

RODRIGO AND CALIXTO:  
A NEW VERSION OF *LAS QUEJAS DE JIMENA*

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[By all rights, Charles Faulhaber, the discoverer of MS 1520, should appear as one of the coauthors of the present article, but having provided us with numerous crucially important, incisive, and authoritative suggestions, our colleague has modestly requested not to be listed as a coauthor. With sincere regret and with heartfelt thanks for his help, we must accede to his wishes. Diego Catalán, who is currently working on a new book about the medieval epic and its relationship to the *Romancero*, was provided with a preliminary draft of the present article and has also offered a number of indispensable suggestions, which are herewith most gratefully acknowledged. SGA & ALFA]

Until now, only three traditional versions of the *romance* of *Las quejas de Jimena* were known to have been preserved in 16th-century texts. All are in printed sources: A. *Cada día que amanece* (Menéndez Pidal, *Cancionero sin año*; reprinted: *Silva de 1550*; Sepúlveda, *Cancionero*); B. *Día era de los reyes* (Rodríguez-Moñino, *Cancionero de 1550*); and C. *En Burgos está el buen rey* (Timoneda, *Rosa Española*, 1573).<sup>1</sup> Both *Día era* and *En Burgos* have taken *Cada día* into account, combining its readings with additional elements also of traditional provenance. We need not discuss here a fourth version (= text D), published in the *Romancero del Cid* of Juan de Escobar, which is completely secondhand and derivative, being a conflation of Timoneda's version and *Día era*. In the present article, we edit and study a previously unknown and radically different version of *Las quejas* that has recently come to light.

In 1989, Charles B. Faulhaber, at work on the *Biblioteca Española de Textos Antiguos* (BETA), discovered an early sixteenth-century manuscript version of

approximately half of the first *auto* of the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*, which forms part of the Madrid Biblioteca de Palacio miscellany MS 1520.<sup>2</sup> This manuscript contains four different works: Juan de Lucena's *Libro de vita beata* (fols. 1r-92v), the handwritten *comedia* (93v-100v), and an anonymous and acephalous panegyric to Fernando and Isabel (101r-106r). The fourth item, our *romance* with its *glosa*, is on fol. 93r, between the end of Lucena's *Libro* (92v) and the beginning of the *Comedia* (93v), under the title: "glosa al Romãçe / Rey nõ hae jutiçia." Between 92v and 93r, a leaf, on which Lucena's epilogue must have continued, has been lost. The *romance* is copied in the same hand as the *Comedia*: "an early 16th-c. court or process hand with some italic features [...] The copy of the *Comedia* [...] definitely dates from the first half of the 16th century and, on paleographic grounds, probably from the first quarter."<sup>3</sup>

On the following pages, we transcribe and edit the previously unknown version of *Las quejas de Jimena* from Bibl. de Palacio 1520. Our edition involves three consecutive stages: (1) a paleographic reading reflecting the poem's original quatrain form, including the *glosa*'s two octosyllables, which precede each of the twelve traditional verses; (2) a paleographic text, in which the *romance*'s traditional verses have been separated from their *glosa* and arranged as sixteen-syllable ballad lines, abbreviations, with their solutions printed in italics, have been resolved and variant forms of *z* and *s* are not distinguished; (3) a critical "reading" text of the ballad, with modern punctuation, capitalization, and minimal orthographic changes, in which italicized letters in abbreviated forms are not marked and the reading of v. 12a has been tentatively emended. Here, first, is our paleographic transcription of the *glosa* and the ballad verses:

- 1 Si el q̃ peca de avariçia  
tarde se puede en mendare  
rrey q̃ nõ façe jutiçia  
no deue el rreyno mandare
- 2 Jamas no siento alegría  
ant̃ lloro a la mj madre  
pues q̃ veo cadadia  
aql q̃ mato a mj padre
- 3 sin pēsar de cōsolarme  
cõmo enemjgo mortale  
põ me hazê despesare  
po[r] mj puêta yva apasare
- 4 matador y muy vfano  
cõ vn senblant̃ (y) desgyre  
cõ vn halcõ ãla mano  
diziendo q̃ yva acaçare
- 5 con palabras desone[s]tas  
q̃ atodos pareçe male

