

Celestina's Daughters:
Conversa, Morisca, and "Old Christian" Descendants of the Medieval Iberian Go-
Between

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INTRODUCTION

*A tal mensajera nunca le digas maça;
bien o mal como gorcee, nunca le digas picaça,
señuelo, cobertera, almadana, cordaça,
altaba, trañel, cabestro nin almohaça,*

*garavato nin tía, cordel nin cobertor,
escofina, avancuerda, [...] nin rascador,
pala, aguzadera, freno nin corredor,
nin badil nin tenazas nin anzuelo pescador,*

*campana, taravilla, alcahueta nin porra,
xaquima, adalid nin guía nin handora;
nunca le digas trotera, aunque por ti corra;
creo que, si eso guardares, que la vieja te acorra.*

*Aquijón, escalera nin abejón nin losa,
trailla nin trechónnin registro nin glosa:
dezir todos sus nonbres es a mí fuerte cosa,
nonbres e maestrías más tienen que raposa.*

—Juan Ruíz, *Libro de buen amor* (vv. 924-927)

In *Libro de buen amor* (c. 1330, 1343), a likely bilingual Juan Ruiz depicts the figure of the *alcahueta* with a mosaic of parallel Arabic nouns such as *xaquima* (Arabic for “yoke” or “cord”) and *adalid* (guide) alongside Spanish terms such as *avancuerda* and *guía* (Ruiz 225; 925b, 926b; Armistead 6). Highlighting this character's importance in both languages and cultures, the poet dedicates twenty stanzas to naming the go-between,

the figure in question: an old woman who arranged rendezvous for lovers, or affected transactions between prostitutes and clients. The parallel linguistic interplay between Arabic and Castilian exposes the connecting thread between the go-between and Iberian diversity. This intercultural figure is at the core of Ruiz's book, which opens with the poet rhyming from a metaphorical prison and closes with the "Cantiga de los clérigos de Talavera," the clergy's lament of the Papal bull forbidding them from concubinage. Recalling Francisco Márquez's theory in "Juan Ruiz y el celibato eclesiástico" that *Libro de buen amor* coincides with celibacy laws passed in 1342, we can see that the go-between is tied here to social transition (32). The way the *vieja* brings about such change is also relevant to later literature.

Yet as important as Ruiz's *alcahueta* Trotaconventos was in his text and in being the progenitor for later literary go-betweens, this figure had already captivated Iberian Christian, Jewish, and Muslim writers and readers for centuries. In *Representing Others in Medieval Iberian Literature*, Michelle Hamilton points out that writers and storytellers had linked the mediator to exile since Ovid's *De amore*, and that this character had carried Andalus traces into Christian literary territory since the thirteenth century (102). In the *alcahueta's* movement from the Hispano-Arabic and Hebrew *maqamat* to the Latin *Vetula*, the *tercera* defies definition while continuing to engage in activities that do not fit within strict categories (Hamilton 102). Go-betweens played an important role in Ibn Hazm's *Tawq-al-hamama* (c. 1023) and other Hispano-Muslim and Hispano-Hebrew poetry. In Christian literature, she also appeared in Alfonso X's recompilation of the ancient Hindu *Calila e Dimna* fables (1221-1251) and the *Libro del caballero Zifar* (c. 1300).

The go-between's presence in the literary canon is testament to the figure's importance in Hispanic cultural identity. Her long reign as a familiar character to all members of Iberian society has compelled Américo Castro, Francisco Márquez, Cynthia Robinson, Leyla Rouhi, Michelle Hamilton, and Jean Dangler to compare the female mediator across Spanish Christian, Muslim, and Jewish literature. These leaders in Sephardic and Andalusí studies and their followers have focused on the multicultural origins and evolution of the medieval go-between. However, the present study offers the first parallel comparison of the go-between across Spain's three primary cultural groups in the sixteenth century, analyzing the figure in "Old Christian," *converso*, and *morisco* literature.

At the end of the fifteenth century, the go-between of medieval Spain's three cultures reached her most paradigmatic incarnation in the eponymous protagonist of *La Celestina*. Harking back to the medieval go-between, the character descends from medieval Iberia's primary cultures—Christians, Muslims, and Jews—as both Francisco Márquez and Leyla Rouhi have argued. Celestina thus successfully defies and traverses the rigid boundaries and identity categories that emerged because of the historical changes I will outline below. Despite this similarity, the figure of Celestina, conceived at the cusp of Spain's Renaissance or early modernity, functions differently from her predecessors in that she serves to call into question inequality between classes, marginalization of Spanish minorities, and the scholasticism that had previously dominated the European education system.

The go-between persisted as mother to an abundance of surrogate daughters during

the early modern period. In current scholarship, this lineage has included on the one hand, the *Celestina* cycle—a corpus of direct descendants of the comedy that revive the original characters—and, on the other, the female picaresque novel more generally. This study includes two of *La Celestina*'s undeniable daughter texts, Francisco Delicado's *Retrato de la Lozana andaluza* (1514- 1528), Feliciano de Silva's *Segunda Comedia de la Celestina* (1534), in addition to a treatise that scholars have not typically compared to *La Celestina*, El Mancebo de Arévalo's *Tafsira* (mid-sixteenth century). Written by authors who directly or indirectly experienced the effects of Spain's massive expulsions of Jews and Muslims, the blood purity statutes, and the exclusion laws, the corpus of texts that I have chosen situates the go-between at the heart of social change and the new types of marginalization that emerged in late medieval and early modern Spain. The three main writers that I examine here, like the creator(s) of *La Celestina*, show a pronounced interest in calling into question the dominant social order. Although the works that comprise the corpus of this study have different plots and settings, the knot that ties them together is a parallel textual contamination that defies the state's officially desired purity. The authors in question achieve this figurative sully via an active appropriation of the traditional Spanish go-between and some of her most notable characteristics, spaces, and speech.

Inside and Outside a New Spain of the Three Cultures

Approaching the sixteenth-century reception of the go-between among Spain's three main cultural groups requires review of a unique cultural context: a time when migration of Spanish minorities abounded and rigid identity categories began to

demarcate the medieval Spain of three cultures of the past from its imperial present. Such an analysis begs consideration of the pivotal historical and social changes and the waves of expulsions that marked the experiences of Iberian *conversos* and *moriscos*. The installation of the Spanish Inquisition (1478), the events of 1492, and the first European documented outbreaks of syphilis (1493) created a unique political and cultural atmosphere in Spain and, later, its colonies (Kagan and Schmidt 52).¹ The years after *La Celestina's* publication (1499-1502) also saw forced conversions and migrations of the *moriscos* within Spain (1502-1526), as well as official bans on expressions of Moorishness (1513-1526). As we shall see in chapter 2 of this study, the early 1530s brought exclusion edicts that barred New Christians from certain professional positions. Late medieval and early modern Spaniards thus had to obey the social mandates of the two primary authoritative entities: the Holy Office and the Crown that had established it.

Given Spain's unique cultural climate, Stephen Gilman's recognition that New Christians lived simultaneously inside and outside Spanish society has proven particularly valuable to the study of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spanish religious minorities and to this dissertation. While they exercised a certain level of authority to make economic and political decisions, they were subject to the envy of those who thought they had become too successful (Amelang 72-73), as well as to arbitrary Inquisitorial power (Gilman 137). And, just as many *conversos* endured persecution despite their essential contributions to Spain's economic and administrative sectors, *moriscos* endured increased discrimination and numerous expulsions, despite being a

¹ Throughout this dissertation, the Inquisition refers only to the Spanish Holy Office, not Roman or Portuguese, unless otherwise noted.

highly valued labor force. In 1501 Granadan *mudéjares*, Spanish Muslims under Christian rule, rebelled against Cisneros' efforts to convert them to Christianity (Wiegers 9). In response, the Catholic Monarchs reneged on their promise to tolerate Islam in the former Nasrid kingdom (Wiegers 9).

Continued tensions between *moriscos* and authorities led to the forced expulsion of the descendants of Spanish Muslims from Granada throughout Castile. Like the Jews, Muslims could convert to Catholicism or abandon the kingdom (Wiegers 9). In 1526 a similar capitulation was decreed, requiring the conversion of all Muslims of Aragon and Valencia. As Alberto Montaner observes, these forced conversions brought about the *moriscos'* loss of cultural and religious identity, at least externally (1035). Many Muslims truly converted, changing their customs, beliefs, and clothing, as mandated. Still, others maintained their Islamic beliefs and traditions underneath public displays of eating pork and drinking wine. Other acts of resistance, which occurred across *converso*, *morisco*, and even Old Christian communities, are reflected in the literature of the time and form the pillar of the study at hand. Beyond this reflection, the literature itself also enacts resistance.

The Question of Authorship

La Celestina emerged in this context of shifts in political policy and demographics. Thanks to the work of scholars such as José Antonio Maravall, we cannot ignore the late medieval bestseller's censure of social upheaval. Indeed, this pioneer of *La Celestina* studies proposed that the text presented the drama of a socio-historic crisis and the transmutation of social and moral values that transpired during fifteenth-century Spain's economic, cultural, and

social development (20).

