta alusión a Celestina, al igual que la que poco después se hace a Centurio, presenta como característica su absoluta carencia de funcionalidad en el desarrollo de la obra. Estamos ante un mero ejercicio de demostración del conocimiento que J. Fernández tiene del texto de Rojas que nada aportó a la trama de la *Comedia Florinea*.

En el acto XXXI será Brisindo, paje del padre de Belisea, quien aluda a otro personaje de *Celestina*, Centurio, con una única función: comparar a Fulminato, criado de Floriano, con el fanfarrón Centurio, al contar al despensero un episodio acaecido en casa de Marcelia:

(...) estando parlando con la que tu sabes, vino la madre: y luego otro diablo Centurio baladron (...) [XXXI, cviii (r)]

Frente a la mera referencia de estos dos recuerdos, en el acto XXXVIII aparece una nueva mención a la vieja Celestina que sí pretende tener una función en la caracterización de la alcahueta Marcelia. En el acto XXXI Floriano se desposa en secreto con Belisea, quien, pese a la incitación de Marcelia para que entregue su virginidad a Floriano [XXXV], se mantiene firme en desarrollar su pasión amorosa dentro del matrimonio, para lo cual entrega a Marcelia un anillo para Floriano en señal de compromiso, anillo que la tercera entregará al enamorado [XXXVIII] sacándole así de la duda que le había asaltado sobre si su desposorio había sido realidad o sueño [XXXIII].

Ante esta confirmación del buen desarrollo que siguen sus amores, y reconociendo el papel desempeñado en los mismos por Marcelia, Floriano se deshace en dádivas para la tercera (30000 maravedís como dote para Liberia, hija de Marcelia: 20000 para vestidos para la boda; 20 cargas de trigo y 50 ducados). Tras recibir estos dones, Marcelia reflexiona:

(...) esta mi alegría quiero desde agora enfrenar con temperancia: porque de la mucha alegría y gasajo mio, no sepan todos mi riqueza, y sabida, no me tracten de la muerte. Porque diz que no ay vida mas contada de días de la del rico: en especial de los que pretenden del mas su moneda que dexara, que no los consejos que les dara: y es bien escarmentar en cabeça agena. Porque a Celestina (segun dizen) los dones de Calisto con la cobdicia de los que la tractauan, le quitaron a ella la vida: y a ellos la justicia en castigo. Que dado que ella fue sagaz para los otros: alomenos no lo fue para si, en ganar y guardar: porque mas prudencia quiere el guardar lo ganado: que el allegar lo incierto. [XXXVIII, cxxxv (r)]

Marcelia recuerda cómo la negativa de Celestina a compartir la cadenilla que le entregó Calisto con Sempronio y Pármeno fue la causa de su muerte y del posterior ajusticiamiento de los dos criados de Calisto.

El recuerdo de estos episodios es una constante en las continuaciones (si exceptuamos la *Tragedia Policiana* por cuanto esta obra se concibe como "anterior" a *Celestina*) aun cuando los resultados sean distintos en cada obra. Así, el recuerdo de los episodios trágicos acaecidos en *Celestina* permite a los personajes de la *Segunda Celestina*, en especial a la vieja Celestina resucitada, evitar un definitivo fin [IX, 144].¹⁴ El fanfarrón Pandulfo de la *Tercera Celestina* recuerda a Sigeril la muerte de Calisto y sus criados para que no le ocurra lo mismo al acompañar al enamorado Felides [II, 88].¹⁵ En la *Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselia*, Elicia, la alcahueta en la obra, recuerda el fin trágico de su tía Celestina en diversas ocasiones [IV, I, 48; II, III, 166], lo cual no impide que muera a manos de Brumandilón.¹⁶

Así pues, la reflexión de Marcelia entronca con el planteamiento de Celestina en la obra de Silva, evitándose de este modo la muerte de las alcahuetas con la clara finalidad, explícita en la *Segunda Celestina*, de que ambas participen en los desposorios públicos de los enamorados. De acuerdo con esto, J. Fernández entronca con Silva al ofrecer una obra que pueda ser continuada, continuación que explícitamente promete J. Fernández en la décima octava:

Las bodas del buen Floriano esperando
para otro año de mas vacacion
adonde la historia tendra conclusion
a Dios dando gracias alla nos llegando.

Es en la alusión a personajes donde Alonso de Villegas pone de manifiesto más claramente su voluntad de recoger en la *Comedia Selvagia* aspectos procedentes de las continuaciones anteriores, lo cual supone el reconocimiento expreso de la existencia de un ciclo iniciado por Rojas y seguido por Silva, Gómez de Toledo, Sancho de Muñon y J. Fernández, ciclo al que Villegas se quiere incorporar de manera inequívoca, ligando a sus personajes con los de las obras precedentes. Así, Escalión presenta a Dolosina, la tercera en esta comedia, como hija de Parmenia y, por tanto, nieta de Claudina, la alcahueta de la *Tragedia Policiana*.

Aueys pues de notar que quando la famosa claudina biuio tuuo vna hija por nombre lamada Parmenia que despues de la muerte de su madre: ni gualteria dexo por correr ni meson por arrastrar ni a vn muladar: ni establo que no prouase: passando pues vellaca vida desta forma vna hija la ventura mas abundosa de padres propios que moço de conuento apelatiuos. Esta pues es la que entre manos tenemos (...)

[II, III, xxxiii (v) y (r)]

¹⁴ F. de Silva, *Segunda Celestina*, ed. M^a Inés Chamorro Fernández (Madrid: Editorial Ciencia Nueva, 1968). Ver Consolación Baranda, "Algunas notas sobre la presencia de la *Tragicomedia* de Rojas en la *Segunda Celestina*," *Dicenda* 3 (1984): 207-216.

¹⁵ Gaspar Gómez de Toledo, *Tercera parte de la Tragicomedia de Celestina*, ed. Mac Eugene Barrick (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973). Sobre el episodio mencionado, ver mi artículo anteriormente citado (n. 13), en las páginas 13-14.

¹⁶ Ver mi artículo, "Huellas de *Celestina* en la *Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselia*," *Celestinesca* 12, ii (1988): 17-32, en especial las páginas 28-30.

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Más adelante, la propia Dolosina, camino de la casa de Ysabela, reflexiona, de manera similar a Celestina camino de la casa de Melibea, sobre los peligros de este encargo amoroso y, pese a comprobar que diversos agüeros le son propicios, no puede evitar su temor:

(...) bueno va todo quiera dios no sean badanas que en este oficio y en vn caso semejante al en que agora voy dexo mi abuela claudina la vida por las costillas en manos de los criados de theofilon: pues mi madre parmenia indicio ay que por otro tanto en milan la mataron a talegazos.

[III, III, xliii (r)]

La referencia a la muerte de Claudina a manos de los criados del padre de Filomena [XXV, lxxii (r)]¹⁷ y la referencia a que ésta tuvo una hija, Parmenia, manifiesta un claro conocimiento de la *Tragedia Policiana* e incluso Alonso de Villegas respeta la voluntad de Sebastián Fernández al señalar la muerte de Parmenia en Milán y no usarla como tercera en su obra, ya que el autor de la *Tragedia Policiana*—debido a que en ningún momento de la obra de Rojas se alude a que Claudina tuviese una hija—desconecta a Parmenia del ciclo señalando, en la última voluntad de la moribunda Claudina, que Parmenia no ha de quedar bajo la tutela de Celestina (distintamente a Pármeno) por cuanto "queda en hedad para ganar de comer" [XXVIII, lxxiii (v)]. Ahora bien, el conocimiento de la *Tragedia Policiana* implica un conocimiento de *Celestina*, obra de la que parte Sebastián Fernández para elaborar su tragedia y configurar a Claudina,¹⁸ de tal manera que si Dolosina es nieta de Claudina y ésta fue maestra de Celestina, Dolosina tiene unos saberes similares a la alcahueta rojana.

Junto a esta filiación, nos encontramos con la de los criados de Selvago, Rubiño y Sagredo, a quienes se presenta como hijos de Sempronio y Elicia y de Pármeno y Areúsa, respectivamente. Así, Sagredo dice a Dolosina:

Sabed señora que yo soy hijo de Sempronio criado de Calisto y de elicia y este mi compañero es de parmeno y areusa (...)

[V, I, lxiii (r)]

Tras esta presentación, será Dolosina quien manifieste el conocimiento de los padres de estos dos criados al recordar la muerte de Sempronio y Pármeno.

Pues yo os dire hijos sabed de cierto que parmeno y sempronio por homicidas de vna buena vieja murieron degollados en el mercado. [V, I, lxiii (r) y (v)]

Esta referencia evidente a los autos XII y XIII de *Celestina* se completa por la propia Dolosina al aludir a la muerte de Areúsa y de Elicia:

(...) y areusa poco despues [murió] en casa de la famosa celestina a manos de dos rufianazos que si bien me acuerdo se nombrauan grajales y barrada.

¹⁷ Para las alusiones a la *Tragedia Policiana* sigo la edición de Toledo 1547.

¹⁸ Ver mi artículo, "Huellas de la *Celestina* en la *Tragedia Policiana*, de Sebastián Fernández," *Celestinesca* 13, i, (1989): 31-41.

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Esso mesmo elicia mucho tiempo despues por vn fanfarronazo llamado
brumandilon avnque no se fue sin castigo este porque degollado murio.

[V,I, lxiii (v)]

En el primer caso, el recuerdo es del auto XL de la *Tercera Celestina* de Gaspar Gómez de Toledo.¹⁹ En el segundo caso, estamos ante un recuerdo de la *Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselia* [II, V, 262].²⁰

Por último, y dentro de ese valor de recopilación de las continuaciones precedentes que anotábamos en la obra de Villegas, cabe citar la alusión que hace Risdeño a la "resurrección" de Celestina en la *Segunda Celestina* y a su muerte definitiva en la *Tercera Celestina*. Al ver a Dolosina, exclama Risdeño:

(...) tu deues de auer sacado del cimiterio del carmen el cuerpo de celestina que este dia fallecio y como alli tan presto se consume la carne no hallaste si los huessos que traes contigo: digo esto si fue verdad que murio de la cayda del andamio de su casa y no se estuuo como la otra vez escondida tras la artesa.

[III, I, xl (r)]

III

Hace dos años, gracias a la amabilidad de mi amigo y colega, Joseph T. Snow, iniciaba en *Celestinesca* una serie de artículos bajo la denominación de "Huellas..." en los que se indagaba sobre la presencia explícita del texto rojano en las consideradas como continuaciones de *Celestina*. Llegados a este punto, conviene que, una vez estudiadas las dos últimas composiciones del ciclo, expongamos las conclusiones que se desprenden del análisis de dichas obras.

El estudio de los ecos y reminiscencias fraseológicas nos corrobora algo absolutamente evidente: el profundo conocimiento que de *Celestina* tenían los continuadores de Rojas así como el hecho de que, dada la absoluta textualidad de algunas de estas reminiscencias, dichos autores aludían al texto de Rojas teniéndolo delante de los ojos. Ahora bien, si esto es válido para todos los continuadores, bien distinta es la función que dichos recuerdos tienen en cada obra. Así, mientras en Silva y Sancho de Muñón los pasajes sirven exclusivamente para manifestar el conocimiento que los autores poseen del texto original, es decir, carecen de la más mínima funcionalidad. La razón de esta diferencia estriba en que Silva ha de justificar la "resurrección" de Celestina constantemente y Sancho de Muñón la presencia de Elicia como alcahueta, lo cual no se ajustaba demasiado a la configuración que de este personaje había hecho Rojas.

¹⁹ Para el valor de la muerte de Areúsa, ver mi artículo (citado en n.13) sobre la presencia de *Celestina* en la *Tercera Celestina*, pp. 25-27.

²⁰ Conviene anotar, también como recuerdo de la obra de Sancho de Muñón, cómo Escalión es hijo de Brumandilón, tal y como se señala en dos ocasiones en la *Comedia Selvagia* [I, II, xiiii (r) y V, I, lxiii (v)].

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Por lo que respecta a los personajes y situaciones procedentes de *Celestina*, los continuadores presentan una auténtica obsesión por el personaje de Celestina y las circunstancias de su muerte (por tanto, también por Sempronio y Pármeno). Este constante aludir a la vieja alcahueta rojana tiene en estos autores un punto en común: su deseo de conectar sus terceras con el personaje creado por Rojas. Ahora bien, también existen notables diferencias, ya que en unos casos (Silva, J. Fernández y A. de Villegas) las alusiones a Celestina y su muerte (y posterior ajusticiamiento de los dos criados de Calisto) tienen como clara intención el que sirvan de ejemplo a los nuevos personajes para evitar un final semejante; en otros casos (Gómez de Toledo y Sancho de Muñón), indudablemente por una concepción absolutamente distinta del ciclo celestinesco, dichos recuerdos no evitan el final desastroso de las terceras, que aparecen como faltas de memoria y, por tanto, peor perfiladas que las demás.

Junto a Celestina, son los enamorados Calisto y Melibea quienes más recuerdos tienen si bien éstos se caracterizan por servir exclusivamente para poner en relación su pasión con la de los nuevos amantes de las distintas continuaciones.

A estos personajes se pueden añadir otros que, en general, tiene como misión el relacionar personajes de las continuaciones con otros de *Celestina*, en un recurso evidente para ligar dichas obras con la de Rojas.

En definitiva, con este conjunto de artículos, y al margen de las particularidades que en cada obra se presentan, hemos pretendido demostrar un hecho prácticamente insólito en los distintos ciclos literarios españoles existentes: la deuda, explícitamente expuesta en las obras, de los continuadores con respecto al texto del que partían para la elaboración del ciclo, lo cual, al margen de cualquier otra consideración sobre las calidades literarias de cada obra, nos sitúa ante la grandeza de *Celestina*, y de ahí que la indagación sobre las distintas continuaciones sirva, por encima de todo, para alcanzar un mayor conocimiento de la totalidad o de aspectos determinados de la obra de Rojas.



LA 'CELESTINA' DEL SIGLO XX. ANOTACIONES COMPARATISTAS

Christoph Rodiek

Bonn

La recepción literaria de la *Celestina* puede caracterizarse, en lo fundamental, por tres tipos de operaciones intertextuales:¹ la continuación y la imitación (s. XVI), la traducción (s. XVI-XX) y la adaptación escénica (s. XX). Por lo que a esta última se refiera cabe distinguir entre versiones fieles, que se limitan a acortar el original (L. Escobar, A. Casona, M. Criado de Val y otros) y versiones libres, que modifican el contenido del texto de Rojas.² En este último caso la versión de Alfonso Sastre³ suele calificarse de particularmente radical, y provoca a no pocos especialistas celestinescos. Ahora bien, la interpretación adecuada del texto de Sastre supone que se parta de una temática nueva, que viene cristalizándose desde hace más de medio siglo en ciertas versiones francesas y alemanas: la temática de la Inquisición. Dicho de otro modo: desde los años '40 de nuestro siglo se está plasmando, a nivel internacional, un mito de la *Celestina*, dentro del cual el motivo del Santo Oficio ocupa un lugar constitutivo.

¹ Conforme a la terminología de Gérard Genette (*Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré*, Paris, 1982), quien clasifica las más usuales formas de recepción dentro de un sistema casi escolástico, podría hablarse de "operaciones hipertextuales," en las que el hipotexto es el substrato del hipertexto.

² Véanse mis artículos "Nuevas adaptaciones escénicas de *La Celestina* (en: *Iberoromania*, en prensa) y "Das Inquisitionsmotiv in neueren deutschsprachigen Bühnenfassungen der *Celestina*" (en: *Arcadia*, en prensa).

³ *Tragedia fantástica de la gitana Celestina ó Historia de amoor y de magia con algunas citas de la famosa tragicomedia de Calixto y Melibea*, en *Primer acto*, núm. 192 (enero-febrero 1982): 63-102.

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Echemos primero un vistazo a la versión celestinesca de Sastre, calificada por el mismo autor de "tragedia compleja."⁴ El protagonista masculino sostiene, como es sabido, las ideas herejes de Miguel Servet y anda huyendo de la Inquisición. Mientras que Celestina, al caer en las garras del Santo Oficio, se las arregla para ser puesta en libertad como soplona, Calixto y Melibea son, de hecho, matados por unos esbirros de la Inquisición. La sorprendente pieza de Sastre no es, a pesar de ciertos rasgos paródicos, una obra meramente burlesca, y ha de clasificarse más bien como 'contramodelo.' Este tipo de adaptación se distingue del género de la parodia en cuanto que incluye una temática consistente dirigida contra la del original. A este respecto hay que insistir en el hecho de que la obra de Sastre es una réplica a interpretaciones científicas de *Celestina*. Para esclarecer este punto resulta inevitable hacer un par de observaciones sobre el estado actual de la discusión de *Celestina*.

En relación a una interpretación global de la *Tragicomedia* es posible distinguir en la investigación dos posiciones opuestas, cuyos principales exponentes pueden considerarse Stephen Gilman y Marcel Bataillon. Gilman, en su libro *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas* (1972), parte de los estudios de Américo Castro e interpreta la obra como expresión de la situación existencialmente conflictiva del 'converso' Fernando de Rojas y de su 'casta.' Bataillon en cambio descubre en *Celestina* una intención moralizante y didáctica de carácter general, esto es, no específica de los cristianos nuevos. Bataillon no le concede al llanto fúnebre de Pleberio, con el que la obra concluye, ninguna especial relevancia, de igual manera que a los padres de Melibea los considera como figuras más bien ridículas. Para Gilman en cambio el verdadero Rojas no se muestra en el incipit moralizante—que le parece un simple "camuflaje"⁵—, sino en el monólogo final de Pleberio. Gilman opina que en ese llanto fúnebre, expresamente calificado de "heterodoxo" (365), encuentran su más clara expresión esa angustia y esa precariedad existencial de los conversos, las cuales caracterizan a la obra entera.

Ahora bien, como se sabe, Calisto, Melibea, Sempronio y Pármeno mueren a causa de una caída. En este tipo de muerte, de notoria recurrencia, Gilman ve una alusión a la rueda de la Fortuna, una imagen que en *Celestina* se usa frecuentemente. Habría que comprender así que el girar de la rueda de la Fortuna causa tanto el ascenso como la caída de quienes han llegado al cenit de su existencia. Para los conversos sin embargo, el miedo a la caída emanaría desde 1478 de esa institución comparable a la Fortuna: la Inquisición.⁶ Según Gilman, los conversos se sentían totalmente indefensos frente a los ataques de los inquisidores, a los que consideraban vicarios en la tierra de la Diosa Fortuna: "La Inquisición operaba del mismo modo que tradicionalmente se había creído que actuaba la fortuna: es decir, su malevolencia era atraída al reclamo de la riqueza y de los altos honores" (177).

⁴ Las características de este género se comentan en Francisco Caudet, "Conversación con Alfonso Sastre," en *Primer acto*, núm. 192 (1982): 50-62; aquí: 59.

⁵ Véase Stephen Gilman: *La España de Fernando de Rojas. Panorama intelectual y social de "La Celestina"*, Madrid, 1978: "Es Pleberio el que durante su erupción de conciencia revela mejor lo que Rojas pensaba, y no el camuflaje postizo" (369).

⁶ Gilman: "El uso del término fortuna como un eufemismo para la Inquisición es claro" (*La España*, 180).

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Alfonso Sastre hace suya la interpretación de Gilman. Puesto que Juan Goytisolo publicó un ensayo sobre el libro de Gilman en 1975 en "Triunfo", y Sastre, que colaboraba con esa revista, empezó en 1976 a trabajar sobre su *Celestina*, no puede excluirse que las tesis de Gilman hayan sido transmitidas a Sastre a través de Goytisolo. Así pues, si el Calixto y la Melibea de Sastre no mueren a causa de una caída sino debido a la Inquisición, su muerte tendría que ver con los conversos. Lo que en el original permanece oculto en símbolos y alusiones,⁷ se convierte en la adaptación en elementos manifiestos de la acción: la represión de los cristianos nuevos ya no es denunciada en forma implícita y cifrada—como caída—, sino puesta en escena como muerte a manos de la Inquisición.