- ̃brantame las puêtas  
 las puêtas de mj corrale  
 6 sin ãv mj m̃azilla  
 pô mj (port) llaga rrefrescare  
 matara me vna palomjlla  
 dent° de mj palomare  
 7 p̃sando bus[c]ar socorro  
 p̃a la desagravare  
 puso el rrey barua en onbro  
 començara dep̃sare  
 8 cujdoso pena sintiendo  
 con themor dixo acatare  
 si aeste onbre mato o p̃redo  
 mjs cortesse boluerane  
 9 en caso tan agravado  
 (p̃?) temjendo no açertare  
 no avja njngun priuado  
 ̃ osase consejare  
 10 en vfensas tan ynormes  
 no sienten ̃ medio dar[e]  
 si nõ es ximena gõm̃z  
 la ̃qlas ̃rellas dav[e]  
 11 p̃dido es ya lo p̃dido  
 mas le qujero p̃donare  
 dieșeșmelo pô marido  
 ãql ̃ mato al mj padre  
 12 considrando el beneficiõ  
 ̃ rreçibre ẽ perdonalle  
 el ̃ tanto bjẽ me hizo  
 qujça alguñ bjẽ me farave.

4b read *desg[a]yre*; possibly [al] *desg[a]yre*.

10a *vfensas could arguably be read ofensas*; the *s* of *ynormes* is superscript.

10b for *medio* read [re]*medio*.

10b, *d* final -*e* has been lost; the edge of the page has been trimmed. Compare Faulhaber (1990:6).

We use ~ for *ue* in the abbreviated form of *que*, for the dash over vowels or *m* representing *n* or *m*, and also for the dash over *t* representing *e*. We also include here a decorative tilde over *m* and *n* (vv. 3b, 12d). We use the circumflex for the superscript sign representing *r* or *er*. We use a “barred” *p* (= *p̃*) for the abbreviation representing *per-* or *par-*. We use *z* or *s* to represent the large *sigma* that, in the MS, is freely used to represent either *z* or *s*. Square brackets ([ ])

enclose letters or forms supplied by us; angle brackets (< >) enclose letters written in a hand different from that of the copyist; parentheses enclose forms deleted in the MS. Our text embodies various paleographic difficulties and uncertain readings, especially in the first two verses of some *coplas*, which offer special problems, in that they have no counterparts in the ballad tradition.

Here now is a paleographic text, in which the ballad's traditional verses have been separated from each *copla*'s initial *glosa* and arranged in two-hemistich verses:

- |    |                                   |                                    |
|----|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
|    | rrey <i>que non</i> faze justiçia | no deue el rreyno mandare          |
| 2  | pues <i>que</i> veo cada dia      | <i>aquel que</i> mato a mj padre   |
|    | por me hazer despesare            | po[r] mj puerta yva a pasare       |
| 4  | con vn halcon <i>en</i> la mano   | diziendo <i>que</i> yva a caçare   |
|    | <i>quebrantaram</i> e las puertas | las puertas de mi corrale          |
| 6  | matarame vna palomjlla            | dentro de mj palomare              |
|    | puso el rrey barva en onbro       | començara de pensare               |
| 8  | si a este onbre mato o prendo     | mis cortes se boluerane            |
|    | no avja ningun priuado            | <i>que</i> osase consejare         |
| 10 | si <i>non</i> es ximena gome      | la <i>que</i> las querellas dav[e] |
|    | diesesmelo por marido             | <i>aquel que</i> mato al mi padre  |
| 12 | el <i>que</i> tanto bjen me hizo  | qujça algun bjen me farave         |

We now offer a punctuated, capitalized, and accented "reading" text, in which italicized resolutions are disregarded and vocalic *j*, *y*, and *v* and consonantal *u* are replaced by *i*, *u*, and *v* respectively. Otherwise, we have retained the original orthography. Numbers of corresponding verses in the other early versions of *Las quejas de Jimena* and in the epic *Refundición de las Mocedades de Rodrigo* (according to Menéndez Pidal's critical ed. in *Reliquias de la poesía épica* [1980: 267-269]) are listed following each verse.