Yet other issues linger: who wrote the text, and why? Most scholarship from the twentieth century until now has pointed to Fernando de Rojas as the author because of editor Alonso de Proaza's acrostics in *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (Toledo 1500): "El bachiller Fernando de Rojas acabó la Comedia de Calysto y Melybea y fue nascido en La Puebla de Montalván" (52-56). Consequently, most modern editions—such as those of Dorothy Severin and Francisco Rico—name Rojas as the author, even though, beyond the acrostics, early copies never identify him as such. Most scholars believe Rojas wrote acts 2 through 21. Others believe he composed only the *Tratado de Centurio*—the five intercalated acts that converted the 1499 *Comedia* into the 1502 *Tragicomedia*. In *The Book Called Celestina* (1954) Clara Penney casted doubt on the idea that a youthful *bachiller* could have envisioned the *Comedia* (8). Similarly, María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, in her indispensable work *La originalidad artística de la Celestina* (1962), argued for multiple authors. She affirmed that, while Rojas may have written the *Comedia*, the *Tragicomedia* might be a product of collaboration between him and a cultured coterie of interpolators (19-24). In contrast to these approaches, Stephen Gilman studied Rojas and his kin. In his foundational monograph *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas* (1972), he stressed Rojas's authorship, as well as his alleged *converso* identity, which, he argued, influenced *La Celestina*'s tragic themes. Gilman's research on the family archives revealed that the author's great-grand children declared in their mid-sixteenth-century "Libros de memorias" that Rojas "composed Celestina" (32).

Recent scholarship has added intricate theories to the list of possibilities regarding *La Celestina*'s roots. José Guillermo García Valdecasas and José Antonio Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo suggest that modern scholars have misinterpreted declarations that Rojas

"composed *Celestina*." In Álvaro de Montalbán's trial, the accused stated that his son-in-law, Rojas, "compuso Melibea" (Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo, interview). According to Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo, "componer" in sixteenth-century Spanish meant "arreglar" (Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo, interview). García Valdecasas and Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo thus maintain that Rojas salvaged and tailored a primitive manuscript of the *Comedia*, appending the lovers' deaths and Pleberio's lament. Another aspect of their hypotheses is Rojas's lack of familiarity with the *comedia humanística* genre, which caused him to embed passages from philosophical authorities into his own text. Rojas's other alterations, following this theory, include the "Carta del autor a un su amigo," "Prólogo," and acrostics. García Valdecasas and Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo propose that these additions converted the text from a *comedia humanística* to the hybrid masterpiece we know as *La Celestina*. Taking Rojas's debated authorship to another level, José Luis Canet argues for very little involvement, if any at all, on the part of the *bachiller*. Proposing that a team of seasoned intellectuals—rather than a single student—composed the *Comedia* to ridicule medieval scholasticism, Canet reminds us that the continuation of the first act coincided with the Humanist reformation of the University of Salamanca (26-29). As we shall see in chapter 1 of this study, Renaissance intellectuals chose the go-between as protagonist of a text aimed at modifying the Castilian university by defying the established authority on education. Accordingly, the team of university intellectuals responsible for the *Comedia* ridiculed medieval scholasticism through a paradoxically erudite *alcahueta*.

The questions pertaining to the authorship and textual objectives of the original *Celestina* remain unresolved. This dissertation harnesses this very ambiguity to show

how different writers read and appropriated the work in the sixteenth century. These theories provide insight into *La Celestina*'s possible authors(s) based on the historical and cultural context of late fifteenth-century Spain. Additionally, what happens when early reception of the bestseller becomes part of the dialogue is also highly relevant to both *La Celestina*'s possible aims and authorship, as well as that of its daughter texts. *La Celestina* yielded varied readings in the sixteenth century, as it does today. The obscurity of the true author(s) and purpose of the oeuvre—like the unclear identities of several writers and characters in this study—is one of the foundations of the present analysis. Instead of following one critical theory, I show how obscure roots and different possibilities of textual meaning and function prove fruitful when comparing *La Celestina* to *Retrato de la Lozana andaluza*, *Segunda Comedia de la Celestina*, and *Tafsira*.

A combination of theories of *La Celestina*'s unclear creator(s) and aims, in addition to the reception of the text, form part of this study's framework. The pages that follow consider the go-between figure in these works, as well as relations between Spain's three primary cultural groups within the books. Comprised of three chapters centered on these sixteenth-century appropriations of the go-between, my study spans the approximately fifty years following *La Celestina*'s publication. Throughout, however, I make connections to works written as early as the thirteenth century in order to show how the authors contaminate both moralist and religious genres by creating complex characters whom they redeem at the same time as they validate the heterodox.

In chapter one, "Lozana's Medicine Cabinet: Miracle Drugs and Blood Purity in Francisco Delicado's *Retrato de la Lozana andaluza* and *El modo de usar el palo de la*

India Occidental," I discuss the two works in question through the lens of José Luis Canet's theory of *La Celestina*'s authorship by a group of Humanist intellectuals. In doing so, I examine Lozana, Delicado's protagonist, and her links to the medieval go-between within this framework. Lozana's facial disfigurements, her knot of Solomon, and her medical knowledge, I argue, reveal the author's symbolic appropriation of the medieval *alcahueta* and relate to his own non-Christian roots. Writing from Italy—a haven for Iberian exiles post-Diaspora—Delicado responds directly to *La Celestina* and challenges homogeneity by returning the go-between to impurity and demonstrating the artificiality of enforced boundaries between orthodox Castilians and exiled New Christians. Each section of the chapter also delves into the medieval echoes in Delicado's writing. For example, in section one, I study *La Lozana*'s assimilation of the *exempla*—in particular, I focus on Lozana's possible indebtedness to a go-between in Alfonso X's *Calila e Dimna*, a collection of ancient near Eastern frame stories that entered the Spanish canon via Toledo's school of translators. Section two narrows to a focus on the symbolism of knots in *La Lozana* and fifteenth-century Spanish art and literature. Finally, section three contemplates Delicado's medical treatise, *El modo de usar el palo de la India Occidental*, to explore how syphilis and *palo santo* fuel the creation of Delicado's portrait of a go-between in a transatlantic and transmediterranean context.

Chapter two, "Inverted Miracles and Misplaced Saints in Feliciano de Silva's *Segunda comedia de la Celestina*" studies the sequel in conjunction with Stephen Gilman's theory of authorship and Fernando de Rojas's alleged background as a *converso*. Presented as a true continuation of *La Celestina*, this text's main characters and general plot are not unique. Nevertheless, Celestina's resurrection sets the text apart from its mother comedy. Considering both the revived go-between, as well as visual aspects of the oldest surviving edition of Silva's text, we can see how Silva's appropriation of the resurrection motif serves to question notions of blood purity. Celestina's false resurrection reveals Silva's

challenge of the Catholic dogma forced on New Christians and their descendants. The dialogue, particularly Celestina's lines, is replete with language that voices the conflicts between the private and public domains, the peril and vulnerability of thresholds, and the fragility of social positions. Silva's own struggle for status after the Comuneros' rebellion, his ties to the formerly Sephardic community, and the effects that his marriage to a *conversa* may have had on his heirs suggest a concern for the social situation of the time. Like my first chapter, this one also harks back to the earlier middle ages, comparing Celestina's rebirth to several revival scenes in Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa María* (1221-1284), *Libro de Apolonio* (c.1250), *Libro del caballero Zifar* (c.1300). These comparisons reveal how the protagonist's rebirth contributes to the subversive social criticism and literary contamination that the sequel performs. An additional comparison to *La Relación que dio Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca* (1542) contemplates how Silva capitalizes on the resurrection motif common to multiple genres of texts. The chapter also engages with Canet's theory that *La Celestina* serves to question scholasticism.

Chapter three, "From the Tanneries 'a cuesta del río' to the Puerta de Elvira: Celestina's *Morisca* Daughters," focuses on the reception of *La Celestina* and the go-between in a Moorish milieu. Sometime in the early sixteenth century a *morisco* now known only as El Mancebo de Arévalo travelled widely throughout Castile interviewing crypto-Muslim and crypto-Jewish communities (Harvey, *Muslims in Spain* 172). His only two surviving texts, *Tafsira (Tractado)* and *Breve compendio de nuestra santa ley y sunna*, date from about the 1530s to the middle of the century. *Tafsira*, a Castilianized Arabic term for "commentary," especially on the Koran, is both a didactic, Islamicizing

treatise and one of the earliest examples of a journalistic genre in Spain (Harvey, *Muslims in Spain* 174; Barletta 88). The author's recorded interviews with Nasrid Granadans and *morisca* women constitute the focus of this chapter. These anecdotes capture living memories of the last Muslim stronghold and the effects of the *reconquista* in different areas of the peninsula. The go-between thus takes on a non-traditional dimension in El Mancebo's work, as the figure occupies marginal spaces that are iconic to Spanish Muslims' trajectory from *mudéjares* to *moriscos*.

