

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE CHARACTER PORTRAYAL OF "CELESTINA"
AND OTHER GOLDEN AGE CELESTINESQUE PROTAGONISTS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

BARBARA TRISLER

Norman, Oklahoma

1977

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APPROVED BY

Pilar Liria
Melvin B. Tolson, Jr.
Seymour Teller
John P. Artman
James H. Atwell
Laurel Lumsden

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks in the preparation of this dissertation are extended to Dr. Pilar Liria for her encouragement and advice and to Dr. James Abbott, Dr. Jim P. Artman, Dr. Lowell Dunham, Dr. Seymour Feiler, and Dr. Melvin Tolson for their assistance.

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BY: BARBARA TRISLER

MAJOR PROFESSOR: DR. PILAR LIRIA

This study is a comparative analysis of the character portrayal techniques used by Fernando de Rojas to create the Celestina in La tragi-comedia de Calisto y Melibea along with other Golden Age dramatic and novelesque presentations of this character type. Introductory material includes a discussion of the classical and early Spanish antecedents to Celestina's prototype, Trotaconventos. Chapter I deals with the Archpriest of Hita's characterization techniques used to portray Trotaconventos as the antecedent go-between for Celestina. Although Trotaconventos is a stereotyped character, she serves as Celestina's model because of her persuasive use of language as a tool in her procuring activities.

Celestina is portrayed through conversations of secondary characters as well as through monologues, actions, and interaction with other characters. Rojas develops her personality and indicates her professional abilities as a procuress so well that she serves as the model for all later go-between types. Imitations included in this discussion are the Celestina of La Segunda Celestina by Feliciano de Silva, Celestina of the Tercera parte de la tragicomedia de Celestina by Gaspar Gómez, Claudina of the Tragedia Policiana by Sebastián Fernández, Marcelia of the Comedia Llamada Florinea by Rodríguez Florián, the Lena of La Lena by Velásquez de Velasco, and Franquila of the Thebayda. Other dramatic presentations include Brizida Vaz of Gil Vicente's Auto da Barca do Inferno and its anonymous Spanish counterpart entitled Comedia alegórica del parayso y del infierno with its vieja, Berce of La Comedia de Tideia by Francisco de las Natas, Teodora in El Infamador by Juan de la Cueva, and Celestina in the Entremés famoso de la Celestina by Juan Navarro de Espinosa. The novelesque presentations of the celestinesque type include the old women and La Lozana in Francisco Delicado's Retrato de la Lozana andaluza, Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo's Elena in La hija de Celestina, and Lope de Vega's Gerarda in his dialogued novel, La Dorotea.

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INTRODUCTION

Many critics have pointed out the ancestry of Celestina as well as her personality traits and professional trades. They have failed to indicate various techniques used by Fernando de Rojas and later imitators of the celestinesque protagonist for character development. Characterization is achieved in a number of ways: dialogue, monologue, narration, action, and interaction of characters. Without an understanding of how a character is portrayed, appreciation for that creation is lacking. Emphasis is on characterization techniques used by the Arcipreste de Hita to create Trotaconventos, the Spanish prototype for Celestina, and in particular, Fernando de Rojas' Celestina. Later celestinesque protagonists include Celestina of La Segunda Celestina by Feliciano de Silva, Celestina of the Tercera parte de la tragicomedia de Celestina by Gaspar Gómez, Claudina of the Tragedia Policiana by Sebastián Fernández, Marcelia of the Comedia Llamada Florinea by Rodríguez Florián, the Lena of La Lena by Velásquez de Velasco, and Franquilla of the Thebayda. Other dramatic presentations of this type include Brizida Vaz of Gil Vicente's Auto da Barca

do Inferno and its anonymous Spanish counterpart entitled Comedia alegórica del parayso y del infierno with its vieja, Beroe in La Comedia de Tidea by Francisco de las Natas, Teodora in El Infamador by Juan de la Cueva, and Celestina in the Entremés famoso de la Celestina by Juan Navarro de Espinosa. The novelesque presentations of the celestinesque type include the old women and La Lozana in Francisco Delicado's Retrato de la Lozana andaluza, Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo's Elena in La hija de Celestina, and Lope de Vega's Gerarda in his dialogued novel, La Dorotea.

The earliest classical antecedent is a stereotype and stock character. Norman Spector characterized this first Lena as follows:

In the comedies of Plautus and Terence, the lena is invariably portrayed as the old woman whose rôle consists of instructing her ward in the best ways of exploiting lovers and suitors. She is depicted as being calloused, malicious, and especially as possessing insatiable greed.¹

In Ovid the go-between appeared in the character of Dipsas who was an expert in witchcraft. Her main motivation was avarice, while her principal means of achieving her goal was witchcraft and trickery. Although Trotaconventos did not display any magical witchcraft, her successor, Celestina, was a master through her curative potions and the encantations she performed over the hilo which she took to Melibea. The Pamphilus was a direct model on which the first Spanish go-between was based. Trotaconventos was developed further by actively participating in the created love affair between Don Melón and Doña Endrina. Trotaconventos not only had her classical characterization, but was a convent trotter and used trickery to deceive her victims. As Norman Spector states, "...she is a buherona who sells combs and trinkets from door to door for the purpose of gaining access to the homes of potential victims."² According to comments by

Alejandro Miró Quesada Garland in his article "La Trotaconventos. Origen latino del célebre personaje del Archipreste de Hita," "...la vieja que aparece en el segundo acto del Pamphilus...bien puede ser la 'Anus,' el lazo de 'Dipsas' que figura en 'Los Amores' de Ovidio..."³

Antecedents for the go-between in Spanish literature are principally found in the classical works of Plautus, Terence, and Ovid. Other sources for the first Spanish go-between, Trotaconventos, who appeared in Juan Ruiz's Libro de Buen Amor (1330-43), can be seen in the oriental literature brought to Spain by the Arabic folklore and fables. Julio Puyol y Alonso indicates that there are a number of references to tercería in such early Spanish works as Libro de Alexandre, Libro de los engaños, and in Chapter XLV of El Conde Lucanor entitled de como un buen omne e su mujer fueron vueltos por dichos de una falsa vieja.⁴ Puyol y Alonso also points out specific examples for each type of antecedent.

También en el Libro de los engaños encontramos dos viejas de este género: la una es la del enxemplo del omne e de la mujer e de la vieja e de la perrilla, que intercede con sus maestrías entre una mujer casada y su amante, y la otra,...la del enxemplo de la muger e del alcahueta, del mercador, e de la muger que vendió el palo, la cual trata de que vaya á su casa la seducida, la misma suerte que lo hacían la Anus de Pamphilus y la Trotaconventos del Libro de Buen Amor.⁵

Michael J. Ruggerio describes the basis for Trotaconventos' development when he says:

The evolution of the literary type shows how the go-between begins as a messenger, sometimes with covering occupations and sometimes without them, and becomes a messenger-witch with covering occupations. It is this element--witchcraft--in the portrait that lends originality to Rojas' characterization of Celestina. Trotaconventos was not a witch; not did she even use sorcery to attain her ends.⁶

To better understand the celestinesque characterization, an awareness of

Celestina's personality traits is essential. According to Anthony N.

Zahareas:

The elements which create the pattern of the so-called 'celestinesque' type and of which Trotaconventos is a prototype, are her old age, her experience and capacity for deception, her feigned religiosity, her talkativeness and easy resort to fables or anecdotes, her 'profession' of selling cosmetics as a way to enter homes, her claims that she keeps secrets, her alertness to exploit or create favorable circumstances, and finally, that she procures for profit.⁷

Trotaconventos, Celestina's prototype in Spanish literature, is proficient in arranging illicit unions between Don Melón and Doña Endrina through subtle words. Her skillful use of language for persuasion becomes a major tool for Celestina, but Celestina used words not only to persuade but to deceive as well.

Trotaconventos uses words in a persuasive manner through the ejempla in order to win the trust of her love prospects for Don Melón. Each story comes from the oriental tradition through Latin translations, and some of the most common tales are derived from Latin translations of Aesop's Fables. Julio Puyol y Alonso points out Trotaconventos' tendency to use those tales.

El Arcipreste llevó a su libro una gran parte de las fábulas que en su tiempo eran juzgadas como esópicas, y esto es precisamente lo que da á sus enxemplos el mayor valor, pues su conjunto es,...la primera colección castellana conocida de los apólogos de Esopo.⁸

As a persuasive technique, Trotaconventos relates the majority of the tales to emphasize her point of view or to win the confidence of prospective lovers for Don Melón. These tales are modeled not only after Aesop's Fables but also include a number of religious and profane fables already a part of the Middle Age oral tradition. Trotaconventos' vast knowledge

and persuasive use of these tales are demonstrated in such stories as:

De la penitencia qu'el flayre dió á Don Carnal é de como el pecador se deve confessar é quién há poder de lo absolver, as well as a profane description of the clerics, priests, and nuns portrayed in the tale: De cómo clérigos é legos é flayres é monjas é dueñas é joglares salieron a recibir a Don Amor.⁹ Among the profane tales are: Enxiemplo del águila é del caçador, Enxiemplo del pavón é de la corneja, Enxiemplo del ortolano é de la culebra, and Enxiemplo del galgo é del señor.¹⁰ The capital sins, including cobdicia, ssobervia, avarizia, luxuria, invidia, gula, and vanagloria, are discussed in the first part of the Libro de Buen Amor.¹¹ Trotaconventos was guilty of various sins including ssobervia, avarizia, and luxuria.

Julio Puyol y Alonso mentions other Spanish antecedents for Trotaconventos.

En el Hitopadeza hayallamos ya aquella mensajera que el príncipe Tungabala envía á su adorada Lavanyavati...se describe á la alcahueta Karaba, que es también algo bruja, como se infiere por aquel sortilegio del círculo que traza en el suelo.¹²

The name Trotaconventos, according to Puyol y Alonso, is derived from a messenger type found in the Poema de Fernán González. "El nombre de Trotaconventos es de antigua cepa castellana. Llamábase trotero o trotera a la persona a quien se encomendaba algún mensaje en el Poema de Fernán González."¹³ The go-between type also appears in the Cantigas de Santa María by Alfonso X. Francisco Sánchez-Castañer says that they were called mandadeiras.

El nombre de 'mandadeiras' que emplea Alfonso X para determinar la clase de alcahuetas que el caballero envía a la doncella nos hace suponer que su oficio fuera el mismo que desempeñan en la actualidad las que reciben el nombre de 'mandaderas', al servicio, generalmente, de los conventos.

De dicha clase recibió el nombre la Urraca del Libro del Buen Amor, apellidada por antonomasia Trotaconventos;...¹⁴

Although there are numerous other sources for various episodes in the Libro de Buen Amor, the major and minor go-between types are from classical antiquity, the oriental literary tradition brought to Spain through Latin translation, and earlier Spanish works.

The basic attributes found in the ancestors of Trotaconventos range from an old woman who exhibits false religiosity, talkativeness with intent to deceive, and a professionalism through procuring for profit, while their trades include a messenger, and a witch with covering occupations such as a seller of cosmetics. Characters like Dipsas and Anus embodied all of these attributes, while others like those mentioned in Libro de Alexandre, El Conde Lucanor, Poema de Fernán González and the mandadeiras in the Cantigas de Santa María were messengers. Karaba of the Hitopadeza, which is a collection of Sanskrit stories, is considered something of a witch. Perhaps this characterization is an antecedent for the later *Celestina*. Trotaconventos' character embraces all of the above traits except witchery, although there are a few references to her use of encantos. The sin of greed is a part of Trotaconventos' character, but it becomes the all-powerful force which eventually causes *Celestina's* death.

Trotaconventos, as the Spanish antecedent for the *Celestina*, is first portrayed by the Archpriest through the conversations of others. Then she verifies her personality and her trades by what she says and does. The various techniques used by the Archpriest are effective enough to create a prototype with distinct attributes which Fernando de Rojas uses as the basis for his character. The method of presentation is

important for a better understanding of any character; therefore, emphasis is placed on the manner of portayal after listing the characteristics of each protagonist.

Notes to Introduction

¹Norman B. Spector, "The Procureess and Religious Hypocrisy," Itálica, XXXIII, 52.

²Ibid., 56.

³Alejandro Miró Quesada Garland, "La Trotaconventos. Origen latino del célebre personaje del Arcipreste de Hita," Letras, IX (1943), 413.

⁴Julio Puyol y Alonso, El Arcipreste de Hita (Madrid: M. Mindesa de los Ríos, 1906), 184.

⁵Ibid., 135.

⁶Michael J. Ruggerio, The Evolution of the Go-between in Spanish Literature Through the Sixteenth Century (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), 1

⁷Anthony N. Zahareas, The Art of Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita (Madrid: Estudios de Literatura Española, 1965), 160.

⁸Puyol y Alonso, 170.

⁹Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de Buen Amor, ed. Julio Cejador y Frauca (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1970), 97, 132.

¹⁰Ibid., Vol. I, 103, 107. Vol. II, 184, 186.

¹¹Ibid., Vol. I, 85, 89, 93, 104, 108, 113.

¹²Puyol y Alonso, 281.

¹³Ibid., 286.

¹⁴Francisco Sánchez-Castañer, "Antecedentes celestinescos en 'Las cantigas de Santa María,'" Mediterráneo, I (1943), 78.

CHAPTER I

CHARACTERIZATION OF TROTACONVENTOS AS:

THE PROTOTYPE FOR CELESTINA

As a descendant of Anus and Dipsas, the first Spanish go-between, Trotaconventos, exemplifies all of their personality traits and professional trades. She does not, however, practice witchcraft. Juan Ruiz portrays her as vividly as possible to make her a believable character. Anthony N. Zahareas describes her characterization thus:

...the portrait of Trotaconventos sums up the attributes of the type that procures; she is simply the best representative of the class which she typifies...The portrait spells out in detail the appellatives 'trotaconventos' and 'troya'; it sets forth the qualities of a generic name as permanent characteristic. The design is characteristically medieval: her personality is stereotyped before she reveals herself through significant action.¹

Don Melón de la Huerta, the novice lover, relates early in his story how he failed to win his first love through the trickery of his messenger, Fernando García.

Diz' que l' plazía de grado:
Fízos' de la Cruz privado.
A mí dió rrumiar salvado;
El comió el pan más duz'.² (stanza 118)

On the basis of this failure, Don Melón seeks the advice of Don Amor and Doña Venus. It is Don Amor who tells Don Melón to seek out a go-between in stanzas 437-443. Later, Doña Venus reinforces this advice by further encouragement to go search for a good medianera in stanza 645. Finally, Don Melón, after attempting to win Doña Endrina, decides to seek out the best go-between available. He makes this declaration in stanzas 696-97.

El cuerdo con buen seso pensar deve las cosas:
Escoja las mejores é dexe las dañosas;
Para mensajería personas sospechosas
Nunca son á los omes buenas nin provechosas.

Busqué Trotaconventos, qual me manda el Amor;
De todas las maestras escogí la mejor;
¡Dios é la mi ventura, que me fué guiador!
Açerté en la tyenda del sabio corredor.

Trotaconventos was created to bring two lovers together through her tools of trade. According to Raymond S. Willis, Don Amor describes her in stanzas 436-448.

Don Amor defines the type as a professional (in default of a compliant parienta), female, old, crafty, eloquent, and persuasive, a familiar of nuns and friars, garbed in ostentation of religiosity, disguised as a peddler, whether of potions, cosmetics, or her services as a midwife.³

Since Trotaconventos' character is well fixed in the reader's mind by what Don Amor says about her, the further verification of her personality by Doña Venus, and the ultimate glorification of her attributes by Don Melón have set a predetermined pattern of conversation and action which she must follow. Trotaconventos is portrayed by what others say about her; then she confirms that characterization through her words and deeds. Even the naming of this go-between helps to mold her personality. Not only is she called Trotaconventos, but in verses 699 c and 972 b she is referred to as:

Non ay tales maestras como éstas viejas Troyas: (699c)

Non á comprar las joyas para la chata-troya: (972b)

Carlos Clavería in his commentary on this name states the following:

"Troya significa sin duda en el lenguaje gráfico y burlón del Arcipreste 'puta' o 'moza monstruosa' en los versos 699c y 972b, respectivamente, del Libro de Buen Amor."⁴ By the time of Trotaconventos' death, the Archpriest refers to her familiarly as Urraca. Raymond S. Willis clarifies the meaning of Urraca in his discussion of the epitaph written for her by the Archpriest.