- |    |                                 |                               |              |
|----|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
|    | —Rrey que non faze justiçia     | no deve el rreino mandare,    | (ABC)        |
| 2  | pues que veo cada día           | aquél que mató a mi padre.    | (ABC) (367?) |
|    | Por me hazer despesare,         | po[r] mi puerta iva a pasare, | (A)          |
| 4  | con un halcón en la mano,       | diziendo que iva a caçare.    | (AB)         |
|    | Quebrantárame las puertas,      | las puertas de mi corrale.    |              |
| 6  | Matárame una palomilla          | dentro de mi palomare.—       | (ABbCc)      |
|    | Puso el rrey barva en onbro,    | començara de pensare:         | (ABC) (370)  |
| 8  | -Si a este onbre mato o prendo, | mis cortes se bolveráne.-     | (ABC)        |
|    |                                 | (371)                         |              |
|    | No avía ningún privado          | que osase consejare,          |              |
| 10 | si non es Ximena Gómez,         | la que las querellas dav[e]:  |              |
|    | —Diésmelo por marido,           | aquél que mató al mi padre.   | (BC) (376)   |
| 12 | El que tanto [mal] me hizo,     | quijá algún bien me faráve.   | (BC)         |

The traditional expression reflected in v. 7a is explained in the *Diccionario de Autoridades*: "Traher la *barba* sobre el hombro. Es vivir y andar con cuidado, para que no le coja de sobresalto qualquiera cosa que pueda sobrevenir. Lat. *Damno ab aliquo sibi undique cavere, providere*" (1964: I, 554b). In v. 12a, *bjin* the manuscript obviously anticipates the identical word in the following hemistich. The reading *mal* is fully authenticated in *Día era*: "que quien tanto mal me hizo / se que algun bien me hara" and secondarily also by *En Burgos*: "que quien tanto mal me hizo / quiça algun bien me harae," in which, though *En Burgos* is following *Día era*, the word *quiça* may perhaps echo a traditional reading which parallels our MS.

Let us now compare our manuscript text with the three "authentic" early prints of *Las quejas*, keeping in mind, once again, the secondary character of Escobar's version (= text *D*). To the right of each text, we indicate in parentheses the presence of corresponding verses in the other two printed versions, followed, in a separate column, by parallels with our new manuscript text (*E*) and its appropriate verse number; in a third column, we list related verses in the *Refundición de las Mocedades de Rodrigo*:

A. Cada día que amanece (= *Primav.* 30):

Cada dia que amenece	veo quien mato mi padre	(BC) (E2) (367?)
2 y me passa por la puerta	por me dar mayor pesare	(E3)
con vn falcon enla mano	que trae para caçare	(B)(E4)
4 mata me mis palomillas	que estan en mi palomare	(BbCb) (E6)
rey que no faze justicia	non deuia de reynar	(BC) (E1)
6 ni caualgar en cauallo	ni con la reyna holgar	(Ba-bC)
elrey quando aquesto oyera	començara de pensare	(BC) (E7b) (370)
8 si yo prendo o mato al Cid	mis cortes reboluer se ane	(BC) (E8) (371)
mandar le quiero vna carta	mandar le quiero llamare	(B) (381?)
10 las palabras no son dichas	la carta camino vae	(B) (382)
mensajero que la lleua	dado la auia a su padre	(B) (383)
12 malas mañas aueys conde	no vos las puedo quitare	(B)
que cartas que el rey vos manda	no me las quereys mostrare	(B)
14 no era nada my hijo	sino que vades allae	(B)
que ad vos aqui hijo	yo yre en vuestro lugare	(B)
16 nunca dios a tal quisiesse	ni santa maria lo mande	(B)
sino que adonde vos fueredes	que vaya yo adelante	(B) (401)

Base text: *a*: Menéndez Pidal, *Cancionero sin año*, fol. 155 r-v.

Variants: *b*: *Silva* (1550-51), p. 155.

*c*: Sepúlveda, *Cancionero* (1584), p. 300.

- 1a amanesce *b*; amanece *c*.  
 1b veo quien mato a mi padre *b*; veo a quien mato a mi padre *c*.  
 2b pesar *c*.  
 3b caçar *c*.  
 4b questan *b*; palomar *c*.  
 5b no deuria *bc*.  
 7b pensar *bc*.  
 8b hane *b*; han *c*.  
 9b llamar *c*.  
 10b va *c*.  
 11b hauia *b*; auie *c*.  
 12a haueys *b*.  
 12b quitar *c*.  
 13b querays mostrar *c*.  
 14a mi hijo *bc*.  
 14b alla *c*.  
 15a queda vos aqui mi hijo *b*; quedad os aca hijo *c*.  
 15b lugar *c*.  
 16a lo tal *c*.  
 17a fuerdes *c*.