This part of my analysis builds on the work of leading scholars of *aljamiado* literature. María Teresa Narváez identifies El Mancebo as a reader of *La Celestina* based on his transcription of lines from the bestseller's prologue. Using her study as a point of departure, I examine the young man's appropriation of the go-between and the idea of in-betweenness. Considering this appropriation as part of the treatise's defense of *morisco* knowledge and literary abilities, the chapter also engages García Valdecasas and Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo's idea that, in altering the *Comedia*, Rojas attempted to assert his intellectual authority. Indeed, I argue that El Mancebo's appropriation of *La Celestina* sheds light on the original medieval bestseller. The chapter thus returns to the notion of *La Celestina* as a challenge to the status quo and a metaphorical contamination of dominant paradigms and hierarchies. Studying *Segunda Celestina* and *Tafsira* alongside such canonical works as *La Celestina* and *La Lozana andaluza*, my work also continues the efforts of Luce López-Baralt and others who have advocated for more representation of *aljamiado* literature in Spanish Golden Age studies. As it stands, the corpus remains as marginalized as its creators were.

In each chapter, I contextualize the authors and their work within their historical reality to strengthen the literary analyses and to examine the cultural dissemination that these writers achieve through the go-between figure. Tying my analysis to previous intercultural studies of the medieval *alcahueta*, I consider the relationship between this study's three core texts and the period when they were produced. Both the *morisco* and *converso* communities' marginalized experience manifests themselves in these books, and the authors envision and promote a linguistic, religious, and geographical hybridity that goes between languages and religions. Examining the ways Delicado, Silva, and El Mancebo call into question the notion of blood purity and the dominant social order facilitates a substantial historicist analysis and helps us understand the mutually productive relationship between *La Celestina* and its offspring. In turn, exploring how sixteenth-century authors reinterpreted *La Celestina* may help us reconsider both the possible purposes of both the original bestseller and its daughter texts.

How did the sociocultural circumstances of late medieval and early Renaissance Castile convert the go-between from a product of pluralist Iberia to a force of contamination used to decry marginalization? Part of the answer lies in Delicado's, Silva's, and El Mancebo's appropriations of themes associated with the Iberian *alcahueta* in their diverse cultural milieus. The sixteenth-century literary go-betweens that I examine in this dissertation continue the medieval tradition of crossing cultural boundaries, refusing to submit to strict categorization. But in this later context, the ability to defy labels, as characters such as Lozana do, becomes even more relevant. They thus escape the reality that their authors could not.

Other scholars have not addressed the function of the go-between as an essential thread in the social challenge that *La Celestina* and her daughter texts perform. *Segunda Celestina* and *Tafsira* remain largely understudied. Silva's connection to the *converso* collective has rarely been a concern, and El Mancebo's reading of *La Celestina* begs a sustained examination of his sketch of the go-between in his textual denunciation. The functions of the mediator as a character converge in all three books. To date this study represents the first consideration of these texts together, studying the go-between as a transgressor of space and categories. Probing deeper into the sixteenth-century reception of this character, a taut thread appears to form: the words these women speak and the spaces in which they speak them, as well as their transgressive trajectories, appear bound to their creators' tense relationships with authority.

The numerous foundational studies outlined in this introduction constitute the analytical kaleidoscope through which I will examine the age-old *xaquima* (Arabic for “yoke” or “cord”) as a vibrant representative of Iberian multiculturalism, despite the campaign for homogeneity. The following study continues to contemplate Spain's timeless masterpiece, and furthers the efforts of those who have begun to advocate for an *aljamiado* presence at the Spanish literary table. It also sustains the ongoing discussion on *La Lozana andaluza* and enriches the dearth of scholarship on *Segunda Comedia de la Celestina*. The go-between, perpetually entangled in Spain's richly diverse past, is the ideal messenger through which Delicado, Silva, and El Mancebo deliver their subversive denunciations.

CHAPTER 1

LOZANA’S MEDICINE CABINET: MIRACLE DRUGS AND BLOOD PURITY IN FRANCISCO DELICADO’S *RETRATO DE LA LOZANA ANDALUZA* AND *EL MODO DE USAR EL PALO DE LA INDIA OCCIDENTAL*

“Mi señor...sea el domingo
a cena y todo el lunes, porque
quiero que me leáis, vos que
tenéis gracia...a Celestina”
(Delicado 236; *mamotreto*
XLVII).

After a conversation about the Andalusian town of Martos, Lozana, protagonist of Francisco Delicado’s *Retrato de la Lozana andaluza* (1514-1528), asks her friend Silvano to read to her from several Spanish oeuvres, among them *La Celestina*.³ Lozana had left her native Andalusia and refashioned herself in the Spanish colony in Rome. Her longing to hear *La Celestina* after hearing descriptions of her home conveys a note of nostalgia for Spain. Moreover, she chooses Silvano, a character associated with Delicado and quite

³ Unless noted otherwise, throughout this dissertation *La Celestina* refers to the twenty-one act *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (1502), ed. Dorothy Severin, Alianza Editorial, 2013.

familiar both with Lozana's homeland and the Autor character in the novel. Such a request points to a sense of displacement for author and protagonist. When considered together, these moments in the novel convey a general tone of uprooting that recalls migration and the go-between's connection to literature of exile. In the following pages, I explore how Lozana's interposing role as *medianera* intersects with her existence betwixt borders and beyond religious and cultural determinacy. Reading Lozana as an uprooted Andalusian linked to Celestina facilitates our understanding of the social denunciation that certain authors perhaps interpreted in *La Celestina*.

Literary history and context provide crucial context for understanding *La Lozana* as one of *La Celestina*'s earliest daughter texts. Bruno Damiani believes the earliest version of Delicado's novel-in-dialogue was written around 1524 and underwent edits between 1527 and 1528 (*Francisco Delicado* 21). Contextual clues in the novel suggest that Lozana thrives in Rome until 1527, when she flees with her servant-husband Rampín to the Mediterranean island Lípári. The protagonist's escape is likely based on Delicado's flight from Rome to Venice to escape Charles V's sack of the Eternal City. Sharing this general background, *La Celestina* also emerged in a context of marked changes in political policy and demographics. Bruno Damiani compiled an inventory of the book's multiple classical, biblical, and Spanish medieval, folkloric, and Renaissance influences, including *La Celestina*, debunking the argument that *La Lozana* had no literary precedent (*Francisco Delicado* 25-39). This notion of Delicado's novel as an orphan text is surprising, given Lozana's multi-faceted profession. Like Celestina, she is a prostitute who will become a go-between and a healer who repairs virgins, cures feminine ailments such as *mal de madre* and hot flashes, knows spells to undo the evil

eye, and makes wigs and cosmetic powders. The book's affinity with *La Celestina* is also apparent in the title's long form: *Retrato de la Lozana andaluza en lengua española muy clarísima, compuesto en Roma, el cual retrato demuestra lo que en Roma pasaba y contiene muchas más cosas que "La Celestina"* (3). The book name clarifies that Delicado conceived his text as successor and rival to the fifteenth-century comedy in dialogue.

Since Damiani's work, scholars such as Israel Burshatin have remarked on the similarities among both go-betweens (Burshatin, "Rome in Andalusia" 206). Delicado also edited two editions of the Castilian masterpiece in 1531 and 1534 in printer Juan Antonio de Nicolini's Venetian workshop (Lucía Megías 210). In the *Carta dedicatoria* to his book, the author compares Lozana to her ancestor: "...ha administrado ella y un su pretérito criado...el arte de aquella mujer que fue en Salamanca en tiempo de Celestino segundo" (Delicado 5; *carta dedicatoria*). Clearly our author capitalizes on *La Celestina*'s fame by assuring that the bestseller greets the reader from the beginning of *La Lozana*. His recreation of its eponymous protagonist also points to his at least partial identification with the book and his perception of her continued relevance in his contemporary context. Delicado may have appropriated *La Celestina*'s possible challenge to epistemological, literary, and social models.

Lozana's and Delicado's own historical backgrounds remain equally controversial, because we know little about the author. According to Damiani, Claude Allaigre, Antonio Vilanova, Manuel da Costa Fontes, and Louis Imperiale, the author's and his protagonist's experiences reflect those of many Jews and *conversos* who left Spain to avoid persecution. The evidence they use to hypothesize that Lozana's friends in Pozo

Blanco—a Roman ghetto whose inhabitants consist primarily of Andalusian New Christian and Jewish exiles from all over Spain—are either exiled Jews or voluntarily exiled *conversos* include references to Sephardic and Andalusian food, such as "hormigos" and "alcuzcuzú," as well as a test to see if Lozana is "confesa...*de nobis*" (Sánchez León 40; Delicado 33-34, italics in original). In contrast to those who see Jewish *converso* traces in the work, Monique Joly and Hispano-Arabist Federico Corriente defend the hypothesis of Delicado's and Lozana's Moorishness. Corriente bases his theory on linguistic Arabisms.² What is more, Lozana's talent in preparing a variety of Hispano-Muslim foods such as (*al*) *boronía* and *cazuelas moriscas* (tagines), as well as a preference for radishes as an appetizer also point to a *morisco* author and protagonist (Corriente, "Los arabismos" 59-60). Finally, the author's pride in his village Martos, with its prevalent *mudéjar* population and lack of a Sephardic *aljama*, provides further evidence of an Islamic heritage over a Jewish one (Corriente "Los arabismos" 63).