Then comes the epitaph: Urraca so que yago so esta sepultura (1576a). Since the 1330 version of the Libro lacks the two interpolations, 910-945 and 1318-31, the name Urraca has not been even breathed hitherto. How, then, can we account for this post mortem baptism of a figure whose identity as Trotaconventos has continued unbroken since st. 738?...Without the pun of Urraca-urraca: woman's name--bird that chatters and thieves, we are left to conjecture about some topical allusion such as the widespread ill repute of the Castilian princess, Urraca de Zamora...for the trotera is presented, figuratively in association with the noisy birds (gulls, not magpies to be sure) and, literally, with the trait of chattering.⁵

Who is Trotaconventos and what influences do different names have upon her character portrayal? This question has little to do with her characterization since that remains constant throughout the work. What is important is the fact that, according to Raymond S. Willis, more than one person fills the role of a trotaconventos within the same work.

To summarize: in the 1343 redaction, from st. 910 on, the identity of the procuress changes from the old Trotaconventos... to another trotaconventos, named Urraca, not to mention her 41 nicknames plus Buen Amor (91009⁴⁴), then to a different vieja, who remains unnamed (945-949). After an interval, a figure identifiable with the original Trotaconventos reappears (1317-20), but she, in the succeeding episode (1321-31), bears only the name Urraca and never the nickname Trotaconventos through two adventures and her death (1332-1507; 1508-12; 1518-20); finally she recovers Urraca as her baptismal name in her epitaph (1575-78).⁶

Trotaconventos is portrayed through the words of others, but must verify her stereotyped characterization by what she says and does.

Major characteristics which make up Trotaconventos' unique personality are her greed for money or goods for services rendered, her deceit and trickery as well as talkativeness and wit as persuasive devices, use of subtle lies for gaining the confidence of her potential customers, feigned innocence along with false religiosity, and finally, her allusions to encantos as a part of her trade. Don Amor tells Don Melón to be sure to ply his Trota with gifts to satisfy her greed:

D'aquestas viejas todas ésta es la mejor;
 Ruegoal' que te non mienta, muéstrale buen amor:
 Que muncha mala bestia vende buen corredor
 E Muncha mala rropa cubre buen cobertor. (stanza 443)

Trotaconventos admits her greed in her conversation with Don Melón in verses 815c and d.

Mas yo de vos non tengo sinon este pellote:
 Sy buen manjar queredes, pagad bien el escote.

The Archpriest even dedicates an entire section to listing the evils of the sin of greed (stanzas 217-225). Stanzas 220 and 221 illustrate the extremes of greed.

En ti facen morada, alevoso traydor:
 Con palabras muy dulces, con gesto engañador,
 Prometen, mandan mucho los omes con amor;
 Por conplir lo que mandan, cobdiçian lo peor.

Cobdiçian los averes, que ellos non ganaron,
 Por conplyr las promesas, que con amor mandaron:
 Muchos por tal cobdiçia lo ajeno furtaron,
 Porqué á las sus almas é los cuerpos lazaron.

Trotaconventos, as a greedy person, not only takes every gift offered her, but tries to prolong her procuring activities to gain rewards.

Several examples illustrate how Trotaconventos deceives either Doña Endrina, Don Melón, or Garoza to gain their confidence. This is one similarity to her successor, Celestina, because she tries to manipulate her clients' emotions and feelings through her power of cajolery. Pilar Liria in her article "Libro de buen amor: Los diminutivos con el sufijo -illo en boca de Trotaconventos" illustrates in stanzas 718, 757, 796, 807-11, but specifically stanzas 810 and 868-870, that Trotaconventos is a master of suasion. Pilar Liria's conclusion clarifies this power of Urraca by pointing out:

Creo que los textos citados sirven para probar el valor del diminutivo -illo, -illa en boca de Urraca como medio de persuasión: la nota popular, una cierta humildad, el matiz de ternura, la confianza, un poquito de guasa, la familiaridad, todo se mezcla en este sufijo cargándolo de afectividad. Así en boca de la vieja, estos diminutivos son como sarmientos, o zarcillos que se enroscan y llegan a aquellos puntos sensibles de la conciencia y del corazón del que los escucha, a donde otras palabras no llegarían.⁷

Doña Venus indicates this capacity of blandishment in verses 617c and d.

Anda por maestría lygera enderedor:
Moverse há la dueña por artero seguidor.

Furthermore, in stanza 644, Doña Venus continues to reiterate the subtlety of go-betweens:

Muncho son malsabydas estas viejas riñosas,
Muncho son de las moças guardaderas celosas,
Sospechan é barruntan todas aquestas cosas;
Byen sabe las paranças quien pasó por las losas.

As soon as Trotaconventos has learned of her job to win Doña Endrina, she attempts to do so through a series of deceptions. First of all, she describes Don Melón as a gallant and brave man, which he is not, in stanza 727.

Muy byen me rresçiben todos en esta mi probedat;
 El mejor é el más noble de lynaj' é de beldat
 Es don Melón de la Huerta, mançebillo de verdat:
 A todos los otros sobra en fermosur' é bondat.

Next, Trotaconventos promises secrecy concerning whatever Doña Endrina tells her, but his promise is soon forgotten when she returns to Don Melón.

Agora, mi señora, desit vuestro coraçón,
 Esto que vos he fablado, sy vos plase ó si non:
 Guardaros hé poridat, celaré vuestra rraçón
 Syn miedo fablad conmigo todas quantas cosas son. (stanza 736)

Trotaconventos continues her trickery by telling Doña Endrina that Don Melón wishes to protect her from those who would cheat her while he fully intends to take advantage of her himself. Stanza 755 indicates this subtle deceit. All of these misrepresentations on the part of Trotaconventos are, however, subtle lies.

Mas él vos defenderá de toda esta contienda:
 Ssabe de muchos pleitos é sabe de lienda,
 Ayuda é deffiende á quien se l' encomienda:
 Si él non vos defiende, non sé quién vos defienda.

Trotaconventos returns to Don Melón and tells him that he should forget his pursuit of Doña Endrina. This is her way of prolonging the affair in order to earn more profits. In his rage, Don Melón describes Trotaconventos in derogatory terms in stanza 784, charging her with trickery and deceit.

¡Ay viejas pytofleras! ¡Malapresas seades!
 El mundo rrevolviendo á todos engañades,
 Mintyendo, aponiendo, desiendo vanidades,
 A los nesçios fazedes las mentyras verdades.

Trotaconventos continues her deceits until she finally wins Doña Endrina, whose wrath against this evil go-between also reiterates the many evils of Trotaconventos. Doña Endrina lists these deceits in stanza 882.

Doñ' Endrina le dixo: ¡Ay, viejas tan perdidas!
 A las mugeres trahedes angañadas e vendidas!
 Ayer mill cobros me dáyades, mill artes é millll salidas;
 Oy, ya que só escarnida, todas me son fallasçidas. (882)

In a later episode, Trotaconventos uses wit and her literary knowledge by telling many ejempla tales to persuade Don Melón's new love, Garoza, to yield to his advances. For example, Trotaconventos pleads for moderation as a trap in which to snare Garoza:

Mucho temió la vieja deste bravo dezir:
 'Señora', '¡mesura, non me querades ferir!'
 Puédevos por ventura de mí grand pro venir,
 Como al león vino del mur en su dormir. (1424)

Each tale told by the go-between merely heightens Garoza's interest in Don Melón. Perhaps even the order in which they are told is of psychological importance for the purpose of persuasion. Trotaconventos seeks sympathy first by telling the story entitled Enxiemplo del galgo e del señor. She feels that because she is now old like the hound and is not able to chase the best, her previous conquest of the nun failed. By the time that Trotaconventos tells Garoza the story entitled Enxiemplo de la rraposa e del cuervo, Garoza is no longer shy and is willing to give in to Trotaconventos' requests on behalf of Don Melón.

As a part of Trotaconventos' personality traits, she lies in order to deceive and trick her clients. Throughout the work a string of lies is interwoven with each deceit in order to give her a better advantage in any given situation. One example of lying is mentioned by Don Melón in stanza 921.

Non m' acordé entonce desta chica parlylla:
 Jua jugando dize el ome grand mansilla..
 Fué sañuda la vieja tanto, qu' á maravilla,
 Toda la poridat fué luego descubrilla.

While trying to win Doña Endrina for Don Melón, Trotaconventos exaggerates and lies about Doña Endrina's love for him.

En el mi cuello echa los sus braços entramos,
Así una gran pieça en uno nos estamos,
Sienpre de vos desimos, nunca en ál fablamos,
Quando alguno vyme, otra rrazon mudamos. (stanza 809)

Examples of Trotaconventos' feigned innocence and false religiosity further develop her as a stereotype. Although she earns her living by procuring, in her conversation with Doña Endrina, she pretends to be a perfect adviser and would not think of destroying any girl's reputation.

Es maldat é falsía las mugeres engañar,
Grand pecado é desonrra en las así dañar:
Verguença que fagades yo la he de callar;
Mas los fechos é la fama, esto me faz' dubdar.

Mas el que contra mí por acusar me venga,
¡Tómeme por palabra! ¡A la peor s' atenga!
Fega quanto podiere, á osadas se tenga:
O callará vencido ó iváyase por menga! (stanzas 848-849)

Don Melón, in his quarrel with Don Amor, points out that Mass is merely a meeting place for lovers and go-betweens, not a religious ceremony.

Acabada la misa, rezas tanbyen la sesta,
Ca la vieja te tiene á tu amiga presta; (verses 381 a,b)

Trotaconventos even demonstrates her hypocrisy by praising the virtue of a nun as a lover in verse 1339d, and stanzas 1340-41.

Quien á monjas non ama, non val' un maravedy.

Ssyn todas estas cosas, han muy buenas maneras:
Son mucho encubiertas, donosas, plasenteras,
Más valen é más saben sus moças cosíneras
Para el amor del mundo, que las dueñas de sueras.

Como ymajen pyntada de toda fermosura,
Fijasdalgo muy largas é francas de natura,
Grandes doneaderas, amor sienpre les dura,
Comedidas, cunplidas é con toda mesura.

Trotaconventos frequently alludes to the purpose of holy love, swears by

God, and emphatically denies being deceitful as was seen in stanza 849, but she is the quintessence of religious hypocrisy.

Although Don Amor refers to Trotaconventos' ability as an enchantress, she does not practice any of the black arts. Don Amor says:

Toma de unas viejas, que se fazen erveras,
Andan de casa en casa é llamanse parleras;
Con polvos é afeytes é con alcohóleras,
Echa la moça en ojo é ciegan bien de veras. (stanza 440)

Trotaconventos makes the only reference to her witchery when she says:

Diz': 'Yo iré á su casa desa vuestra vesina,
É le dire tal escanto é l' dará tal atalvina,
Porque esa vuestra llaga sane por mi melesina.
..... (stanza 709)

Even through this reference, Trotaconventos is merely building up her image of false religiosity because she is always ready to win a prospect by any means.

As a character type, Trotaconventos portrays Juan Ruiz's concept of a go-between and her role in society during the first half of the fourteenth century. She is a product of her ancestry as well as of the social climate of her time. Trotaconventos is a stereotype with certain traits from which she does not deviate. She serves as the prototype for Celestina through the following list of professions and personal characteristics: female, old, crafty, eloquent, and persuasive, a familiar of nuns and friars, garbed in ostentation of religiosity, serves as a midwife and procures for profit.

Both Trotaconventos and Celestina used language of the then-current popular level. Celestina, however, was more proficient in relating tales and proverbs in her everyday conversations with others. A 150-year time span exists between the two works, and this would have affected the vocabulary

and syntax used by each go-between. Trotaconventos and Celestina also used tales and fables to persuade and gain the confidence of their clients.

Whereas Trotaconventos merely used these techniques professionally, they became a part of Celestina's daily conversation. Menéndez y Pelayo reiterates these similarities in his "Orígenes de la Novela,"

Las artes y maestrías de Trotaconventos son las mismas que las de Celestina: como ella gusta de entreverar en su conversación proloquios, sentencias y refranes, y no solo ésto, sino enxiemplos y fábulas; como ella se introduce en las casas á título de buherona y corredora de joyas, y con el mismo arte diabólico que ella va tendiendo sus lazos á la vanidad femenil:⁸

Although most of the basic characteristics of Trotaconventos and Celestina are similar, Trotaconventos was a stereotype and Celestina became a live person, an individual.

Trotaconventos was created as a stereotype, but Celestina capitalizes the Renaissance enthusiasm for living life to its fullest. One of the main differences between predecessor and successor is the fact that there were only two allusions to Trotaconventos as an enchantress while Celestina was a witch and actually cast spells and addressed herself to Plutón, god of the underworld. She also had an entire inventory of witchcraft necessities in her storeroom. Michael J. Ruggerio discusses Celestina's deeper involvement with witchcraft than Trotaconventos by saying:

...The alcahueta emerges from the Libro de buen amor as a very able and active mensajera in matters of love who also has some other, covering occupations. But by the time she becomes Celestina in the late fifteenth century, she is the ally of the devil (that is, a witch) who turns her power toward evil.⁹

Another difference is, although Trotaconventos plays the all-important part as a go-between for Don Melón, she does not evolve into the principal character. The Archpriest maintains her role as that of a

confidante and procuress for Don Melón, not a person who manipulates his life. Celestina, however, plays such a forceful role in the lives of the two aristocratic lovers, Calisto and Melibea, and the love affairs of the servants Sempronio and Pármene, that she becomes a manipulator of each and every life with which she comes in contact. As the manipulator, Celestina becomes the central character of a work which was originally entitled La tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea; but now it is referred to as La Celestina.

Notes to Chapter I

¹Anthony N. Zahareas, The Art of Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita (Madrid: Estudios de Literatura Española, 1965), 161.

²Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de Buen Amor, ed. Julio Cejador y Frauca (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1970). All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text by stanza or verse number.

³Raymond S. Willis, "Two Trotaconventos," Romance Philology XVII, ii (November 1963), 355.

⁴Carlos Clavería, "Libro de buen amor, 699c: '...estas viejas troyas,'" Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, II (1949), 271.

⁵Raymond S. Willis, 258.

⁶Ibid., 361.

⁷Pilar Liris, "Libro de buen amor: Los diminutivos con el sufijo -illo en boca de Trotaconventos," Offprint of Romance Notes, XVI, i (1974), 6.

⁸D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, "Orígenes de la Novela," in Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Tomo XIV, (Madrid: Casa Editorial Bailly, Bailliere, 1910, lxxiii.

⁹Michael J. Ruggiero, The Evolution of the Go-between in Spanish Literature Through the Sixteenth Century (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), 35.

CHAPTER II

CHARACTERIZATION OF CELESTINA

Fernando de Rojas drew from many other sources besides the basic classical works, the folk tales interpolated into Spanish literature from Latin and Greek translations of the Eastern ejemplum, along with earlier Spanish sources. Rojas also put many words from Petrarch into the mouths of Sempronio and Celestina. According to Cándido Ayllón, "Some of Celestina's ideas on life, whether in the original sixteen or in the twenty-one-act version, are based on Petrarchan sources. In Act IV (I-IV-165-66), where Celestina discusses old age with Melibea, her words are reminiscent of De Remediis 1: 2."¹ A. Bonilla y San Martín, in his article, "Antecedentes del tipo celestinesco en la literatura," says that the Arcipreste de Talavera in his Corvacho also discusses the go-between of the mid-fifteenth century.² A. Bonilla y San Martín also indicates that several classical comedies of the Latin author Maccus Plautus include go-between types much like Celestina, particularly his comedies, Asinaria, Mostellaria, Cistellaria, and Curculio.