B. Día era de los reyes (= *Primav.* 30*b*):

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| Día era de los reyes         | dia era señalado                           |
| 2 quando dueñas y donzellas  | al rey piden aguinaldo                     |
| sino es Ximena Gomez         | hija del conde Loçano                      |
| 4 que puesta delante el rey  | desta manera ha hablado                    |
| Con manzilla biuo rey        | con ella biue mi madre (C) (365?)          |
| 6 cada dia que amanece       | veo quien mato a mi padre (AC) (E2) (367?) |
| cauallero en vn cauallo      | y en su mano vn gauilan (C)                |
| 8 otra vez con vn halcon     | que trae para caçar (A) (E4)               |
| por me hazer mas enojo       | ceualo en mi palomar (AbC)                 |
| 10 con sangre de mis palomas | ensangrento mi brial (C)                   |
| embie selo a dezir           | embio me a amenazar (C)                    |
| 12 que me cortara mis haldas | por vergonçoso lugar                       |
| me forçara mis donzellas     | casadas y por casar                        |
| 14 matarame vn pagezico      | so haldas de mi brial                      |
| Rey que no haze justicia     | no deuia de reynar (AC) (E1)               |
| 16 ni caualgar en cauallo    | ni espuela de oro calçar (AaCa)            |
| ni comer pan a manteles      | ni con la reyna holgar (AbCa-b)            |
| 18 ni oyr missa en sagrado   | por que no merece mas.                     |
| El rey de que aquesto oyera  | començara de hablar, (AC) (E7) (370)       |
| 20 O vala me dios del cielo  | quiera me dios consejar                    |
| si yo prendo o mato al Cid   | mis cortes se bolueran (AC) E8) (371)      |

- 22 y si no hago justicia      mi alma lo pagara, (C)  
 tente las tus cortes rey      no te las rebuelua nadie      (375?)
- 24 al Cid que mato a mi padre      dañe lo tu por yqual      (C) (E11) (376)  
 que quien tanto mal me hizo      se que algun bien me hara      (C) (E12)
- 26 entonces dixera el rey      bien oyreys lo que dira  
 siempre lo oy dezir      y agora veo que es verdad
- 28 que el seso de las mugeres      que no era natural  
 hasta aqui pidio justicia      ya quiere con el casar
- 30 yo lo hare de buen grado      de muy buena voluntad  
 mandarle quiero vna carta      mandarle quiero llamare      (A) (381?)
- 32 las palabras no son dichas      la carta camino vae      (A) (382)  
 mansajero que la lleua      dado la auia a su padre      (A) (383)
- 34 malas mañas aueys conde      no vos las puedo quitare      (A)  
 que cartas que el rey vos manda      no me las quereys mostrare      (A)
- 36 no era nada my hijo      sino que vades allae      (A)  
 quedauos aqui hijo      yo yre en vuestro lugare      (A)
- 38 nunca dios a tal quisiesse      ni santa Maria lo mande      (A)  
 sino que adonde vos fueredes      que vaya yo adelante.      (A) (401)

Base: Rodríguez-Moñino, *Cancionero de 1550*, pp. 224-25.

24b léase damelo.

33a mansajero (*sic*).

**C. En Burgos está el buen Rey (= *Primav.* 30a-variante):**

- En burgos esta el buen rey      assentado a su yantare,  
 2 quando la Ximena Gomez      se le vino a querellare,  
 cubierta paños de luto      tocas de negro cendale:      (332)
- 4 las rodillas por el suelo      començara de hablare,  
 Con manzilla biuo Rey      con ella murio mi madre,      (B)
- 6 cada dia que amanesce      veo quien mato a mi padre,      (AB) (E2)  
 cauallero en vn cauallo      y en su mano vn gauilane,      (B)
- 8 por hazerme mas despecho      ceua lo en mi palomare,      (B)  
 mata me mis palomicas      criadas, y por criare:      (Aa) (E6a)
- 10 la sangre que dellas sale      teñido me ha mi briale:      (B)  
 embiese lo ha dezir,      embio me amenazare.      (B)
- 12 Hazed me buen Rey justicia      no me la querays negar e:      (369?)  
 Rey que no haze justicia      no deuia de reynare      (AB) (E1)
- 14 ni caualgar en cauallo,      ni con la Reyna holgare,      (ABa-b)  
 ni comer pan en manteles,      ni menos armas se armare.      (Ba)
- 16 Desde el Rey aquesto oyo      empeçara de pensare.      (AB) (E7)  
 Si este Cauallero prendo      mis Cortes reboluerse han:      (AB) (E8) (371)
- 18 pues si lo dexo de hazer      Dios me lo demandare.      (B)  
 Hablara doña Ximena      palabras bien de notare.