The question of identity remains unresolved. But what if this ambiguity is strategic on the part of Delicado? What was at stake in his creating a literary alter-ego? In light of such possible intentional obfuscation, my analysis is attentive both to Lozana's Jewish and Muslim associations to highlight the author's and protagonist's ambiguous identities, which renders readers unable to categorize them as either *conversos* or *moriscos*. I propose that the appearance of Muslim roots at times and Jewish ones at

² One such term is *bezmellerica*: "Tía.-A otro que tú habría ella de menester, que le hallase mejor la bezmellerica y le hinchase la medida" (Delicado 58). According to Corriente *bezmellerica* was a common, vulgar term for "vulva" that *morisco* blacksmiths formed by adding the Spanish diminutive to the Arabic "bi smi'llah" or "bi ismu Allah" ("in the name of God") (Corriente, "Los arabismos" 56, note 31).

thers—and the ambiguity this causes—is precisely the point. In other words, Delicado plants associations to both social groups to thwart attempts to classify his protagonist as one or the other and, instead, present a cultural amalgam. The recurring themes of blurring borders and in-betweenness point to a deliberate concealment on the issue of fixed profiles. While Lozana is clearly a non-pure Christian, it appears Delicado wanted to make the case for a multiculturalism that resulted in a character who embraced and internalized practices from multiple Iberian faiths.

Several additional projects link Lozana's non-Christian heritage to this chapter's themes: categorization and purity. Israel Burshatin's examination of categorization and purity supports my claim of her intentionally ambiguous cultural identity, because he studies Lozana as one who transgresses cultural and spatial thresholds and defies labels. In her monograph *Diagnosing Empire* Megan McGinnis- Domínguez studies Lozana's lack of *limpieza* from a medical standpoint, viewing Delicado's book as a critique of the collapsing of physical and moral illness. In an article on disease as alterity's medical counterpart in the text, she accounts for the protagonist's double marginalization: her *conversa* roots and her syphilis, both of which threaten her purity, whether spiritual or physical. In addition, Ian Macpherson and Angus McKay analyze Lozana's Semitic background in connection with Solomon's knot, an emblem that appears in the final *mamotreto*, as we will see below.

Several publications on Delicado's treatise on a remedy for syphilis, *El modo de usar el palo de la India occidental* (1525) have proven fruitful for section three of this chapter. F. Palma and J.A. Palma were among the first to contextualize our author's medical text in its literary history. Ignacio Ahumada also proposes that Delicado's

interest in healing likely stems from his education as a medieval cleric, while Alejandro Recio Veganzones's comments on the exposition's frontispiece provide insight for my analysis of the image in this chapter. In addition, Tatiana Bubnova argues that Delicado's possible knowledge of *converso* medical doctor Francisco Villalobos' work may have influenced his writing. Finally, María Cruz Herrero and Enrique Montero Cartelle analyze the connection between medicine and literature in *La Lozana andaluza*.

Although these sources are valuable for this chapter, I focus on connections they do not consider: the specific links between Delicado's interest in medical literature, the medieval go-between, and his reading of *La Celestina*. Lozana's and Delicado's religious, social and geographical in-betweenness function within the author's questioning of marginalization of Iberian minorities. Within this framework, I will compare Lozana to Celestina and the procuress in Alfonso X's translation of *Calila e Dimna*. In exploring these connections, I scrutinize how Delicado questions hierarchies and paradigms through the go-between figure.

1.1 From the Pulpit to the Roman Ghetto: Contaminating Alfonso's

Alcahueta

After traveling throughout Andalusia and the Levant, Aldonza, later known as Lozana, endures a forceful separation from her husband Diomedes at the behest of his disapproving father. She then develops a scar that denotes an apparent inconsistency in the plot—the reader is left wondering if the mark is a result of Lozana's self mutilation or syphilis, because the narrator never fully commits to either. In *mamotreto* IV, the Autor

tells us that the grief-stricken Lozana, reacting to her dishonor and heartbreak, strikes her head against a rock until a star-shaped scar appears on her brow: “Y viéndose sola y pobre, y a qué la había traído sus desgracias . . . se daba de cabezadas, de modo que se le siguió una gran aljaqueca, que fue causa que le viniese a la frente una estrella” (Delicado 45; *mamotreto* IV). She eventually boards a ship bound for Italy and, in 1513, arrives at Pozo Blanco. Her compatriots, skeptical about the truth of her self-inflicted wound, assume Lozana's scar is a syphilitic pustule. Maria Luisa García Verdugo describes the markings, which reappear almost as a refrain throughout Delicado's redaction, as Lozana's figurative ID card that she presents to each new character she meets (87). Her blemishes distinguish her as a permanently tainted, displaced Cordoban prostitute, go-between, and healer in Rome.

On the basis of the scar's ambiguous origins, Barbara Fuchs has argued for an unreliable narrator.³ Her thesis supports my argument that purposefully obscure roots, identities, and categories are essential to Delicado's appropriation of the go-between as the hub of a textual reproach. Others, such as McGinnis-Domínguez, postulate that Lozana invents the anecdote of her misfortunes to deflect attention from her sexual transgressions and, instead, blame her facial imperfection on her father-in-law's devious misconduct (319). In effect, the ambiguous etiology of her scar and the permanent social stigma it represents link Delicado's protagonist to the *alcahueta* of earlier literary traditions and long-standing medieval beliefs about facial scars as a sign of transgression. Among these beliefs was the idea that unsightly facial marks were signs of evil (Gerli 40-

³ For Barbara Fuchs, the Autor's mistake suggests his inability to narrate, which raises “questions of identity and belonging” (REMS talk).

3).⁴ Despite the many similarities that scholars have drawn between Celestina and Lozana, none to my knowledge has made a direct connection between their trademark scars.

The relationship between Celestina and Lozana's facial marks proves crucial to the two character sketches. Often identified by the epithet “vieja acuchillada,” Celestina is recognized by her facial scar of unknown origins. The healed wound, which “traviesa la media cara,” triggers gossip among the other characters, due to its negative connotations (*auto* IV, 122). Michael Gerli observes that her scar, the permanent sign of her identity, provokes anxiety in many of the other characters, because of its perceived link to evil. In literature such as Alfonso's *Cantigas de Santa María*, the female body relates to Eve's transgression, and physical malady symbolizes sin (MacDonald 320). Melibea's maid Lucrecia, for example, alludes to the bawd as “aquella vieja de la cuchillada, que solía vivir aquí en las tenerías, a la cuesta del río . . . ¡mudada está el diablo! Hermosa era con aquel su Dios os salve, que traviesa la media cara!” (117-122; *auto* IV). Despite the prominence of Celestina's scar, often commented on by other characters, its origins remain mysterious.

Delicado transfers Celestina's scar to his character, keeping it untethered to any specific origin. Lozana's scar elicits commentary from the Jewish women in Pozo Blanco, similar to the way that Celestina's healed wound had provoked anxious comments from

⁴ Patricia Skinner explains that in the Middle Ages facial scars were interpreted as signs of leprosy as well as female transgression. In regard to gendered symbolism, facial mutilation was a punishment for sexual misdemeanors. According to hagiography, women saints also maimed themselves to escape the dishonor that male sexual advances might bring. Although inflicted in an effort to maintain chastity, misogynist clerics still considered this self-maiming a sign of vanity (Skinner).

characters such as Lucrecia. Beatriz, a Pozo Blanco resident, remarks to a companion: “Hermana, ¿vistes tal hermosura de cara y tez? ¡Si tuviese asiento para los anteojos! Mas creo que si se cura se sanará” (Delicado 195; *mamotreto* XLIX). Finally, a few years later, the Autor remarks that she “no tiene chimenea, ni tiene do poner anteojos” (Delicado 295; *mamotreto* LIX). Delicado's obscuring of the scar's origins is similar to his cloaking of Lozana's cultural heritage, adding another layer to Delicado's unsettling of fixed categories. Scholars like McGinnis-Dominguez, Linette Fourquet-Reed, and Manuel da Costa Fuentes also draw connections between the scar and Lozana's supposed *conversa* identity, arguing that Delicado conflates it with a Star, presumably that of David. Yet the scar is also linked to two bodily marks that were much more visible in Delicado's time. On one hand, it evokes the mark that the Catholic Monarchs mandated that Spanish Jews wear on their clothing before expulsion (Kamen 16). On another, the scar appears to recall the “s y clavo” that branded faces of *morisco* slaves. The former consisted of a red circle on Jews' clothing to distinguish them from gentiles. The latter was an abbreviation for *esclavo* that owners used to mark their slaves.⁸ Like these two markings, Lozana's scar attests to her non-Christian status.