He aquí las crudas y celestinescas verdades que la vieja meretriz Cleereta le dice en Asinaria, a Argyripo:

.....

En Mostellaria, Scafa, otra vieja meretriz recomienda, como Cleereta, á la joven Filemacia que no se apasione de un solo hombre, porque lo sentirá en la ancianidad:

En Cistellaria aparece otra lena por el estilo de las mencionadas, pero con singular afición á la bebida. El dios Auzilio dice de ella que es tan parlera como bebedora:

Otra lena de Curculio tiene por sobrenombres: Multibiba y Merobiba, ... El apasionado Fedromo busca á esta vieja para que le sirva en sus amores con Planesia.³

Even her name, Celestina, ironically indicates a saintly, celestial person. Celestina is anything but celestial because she not only enjoys sexual immorality but encourages others to achieve their lustful desires by any means she can; for example, deceit, trickery, flattery, and even witchcraft.

Celestina is the central figure of the play, La tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea, and the plot, as well as the lives of all other characters, revolves around her. This go-between is considered to be the first anti-heroine of Spanish literature, portrayed as an old woman who has lived and enjoyed the many pleasures of life. She dedicated her later years to procuring for young people so they, too, might enjoy life on a sensual level. Celestina, whose motivation is greed and desire for wealth uses a great number of persuasive techniques to win her victims' confidence, including deceit through lies, flattery and trickery, and witchcraft. Celestina assumes the role of a mother for the purpose of giving advice, while playing on human weaknesses and emotions for her own profit and benefit. This aspect of her personality is one of her picaresque traits, as she uses her wits for personal gain. Furthermore, Celestina comes in contact with all levels of society, from the aristocrats (Calisto and

Melibea) to the clergy and nuns who were her clientele, and the servants and rogues (Sempronio, Pármelo, and Centurio). She defends her right as an individual to her own way of life, because she fills a role useful to society. Finally, this protagonist is portrayed through dialogues and monologues by every character with whom she comes in contact, as well as through her own words, actions, and interactions with the other characters.

Since La Celestina is a drama, dialogue is the major mode of character portrayal. Stephen Gilman calls this the tú y yo method of characterization.

Alive only through his dialogue, each individual sees himself, on the one hand, as others see him or as he imagines they see him. In terms of the conditions of his life--young, old, servant, master, man, woman, etc. --he attempts to fit himself and to know himself within a generally recognizable classification.⁴

Celestina's life, however, touches the life of each character in such a way that the tú part of the dialogue is constantly changing, while the yo (Celestina) remains constant. After all of her traits are indicated by the secondary characters, she verifies them by what she says and does.

Celestina's basic character traits can be grouped into six categories with various characteristics for each: greed, manipulation of others, domination of others and the situation, hedonism, superstition, and individualism. As someone who is always seeking material gain, she attempts to dominate every situation in which she is involved and every person with whom she comes in contact. Her manipulation is achieved through persuasive tactics either to show her wisdom or her common knowledge through refranes, through deceit by subtle lies or through flattery, or by adopting a mother role and being an adviser. Celestina is a hedonist at heart because she

often refers to food (gluttony), drink (wine), and past sensual pleasures she enjoyed. Only eating and drinking remain an active part of her sensual pleasures, while she enjoys sexual pleasures merely as a voyeur. As a superstitious person, she participates in witchcraft and feigns religiosity, becoming a hypocrite. She strives for individualism by upholding man's right to live life to its fullest, in the Renaissance sense, in so far as sensual pleasures of sex, food, and drink are concerned.

Celestina is first portrayed through a conversation of Sempronio with his master, Calisto. He calls her: "vna vieja barbuda, que se dize penas promouera é prouocará a luxuria, si quiere..."⁵ Later, the other servant, Pármeno, who knew Celestina from his childhood, lists her basic tools of trade as "labranderia, perfumera, maestra de fazer afeytes é de fazer virgos, alcahueta é vn poquito hechizera." (Vol. I, 70) Pármeno mentions a few of her character traits in his conversation with Calisto.

Asaz era amiga de estudantes é despenseros é moços de abades. A estos vendía ella aquella sangre inocente de las cuytadillas, la qual ligeramente auenturauan en esfuérço de la restitución, que ella les prometía...Muchas encubiertas ví entrar en su casa. Tras ellas hombres descalcos, contritos é reboçados, desatacados, que entrauan allí á llorar sus pecados." (Vol. I, 70, 71)

Pármeno also discusses her use of witchcraft. "Pintaua figuras, dezía palabras en tierra. ¿Quién te podrá dezir lo que esta vieja fazia? E todo era burla é mentira" (Vol. I, 86) First of all, it is Sempronio who warns Calisto against Celestina; then the skeptic, Pármeno describes her from a negative point of view.

Greed, as the all-powerful force which motivates Celestina, is the basic characteristic around which all others revolve. According to José Antonio Maravall, her greedy attitude as a social product of the times

in which she lived motivated her to do whatever she could in order to gain monetarily.⁶ This insatiable desire for money or material goods eventually cost her her life when she was unwilling to share with Sempronio and Pármene the gifts Calisto had given her. Ironically, she actually becomes a victim of her own weakness. Cándido Ayllón emphasizes the importance of this scene between Celestina, Pármene and Sempronio because her most tragic defect is dramatically and ironically revealed. At the same time, Rojas seems to be developing the plot in order to justify the motivations for Celestina's assassination.⁷

How is the portrayal of Celestina as a greedy person first effected? In this case, it is through her own words in a conversation with Sempronio in which she promises to share the earnings, but later refuses to do so.

CEL. --Calla, que para la mi santiguada do vino el asno verná el alabarda. Déxame tú á Pármene, que yo te le haré vno de nos, é de los que houiéremos, démosle parte: que los bienes, si no son comunicados no son bienes. Ganemos todos, partamos todos, holguemos todos. (Vol. I, 89)

The statement, "que los bienes, si no son comunicados no son bienes," is one of Celestina's persuasive phrases. In Acts V and VI, Celestina again betrays her greed by telling Calisto how Melibea mistreated her during her first visit. Her real reason was to try to prolong her procuring efforts for greater profit. She even hints at a certain gift which was indivisible by saying: "No ay palabra de las que dize, que no vale á la vieja Celestina más que vna saya." (Vol. I, 201) This is the initial revelation of greed in the hearts of Pármene and Sempronio because shortly after the previous comment by Celestina, Pármene tells Sempronio: "No le pierdas palabra, Sempronio, é verás cómo no quiere pedir dinero, porque es

divisible." (Vol. I, 204) In Act XI, Calisto offers a gold chain to Celestina to pay for her services. This she accepts readily since it, too, is indivisible. Pármene's own greed is increased as he tells Sempronio: ¿Cadenilla la llama? ¿No lo oyes, Sempronio? No estima el gasto. Pues yo te certifico no dicesse mi parte por medio marco de oro, por mal que la vieja lo reparta." (Vol. II, 69) The argumento of Act XII relates how 'the servants' greed motivates them to kill Celestina. "Pármene e Sempronio van a casa de Celestina. Demandan su parte de la ganancia. Dissimula Celestina. Vienen a reñir. Echanle mano a Celestina, mátanla." (Vol. II, 76)

As the pivotal character of the work, Celestina serves as a catalyst in each conversation. She dominates the conversation and manipulates the situation for her own benefit. For this reason, Cándido Ayllón calls her a "manipulator" in a scene which takes place in her home during Act I.

Gracias a esta escena, el lector adquiere un conocimiento más profundo de tres de los personajes importantes de la obra. Anteriormente solo conocíamos a Celestina por boca de Sempronio y á éste solo por sus palabras en relaciones con Calisto. Ahora vemos a Celestina misma: mujer alerta, astuta, perspicaz y dominadora. Al dominar a Sempronio, revela una actitud irónica en su tratamiento de él. Se establece Celestina como una verdadera ironista, y esta característica tan esencial a su ser le ayudará a dominar a Areusa y a Melibea.⁸

Celestina's ability to control, dominate, and manipulate people and situations lies in her skillful and knowledgeable use of language. This unusual ability seems to fail her, though, at a critical moment. During the scene in which Sempronio and Pármene demand their share of the profit, Celestina finds herself unable to control them and becomes a victim of their greed.

Throughout the scene she is defensive, not aggressive. For example, she seeks to dissuade the two servants through an appeal for their sympathy at first. "¿Qué es esto? ¿Qué quieren dezir tales amenazas en mi casa? ¿Con una oueja mansa tenes vosotros manos e braueza? ¿Con vna gallina atada? ¿Con vna vieja de sesenta años? (Vol. II, 102) Until this scene, her verbal ability had been a successful tool for manipulation and persuasion.

Celestina seeks to manipulate each person either through deceit and trickery, or through lies and flattery. She even acts as a counselor in order to win Pármeno to her cause. Throughout the drama, Celestina constantly refers to old sayings and folklore revealing her vast knowledge of folk tradition and of the classics. She tries to influence Pármeno to join her and Sempronio by saying: "Al varón, que con dura ceruiz al que le castiga menosprecia, arrebatado quebrantamiento le verná e sanidad ninguna le conseguirá." (Vol. I, 109) Celestina even refers to Seneca as a classical authority to impress Pármeno: "Que, como Séneca nos dize, los peregrinos tienen muchas posadas e pocas amistades, porque en breue tiempo con ninguno no pueden firmar amistades." (Vol. I, 100) She attempts to woo Pármeno into her power through an appeal to his strongest emotion, the sex drive. Jane Hawking, in her article, "Madre Celestina," emphasizes the importance of this tactic.

She further excites Pármeno's interest by hinting that Areusa, Elisa's cousin, the object of his desires, is well within her reach...Celestina persists and enumerates the sweet pleasures of intimate friendship...⁹

In a conversation with Calisto, Celestina pleads for more patience so that she can prolong her procuring efforts. She cites the old saying:

"Consuélate, señor, que en vna hora no se ganó Çamora; pero no por esso desconfiaron los combatientes." (Vol. I, 221) In Celestina's conversation with Lucrecia, Melibea's servant, she tries to calm Lucrecia's anger and mistrust with the following saying: "Que los sabios dizen: que vale más vna migaja de pan con paz, que toda la casa llena de viandas con renzilla." (Vol. II, 43) Celestina constantly cites the classical writers as well as folk tradition to win the other member of the dialogue over to her point of view. Therefore, this character trait is developed through her own words, not those of another character.

The earlier reference to Celestina in the mother role, an adviser, is best exemplified through her conversation with Pármeno in an effort to win his confidence. After quoting Seneca as an authority to impress him, she plays on his feeling for his deceased parents.

Por tanto, mi hijo, dexa los ímpetus de la juventud é tórnate con la doctrina de tus mayores á la razón. Reposa en alguna parte. ¿E dónde mejor, que en mi voluntad, en mi ánimo, en mi consejo, á quien tus padres te remetieron? E yo, assí como verdadera madre tuya, te digo, só las malediciones, que tus padres te pusieron si me fueses inobediente, que por el presente sufras é siruas á este tu amo, que procuraste, hasta en ello hauer otro consejo mio. (Vol. I, 101)

She even uses the words madre tuya to appeal to Pármeno's deepest parental respect. As a substitute mother, she attempts to manipulate his feelings to her own advantage.

Celestina also tries to deceive others through subtle lies or flattery. According to Rosa Arciniega, "A lo largo de la tragicomedia, Celestina mentirá. Mentirá una y mil veces. Pero sus mentiras nunca serán vanas, ni mucho meno torpes o absurdas. Miente por necesidad, por desbaratar inminentes tormentas."¹⁰ Before Pármeno is won over to Celestina's

way of thinking, he indicates her ability to lie in a conversation with Calisto. "¡Assí, assí! A la vieja todo, porque venga cargada de mentiras como abeja é á mí que me arrastren." (Vol. I, 218) On the other hand, Celestina also knows when to use flattery to win someone's confidence. She uses the artifice to win Melibea's confidence during their first interview. "¡O angélica ymagen! ¡O perla preciosa, é como te lo dizes! Gozo me toma en verte fablar." (Vol. I, 173) Later, Celestina plays on Melibea's sympathy to win her completely to Calisto. The go-between lies and says he is ill and needs the favors and prayers of Melibea. "¡E tal enfermo, señora! Por Dios, si bien le conosciesses, no le juzasses por el que has dicho é mostrado con tu yra." (Vol. I, 185) As a last resort, Celestina uses witchcraft to ensure success. She casts a spell on the thread which she plans to sell Melibea.

Celestina is considered a witch because she not only conjures up spells by calling on Plutón, the god of the underworld, but she has all the necessities for potions in her storehouse. Previous to the above meeting with Melibea, Celestina invokes Plutón's assistance.

Conjúrote, triste Plutón, señor de la profundidad infernal,
 emperador de la Corte dañada...te conjuro por la virtud é
 fuerça destas vermejas letras; por la sangre de aquella
 noturna aue con que están escriptas; por la grauedad de
 aquestos nombres é signos, que en este papel se contienen;
 por la áspera poçoña de las bíuoras, de que este azeyte fué
 hecho, con el qual vnto este hilado: vengas sin tardança
 á obedescer mi voluntad é en ello te embueluas é con ello
 estés sin vn momento te partir, hasta que Melibea con apare-
 hada oportunidad que aya, lo compre é con ello de tal manera
 quede enredada que, quanto más lo mirare, tanto más su coraçon
 se ablande á conceder mi petición, é se le abras é lastimes
 de crudo é fuerte amor de Calisto, tanto que, despedida toda
 honestidad, se descubra á mí é me galardone mis passos é
 mensaje. (Vol. I, 148, 151)

After Celestina and Sempronio return to her house is Act III, Celestina

asks Elicia to go to the storeroom to get a few witchery items.

CEL. --Pues sube presto al sobrado alto de la solana é baxa acá el bote del azeite serpentino, que hallarás colgado del pedaço de la sogá, que traxe del campo la otra noche, quando llouía é hazía escuro. E abre el arca de los lizos é házia la mano derecha hallarás vn papel escrito con sangre de morciégalo, debaxo de aquel ala de drago, a que sacamos ayer las vnas.
(Vol. I, 142-44)

Later, on her way to Melibea's house, Celestina talks to herself in an attempt to bolster her own courage. Just before arriving, she makes the following observation that further affirms her superstitious nature, and indicates a good omen for her success. "Ni perro me ha ladrado ni aue negra he visto, tordo ni cueruo ni otras nocturnas." (Vol. I, 158)

Celestina appears to go to church to pray, swears by God, and even begs for confession before she dies. However, her real purpose for going to church is to make contact with the young girls who may be her clients, or to pray for success in her current endeavors. She defends her religious attitudes in a conversation with Sempronio.

CEL. --¿Quién so yo, Sempronio? ¿Quitásteme de la putería? Calla tu lengua, no amengües mis canas, que soy una vieja qual Dios me hizo, no peor que todas, vivo de mi oficio, como cada qual oficio del suyo, muy limpia. A quien no me quiere no le busco. Di mi casa me vienen a sacar, en mi casa me ruegan. Si bien o mal vivo, Dios es el testigo de mi coraçon.
(Vol. II, 101-02)

Luis Rubio García points out that Celestina merely represents the religious crisis which became critical during the Renaissance. "Incluso más: La Celestina, haciéndose eco de la tremenda crisis religiosa que va a estallar en el Renacimiento, reclama un cristianismo interior, juzgando al pecado no tanto por sus actos, como por sus intenciones, y señalando como norma la rectitud del corazón."¹¹ Sempronio further reveals Celestina's false religiosity in a conversation with Pármeno as they go to the church to

find her at the beginning of Act IX.