- 20 Yo te lo dire buen Rey como lo has de remediare  
 que me lo des por marido con el me quieras casare, (B) (E11) (376)  
 22 que quien tanto mal me hizo quiça algun bien me harae. (B) (E12)  
 El Rey vista la presente el Cid embio a llamare  
 24 que venga sobre seguro que le quiere perdonare.

Base: Timoneda, *Rosa Española*, fols. xxxv v.-xxxvj v.

We will now juxtapose the verses of our reading text of MS 1520 with their counterparts in the three printed versions and, where possible, also with corresponding verses in the *Refundición de las Mocedades de Rodrigo* (= RM):

- 1 Rrey que non faze justiça no deve el rreino mandare, (E)  
 5 rey que no faze justicia no deuia de reynar (A)  
 15 Rey que no haze justicia no deuia de reynar (B)  
 13 Rey que no haze justicia no deuia de reynare (C)  
 2 pues que veo cada día aquél que mató a mi padre. (E)  
 1 Cada día que amenece veo quien mato a mi padre (A)  
 6 cada día que amanece veo quien mato a mi padre (B)  
 6 cada día que amanescer veo quien mato a mi padre (C)  
 367 príssome mis hermanos e matóme a mi padre (RM)  
 3 Por me hazer despesare, po[r] mi puerta iva a pasare. (E)  
 2 y me passa por la puerta por me dar mayor pesare (A)  
 4 con un halcón en la mano, diziendo que iva a caçare. (E)  
 3 con vn falcon enla mano que trae para caçare (A)  
 8 otra vez con vn halcon que trae para caçar (B)  
 5 Quebrantárame las puertas, las puertas de mi corrale. (E)  
 6 Matárame una palomilla dentro de mi palomare. (E)  
 4 mata me mis palomillas que están en mi palomare (A)  
 9 mata me mis palomicas criadas, y por criare (C)  
 7 Puso el rrey barva en onbro, començara de pensare: (E)  
 7 elrey quando aquesto oyera començara de pensare (A)  
 19 El rey de que aquesto oyera començara de hablar (B)  
 16 Desde que el Rey aquesto oyo empeçara de pensare (C)  
 370 Mucho pessó al rey, et començó de fablar (RM)  
 8 Si a este onbre mato o prendo, mis cortes se bolveráne. (E)  
 8 si yo prendo o mato al Cid mis cortes reboluer se ane (A)  
 21 si yo prendo o mato al Cid mis cortes se bolueran (B)  
 17 Si este Cauallero prendo mis Cortes reboluerse han (C)  
 371 En grant coyta son mis reynos: Castilla alçar se me ha (RM)  
 9 No avía ningún privado que osase consejare, (E)  
 10 si non es Ximena Gómez, la que las querellas dav[e]: (E)  
 11 Diésmelo por marido, aquél que mató al mi padre. (E)  
 24 al Cid que mato a mi padre da[m]e lo tu por ygal (B)



- 21 que me lo des por marido      con el me quieras casare      (C)  
 376 datme a Rodrigo por marido,      aquél que mató a mi padre. (RM)  
 12 El que tanto [mal] me hizo,      quizá algún bien me faráve. (E)  
 25 que quien tanto mal me hizo      se que algun bien me hara (B)  
 22 que quien tanto mal me hizo      quizá algun bien me harae (C)