Although overlooked by critics, Lozana's truncated appendage also harks back to the noseless go-between—a character type in medieval Iberian wisdom literature. Consider *Calila e Dimna* (1251). In the tale of “El carpintero, el barbero y sus mujeres,” the barber's wife acts as an intermediary between the shoemaker's spouse and her lover. Upon discovering the affair, the cuckold beats his wife and ties her to a pillar in the

⁸ The symbol appears in María de Zayas' *El esclavo de su amante*, in which the protagonist Isabel/Zelima dons a false “S y clavo” to pass as a Moorish slave.

house. When he falls asleep, the go-between takes the adulteress's place tied to the pillar so that the latter can go meet her lover. The cuckold awakes, calling to his wife, but the go-between remains silent in order to go unrecognized. Out of anger, the husband throws a blade at the woman, cutting off her nose. The moral of the tale is that misguided actions bring great evil upon the actors and that figuratively sticking one's nose in the affairs of others could result in losing the appendage (Girón-Negrón 236).

By the mid-thirteenth century, readers could consult Alfonso X's translation of the frame narrative, which became a monument of medieval Spanish fiction (231-232). The tale found its way into the French fabliaux, several Sephardic folktales, Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and fifteenth-century Spanish *exempla*, or works of didactic prose. Since early versions of the story built off each other, and preachers told the *exempla* in sermons, it is likely that Delicado, a humanist cleric and editor, would have been familiar Alfonso's work, or at least, with one of the adaptations of the noseless go-between. While neither Trotaconventos—the *alcahueta* in *Libro de buen amor* (c. 1330), nor Celestina, despite her disfigurement, lacks any part of her face, sixteenth-century Delicado revived the seemingly-forgotten noseless go-between in *La Lozana*. Likeable Lozana contrasts with the go-between in the Alfonsine tale, a character whose behavior is anything but exemplary, as she helps a woman commit the crime of adultery that Alfonso denounces in the *Siete Partidas* (Lacarra, "La evolución" 35-36). The broad political and moral messages of the stories in *Calila e Dimna* made them applicable to cultures and social strata more diverse than the noble readers for whom they were initially intended (Cacho Blecua and Lacarra, Introduction 44).

In drawing on the noseless mediator, Delicado achieves several aims. On the surface, he appears to moralize, as occurs in *Calila e Dimna*, *La Celestina*, and the female picaresque genre following *La Lozana*. Like the medieval texts, the first few *mamotretos* of *La Lozana* give the appearance of a model not to follow. Indeed, as Delicado writes in his prologue: *sed non legatur in escolis* (251; *escusa final*). However, whereas *Exempla* typically close with an explicit didactic ending, Delicado's text breaks with this tradition. Rather than depict the type of go-between in *Calila e Dimna*, Delicado presents readers with a diseased, albeit beloved, prostitute, thereby contaminating the moralist genre. Instead of punishing his go-between, he replaces the exemplary story of the *Calila e Dimna alcahueta* with the protagonist of his vulgar, pornographic narrative in dialogue. He does not merely present a negative example, but a complex character whom he redeems as he validates the heterodox.

In *La Lozana*, the beloved go-between represents the stark reality of many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spanish minorities. Contamination manifests in two ways. First, by adding scatological, erotic content to an otherwise simple tale of right versus wrong, Delicado contaminates the *exempla*: a literary motif that was fit for the homilies that clerics gave in churches and other sacred spaces. Second, he redeems his protagonist, which questions and challenges traditional notions of right and wrong. In recreating the trope of the go-between in a diseased New Christian prostitute, mistress of the Roman underworld and its Sephardic ghettos, Delicado brings the the *Calila e Dimna* go-between back to impurity. He thus underscores the persistent similarities between the moral and immoral universes, because he blurs the lines between good and deviant, didactic *exempla* and pornographic, pre-picaresque novel. This obfuscation of

categories, in turn, demonstrates the artificiality of enforced boundaries between orthodox Castilian Christians and exiled New Christians.

1.2 Weaving the Go-Between's Fate

In the final scene of *La Lozana*, the protagonist recounts a dream in which, after seeing the angry god Pluto riding on the Sierra Morena, she mounts Mercury and flies safely from Rome to Venice. Her dream compels Lozana to leave her residence in vice-ridden Rome, soon to fall to sacking at Habsburg hands, and to retire to the Mediterranean island of Lípári. She describes it to her servant-lover Rampín in the following way:

veía a Plutón, caballero sobre la Sierra Morena . . . veía venir a Marte . . . Yo, que consideraba qué podría suceder, sin otro ningún detenimiento cabalgaba en Mercurio que me parecía que hiciese el más seguro viaje que al presente se halle en Italia, en tal modo que navegando llegábamos en Venecia, donde Marte no puede estender su ira. Finalmente desperté, y no pudiendo quietar una tanta alteración, traje a la memoria el sueño. Considerando cómo las cosas que han de estar en el profundo, cómo Plutón, que está sobre la Sierra Morena. Por tanto dicen que “el hombre apercebido medio combatido”. Yo quiero ir al paraíso, y entraré por la puerta que abierta hallare, pues tiene tres, y solicitaré que vais vos si veo la Paz, la enviaré atada con este ñudo de Salomón, desátela quien la quisiere. (Delicado 243-244; *mamotreto* LXVI).

Most critical discussion of the dream has centered on the religious and royal symbolism of Solomon's knot. Lozana's invocation of and the encounter with Pluto further link Delicado's oeuvre to *La Celestina*: an observation that has gone unnoticed. In each work, the go-between handles a ball of thread, or “knot,” representative of her

encounter with the devil Pluto and her literal or metaphoric “death,” or exit from the comedy. In this chapter section, I critically engage both knots, analyzing them as metaphors for each go-between’s fate. Celestina’s thread-bound Pluto remains dynamically active in *Lozana andaluza*, but Lozana’s knot also departs from that of her predecessor. The knot of Solomon is an ancient symbol of eternity, peace, and harmony that was assimilated into the Judeo-Christian tradition (MacPherson and McKay 206-207). The only extant edition of *La Lozana* (1528) illustrates the image in a woodcut surrounded by the letters P A Z O, or “peace”, followed by the letter “O”. MacPherson and McKay interpret this as emblematic of the Christian labarum (figure 2), a cross accompanied by the letters alpha (*a*), ro (*p*), chi (*x*), and omega—the first three letters spell “*pax*” (MacPherson and McKay 215-216).



Fig. 1. Woodcut depicting Solomon's Knot, *Retrato de la Lozana andaluza*, ed. Bruno Damiani, 1969



Fig. 2. Labarum on Iberian tomb plaque, 400-800 CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Lozana's dream and the metaphorical knot in which she will wrap peace to give to Rampín echoes the knot Celestina uses. However, Celestina's knot appears early in the plot as a venom-dipped spool of thread, in which she "wraps" the demon to cast a spell of *philocaptio*, or a love spell, on the lady Melibea: "Por la áspera ponzoña . . . de que este aceite fue hecho, con el cual unto este hilado . . . en ello te envuelvas . . . y con ello [Melibea] . . . quede enredada, que cuanto más lo mirare, tanto más su corazón ablande. Me parto para allá con mi hilado, donde creo que te llevo envuelto" (110; *auto* 3). Celestina enters Melibea's home under the pretext of selling the thread, resulting in the lovers' fatal union. The skein proves lethal, sparking the string of tragic events that comprise the plot: Melibea and Calisto's love affair, their deaths and those of Calisto's servants Pármeno and Sempronio, as well as Celestina's murder.

Whether the skein is enchanted remains debated (Botta 48). Some critics argue that magic causes Melibea's transformation, the progression of the plot, and the tragic denouement (Botta 48). Others, such as María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, deny the role of black magic in the story, maintaining that Celestina's rhetorical skills combined with Melibea's already existent longing for Calisto are all it takes for the young woman to acquiesce to the bawd's manipulation (520). Whether the magic is real, Celestina seems to believe that she is making a pact with the devil. She reiterates her belief in the black arts when addressing Pluto in Melibea's house. Here she reflects on Alisa's lament about her sister, whose illness will conveniently distance her from the house leaving her daughter vulnerable: "Por aquí anda el diablo aparejando oportunidad, arreciando el mal a la otra. Ea, buen amigo, tener recio, agora es mi tiempo o nunca; no la dejes;

llévamela de aquí a quien digo” (117; *auto* IV). Later, conversing with Melibea, Celestina again turns to the demon: “En hora mala acá vine si me falta mi conjuro” (127; *auto* III). Pármeneo and Sempronio, involved in the deal, murder Celestina for not divvying the loot: “¡O vieja avarienta, garg[a]nta muerta de sed por dinero! ¿No serás contenta con la tertia parte de lo ganado? . . . ¡Espera, doña hechizera, que yo te haré yr al infierno con cartas!/Celestina—¡Ay, que me ha muerto! ¡Ay, ay, confisión, confisión! . . . ¡Confisión!” (320-321; *auto* XII). The scene closes with Celestina pleading for the confession she will never receive, and the last image the reader has of her is an unchristian death of her own making.