La adaptación de Sastre, como queda dicho, no es la primera en añadirle a *Celestina* el motivo de la Inquisición. ¿Dónde nace, pues, este motivo? En el mes de febrero de 1942 se estrena en París una versión muy libre de Paul Achard,⁸ en la que la Inquisición cumple una función eminentemente política, en cuanto que alude a las tropas de ocupación nazi. El que Pleberio llegue a ser un funcionario del Santo Oficio resulta, en este contexto, menos importante que los desfiles paramilitares de la Inquisición, que siembran el terror en el burdel de *Celestina*. En tales pasajes, Achard produce un auténtico ambiente de pogromo fácilmente descifrable para el público parisiense:

(Célestine va monter sur la table. Bruits des mains et de rires crescendo, bientôt couvert par la musique. Ce n'est plus seulement un chant, ce sont des roulements de tambour très sourds, un appel de clairon, puis des psaumes. Sempronio est allé ouvrir la fenêtre.)

SEMPRONIO - C'est le Saint-Office!

CÉLESTINE - La Sainte Inquisition! (bas, priant) Sainte-Mère!

ELICIA - La procession! (bas, priant) Vierge Marie!

(Tous, à genoux, se signent, face à la fenêtre, devant laquelle passent les cagoules, les torches, les armes des soldats tandis que les moines chantent, leurs chants étant entrecoupés d'appels de clairon et de roulements de tambour. Le cortège s'éloigne. Chacun respire. Un silence. On frappe à la porte).

CÉLESTINE - Anges du ciel! Ayez pitié de nous! (Elicia se lève en tremblant et s'approche de la porte.) [p.52]

Huelga decir que el "cortège de l'Inquisition," sombrío y amenazante, consta siempre de los mismos elementos (66 s.: "appel de clairons," "roulement de tambour," "moines en cagoule," "soldats," "porteurs de torches et de bannières.")

⁷ Siguiendo siempre la interpretación de Gilman, la cual, por cierto, ha de considerarse como minoritaria (véase, p. ej., el artículo de Dietrich Briesemeister, "Die Sonderstellung der *Celestina*," en *Das Spanische Theater. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. K. Pörtl [Darmstadt, 1985]: 91-107, en 99).

⁸ Paul Achard: *La Célestine. Tragi-Comédie de Fernando de Rojas (1492)*. Adaptation en 8 tableaux de Paul Achard, Paris, 1942.

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Puede considerarse como una ironía de la recepción celestinesca el que precisamente la versión de Paul Achard haya tenido un éxito extraordinario en Alemania. A los cuatro años del estreno francés se publica en Munich la traducción—muy libre—de Eugen Ortner.⁹ En esta versión el episodio citado reza como sigue:

(Im Tumult ertönt draußen auf der Straße plötzlich eine dumpfe Trommel, dann Trompeten, dann Gemümel einer Litanei. Alle erstarren, Sempronio hat das Fenster aufgerissen und sofort wieder geschlossen.)

SEMPRONIO: Die Gugelmänner!...

ELICIA (bekreuzigt sich): Die heilige Inquisition!

KRITON (wieder beruhigt): Was sollen denn *die* in der Gerbergasse?

CELESTINA: Ein entflohener Mönch ist bei den Waffenschmieden versteckt.

KRITON: Der Teufel geht um in Toledo.

ELICIA: Kriton! (Sie springt zu ihm und hält ihm den Mund zu.) Die Feuerfackeln! Willst du denn brennen?

AREUSA: Heilige Mutter Gottes...

CELESTINA: Kommt alle zu mir her! Weg da vom Fenster! Stell den Tisch auf, Sempronio! Und du, Elicia, öffne die Tür! Es ist Vorschrift! (Elicia öffnet die Tür.)

KRITON: Die Rattenköpfe suchen nach Speck!

CELESTINA: Schweig oder geh deiner Wege!

(Gugelmänner marschieren an der offenen Tür vorbei, dann Soldaten.) [74s]

En Ortner, el motivo de la Inquisición carece de la función implícita del texto francés ('connotación política') y repercute explícitamente sobre el argumento de la obra. Así, el sereno, que procede igualmente de la versión achardiana, comenta el hecho de que la alcahueta y sus pupilas pronto se arrastrarán al tribunal de la Inquisición:

Die Unzuchtweiber kommen vor die Inquisition, da wartet der Scheiterhaufen. (129)

La innegable importancia historico-literaria de la versión de Ortner, quien, como queda dicho, se basa sólo parcialmente en Achard, consiste en haber dejado huellas en todas las

⁹ *Celestina. Tragikomödie*, München 1946. La cita procede de la reimpresión de 1961: *Celestina. Tragikomödie in drei Akten. Nachdichtung in deutscher Sprache und Bühnenfassung von Eugen Ortner*, en: *Spanische Meisterdramen* (Wien-München-Basel, 1961): 11-142.

adaptaciones ulteriores de Alemania.¹⁰ En la ópera (estrenada en Karlsruhe, en 1976) de Karl Heinz Füssl y Herbert Lederer,¹¹ "die Häscher der Inquisition, etwa zehn Mann in dunklen Kapuzenmänteln" (3), desfilan al compás de la música por el escenario. En la versión de Gerd Heinz,¹² el motivo de la Inquisición se acentúa tanto más cuanto que se le otorga la posición inicial del texto. Así, al levantarse el telón, la exposición del drama empieza con una oración de Pleberio:

PLEBERIO: Ich, Pleberio, Richter der Inquisition, flehe dich an, Gott, verweigere uns nicht deine Weisheit und deine Gnade. [...] Mach unser Volk stark und rein, damit es endlich die maurische Pest von diesem Boden vertreibe. [1]

La versión celestinesca más lograda que se haya escrito en Alemania es la de Karl Mickel,¹³ quien concede, por supuesto, un máximo de atención al motivo de la Inquisición. Lo mismo que Ortner, Heinz y Sastre, Mickel completa el elenco de la *Tragicomedia* mediante unos funcionarios del Santo Oficio, dibujando una imagen extremadamente estilizada de la Inquisición, es decir: una Inquisición que—sin actuar y por el mero hecho de estar ahí—controla y manipula los pensamientos y acciones de los individuos. Sempronio, al mismo tiempo portavoz y conejillo de Indias de esta Inquisición 'interiorizada,' expone en un largo monólogo su conflicto psicológico de si debe o no denunciar al 'hereje' Calisto ("Soy Melibeo") ante la Inquisición. Cito sólo una estrofa:

Der Inquisitor, hat er ihn verbrannt
Wird seinen Nachlaß einziehn, und verbrennen
Wird er ihn mit Vergnügen, um den Nachlaß
Einzuziehn, ein Teil gehört dem Angeber.
Ich geh zum Inquisitor, das ist einträglich. [13]

De hecho, Sempronio no va a denunciar a su amo. El Santo Oficio se entera, no obstante, de todo lo que ocurre gracias al espionaje perfecto que llevan a cabo los familiares. Un especial logro estilístico lo constituyen los informes, redactados en lenguaje administrativo

¹⁰ Incluso la traducción alemana (*Celestina*. Tragikomödie in zwei Akten von Carlo Terron, nach dem dialogisierten Roman von Fernando de Rojas. Autorisierte Übertragung aus dem Italienischen von Heinz Riedt, München, 1963) de la adaptación italiana de Carlo Terron (*La Celestina*. Tragicommedia, en *Il Dramma* 38, núm 307, abril 1962, pp. 5-47) esté influida por la versión de Ortner.

¹¹ *Celestina*. Tragikomödie in zwei Akten. Nach dem gleichnamigen Dialog-Roman des Fernando de Rojas. Libretto: Herbert Lederer; Musik: Karl Heinz Füssl. (Texto mecanografiado sin publicar, 40 pp.).

¹² *Celestina* nach dem Dialogroman des Fernando de Rojas von Gerd Heinz. Mitarbeit: Peter Müller-Buchow. Reinbek, 1975.

¹³ Karl Mickel, *Celestina oder Die Tragikomödie von Calisto und Melibea*. Nach dem spanischen Dialogroman, en *Neue deutsche Literatur* 28, i (1980): 5-51. Compárense las reseñas del estreno (1974) de esta adaptación registradas en Joseph T. Snow: *Celestina by Fernando de Rojas: An Annotated Bibliography of World Interest 1930-1985* (Madison: HSMS, 1985): 83.

por el secretario del Inquisidor, que se pueden considerar una notable réplica de aquellos "argumentos" que preceden a los veintiún actos de la *Tragicomedia* de Rojas.

En resumen: la trascendencia del motivo de la Inquisición incluido en el texto de Sastre no se entiende sino ante el trasfondo de la recepción internacional de *Celestina*. Se podría decir, quizás, que autores como Paul Achard, Karl Mickel y Alfonso Sastre, al analizar la estructura de la tradicional historia de Calisto y Melibea¹⁴ descubrieron un cabo suelto en el desarrollo lógico del argumento y que, para remediarlo, se avinieron al motivo de la Inquisición. Parece obvio que esta ampliación de la estructura argumental, que suele ir acompañada de otros muchos cambios, tiende a facilitar el entendimiento de la trama por parte de un público (post)moderno. De ningún modo debería hablarse de una deformación del original. Se trata, en realidad, de versiones actualizadas¹⁵ de una *Celestina* que ha de considerarse como mito literario libremente adaptable a nuevos contextos históricos.

Puede servir de comprobación adicional el drama "Las Conversiones" de José Martín Recuerda.¹⁶ El argumento de esta obra coincide con la *Tragicomedia* de Rojas sólo en lo tocante al conjuro de Plutón. Por lo demás, el autor inventa unas posibles mocedades¹⁷ de *Celestina*. El punto de partida se constituye, en cierto modo, por las ingenuas preguntas de un lector curioso: "¿Cómo es la vida que lleva con Claudina?" "¿Por qué suceso acaba haciéndose ramera?", etc. No falta, desde luego, el motivo de la Inquisición, como lo demuestra el siguiente diálogo entre Claudina, la madre de Pármeno, y el arzobispo:

EL ARZOBISPO. Sal de aquí antes de que te condene y ardas en los infiernos como está ardiendo la Castilla judía.

LA CLAUDINA (Desafiándole con más violencia). Nadie tiene derecho a hacerla arder. Los judíos que en esta tierra nacieron, son tan hijos de ella, como los cristianos que se devoran vivos. Y nadie, entérate, nadie tiene por qué atemorizar a los que aquí nacieron. Soy judía. Nací aquí y esta tierra es tan mía como tuya. (129s)

Al proceder de esta manera, el autor no escribe, evidentemente, una adaptación escénica más de la *Tragicomedia* (hipotexto concreto), sino una versión libre del mito celestinesco (hipotexto virtual, o sea: tejido abstracto de motivos narrativos). Para valorar acertadamente la obra de Sastre es, pues, imprescindible distinguir entre las adaptaciones (más o menos formales) de la obra de Rojas y las versiones (generalmente muy libres) del mito internacional de *Celestina*, que pertenece, como Fausto, Prometeo y don Juan, al conjunto de figuras "eternas" de la literatura universal.

¹⁴ Este término no se refiere a la obra individual de Rojas sino al tema (o mito) celestinesco, un fenómeno colectivo.

¹⁵ En la terminología de Genette (*Palimpsestes*), podría hablarse de dos tipos de transposición ("transpragmatisation" y "transmotivation").

¹⁶ José Martín Recuerda: *Las conversiones. Las ilusiones de las hermanas viajeras*. Estudio preliminar de Antonio Morales. Murcia: Ed. Godoy, 1981 (Col. Menor, 5).

¹⁷ Con esta expresión se alude, desde luego, a las "Mocedades de Rodrigo" (la famosa "Crónica Rimada"), en las que se narran unos episodios de la juventud del héroe del *Poema de Mio Cid*.

NOTAS

ALBRECHT VON EYB'S 'MARGARITA POETICA':
WHAT EVERY 'CELESTINISTA' SHOULD KNOW

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(edited by Alan Deyermond, Queen Mary and Westfield College, London)*

The *Margarita poetica* of Albrecht von Eyb (1420-75) is one of those works to which, from time to time, scholars have tried to call our attention—Marcelino Menéndez

* [Keith Whinnom promised *Celestinesca* an article triggered by Ivy A. Corfis' article of 1984 (see note 1, below), and he refers to it in his "El género celestinesco: origen y desarrollo," in *Literatura en la época del Emperador*, ed. V. García de la Concha, Acta Salmanticensia, Academia Literaria Renacentista, 5 (Salamanca: Universidad, 1988), pp. 119-30, at p. 123, n. 15. He worked on the article at some time during 1985, but at his death in March 1986 it was left unfinished. As his literary executor, I am preparing for publication various unfinished projects, including a book on *Celestina* (of which I shall give an account in a later issue of this journal). The present article cannot be in any way completed: there are two typed pages of text, and one and a half of notes, all with some emendations, but no handwritten drafts of the remainder, or even an outline. Either Keith got no further, and any draft of this part was destroyed once he had transformed it into typescript, or a draft of the whole has been lost; I suspect that the former is the case. Whichever is the correct explanation, although Keith clearly states what he intends to do in the article, there is no possibility of discovering exactly what he would have said. My intervention has therefore been confined to copy-editing, without any change in either content or style, and to the provision of a few bracketed notes. I am grateful to Dr. Leslie P. Turano for verifying a bibliographical reference.]

Pelayo, María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, and, most recently, Ivy A. Corfis¹—but it has not, even now, received the detailed study it deserves. We know, of course, that Fernando de Rojas had acquired a copy of the book before he died,² but we cannot be certain that he owned his own copy when he undertook to complete the *Comedia*. It is doubtful that we shall be able to say with entire confidence whether or not he knew it as early as 1498 (?) before someone has done a great deal of work on the subject, not merely listing all the coincident *sententiae* but checking the possible alternative sources for them. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the *Margarita* was a widely diffused and readily accessible manual,³ and it may be suggestive that the anonymous author of *Celestina comentada* used it—as Corfis shows—to identify many of the *flores* with which Rojas clearly felt obliged to decorate his text.

There seem still to be a great many copies of the early editions of the *Margarita* lying around, there is at least one book on Albert, of which forty-odd pages are devoted to the *Margarita*,⁴ and the Corfis article contains some extensive parallel citation of Albert—and texts quoted by Albert—and *Celestina*. However, it is clear that most *Celestina*-scholars are not familiar with the *Margarita*, summary descriptions of it can be, I have found, highly misleading, and it has finally occurred to me (having had microfilm of the work for over ten years) that a simple account of it might be of some use to *celestinistas*, who may decide either that it contains nothing of any possible interest to them or that here is a book worth checking on certain specific points, especially, perhaps, the extent of Rojas' reading.

First of all, it should be noted that the "poetica" of von Eyb's title has nothing to do with poetry, and depends on the antique senses of *poesis* and *poeta*, and means merely "pertaining to creativity, particularly literary" (just as Rojas describes Petrarch, in the prologue to the *Tragicomedia*, as a "poeta," alluding, we may suppose, to his prose writing in

¹ Menéndez Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*; in the Madrid, 1943 and 1962 reprints, III, 326-27, note 1. Lida de Malkiel, review of *Polidorus*, ed. José María Casas Homs (Madrid: CSIC, 1953), in *NRFH*, 10 (1956), 415-39, at p. 423. Corfis, "Fernando de Rojas and Albrecht von Eyb's *Margarita poetica*," *Neophilologus* 68 (1984), 206-13.

² See Fernando del Valle Lersundi, "Testamento de Fernando de Rojas, autor de *La Celestina*, otorgado en la villa de Talavera, el 3 de abril de 1541," *RFE* 16 (1929), 366-88.

³ Corfis, using only Brunet and Graesse, counts fifteen editions before 1503. The first edition appeared in Nuremberg in 1472. Corfis quotes the edition of Venice, 1493, which happens to be that used by the author of *Celestina comentada* (BNM MS 17631), whereas I shall refer to that of Rome, 1475, printed by Ulrich Hahn ("Udalricus [*sic*, for 'Udalricus'] Gallus alias Han Alamanus ex Ingelstat"), Cambridge University Library, Inc. 2.B.2.2 (1139).

⁴ Joseph Anthony Hiller, *Albrecht von Eyb, Medieval Moralist* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1939), pp. 69-111. [There is an earlier book by Max Herrmann, *Albrecht von Eyb und die Frühzeit des deutschen Humanismus* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1893), which deals with the *Margarita* on pp. 174-214. See also the brief but important comment on Albrecht's use of Petrarch's *De remediis* by C.N.J. Mann, "Petrarch and the Transmission of Classical Elements," in *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500-1500: Proceedings of an International Conference Held at King's College, Cambridge, April 1969*, ed. R.R. Bolgar (Cambridge: University Press, 1971), pp. 217-24, at p. 222.]

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Latin rather than to his verse in Italian).⁵ "*Margarita*" provides a useful abbreviated reference for von Eyb's book, but in fact we have to do with a "Summa oratorum omnium: poetarum ac philosophorum autoritates in unum collecte ... que margarita poetica dicitur." And this descriptive clarification in turn requires interpretation: an *autoritas* is a *sententia*, synonymous, as we shall see, with *flos* (Rojas' *flor*) and *familiar locutio*; and *orator* clearly embraces both *poeta* and *philosophus*, even though numerous authors anthologized in the *Margarita* would hardly be described as "creative writers" or "philosophers" in modern usage.⁶



⁵ [The distinction is less clear-cut than this suggests. Petrarch also wrote Latin verse--the literary epic *Africa*, the pastoral *Bucolicum carmen*, and *Epistolae metricae*--, so that Rojas could have had his poetic achievement in mind without going outside his Latin works. The general validity of Keith Whinnom's argument is, however, unaffected by the qualification just expressed. Rojas' words, "aquel gran orador e poeta laureado," are a standard way of referring to Petrarch, and very similar words are used in the Basel 1496 edition of the *Opera*, as headings to *Bucolicum carmen* and to Book II of *De remediis*.]

⁶ I observe that George A. Shipley, "Authority and Experience in *La Celestina*," *BHS* 62 (1985), 95-111, has failed to notice, or chosen to ignore, my remarks on *auctor* and *auctoritas* in "Autor and Tratado in the Fifteenth Century: Semantic Latinism or Etymological Trap?," *BHS* 59 (1982), 211-18, which were partly provoked by Barbara F. Weissberger's "'Habla el auctor: L'elegia de Madonna Fiammetta as a Source for the *Siervo libre de Amor*," *JHP* 4 (1979-80), 203-36. She returns to the theme in "Authority Figures in *Siervo libre de Amor* and *Grisel y Mirabella*," *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* (Puerto Rico), 9 (1982 [1984]: *Homenaje a Stephen Gilman*), 255-62. *Celestinistas* will recall that Rojas also calls Petrarch an "orador;" Francisco Rico, prologue to Joan Rois de Corella, "*Tragedia de Calesa*" i altres proses, ed. Marina Gustà, *Les Millors Obres de la Literatura Catalana*, 50 (Barcelona: Edicions 62 & La Caixa, 1980), p. 18, argues that *orador* is precisely equivalent to "humanist," but even if we allow the term to embrace classical writers, the writers pillaged by von Eyb seem to spill over that semantic area.

[Apart from the typescript printed above, Keith's file for this project contained only two small-format pages of jottings. Most of these are crossed out in red (Keith's practice when he incorporated material into his text). Of the few that remain, all but one turn out to be brief summaries of sections of Corfis' article (e.g. "*Cel. com.* attributes many other *Cel.* commonplaces to *Marg. poet.*"), but the one exception, "Gilman *The Spain* says not-- pp. 431-32," merits commentary. Gilman's words are: "*The Margarita poetica* is nothing more than a compendium of rhetoric followed by an enormous commonplace book which, as far as I can determine, Rojas never bothered to use." He adds in a footnote: "This statement is based on three long days spent checking for commonplaces from *La Celestina* both in the text and in the copious index. My search was hardly exhaustive, but a complete lack of positive results led to the above conclusion." Gilman's conclusion is examined, and shown to be wrong, by Corfis; but he was not alone in error: in *The Petrarchan Sources of "La Celestina"*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975), p. viii, I say that: "My own check of Petrarchan material in von Eyb, made in 1960, supports Gilman." It is clear that we both, sampling the *Margarita poetica* extensively, chose the wrong samples; moreover, neither of us had the good sense to check *Celestina comentada*, a task that Corfis was to carry out many years later.]

"Hojas recuperadas..."