SEMP. --Verdad es; pero mal conoces a Celestina. Quando ella tiene que hazer, no se acuerda de Dios ni cura de santidades. Quando ay que roer en casa, sanos están los santos; quando va a yglesia con sus cuentas en la mano, no sobra el comer en casa...Lo que en sus cuentas reza es los virgos que tiene a cargo e cuántos enamorados ay en la cibdad e cuántas moças tiene encomendadas.... (Vol. II, 25)

Ironically enough, Celestina dies with one word on her lips: "¡Confesión!" (Vol. II, 104)

A basic character trait of Celestina's is her desire to enjoy life, hedonism. While Sempronio and Elicia are making love, she is standing beside the bed saying: "Besaos é abraços, que a mí no me queda otra cosa sino gozarme de vello." (Vol. I, 39) Throughout the work, emphasis is on the individual and his right to enjoy sensual pleasure. In a conversation with Pármeno, Celestina observes:

El deleyte es con los amigos en las cosas sensuales é especial en recontar las cosas de amores é comunicarlas: esto otro me dixo, tal donayre passamos, de tal manera la tomé, assí la besé, assí me mordiô, assí la abraçé, assí se allegô. (Vol. I, 107)

Celestina learned her trades from an old woman called Claudine, her teacher and also Pármeno's mother. Félix Martí-Ibáñez discusses the two women in the following passage:

To the effects of her tempestuous career must be added the influence of her teacher, Claudine, with whom she was hand-in-glove, perhaps united to her by lesbian ties, a theory supported by her lustful propensities and her statement, '...From her (Claudine) I learnt all the choicest there was to know of my trade...we ate together, slept together, took our relations in one another's company and our pleasures and counsels in common' ('Della--de su maestra--aprendí todo lo mejor que sé de mi oficio...juntas comíamos, juntas dormíamos, juntas avíamos nuestras solazes, nuestros plazerres, nuestros consejos y concierto') Claudine, an alcoholic, possessed a virile bearing, which may indicate the manner in which she influenced Celestina's love life. Meaningful are the words Celestina uses when bewailing

her friend: 'Oh, how sweet she was! How gentle, clean and virile!' ('¡O qué graciosa era! ¡O qué desembuelta, limpia, varonil!')¹²

Although Félix Martí-Ibáñez believes that mujer varonil might have indicated lesbian ties between teacher and student, it simply means that Claudine was a strong and capable woman. As a proponent of sensuality, this go-between, Celestina, is a hedonist at heart. According to David W. Foster, Celestina focuses her attention on the basic human emotion, love.

For Celestina, love is a profession and a way of life. Her existence centers around this basic human emotion, and thus she may be called a proponent of hedonistic love. Celestina says to Melibea: 'Pues, tú señora, tenías yra...que cada día ay hombres penados por mugeres é mugeres por hombres,...'¹³

Celestina is seen either drinking wine, or is heard praising its virtues frequently, and seems to feel that it is her only comfort in old age. This too, is a part of her hedonism because she seeks pleasure and finds it in the bottle. In a long monologue she praises the virtues of wine:

Pues de noche en invierno no ay tal escallentador de cama. Que con dos jarrillos destos, que beua, quando me quiero acostar, no siento frio en toda la noche. Desto aforro todos mis vestidos, quando viene la nauidad; esto me calenta la sangre; esto me sostiene continuo en vn ser; esto me faze andar siempre alegre; esto me para fresca; desto vea yo sobrado en casa, que nunca temeré el mal año.

(Vol. II, 28)

This characteristic also is further clarified through Celestina's own words. As a proponent of one's right to live life to its fullest, she becomes a total individual in a society of strong class structure and lack of interest in the individual.

Celestina represents the many social ironies of the Spain of Fernando de Rojas. It was a period of deep religious fervor, but there

was much corruption within the church, and she points out these ironic social situations at every turn. Stephen Gilman suggests that Rojas was trying to defend the right of a person like Celestina, considered to be a witch, to a full life also.

The state of mind of a Rojas or of anyone else living within the converso situation was surely a mixture of all three, a mixture the proportions of which differed not only from individual to individual but also from day to day and year to year within a given individual. Even in that complex structure of verbal irony called La Celestina there are,...moments of thinly veiled anger and others of affirmation. Witches, too, are human beings and deserve something better than Inquisitional 'justice,' while Pármemo and Sempronio caught in flagranti are dealt with in exemplary fashion.¹⁴

Celestina's role in society is emphasized by María Rosa Lida de Malkiel's observations about her.

Porque la medianera no pertenece a la ciudad por el mero hecho de habitar en ella, sino por formar parte de su estructura, como encargada de uno de sus ministros necesarios, la cura del 'loco amor,' Celestina es un 'oficial' en la ciudad, con el prestigio propio de su categoría.¹⁵

This go-between sets the stage for many other women of her profession to appear in other dramas and novels throughout the next centuries.

Celestina serves as a model for later Golden Age matchmakers through her persuasive tactics in her procuring profession. The imitations by Feliciano de Silva, Gaspar Gómez, Sebastián Fernández, Velásquez de Velasco, Rodríguez Florián, and the anonymous Thebayda continue to emphasize her abilities in witchcraft also. Most important, however, is the fact that dialogue remains the principal tool for character portrayal throughout the Golden Age. Both dramatic and novelesque presentations of the go-between introduce the character through either dialogue or monologue,

and later the character herself enters the scene to justify her portrayal. Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, in his novel, La hija de Celestina, is the only author who chooses to introduce his protagonist through narration.

Notes to Chapter II

¹Cándido Ayllón, "Petrarch and Fernando de Rojas," The Romanic Review, LIV (1963), 86.

²A. Bonilla y San Martín, "Antecedentes del tipo celestinesco en la literatura latina," Revue Hispanique, XV (1906), 378.

³Ibid., 384, 385.

⁴Stephen Gilman, The Art of 'La Celestina,' (Madison, Wis.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1956), 78-9.

⁵Fernando de Rojas, La Celestina, ed. Julio Cejador y Frauca, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1966) 58, 59. All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text.

⁶José Antonio Maravall, El mundo social de 'La Celestina,' (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, S.A., 1968), 58.

⁷Cándido Ayllón, "La ironía de 'La Celestina,'" Romanische Forschungen, LXXXII (1970), 45.

⁸Ibid., 39.

⁹Jane Hawking, "Madre Celestina," Annali Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli, Sezione Romanza, IX, ii (1967), 183.

¹⁰Rosa Arciniega, "La Celestina, antelación del Don Juan," Revista de las Indias, VI, (1939), 265.

¹¹Luis Rubio García, Estudios sobre 'La Celestina,' (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1970), 43.

¹²Félix Martí-Ibáñez. "The Medico-Pharmaceutical Arts of 'La Celestina.' A Study of a Fifteenth Century Spanish Sorceress and 'Dealer in Love.'" International Record of Medicine and General Practice Clinics, CLXIX (1956), 238.

¹³David W. Foster, "Some Attitudes Towards Love in the 'Celestina,'" Hispania, XLVIII (1965), 153.

¹⁴Stephen Gilman, The Spain of Fernando de Rojas, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), 153.

¹⁵María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, La originalidad artística de 'La Celestina,' (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1973), 514.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERIZATION OF CELESTINESQUE PROTAGONISTS IN: CONTINUATIONS AND IMITATIONS OF THE "CELESTINA"

Three works continue the characterization of the Celestina: La Segunda Celestina, La Tercera Celestina, and Comedia Policihana. Three other works are considered imitations of this portrayal: La Thebayda, Comedia Florinea, and La Lena. Among the criteria used in the selection of these particular works is the presence of the celestinesque character, exhibiting a majority of the traits of the original Celestina. These may vary from one work to another, but are sufficiently consistent to identify the character. The go-betweens in the continuations have one or more of Celestina's personality traits. Some of the go-betweens in the imitations are lacking in one or more of the traits, but they are always procuresses or messengers.

Since all of these attributes were well known by the readers of that time, the later authors merely emphasized some of them for their own purposes. For example, the Celestina of La Segunda Celestina which appeared in 1536, was supposedly raised from the dead but she really had been in hiding for a time in the Archdeacon's home after Pármeno and Sempronio of

the original Celestina attempted to kill her. This second Celestina shows one major difference in character from the original Celestina: the element of religiosity is much more predominant since she is supposedly raised from the dead. The second Celestina uses this as a tool to condemn others for their sins while she continues her own life of deceit, allowing her to gain better control of their superstitious natures. This second go-between tells of her intentions to deceive in a conversation with Zenara, the Archdeacon's mistress. "Así que, he querido decirte lo dicho, para que no vivas conmigo engañada; porque ya es tiempo de salir á fingir mi resurreccion..."¹ As she leaves the Archdeacon's home to go to her own, it is the Pueblo who shouts in amazement after her:

Vala el diablo á aquella Celestina, la que mataron los criados de Calixto, ¿parece ó es alguna vision? Por cierto no es otra; y qué prisa que lleva que parece que va á ganar beneficio. ¡Oh, gran misterio, que ella es! (74)

La Segunda Celestina is considered to be a comedy, with a happy ending as the two lovers, Felides and Polandria, are united in marriage. As in other works, the character of Celestina is developed through interaction (dialogue) with other characters. She frequently appeals to the superstitious nature of others as a strategy for deception to accomplish her purposes. Celestina's deceptive technique of apparent spirituality as a major part of her character even includes references to saints in the Bible. An early example of this is in the ninth cena in a conversation with Areusa and Elicia.

CEL. --Lastimástemme, pues, para mí santiguada, que yo os lastime hijas, segun el calor de donde vengo, no espanteis; cuanto más, que en el infierno, ni hay deseo de capones, ni perdices, ni de riquezas, ni de cosa de las desta vida, sino es de mojar la boca, segun parece por aquel rico avariento, que pidió á Lázaro que le pusiese el dedo mojado en la lengua; que mejor autoridad para mí no se puede haber. (99)

A little later, Sigeril, one of Felides' servants, also points out Celestina's false religiosity when he says: "...mas ver cuán santa viene y predicadora, no lo podrias creer." (104) Pandulfo's account of Celestina's return from death is an example of the role of a secondary character in the development of the protagonist.

PAND. --Señor, yo fui á aquella vieja honrada de Celestina. Dejadas razones aparte, ella se muestra tan santa, cuanto para encobrir mejor la red es menester. Todas sus palabras son de Dios y enderezadas á Dios, y para solo consolar tu mal, sino es de amores, ella dice, que verná á un devoto monesterio á te hablar, en haciendo manto que no le tiene ó enviándoselo tú prestado á nunca pagar. (159)

He seems to reinforce the characteristic of false religiosity which is so important in the protagonist.

Another incident in which Celestina feigns spirituality occurs in the nineteenth cena when she acts as though Elicia is having illicit sex with Crito. She says:

CEL. --¿Fuése ya Crito?...Elicia, lo que he visto ó lo que no he visto, esto mando yo y en mi casa ahí está la puerta, hija; que ya no me cumplen á mí nada destas romerías: ya me tienes entendida, porque á buen entendedor pocas palabras. (210)

Celestina pretends to be holy and spiritual through her own words in the previous cena. Later, Crito lets the reader know that her offended spirituality is really hypocritical and that Celestina really has not changed.

He says, "Ya lo ví, pese á tal con la puta vieja, y cuán santa viene."

(212) Celestina continues this façade in a conversation with Polandria and her servant Poncia.

CEL. --No podemos, mi amor, en esta vida haciendo nuestra voluntad, hacer la de Dios; porque en todo contradice esta carne pecadora á lo que quiere el espíritu, como lo sentia esto san Pablo cuando decía: que sentia en sí otra ley que repugnaba la ley de su espíritu, por las inclinaciones naturales decía. (219)

At the end, Celestina reveals her true character in a conversation with Areusa and Grajales, one of Areusa's friends.

CEL. --Mi fé, hijo, cada cosa es para su oficio: el agua para lavar, y el vino para beber; y cuanto más que yo desde que nascí lo bebo así, por cierta enfermedad que me lo mandaron beber los físicos. Ya sabes, hijo, que como dice el proverbio: que mudar costumbre, es á par de muerte. Mezcla por tu vida una poca de miel con mucha miel,... (428)

In the above statement, Celestina reveals her inclination for strong drink, her fondness for proverbs, her enjoyment of hedonistic pleasures. Therefore, this Celestina hides behind a façade of hypocritical spirituality from the beginning of the work to the very end. As Ernest K. Hillard suggests, [Celestina]..."often appears to be the equal of the original character in cunning, presence of mind, and persuasive ability."² Through her ability to deceive, she is able to influence the other characters by convincing them that she is saintly when in reality she is not. This go-between has indicated her traits through her own words rather than having the secondary characters indicate her personality.

The Tercera Celestina by Gaspar Gómez is another direct continuation of the original Celestina, but its plot is a continuation of the Segunda Celestina also. In this work, greed becomes the prime motivator. This Celestina, however, is not the warm character that the original was. She is unpopular and is often beaten and mistreated by her nieces' suitors and lovers. Even her nieces dislike her because of her short patience and harshness with them. Her character traits are still the same as those of the original Celestina and the second Celestina; however, this go-between is not as hypocritical as her immediate predecessor. Her conspicuous weaknesses are greed and excessive harshness with her nieces. According

to Mac E. Barrick, her outstanding strengths are:

Regardless of her other activities, Celestina's most important function is that of a go-between...In the Tercera Celestina, since the lovers are already secretly married, there seems little need for a go-between; however, Celestina is called upon to eliminate the obstacle to a public marriage by winning the mother's consent.³

This Celestina, although intolerant and harsh with her nieces, has many of the qualities of the original Celestina. She is involved in witchcraft, as mentioned by one of her neighbors after her death: "¡Qué falsos hechizos hacía!" (380) Her neighbors, in this discourse, continue to list her many other attributes and accomplishments during her lifetime.

¡O Celestina, y cuán mal as biuido, pues tan mal acabaste!
...¡Quántos mancebos a robado! ¡Qué de viejos a embaucado!
¡Quántas quistiones a vrdido! ¡Qué de muertes a causado!
...¡Qué nobles donzellas a engañado! ¡Qué innumerables
mogas a perdido! ¡Qué recogidas biudas a deshorrado!
¡Quántas astucias, cuántas cautelas, cuántos embustes hacía
para hazer sus enredimientos! (380)

In his introduction, Barrick specifies that once again "greed is the overpowering vice that it was in the original work, for the Celestina here not only seeks increased rewards for her services, but by cheating and swindling her associates and failing to share her gains, nearly brings about her own death on two occasions."⁴ Again, the development of the person of Celestina is so close to the original that the technique of description by secondary characters is not necessary. Only once are her physical traits described at great length. Areusa says of her:

Yo te prometo, más años tiene a cuestas que los dos más antiguos del pueblo. Y esto sin jurarlo se vee en ella por experiencia, que tiene ya los ojos hundidos, los narizes hundidas, los cabellos blancos, el oír perdido, la lengua torpe, los dientes caydos, la cara arrugada, los pies hinchados, los pechos ahogados. En conclusión, es mi pensar que si la sepultura hablasse, como acá será suya, la compelería por justicia a que fuesse a poblar su casa. (210)

Greed is overemphasized and distorted in this character. First mention of this comes in a conversation between Sigeril and Pandulfo, Felides' servants.

SIG. --Si a ti parece poco no lo sé, mas buenos cien ducados la lleué de vna vez esta semana, sin otras menudencias que él la da cada día..

PAND. --¡O mala vieja! A osadas que no me lo paguen sus herederos. (90, 91)

These two men refer to Celestina's greed again in another conversation, but Pandulfo is the one who emphasizes her excessive attitude.