Criticism on the thread in both *La Celestina* and *La Lozana* relate it to the erotics of spinning. MacPherson, MacKay, and Da Costa Fontes compare the weaving language in both texts, calling attention to Celestina's role as “labrandería,” a label which canvases her other trades (MacPherson and MacKay 192; Da Costa Fontes 69). They offer eroticized readings of the terms “tejer,” “hilar,” “order,” and “tramar” in *La Celestina*, arguing that the *alcahueta*'s visit to Melibea's house with the skein carries a sexualized connotation. But they do not link the bundles of twine in both *La Celestina* and *Lozana* to the fate of the respective protagonists. In this section, I treat Delicado's appropriation of Celestina's skein as a redemptive possibility for his protagonist. The metaphor of the thread in parallel with the plot of the medieval bestseller compels the displaced author to add it to his own narrative as a cultural identifier for Delicado's Andalusian prostitute in Rome. Anne Cruz has interpreted the final mamotreto in Delicado's novel as a purging similar to the Ancient Greek *pharmakos*. She describes the scapegoat as simultaneously responsible for and sacrificed to social and economic

corrosion (A. Cruz 79).⁵ On the other hand, MacPherson and MacKay's argument that Delicado is sympathetic toward Lozana is as convincing as the argument for a purged protagonist. The inhabitants of Rome and readers alike revere Lozana for her exuberance, culinary skills, and ability to cure ailments, a reputation which contrasts with Celestina's infamy and the fear that her name provokes in other characters. In this sense, Delicado departs from Celestina's legacy as "nombre malvado de una vieja" and "malvada embustidora," ultimately treating his *alcahueta* quite differently from the misogynist tradition that includes *La Celestina* and *exempla* throughout the Middle Ages (Covarrubias 87, 495). While *Celestina*'s authors condemn their protagonist to hell by denying her last rites, Delicado delivers Lozana from the 1527 Spanish sack of Rome predicted in her dream, allowing her to retire "muy santamente" to the "Paraíso" of Lípári (Delicado 243; *mamotreto* LXVI).

Lozana further comments on her voyage to the island: "Ya vistes que el astrólogo nos dijo que uno de nosotros había de ir a paraíso, porque lo halló así en su aritmética y en nuestros pasos" (Delicado 243; *mamotreto* LXVI). The protagonist emphasizes here that she and her sidekick are destined for paradise. Despite their profane lifestyle, the conceivably syphilitic Lozana's potential to infect others, and her mediation between prostitutes and clients, her earthly deportment and deeds lack the maliciousness that inspire Celestina's conjuring. The ultimate lack of greed that Lozana expresses in her wish to "dejar lo que nos ha de dejar" echoes the spiritual desire to relinquish worldly riches (Delicado 322; *mamotreto* LXVI). While Lozana, like Celestina, may have

⁵ In theorizing that scapegoats emerge in a cultural crisis, René Girard explains the mechanism as a unifying, purification process during which the members of society unite against a presumed culprit (139).

occasionally deceived clients to survive, she departs from her fifteenth-century counterpart in mending instead of unravelling. Delicado depicts his main character more as a healer and entrepreneurial brothel madam than as a corruptor of enamored youths and innocent servants, such as Pármene, and a home wrecker (recall Pleberio's heirless legacy following his only daughter's suicide). Delicado's protagonist does not manipulate maidens, nor does she deceive through black magic (Da Costa Fontes 242). Lozana's neat ending characterized by new beginnings contrasts with the destruction that *La Celestina* encloses. Moreover, Lozana's prudent decision to move upon dreaming of Pluto suggests that she surpasses Celestina in astuteness: “Y ésta es mi voluntad, porque sé que tres suertes de personas acaban mal, como son: soldados y putas y usurarios, sino ellos, sus descendientes; y por esto es bueno fuir romano por Roma” (Delicado 245; *mamotreto* LXVI). While Celestina's encounter with Pluto engenders a risky sojourn to Melibea's house in which she puts her life on the line, Lozana's dream about the god of the underworld results in her safe delivery from Rome. Delicado's invocation of a redemptive knot lends this trope a decidedly Magdalene tone. One cannot argue that by removing Lozana from the Roman body politic, Delicado is restoring social order, since Lozana escapes falling Rome. However, he does redeem his protagonist in deliberately replacing Celestina's entwined demon with a sacred symbol of Paradise and harmony.



Fig. 3. "Tanto Monta" device from Pedro Marcuello's *Rimado de la conquista de Granada Manuscrito 604 (1339) XIV-D-14 de la Biblioteca del museo Condé, Castillo de Chantilly, Francia*. Madrid: Musée Condé-Château de Chantilly - Edilán, 1995

In addition to its echoes of *La Celestina*, as MacPherson and MacKay have noted, Lozana's knot recalls the Gordian knot that Fernando of Aragon adopted from Alexander the Great for his "Tanto Monta" device, whose motto was "Tanto monta, cortar como desatar." Figure 3 situates the knot between Isabel's arrows. MacPherson and MacKay claim that the emblem symbolized sagacity and a clean break as the only solution to an intricate problem: "The endless knot of her life as a prostitute in Rome cannot be easily unraveled; her only possible escape is via a clean cut, of the kind demonstrated before her . . . by Alexander the Great . . . and Fernando el Católico" (221). As I have illustrated, Lozana's dream encourages her to break with her life in Rome, from which she retires, instead of engaging in activities as devastating as those of *Celestina*. Delicado thus transforms the impure Lozana's Celestinesque astuteness into a

Fernandine prudence.

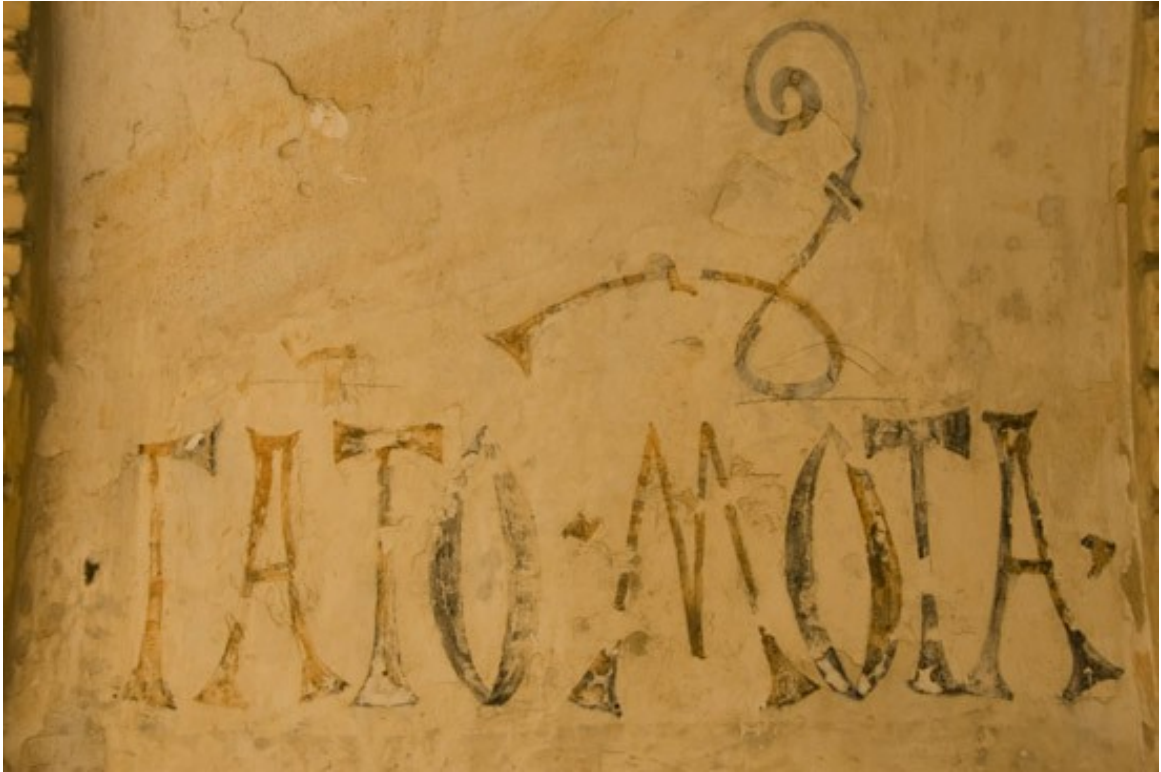


Fig. 4. "*Tanto Monta*" wall inscription in Alhambra's Court of the Main Canal, Granada, Spain⁶

Fernando's Gordian knot also underscores the Christian triumph over Iberian Islam and the political program that sought to homogenize a pluralist Castile. Thus, for example, after their conquest of Granada, the last Iberian Muslim stronghold, the Catholic kings had the "*Tanto Monta*" emblem inscribed in the Court of the Main Canal (figure 4). The intricate pattern around the rulers' slogan resembles a knot and aligns with the officially homogenous Castilian state from which Delicado departed and to which he returned late in his life.