Un ensayo teatral dio a España, a la mitad del siglo XV, el autor del primer acto en prosa de la comedia intitulada *La Celestina*, por otro nombre *Calixto y Melibea*. Dicese en su Prólogo que Juan de Mena es su autor, o más bien Rodrigo de Cota. A los fines del mismo siglo, tomó a su cargo el empeño de acabarla el jurisconsulto Fernando de Rojas, pero lo hizo, de modo que se conoce bien la diferencia de una mano a otra; además de concluir en tragedia lo que empezó en comedia, por cuyo motivo vino a quedar monstruosa y desarreglada, intitulándola tragicomedia. En el primer acto sobrésale la elegancia del estilo, la pureza de la lengua y la diestra facilidad del pincel en retratar los caracteres al natural. De este modo, aseguró en él, su autor, la gloria de ser el primer trozo de composición teatral que en España se vio hasta entonces, siendo capaz de competir con las comedias griegas y latinas. *La Celestina* fue traducida, desde luego, en latín; varias veces en francés, muchas veces en italiano y se imprimió también en Toledo el año de 1538 y en Sevilla en 1539. La edición que yo tengo en dozavo es de 1599, de la oficina Plantiniana, compuesta de veintiún actos, con los versos de Rojas al principio y al fin de ella que quiso sirviesen de clave al lector.

José Antonio de Armona y Murga. *Memorias cronológicas sobre el teatro en España (1785)* Prólogo, edición y notas de Emilio Palacios Fernández, Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos y María del Carmen Sánchez García. Victoria: Deputacion Foral de Alava, 1988.

ROJAS ON "LITERACY"

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J. N. H. Lawrance, writing about lay literacy in late medieval Castile, reminds us that the Arcipreste de Talavera counters objections that his anecdotes about the 'vicios, tachas e malas condiciones' of women could contribute further to female vice by pointing out that women already know all about sex, having learned it from the books of Boccaccio which they have tucked away in their little jewel boxes (cofres). While the proper reading of a gentlewoman should consist of a Book of Hours, saints' lives, translations of the psaltery and other such religious, devotional readings, more often than not these were supplanted by a secret hoard of readings consisting of "canciones, dezires, coplas, cartas de enamoradas, e muchas otras locuras...;" that is, romantic and erotic trifles (Lawrance, p. 79). While women were not expected to read masculine literature, i.e., Latin or vernacular texts of the classics, it is obvious from the Archpriest's commentary that the expectation was that they should concern themselves with pious works of exemplary literature (which could be considered the feminine equivalent of the expected serious, "literate" reading for males).

Lawrance attempts, quite convincingly, to show that this relatively high level of literacy occurred earlier and was more widespread in Castile than normally thought, and that the level of literacy was determined by the acquisition and assimilation of Classics (either in Latin or in the vernacular) which were meant to provide "solace and consolation"—in contrast to the kinds of romances of chivalry and romantic drivel read by the Archpriest's feminine examples. As Lawrance demonstrates, the lists of the libraries of the great families of fifteenth-century Castile appear to support this premise. The libraries of the minor nobility present similar proof (Lawrance, 83-85). Citing O. D. Painter's introduction to the *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum* (London: 1971), Lawrance points out that the most important and finest editions produced were of the classical texts of Caesar, Quintus Curtius, Josephus, Livy, Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, Seneca, Aristotle's *Ethics*, Aesop and Boethius (Lawrance, p. 87). This seems to have been true to a great extent in fifteenth-century Castile, as well. The Classics in Latin and their vernacular

translations, and the vernacular translations of classical histories followed by national chronicles and vernacular juridical texts, were the contents of the serious noble's library. The absence in these libraries of romances of chivalry is supported principally by Lawrance's reference to Mario Schiff's *La Bibliothèque du marquis de Santillane* (Paris, 1905). Lawrance's ideas on lay literacy in Castile at the end of the Middle Ages are important for understanding the prevailing attitudes on the subject of serious and literate readers during the period. Furthermore, they are significant for judging how authors such as Fernando de Rojas measured up with respect to the accepted canon.

According to his will, Rojas's library at the time of his death contained "libros de leyes" and "libros de Romance" and in each list there were a few books by classical authors, almost exclusively vernacular translations (Boethius, Seneca and a few others; see del Valle Lersundi, "Testamento"). Many of the authors that Rojas knew and used in LC were part of the supposed accepted canon of "literate" texts referred to above (especially Seneca; see Fothergill-Payne). But if we look carefully at the list of the contents of Rojas's library, we cannot fail to note the presence of the large number of romances of chivalry which Rojas left to his wife, no doubt read by the ladies of the household, but certainly not ignored by Rojas. By the same token one also notes important lacunae, especially in the area of classical and vernacular histories. Classical authors in general are represented, but certainly not to the degree that one might be led to believe from the classical authorities so prodigiously cited in LC. How Rojas brings his literacy (or lack of) to bear on LC is of interest here. Besides references in his prologue to the classical authors, Heraclitus (taken mostly from Petrarch), Aristotle and Pliny, it is illuminating to view both Pleberio's and Melibea's final monologues in light of Lawrance's ideas about literacy.

Pleberio's library, following Lawrance's criteria, would be the library of a literate man, which one might mistakenly assume reflected Rojas's own holdings. Instead, it appears that it may have reflected the generally accepted ideal of the literate man's library as Rojas perceived it. But the real test comes not necessarily and only from Pleberio's lips, but also—perhaps more convincingly—from Melibea's.

One understands at the end of the work that Melibea was not the typical protected gentlewoman. Given the depth of her serious reading of the classics, she could not have devoted much time to reading romances of chivalry and if she had a "cofre" filled with little books of Boccaccian erotica, they do not enter into her intellectual field. Melibea was privileged to have been guided by her father in the reading of the Classics ("aquellos antiguos libros"), and in the end it is obvious that she attempts to use them to the purpose to which her father as a literate man had indoctrinated her. In Act XX she decides on her course of action and tells Pleberio that if it weren't for her distraught state and the sight of his tears, which have wiped her mind clean of the memory of these volumes, she would tell him "*Algunas consolatorias palabras ... antes de mi agradable fin; colegidas y sacadas de aquellos antiguos libros que [tú], por más aclarar mi ingenio, me mandabas leer...*" (Rojas/Severin, 231; italics are mine). In fact, she already has done so in the beginning of the monologue in which she lists the examples of patricide, matricide and infanticide drawn from her reading of the classics that were purportedly in Pleberio's library. (We should not forget that the text of these examples was added to Melibea's monologue when Rojas transformed the *Comedia* into the *Tragicomedia* and that the examples were drawn not from his reading of the classics, but from Petrarch's *De Remediis* [see Deyermond, 67-68]. Melibea's reference, however, to what she would have done had she not been so distraught was present in the original sixteen-act version and could have reasonably been relocated and changed when Rojas made his revisions and additions.)

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Not only does Melibea excerpt from readings that were normally the province of the literate non-professional male reader, but all her examples of patricide and matricide are those in which the perpetrator is male. Melibea quotes the texts normally read by men seeking "solace and consolation." By contextualizing them to her situation, she appropriates them and makes them her own. In this way Melibea may be looked on as a unique feminine voice of authority in early Spanish literature. Pleberio in his grief in Act XXI matches Melibea's appropriation of masculine texts when he gives a corresponding series of examples from classical works of famous men who lose their *sons* to death: Pericles, Xenophon, Anaxagoras. Pleberio's loss of his *daughter* is, in his mind, no less a loss.

What is interesting about these two episodes where citations from classical works are central, is that they not only widen the field of possible beneficiaries of the authority of classical texts (Melibea as well as Pleberio), but they demonstrate their proper use according to the well-reasoned discussion of Lawrance to give "solace and consolation" just as the literate man of humanist persuasion understood that they should do. However, we may not only legitimately question, but even seriously doubt, that in the end they furnish any genuine "solace and consolation" to Pleberio (or to Melibea). Utterly disconsolate is Pleberio and unrelieved is the pessimism of the final pages of the work. Are we faced, then, with yet another irony in Rojas's seemingly unending array of ironies? Although most of his classical examples are taken from secondary sources—as Castro Guisasola, Deyermond, Fothergill-Payne and others have demonstrated—Rojas has, nonetheless, shown his awareness of the canon of texts that supposedly produced "literate" men (and now, women, through Melibea who has delved into Pleberio's fictional library). May we, then, theorize that Rojas purposely depicted Pleberio as a "literate" man who subscribed to a canon of classical texts to which he (Rojas) only superficially subscribed or did not believe in at all? Furthermore, did Fernando de Rojas, because of his skepticism, depict Pleberio as having read and collected the proper works which should provide him with "solace and consolation," but which would, in the final analysis, fail him—thus enhancing the ultimate disillusionment?

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Pleberio y Alisa. Auto XVI. J. Segrelles [Ed. de Valencia 1946]

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'CELESTINA' TIMES TWO AND "ENTROPY"

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In an interesting study published in 1979, Peter L. Hays and Robert Redfield analyzed the influence of the "Hidden source" *Celestina* (1499?), by Fernando de Rojas, on Thomas Pynchon's fourth short story, "Entropy."¹ I now wish to discuss the possibility of a second Spanish source for the Pynchon work, the short story "Las nubes" (from *Castilla*, 1912) by José Martínez Ruiz, best known by his pseudonym "Azorín."

My study will examine such possible points of contact between "Las nubes" and "Entropy" as setting, characterization, and--most important--the two authors' preoccupation with time.

Our short stories reduce markedly the broad urban canvas of *Celestina*. "Las nubes" has as its setting a house with a patio; from an upper balcony, Calisto gazes pensively into his garden. "Entropy" presents us with two groups of characters in a vertical setting. We are concerned here with the character grouping composed of Callisto and Aubade, who live on an upper floor of a Washington, D.C., apartment. In the two stories, vertical space receives a strong emphasis; as Pierre-Ives Petillon has remarked, the technique utilized by Pynchon recalls the "double scène...comme dans un théâtre élizabéthain..."² Azorín's use of balcony and patio is equally Elizabethan.

Another striking point of contact in the setting of the two works is their presentation of a *locus amoenus*. A garden figures prominently in "Las nubes," which supposes Calisto and Melibea living happily with their daughter Alisa in Melibea's family home. Azorín, known for his detailed descriptions, devotes several paragraphs of the very brief story to a description of the garden, a description opening with the key adjective "amena": "La huerta

¹ Peter L. Hays and Robert Redfield, "Pynchon's Spanish Source for 'Entropy,'" *Studies in Short Fiction* 16 (1979): 327-34.

² Pierre-Ives Petillon, "American Graffiti: S=k log W.," *Critique* 462 (1985): 1092.

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es amena y frondosa."³ The final adjectives chosen to describe the garden summarize its Eden-like nature: "En el jardín todo es silencio y paz" (706).

Pynchon, in "Entropy," reverses the spatial order of "Las nubes" by locating his work's garden in the upper apartment, that of Callisto. The middle-aged recluse and his young companion have turned their quarters into a "Rousseau-like fantasy," a "hot-house jungle which it had taken [them] seven years to weave together."⁴ Like Calisto's *huerta*, this urban garden constitutes a haven of peace and order: "Hermetically sealed, it was a tiny enclave of regularity in the city's chaos, alien to the vagaries of...any civil disorder" (68). For both Calisto and Callisto, the garden serves as a refuge from the disintegrative threat of the outside world.

The settings of the two stories share several other details. Both in "Las nubes" and "Entropy" the cheeping of birds fills the garden. Azorín refers to the "*chiar* de las rápidas golondrinas" (705), Pynchon to the *chatter* of birds (73; my italics in both cases). An individual bird also figures in both works. Azorín begins "Las nubes" with a reference to the youthful Calisto's hawk and ends it with the father watching a young man, who had chased after *his* hawk, talking to Calisto's daughter in the same garden in which Calisto had first spoken to Melibea. In "Entropy" Callisto and Aubade fail in their attempt to nurse a "small bird" (83) back to health. Like the cheeping of birds, music also appears in these two works. In "Las nubes" Alisa plays "dulces melodías" (704) on the clavichord; in "Entropy," fugal in structure,⁵ a stereo blasts music from Meatball Mulligan's lower apartment into Callisto's home.

The hawk and the sick bird, harbingers of disorder, thus invade the sacred space of the garden. Alisa's delicate melodies and even Meatball's stereo blasts are human attempts to structure reality.

Turning now to the characters, the man Cal(i)isto and a young girl appear in both narratives. The girl, who plays a subordinate role in the two short stories, has a name beginning with "A" in the Azorín and Pynchon works. In both stories, the description of Alisa/Aubade is brief, generic; Azorín refers to her as "una moza," "su hija," while Aubade is simply called "the girl" several times. In both stories she is subservient to an older man; perhaps such subservience enters into the authors' pausing to comment upon her lovely hands: "¿Quién podría contar la nitidez y sedosidad de sus manos?" (706) - "two exquisite hands" (85). Alisa plays the clavichord for her father; Aubade fixes cold compresses for her lover and takes his dictation.

Calisto, in *Celestina* a lovesick young man of twenty-three, is forty-one in "Las nubes," the passive and melancholy father of a grown daughter. In "Entropy" Callisto is fifty-four, a reclusive intellectual "in the sad dying fall of middle-age" (73). As we shall see, both men are haunted by the swift passing of time. As Stephen Gilman has commented

³ Azorín, (J. Martínez Ruiz), "Las nubes," *Obras completas* II, ed. Angel Cruz Rueda (Madrid: Aguilar, 1947) 702.

⁴ Thomas Pynchon, "Entropy," *Slow Learner: Early Stories* (Boston-Toronto: Little, Brown, 1984) 68.

⁵ Robert Redfield and Peter L. Hays, "Fugue as Structure in Pynchon's 'Entropy,'" *Pacific Coast Philology* 12 (1977): 50-55.

in an excellent study of the Rojas work, "the evidence necessary for consciousness of growth towards death can only be obtained from aging and sickness--neither of which is effective thematically in *La Celestina*."⁶ Pynchon's Callisto, "leery at omens of apocalypse" (70), thus resembles Azorín's pensive, mature Calisto much more than he does Rojas' passionate young lover.

In his Introduction to *Slow Learner: Early Stories*, Pynchon criticizes "Entropy" for embodying "a procedural error" typical of "beginning writers": "it is simply wrong to begin with a theme, symbol, or other abstract unifying agent, and then try to force characters and events to conform to it."⁷ Yet both Azorín and Pynchon appear to have done just that in these stories, and successfully. The "symbol or other abstract unifying agent" is different in each case, but the theme, I propose, is the same: the theme of time. Azorín clearly states that his clouds are a temporal symbol: "Las nubes son la imagen del tiempo" (705). Pynchon's symbolic use of entropy, or "the measure of disorganization for a closed system" (74), is more complex, since--as Anne Mangel has noted--his "notion of symbol and metaphor" rests upon symbols which "point in a thousand different directions and never lead to a solid conclusion."⁸ Again in the Introduction to *Slow Learner*, Pynchon admits that he thinks of entropy, "nowadays," in close "connection with time, that human one-way time we're all stuck with...and which terminates, it is said, in death" (14-15). In this context, the passage which follows from "Las nubes" is of special importance: "Cuando queremos tener aprisionado el tiempo...vemos que han pasado ya semanas, meses, años" (704). These words call strongly to mind the epigraph from *Tropic of Cancer* with which "Entropy" begins: "We must get into step, a lock-step toward the prison of death. There is no escape. The weather will not change" (65).

On the surface, "Las nubes" and "Entropy" present very different concepts of time. Like many members of Spain's Generation of 1898, Azorín was fascinated with Nietzschean eternal return.⁹ In "Las nubes" the concept of eternal return is beautifully summarized in the following manner: "La existencia, ¿qué es sino un juego de nubes?...vivir es *ver volver*. Ver volver todo un retorno perdurable, eterno: ... como esas nubes que son siempre distintas y siempre las mismas, como esas nubes fugaces e inmutables" (705). Yet the Spanish writer acknowledges that man experiences this eternal recurrence as deeply tragic: "¿Habrà sensación más trágica de quien vea ya en el presente el pasado y en el pasado el porvenir?" (705). The clouds, and earlier, the cypress trees (703) are "inmutables," but the individual still faces dissolution; he is thus subject to time in the Aristotelian sense of "the condition of destruction" (*Physics*, Book 4, Section 13, 222b). Writing on *Celestina*, which contains numerous temporal allusions, Azorín singled out a sense of the "fatalidad de las cosas," of

⁶ Stephen Gilman, *The Art of 'La Celestina'* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956) 134.

⁷ Thomas Pynchon, Introduction to *Slow Learner* 12. Pynchon's comments on his youthful work, although harsh, are most interesting.

⁸ Anne Mangel, "Maxwell's Demon, Entropy, Information: *The Crying of Lot 49*," *Mindful Pleasures: Essays on Thomas Pynchon*, ed. George Levine and David Leverenz (Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown, 1976) 90.

⁹ Priscilla Pearsall, "Azorín's *La Voluntad* and Nietzsche's 'Schopenhauer as Educator,'" *Romance Notes* 25 (1984): 124.

the "inexorabilidad del Destino."¹⁰ (One of the many little poems scattered through Pynchon's masterly *Gravity's Rainbow* (1973) includes the melancholy verse, "Trains go on, and we grow old."¹¹)

Azorín, therefore, accepts intellectually the concept of eternal recurrence, but he endows his temporal symbols with a profound tragic resonance. Calisto has all the ingredients necessary for a happy life, but "sin embargo, puesta la mano en la mejilla, [Calisto] mira pasar a lo lejos sobre el cielo azul las nubes" (704). Like *Celestina's* Calisto, he is "atrapado dentro de los límites de espacio y tiempo."¹² As he watches his daughter talking to the young intruder, he is caught in the same temporal prison as is Henry Adams, a recognized influence on Pynchon: "He himself sat down and stared helplessly into the future."¹³ The sadness which envelops him as he watches the "unchanging" clouds is a natural human reaction, in spite of Nietzsche. To quote Adams once again, "one's instinct abhors time" (228).

While Azorín's Calisto "stared helplessly into the future," Pynchon's reclusive Callisto is "helpless in the past" (84). He is only too aware that time moves only in one direction. In a recent study of the concept of entropy, Jeremy Rifkin explains the connection between time and entropy ("time's arrow") in the words of Sir Arthur Eddington: "The second law of thermodynamics shows us...that time is a function of entropy. When the world reaches a maximum state of entropy, and no more energy is available to perform work, time will cease, for nothing will be taking place" (250).¹⁴ Thus, when Aubade smashes the window at the close of "Entropy," she and Callisto have chosen to wait "until the moment of equilibrium was reached," to wait for "the final absence of all motion" (86). Even for Aristotle, time was the "measurement of motion." To choose "stasis or entropy" is simply to choose death.¹⁵

What perturbs Azorín's Calisto is of course the thought of personal death, the awareness of the transitoriness of the individual, "isolate inside the way time is passing" (*Gravity's Rainbow* 353); we recall the "ofrenda fugaz--como la vida" (703) offered by the lovely flowers of Calisto's rosebushes. Pynchon's Callisto, "impotent with the wonder of it" (85), yields to despair when the death of the little bird seems to indicate that heat-transfer has failed. "Time as we experience it is irreversible" (Rifkin 47)--that first-person plural pronoun is the important word for both Calisto and Callisto, neither man an *Übermensch*.

Finally, a bright gleam of hope is present in both stories. In "Las nubes," Calisto is described as "extático" (706) as he watches his daughter and the young stranger. The individual may disappear, but the human race has a chance to endure. In "Entropy,"

¹⁰ Azorín, "La Celestina," *Obras completas* II 993.

¹¹ Thomas Pynchon, *Gravity's Rainbow* (New York: Bantam, 1976) 330.

¹² Esperanza Gurza, *Lectura existencialista de "La Celestina"* (Madrid: Gredos, 1977) 224.

¹³ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961) 280.

¹⁴ Quoted by Jeremy Rifkin, *Entropy: A New World View* (New York: Viking, 1980) 48.

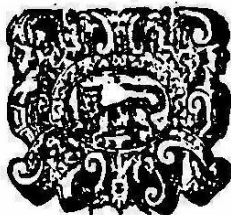
¹⁵ Stephen P. Schuber, "Rereading Pynchon: Negative Entropy and 'Entropy,'" *Pynchon Notes* 13 (1983): 58.

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Meatball Mulligan's decision to try to put some order into the chaos of the lease-breaking party is a positive act, as he "shoulders responsibility for his life in time."¹⁶ Yet it is their authors' conveyance of time as a "condition of destruction" that most clearly links "Las nubes" and "Entropy." In the two short stories, Azorín and Pynchon present the reader with two poignant cases of a middle-aged man who feels trapped in time's prison.