Our manuscript version attests to various highly distinctive features. Particularly striking is *E*'s handling of the two initial verses. Version *A* (vv. 1-6) presents a succinct reading of the ballad's two major components—neither of which is present in the epic—and upon which texts *B* and *C* elaborate in greater detail: Rodrigo's outrageous behavior (*B*, vv. 5-14; *C*, vv. 5-11) and Jimena's reproaching of the king, which involves a series of privations similar to those included in traditional curses, punishments, and oaths of abstinence (*B*, vv. 15-18; *C*, vv. 13-15).<sup>4</sup> Text *B* has been further expanded by borrowing traditional verses from *romances* concerning the feast-day *aguinaldo* custom (ritualized begging) (initial verses in *á-o*: vv. 1-4) and other verses originating in another ballad also concerning a woman's complaint: *Las quejas de doña Lambra* from the *Infantes de Lara* cycle.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to all the printed texts, where the reproaches consistently follow the account of Rodrigo's abusive behavior, our handwritten text begins with the famous key verse of the reproaches (v. 1), but then concentrates solely on Rodrigo's abusive actions (vv. 2-6). The traditional verses consistently differ from those of our printed texts. Unheard of elsewhere is Rodrigo's incongruous explanation of what he is doing: "diziendo que iva a caçare" (v. 4*b*). Unique too is the significant v. 5: "Quebrantárame las puertas, / las puertas de mi corrale." Jimena's door is also mentioned in *A*: "y me passa por la puerta / por me dar mayor pesare" (v. 2), but, given the traditional sexual connotations of doors, the manuscript's unique v. 5, about breaking down the door, makes more explicit the ballad's implications, otherwise stressed in text *B* by means of verses borrowed from *Las quejas de doña Lambra*, particularly: "me forzara mis donzellas / casadas y por casar" (v. 13).<sup>6</sup> The singular, rather than the plural form: *palomilla* (*E*, v. 6), over against *A*'s *palomillas* and *C*'s *palomicas*, further stresses this point. Obviously significant too is *B*'s verse: "con sangre de mis palomas / ensangrento mi brial" (v. 10), which is shared with *C*: "la sangre que dellas sale / teñido me ha mi brial" (v. 10).<sup>7</sup>

Needless to say that the entire account of Rodrigo's misdeeds is very much involved with another, favorite *Romancero* motif: *la caza de amor*.<sup>8</sup> In dispensing with Jimena's reproaches, aggressively directed at the king, towards which the other versions gradually build up as a climactic and more self-assertive *finale*, MS 1520's text focuses all its attention on Jimena as victim and, implicitly at least, as sexual victim. But the emphasis on Jimena's self-assertive initiative, stressed in the printed versions by her reproaches and the austere deprivations

wished upon the king, is achieved in our *E* text by means of otherwise undocumented, but traditionally formulaic verses, in which Jimena's spirited advice is contrasted to the cowardly reserve of the king's counselors (vv. 9-10):

No avía ningún privado que osase aconsejare,  
si non es Ximena Gómez, a que las querellas dav[e].<sup>9</sup>

In contrast to the printed texts, our handwritten version is notably brief: Compare its 12 verses with *A*'s 16, *B*'s 38, and *C*'s 24. Notable too is its paucity of correspondences with the only known poetic account of the epic *Mocedades*. Whereas the relatively brief *A* attests to at least six and possibly seven convincingly close agreements and *B* to at least eight and perhaps even ten, *E* can boast only four at best, comparable to *C*'s four, none of which, however, coincide with *E*.<sup>10</sup> All the same, *E* gives us one strikingly exact verbal agreement with its epic congener: "aquél que mató a(l) mi padre" (v. 11*b*), which, except for *al* vs. *a*, is identical to the *Refundición*'s v. 376*b*. But we should bear in mind that none of our *romance* versions derive directly from the *Refundición*. All spring from some other variant version (or very possibly versions) of the traditional epic.<sup>11</sup> Particularly interesting is *E*'s consistent use of the archaic paragogic *-e*. Compare *A* (but not vv. 5-6), *B* (only in vv. 31-38 and only because it depends here on *A*), and *C* (throughout, except v. 17, but Timoneda may well be already thinking in terms of *fabla antigua*). Notable is the non-etymological example of paragogic *-e* in "dav[e]" for *dava* (v. 10)—if we are reconstructing accurately the mutilated text. Especially interesting is the splendid archaism in v. 12: *faráve* (= \**fácre habet*), echoing a 10th-century stage in the development of the epic's formulaic language.<sup>12</sup> Our manuscript version ends, in typical fragmentistic style, with Jimena's dramatic antithetical verse: "El que tanto [mal] me hizo, / quizá algún bien me faráve," while *A* and *B* continue to develop material deriving from the *Refundición*: the king's message to Rodrigo and the latter's dialogue with Diego Laínez (vv. 382-405).