⁶ *La Alhambra y el Generalife*, <http://www.alhambra-patronato.es/>

Delicado draws attention to Spain's enforcement of orthodoxy in contrasting it with the freedom and licentiousness of Rome:

AUTOR. No se lo consentirían, esto y otras mil supersticiones que hacen, en España.

SILVIO. Pues por eso es libre Roma, que cada uno hace lo que se le antoja agora, sea bueno o malo...si uno quiere ir vestido de oro o de seda, o desnudo o calzado, o comiendo o riendo, o cantando, siempre vale por testigo, y no hay quien os diga mal hacéis ni bien hacéis. (Delicado 129; *mamotreto* XXIV)

The passage here highlights Delicado's representation of Rome's duality as both depraved and tolerant. On the one hand, the author condemns the city for its lasciviousness. On the other, he gives this perceived lack of morality a more positive spin, as such lawlessness reflects a more tolerant society than that of the Spain from which he and Lozana had emigrated. When commenting on the knot of Solomon in her dream, Lozana reiterates the importance of this peaceful, unmolested existence in her decision to leave the city for Lípári: "Haré como hace la Paz que huye a las islas, y como no la buscan, duerme quieta y sin fastidio (Delicado 325; *mamotreto* LXVI). Hence, while Fernando's knot aligns with strict religious uniformity, Lozana's evokes a sense of New Christian disquiet in response to the former.

A final thread in the knot linking Lozana's character to an uprooted Andalusian is the concept of eternity. We can simply interpret the idea as the permanency of a Jewish, Christian, or Muslim God, or a Christian or Muslim Paradise. Yet further analysis of the knot of Solomon alongside the "*Tanto Monta*" device reveals a play on the concept of perpetual stigma. Lozana carries the visible stigma of prostitution in her scar and missing nose, as well as the cultural stigma of her so-called impure blood. Indeed, the knot may

also be read as a link to a Jewish identity, especially if we consider that Lozana is “parienta del Ropero” (Delicado 185; *mamotreto* XXXVI). Again, rather than argue for or against Lozana’s Jewish or *morisca* ancestry, I sustain that Delicado obscures socially-mandated categories by adding another layer of identity to his complex protagonist at the same time as he pays homage to multicultural Córdoba. Antón Montoro (1404-1483), “el Ropero,” was a Cordoban poet, tailor, and *aljabibe* (used clothes merchant) who converted from Judaism to Christianity after the Córdoba pogroms in 1473 and 1474. After his death, the Inquisition executed his widow Teresa Rodríguez (Gómez Bravo 54). Despite attacks on his Jewishness from other New Christian poets, such as Juan de Valladolid and Juan Poeta, Montoro was the only poet of his time who openly affirmed his origins and defended the worth of the *converso* population to nobles and monarchs (Da Costa Fontes 49). Thus, for example, Montero makes a poignant plea to the Catholic queen in which laments that even though he is an assiduously practicing Christian, he is a victim of anti-Semitic vituperation:

Hize el Credo, e adorar/ollas de tocino grueso/torreznos a medio asar,/oyr misas y rezar/sanctiguar e persinar/y nunca pude matar/este rastro de confeso./Los ynojos encorvados, con muy gran devoción en los días señalados/con gran devoción contados/y rezados/los nudos de la Passión,/adorando a Dios y Hombre/pormuy alto Señor mío,/por do mi culpa se escombrecer,/no pude perder el nombre/de viejo, puto y judío /Pues Reyna de autoridad,/esta muerte sin sosiego/çese ya por tu piedad/y bondad/hasta allá por Navidad, quando save bien el fuego. (Montoro, *Cancionero* 76, ID XIV, vv. 7-24, 43-48)

Among the Catholic practices Montoro enumerates here is his prayer with the rosary, metaphorically described as “los nudos de la Passión.” Delicado shares with Delicado the symbol of the knot, or knots in this case, that cannot “matar/este rastro de confeso”

(Montoro, *Cancionero* 76, ID XIV, vv. 12-13). Montoro invokes the “knots” of the rosary to plea for his safety as a Cordoban *converso*. Montero expresses concern for his fellow *conversos* elsewhere in his poetry: “dígoles por la pasión/esta gente convertida/que sobre las ascuas andan/con menos culpa que susto/que los que muy menos Mandan cien mill veces les demandan/aquella muerte del justo” (Montoro, *Cancionero* 131, ID 110, vv. 24-30). Here, El Ropero's verses about converts walking on embers with less guilt than fear allude to the *conversos*' delicate situation in the late Middle Ages. Montoro's polemic with El comendador Román, his contemporary, is further testament to the heightened awareness of his own blood ‘impurity’—a concern he shared with Delicado. The rivals sustained a poetic battle in which Montoro insulted Román's Arab ancestry and Román insulted Montoro's Cordoban Jewish background and humble profession as a tailor, advising el Ropero to “tornar de nuevo a coser” (Gómez Bravo 55); Román also tells Montoro “que dexés este trovar/y que os váys a remendar” (Da Costa Fontes 64).

Montoro's professions as both tailor and writer are reflected in Lozana and her role as a prostitute: recall the links between prostitution and sewing. Her identity as *conversa* or *morisca*, and her ability to alter the go-between's narrative serve as a metaphoric spinning of a different narrative by harnessing her Cordoban, non-Christian past. Although the narrator does not reference Lozana's disfigurement post-Rome, and the text ends shortly after her and Rampín's exodus, we continue to see her perpetual blood impurity in her adopted last name Vellida, which Delicado gives her at the end of the novel. MacPherson and MacKay argue that her adoption of a Sephardic name implies the return to Jewish origins that the endless loops of the

Solomon's knot also symbolize (221-223). Montoro was quite affluent and had contacts at court (Gómez Bravo 54).

On her name change and decision to reinvent herself in a new place, Lozana declares, "seré salida de tanta fortuna pretérita, continua y futura" (Delicado 325; *mamotreto* LXVI). In his final "Explicación" Delicado writes: "Lozana es nombre más común y comprende su nombre primero Aldonza, o Alaroza, en lengua árabe" (332). As Da Costa Fontes has argued, Delicado mocks the Trinity, as the three-part temporal reference (past, present, and future) and Lozana's three names—one in the same—echo the Trinity (226). In other words, the author contaminates two pillars of Christianity—redemption and the Trinity—by transculturating them to his redeemed prostitute.

Her original name further suggests that Lozana's lineage could be as Hispano-Muslim as it is Jewish. As the author affirms, "Alaroza" derives from the Arabic word for bride (*al rousa*). Delicado lists the name as a version of "Alaroza," although the word could also be rooted in *al donya*, Arabic for "life on earth," as opposed to eternal life in *al jenna*, or Paradise. Either way, these plausible etymologies and the Arabic article *al* in both words suggest that the names were probably associated with each other and with Andalusia. The Autor provides the reader with further evidence of the names' likely association with religious taintedness: "Diomedes le había rogado que fuese su nombre Lozana, pues que Dios se lo había puesto en su formación, que mucho más le convenía que no Aldonza" (Delicado 45; *mamotreto* 4). Notably, Montoro and his wife had named their daughter Aldonza, which could further strengthen the ties of the protagonist's name to Delicado's Córdoba and its dually

Sephardic and Andalusí heritage (Ciceri and Rodríguez Puértolas 31). Delicado once again obscures the exact nature of Lozana's origins—beyond their being non-Christian—or perhaps stresses their hybrid Andalusíanness. We may also see her return to Andalusí beginnings in her flight to Lípári, which the Autor explains has been chosen for her destination because “no tiene par” (Delicado 243; *mamotreto* LXVI). “Li” recalls the Arabic negation “la,” which gives Delicado's depiction of his unique go-between an additional Hispano-Muslim feel. In sum, whether we read Lozana as Moorish or Jewish, her desire to “unbind” herself from her identity as Lozana and her subsequent name change and flight to Lípári imply that she can ultimately untether herself from her life in Rome. This stands in contrast to her impure blood and the visual deformity inherited from her past, which she cannot leave behind. While she severs the knot that binds her to Rome, the one that ties her to her identity as a perceived contaminated Iberian remains tight.