Although a product of Pynchon's undergraduate years at Cornell,¹⁷ "Entropy" is the American novelist's most often studied and perhaps "most mature" short story (Slade 76). Constructed on a scientific metaphor and replete with scientific, literary, and musical allusions, it is a complex work. The words of Azorín, in "La Celestina," could also well describe the young author of "Entropy": "El autor...debía de ser un hombre culto, erudito, libresco; ...un hombre, en suma, intelectual y joven" (993).

"The work of art arises from a background of other works and through association with them," Victor Shklovsky has written.¹⁸ Did Thomas Pynchon's association with *Celestina* extend only to Rojas' work, or had he read "Las nubes" when he wrote "Entropy"? The question is a tantalizing one, and an affirmative answer is at least possible. Pynchon scatters Spanish phrases and allusions to Hispanic writers throughout his three novels.¹⁹ In *Gravity's Rainbow*, for instance, he quotes in Spanish the opening stanza of *Martín Fierro* and refers several times to Azorín's Modernist contemporary Leopoldo Lugones. While I have found no direct references to Azorín in Pynchon's work, it is perhaps significant that in his first novel, *V.* (1963), Pynchon describes as follows one of the minor characters, Signor Mantissa: "He belonged to that inner circle of deracinated seers, whose eyesight was clouded over only by occasional tears, whose outer rim was tangent to rims enclosing the Decadents of England and France, the Generation of '98 in Spain..."²⁰ In any case, there remain the strong similarities of setting, characterization, mood, and theme linking "Las nubes" and "Entropy," two modern descendants of Rojas' *Celestina*.



EN MILAN.

A colla de Iuan Baptista Bidelo Libbreco
M. DC. XXII.

¹⁶ Joseph W. Slade, "'Entropy' and Other Calamities," *Pynchon: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Edward Mendelson (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978) 80.

¹⁷ In his Introduction to *Slow Learner*, Pynchon states that he wrote "Entropy" in 1958 or 1959 (14).

¹⁸ Quoted by Boris Eichenbaum, "The Theory of the 'Formal Method,'" *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays*, trans. Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965) 118.

¹⁹ I am currently working on a study of the "Hispanic Connection" in Pynchon's writings.

²⁰ Thomas Pynchon, *V.* (New York: Bantam, 1977) 145.



Seneca, the 'amicus principis'. Woodcut frontispiece of the first edition of *Las epistolas de Séneca* (Zaragoza, 1496). (Reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.)

[Ver páginas 49-52]

TEXTOS

AN EDITION OF THE 'ENTIERRO DE CELESTINA'
 BASED ON BIBLIOTECA ESTENSE (MODENA, ITALY) CODICE CAMPORI 428

Dennis P. Seniff and Diane M. Wright
 Michigan State University

Several literary traditions inspired by the murder of the bawd Celestina in *auto* XII of the famous *Tragicomedia* have evolved,¹ thereby reflecting the impact of this fictive event on late Renaissance imagination. For example, inasmuch as the author Rojas says nothing about her last will and testament, it fell to satirists like Cristóbal Bravo ("el Ciego de Córdoba"), "Liñán" (Pedro Liñán de Riaza?) and others of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to provide poetic, parodic scenarios--*disparates*, to use the terminology of Blanca Perrián²--that would partially fill this lacuna. Their putative works, the *Testamento de Celestina*, *Codizillo de Celestina*, and the *Carta de Celestina*, all quasi-legal farses, have been studied or edited by G. Caravaggi, R. Foulché-Delbosc, M.C. García de Enterría, P. Heugas, J.J. Labrador et al., B. Perrián, and A. Rodríguez-Moñino.³

¹ Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*, ed. Dorothy S. Severin (Madrid: Alianza, 1982⁹), 183-84.

² Blanca Perrián, *Poeta Ludens: "Disparate," "perqué" y "chiste" en los siglos XVI y XVII: Estudio y textos*, Pisa: Giardini, 1979, 9-78 (especially pp. 13-14 and 62-64).

³ See the following studies and editions: Giovanni Caravaggi, "Apostilla al *Testamento de Celestina*." *Revista de Literatura* 43, no. 86 (1981): 141-51; R. Foulché-Delbosc, "Romancero de la Biblioteca Brancacciana." *Revue Hispanique* 65 (1925): 345-96 at no. 50, pp. 384-86; María C. García de Enterría, ed., *Pliegos poéticos españoles de la Biblioteca del Estado de Baviera de Munich: Homenaje a J.F. Montesinos / Descripciones bibliográficas e índices generales de los pliegos de Milán, Pisa y Munich*, 2 vols. in 3 (Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1974), no. XXXIII-B; Pierre Heugas, "*La Célestine*" et sa descendance directe (Bordeaux: Institut d'Etudes Ibériques et Ibéro-Américaines de l'Université de Bordeaux, 1973), 277 [the "ms. 3995" that H. mentions in note 29, if of the BN-Madrid, is actually

Juan de la Cueva, on the other hand, jumps ahead to Celestina's entombed state in eulogizing her in *Soneto 106: en la sepultura de Celestina*.⁴ This poem is reminiscent of Juan Ruiz's memorial and epitaph to Trotaconventos and her amorous activities in the *Libro de buen amor* (stzs. 1519-20, 1568-78),⁵ as its last tercet reveals:

La que dió muerte al odio, i al despecho,
i allanó el passo a los inconvenientes
yaze en seys pies desta escavada tierra. (12-14)

Thus the memory of Celestina, Spain's most famous *tercera*, is preserved with some tongue-in-cheek dignity, and a modicum of continuity is provided for the minor medieval literary genres of the eulogy and the epitaph.

Yet the tradition of the funeral procession for the bawd and her actual burial--again, beyond the scope of Rojas' work and unnecessary to its plot, but measured by Juan de la Cueva's above-mentioned "seys pies"--remains unstudied and its unique (?) text unpublished. This work, the *Entierro de Celestina*, is a *romance* of 262 lines that also includes a *lira* (vv. 145-55; all references are to the edition *infra*) and a *seguida* (a diminutive for *seguidilla*, vv. 225-33). It is contained in Biblioteca Estense (Modena, Italy) Codice Campori 428 (segn. y.X.5,45), fols. 23r-25v, and was documented by G. Bertoni in a brief bibliographical notice published in 1907.⁶

The *Entierro*, serio-comic in the vein of the testament *disparates* discussed by Periñan (62-64) and typologically a parodic derivation of the *pliego suelto* "genre" of *romance*-wills described by Rodríguez-Moñino (*Las series valencianas* 26-28), appears to reflect a knowledge of the *Testamento de Celestina*, if not the *Soneto 106*, both thematically and linguistically. Its opening verses, "Despues que la mal lograda/Celestina en desconsuelo/dejo su familia amada" (vv. 1-3), seem to have been written as a logical (but less pithy) continuation of the *Testamento's* closing segment, "Pues la mal lograda/la come la tierra,/enterralda la boca de fuera," which also appears to be the *estribillo* of the "canción" that is mentioned in the line immediately preceding it (Rodríguez-Moñino; *Las series valencianas*, no. 181, p. 311):

Sancho IV's *Castigos e documentos para bien vivir*; José J. Labrador et al., eds., *Cancionero de Pedro de Rojas* (Cleveland: Cleveland State Univ., 1988), nos. 23, 136, 139, and 140; Blanca Periñán, *Poeta Ludens* no. 11, pp. 154-59; and Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, *Diccionario de pliegos sueltos poéticos: Siglo XVI* (Madrid: Castalia, 1970), no. 66, p. 161 and *Las series valencianas del Romancero Nuevo y los Cancionerillos de Munich (1589-1602): Noticias bibliográficas* ([Valencia:] Instituto de Literatura y Estudios Filológicos/Institución "Alfonso el Magnánimo" y Diputación Provincial de Valencia, 1963): 28-30 and 308-14, nos. 181-83.

⁴ Ivy A. Corfis, ed., "Juan de la Cueva's Sonnet on Celestina," *Celestinesca* 7, ii (1983): 21-22. Citations by verse are provided in the text.

⁵ Arcipreste de Hita [Juan Ruiz], *Libro de buen amor*, ed. G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny (Madrid: Castalia, 1988). See the Archpriest's sorrowful remembrance at stanza 1575a/cd, "Fize le [i.e., Trotaconventos] un pitafio con dolor:/...todos los que oyeren, por Dios nuestro Señor,/la oraçion fagades por la vieja de amor" (emphasis ours).

⁶ G. Bertoni, "Catalogo dei codici spagnuoli della Biblioteca Estense in Modena," *Romanische Forschungen* 20 (1907): 321-92 at no. X, p. 389.

It is at the beginning of the *Entierro* that Celestina's testament is executed, with Areúsa designated as principal heiress and *tercera* (vv. 1-70); this is followed by Elicia's lament (vv. 71-144). The funeral procession--a *lira* and a *disparate* of the first order--then begins (v. 145), bringing out an assortment of beggars, thieves, and even "Beltran Cruçado/...alcayde en la gran Sibilla" (vv. 173, 176), who view the body while it is being transported uncovered (v. 147) "al combento/donde a de ser enterrado" (vv. 217-18). It is not clear who "Beltran" is meant to represent, or if the poem is supposed to take place in Seville; however, this location cannot be ruled out (see, for example, the reference to a suggestively *sevillana* "erculea puente" at v. 195), and the procession may actually be a parody of Sevilla's Holy Week and pre- or post-Lenten activities there.

At one point the body is dropped (v. 198), being serenaded thereafter (vv. 219-24; "el putacho sale/a recibirle llorando/con guitarras destempladas" [vv. 219-21]). A plaintive *seguida* is sung (vv. 225-33) as the corpse is lowered into "un tumulo sumptuoso" (v. 238). A description is then given of the bawd's *armas*, a parody of contemporary heraldry (vv. 241-46): "Una martingala roxa/con tres madejas de ylado/por orla espina de erizo/flor salbaje, dientes de asno" (vv. 241-44). the *romance* concludes with the following *epitaphio*, which appears above her sepulchre: "Aqui yaze Celestina/fundadora de trascuelo/Aretribo de medicina,/de enamorados consuelo,/comadre de la Claudina" (vv. 257-62).⁷ It is in this epitaph that the poet pays his final "serious" homage to the famous go-between, having buried her in a "combento" (v. 217), unlike Juan de la Cueva's abrupt conclusion that finds her "en seys pies desta escavadã tierra" (*Soneto 106*, v. 14).

But why would the *Testamento's* poet in his parting statement emphasize Celestina's relationship with "la Claudina"? What grip did *this* shadowy, archetypal prostitute have on the Renaissance imagination?⁸ Too, was the author of the *Entierro* so familiar with Juan de la Cueva's *Soneto 106* that he would attempt to fill in some of the chronological lacunae therein, e.g., the funeral procession and place of burial? While there are points of contact between the two works--most notably, de la Cueva's allusion to Celestina's positive amorous contributions to the world ("puso en paz de Amor la mortal guerra" [p. 21, v. 11]), similar to that found in the *Entierro* ("¿Donde la remediadora/de pechos enamorados?" [vv. 81-83])--more study must be made before any definite conclusions can be reached regarding their relationship.

For the interest of *Celestinesca's* readership, we here offer a near-paleographic transcription of the *Entierro* according to the norms contained in *A Manual of Manuscript Transcription for the "Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language"* by David Mackenzie (4th ed. by Victoria A. Burrus; Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1986). Bertoni describes the Estense codex as a "manoscritto cartaceo dei secc. XVI-XVII scritto con poca diligenza da mani diverse" (388). The "poca diligenza" that is mentioned is evident in the *romance's* cramped hand and frequent word-boundary confusion (see the accompanying

⁷ Compare this to the death-bed epitaph dictated by Celestina in the *Testamie(n)to de Celestina de Liñan*: "Mi sepulcro sea de arte/que se nombre por estima/y 'aquí jaze' --diga ensima--/'Celestina de Duarte,/corredora de obra prima" (vv. 31-35; ed. G. Caravaggi, "Apostilla," p. 147). Did there exist a Renaissance literary tradition on Celestina's married life with "Sr. Duarte"? What might have given rise to this nomenclature?

⁸ See Joseph T. Snow's insightful study on the famous *comadre*, "Celestina's Claudina," in John S. Miletich, ed., *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Alan D. Deyermond: A North American Tribute* (Madison: HSMS, 1986), 257-77.

reproduction of folio 23r), and we cannot help but wonder if it was transcribed directly from an oral source. Capitalization and punctuation are modern, but no attempt has been made to regularize orthography or to provide accentuation or other modern diacritics. Editorial intervention is indicated through the use of square brackets, with supplementary commentary appearing in the Notes to the Text.

Sentienodi Sestina

de putigua a mat. lo q. n. e. n. e.
 de la d. n. o. en a. i. c. o. n. s. u. l. t. o.
 a. i. p. s. u. f. a. m. i. l. i. a. a. m. a. d. e.
 t. a. c. i. d. a. i. a. i. c. o. n. s. u. l. t. o.
 a. l. y. c. i. a. y. a. r. e. u. l. a. e. n. d. u. c. t. o.
 s. u. a. l. b. i. c. e. a. t. b. i. n. e. i. o. n.
 a. c. u. m. p. l. i. r. s. u. l. t. o. m. e. n. t. o.
 y. e. n. i. l. p. u. n. t. o. q. u. e. t. e. a. b. r. i. e. r. i. o. n.
 m. u. y. a. g. i. n. a. d. e. c. o. n. t. e. n. t. o.
 p. e. r. l. a. s. m. a. n. d. a. t. p. r. o. s. i. g. u. i. e. r. i. o. n.
 El Sepulcro señalado
 u. b. o. d. u. d. a. s. i. e. s. t. a. b. e. r. e. r. e.
 o. s. i. b. a. e. s. s. u. a. b. o. g. a. d. o.
 o. s. i. t. o. n. d. e. a. l. i. b. e. r. t. i. d. o.
 d. e. a. m. o. r. e. n. l. a. s. i. b. a. q. u. e. r. i. a.
 m. i. e. n. t. i. a. s. q. u. e. s. e. a. c. a. b. e. a. q. u. e. l. l. a.
 a. u. e. m. a. n. d. o. e. n. l. a. t. r. i. b. u. t. o. m. e. n. t. o.
 e. n. t. r. i. n. q. u. e. t. e. s. y. a. p. o. s. e. n. t. o.
 u. a. r. a. t. a. d. a. m. a. s. e. n. l. l. a.
 y. t. a. m. a. r. a. l. o. s. j. u. m. e. n. t. o. s.
 q. u. e. e. s. t. e. d. e. l. a. p. a. r. t. e. d. e. l. r. i. o.
 a. n. d. e. s. e. q. u. e. a. p. o. r. t. a. d. o.
 y. e. l. m. a. y. s. u. e. l. t. e. p. i. e. r. d. e. a. l. b. i. o.
 a. l. p. a. l. i. a. s. c. u. m. p. o. y. h. i. o.
 a. t. u. e. r. d. a. n. d. a. l. a. l. i. b. e. r. t. a. d. o.

2. Sepulcro por cierto digno
 de una buena tumba
 pues que quisiera sepultarse
 que donde se le vea
 no se le vea sepultado
 hallaron que no se
 fue a casa suya
 del oficio de tumba
 no dejaron el de primera
 mas p. u. y. q. tambien a el se y. n. e. a. d. a.
 Por cumplir con esta manda
 la entregaron unbedido
 que en l. i. t. o. d. i. o. e. m. p. a. r. t. i. d. o.
 por la y. n. f. e. l. i. c. e. d. e. m. a. n. d. a.
 del q. u. i. d. o. q. u. e. a. c. o. n. s. e. q. u. i. d. o.
 hallaron se hizo un pago
 luego en la que por su
 a. s. u. r. i. d. d. e. d. u. y. t. a. r. o.
 de un b. i. n. q. u. e. e. s. t. e. s. e. n. d. i. o.
 que fue el de la que de un
 d. i. o. o. p. d. e. s. e. q. u. e. r. e.
 s. o. b. u. l. l. e. c. o. n. t. a. s. i. o. n. e.
 de t. a. u. d. i. n. e. t. o. p. e. r. t. e. r. e. s.
 e. l. o. s. d. o. c. o. n. s. a. n. o. h. e. r. e.
 a. l. i. b. e. r. t. a. d. o. s. e. n. t. a. d. o.

ENTIERRO DE SELESTINA

[fol. 23r]
{CB2.

- 1 Despues que la mal lograda
Zelestina en desconsuelo
dejo su familia amada,
la çiuudad desconsolada,
Aleyçia y Areusa en duelo,
sus albaceas binieron
a cumplir su testamento.
Y en el punto que le abrieron,
muy agenos, de contento,
10 por las mandas prosiguieron:
el sepulcro señalado,
ubo duda si es la tierra
o si Baco su abogado,
o si conde a libertado
de amor en la biba guerra.
Mientras que se acaba aquello
que mando en su testamento
con trinquetes y aposento
para dar damas en ella,
20 y tomar alojamiento
que es de esa parte del rio
donde se gana por tasa,
y el mas fuerte pierde el brio
al palido cuerpo y frio:
acuerdan dalle alli casa,)
{CB2.
sepulcro por cierto digno,
de una dueña tan honrrada,
pues que quiso su destino
que adonde bibio contino
30 fuese en muerte sepultada
hallaron que la heredera
fuese Areusa su sobrina
del officio de tercera
no dejando el de primera
pues que tambien a el se ynclina.
Por cumplir con esta manda
la entregaron um bestido
que Calisto dio empartido
por la ynfeliçe demanda
40 del gusto que a conseguido
hallaron si luziese pago,
luego en la que prosiguió:
a Ju<an> Ruiz de Buytrago
de um birgo que le bendio
que fue el de sangre de drago;
otro a<çi>p<reste> de Siquera

- sobre falso contra hecho
de Claudina la partera
reforso con sano pecho
50 a Eleçia cabes portrera {¿?})
[fol. 23v]
(CB2.
"aqueste descargo agora
no ymporta un marabedi,"
replico Tomas de Ayora
"que Buytrago esta en Çamora
Sequera em Balladolid."
"Hablen alto que soy sordo"
dijo el açipreste. "Çea,
que tambien soy yo albaçea"
--respondio el ministro gordo--
60 "ese mi parecer sea."
Passaron a la siguiente
clausura que es de importancia
que se funde con ynstançia,
para pecadora gente
otra casa de ganaçia,
para pecadora gente
otra casa de ganaçia.
En la tasa an reparado
porque puedan sustentarse
que an los tiempos buelta dado
y a dies y ocho lo an alçado
70 que no pueda amas pesarse.

Llanto de Elizia

- Oyose en esto gran grita
del femineo congado
que oyendo a los mu[ñ]idores
an ruido y clamor alçado
la sim bentura Eliçia)
(CB2.
se esta el cabello mesando
diçiendo: "o amada tia
remedio de desdichados,
80 ¿do estan tus honrradas canas
y rostro a todos ufano?
¿Donde la remediadora
de pechos enamorados,
la que santiguaba a niños
y curaba a los lisiados?
¿Alibio de los potrosos
en los umidos ñublados,
dende la gran erbolaria
de pajarera hasta el apio,
90 lagr<ima> y curiosidad,
yba desembuelta mano

pa<ra> haçer çien mill lindeças,
 para rostros delicados?
 Llorad conmigo señoras,
 las de garbo y verdugado
 que ya este color ylustre
 se combirtio en tosco paño.
 ¿Quien os a raya las mudara?
 Açeytillos distilados,
 100 clarimantes lucintores,
 resplandor higos passados,)

[fol. 24r]

{CB2.

¿y os preparara el agras
 jasmin, turbino enmostado,
 sacara el [ç]umo a limones
 tuetano a garça y venado
 y el binagrillo adereçado
 purificara legias,
 de sauzes sin soleridados,
 de marubios y centeno,

110 de arangontia y alumbrados,
 de sarmientos y carrascos
 silbestres y en março elados,
 y os çerrara el aposento
 con çipres abedriado?

¿Y con sangre de murçiegalo,
 os abra el bosque arrasado
 porque el bisoño no axperto
 al entrar no sea turbado?"