PAND. --Mas no lo digo sino por la falsa vieja de Celestina, que la pedí diez ducados prestados con auer yo auenturado por ella mas de ciento,... (133)

PAND. --E Sigeril me a jurado que le lleuó lo que yo baruntaua, con que saldrá la barbuda de lazeria. (133)

In the following sections, he continues to mention all of her evil traits including soberuia, envidia, cobdicia, y luxuria.

PAND. --...porque ella es tan marcada en hazer vnos encantamientos, que por nuestra señora, que al más desuellacaras que a ella se allegue, haze de arte que le torna humilde y honesto, siendo la renegada indómita y soberuia,...vsando la señora de su desenfrendad envidia y maldita cobdicia, y el que en sus días no suffrió palabra,...prouando ser ella disoluta en sus obras y luxuriosa en desseo, y por tanto si graue-mente los viejos son castigados, más es por el mal enxemplo que dan que por la culpa que cometen...que vna hechizera que no a dexado parte del mundo que no [a] andado, no se le a passado vileza sin tentarla, ni a venido fortuna que no aya corrido,... (158, 159)

Pandulfo indicates not only her vices, but her use of witchcraft which make her the character she is, but she is the one who verifies her personality by what she says and does. She is beaten many times by the young men she tries to cheat as seen in Act XXVI in the argumento.

Celestina sale de con Felides muy contenta, razonando de los cincuenta ducados que le dio, y topa con Barrada, el qual la

haze vn estremado castigo; y queriéndola sacar la bolsa sus quatro ducados, la halla con cincuenta y se los toma. Y ella queda llorando y pidiendo justicia.

In the end, Celestina dies because of her eagerness to claim her rewards from Felides for her part in the wedding arrangements. She rushes down a flight of stairs, falls, and dies in her own home. Her actions confirm her traits as indicated through Pandulfo and her own comments throughout the work.

The title, Tragedia Policiana en la cual se tractan los muy desgraciados amores de Policiano e Philomena, executados por industria de la diabólica vieja Claudina, madre de Parmeno e maestra de Celestina, gives a clue to the main character attributes of the celestinesque protagonist. Although Claudine was the original Celestina's teacher, the Tragedia Policiana was written and published approximately 50 years after the original Celestina appeared. As the supposed teacher of Celestina, Claudine exhibits all of Celestina's traits, including witchery. Evidence of this is told in her own words as she invokes Satan to cast a spell on a ring destined for Philomena.

CLAU. --A ti, tenebroso y astuto Satan, principe de la monarchia de los spiritus condenados, eterno sustentor de las tinieblas continuas que en los caliginosos e sombríos chaos infernales abundan;...Yo, tu más familiar e compañera Claudina, te conjuro por la graedad de la palabra que de ti tengo recibida,...vengas con repetino sonido a obedecer mi mandado, e venido, de tal manera te ocultes debaxo de los aureos accidentes deste anillo que en mi dedo anular tengo puesto, que del no te apartes hasta que Philomena le ponga en su dedo, dende el qual por las secretas venas que dél van al coraçon, se le dexes tan llagado de la cruda saeta de amor, que todo su remedio sea el que esta tu familiar le quisiere dar,...⁵

For the most part, however, the author uses the secondary characters to develop her character. Her role as a go-between, her greed, and her

witchcraft are discussed by Philomena's servant, Dorotea. Other examples of comments about her greed are by Policiano's servants, Salucio and Solino. Salucio says, "...que tenemos noticia de vna vieja astuta, y en esta arte de alcahueta examinada maestra; que procure hablarla y prometerla el premio de su trabajo, y ella pondra la diligencia que nosotros no podemos por mucha que pongamos." (12) Salucio mentions her greed when he says, "E avn las entrañas a bueltas del dinero." (16) Later, in Act IX, Claudine herself says, "...quanto la cosa es más alta, tanto con mejor ánimo la intento, y jamás acometi donde no ouiesse victoria...e el esperanza del galardón disminuye qualquier pena,..." (17) In the same Act, the other servant, Solino, says that he remembers her being tarred and feathered, an event alluded to in the original Celestina also.

SOL. --Acuerdo me, madre del día que te canonizaron como de lo que oy he hecho,...y te vi puesta en la picota con mas majestad que vn papa...vi vnas letras que a la redonda de aquel como rocambo tenias en la cabeza que dezian por alcahueta e hechizera. (18)

Dorotea, Philomena's servant, mentions her witchcraft when she is discussing Claudine with her mistress.

DORO. --Señora de mi alma, esta vieja es mas diabolica que humana...Pero pues tu enfermedad tal instrumento requiere, no te descuydes con ella en el recatamiento de tu bondad,... (31)

In addition, some of the major differences between Claudine and Celestina are:

Claudine appears to approach her problems more swiftly and directly than Celestina and seems to be less prone to introspection and quasi-philosophical speculation; she is direct and business-like in her affairs rather than greedy; her capacity and love for strong drink, mentioned briefly in the Celestina, is not in evidence in the Policiana, in which we have no dinner scenes of drunken merriment. Claudine is very superstitious and really believes in the magical powers

of the ring which she give to Philomena. Her speech often seems to be less rich in aphorisms and in popular idiomatic constructions than that of Celestina.⁶

In the Policiana, the secondary characters state what Claudine's character traits are, but she is the one who proves her abilities through her words and actions; however, interaction and mutual manipulation between her and the secondary characters are lacking.

The Comedia Thebayda, an obvious adaptation of the Celestina, appeared around 1521 according to María Rosa Lida de Malkiel in her article, "Para la fecha de la Comedia Thebayda."⁷ Although Franquila fills the role of a go-between for Don Berintho and Cantaflua, she lacks many of the basic character traits of the original. First of all, she is the wife of a local merchant. This does not conform to the basic traits of old age and widowhood that all the earlier celestinesque protagonists shared. Furthermore, she intercedes as a personal favor rather than for materialistic reasons. Franquila also actively participates in sexual activities with both young Aminthas and Galterio. Although hedonism is a part of Celestina's character, she only alludes to past sexual pleasures. Franquila never seems hypocritical because she is sincerely a religious person, and sees no reason not to enjoy sensual pleasure.

In the Comedia Llamada Florinea, Marcelia, the young widow, age 34 according to Floriano's servant Fulminato, "...vna viuda de hasta treynta y quatro, que en aspecto está como de diez y ocho"⁸ serves as a go-between mainly as a messenger. Even though Marcelia is younger and does not lament the lost pleasures of her youth, she does encourage Floriano and Belisea to enjoy sensual pleasures. She further encourages her own daughter to take up her trade. Her role as a messenger is pointed out in the argumento for

scena XV. "Marcelia de la carta de Floriano con cierta cautela a Belisea, que yua a prado. Y finalmente lleua vn anillo a Floriano." (208) Marcelia herself lets the reader know that she enjoys wine when she praises its virtues. This too, is a main part of the original Celestina's personality.

¿No dizen que toda buena cena del beuer comienza?...Y sepas que el vino más cumple a la muger que no al hombre, que es más fuerte. Porque a la muger conforta le la virtud natural flaca, ayuda a la digestion, cria nueva y limpia sangre, alegra el coraçon, quita mal de madre, conforta la vista, sana la memoria, haze buena tez, pone color viua al rostro, limpia la dentadura... (185)

Although Marcelia is not a witch, she uses some magical powders in a letter destined for Belisea. She describes the situation:

MARC. --Pues que ya me encargué desto, y no cumple tardarme, quiero echar unos poluillos del carbon en esta carta, que ya los he hallado aprouados. Para que si Floriano ama a Belisea, y ella lee la carta, ella le ame a él, y si no quedarse ha libre; que al fin estas cosas sólo Dios las ha de saber. (208)

In the next scena, Marcelia carries on a monologue in which she indicates her materialistic interests. "Y la esperanza del buen gualardon para desterrar necessidades de mi casa me necessitará a que haga todo mi deuer y me atreua a todo trance; pues no se gana el pan sin afan, ni se toman truchas a ropas enxutas." (208) She emphasizes her own propensity for using refranes when she says, "...pues no se gana el pan sin afan,..." in the previous quotation. Her use of proverbs is not for persuasive purposes as it had been in the Celestina though.

Belisea's father best describes Marcelia in the following conversation with his daughter.

Ya, ya, conozco la como a ti. Pues essa bien tiene por qué reconocer seruicio a esta casa; que en no sé que mala famezilla la rastreó la justicia agora vn año, y era cosa fea, y que no librara bien si no entendiera yo en ello. Y piensa,

hija, que de estas que ansi moças quedan viudas tienen tra-
bajo y aun peligro, mayormente si les sabe la casa la ociosi-
dad, madrastra de las virtudes y abogada y madre de los vicios.
(249, 250)

Marcelia reveals most of her character traits either in long monologues or through dialogues with other characters. Only Belisea's father's conversation with her about Marcelia's evil personality illustrates her traits from a secondary character's point of view.

In La Lena, a play by Velásquez de Velasco which appeared in 1602, although Lena does function as a go-between for Damasio and Marcia, the wife of Cervino, the tone is one of light humor and satire. Lena opens the prologue with a long monologue in which she laments her plight in life.

Terrible cosa es que no se pueda (sino por marauilla) hazer colada que no llueua. No ay ya biuir en este mal Mundo, pues como el lobo, tanto empeora quanto más envejece; bien necio es quien de ti se fia...Creo que me'engendró la desgracia, y que si tuuiesse en las manos oro, se me bolueria plomo, pues no pesco con mis designos sino mordedores cangrejos que me destruyen.⁹

This go-between has many of the attributes of the original Celestina. She is old, lives by her wit, has occupations such as a vendedora as a "front," feigns religiosity to gain confidence, and deceives those she wishes to take advantage of. Her primary obstacle in this work is a very jealous husband who has his servant, don Inocencio, to guard his young wife, Marcia.

A difference in character portrayal occurs in this drama since Lena develops her own characterization, rather than having it developed through the use of description by secondary characters. For example, she reveals her deceitful nature and false religiosity in comments made to herself just before talking to don Inocencio. "Ahora es tiempo de emplear

mis cuentas en beneficio de mi bolsa: quero entrarle con el sabroso peccado del' adulacion, bisbisando mis oraciones." (394) She tries to enter ladies' houses by posing as a vendedora much the same way as Celestina did in order to enter Melibea's home. Lena's real reason for wishing to enter the homes is to deliver messages or pick them up to give to the lover. She feigns sales activities by saying: "El otro dia encomendó vna señora que la traxesse vn poco de estoraque y benfuy para hacer vnas pastillas..." (410)

The most humorous situation is Lena's attempt to win don Inocencio's confidence through wit so that she might play her role as a messenger for Marcia and Damasio. In Act II, Lena has a long conversation with don Inocencio in which she plays on his sympathy for Marcia as well as his religious dedication. Lena's strategem is successful because don Inocencio agrees to give a letter from Damasio to Marcia, but he is deceived since Lena leads him to believe it is from someone else. Lena's wit is evident throughout the conversation as she plays on his sympathy for the weak and ill Marcia, who is really not ill at all, in an effort to deliver the message from Damasio. She even pretends sincere concern for Marcia by calling her "vna santica."

LENA --Prouado? Si V. m. la viesse, tendria más lastima d'ella, porque es vna rosa de diez y seis años, aunque ahora está tan marchita y afligida, que parece vna santica.

INOCEN. --Pues qu' es lo que yo podre hazer por ella a vuestro parescer?

LENA --Qué? No menos que darla la vida.

INOCEN. --Luego es muerta?

LENA --Poco menos.

INOCEN. --E' esa manera poco haré yo en resucitar los viuos: mas vengamos al modo.

LENA --...La cuitadita, informada de algunas personas espirituales, que (por su virtud) la han dicho ser yo la que

deuria,...rogandome que lleue o embie a la señora Marcia vna carta en la qual se la descubre y cuenta b por B y C por C el caso, pidiendola consejos y socorro en su tribulacion. Y pues V. m. dize que yo no la puedo hablar, si quisiere encargarse de hazerla esta buena obra, aqui la traigo.

INOCEN. --Pietatem exerce. Dadmela, hermana mia, que yo lo haré de muy buena gana, que cierto la obra es santísima.

(400)

Don Inocencio's help eases Lena's activities as a messenger. The author even uses the classical meaning of her name, Lena (go-between) to indicate her profession.

Hillard accurately discusses Lena's character and purpose in the drama through his statement:

The go-between, Lena, is an old woman of much experience who gives a clever and convincing impression of being a charitable and pious woman. Around her there is no aura of supernatural powers or extraordinary achievements in widespread activities. Her rôle is important indeed, since she must deceive the ladies' [sic] guardian, don Inocencio; but she does not have to face danger to break down the morality of a young heroine who is frightened or conservative,...¹⁰

It is Lena herself who says and does certain things which reveal to the reader who and what she is. The secondary characters have no part in her character portrayal. While Lena functions as a go-between, no tragic repercussions result from any of her activities. Her messenger role is her major function in the drama.

In summary, although Hillard lists the major character traits of the celestinesque protagonists in the continuations and imitations of the Celestina, he fails to indicate the manner of character portrayal. Each character is presented either through the conversations of secondary characters reinforce this defect and point out others. Pandulfo indicates the third Celestina's excessive greed, but she is the one who verifies it by

what she says and does. Claudine is portrayed not by her words, but by what the secondary characters say about her, and she verifies each trait through her own actions. In the Comedia Llamada Florinea, Marcelia indicates her traits either through dialogues or monologues. Finally, as indicated, it is Lena in La Lena who makes specific references to herself about her false religiosity and deceitful nature. Each author after the original Celestina portrays his go-between in a different fashion. The earlier works have more persons describing the go-between, whereas the go-betweens describe their own characteristics in La Thebayda, Comedia Florinea, and La Lena.

Notes to Chapter III

¹Feliciano de Silva, La Segunda Celestina, in Colección de libros españoles raros o curiosos, Vol. IX, (Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Ginesta, 1974), 67, 68. All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text.

²Ernest H. Kilgore Hillard, "Spanish Imitations of the Celestina," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1957, 124.

³Gaspar Gómez, La Tercera Celestina, ed. Mac E. Barrick (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973), 4, 5. All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text.

⁴Ibid., 8.

⁵Sebastián Fernández, Tragedia Policiana, in Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Tomo XIV, (Madrid: Casa Editorial Bailly, Bailliere, 1910), 19. All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text.

⁶Ernest H. Kilgore Hillard, 201.

⁷María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, "Para la fecha de la Comedia Thebayda," Romance Philology, VI, ii (August 1952), 46.

⁸Ioan Rodríguez Florián, Comedia Llamada Florinea, in Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Tomo XIV, (Madrid: Casa Editorial Bailly, Bailliere, 1910), 169. All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text.

⁹Velásquez de Velasco, La Lena, in Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Tomo XIV, (Madrid: Casa Editorial Bailly, Bailliere, 1910), 390. All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text.

¹⁰Ernest H. Kilgore Hillard, 333.

CHAPTER IV

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE CELESTINESQUE PROTAGONISTS IN: DRAMATIC ADAPTATIONS OF THE "CELESTINA"

The celestinesque protagonists of the early Golden Age dramas are Brizida Vaz of Gil Vicente's Auto da Barca do Inferno, its anonymous Spanish counterpart entitled Comedia alegórica del parayso y del infierno with its vieja, Beroe in La comedia de Tideia by Francisco de las Natas, and Teodora in El Infamador by Juan de la Cueva. There is also a Celestina portrayed in the Entremés famoso de la Celestina by Juan Navarro de Espinosa. The common mode of characterization of each of these protagonists is through dialogue or monologue rather than narration since they are dramatic presentations.

As a celestinesque character, Brizida Vaz, also called Brígida Vaz, has several of the same traits as Celestina. Guerra Conde compares the two go-betweens by saying that the principal difference is that Brígida Vaz speaks from the other world while Celestina lives in this world.¹ Brizida Vaz describes her own trades and traits in answer to the Devil's question as to whether she has many things to bring onto the Barca do Inferno. He asks: "E trazeis vós muit fato?"² Brizida replies by

listing her trades as a virgin mender, cosmetic maker, and a hoarder of stolen goods, and her methods include: lies, tricks, deceit, and subtle dealings.