Clearly MS 1520 gives us a strikingly different interpretation of *Las quejas* from those we find in the printed texts. Obviously this is a traditional version—the result of polish and focus in transmission—a version which does not depend on any source that might later have been used by the printed *cancioneros*. In its distinctive concentration of Jimena's complaint, as compared to her direct reproach of the king, and in its sparse recollections of its epic ancestor, this earliest known version of *Las quejas de Jimena* is already well on its way toward the scene's autonomous balladic elaboration as a novelesque, erotic song in its own right, a development that will mirror the general drift of the ballad genre and which, in the case of *Las quejas de Jimena*, will culminate in the brief modern Moroccan and Azorian treatments, where not a single verse of the ballad's medieval epic ancestor has survived down to our time.<sup>13</sup>

*Habent sua fata libelli!* As Charles Faulhaber has pointed out (in private

correspondence), we owe the very survival of this crucially important text to its traditional thematic agreement with the initial situation described in *Celestina*: “Entrando Calisto en una huerta en pos de un halcón suyo [...]” (Severin 1969: 45). Both the *romance* and Calisto’s initial intervention in *Celestina* embody essentially identical erotic situations, in which hawking was envisioned as a courtship ritual and would inevitably lead to an amorous encounter.<sup>14</sup> The ballad’s precise location in MS 1520 immediately before the transcription of an otherwise unknown variant of *Celestina* is crucially significant. For the scribe, who was indubitably aware of the relationship between the two narratives, the ballad’s Rodrigo was surely seen as a prefiguration of the *Comedia*’s Calisto.

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## NOTES

1 For convenience, we point out that these three texts correspond to *Primavera* 30, 30*b*, and the variant reading of 30*a*.

2 See Faulhaber (1990; 1991; 1993). The very substantial fragment breaks off following the “puta vieja” passage, at a point in the text corresponding to Severin (1969: 62); Marciales (1985: II, 38); Russell (1991: 245): PARM. “Sí, santo Dios! Y remediaba por caridad muchas huérfanas y erradas que se encomendaban a ella: y en otro apartado tenía para remediar (...)” (Severin). Subsequent critical studies of the Palacio 1520 text of *Celestina* are reviewed by J.C. Conde (1997) and by our late colleague, Germán Orduna (1999: 5-7). The BETA reference numbers for the Palacio MS and for the texts it contains are: MS 1520 (BETA manid 3450), fols. 1r-92r (BETA cnum 4303); 93v-100v (BETA cnum 5593). The designations *manid* and *cnum* correspond, respectively, to the identification numbers of the manuscript and the text it contains, as found in the *Biblioteca Española de Textos Antiguos*. BOOST, already enormously useful in its own right, was a precursor of BETA.

3 See Faulhaber (1990: 6). The *romance* is described on p. 4 (no. 2).

4 Concerning curses, punishments, and oaths of abstinence, all involving a series of deprivations, see FLSJ, I, 95-96; II, 259-260, n54; Armistead et al (1997: 31-32, n7). Curiously, the single verse which the enraged citizens of Goa sang beneath the windows of their autocratic governor, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, in 1527, corresponds - with otherwise undocumented minor variant readings - to the first verse of our MS 1520 version: “Rey que nom guarda justiça / nom ha[via] de reynar” (Michaëlis de Vasconcellos 1934: 34-35; Menéndez Pidal 1953: II, 210-211; FLSJ, II, 91, n15). But the verse accords perfectly with the circumstances and with the rebellious intentions in the *goenses* and I believe that we may infer that it necessarily reflects another traditional version that began with this verse.

5 The initial verse of the Doña Lambra ballad is, “Yo me estava en

Barvadillo / en essa mi heredad" (Menéndez Pidal et al, 1957-1985: II, 99, v. 64; 119, vv. 69-70; 122, vv. 4-7; 124-127). Concerning the aguinaldo contamination, see Catalán (1969: 95-98).

6 On the sexual connotations of doors, see especially Louise Vasvari's splendid study of *Yo me era mora Moraima* (1999: 75-95).

7 For similar allusions, see *Esa guirnalda de rosas* (*Primavera* 144, vv. 6-7) and some modern Moroccan versions of *El sueño de doña Alda* (FLSJ, III, 141).