120 "Lloradlas que quereys bien,
 y el licor abeis gustado,
 que ya se rompio aquel manto
 que a a tantos cornamentado.
 No abra ya consuelo en tristes
 ni paz entre enamorados,
 pues que ya feneçio aquella)

{CB2.

de quien el mundo a temblado;
 y Pluton y sus sequaçes
 en los abismos dañados,
 y la que al Cerbero orible
 130 tenia quieto y sosegado;
 y al presuroso Caronte
 en la Estigia a empantanado;
 y aquel Si[s]ypho ymphelise
 del gran peso a descargado.
 a Tantalo sim bentura,
 la sed y hambre a remediado
 bastante abener a Apolo
 en su curso acostumbrado
 fuentes, aroyos y rios,

NOTES TO THE TEXT
(by verse number)

- 6: *albaceas* The executors of a will or the custodians of the property that it entails.
- 15: *de amor...guerra* A difficult passage, typical of the semantic irregularity of several verses in the text. Possibly an adaptation of Juan de la Cueva's *Soneto 106*, "puso en paz de amor la mortal guerra" (p. 21, v. 11).
- 19: *ella* The antecedent is unclear: is it a reference to the "casa" of v. 25, or a possible error for "ell[o]," i.e. the "apósito" of v. 18?
- 25: *dalle* 'dar le'
- 50: *cabes portrera* Obscure text, "in the doorway"?
- 52: MS reads "mararabedi"
- 74: *mu[ñ]idores* "criado[s] de cofradía que sirve[n] para avisar a los hermanos las fiestas, entierros y otros ejercicios a que deben concurrir" (*DRAE*, 18th ed. [Madrid: RAE, 1956], 906).
- 86: *los potrosos* 'los afortunados o enamorados [¿?]'
- 109: *marubios* 'marrubios' (herbaceous plants)
- 122: *a cornamentado* 'ha hecho cornudo a tantos'
- 133: *ymphelise* 'infeliz'
- 151: *las andas* 'tablero para conducir personas o cosas'
- 152: *el bagarero dios* Bacchus
- 153: MS reads "paRas" 'plantas de vid elevadas en estacas o clavadas a una pared'
- 159: *rufos* 'rufianes'
- 163: MS reads "mase"
- 172: [*Jil Mosquera*] MS reads "Jilmos mos quera"
- 177: *pataco* 'paleta'
- 182-86: *Sigen luego...oficiales* Compare this massive procession with that of Don Amor in the *Libro de buen amor*, stanzas 1225-63.
- 195: *la erculea puente* A reference to the oldest bridge in Seville crossing the Guadalquivir River? The name of Hercules has long been associated with that city.
- 197: *mareoloro* Difficult reading: "Mediterráneo"?

- 140 bolber al manantial lago,
la que quajaba la mar
y a los ayres penetrado
pues de su boluntad pende
dolor, gozo, amor y daño."

Lira

- Y con funeral ponpa
de su casa la sacan descubierta,
al son de ronca trompa
que anunçia bien ser muerta,
150 Çelestina la madre tan asperta.)
[fol. 24v]
(CB2.

- Encima de las andas
ba el bagarero dios sin alegria
tres parras por las vandas
una f que desia:
"fundadora de aquesta cofadria."
Cuatro cofadres debotos
maçientos y enlutados
la sacaban en sus ombros
brabos rufos señalados
160 sus rodanchos en la cinta
de fuertes ganchos colgados
todos son barçelonenses
hechos por ma[e]se Fernando.
Los puñales de a tres quartas
que pasan arnes trançado
esto ques de a siete palmos
adonde yban arimados
uno es Traso el Atrebido
el otro Carrasco el Brabo
170 y los de la cabeçera
son padres y a muy honrrados
[Jil Mosquera] de la Roesca
el otro es Beltran Cruçado
que por sus brabados hechos
el sumo cargo a<n> alcan[ç]ado)

- (CB2.
alcayde en la gran Sibilla
de su pataco afamado
mosquero por su birtud
de ese burdel balençiano
180 que mesones tiene y tiendas,
y es como un lugar çercado.
Sigén luego muchas gentes
que son de casa allegados
curas, frayles, sacristanes,
estudiantes graduados;
despenseros y oficiales

que an contino en casa entrado
a llorar con sus amigos
sus culpas desatacados
190 detras Areusa y Elizia
que ban gran luto arastrando
de dueñas aconpañadas
que las yban consolando.

En medio del triste lloro
subiendo a la erculea puente
por la multitud de gente
cerca del mar moreoloro [¿?]
cayo el cuerpo de repente)

[fol. 25r]

{CB2.

que como Traso era cojo
200 del peso ba quebrantado
todos le ban tropesando
y el broquel se le a colado
la mano y querpo tras el
echo el rufo presurado
al punto el palido cuerpo
en las losas a parado
no pueden subir las andas
que se an hecho pedazos
un trinquete de la lo[s]a
210 sacan del encadenado
de tablas de balsayn
que real y m<edi>o an costado
la clabazon y madera
sin la hechura trasaymano [¿?]
do el corrupcto cuerpo muerto
como benia an entoldado
asta llegar al combento
donde a de ser enterrado
mas [d]e aqui el putacho sale
220 a recibirle llorando
con guitarras destempladas)

{CB2.

y panderetes tiznados,
notos suçios, tristes, roncos,
que ban gran dolor mostrando:

Seguida

"¡Ay que he la, C<?elestina>, la por donde biene
la que a todo el putacho a su cargo tiene!
¡Ay que yela, he la por donde asoma
la que a rrufos gallardos las cerbiçes doma
230 tristes de nosotras y desconsoladas
en agenas tierras y desamparadas

uerfana manflota: ponte del lodo
que ya fenesio tu abrigo todo!"

La seguida prosiguiendo
metieron su madre honrrada
por la umilde y baja puerta
que esta desencadenada
y en un tumulo sumptuoso
con sus armas adornado.

240 *Prosigen las armas*

Una martingala roxa
con tres madejas de ylado
por orla espina de erizo
flor salbaje, dientes de asno)

{fol. 25v}

{HD. armas}

{CB2.

con tres agujas de plata
y un pie de cabron ma<n>chado
do an puesto el trinquete y cuerpo
y despues lo an enterrado
cueros, botas, jarros grandes

250 en quarteles plateados
tres candadillos de bronze
con sus llabes y recados
en medio un tirabraguero
pintado en campo [t]orcido
poniendo encima el sepulchro
este epitafio fijado:

Epitaphio

260 "Aqui yaze Celestina
fundadora de trascuelo
Aretribo de mediçina,
de enamorados consuelo,
comadre de la Claudina."

Fin del entierro)

- 206: *las losas* 'losas sepulcrales'
- 214: *trasaymano* Difficult reading, possibly "Traso ymanó" 'Traso acudió' or 'Traso magnetizó [¿algún metal para sujetar el cuerpo?].'
- 223: *noto* 'bastardo, ilegítimo'
- 226: MS reads "que hela (^??)(^C~], la por"
- 232: *manflota* 'prostituta'
- 253: *tirabraguero* 'correa usada para sujetar el braguero llevado por los herniados'
- 259: *trascuelo* 'trascuero,' the interior of the breast or heart.

en el campo de la plaza
 y en medio de la ciudad
 de la plaza de la Cruz y de la
 y del que es un epitafio
 de un doctor Jazón grande
 en quatuor platos
 con sus llaves y recados
 en medio un tira braguero
 pintado en campo dorado
 poniendo en cima el sepulchro
 este epitafio fijado
 / epitaphio —

/ Qui yade celestina
 fundadora de la casa
 arévalo de medicina
 se era mayor consuelo
 comadre de la claudina
 / fin del entierro —

RESEÑAS

Dorothy Sherman Severin. *Tragicomedy and Novelistic discourse in 'Celestina'*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. 145 pp.

Celestina is perhaps the least isolated, or insulated, of Spanish texts. Before one can begin to scrutinize the literary object proper, there are questions to be considered or, even in the strictest formalist environment, to be acknowledged: issues related to authorship and the process of composition, genre, the reading public or audience, the self and circumstance of Fernando de Rojas. The prefatory materials occupy a significant middle ground between the text and the extratextual, the site of an arguably fallacious yet justifiable preoccupation with intention. The interplay of Act I and the addenda is engagingly mystifying, as are the analytical implications of direct and indirect borrowing from other texts. What *Celestina* "means" is dependent on a number of factors which direct and determine a particular reading; that is true of all readings, but in this case the mediating elements are especially notable. The history of the *Celestina* makes its way into the text while the "real" Fernando de Rojas maintains a paradoxical distance. Present-day readers must consider their options while bearing in mind the response of the original public. From certain perspectives, the preparatory exercises and the theoretical problems which inform them are as fascinating as the master work.

Dorothy Sherman Severin, author of *Memory in 'La Celestina'* (London: Tamesis, 1970), among other studies; and editor of a recent edition of the *Celestina* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1987) focuses here on the "inner space" of the text in light of genre, satire, irony, and humor. Severin sees *Celestina* as a generic hybrid, which moves away from humanistic comedy and sentimental romance to become the first novel. The mode of presentation—the *novelistic discourse* of the title—alienates the characters from the forms they seek to imitate: "Calisto parodies the courtly lover, Melibea lives through classical example and popular song, Sempronio and Pármeno parody students' lore and knowledge, Celestina deals a blow to the world of aphorism and wisdom literature, and even Pleberio gives his own gloss on the lament" (2). The dramatic personae substitute literature for God, and all of them fail. Logic, rhetoric, and literary models are deceptive, inadequate, but Rojas provides no alternatives. The transition from comedy to tragicomedy manifests itself in an ambivalence of purpose which Rojas' statements within the text may help to resolve. In the final analysis, Rojas' most laudable achievement may be the creation of "literary" figures, whose actions and diction are motivated by the conventions of art.

This brief volume is an important study by a distinguished scholar. It raises precisely the right questions, and Severin shows consistently sound critical judgment. One could perhaps argue, with no disrespect intended, that the book does more to foster the polemic surrounding *Celestina* than to reduce the mysteries of the text. If there is a weakness in the study, it may be that the central theses—all of which are provocative and some of which have been introduced in previous essays by the author—are not elaborated as fully as might have been expected. An exception is the treatment of Rojas' parody of the intertext. Every character has ties to the cultural past (and future), and the concept of an ironic rewriting of models, in particular the courtly love tradition, provides a comprehensive frame for readings of *Celestina*. Other questions of genre and authorial aims, not surprisingly, may be a bit more problematical.

If one is to call a text a novel—the first novel—it is necessary to define the term. Severin's guide in this regard is Mikhail Bakhtin's *The Dialogic Imagination*. The choice stems in part from Bakhtin's emphasis on dialogue and his idea that speech diversity and language stratification may operate in the novel without the presence of a narrator. When Severin alludes to "the dialogic world of the modern novel," however, prominent among the Bakhtinian examples is "the refracting discourse of the narrator" (2). While Bakhtin is certainly an authoritative model, Severin does not include commentary from *the Dialogic Imagination* which would differentiate novelistic discourse from poetic or dramatic discourse. Trotaconventos in the *Libro de buen amor* and Don Alonso in *El caballero de Olmedo*, for example, refashion or parody aphoristic and courtly language, and the two works have a range of voices, but few would classify them as novels. The case of *Celestina* calls for a distinction between the dialogic nature of the novel and other forms of dialogue. Characters who "live" through literature are found in a variety of genres. The six-page introductory chapter on novelistic discourse is crucial to the discussion which follows, but the chapter deals with only a part of Bakhtin's system and rarely refers to narrative theory of the past twenty years. I believe that Severin could develop an argument based on the "absent narrator, Rojas," but that the present text does not support completely the contention that the novel is born in *Celestina*.

The general exclusion of narratology and other branches of recent theory from the study may be a conscious omission. In the preface, Severin alludes to "the relation of *Celestina* with its sources—what we now, unfortunately, call intertextuality." The statement suggests that source studies and the construct of the intertext are one and the same, although the distinction seems to be vital to her view of parody. She compromises the primary model and her own premises, perhaps, in the description of a type of language "which Bakhtin calls, rather obscurely, double-voiced and internally dialogized discourse" (2). She makes reference to her "examination of the author's own statements in the prologue poetry and the epilogue poetry ('the intentional fallacy' as it is now called)" (5), when such an examination based on textual evidence would not be an example of the intentional fallacy, a term associated with North American New Criticism of the 1950s.

Analysis of the prefatory materials of *Celestina* as a means of discovering Rojas' intentions (Chapter 2) underscores an ambivalence on the part of the author. Modification of the stated purpose of the text and the intrusion of editors affect message production. Severin's commentary is admirable as a close reading and as a search for the implied presence of the author. Nonetheless, the conclusions seem a bit confusing. The critic affirms at one point, "In short, Rojas changed his stated purpose in writing the work from an essentially aesthetic and didactic one in the *Comedia* to an exclusively didactic one in the *Tragicomedia*" (15). Several pages later, she summarizes, "On the basis of the author's own statements, I would therefore like to propose that Rojas' original intentions in completing the *Comedia* were primarily artistic and aesthetic, and that he wished to write a story which would both delight and disenchant suffering lovers. He would accomplish this with two chief artistic weapons, comedy and tragedy" (20-21). A sense of process and alteration seems lost in the concluding remarks. Chapters 6 and 7, on ironic foreshadowing and tragic aspects of Melibea's character, respectively, end somewhat abruptly. While both chapters contain valid points, neither advances the critical corpus.

In *Tragicomedy and Novelistic Discourse in Celestina*, Severin demonstrates how the text manipulates and ultimately inverts the premises of its precedents. The characters reject religious models in favor of literary models. Their behavior and their discourse reflect and become parodies of the forms they imitate. The multiple voices of *Celestina* are commentaries on literature and on life. The enigmatic Fernando de Rojas, who appears only

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briefly and then with alarming subtlety, opens the text by sealing his position, his unique perspective. Severin sets forth a discursive structure which unites character and speech and which respects the openness of the text. In so doing, she reveals an impressive grasp of *Celestina* and of early Spanish literature. The study may be less convincing in its attempt to fit *Celestina* into a definition of the novel which stresses linguistic variation and self-consciousness. There seem to be two major oversights on the level of genre definition. Severin needs to account more fully for the absent narrator, and, while she may prove that Rojas' work "fulfills the requirements of novelistic discourse" (115), she does not show how this novelistic discourse is peculiar to the novel. The volume is an exemplary display of intertextual criticism (whether its author would consider that praise or folly) and an inspired addition to *Celestina* studies.

Edward H. Friedman

Indiana University



Ilustración
al
Auto XII

Javier
Serrano
Pérez

Madrid:
Anaya,
1986.

Die Celestina-Übersetzungen von Christof Wirsung. Ain hipsche Tragedia (Augsburg 1520). Ainn recht liepliches Buechlin (Augsburg 1534). Mit Holzschnitten von Hans Weiditz. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Kathleen V. Kish und Ursula Ritzenhoff. Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Georg Olms Verlag 1984. xi, 123 p., 1 col. pl. and facs.

Im europäischen Zusammenhang der frühen Celestina-Rezeption kommt den beiden deutschen Fassungen des Augsburger Apothekers Christof Wirsung (1520 und 1534) in mehrfacher Hinsicht grosse Bedeutung zu. Eine saubere Faksimile-Ausgabe macht nun endlich auch diese beiden seltenen Drucke der weiteren Forschung zugänglich, nachdem bereits die französischen, italienischen und englischen Übersetzungen in neueren Ausgaben vorliegen. Im Hinblick auf das komplizierte Frühneuhochdeutsch ist die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Hispanisten und Germanisten gefordert. K. Kish, die bereits vor über fünfzehn Jahren eine Edition der besonders erfolgreichen italienischen Übersetzung von Alfonso Hordognez (zuerst 1506) besorgt hat, verfasste zusammen mit U. Ritzenhoff die englischsprachige Einführung sowie die Übersetzung des Widmungsbriefes (nur in der Ausgabe 1520) und des Dialogus zwischen Urbanus und Amusus (nur in der Ausgabe 1534). Auf Grund der Autopsie der meisten der etwa zwei Dutzend heute noch erhaltenen bzw. derzeit bekannten Exemplare ergibt sich zunächst der bislang in der bibliographischen Beschreibung nicht beachtete Befund, dass sowohl der Augsburger Druck (Sigismund Grimm und Markus Wirsung) als auch der von 1534 (Heinrich Steiner) in jeweils zwei verschiedenen typographischen Zuständen überliefert sind. Diese Beobachtung hat zwar weder für die Textgestaltung selbst noch für den Rezeptionsvorgang an sich Folgen, beleuchtet jedoch den komplizierten technischen Herstellungsvorgang bei einem Buch, das mit seinen Holzschnittillustrationen sichtlich auch ein Zeugnis der Druckkunst sein sollte. Ebenso wie die zwiemalige Übersetzung der *Celestina* durch Wirsung im Abstand von anderthalb Jahrzehnten deren sprach-, literatur- und geistes- geschichtliches Erkenntnisinteresse ausmacht, so gewähren die verschiedenen Druckzustände Einblick in die Werkstatt.

Die Einleitung widmet der graphischen Illustration mit zwanzig Holzschnitten von Hans Weiditz aus Strassburg zu Recht ein eigenes Kapitel. Der Künstler hat diese schöne Bilderfolge für die Ausgabe 1520 (sie wurde erneut verwendet für die neue Fassung von 1534) aus seiner Vertrautheit mit dem Text geschaffen. Text und Bild formen einen abgestimmten Zusammenhang, so dass möglicherweise sogar einige Textveränderungen in der Übersetzung von 1534 auf die vorgegebenen Abbildungen zurückzuführen sind (vgl. p. 31): ein bemerkenswertes frühes Beispiel für die Wechselwirkung von literarischem Text und Textillustration. Die künstlerische Qualität der Darstellungen entspricht dem Gespür für den literarischen Rang des spanischen Meisterwerkes. Ob freilich die venezianische Ausgabe der *Tragicomedia* (mit "molte belle figure," wie es im Titel heisst) die Anregung zur Illustration vermittelte, erscheint fraglich bei der Tradition, die gerade im oberdeutschen Raum die graphische Ausstattung von literarischen Drucken immer schon hatte. Die Herausgeberinnen stellen die Bildausstattung beider Drucke erstmals genau dar und leisten damit einen Beitrag zur immer noch nicht im Zusammenhang untersuchten Geschichte der Bebilderung der *Celestina* bis in die unmittelbare Gegenwart. Die Platten für die Celestina-Drucke fanden übrigens ab den vierziger Jahren in ganz anderem Zusammenhang vor allem in Augsburger Drucken weitere Verwendung.

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Die Einführung stellt die heute verfügbaren Daten über Leben und Werk Wirsungs zusammen unter Berücksichtigung der für die Übersetzung von 1534 wichtigen reformatorischen Zusammenhänge und der Augsburger Pharmaziegeschichte.

Der Vorspann macht schliesslich erstmals seit der 1903 von Wilhelm Fehse vorgelegten Dissertation einen neuen Ansatz zur sorgfältigen Gegenüberstellung der beiden deutschen Fassungen im Vergleich zur italienischen Vorlage. Es geht dabei weniger um einen sprachwissenschaftlichen Übersetzungsvergleich und erst recht nicht um den Nachweis von Fehlern, Missverständnissen oder Ungereimtheiten (zumal in der ersten Übersetzung) als vielmehr um die Untersuchung der Verdeutschungen im Blick auf Wirsungs Interpretation der *Celestina* und der Entwicklung seiner Auffassungen. An markanten Beispielen wird aufgezeigt, wie Wirsung bei seiner zweiten Übersetzung 1534 vorgeht, etwa bei der Wiedergabe des Lokalkolorits; bei Einfügungen (Pharmazeutisches, reformatorische Kirchenkritik) und bei seiner Umdeutung (Melibeas Schicksal, Pleberios Klage). Die Vermutung indessen, das Werk von 1534 könnte "a call for reform both religious and social" sein, geht wohl etwas zu weit und bedürfte der Absicherung durch das zeitgenössische reformatorische Verständnis der Funktion und Wirkung von Literatur.

Im Rahmen der vorliegenden Einleitung war es nicht möglich, die Übersetzung in den grösseren Zusammenhang der Ausbildung einer neuhochdeutschen Literatursprache zu stellen. Ebenso konnten die *Celestina*-Versionen nicht eingeordnet werden in die Entwicklung der Übersetzungsbemühungen und theoretischen Vorstellungen (etwa seit Steinhöwels Boccaccio) gerade in Augsburger Kreisen. Dafür wird jedoch der Dialogus zwischen Urbanus und Amusus als Zeugnis früher "Literaturkritik" und *Celestina*-Deutung ausführlich gewürdigt. Zusammen mit der Widmungsepistel im Druck von 1520 bietet der Dialogus einen für die damalige Zeit einzigartigen Einblick in das Übersetzerbewusstsein und Werkverständnis (didaktische Interpretation, Auffassung als Drama, autobiographische Anspielungen).