Seiscentos virgos postiços
 E tres arcas de feitiços

 Tres almarios de mentir,
 E cinco dofres d'enleios
 E alguns furtos alheios,

 Guarda-roupa d'encobrir:
 Emfim casa movediça,
 Hum estado de cortiça
 Com dez cochins d'embair,
 A mor cárrega que he,
 Esas moças que vendia;
 D'aquesta mecadoria
 Trago eu muita á bofé. (229, 230)

When the Devil encourages Brizida to enter his boat, she refuses because she feels that her many sufferings and bruises here on earth have earned her passage on the Barca da Gloria.

Eu sou hũa mártel tal,
 Açoutes tenbo eu levados,
 E tormentos supportados,
 Que ninguem me foi igual. (230)

As she goes to the guardian Angel of the Barca da Gloria, she employs all her charm and tact in an effort to win entry to this boat. Flattery is her main tool as she approaches the heavenly boat by calling the Angel, "Barqueiro, mano,... (230) Brizida repeats all of her exploits with emphasis on their charitable value. Her deep religious hypocrisy is evidenced throughout the dialogue with the Angel. She also attempts to gain entry to the boat by appealing to the Angel's sympathy because of her martyrdom while on earth.

Que eu sou apostalada,
 Angelada e martelada,

E fiz obras mui divinas.

 Tantas cachopas, como eu;
 Todas salvas polo meu,
 Que nenhũa se perdeu:
 E prouve áquelle do ceo,
 Que todas acháráo dono.

Brizida says that each deed has a divine blessing, and that all her clients have led holy lives because all have found masters through her guidance. The Angel is not deceived by her pretense and sends her back to the Devil who receives her with open arms. "Ora entrae, minha senhora,/ E sereis bem recibida. (231) A little later, a judge enters the Barca do Inferno, recognizes Brizida, and mentions her schemes and deceitful ways as he remembers her on earth. "I-vos tornar a tecer,/ E urdir outra meada." (238) Brizida is portrayed mainly by her answers to questions asked her by the Devil and Angel about her life on earth. These secondary characters (the Devil and Angel) serve as her interrogators and she responds by revealing her trades and personality traits. The word power is vivid, therefore little action is necessary for character portrayal.

Aubrey F. G. Bell points out that the entire auto is a social satire of people who played important roles in their contemporary society. "In the Barca do Inferno (1517) the satire was directed against an fidalgo, an usurer, an idiot, a cobbler, a monk, a procuress, a Jew, a judge, a solicitor and a hanged man as they arrive, after death at the Devil's boat..."³ Bell also indicates that although they are types, they are taken from individuals whom Vicente had observed in his contemporary society.⁴ The author's [Vicente's] ability to portray a type in a few lines is easily seen through Brizida's description. She is able to indicate her trades and personality traits in no more than 20 or 30 lines of poetry.

There have been varying opinions concerning the authorship of the Spanish Comedia alegórica del parayso y del infierno and Gil Vicente's Auto da Barca do Inferno. Bell feels that: "... in any case, the Spanish translation of the play is not the work of its author [Gil Vicente]."⁵ On the other hand, according to W.S. Hendrix, "The situation as regards the two plays may be summarized as follows: The Spanish play is not a mere translation of the Barca, but rather an adaptation of it, introducing some ideas not found in Vicente's play."⁶ Whether or not Gil Vicente wrote both the Portuguese and Spanish versions is not important as far as characterization is concerned. The vieja of the Comedia alegórica del parayso y del infierno, (1539) is portrayed by what she says about her past life after a brief introduction in a narrative argumento at the beginning of the Comedia.

The characters' names reflect the author's attitude toward this type in his society. In the Portuguese version, the go-between has a specific given name, whereas the Spanish go-between is simply called vieja. In the Portuguese version, Brizida Vaz indicates her own character in reply to the Devil and the Angel. On the other hand, the vieja verifies her traits after they are mentioned in the narrative argumento.

Luego viene vna alcahueta
muy corriendo, a mas andar,
muy cargada, a rebentar,
de hechizos,
de dos mil virgos postizos,
titulo de seys coraças
bien llorada delas moças,
7 de rufianes castizos.⁷

After this brief introduction, it is the vieja who indicates what she has done to earn passage in the boat. She lists her trades and indicates that

her success in her profession is because of her use of subtle wit and wisdom.

...Estos son mis menesteres,
 7 mi officio.
 Todas son estas cosillas
 aparejos de fornicio,
 7 de plazer y vicio;
 ala gente
 Traygo agora, aquí al presente,
 cinco mil virgos postizos
 7 sin numero de hechizos
 que hize continuamente.
 Fuy muy sabia y eloquente
 mi persona. (298)

The vieja continues to place emphasis on her sufferings while on earth in order to win sympathy just as Brizida Vaz had done. "...He sido encoroçada,/ 7 açotada cinco veces," (299) Other character traits that she mentions include deceit and greed. She also mentions her knowledge of medicine along with her cosmetic collection.

le vendi a vn bachiller
 vna moça por donzella: (299)

 de toda suerte de vnguento
 para sanar criaturas
 afeytes de mil hechuras;
 por ganar, todo lo intento (299)

 si les dan paga ligera (300) [a las otras viejas]

The vieja uses the same techniques on the Angel in this work as Brizida Vaz had done in the earlier Portuguese auto. Flattery is her first tool, then she lists her virtues of religiosity and martyrdom with the hope that this will persuade the Angel to allow her to board the boat to paradise. Again, she is refused entry because of her deceitful nature. The vieja's flattery is a little more open in this work than in the previous auto because all Brizida said in the auto was "Barqueiro, mano," (230), but in the Comedia the vieja says "Hola, hermano,/ que te guarde el Soberano!" (300)

This go-between seems to be bolder in her affirmation as a martyr and saint than Brizida Vaz. The vieja calls herself "vna tan sancta muger/ como yo, martyrizada.../ do toda virtud abundo." (301) Her final appeal to the Angel is that she endured so much suffering here on earth that she deserves heaven.

...la cama, lo que sufrio
toda mi casa se escusa;
pues que nadie no me acusa,
porque no yre al cielo? (302)

Both Brizida Vaz and the vieja are portrayed in a similar manner and both are representatives of a social type. The major distinction between them is that the vieja uses more descriptive words to give a better picture of her character.

Beroe, the celestinesque protagonist in Francisco de las Natas' Comedia de Tideia, is more fully developed than either Brizida Vaz or the vieja of the two earlier works. Beroe is not the only one who reveals her personality, as secondary characters also indicate her traits. In this respect, she is developed much like Celestina. Many attributes of her prototype, Celestina, are also present in her character. M. Romera-Navarro indicates this:

La tal vieja, Beroe, ejerce los mismos oficios de la Celestina: labradora, perfumera, falsificadora de la virtud femenina por excelencia, hechicera y alcahueta; beata, codiciosa y bebedora también lo es, y en ella al igual que su prototipo han clavado las garras los siete pecados capitales.⁸

Each vice found in Celestina is evident in Beroe's character also: a virgin mender, seller of cosmetics, imbibor, and her tactics include false piety, deceit, and flattery, while her motivation is greed. Unlike the Celestina, Beroe does not use witchcraft, folk sayings, nor citations from the classics in order to impress her listeners.

Beroe is first mentioned in the Introyto y argumento dela obra where she is referred to as "la maldita encoraçada."⁹ It is Prudente, Tideo's servant, who indicates that Beroe is a go-between, a woman of ill repute, and a hypocrite.

PRUDENTE--O barbuda dissantera,
Mango del diablo santona,
alcagueta, hechizera,
o puta vieja jarrona! (18)

The key words which identify Beroe are "mango del diablo santona." Immediately after Prudente says the preceding words, Beroe enters the scene praying sincerely, and asking for divine help in her profession at the same time.

Aue Maria, gracia plena;
Dominus teco, señora;
no mirays que buen estrena
para lunes en buen hora;
benedicta tu,
hora veys que tu por tu
me trataua la bouilla,
pues ventris tui Jesu,
tu vernas, doña loquilla;
santa Maria,
tu, madre de Dios, me guia
aqueste mi buen viaje,
que aunque alcagueteria,
passos son de romeraje. (19)

M. Romera-Navarro indicates the strong similarity between Celestina and Beroe with respect to their religious hypocrisy. "Grande es la semejanza entre ambas obras desde el momento en que Beroe se presenta en escena,... la entrada de la vieja celestinesca, hablando consigo misma, lo que dice y el modo de decirlo, su mezcla de preces y diabescos conceptos."¹⁰ It is Tideo who indicates that Beroe procures for profit, and later she verifies it.

TIDEO--En sumario,
esta rescibe salario
de clérigos y dignidades,
es remedio ordinario
para sus necesidades; (18)

Beroe verifies her greed by saying, "...quel pago que me ha de dar/ yo le estimo en gran valor." (52)

Because tactics used by Beroe for winning Faustina for Tideo include deceit and flattery, it is Tideo who calls her a deceitful person.

Vistes hora
aquella vieja traydora,
vn monstro tan criminal
me alcance atal señora
con su arte infernal! (26)

Beroe lets the reader know that she is a flatterer through her comments to Faustina. There is an overemphasis on beauty, youth and physical perfection through her use of a series of exclamations.

O mi rosa,
O mi perla muy preciosa!
O ymagen singular!...
Que frescura!
O que rostro y que blancura!...
O que cuello!
O que ojos y cabello!
O que pechos y boquita! (41)

This scene is reminiscent of how Celestina uses flattery to win Melibea. During her first interview, Celestina says, "¡O angélica ymagen! ¡O perla preciosa, e como te lo dizes! Gozo me toma en verte fablar."¹¹ Even though Prudente and Tideo reveal Beroe's personality and traits, she is the one who verifies them by what she says and does.

In El Infamador by Juan de la Cueva, the celestinesque character, Teodora, indicates her own traits and profession except for a few times when Leucino's servants discuss certain events in her procuring activities.

Leucino's servant, Ortelio, is the one to tell of Teodora's failure to win Eliodora the first visit, and the subsequent beating she received from Eliodora's servants. Ortelio continues relating how he took Teodora to the home of Terecinda, a fellow go-between. On his way back to Leucino, Ortelio sees Eliodora, who indicates what type of person Teodora seems to be. ELIO. --"Bien negocio la nueva Celestina."¹² Teodora comes to tell Leucino about her first visit with Eliodora and indicates how she tries to be pleasant and win Eliodora's confidence through flattery, but fails. "...Bella Eliodora,/ vida mía y señora mía,..." (9) Teodora continues by trying to deceive the young woman and she depicts Leucino as a brave, noble, and perfect gentleman, but he is just the opposite.

TEO. --Yo vengo a sólo deciros
que deis lugar que Leucino,
pues cual sabeis es tan dino,
ose ocuparse en serviro;
notoria es su gentileza,
discreción y bizarría,
su hacienda y su franqueza; (9)

Teodora shows her subtle tendency to flatter and deceive during her next visit with Eliodora.

TEO. --Feliciano, di a Eliodora
que hablarle quiere Teodora
su sierva, y quien más le ama. (40)

Of major importance is the fact that there are two alcahuetas in this work, Teodora and Terecinda, because these two go-betweens depend upon each other in their activities. Terecinda helps to verify Teodora's personality through her conversations with the former. In one conversation they indicate their superstitious nature and their use of conjuros as an aid to their procuring activities. As they are preparing to return to Eliodora's home, Teodora watches the birds in the sky for good or bad omens.

TEO. --ten cuenta y mira el viento
 si cuervo o si paloma pareciere
 o siniestra corneja se ofreciere. (33)

Terecinda supports Teodora's superstition by responding:

TERE. --Con prósperas señales
 de fatídico agüero
 se nos demuestra el cielo generoso
 en ocaciones tales,... (33)

As they continue to talk, they begin their witchcraft ritual.

TEO. --Tiende en torno esos lizos,
 por donde yo derramo
 estas cenizas, del Tinacrio monte,
 y con fuertes hechizos
 a responder me llamo
 los espíritus negros de Aqueronte...

TERE. --¡Oh Plutón, o Proserpina hermosa!

In spite of the fact that they call on the god of the underworld, they do not show any deep religious convictions nor religious hypocrisy.

Teodora is not the vivacious Celestina in many respects: no hedonism, no excessive greed nor hypocrisy, no subtle plots with servants. She tries to win the favor of Elidora through flattery, and later with the support of a fellow go-between, through their combined witchcraft. She is portrayed mainly through her own words and those of Terecinda, her accomplice. Because there is no description by the secondary characters, Teodora is portrayed from a limited number of points of view. For this reason, she appears as a stereotype rather than an individual. These matchmakers merely perform their duties in society and receive payment for them. They are accepted by all levels of society; therefore, in spite of past religious severity, these go-betweens are tolerated as a part of their contemporary world.

The Celestina portrayed in the Entremés famoso de la Celestina describes her profession in her own words. The author portrays this Celestina primarily through what she says about herself.

...Liciones y arbitrios doy
de arte amandi, si hay quien ama
que todo es comodidad
y sin ella todo cansa.
Desto vivo y desto muero,...¹³
las virtudes del imán
traigo, que atras los sentidos;
.....
Habas traigo, que se echan,
para adivinar sucesos;
traigo sogas, traigo huesos,
que para todo aprovechan. (221)

This Celestina alludes to her role as a go-between, a seller of virgins, and a prognosticator. As a reflection of her namesake, this alcahueta is merely a stereotype of the vivid individual created by Fernando de Rojas. She is portrayed solely through her own words.

Only Beroe and Teodora are portrayed from enough points of view to indicate their individuality. The go-betweens in the Barca do Inferno and in La comedia alegórica del parayso y del infierno are portrayed almost entirely through their own words. The Celestina of the Entremés tells her own story. These last three characters are portrayed from only one point of view and lack individuality and depth of character; therefore, they seem to be stock types rather than individuals. The authors do not have much time to develop the characters' personality from all points of view in such short dramatic presentations. On the other hand, the novelesque adaptations are longer and more time is dedicated to characterization from several points of view including author narration.

Notes to Chapter IV

- ¹Guerra Conde, "Gil Vicente y La Celestina," La Estafeta Literaria, CCCXLII (1966), 9.
- ²Gil Vicente, Obras de Gil Vicente, Tomo I, (Lisboa: Escripatria da Bibliotheca Portugueza, 1952), 299. All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text.
- ³Aubrey F. G. Bell, Gil Vicente, (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), 31.
- ⁴Aubrey F. G. Bell, Four Plays of Gil Vicente, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1920), xxxviii.
- ⁵Bell, Gil Vicente, 25.
- ⁶W. S. Hendrix, "The 'Auto da barca do inferno' of Gil Vicente and the Spanish 'Tragicomedia alegórica del parayso y del infierno,'" Modern Philology, XIII (1916), 184.
- ⁷Comedia alegórica del parayso y del infierno, in Teatro español, ed. Urban Cronan, Tomo I, (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1913), 272. All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text.
- ⁸M. Romera-Navarro, "Observaciones sobre la 'Comedia Tideia,'" The Romanic Review, XII, (November 1921), 190.
- ⁹Francisco de las Natas, La comedia de Tideia, in Teatro español, ed. Urban Cronan, Tomo I, (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1913), 6. All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text.
- ¹⁰M. Romera-Navarro, 191.
- ¹¹Fernando de Rojas, La Celestina, ed. Julio Cejador y Frauca, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1966), 172, vol. I.
- ¹²Juan de la Cueva, El Infamador, Los siete infantes de Lara, y El Ejemplar poético, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1941), 7. All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text.
- ¹³Juan Navarro de Espinosa, Entremés famoso de la Celestina, in Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Tomo XVII, (Madrid: Casa Editorial Bailly, Bailliere, 1910), 200. All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text.