8 See FLSJ, I, 245-250, n6; Armistead and Silverman (1982: 204-205, n3). For learned and courtly manifestations of the same metaphor, see Thiébaux (1974) and especially the falcon imagery (136). Note also John Cummins' apposite commentary: "A more precise and vivid usage is that of the image of falconry: love-making again is a death; the man is the hawk, the woman the quarry, often the heron [= *garza*]. In the Middle Ages and Golden Age, when the hawk mantling and panting over its prey was a sight familiar to countrymen and courtiers alike, such imagery would have an immediacy which it has now largely lost" (Cummins 1977: 77). Inevitably, we must acknowledge here Keith Whinnom's crucial monograph concerning erotic symbolism in *cancionero* poetry (Whinnom 1981: 51, 98 et passim). Manuel da Costa Fontes' splendid book continues and amplifies such an initiative and very particularly in regard to oral literature (200: 184, 272, n6 et passim).

9 For the motif of the silent, cowardly followers contrasted with the valiant hero, compare the fronterizo ballad of *Alonso de Aguilar*: "unos a otras se miran, / el sí ninguno le daba, // que la ida es peligrosa, / mucho más la tornada; // con el temor que tienen, / a todos tiembla la barba. // Levantóse don Alonso / que de Aguilar se llamaba (...)" (*Primavera* 95.8-11). Note the same pattern in some modern peninsular and Judeo-Spanish romances: "Todos estaban atentos, / ninguno se ha meneado, // si no es un don Manuel, / que estaba de heridas malo" (*Don Manuel y el moro Muza*: Cossío and Maza 1933-1934: I, nos. 26-27); "Todas callaron a una, / ninguna respuesta dio. // Saltó la más chiquitita, / la que en buen día nació (...)" (*La doncella guerrera*: Attias 1961: no. 40.13-16); "Todas miran en las otras / y a todas parese male. // Ahi s'alhadró Claraniña, / vieja era d'antigüedade (...)" (*Melisenda insomne*: FLSJ, V, ch. 13, in process: Moroccan Judeo-Spanish synthetic text; < Morocc. Coll. Arabic *hder* 'comparaître, être present'). The three early versions of *Melisenda* are edited and studied in detail in FLSJ, V, ch. 13. The texts can be consulted in the *Libro de cincuenta romances* (*Pliegos do Morbecq*, pp. 166-168); *Pliegos de Praga*, I, 273-274; and in *Silva* (1551), p 491. Note in vv. 9-10, the poetically effective contrast in verb tenses, where the present tense in v. 10a vigorously stresses Jimena's daring personal initiative. The identical technique is seen in the CMC's Alcocer triptych, where the Cid's heroic deeds in battle are in the present tense while, in subsequent verses, all his followers are identified in the past tense and in terms of past accomplishments: "Cuál *lidia* bien / sobre exorado arzón // mio Cid Ruy Diaz, / el buen lidiador (...)" (ed. Montaner 1993: vv. 733-734).

10 We should bear in mind that C, although it still picks up interesting

traditional material (particularly the initial vv. 1-4), is largely a reworking of B.

11 See Menéndez Pidal (1953: I, 215-221); Armistead (1999: 19-25).

12 See Armistead (1988). The paragodic *-e*, as a witness to an early stage in the development of the Castilian epic, is to a degree analogous to the metrical impact of a long-lost *digamma* in the Homeric epics (Armistead 2000: 131-132, n4). On the *digamma*, see West (1997: 227-229).

13 See Armistead (1999: 22-24) and the monograph, *Las "Mocedades de Rodrigo" en el Romancero* (Armistead, en proceso). On the *Romancero*'s "drift" from heroic toward a novelesque, lyric, erotic perspective, see Di Stefano (1967: 74-75); Bénichou (1968:132); Catalán (1969: 213-215); Catalán and Catarella (1972: 181-205); Catalán (1997-1998: II, 58-60, 102-104); FLSJ, II, 273 and nn77-78; González (1998).

14 Both texts embody well known and internationally diffused folklore motifs. For extensive documentation, see Lida de Malkiel (1962: 200-205); FLSJ, I, 119, n2; 245-251, nn5-7; Armistead and Silverman (1982: 204-205, n3); and n8, *supra*. The falcon episode has attracted the attention of a number of *Celestina* scholars. See especially Faulhaber (1977); Gerli (1983); McGrady (1986); Garcigómez (1987); Blay Manzanera and Severin (1999: 9-10, 34). For further references and crucial summaries, see Snow (1985: nos. 58, 66, 151, 289, 363, 869; 1988-2000: nos. 151, 177, 823, 1093).

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