Die vorliegende Faksimileausgabe markiert einen gewichtigen Fortschritt der *Celestina*-Forschung und erhellt vor allem die erstaunliche Rezeption der Werke in Deutschland im ersten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts. Es gibt nur wenige Beispiele aus früherer Zeit, die in so faszinierender Weise erkennen lassen, wie zeitgenössische Literatur des Auslands in der Reformationszeit aufgenommen und sowohl sprachlich als auch bildlich umgesetzt wurde.

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La Célestine. French Adaptation by Florence Delay. Directed by Antoine Vitez. Avignon, July 12 (Début), 1989.

A Review by C. Bernd SUCHER (In: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Nr. 186, July 22/23, 1989, p. 16)

Translated and slightly edited by Ursula RITZENHOFF, University of Tennessee

Hell, Heaven and Jeanne Moreau

For the opening of the Festival of Avignon Antoine Vitez staged "La Célestine." While elsewhere the offerings of theater festivals degenerate to the level of department stores, Alain Crombecque, director of the Festival of Avignon, sticks painstakingly to his concept: here you will see only new productions and world premieres. Crombecque wants to present the fashion trend of the French theater: "élite theater." There is no question that Fernando de Rojas' drama "La Célestine" belongs in this category.

Jeanne Moreau is the star of this year's Festival of Avignon. It is because of her that the production of a work known, yet not at all popular in France, was treated as a sensation even before opening night. In anticipation of this actress, people accepted Antoine Vitez' surprising choice of "La Célestine"; it was, after all, this director who had managed to make a sensational success of an eleven-hour long production of Claudel's "Le soulier de satin" in the courtyard of the Papal Palace two years ago.

On the other hand, Vitez' choice was not all that surprising: since this play, which appeared in 1499 (it is still not clear whether Rojas wrote all of it or only part), very much matches his Catholic view of the world, his (or rather Friedrich Schiller's famous) definition of the theater as a moral institution ("Theater als moralische Anstalt"), that is, theater as a place for philosophical discourse. Moreover, this text, which so far as we can tell, was not written for the stage but rather for a single reciter, requires a certain simplicity and clarity which Vitez likes: he is not an inventor of pictures or actions.

Shortened to Five Hours

Certainly, he works very sensitively with lighting, and he doesn't ignore musical effects, but most importantly, he views the word, the gesture of the actor as the most valuable means of interpretation. In short: he is courageously modern, and at the same time, in an almost anachronistic way, consistently old-fashioned. The performance lasts for five hours, even though the text, up to now never completely staged because of this ultra-Wagnerian dimension, was severely cut. And even though Vitez surely knows that the attention of his audience has to have diminished by 3 o'clock in the morning—after all he is an experienced director—he forces two lengthy monologues on the actors and the spectators at the end, which the former delivered brilliantly, and to which the latter listened quietly—maybe even affected by it—before breaking into jubilant applause.

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Yannis Kokkos, who had also created the set for "Le soulier de satin," dispenses this time with scenery. *La purété*, that simplicity which Vitez prefers, obligates him, too. A giant wooden staircase sits alone on a wide pedestal, or rather, grows out of the orchestra pit to a lofty height; leads from a blood-red hellish abyss into heavenly blue clouds, from which carved angels survey the action. A picture for children.

"La Célestine" is the story of Calisto, who with the help of the sorceress and go-between makes the beautiful Melibea amenable to his wishes, and experiences some of love's bliss with her before plunging accidentally to his death, which in turn drives her to commit suicide after confessing to her father, and impels the latter to a lengthy final lament. Vitez interprets this story as a didactic one. In other words, what Rojas formulates in a "Letter to a Friend" preceding the text and in a poem following it, the director appropriates: "La Célestine" is supposed to demonstrate the dangers of the world to the spectators (listeners) in a quite entertaining way; to strengthen them to withstand their own passions; to make them distrust quick solutions and wrong conclusions; to lead them, finally, onto the right path: to God.

However, Rojas, a converted Jew and a lawyer, is not to be taken as a moralizing religious zealot. He is a poet, wholly comparable to Cervantes, and even to Shakespeare. Very clearly—and for his own time shockingly—he paints a realistic picture of sexual lust and dependence; he criticizes the nobility, which in order to fulfill its wishes, uses subjects, unprotected underlings, bribing them by means of money and avowals of friendship. He presents the terrifying vision of an anarchy which grips society when those who come to power are in need of role models, of support (both financially and morally), of discipline and of education.

In spite of this underlying message, the performance does not turn into a sermon full of sour morals, preached by a theologian crazy about the theater. Rather, the result is a serious work of art. The shortened French version by Florence Delay dispenses with many of the monologues in which the characters attempt to persuade and convince each other. Philosophical debates are suppressed, and forthright entertaining dialogues develop instead.

A Simple Tale

Vitez, being aware of the recitative nature of the work, quickly fills the single set with action. A change of lighting is the only means of indicating a change of locale. A walk around the staircase structure signifies a walk through town, similar to what was done in medieval plays performed in a church; a door, and the spectator is already imagining Melibea's room in her parents' house, or the dissolute beds of the prostitutes. Vitez keeps the audience alert and awake by forcing it to amplify the language and a few gestures in the imagination. Only after one engages in this stimulating co-operation does the play gain beauty; only then does one find the key to this staging, which, at first glance has no other ambition than to present a simple tale with the double purpose of provoking comparisons ("Faust," "Tristan and Isolde," "Romeo and Juliet," "Troilus and Cressida") and stimulating discussions.

Even as the author (of the play) neglects to supply alternatives for the life of the characters, the director also refuses to judge them in a clear-cut, one-sided manner, because this would be wrong in every instance. Certainly Celestina is an amoral character who is living off the lewd desires of certain people, ready to build or to destroy everything for money, to deceive and betray everybody. But repulsive, or monstrous, or even a witch, these she is not.

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Jeanne Moreau doesn't act as if she is consciously doing evil things. On the contrary: since she herself had preferred to have a man in her bed much more than golden coins under her mattress, she wants to make available this pleasure for everyone who desires it—and, of course, she gladly accepts the rewards for this service in whatever form it takes.

When Jeanne Moreau, her white hair in a bun, speaks about the "choses sensuelles" (sensual feelings), her lips sway; her red-stockinged legs, in black half-boots become nervous; the left hand, the restless fingers, everything promises future sensual joys; her voice, clear, alert, coos seductively; her eyes flash, combining wit and lust, begetting Cupid, whose arrow finally hit poor Pármeno, Calisto's servant (a boy, a clown, an angel: Jean-Yves Dubois).

Terror of Love

"This is joy!" Celestina rejoices. Moreau thrusts her fist into her lap and laughs, wildly and loudly. From the hellish abyss smoke and sexual groans arise. Again she has won an adept, a terrorist of love; has made an angel fall. It was Pármeno who had warned Calisto of this sorceress, who had childishly begged him not to have anything to do with her, but he, too, is unable to return to innocence, having enjoyed Areúsa (pretty and lascivious: Cathérine Ferran). Together with his friend Sempronio (a rocker of the late 15th century: Roger Mirmont), another servant of Calisto, he kills the go-between, who refused to split with them the money the master gave her for her services, as she had promised.

With his staging, which is comical in the best sense and never overdone (not even when the young people in a fit of passion rip off each others clothes and when they don't seem to care anymore with whom they copulate), Vitez poses just one question, the most difficult one: is that all there is? Is life not more than pleasure, career, passion, love? Or could the path from cradle to grave be more like a trip from hell into heaven?

For Melibea Vitez answers the question. She, who like a Botticelli-Eve (Valérie Dréville) charmed Calisto (a naïve, romantic youth: Lambert Wilson) under a tree in her father's yard, is not condemned in the end. She is saved like Goethe's Gretchen at the end of *Faust*. And what becomes of Celestina nobody knows.

Jeanne Moreau is the star. Yet the performance (starting in the Paris Odéon on September 19) is not a homage to her. Vitez has integrated her into a brilliant cast, which offers first-class actors even in the minor roles. His work may seem conservative to some, and to German ears the manner-of-speaking of the Comédie-Française actors may sound like sung arias: but it becomes obvious that Antoine Vitez is intent upon the power of the drama. He entices his audience to see, to recognize, to think.



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Kurt & Roswitha Reichenberger. *Das Spanische Drama im Goldenen Zeitalter—Ein bibliographisches Handbuch/El teatro español en los Siglos de Oro—Inventario de bibliografías.* Kassel: Ed. Reichenberger, 1989. 319 pp. [Teatro del Siglo de Oro: Bibliografías y catálogos, 2].

Those of us who attempt to impose any amount of bibliographic order in areas of research that are vitally important will recognize the achievement that this catalogue represents. The point of this immense amount of compiled data is quite simple: it attempts to provide the scholar—the beginning kind as much as the wizened variety—with an appropriate volume for accessing previous bibliographies, or studies with important bibliographical components, so that as little as possible will be missed. The range is far more impressive than the bilingual title would indicate: the preparatory section of "generalidades" runs on for 30 pages and would like to take in all important journals with bibliographical sections that cover the scope of Golden Age theatre, homage collections, publications on theses, translations and more. This is followed by items dealing with Siglo de Oro theatre; then a section on works with a thematic slant (dictionaries, emblem books, iconographic works, public theatre, meter and verse, and theoretical compilations), before getting down to the real brass tacks of the bibliographic sourcebooks that in fact deal with specific works and authors from the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* to the early eighteenth century, divided into convenient units, arranged chronologically and subdivided by major authors and schools/generations. The final sections deal with regional theatres, the printing of plays ('partes,' 'sueñas,' etc.), and the public catalogues from around the world which list holdings of Golden Age plays, with a short section on known private catalogues. One adds to this the three indices (Thematic, Modern Authors & Critics, and a Register of Libraries) and then, finally, it becomes very clear that the Reichenbergers have performed for all of us an invaluable service.

I have not combed the volume for omissions—for undoubtedly there will be some. In any case, these kinds of volumes, once printed, often become the basis for future expanded compilations which can as well add the new as integrate the overlooked. I sense that even a fair number of omissions would not severely limit the usefulness of this tome. What enhances it—other than the indices, mentioned above—are the commentaries on how these works are organized and divided: most of the entries have been personally reviewed and, when known, notices of professional reviews are included.

I note that Fernando de Rojas's *Celestina* is included (pp. 63-66), with a total of seventeen bibliographic items, in the section on the origins of Spanish theatre. It should be clear by now, whatever the outcome of the seemingly endless debate over the true genre of *Celestina*, that Rojas's work holds an honored place in the history of Spanish Golden Age theatre as well as it does in the development of prose fiction in the peninsula. Thus, no one ought to cavil at its inclusion here. My own 1985 bibliography—listed here—mentions and annotates a few primarily bibliographical works not listed. However, in fact, there are literally dozens of works written about *Celestina* that have interesting bibliographic slants that could also have been included. But if one magnified these dozens by the thousands more on all the other topics the work surveys, the end result would be many times more pages than are printed here. And to what avail, I ask? Since some works listed here

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actually supersede, historically, many earlier works also included, should the Reichenbergers have left them out? I think not. No, what they have amply provided is the means by which to attain more-than-reasonable access to the many fields and sub-fields of Spanish theatre to the early 1700s—with especial concentration on the period 1550-1680, as we might expect. If the works listed for *Celestina* are a representative sampling, then I feel confident that the users of this volume now have at their fingertips all the right keys with which to enter through the bibliographic portals into a vast library of reference works on the unique theatrical life that was Spain's in the Golden Age.

Joseph T. Snow

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Ilustración
al
Auto I

Javier
Serrano
Pérez

Madrid:
Anaya,
1986.

PREGONERO

"contarte he maravillas"



Lucrecia

Varios artículos aparecidos en *Celestinesca* desde el tomo 9, no. 1 (1985) hasta 12, no. 2 (1988) se encuentran resumidos en *Incipit* 8 (1988): 218-228, por Georgina Olivetto, lo cual agradecemos. Es un excelente estímulo a la mayor difusión de la labor emprendida en diferentes campos medievales. Esta revista es publicada por SECRIT (Seminario de Edición y Crítica Textual) en Buenos Aires. Su director es Germán Orduna. Esta sección, "Reseña de publicaciones," informa a sus suscriptores y lectores de varias tendencias críticas en las letras medievales españolas que aparecen en algunas revistas que por bien o por mal no circulan como debieran en la Argentina.

En la conocida serie publicada por Taurus (Madrid) de *El escritor y la crítica*, nuestro colega Nicasio Salvador Miguel va a organizar el tomo dedicado a *Celestina*. Sería bueno que los autores de estudios recientes le mandasen ejemplares xerocopiados (o, mejor, separatas) de ellos para su consideración. Su dirección particular: Prof. N. Salvador, Av. Cardenal Herrera Oria, 169, 28034 Madrid.

CELESTINA como ópera: en estas páginas hemos informado ya de ciertos aspectos interesantes de una versión operática producida en París durante el verano de 1988: se trata del compositor Maurice O'Hana y *La Célestine* en L'Opera de Paris (*Celestinesca* 12, ii [Otoño 1988]: 89-90). En torno a este espectáculo—como nos informa nuestro nuevo corresponsal, Michel García—hubo también un proyecto de tipo 'Jornadas' patrocinado por MERIDIANO: Association France-Espagne. Estos "Rencontres autour de *La Célestine*" fueron celebrados los días 10-11 de junio de 1988 en el mismo lugar (Opera de Paris) bajo la dirección general del profesor Daniel Pageaux. Además de los que participaban como ponentes oficiales, el evento acogió unos cien miembros del público general. Creo de interés incluir aquí los detalles de la programación de este estreno mundial y coloquio en torno a él.

Rencontres autour de *La Célestine*

Viernes, 10 de junio de 1988

- 10 h. Apertura, Frédéric DEVAL, presidente de MERIDIANO, y Daniel PAGEAUX (Paris III)
- 10h30 Pierre HEUGAS, "*La Célestine* et la genèse de sa création"

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- 11h30 Maurice O'HANA, el compositor; y O. MARCEL (Lyons III), autor del texto francés de *LC* de O'Hana
- 12h30--14h Comida con Maurice O'HANA
- 14h30 Jacqueline HOMBRECHER IZQUIERDO (Univ. de Bonn), "La Fortune de *La Célestine*."
- 15h30 Intermedio
- 16h30--17h30 MESA REDONDA con la participación de: Marie-Claire ZIMMERMAN (Lille III) Arlette LEVY ZLOTOWSKI (Paris III) Françoise LABARRE (Poitiers) Geneviève BARBE (Paris III)
- 19h30 ENSAYO GENERAL DE "LA CÉLESTINE"

Sábado, 11 de junio de 1988

- 10h Helios Jaime RAMIREZ (Paris III), "La Célestine: réflexions sur le comique"
- 10h45 Michel GARCIA (Paris III), "La Célestine: réflexions autour d'une thématique"
- 11h30-12h CONCLUSIONES
Aperitivo
- 19h30 ESTRENO MUNDIAL de "LA CÉLESTINE"

Otras fuentes de información sobre este espectáculo musical no recogidas en el apartado anterior de *Celestinesca* arriba indicado son:

Le Monde (9 junio de 1988), 19, Gérard Condé ["Entretien avec Maurice O'Hana"]. El mismo G.C., en la misma edición de *Le Monde*, tiene otras dos noticias, una autobiográfica sobre O'Hana ["La croisière d'un solitaire"] y la otra sobre la obra misma y su trama ["L'histoire en deux mots"];

El programa de la producción que contiene un dossier preparado por Harry Halbreich;

Revue musicale, num. 391-393 (1988), triple número dedicado a M. O'Hana y su obra (estudios, temario, documentos, un catálogo comentado y una discografía).

CELESTINA, tema de tesis doctorales

Hay dos nuevas tesis, por lo menos: Dirigió el Prof. Ian Michael en Oxford, Inglaterra, la de R. H. S. GRAHAM, "The Sequels of *Celestina*: A Reconsideration of Form, Means and Effect in Relation to Questions of Imitation and Genre."

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La segunda la dirigió B. Johnson en la Harvard University y es de Mary GOSSY, "The Untold Story in Three Works of the Spanish Golden Age: *Celestina*, *El casamiento engañoso/Coloquio de los perros*, and *La tía fingida*."

CELESTINA en las aulas

Durante el verano de 1989, específicamente entre el 24 y 28 de julio, dio Alan DEYERMOND un cursillo sobre *Celestina* en Málaga, invitado a hacerlo por Manuel Alvar. Era un cursillo completísimo, abarcando los temas a seguir:

1. Historia del texto (el auto, la CCM, la TCM, el auto de Traso, el cambio de título).
2. Autoría: ¿Quién era Rojas, qué formación tenía?, los problemas del auto primitivo y los 5 autos interpolados; su estado de converso.
3. Género de LC: ¿Teatro? ¿Novela? ¿Agenérico?
4. Fuentes y tradiciones: las clásicas, las medievales y renacentistas, las bíblicas, jurídicas; los géneros amorosos del XV, etc.
5. Estructura: tramas, personajes, diálogo...
6. Estilo: retórica, ironía, humorismo, imágenes, etc.
7. Personajes y contexto social: clases, consumismo, brujerías, etc.
8. Temas y sentido: los preliminares, recepción contemporánea, moralidad, pesimismo, existencialismo, crítica social, etc.
9. Conclusiones generales y específicas.

CELESTINA en los congresos

Desde mayo de 1989 y la edición anterior de este PREGONERO, he podido registrar las siguientes presentaciones en EEUU y en España sobre la celestinesca:

1. Emilio de MIGUEL MARTINEZ, "*Celestina* como clásico de la literatura erótica." Coloquio sobre el Siglo de Oro, 27-29 Febrero de 1989, Universidad Autónoma, Madrid.
2. Anthony J. CARDENAS, "*Celestina* in the *Cancionero de Pedro de Rojas*." Congreso de la American Association of Teachers of Spanish & Portuguese, Agosto de 1989, San Antonio, Tejas (USA).

[En este cancionero se recogen varios poemas pertenecientes a la obra de Fernando de Rojas con un enfoque preeminentemente legal. Hay una carta, un testamento, otro testamento con unos codicillos. Lo que le interesaba al poeta o poetas no era lo erótico sino la transferencia del legado celestinesco mediante consejos—en el caso de la carta—y documentos de carácter jurídico, todo lo cual sugiere un autor o autores con una formación legalista. AJC]

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Las siguientes 8 intervenciones todas son presentaciones leídas durante el Xº Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, 21-26 Agosto de 1989, Barcelona.

3. Kathleen V. KISH, "*Celestina*: estímulo multiseccular."
4. Jesús GUTIERREZ, "Entre LC y Boccaccio: Amor e ingenio en una comedia olvidada."
5. Louise FOTHERGILL-PAYNE, "La cita subversiva en *Celestina*."
6. Francisco MARQUEZ-VILLANUEVA, "*Celestina* y el pseudo-Boecio: 'De disciplina scolarium'."
7. Joaquín GIMENO, "LC y su prólogo."
8. Alberto M. FORCADAS, "El *Bursario* (traducción de las *Heroidas* de Ovidio por Juan Rodríguez de Padrón) en *La Celestina*."
9. Joseph T. SNOW, "El orgullo de *Celestina*."
10. María Teresa NARVAEZ DE CORDOVA, "El mancebo de Arévalo, lector morisco de LC."

Las siguientes 9 intervenciones todas son presentaciones leídas durante el III Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval, 3-6 Octubre de 1989, Salamanca.

11. Rafael BELTRAN LLAVADOR, "Posible huellas de *Tirant lo Blanc* en la *Celestina*."
12. María Remedios PRIETO DE LA IGLESIA, "Las piezas preliminares de LC: un mensaje comunicado."
13. Antonio SANCHEZ SANCHEZ-SERRANO, "Diálogos interpolados o refundidos en la *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*."
14. Emma SCOLLES
15. Patrizia BOTTA) "Otra vez hacia una edición crítica de *Celestina*."
16. Francisco LOBERA SERRANO

[Estas tres presentaciones formaron a la vez que una crítica a la edición de M. Marciales (1985), una visión de lo que todavía hay que hacer para que se pueda llegar a imprimir una verdadera edición crítica.]