CHAPTER V

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE CELESTINESQUE PROTAGONISTS IN: NOVELESQUE ADAPTATIONS OF THE "CELESTINA"

La Loçana andaluza, as portrayed by Francisco Delicado in his Retrato de la loçana andaluza; en lengua española muy claríssima. Compuesta en Roma. El Qual Retrato demuestra lo que en Roma passaua, y contiene muchas más cosas que la 'Celestina,' is a young, attractive prostitute. Her real name is Aldonça, but because of her subtle wit she is known as La Loçana andaluza. The three parts of the novel represent three stages in La Loçana's life: introduction into Roman prostitution, prosperity in her business, reflection upon and retirement from prostitution and procuring. In spite of the fact that she is young, she shows definite similarities to her prototype, Celestina. La Loçana, as the central character, gives unity to the plot of unrelated episodes just as Celestina gives unity to the plot of La tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea; but the unity is weaker in La Loçana andaluza because there is a lack of chronology to the events. Both go-betweens live by their wit, their knowledge of medicine, and greed. La Loçana, however, is able to make a profit in her business while Celestina only survives. Celestina is

portrayed by what others say about her first and later through her own conversations and deeds. The secondary characters describe La Loçana before she says or does anything. She is described by her aunt, the author, Diomedes, and later by the old women in Rome as well as her servant, Ranpín. Throughout the work, other clients or friends mention her trades and personality traits, but it is La Loçana herself who verifies her character by what she says and does.

Her aunt and old prostitutes in Rome describe La Loçana's traits, and express their desire to corrupt her. For example, her aunt encourages her to make use of her youthful beauty by saying: "...y vuestra hermosura hallará axuar cosido y sorzido, que no os tiene Dios olvidada."¹ The author also indicates that La Loçana's astuteness is one of her major assets: "...y notando en ella el agudeza que la patria y parentada le havían prestado,..." (13) He continues by saying, "Y como hera platica y de gran conversación,... Y como ella tenía gran ver e ingenio diabólico y gran conocer,..." (18) La Loçana is always careful of what she says so that she may benefit from every conversation and situation in which she is involved.

Upon her arrival in Rome, La Loçana is alone and without money, therefore, she visits some old women in an effort to find a job. Beatriz and Teresa, the old prostitutes, wish to take advantage of her good qualities and are pleased with her potential to supersede their own exploits.

BEATRIZ --Loçana, ¡Ay prima Hernández, no lo hagáys que nos deshonrrará como a mal pan! ¿No veys qué lavia y qué osadía que tiene, y qué dezir? (24)

TERESA --...que ésta en son la veo yo, que con los cristianos será cristiana, y con los jodios, jodia, y con los turcos, turca, y con los hidalgos, hidalga,... (30)

It is Ranpín's aunt who completes La Loçana's corruption by encouraging the youth to sleep with the Spanish beauty. His aunt says: "Yo quisiera ser ombre, tan bien me ha perescido. ¡O qué pierna de muger! ¡Y el necio de su marido la dexó venir sola a la tierra de Cornualla! Deve de ser qualque babión, o veramente que ella deve de ser buena de su cuerpo." (51)

Ranpín, who becomes La Loçana's servant and lover and plays an important role in her character portrayal, discusses her traits with various persons who come in contact with her, including the author. In a conversation with her client, El Maestresala, Ranpín discusses her greed. He tells El Maestresala that his mistress needs money to pay the rent, but in reality it has already been paid. "Es venida agora y a de pagar la casa y demándanle luego el dinero, y a de comprar baratijas para la casa y no se halla con mill ducados." (70) She herself indicates that greed is necessary in order to earn a living. "¡Hermana, es menester más dineros si quieres que te traya buena cosa!" (145) La Loçana also attempts to justify her deceit and trickery as a means of earning money to buy the necessities of life. "Y es que para ganar de comer tengo de dezir que sé mucho más que no sé, y afirmar la mentira con ingenio, por sacar la verdad." (179-80)

Although a prostitute and a go-between, she considers her profession one of dignity, and one which benefits contemporary Italian society. She defends her profession by saying, "Quiero bivar de mi sudor, y no me enpaché jamás con casadas ni con virgos, ni quise vender moças, ni llevar mensaje a quien no supiesse yo cierto que hera puta,...sino de mi oficio me quiero bivar." (130) Later, the caballero describes her physical attractiveness: "Corramos y tomémosla en medio, y gozar´a vuestra Señoría

de la más excelente muger que jamás vido,..." (149) The despensero gives an accurate list of her professional abilities in his conversation with Badajo.

Mas sobre mí que no compréys vos casa como ella, de solamente quitar cejas y componer novias. Fué muy querida de romanas, ésta fue la que hazía la esponja llena de sangre de pichón para los virgos, esto tenía que no era ynteresal y más ganava por aquello. (121-22)

The embaxador mentions her subtle craftiness: "Me parece que es astuta, que cierto ha de la sierpe e de la paloma." (151) A companion of Silvio, also one of her clients, discusses her astuteness: "Esta Loçana es sagaz, ...Y ésta haze embaradas, y mete de su cassa mucho almagén, y sábele dar la maña..." (100, 101)

Secondary characters indicate La Loana's character traits and she verifies them with her own words and actions. Her knowledge of medicine as a part of her profession which she defends in a conversation with the author, is indicated in the following quotation.

Señor, no, sino que soy venida aquí que su nuera desta señora está de parto, y querría hazer que como heche las pares me las vendan, para poner aquí a la vellutera y dalle ha qualque cossa para ayudar a criar la criatura. (103)

While talking to Ranpín, she defends her use of medicine again "... y la melezina a de estar en la lengua, y aunque no sepáis nada, avéys de fingir que sabéys y conocéys para que ganéys algo, como hago yo,..." (113) Professionalism in prostitution is a topic which this astute go-between defends also. All is done for the purpose of making a living. "A cavalleros y a putas de reputación con mi honrra procuré de interponer palabras, y amansar iras, y reconciliar las partes, y hazer pazes y quitar rencores, examinando partes, quitar martelos viejos, haziendo mi persona albardán

por comer pan." (165) La Loçana even calls her home a watchtower for prostitutes. "Parece mi casa atalaya de putas." (171)

In his introduction, Antonio Vilanova emphasizes the social historicity of La Loçana andaluza.

En efecto, como estampa vívida y realista, claramente extraña de la vida real en la que el autor intenta reflejar el ambiente y corrupción y libertinaje de la sociedad romana en los años inmediatamente anteriores al saco de Roma por las tropas del condestable de Borbón, esta obra es, sin duda alguna, el más precioso testimonio que ha llegado hasta nosotros acerca del ambiente de lenocinio y tercería de la picaresca española en Italia.²

Among the major social ills discussed are prostitution (the theme of the book), disease, and poor sanitation. Ranpín and La Loçana, discuss the moral corruption of Rome by saying: "Pues por esso es la mayor parte de Roma burdel, y le dizen Roma putana." (40) Ranpín emphasizes this corruption by listing the victims. "...pues mirá que por esso se dize: Roma, triunfo de grandes señores, parayso de putas, purgatorio de jóvenes, infierno de todos, fatiga de fiestas, engaño de pobres, peciguera de vellacos." (60) La loçana, as a prostitute, encourages prostitution, and sets up a type of union for other prostitutes. She collects a fee from each of the "treyn ta mill putas y nueve mill rufianas" (221) that her friend Divicia says are in Rome. This prostitutes' union is her own materialistic organization as she indicates: "¿Qué más Celidonia o Celestina qu' ella? Si todas las Celidonias o Celestinas que ay en Roma me diesen dos carlines al mes, como los médicos de Ferrara al Gonela, yo sería más rica que quantas mugeres ay en esta tierra." (220) As a result of excessive prostitution, venereal diseases also increased.

According to Bruno Damiani, syphilis was the most common venereal disease, a serious problem at the end of the fifteenth century in Europe.

The origin of this social plague is still unknown, although there was already talk about mala franços (mal francés) in 1472. It must be noted, however, that the date which Delicado gives us coincides with the mention made of this disease by Peter Martin of Angleria in a letter written in 1488 to his friend Arias Barbosa...According to Delicado, this disease had its origin in Naples in 1488, and its spread was due to the campaign to capture the kingdom of Naples. The courtesan Divicia says in Memorandum LII of Lozana: "...When King Charles came to Naples, the incurable disease began..."³ (202)

Other social problems were poor sanitation and a bad water supply. La Loçana cautions Divicia about Rome's bad water. "No bevas desa, qu' es del pozo. DIVICIA --¿Qué se me da? LOÇANA --Porque todos los pozos de Roma están entredichos, a efecto que no se beva el agua dellos." (217)

La Loçana, as an active member of the corrupt Roman society, represents all the major current ills. As a young woman, she is corrupted; as a mature woman, she adapts and takes advantage of her situation; and as a prosperous courtesan, she retires from her life of prostitution. She defends her role in society and verifies her character by her conversations with others, including the author himself.

Elena, the celestinesque protagonist in La hija de Celestina (1612), later entitled La ingeniosa Elena (1614) by Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, is portrayed through the author's narration, through conversations she has with other secondary characters, and through her own actions. Although Francisco Cauz, in his Ph.D. dissertation, "Aspectos de la novelística de Salas Barbadillo," feels that there is little similarity between Elena and her mother, Celestina; there are similarities in personality traits, means of survival, and mode of characterization.

Francisco Cauz states:

El único entronque con La Celestina que se pudiera aducir se halla en el breve capítulo tres en que Elena relata a Montúfar sus antecedentes familiares, destacándose el carácter celestinesco de su morisca madre. Enumerando y describiendo sus arterías termina por decirnos de su madre que 'sobre todas las gracias, tenía la mejor mano para aderezar doncellas que se reconocía en muchas leguas (y) adobaba mejor a la desdichada que llegaba a su poder segunda vez, que cuando vino la primera' resonante e inconfundible eco de la primera Celestina.⁴

Elena, like Celestina, is a liar, a manipulator, and a deceiver. In the end, both protagonists die because of their evil lives; Celestina because of her excessive greed, and Elena at the hands of justice because she attempts to poison Montúfar, her husband. Elena is first described through the author's narration, later she reveals her personality through conversations and deeds. The mode of Celestina's characterization is similar except that Sempronio and Pármeno, instead of the author, first mention her personality.

Salas Barbadillo indicates Elena's beauty, subtle wit, and propensity for lying as basic character traits even before she appears.

Mujer de buena cara y pocos años, que es la principal hermosura; tan sutil de ingenio, que era su corazón la recámara de la Mentira donde hallaba siempre el vestido y traje más á su propósito convenientes...Cierto que mentía con mucho aseo y limpieza,...⁵

On several occasions Elena practices her subtle wit and her ability to lie. Her effort to extort money from don Sancho's rich uncle is an excellent example of her deceitful nature. She pretends to have been attacked by don Sancho, the uncle believes her and pays for the damages in jewels and money. Subtle Elena seeks the uncle's sympathy through tears at the beginning of their conversations. The author narrates:

Aquí Elena, que sabía que una mujer hermosa tal vez persuade más con los ojos llorando que con la boca hablando, en lugar de razones, acudió con una corriente de copiosas lágrimas tan bien entodada, ya alzando, ya bajando, limpiándose ya con un lienzo los ojos por mostrar la blanca mano, y ya retirando el manto porque se viese en el rostro la lágrimas. (54-55)

After having won don Sancho's uncle's confidence, Elena wickedly falsifies the manner in which don Sancho attacked her: "...donde, con una daga que me puso á los pechos, alcanzó con villana fuerza lo que no había podido con blanda cortesía; para cuyo efecto, cuando me vió rendida dejó caer la daga en el suelo." (60) Elena's motivation is materialistic and the rich uncle is deceived and pays for the supposed damages to her reputation. "...dando al paje la llave de un escritorio, de donde sacó la cantidad de oro, en doblones de a cuatro, y se la entregó, contándola Montúfar --que se hizo entregado en ella--doblón, sobre doblón;..." (64) Elena and her coconspirators, Montúfar and la vieja Méndez, flee before the uncle learns the truth. Later Montúfar becomes grasping and takes the money and jewels for himself. After temporarily abandoning the two women, he returns to them and begs forgiveness. They continue their travels until they reach Sevilla where they again practice deception by false pretenses. They act the part of pious and holy penitents and the townsmen provide for them for almost three years.

En menos que tres años, enriquecieron; porque demás de los regalos y dádivas grandes que les hacían los poderosos ciudadanos de Sevilla--sisaban de la bolsa de Dios con poca vergüenza. Hurtaban la tercia parte del dinero que les daban para limosnas, que era infinita suma, y guardabanlo todo en oro. (143)

Both Montúfar and Elena escape the officials and la vieja Méndez is punished in their stead. The author indicates that Elena and Montúfar enter

the court as wealthy husband and wife. "Entraron en la Corte ricos y casados,..." (150) They continue to live on their ill-gained profits.

Elena describes her family background in Chapter III. She says her mother, "...que fué doctísima mujer en el arte de convocar gente del otro mundo." (72-73) practices the occult. Her account of her mother's other trades is:

Y, sobre todas las gracias, tenía la mejor mano para aderezar doncellas que se conocía en muchas leguas, fuera de que las medicinas que aplicaba para semejantes heridas estaban aprobadas por autores tan graves, que su doctrina no se despreciaba como vulgar. (74) ...Como el pueblo llegó á conocer sus méritos, quiso honralla con título digno de sus hazañas, y así la llamaron todos en voz común «Celestina», segunda de este nombre. (75)

Of her own moral corruption, Elena says:

Ya yo era mozuela de doce á trece y tan bien vista de la Corte, que arrastraba Príncipes que, golosos de robarme la primera flor, me prestaban coches, dábanme aposentos en la comedia, enviábanme en las mañanas de Abril y Mayo almuerzos, y las tardes de Julio y Agosto meriendas, al río de Manzanares. (78) ...Tres veces fuí vendida por virgen. La primera a un eclesiástico rico. La segunda a un señor de título. La tercera a un genovés, que pagó mejor y comió peor. (79)

As a product of her society, Elena reflects the ills which were inherent in that world. Thomas Hanrahan sees her alienation as a distorted sense of values,

Elena estaba desde el comienzo alienada de la sociedad en que nació. Su carácter fue deformado por el cinismo con que su madre prostituyó su belleza. Más vieja de lo que decía su edad, amargada por sus tempranas experiencias con los 'mejores miembros' de la sociedad y dotada de una gran belleza, comienza a vivir fuera de la sociedad que al principio la había tratado con tanta dureza.⁶

Such celestinesque traits as subtle deceit, flattery, lies, greed, and astuteness make Elena a part of her contemporary world, although she lives

outside its moral code. Elements missing in her portrayal which were a part of Celestina's characterization include the fact that she is not a go-between, not superstitious, not an imbibor. Furthermore, she is portrayed as a young, attractive prostitute while Celestina was old and unattractive. Moreover, since she shares the protagonist's role with la vieja Méndez and Montúfar, Elena is not the central character in the strictest sense. She does serve as a catalyst for deceitful projects, and the other two help her consummate her plans.

Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo writes the novel in the third person with a few conversations between Elena, la vieja Méndez, and Montúfar interspersed through the novel. He limits the manner of characterization to his narration and conversations between characters. For this reason, Elena's personality is reflected from a limited number of viewpoints. Narration is less effective as a character-portrayal technique than dialogue, monologue, or character interaction which Rojas used in Celestina's portrayal; therefore, Elena's characterization is less vivid than her predecessor.