17. Félix CARRASCO, "La recepción de *Celestina* a mediados del siglo XVI: evaluaciones de dos lecturas."
18. Ian R. MACPHERSON, "*Celestina* labradora."

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19. Nicasio SALVADOR MIGUEL, "Un nuevo buey que mata perdicès."

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20. María Teresa LEAL, "LC: The Pitfall of Reason." Southeastern Medieval Association, 19-21 Octubre de 1989, Rice University (Houston, Tejas, USA).

21. Joseph T. SNOW, "Building a Celestina Research Archive" [presentación informal]. International Conference on Medieval Spain, 26-29 Octubre de 1989, Nashville, TN (USA), Vanderbilt University.

22. Diane HARTUNIAN, "*Carpe Diem* Imagery and Symbolism in LC." South Atlantic MLA Meetings, 9-11 Noviembre de 1989, Atlanta, Georgia (USA).

23. Theresa Ann SEARS, "Love and the Lure of Chaos: Definition and Disorder in *Celestina*." MLA Convention, 27-30 Diciembre de 1989, Washington, D.C. (USA).

24. Anthony J. CARDENAS, "Celestina: A Hag Before and a Hag After." MLA Convention, 27-30 Diciembre de 1989, Washington, D.C. (USA).

NOTULAS BIBLIOGRAFICAS

Acaba de salir de la St. John's University (Jamaica, Nueva York) un nuevo anuario. Se titula *Anuario medieval*: es una revista fundada allí por el prof. Nicolás Toscano. Su primer número contiene—además de un artículo por Luis Cortest sobre Pleberio y el existencialismo [ver el suplemento bibliográfico en este número]—hay estudios sobre las rimas de la *Gaya ciencia* de Pero Guillén de Segovia, el *Libro de buen amor*, Alfonso X, Antón de Montoro, Juan de Flores, *Ysopo*, el amor cortés, los romances, el *Cid* y las serranillas. Y más.

Otra revista nueva acaba de salir en España, editada por Carlos Alvar *et al* en la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, una *Revista de literatura medieval* que vimos por primera vez durante el congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval en Salamanca en octubre de 1989. En un año, entonces, nacen dos revistas dedicadas a las letras hispánicas medievales, una a cada orilla del Atlántico. ¡Albricias!

Una nueva edición de P. Manuel Ximenex de Urrea, *Penitencia de amor*, obra celestinesca de hacia 1513, preparada cuidadosamente por Robert HATHAWAY (Colgate University, Hamilton NY), saldrá con toda probabilidad antes del final del año 1989 en la serie EXETER HISPANIC TEXTS (Inglaterra).

María Eugenia LACARRA tiene en prensa con *Studi ispanici* un estudio titulado "Sobre el pesimismo en *Celestina*." La misma estudiosa ha corregido pruebas ya de su edición de *Celestina* que esperamos ver pronto (Ediciones 'B' de Barcelona). Como si no fuera bastante, ella prepara para Ediciones Júcar un libro de divulgación: "Cómo leer la *Celestina*." María Eugenia, quien durante el año escolar 1989-1990 imparte clases en la Universidad de Illinois (Chicago) como profesora visitante, consiguió la cátedra de Literatura Medieval Español en Vitoria durante la primavera de 1989. Dio unas clases en un curso sobre el tema "De amor y de lujuria en la literatura medieval" (junto con Pedro Cátedra, Louise Fainberg y Nicasio Salvador) en Salamanca durante el verano de 1989, clases centradas en la poesía amatoria cancioneril del s. XV y también sobre *Celestina*.

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Anthony J. CARDENAS está—nos informa él por escrito—trabajando una monografía sobre las ideas o nociones de brujería y de hechicería en *Celestina*.

Hensley Woodbridge, siempre interesado en estos fenómenos del lenguaje, nos hace conocer el término "celestinazgo", empleado en *Luces de bohemia* de Valle-Inclán. Ocurre en la descripción del personaje, Pacona: "una vieja que hace celestinazgo y vende periódicos." ¿Una versión moderna de la buhonera medieval con sus hilados y agujas?

Dos ediciones de *Celestina*, ambas de Dorothy S. Severin, tienen reseñas recientes. La primera, de la casa editora Cátedra (Madrid), apareció reseñada en *Celestinesca* 13, i (Mayo de 1989), en las páginas 63-64 y su autor es Steven D. Kirby. La otra reproduce su edición (de Alianza) al lado de la traducción inglesa de James Mabbe y es publicada por Aris & Phillips en su serie SPANISH CLASSICS (Warminster, Inglaterra): la reseña, de Robert L. Fiore, es de *Hispania* 72 (1989): 567-68.

Aparecerá dentro de poco en *Revista de filología española* un estudio de Rafael Beltrán Llavador titulado, "Las 'bodas sordas' de *Tirant lo Blanc* y la *Celestina*." Del mismo—según mis fuentes de información—hay otro estudio comparativo de estas dos obras cuyo enfoque es los personajes de Lucrecia y Eliseu (aparecerá en el homenaje a J. Fuster). Ya tenía otro publicado en *Celestinesca* (12, ii [1988]: 33-53) y habló sobre aún otros aspectos de las dos obras en Salamanca [ver arriba, en la sección de congresos, no. 11].

De una 'Celestina' francesa en España:

La historia de un ejemplar de la anónima traducción francesa, publicada en París en 1527, nos llama la atención, precisamente porque estaba en la biblioteca de Fernando Colón. El ejemplar fue adquirido en Aviñón entre el 11 de febrero y el 17 de marzo de 1536, cuando Colón por última vez viajaba fuera de España. Tenía originalmente la clasificación 14370. En la columna 271 del *Abecedarium B* (el catálogo de la colección), leemos: "Celestina en frances. 14370. P[aris]. 1527." El número pasó a 11447 en una reclasificación a finales de 1538 o a comienzos del 1539. La otra referencia a este ejemplar aparece en el *Supplementum* al *Abecedarium*, en folio 13r, columna B, entrada no. 2: "En ce Je uoys melibee la haultese de dieu." Según Arthur L. Askins (Univ. de California-Berkeley)—quien nos proporciona estos interesantes datos—que se sepa, este libro falta hoy en día en dicha biblioteca.

CELESTINA en las tablas (I)

La *Celestina* en el repertorio de la Compañía Nacional de Teatro Clásico (Madrid) con Amparo Rivelles en *Celestina*, después de haber sido una de las más vistas de las producciones dramáticas en Madrid durante mayo y junio [ver las grafías a seguir], se fue de viaje, precisamente al Festival de Edimburgo en Escocia, invitado a presentar allí [con traducción simultánea al inglés, el inglés de James Mabbe, adaptado al texto de Torrente Ballester en español] esta versión durante unos días: el 22 y 23 de agosto de 1989. Esto ocurrió en el royal Lyceum Theatre. El elenco era el mismo, lo mismo con el decorado [con pocos ajustes para el espacio del teatro escocés] que en las representaciones vistas en Madrid y en Almagro, dirigidas por Adolfo Marsillach. El público sí aplaudió. Al parecer, a los críticos les dejó más bien fríos, como notado en una serie de reseñas:

- a. *La Vanguardia* (23 agosto, 1989), 26, anon. (foto);
- b. *Ya* (25 agosto, 1989?), C. Reixa (fotos);
- c. *El País* (25 agosto, 1989), 22, Lluís Hidalgo (foto);

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- d. *El País* (25 agosto, 1989), 22, Paul Taylor;
- e. *Financial Times* (24 agosto, 1989), 15, M. Coveny;
- f. *The Times* (25 agosto, 1989), J. Kingston;
- g. *The Guardian* (25 agosto, 1989), M. Billington (foto);
- h. *The Independent* (25 agosto, 1989), P. Taylor (foto);
- i. *Sunday Times* (27 agosto, 1989), R. Hewison (foto);
- j. *The Observer* (28 agosto, 1989), K. Kellaway.

RECAUDACIÓN DE LOS TEATROS DE MADRID EN EL MES DE MAYO DE 1989

Título	Autor	Teatro	Aforo	Butaca	Funciones	Semanales	Recaudación	Media/función	Tendencia
Teatros Nacionales									
La Celestina	Fernando de Rojas	Comedia	880	1.000	23	6	6.088.200	264.704	+
La historia del soldado		M. ^a Guerrero	730	1.000	5	5	765.300	153.060	
Historia de una muñeca abandonada	Alfonso Sastre	M. ^a Guerrero	730	500	18	6	1.193.400	66.300	
Baño final	Roberto Lerici	Olimpia	700	750	2	6	24.750	12.375	
013 Varios: informe de prisión	Francisco Sanguino y Rafael González	Olimpia	700	750	4	6	33.000	8.250	—
Los pies en la cabeza	Antonia Andreu	Olimpia	700	750	3	6	72.550	24.183	
La risa en los huesos	José Bergamín	Olimpia	700	750	6	6	383.450	63.908	
Tristán e Isolda	Richard Wagner	Zarzuela	1.500	3.500-7.000	5		22.585.900	4.517.180	
Recital Thoma Allen		Zarzuela	1.500	3.500	1		492.600	492.600	

RECAUDACIÓN DE LOS TEATROS DE MADRID EN EL MES DE JUNIO DE 1989

Título	Autor	Teatro	Aforo	Butaca	Funciones	Semanales	Recaudación	Media/función	Tendencia
Teatros Nacionales									
La Celestina	Fernando de Rojas	Comedia	880	1.000	16	6	4.724.925	295.308	—
Madame Bovary soy yo	Flambert	María Guerrero	730	500	1	3	26.100	26.100	
Historia de una muñeca abandonada	Alfonso Sastre	María Guerrero	730	500	4	6	462.500	115.625	—
Comedia sin título	García Lorca	María Guerrero	730	1.000	6	6	1.985.100	330.850	
Devocionario	Aña Roseti	Olimpia	700	750	3	3	130.850	43.617	
¿Dónde aparece		Olimpia	700	750	1	1	37.500	37.500	
Bless		Olimpia	700	750	1	1	71.250	71.250	
Concierto lírico		Zarzuela	1.500	3.500	5	5	16.052.600	3.210.520	

CELESTINA en las tablas (II)

Hay un equipo anglo-americano (directora ella; traductor él) que están en la actualidad proyectando una nueva versión de *Celestina*. Lo hacen sin prisas. Han pulido la traducción (una segunda versión existe) y han hecho 'pruebas' experimentales de sus innovaciones y arreglos del texto para el escenario al ir a ver otras versiones y al compartir sus ideas con los interesados. Está pensada para—tentativamente—un teatro experimental, pequeño, de Londres, una serie de ensayos tipo "workshop" que podrá culminar en una representación después de las dos semanas que ocupará el "workshop". Pero sobre esta *Celestina*, habrá más información en futuras ediciones del PREGONERO.

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CELESTINA en las tablas (III)

Como muchos ya saben, Antoine Vitez venía queriendo desde hace mucho representar a la gran *Celestina* en francés. Y ese proyecto dio frutos en 1989 cuando en el festival de verano en Avinón él estrenó una *Celestina* recién adaptada por Florence Delay. Yo, por suerte, pude asistir al estreno el 12 de julio gracias a mi colega Jeanne Raimond, de Orange (casi al lado de Aviñón), quien me advirtió de los detalles y sacó con mucha antelación las entradas. Como esta producción era uno de los espectáculos más esperados del Festival, se estrenó en el patio interior (Cour d'Honneur) del "Palais des papes." El estreno, con el foro llenísimo, comenzó a las 10:15 de una hermosísima noche y acabó, en una madrugada algo más fresca, a las 2:50. Sólo hubo un intermedio [después del cual había menos gente para la segunda mitad]. Muchos habían venido nada más para ver a Jeanne Moreau interpretar a la famosa *intremetteuse*.

El escenario, obra y creación de Yannis Kokkos—quien hizo también el vestuario—era impresionantemente, si algo reducido en su impacto por la inmensidad del patio mismo, abierto a los cielos y estrellas—detalle no mal avenido en esta producción. Era una construcción vertical que partía de la boca del infierno al nivel del escenario y, luego, subía unas escaleras que zigzagueaban hacia una puerta alta rodeada por nubes y ángeles: una representación del mundo jerárquico, moral. En los diferentes niveles, había puertas que se usaban—según las necesidades de las acciones—para representar las casas y espacios de la acción (según Rojas). La versión era fiel a Rojas (aun con cortes) en cuanto la lengua y la acción, aunque la conceptualización del escenario fijaba—para este público—el lugar en un mundo circunscrito de la moralidad. Aquella noche hacía viento y la proyección de las voces—suficientes, creo, para ese espacio abierto en condiciones normales—tendía a perderse de vez en cuando en las ráfagas.

Era un espectáculo, hay que decirlo, demasiado alargado: de casi cinco horas [según tengo entendido, han hecho desde el estreno algunos cortes y cambios]. Pero lo que nadie podrá olvidar nunca era aquella *Celestina*, pelo blanco y recogido en moño, sin toca alguna, con su cicatriz y arrugas, sus capas y mantos y faldas todo en negro con un contraste en rojo, dominando el escenario—estuviera cansada, estuviera animada—con un arte verbal y con esos 'sofísticos actos' y otros "halagos fingidos" que hacen de *Celestina* una magnífica actriz: solo que en esta representación Jeanne Moreau era *Celestina*. Su presencia, su arte, su larga carrera—todo le tenía a la Moreau preparada para hacerse *Celestina*. ¡Y cómo lo hacía! ¡Qué risas más enérgicas! ¡Qué gestos más desafiantes! ¡Qué momentos más personales (pienso en su recreación del pasado, sus recuerdos de Claudina, y el somo de su carrera—re-creada en el banquete del Auto IX de la *Tragicomedia*, estando presentes las dos parejas de Pármeno-Areusa y Sempronio-Elicia y la embelesada Lucrecia)!

Los otros actores, la gran mayoría de la 'Comédie Française' lo hacían bien, al menos se supone que las interpretaciones seguían muy de cerca el concepto que tenía en mente el director, Antoine Vitez. Sólo que para mí, Jeanne Moreau era entre todos la única que captaba de verdad el sabor español de la obra. No gustaban los toques cómicos añadidos en la segunda parte: diría que después de la muerte de *Celestina*, el tono cambió. Sosia y Tristan, caminando con una escalera, parecen salidos de una versión de Oliver y Hardy [o de una película de Jerry Lewis] con sus payasadas.

Sólo los que allí estuvimos hasta el final presenciábamos algo insólito; por lo menos lo fue para mí. Al salir Pleberio para hacer su monólogo la fatiga de la larga noche les alcanzó a varios de los espectadores. En Pleberio estaba Jean-Luc Boutté, actor distinguido de la *Comédie Française*. Tenía que recitar en el francés florido de la traducción (sin suficientes

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cortes) y a las dos y media de la madrugada, unos veinte minutos de soliloquio. A la luz de un único foco, en una actitud estática, seguía los temas que le dejó Rojas...fortuna, amor, muerte, mundo...y la tolerancia de algunos quebró y comenzaron algunos a replicarle, a reirse de la situación y, finalmente, a silbar. Otros intentaban callar a éstos. Era triste.

La Célestine de Vitez-Moreau-Delay estuvo en Aviñón entre el 11 y el 22 de julio, en el teatro Grec de Barcelona el 28-29-30 del mismo mes, en L'Odéon de Paris entre el 19 de septiembre y el 5 de noviembre, y por fin en la Opéra Municipal de Clermont-Ferrand el 12-13-14 de noviembre de 1989.

Termino con una breve compilación de las reseñas mandadas por amigos y celestinófilos en varios países. Entre ellos L. Ingamells (Londres), D. Severin (Liverpool), U. Ritzenhoff (Tennessee), E. Naylor (Sewanee), P. Welt (Paris), J. Joset (Amberes), D. Briesemeister (Berlin), A. Gier (Francofurt) y S. Morris (Georgia). Faltan algunos datos en las copias recibidas, pero incluyo a todas las reseñas. La letra al final indica si la producción es la que se vio en Aviñón (A), o Barcelona (B) o París (P).

- a. *The Guardian* (9 Oct 1989), M. Billington; P
- b. *El País* (28 July 1989), "En Cartel," 1 (photos) A
- c. *El País* (28 July 1989), J. de S. pre-B (photo)
- d. *Le Monde*, Michel Cournot; A
- e. *Le Figaro*, Pierre Marcabru; A
- f. *Le Monde* (23 Sept 1989), 21, Michel Cournot; (photo) P
- g. *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (22-23 July 1989), 16, C. Bernd Sucher (photo) A
[Eng. trans. in *Celestinesca* 13, ii (Fall 1989), U. Ritzenhoff] A
- h. *The Sunday Times* (1 Oct 1989), C5, John Peter (photo) P
- i. *Le Vif/L'Express* (14 July 1989), 64, René Bernard (photo) A
- j. *Le Vif/L'Express* (28 July 1989), 62-63, Jean Pigeon A
- k. *El País* (11 July 1989), 30, Joan de Sagarra (interview with Vitez) (photo)
- l. *El Público* 70/71 (July-Aug 1989), 6-10, M. P. Coterillo (photos) A
- m. *La Croix l'Événement* (Paris), 2; 4; 6; 9, C. Noetzal-Aubry & E. Klausner (photos) A
- n. *El País* (13 July 1989), 68, Joan de Sagarra (interview with J. Moreau) (photo) A
- o. *El País* (14 July 1989), 44, Joan de Sagarra (photo) A
- p. *The Times* (28 July 1989), Diane Hill (photo) A
- q. *Cue International* (July-Aug 1989), 22, 26, R. E. Goldberg; 27, E. Lampert (photos) A
- r. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (24 July 1989), J. Hanimann A
- s. *ABC* (2 Aug 1989), 18, T. Q. Curtis (transl. from the orig. English in the *International Herald Tribune*) A



Grabado de la elicción de Medina del Campo (sin fecha)

[detalle]

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La Célestine

Diseño de Yannis Kokkos para La Célestine de Aviñón [1989].
Dirigido por Antoine Vitez. Con Jeanne Moreau en Celestina.

'CELESTINA' BY FERNANDO DE ROJAS:
DOCUMENTO BIBLIOGRAFICO

Joseph T. Snow
University of Georgia

Llegamos ahora al noveno suplemento a nuestra bibliografía de 1985 publicada en Madison, Wisconsin por el Seminario Hispánico de Estudios Medievales, "*Celestina*" by Fernando de Rojas: *An Annotated Bibliography of World Interest, 1930-1985*. Además de a los autores de varios de los estudios en estas entradas aquí reseñadas, debo las gracias a: El Repertorio Español de Nueva York, A. J. Cárdenas, Philippe Welt, Carlos García, Jeanne Raimond, Ian Michael, y Luis M. Vicente.

- 251 BUCH, René, adapt. "*La Celestina*" de Fernando de Rojas. New York: Repertorio Español, 1974 etc. iii + 36 páginas (multicopiado).

Contiene el texto-adaptación además de tres páginas de "notas" del mismo Buch sobre esta versión teatral y dos sinopsis—una en inglés y otra en español—de los dos actos en los que esta versión se divide. La primera parte resume la acción de Autos 1-7 [Rojas] y la segunda el resto, muy reducido con todas las cinco muertes casi una tras otra en sucesión temporal muy rápida (2 o 3 páginas textuales).

- 252 CANTALAPIEDRA, Fernando. "Apuntes didácticos sobre la estructura de LC y el problema de su autoría," en *Actas das I. Jornadas de Didáctica da Literatura (19-21 Feb. 1987)* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad, 1988): 41-54.

Quiere convencer al lector de la idea de que las diferencias de tono, construcción, y desarrollo entre los primeros doce autos y los nueve restantes son las suficientemente bien percibidas para que pensemos en esta precisa división para los dos autores de la obra: el autor Anónimo en la primera instancia y Rojas en la segunda.

- 253 _____, "*La Celestina: Retrato de un mito,*" en *El Mito en el teatro clásico español*, coord. F. Ruiz Ramón y César Oliva (Madrid: Taurus, 1988): 89-104. (Col. Persiles 188)

Estas son ponencias de las VII Jornadas de Teatro Clásico Español celebradas en Almagro en Septiembre de 1984.

Un estudio semiótico—con bastantes gráficos trazando isotopías de valores asociados con contados rasgos físicos de Celestina que luego permitirán que se perciban correlatos con otros personajes, con los sistemas actanciales, y con niveles (de contenido) desarrollados a lo largo de la obra. Los rasgos físicos analizados de esta manera son: sus canas, su maquillaje, su barba, la cuchillada, su falta de dientes, el olor a vieja, la saya rota y el manto raído.

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- 254 CARRASCO, Félix. "Notas a una lectura de *Celestina* del siglo XVI: *La comedia de Sepúlveda*." *Celestinesca* 13, i (1989): 43-47.

Sin ser imitación de *Celestina*, hay acciones y hasta citas que parecen calcadas en el texto rojano: demuestran, como mínimo, un conocimiento de la "celestinesca;" por otra parte, hay virajes importantes en cuanto a sus ideologías, frente al suicidio, la actuación de terceras, el tema de conjuraciones, y más.

- 255 CATEDRA, Pedro. *Amor y pedagogía en la Edad Media: estudios de doctrina amorosa y práctica literaria*. Salamanca—Univ. de Salamanca—Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1989. Rústica, 248 pp.

Se le cita a *Celestina* a lo largo de este estudio. En el ambiente universitario y científico salmantino, Rojas no pudo no contagiarse de las teorías naturalistas del amor, algunas de ellas respaldadas por *El Tostado*. Las páginas más nutridas aparecen en el capítulo sobre "Amor y Magia," y relacionan la magia celestinesca con la *philocaptio* y la intervención diabólica en ella. La relación amor-magia, establecida en la *Comedia*, dio pie a esta relación en las continuaciones—sólo que a nivel de adorno, sin nunca llegar a la compenetración que tienen en el arte de Rojas.

- 256 CHEVALIER, Jean-Claude. "Proverbes et traduction: la traduction italienne de la *Célestine*, par Alphonso Hordóñez, Rome, 1506." *Bulletin Hispanique* 90 (1988): 59-89.

Aceptando la cifra de 444 'refranes' en LC, número propuesto por Gella Iturriaga [LCDB 353], analiza la adecuación de éstos en la traducción italiana de Ordóñez, desde el punto de vista lingüístico y el literario y cultural. Ordóñez es bastante fiel a la vez que inventivo y conservador en su traducción. Hay un apéndice de los refranes (de los que nombra Gella Iturriaga) aparecidos en LC, actos I y II, con su versión italiana—como muestrario de las distintas maneras de la arriba citada adecuación a la lengua italiana por parte de Ordóñez.

- 257 CORTEST, Luis. "Was Pleberio an Existentialist." *Anuario medieval* 1 (1989): 80-86.

El autor contrasta las posiciones tomadas por Dunn [LCDB 270] y Gilman, *The Spain* [388] y parece rechazar ambas por su extremismo. Pleberio no es ni hombre tan materialista que no pueda sentir verdadera compasión por su hija (Dunn) ni ese converso (Gilman) que, amargado contra su 'mundo', lo condena desde aquella perspectiva peculiar: opta por verle a Pleberio como un padre cuyo lamento se universaliza al buscar—ante la repentina e irreparable pérdida de la hija—una filosofía de la consolación para apaciguar la angustia que sí siente como padre.

- 258 DELAY, Florence, trad. *Fernando de Rojas, La Célestine*. Paris: Actes Sud-Papiers, 1989. Rústica, 92 pp. Ilustración del escenario en la capa.

La versión francesa que era la base de la producción dirigida y estrenada en Aviñón (12 de julio de 1989) por Antoine Vitez en el patio del Palacio de los Papas, con escenario de Yannis Kokkos y con Jeanne Moreau en *Celestina*. Dividido en dos actos, esta versión bastante fiel al español de Rojas llega a ocupar entre 4-5 horas en su representación.

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- 259 DYER, Nancy Joe. Ver SNOW, J. T.
- 260 ECHEVARRIA, Gloria. "Lucrecia, personaje secundario en la *Celestina* de Fernando de Rojas." Tesina (M.A.), Univ. of Georgia, 1989. 69 pp. Director: J. T. Snow.
- Estudio pormenorizado enfocado en las semejanzas y diferencias entre Lucrecia y los otros personajes de la clase baja y en el papel que juega esta criada en la evolución dramática de la acción de *Celestina*.
- 261 ESTEBAN MARTIN, Luis M. "Huellas de *Celestina* en la *Tragedia Policiana* de Sebastián Fernández." *Celestinesca* 13, i (1989): 31-41.
- El cuarto en una serie de estudios (todos aparecidos en diferentes números de *Celestinesca*) sobre las relaciones literarias que entroncan—y en qué grado—las continuaciones de *Celestina* con la obra original: las tres obras discutidas en los otros estudios—y mencionados de nuevo aquí, en el cuarto y último de la serie—son: las Segunda, Tercera y Cuarta *Celestinas* de Feliciano de Silva, Gáspar Gómez de Toledo, y Sancho de Muñon, respectivamente.
- 262 FERNAN-GOMEZ, Fernando. "Un error en el vuelo," en su *Historias de la picaresca* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1989): 93-100.
- Para el investigador, no tiene ningún interés. Es un simple recontar de la trama con el enfoque particular de un lector aficionado.
- 263 _____ "Celestina va de viaje." *El País semanal* (¿octubre?, 1989), 6.
- Reflexiones de un lector sobre la difícil apreciación de los clásicos, en este caso, *Celestina*, provocadas por críticos de las representaciones de Jeanne Moreau (en Aviñón) y de la que dirigió Adolfo Marsillach (puesta de escena en Edimburgo). Parece haber dos públicos: los profesores, especialistas, críticos—que buscan el gusto y el saber de otrora—y los demás, los que aceptan lo que les brindan los adaptadores, directores y actores de su propia época.
- 264 GOSSY, Mary. "The Untold Story in Three Works of the Spanish Golden Age: *Celestina*, *El casamiento engañoso/Coloquio de los perros*, and *La tía fingida*." Disertación doctoral (inédita), Harvard University, 1988. Dir.: Barbara Johnson. (*)
- 265 GRAHAM, Robert H. S. "The Sequels of *Celestina*, 1534-1554: A Reconsideration of Form, Means and Effect in Relation to Questions of Imitation and Genre." Disertación doctoral (inédita), Oxford University, 1987. viii + 419 pp. (*)
- 266 GRIFFIN, Clive. "Un curioso inventario de libros de 1528," en *El libro antiguo español: Actas del Primer Coloquio Internacional*, ed. M. L. López Vidriero y P. M. Cátedra (Salamanca: Universidad; y Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional—Sociedad Española de Historia del Libro, 1988): 189-224.

Las entradas 37 y 69 de este inventario proporcionan datos sobre '1.401 calistos' y '408 farças de calisto' en un inventario del almacén de la casa Cromberger, incluso los precios de venta (un medio de, por pliego, un maravedí).

CELESTINESCA

- 267 KIRBY, Steven D. "¿Cuándo empezó a conocerse la obra de Fernando de Rojas como *Celestina*?" *Celestinesca* 13, i (1989): 59-62.

Sobre una referencia temprana (Santiago de Compostela, 1511, en un testamento) al uso de "*Çelestina*" para el título de la obra de Rojas y sus posibles consecuencias para la "recepción" popular de la obra.

- 268 LACARRA, María Eugenia. "La parodia de la ficción sentimental en la *Celestina*." *Celestinesca* 13, i (1989): 11-29.

Es éste un lúcido estudio de los papeles en la *Tragicomedia* de Calisto y Melibea (principalmente), demostrando a lo largo de sus sucesivas intervenciones en el texto cómo Rojas organiza la subversión de la ficción sentimental y, en especial—en el presente estudio—de *Cárcel de amor* y el comportamiento de Laureola y Leriano.

- 269 LOPEZ, François. "De *LC* au *Quichotte*: Histoire et poétique dans l'oeuvre de Mayáns." *Bulletin Hispanique* 90 (1988): 215-249.

Arguye que Mayáns era un crítico formado en el clasicismo y no el neoclasicismo. El autor analiza comentarios a obras españolas en varias obras de Mayáns, sobre todo en su *Vida de Cervantes*, para demostrarlo. El clasifica, genéricamente, *novelas* y *comedias* bajo la misma denominación de "narración fingida," así incluyendo a *Don Quijote* y *Celestina* en la misma categoría de ficciones. Precisamente porque podían ser *Celestina* y la *Eufrosina* de Ferreira de Vasconcelos leídas (en vez de representadas), admite Mayáns que "essas más pueden tenerse por *novelas* que por *comedias*," juicio con el que no estaba muy de acuerdo Lida de Malkiel [LCDB 522].

- 270 MANSAU, Andrée. "Signification de la mort dans le jardin. Dans *LC*, ou *TCM* de Fernando de Rojas." *Philosophie XII, XIII et XIV* (Univ. de Toulouse-Le Mirail) (1986-1987-1988) [vol. I de *Mélanges offerts à Alain Guy: La pensée ibérique dans son histoire et dans son actualité*]: 57-61.

El jardín/huerta de Melibea/Pleberio visto como un lugar paradisiaco que, entrado el pecado, viene a ser lugar de caída y muerte, así presentándonos con una poetización del símbolo cristiano (Eden, *locus amoenus*). El *valle de lágrimas* se opondrá a la natural armonía de estos mismos espacios en la poesía de Fray Luis de León. Esta desacralización contiene el significado poético de la obra de Rojas.

- 271 MARTIN RECUERDA, Jose. *Las Conversiones* (con *Las ilusiones de las hermanas viajeras*). Estudios preliminar de Antonio Morales. Colección menor, 5, Murcia: Godoy, 1981. Rústica, 264 pp.

Las Conversiones, una obra teatral "celestinesca" [por retratar, junto con las figuras históricas de Enrique IV y La Beltraneja, a *Celestina* y *Claudina*, en un momento antes de iniciarse la acción de la *Tragicomedia*] con un estudio de la evolución, valores, y caracterizaciones del texto (pp. 19-61; 83-213). Esta misma edición luego circuló—con una nueva sobrecubierta—durante la temporada teatral de 1983-84 al montarse en Madrid esta obra celestinesca con el nuevo título: "El carnaval de un reino." Sobre esta producción, dirigida por Alberto González Vergel, véase *Celestinesca* 7, ii (Otoño 1983): 29-31.

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- 272 MONTAÑES, Luis. "Cuatro cartas de Pérez Gómez sobre bibliografía celestinesca, dirigidas a Luis Montañes." *Cuadernos de Bibliofilia* (Valencia), núm. 12 (enero 1984): 75-79.

Solicitadas ciertas informaciones al docto Pérez Gómez, éste le pone a L. M. cuatro cartas con informaciones sobre el libro de Norton [LCDB 669], y sobre la localización de Zaragoza 1507 y varias de las copias de las ediciones supuestamente de '1502'. De interés histórico-bibliográfico.

- 273 OLIVA, César. "La crisis de Celestina, o la humanización del teatro español: De Irene López Heredia a Amparo Rivelles." *Celestinesca* 13, i (1989): 49-52.

La idea principal aquí se trata de los cambios en el público para el teatro (¿y de la sociedad española en general?) reflejados en una serie de proyecciones en el escenario de la figura de Celestina (1957-1988).

- 274 REICHENBERGER, Kurt & Roswitha. *Das Spanische Drama im Goldenen Zeitalter-Ein bibliographisches Handbuch/El Teatro Español en los Siglos de Oro-Inventario de bibliografías*. Kassel: Ed. Reichenberger, 1989.

Trae una sección con 17 entradas de fuentes bibliográficos para el estudio de *Celestina* en las páginas 63-66. Un buen punto de partida.

- 275 RICO, Francisco. "La Celestina, o el triunfo de la literatura," en *La Celestina*, ed. a cuidado de Maite Cabello. Biblioteca de Plata de los Clásicos Españoles 4 (Barcelona: Circulo de Lectores, 1989): 9-24.

Un ensayo que pretende definir el "realismo" de la *Celestina* de Fernando de Rojas como inventor y no remedador del mundo. Hay que aceptar ciertos convencionalismos de la época (el esmerado estilo utilizado a veces por personajes bajos; el mundo supernatural; el marco literario) para penetrar en la visión pesimista unilateral que es la de Rojas—aun reconociendo la multiplicidad de reacciones posibles en diferentes receptores del texto.

- 276 ROHLAND DE LANGBEHN, Regula. "Desarrollo de géneros literarios: la novela sentimental española de los siglos XV y XVI," *Filología* 21 (1986): 57-76.

En este estudio panorámico, *Celestina* figura en un tercer grupo propuesto por la autora como influencia importante en sus miembros, por lo menos en su análisis de los complejos emocionales.

- 277 ROJAS, Fernando de. *La Celestina*. Clásicos de la Cultura, Madrid: Alborada, 1988. Rústica, 233 pp.

Edición estudiantil de la *Tragicomedia* con algunas notas y variantes (de Burgos 1499 y Toledo 1500). Trae 5 páginas útiles de "Glosario" y una breve bibliografía inadecuada. No tiene ninguna introducción o estudio aparte. Sin ilustraciones. No incluye el *Auto de Traso*. Versión modernizada.

- 278 _____ . *La Celestina*. Al cuidado de Maite Cabello [edición, notas, y una "Noticia" preliminar]. Biblioteca de Plata de los Clásicos Españoles, 4, Barcelona: Círculo de Lectores, 1989. Encuadernado, 380 pp.

La serie es seleccionada y comentada por Francisco Rico quien, en las páginas 9-24, coloca una meditación sobre la obra ("*La Celestina*, o el triunfo sobre la literatura"). Resume M. Cabello lo que podría interesar a un lector curioso sobre el texto que va a leer en su noticia preliminar y luego edita [a base de Valencia 1514, con variantes de las *Comedias* y la *TCM* de Zaragoza 1507] el texto, añadiéndole notas para facilitar y agrandar la lectura. El tomo trae ilustraciones de planos de Sevilla ¿1502? [1518-20, el titulado *Libro de Calixto y Melibea y de la puta vieja Celestina*] y de Sevilla 1523, Medina del Campo ¿1530?, Toledo 1538, y Valladolid 1561. Libro concebido para un público grande de lectores de los clásicos, y muy bien presentado.

- 279 _____ . *LC*. Puesta respetuosamente en castellano moderno por Camilo José Cela. Barcelona: Destino, 1988 (Colección Destino libro 272). Rústica, 265 pp.

Idéntica ésta a la edición encuadernada [Barcelona: Destino, 1979; Colección Ancora y Delfín 540], hasta en la ilustración de la cubierta.

- 280 _____ . *La Celestina oder Tragikömodie von Calisto und Melibea*. Traducido y con epílogo por Fritz Vogelsang. Frankfurt-am-Main: Insel Verlag, 1989. Encuadernado, 438 pp. Con 66 ilustraciones de Pablo Picasso.

Nueva traducción y lujosa edición, bellamente encuadernada y con una profusión de las mejores ilustraciones del artista Pablo Picasso (en blanco y negro). Es ésta sólo la quinta traducción que en lengua alemana se ha hecho de *LC*. El pequeño estudio de Vogelsang [411-36] resume con toques originales la dirección de los estudios modernos. Acaba con una brevíssima nota bibliográfica. Libro destinado a la bibliofilia más bien que a la erudición o estudio.

a. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (10 junio 1989, sección "Literatur"), J. Oehrlein.

- 281 SANCHEZ SANCHEZ-SERRANO, Antonio, y María Remedios PRIETO DE LA IGLESIA. "Fernando de Rojas acabó la *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*," *Revista de Literatura*, núm. 101 (1989): 21-54.

Presenta este estudio una serie de interesantes ideas sobre posibles soluciones a los "problemas" presentados por las piezas preliminares de *LC*: el 'fin bajo' se referiría a unos versos concluyentes a la obra (no los actuales de la *Tragicomedia*), y encuentran estos versos en las estrofas 4-7 de los versos acrósticos (es decir: S'ACABO LA COMEDIA DE CALYSTO Y MELYBEA, que son de Rojas, quien de verdad "acabó", o sea, *retocó* la *Comedia* en *Tragicomedia*). Rojas, en vez de ser el autor de la Carta, será el "amigo" a quien va dirigida, así con sus intervenciones—produciendo, de una "comedia" ya escrita, la *Tragicomedia*. Estos asuntos—y otros—están minuciosamente argüidos en este estudio de los materiales *pre* y *postliminares* de la *TCM*.

- 282 SEVERIN, Dorothy S. *Tragicomedy and Novelistic Discourse in 'Celestina'*. Cambridge Iberian and Latin American Studies, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. Encuadernado, 143 pp.

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Basándose en teorías de Bakhtin (*The Dialogic Imagination*), donde se expone ideas sobre la posibilidad de que el diálogo sin narrador sea funcional también en la novela, Severin intenta demostrar que *Celestina*, nacida de la comedia humanística y de otros géneros también, pasa a ser la primera novela moderna. Analiza los materiales pre- y postliminares para entresacar las motivaciones de Rojas al efectuar esta transformación; comenta los procedimientos paródicos utilizados en la obra; y distingue las múltiples voces que reflejan sobre la vida y sus modelos literarios.

- 283 SNOW, J. T. "*Celestina* de Fernando de Rojas: Documento bibliográfico." *Celestinesca* 13, i (1989): 71-80.

Añade 51 entradas nuevas al suplemento que sigue trazando a partir de *Celestinesca* 9, ii (1985), suplemento que mantiene al día la bibliografía comentada, publicada en Madison WI ese mismo año 1985.

- 284 _____ (y Nancy Joe DYER). "In Memoriam: Dean William McPheeters [1917-1987]; Two Memoirs." *Celestinesca* 13, i (1989): 3-10.

Resumen de (con una bibliografía) las contribuciones de McPheeters como celestinista [Snow] y como profesor universitario [Dyer].

- 285 _____ "Index to *Celestinesca* [1977-1988], vols. 1-12." *Celestinesca* 13, i (1989): 81-104.

Es un recuento completo dividido en tres apartados: autores de artículos y notas, reseñas, obras creativas y representaciones dramáticas, textos celestinescos, abstractos publicados, y más; un índice de las reseñas (por autores de las obras reseñadas); y un índice de las ilustraciones utilizadas en *Celestinesca* desde su primero número en 1977.

- 286 WAGNER, Christine. "La première traduction italienne de *Célestine* par Alphonso Hordóñez (Rome 1506)." Tesis del Troisième Cycle (Paris, Univ. de Paris IV), 1987. (*)

- 287 WALSH, Catherine Henry. "Laureola: A Mask for Melibea." *Mester* 17, ii (Fall 1988): 119-128.

Es éste un estudio de los aparentes paralelos, y las significativas diferencias, entre las obras, las heroínas, las situaciones literarias, y los impactos de *Cárcel de amor* y *Celestina*. Una (*Cárcel*) es fiel a las tradiciones cortesanas del medioevo, y la otra las subvierte, acabando con ellas: esto se ve, se postula aquí, en el trato recibido por Laureola y Melibea.

- 288 WILKINS, Constance L. "Teaching *Celestina*: A Collaborative Venture." *Celestinesca* 13, i (1989): 53-58.

Propuesta de encuesta sobre la enseñanza de *Celestina*, con vistas a una colección de ensayos sobre lo mismo.

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Bernie Judet

JEANNE MOREAU



1. Foto de Jeanne Moreau. 2. Diseño de Yannis Kokkos para La Célestine [Aniñón 1989] con J. Moreau: dirección-Antoine Vitez. Ver págs. 88-90.

Editorial Policies

CELESTINESCA generally accepts shorter items for publication. It is a newsletter with an international readership and its primary purpose is to keep subscribers--individual and institutional--abreast of the scholarship and general-interest matters relating to the phenomenon of "la celestinesca."

There is no minimum length. However, papers longer than 20 pages (notes included) will be discouraged, but not for this reason alone rejected. Brief articles and notes should treat well-defined points concerning either the text or interpretation of *LC*, its imitations, continuations, translations, theatrical adaptations, etc. Items may treat matters of literary, linguistic, stylistic or other concerns. Bibliographies dealing with works related to *LC* will be considered for publication.

Submissions should be the original. A second copy (carbon or a xerox) should also be sent. Text, quotations, and footnotes will be double-spaced. MLA Style Manual (1985) or the MHRA Style Book are two acceptable guides to form, but internal consistency is a must. Material in the notes ought to be fully documented (to include publishers), and may, whenever practical, be abbreviated by using the reference no. of items from '*Celestina*' by Fernando de Rojas: *An Annotated Bibliography of World Interest, 1930-1985*, and subsequent supplements (numbered consecutively) appearing in this journal.

All submissions will be read by the editor and another reader. Notification will normally follow within two months.

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