Lope de Vega, on the other hand, uses La Celestina as a model for his creation of Gerarda in La Dorotea. He employs dialogue, monologue, character action, and interaction in the form of a dialogues novel to portray his characters. Rene L. F. Durand accurately describes Gerarda when he says:

Gerarda por fin, alcahueta nacida en las capas ínfimas de la sociedad heredera legítima y castiza de Trotaconventos y la Celestina, tiene sus puntos y ribetes de erudita...Es ahora una anciana arrugada que no tiene más preocupación que sacar dinero a los bobos y emborracharse como cualquier mozo de cuerda.⁷

This lopesque go-between is no longer a procuress who seeks to corrupt young women. Dorotea, already married to a man who has long been absent, is in love with a young poet, don Fernando. Gerarda, her confidante and friend, is a messenger and adviser for Dorotea and her lover. Gerarda also tries to take advantage of the generosity of don Bela, a rich claimant for Dorotea's hand, by acting as his go-between to discourage Dorotea and don Fernando. This matchmaker is not a professional procuress, but procures as a diversion and service to God.

GERARDA --Yo, amiga no soy de aquellas que lo son de la merienda, del presente, del juego y del coche al río, ni me ha conocido nadie por sumillera del ageno gusto. ¿Qué ropas ni basquiñas tengo por esso? ¿Qué moça he conducido? ¿En qué sala he estado mirando los retratos o hablando con los pages? A lo que venía me movieron dos cosas: el servicio de Dios y vuestra honra.⁸

Gerarda participates in the conversations and actions of the novel, but she is not the central figure. She is not the manipulator of other persons' lives nor a catalyst for their actions.

Gerarda is greedy, deceitful, astute, and falsely pious. She has two excesses: drunkenness and excessive use of folk sayings. Other characters often ridicule her excesses and point out her other traits, but she indicates each characteristic through her own words. Don Bela is the first person to mention Gerarda's subtle nature and her greed:

BELA --No digo yo lo prometido, pero todo el oro que el sol engendra en las dos Indias me parece poco, y aunque se añadieran los diamantes de la China, las perlas del mar del Sur y los rubíes de Zeylán; y a ti, discreta Gerarda, a cuyo entendimiento se deue esta vitoria, quiero servir por aora con estos escudos. (51)

She continually tries subtly to get more money from don Bela. His friend and servant, Laurencio, recognizes her deceit and tries to curb don Bela's

generosity. An excellent example of Gerarda's subtle use of sayings to persuade don Bela to give her more money is in Act IV.

GERARDA --Mucho os quiero, Pedro; no os digo lo medio;
no ay aquí para la holla, que oy como vna amiga conmigo...

GERARDA --Entre pupa y buruxón, Dios escoja lo mejor.
Todo se sabe, comadre. Pero, boluiendo a mi comidada,
e aquí la holla. Vna libra de carnero, catorze maraue-
dís. Media de baca, seis; son veinte. De tocino vn
quarto, otro de carbón, de perejil y cebollas dos mara-
uedís, y quatro de axeitunas, es vn cabal. Pues tres
reales de vino entre dos mugeres de bien es mui poca
manifatura: no ay para dos sorbos. Añade, assí Dios
te añada los días de la vida.

LAURENCIO --¡Tres reales de vino, valiendo a doce maraue-
dis la azumbre!...

GERARDA --Hermano Laurencio, en año caro, harnero espeso y
cedazo claro.

BELA --Dale otros quatro reales. (251)

In this quotation, Gerarda not only emphasizes her greed, but her love for food and drink as well.

Drunkenness and nonsensical use of proverbs appear in a conversation between Teodora, Celia, and Gerarda at the end of Act II. In an aside, Celia mentions Gerarda's addiction for sayings: "Quando la vieja anda por refranes, buena está su alma." Later, in the same conversation, Teodora cautions Gerarda several times about excessive drinking:

TEODORA --Gerarda, no bebas más; que dizes desatinos, y en otra parte pensarán que era verdad lo que dizes... (100)

TEODORA --Madre Gerarda, come más y bebe menos; que con la sal de tus gracias, te brindas a ti misma... (102)

DOROTEA --Gerarda, que no hablas claro. (103)

Gerarda drunkenly ends the conversation and babbles Latin and Spanish nonsense. "Quod habemus comido, de Dominus Domini sea benedito, y amigos y a vobis nunca faltetur, y agora dicamus el santificetur." (105)

Although Gerarda is portrayed as being greedy, an imbibor, and deceitful, her main role in this novel is that of an adviser or counselor for Dorotea. She indicates this in a conversation with Dorotea near the end of the novel. "No, hija, sino aconsejarte que viuas y te gozes;" (299) Gerarda is no longer the procuress that her predecessor, Celestina, was. José Manuel Blecua in his edition of La Dorotea accurately describes her function in the novel.

...pero Gerarda no es, como Celestina, el personaje central, y, además, le falta la grandiosidad diabólica de su antecesora; todo lo más es una nieta graciosa y vivaracha, aficionada al vino; ávida de dinero, rezadora, conocedora de las artes diabólicas, aunque no tiene ocasión de practicarlas.⁹

She does appear to be religious by saying to various persons that she is going to pray, but this is her way of making conversation. "Voime a rezar un poco; que tengo no sé que deuociones; que no me daxon donzellas para casarse, ni enfermos para tener salud." (55) Lope de Vega created a celestinesque character who reflects her prototype as a capricious, excessively verbal go-between.

The authors of the novelesque adaptations of the Celestina portray their protagonists from several points of view including narration. La Loçana's character is indicated by the author. Later, other Roman citizens reveal her traits and trades by what they say about her. She verifies and defends her profession in conversations with several secondary characters. Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo portrays Elena mainly through his narrative comments and her own words and actions. On the other hand, Lope returns to a dialogued novel in order to portray his Gerarda. Dialogue, monologue, character action, and interaction are the main techniques

used to portray this go-between. Although the authors use several points of view to portray their protagonists, these go-betweens lack the skill to manipulate and control others that Celestina had.

Notes to Chapter V

¹Francisco Delicado, La Lozana andaluza, ed. Antonio Vilanova, (Barcelona: Selecciones Bibliofilas, 1952), 10. All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text.

²Ibid., xx.

³Francisco Delicado, La Lozana andaluza, ed. Bruno Damiani, (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1969), 53.

⁴Francisco A. Cauz, "Aspectos de la novelística de Salas Barbadillo," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1972, 61.

⁵Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, La hija de Celestina, (Madrid: A. Pérez y C.^a, 1907), 30. All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text.

⁶S. J. Thomas Hanrahan, La mujer en la novela picaresca española, 2 tomos, (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1967), 259.

⁷Rene L. F. Durand, "La intromisión de lo literario en la vida de 'La Dorotea' de Lope de Vega," Revista Nacional de Cultura, Caracas XI (1949-50), 72.

⁸Lope de Vega, La Dorotea, ed. Américo Castro, (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1913), 6. All quotations are from this edition and are indicated in the text.

⁹Lope de Vega, La Dorotea, ed. José Manuel Blecua, (Madrid: Ediciones de Revista de Occidente, 1955), 44.

CONCLUSION

Trotaconventos, the Spanish prototype for Celestina, is a direct descendant of her classical antecedents, Dipsas and Anus, stereotyped go-betweens who used witchcraft to ensure their success. Trotaconventos became the first stereotype go-between in Spanish literature with a love for money and an ability to use her wit to earn a living through procuring. Secondary characters give an accurate description of her character and trades in their conversations with the protagonist, Don Melón. Then, he and the female characters only add examples of her already-established traits. When she enters the scene, her traits are well defined by what others have said; she reinforces her portrayal by her own words and deeds. Trotaconventos' successor, Celestina, was created as the same type of character, but portrayed from several secondary characters' points of view through dialogue and character interaction.

La Celestina is a dialogued novel, therefore, character development is achieved through conversation, monologue, and character interaction. The servants are the first characters to indicate Celestina's personality traits and professional trades. They refer to her personality in general terms such as old, crafty, and knowledgeable in all

evils, but they refer specifically to her trades: virgin mender, go-between, witch, laundress, and perfume-seller. After she enters the scene, her character is clarified by what she says and how others respond to her. She betrays her insatiable greed through her own words in conversation with secondary characters, and later she refuses to share the profits with them, this being final proof of her greed. Not only does the author allow her to show her greedy attitude towards the servants, but she attempts to earn more money from Calisto by prolonging her procuring activities. Therefore, Celestina builds her own portrayal through numerous conversations with the other characters. She similarly indicates her other character facets of manipulation, control and domination, hedonism, superstition, and false religiosity. The interaction through dialogue and action between Celestina, the central character, and every other character is the main means of portrayal after the servants indicate her general attributes. In this way, she is portrayed by conversations of others, her own conversations, monologues, and interaction among all of the characters.

Rojas uses conversations between Celestina and the other characters to show a different side of her personality with each secondary character. He enables the reader to see her from the other characters' points of view in her attempts to control or manipulate each situation in which she is involved. Her own actions complete her characterization. Celestina is portrayed through the words of others and their attitudes toward her. Rojas allows all of the secondary characters to interact with her on their own level, and she responds through conversation and action accordingly. As a result, Rojas has created a character who is not a stereotype, but a realistic person, an individual. The dramatists

who attempt to imitate this type of characterization cannot do so with much skill because they fail to include the character interaction and conversation.

In La Segunda Celestina, Feliciano de Silva does not have the secondary characters reiterate Celestina's traits and professions. He assumes the reader remembers them from the original Celestina. In dialogues with other characters, she states certain things which indicate her greed, deceit, and false religiosity. For example, she indicates her false religiosity through what she says to the secondary character, Zenara. Although the secondary characters talk with her, there is a lack of interaction and mutual influence of characterization of Celestina by the secondary characters. She indicates her personality and trades through her own words.

The Tercera Celestina by Gaspar Gómez also lacks depth of characterization. The second Celestina's main weakness, greed, is revealed to the reader by the servants. These secondary characters never have conversations with her so that another level of portrayal could be achieved. The author completes her portrayal through her own words and actions. Gaspar Gómez assumes that his readers already know who and what she is, therefore, he sees no need to portray her according to each secondary character's point of view in relation to what they say to her and her responses to them.

Claudine, the celestinesque protagonist in La Tragedia Policiana, is described through the words of the servants. They indicate her traits before she enters the scene. Because of a lack of interaction in which character traits are evident, her personality is not revealed from several

points of reference. Although the secondary characters say she is a go-between, greedy, and astute, she is the one who verifies her traits after they are revealed by the other characters.

Marcelia, in Comedia Llamada Florinea, is portrayed through her own words in long monologues and through what she says to minor characters. There is no exchange of conversation between Marcelia and the minor characters which might contribute to her personality portrayal. Nor is there any dialogue between the secondary characters about Marcelia. Therefore, her characterization is limited to what she says and does. Consequently, she is more of a stock character than an individual.

La Lena, in Velásquez de Velasco's play, La Lena, reveals her personality and occupations by what she says in monologues, and by what she says to others. The secondary characters do not indicate their reactions nor feelings about her through conversations with each other nor with her. Lena's name itself means a go-between, therefore, the author tries to include what her profession is in the meaning of her name. Again, because of a lack of depth to the character portrayal, this go-between is more of a type than an individual.

The go-between in Gil Vicente's Auto da Barca do Inferno, and the go-between in the anonymous Spanish work, Comedia alegórica del parayso y del infierno, are portrayed through their own words in response to the Devil's and Angel's questions. There is only a brief mention of the vieja's traits and skills in the introyto of the Comedia alegórica. Brizida Vaz of Gil Vicente's work responds to the interrogators by listing her trades as a virgin mender and cosmetic maker, and her personality

traits as greed, deceit, lies, and trickery. Her religious hypocrisy and flattery appear through her answers to the Angel's questions in an attempt to enter the heavenly boat. The vieja of the Comedia alegórica indicates her trades and personality through her own comments also. The vieja attempts to enter the heavenly boat through flattery and emphasis on her earthly martyrdom. Both of these go-betweens are portrayed as social types rather than identifiable people of their contemporary world.

Beroe, of Comedia de Tideia, is portrayed by what she says, what she does, and what others say about her. Her actions verify each trait indicated by others. There is one narrative reference to her in the argumento which indicates her criminal misconduct. A servant, is the secondary character who indicates the type of person she is by calling her a go-between, witch, and old whore. Later, after he indicates her religious hypocrisy, she enters the scene mumbling a long, pious prayer requesting aid from the Virgin in her go-between activities. Her actions prove her false religiosity which had just been pointed out by a minor character. Conversational interaction between Beroe and the secondary characters as a means of portrayal is lacking. She manifests her traits by what she says and does.

Juan de la Cueva, in El Infamador, lets Teodora indicate her own personality and trades through her conversation with others. Her flattery and deceit are evident by what she says. This go-between also shows a weakness in her self-confidence because she seeks out Terecinda, another go-between, to help support her in her activities. They both indicate their superstition and use of witchcraft through conversation with each other. The other secondary characters do not contribute to

Teodora's portrayal by any conversations they have with each other about her, nor do they indicate their reactions to her through dialogues with her.

In the short Entremés famoso de la Celestina, Celestina is the only one who describes herself and her trades through her own comments. Neither character interaction nor contributions to her portrayal by secondary characters are present, therefore, she is a stereotyped reflection of the original Celestina rather than a fully developed go-between. All of these dramatic adaptations of the celestinesque protagonist lack depth of portrayal because the go-betweens are portrayed from only one or two perspectives. They appear to be stock types rather than real persons.

The novelesque presentations of the celestinesque protagonist include dialogue, character interaction, and action, but narration is the major means of portrayal in one of the novels, La hija de Celestina, by Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo. Although Salas Barbadillo used narration, he does include dialogue and actions of the characters as other means of characterization. Elena lacks several of Celestina's professions and traits; she is not a hypocrite, imbibor, nor go-between. She is described through the author's narrative comments about her craftiness, ability to lie, and her youthful beauty. Later, she verifies these attributes by what she says and does, not by what other say to or about her. Even though narration adds description to her character and develops the plot, portrayal is shallow because Salas Barbadillo does not allow the other characters to become a part of her portrayal.

La Lozana andaluza's traits and professions are described by everyone with whom she comes in contact. Since she is a young woman corrupted by the encouragement of older prostitutes, their personalities are also a part of her portrayal. They all indicate their attitudes by what they say to or about La Lozana. Each of these old prostitutes contributes to La Lozana's corruption. After she has established herself as a prostitute, Ranpín and several of her clients indicate her sensuality, craftiness, and professional abilities. Ranpín and the author have conversations with her in which they help her philosophize about prostitution and its value in Roman society. Each person who comes in contact with La Lozana describes that aspect of her personality important to him. She, on the other hand, clarifies her ideas by what she says in conversations with the secondary characters. The old prostitutes corrupt La Lozana and her friends and customers reveal her personality and trades, but she verifies and justifies her character traits and professional trades by what she says and does. Conversation is the main technique used for her portrayal.

Lope de Vega patterned his Dorotea after the original Celestina by writing a dialogued novel in five acts. Lope uses the same characterization techniques which Rojas used to create Celestina: dialogue, monologue, character action, and interaction. The only difference is that Gerarda does not try to manipulate the other characters' lives, therefore, their reactions to her are absent. Gerarda is portrayed as a confidante and friend of Dorotea rather than a go-between. The lovers, not Gerarda, are the central characters. Don Bela, Dorotea, her mother Teodora, and servants indicate Gerarda's greed, excessive drunkenness, and verbal

excesses by comments they make to her. She adds perspective to her portrayal by frequent use of sayings and long conversations with don Bela and Laurencio in order to wheedle more money for services rendered from don Bela. Since Gerarda is not the protagonist, her characterization is completed by comments of major and minor characters as well as her words and actions.

Celestina remains the best portrayed character because of Fernando de Rojas' ability to indicate her traits from each secondary character's point of reference as well as from her own conversations, monologues, and actions, and interactions with the other characters. Each imitation and adaptation of this protagonist is lacking in personality traits and professional trades, or their characterization seems incomplete because of a lack of one or more portrayal techniques used by Rojas. On the basis of her portrayal, Celestina is the go-between who serves as a model for all those after her.

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