By using the trope of the island sanctuary, Delicado unsettles prevalent ideas of contamination, since Lozana and Rampín achieve ultimate redemption and asylum in spite of their *raza*, or lack of *limpieza* (M. Martínez 197). In depicting an emblem tied to themes of Judaism, Hispano-Islam (or Andalusí language and culture), and permanent contamination—from disease, impure blood, and prostitution—Delicado pulls the Gordian Knot, a symbol of the Catholic Monarchs and the blood purity it represents, into the Medieval Iberian tripartite cultural model of Christians, Muslims, and Jews. By granting Lozana the ability to detach herself from a situation that could potentially prove disastrous for herself and the other characters, as Celestina's situation did, Delicado aligns a pious, but calculating king's symbol with a diseased

New Christian prostitute and go-between, stripping the former of its majestic associations, but also revalorizing the latter. Given Lozana's blood impurity, Delicado's translation of the knot from the "*Tanto Monta*" device to his diseased, Semitic go-between challenges prevailing ideas of purity, since the knot is no longer representative of Trastamaran triumph, but of the contaminated Andalusian exile first in Rome and then Lípari. Delicado's inclusion of a knot at the end of his text and the deliverance of his scarred, impure *alcahueta* can be considered a supplication for the redemption of Iberian Others, or a nostalgic nod toward a Medieval Iberian culture of coexistence. As protagonist and transnational mediator between the other characters, Lozana achieves a certain universality through her connection to her fellow displaced Iberian outcasts. She is the knot that binds together "todas las personas que hablan en todos los mamotreto o capítulos . . . ciento y veinte e cinco" (Delicado 205, *Explicación*). Similarly, as Michael Gerli observes, all the "threads" of *Celestina*—the characters and threads of the plot—tie together in *Celestina* so that when Pármeno and Sempronio murder her, it is too late to stop the string of actions she had set in motion (*Celestina and the Ends of Desire* 609). Yet while *Celestina*'s thread is the beginning of catastrophic ends, Lozana's knot accompanies a virtuous, Magdalene-like penance.⁷ By redeeming Lozana and contaminating Fernando's emblem, Delicado destabilizes both the legacy of the condemned medieval go-between and that of the Catholic

⁷ Enriqueta indicates that the trope became integral to the female picaresque. Zafra assesses the links between the theatrics of forced conversion and that of the repentant prostitute who retires to sanctuary. The popularity of this motif in the female picaresque literature of the later sixteenth and then the seventeenth century provides additional evidence in favor of my reading of the flight to Lípari as a redemptive conclusion.

Monarchs. He mends the disorder that Celestina unleashes and restores social order, not by purging his protagonist to cure an ill body politic, but by granting her a new beginning and harkening back to the Spain of the three cultures.

1.3 The “French Disease” and the “Wood of Life:” Contamination and Purity in Delicado’s Medical Writing

In the final lines of *La Lozana*, the protagonist tells Rampín, “Y veré *mundo nuevo*, y no esperar que él me deje a mí, sino yo a él.”⁸ Así acabará lo pasado, y estaremos a ver lo presente, como fin de Rampín y de la Lozana” (Delicado 325; *mamotreto* 6). The following pages analyze the notion of a new world in the text to consider how the Iberian enterprise in the Americas and peninsular socioreligious transformations convene in Delicado’s writing. This section opens with a history of syphilis and its medical treatments, together with an analysis of the racial, medical, and moral rationales of the period. A summary of the literary corpus stemming from the disease’s outbreak narrows to a focus on Delicado’s *El modo de user el palo*, which then connects to *La Lozana* and the transmediterranean displacement of both author and character. The chapter closes with an exploration of the flipped script of medical knowledge and erudition in which physicians are discredited while *Lozana* is extolled as the most knowledgeable and effective healer—and, by extension scholar. In situating Lozana’s transmediterranean crossing in the context of transatlantic migration, border

⁸ It is unclear what the antecedent to “él ” is. But it is likely that the pronoun refers to “mundo.”

crossing, and contagion of which Delicado's treatise is a product, I examine how his writing challenges the medical establishment much as *La Celestina* parodies medieval scholasticism.



Fig. 5. Woodcut from *Capítulo ouer recetta deo arbore Legno detto Guaiana: remedio contra el male Gallico. Experimentato*⁹

⁹ According to this pamphlet's title page and library catalog entry, this is the full title of the text, which is housed at the John Carter Brown Library. It does not appear to be known if this *capítulo* previously belonged to a longer text. The image here has been digitized directly from the extant pamphlet.

The woodcut in figure 5 adorns the title page of an anonymous Venetian pamphlet on a New World remedy for syphilis. The image constructs a narrative in which a bishop gives his blessing to the two figures on his left, as a modest woman seated at his right appears to supplicate to him. The beggar and the merchant stand on grassy ground, while the knolls behind them convey a *locus amoenus*. This depiction of members of different social classes—a modest woman, a powerful cleric, a beggar or laborer, all beckoning to a figure who appears to be administering a medical remedy—reiterates the idea that nobody was immune from the so-called “French Disease.” Similarly, Ruy Díaz de la Isla, Spanish author of the 1539 *Tractado contra el mal serpentino*, highlights the highly infectious nature of the disease as understood by early modern Europeans: “A mi noticia a venido auer muerto reyes, duques, y grandes señores de la dicha enfermedad, y ha seydo la tercia parte de la gente inficionada de la dicha dolencia” (fol. ii). Díaz de la Isla explains that the disease even infected the water, the grass, and the vegetables in people’s gardens. The old prostitute Divicia in *Lozana* shares this theory, as she tells Lozana that the plagues, “En Nápoles, comenzaron, porque también me hallé allí cuando dicién que habían enfeccionado los vinos y aguas. Los que las bebían luego se aplagaban, porque habían echado la sangre de los perros y de los leprosos en las cisternas y en la cubas, y fueron tan comunes y tan invisibles que nadie puedo pensar de adónde procedién.” (Delicado 269). The ability of syphilis to infect everything and everyone, from lettuce to kings, and to rampantly transgress geographic borders compelled sixteenth-century Europeans to find a cure.

The remedy featured in the anonymous Venetian *Capítulo ouer receta* (above) is the

bark from a New World shrub or tree known by many names including the original Taíno guayancán; its Latinized version, guaiacum; or *palo santo* (holy wood). Native to the Caribbean, the plant has been described as the first American botanical gift to the Old World, because many early modern Europeans believed it possessed almost miraculous curative qualities when treating syphilis (Hough 48; Hein 33). Its fame was such that it found its way into fictional literature. In a conversation with a lovesick youth, Lozana advises her interlocutor, “Di que sanarás el mal francés, y te judicarán por loco del todo, que ésta es la mayor locura que uno puede decir, salvo con el leño salutífero” (Delicado 276; *mamotreto* LVI).” That is, the best way to appear a fool in early sixteenth-century Rome is to try to cure the “mal francés,” or syphilis, without the *palo santo*.

After several pandemics of Bubonic plague, late medieval and early modern people were accustomed to infectious disease. But whereas plague victims invariably died, syphilitics could live for decades with their disease. Its long-term, visible effects carried with them a sense of permanent contamination, impurity, or stigma. The collapsing of physical and moral illness was prevalent in the late medieval and early modern Hispanic world. Notions of permanent blood impurity or other types of unchristian ethnicity, such as indigenusness, were linked to disease and immorality (McGinnis-Domínguez, *Diagnosing Empire* 314). In his ethnographic chronicle, *Historia de las cosas que traen de la India occidental*, Nicolás Monardes's description of the disease as “mal de bubas” coincides with Covarrubias's definition. The dictionary attributes buboes to “comunicación deshonestas” and defines the malady as an ordinary one in the New World, where he alleges that it originated.¹⁰

¹⁰ Covarrubias provides the following definition for *bubas*: “El mal que llaman francés,

In *Historia general de las Indias*, Francisco López de Gómara describes the Indians as bubonic: "Los de aquesta ysla Española *son todos bubosos*. Y como los españoles dormían con las Indias hinchieronse luego de bubas, enfermedad pegajosisima . . . se volvieron muchos dellos a España por sanar, y otros a negocios, los quales pegaron su encubierta dolencia a muchas mugeres cortesanas, y ellas muchos hombres (López de Gómara fol. 5r; emphasis added). As seen in this quote, inculcating the Indians for spreading syphilis to the Spaniards, the illness was often conflated with a perceived moral disease. As McGinnis-Dominguez has demonstrated, women, *conversos*, *moriscos*, subaltern males, and Native Americans were associated with the spread of infectious disease in general and were considered physiologically different from Old Christian males (*Diagnosing Empire* 314). *Conversos* and *moriscos* were also thought to spread syphilis more than their Old Christian counterparts, like the way in which they were accused of infecting devout Old Christians with heresy or other types of perceived impurity. James Amelang notes that *moriscos* were shunned for an alleged bestial sex

que tanto ha cundido por todo el mundo. Bubosos, los que tienen esta enfermedad. Han escrito autores cosas de veras y de burlas sobre esta materia, dándoles muchos privilegios y prerrogativas graciosas que podrán ver en algunos autores. Buba es nombre francés, y vale pústula, porque las bubas pícaras arrojan a la cara y a la cabeza unas postillas, que es forzoso andar el paciente lleno de botanas; y no embargantes esto, y pienso ser nombre griego, porque los griegos llaman... a las hinchazones del cuerpo, "tumores praeter naturam in quacumque parte corporis. Lex. Graec., y particularmente los incordios, principio dellas, que porna grac nacer en las ingles tomaronese nombre; nam inguina graeci...apellant. Bubas. (añade). Esta enfermedad cundió mucho en la guerra de Nápoles cuando Carlos Octavo, rey de Francia, se apoderó de él excluyendo a don Fernando. Pegábase principiamente por la comunicación deshonesta. Los italianos le llamaron entonces mal francés; los franceses mal de Nápoles, los africanos mal de España. La verdad es que vno del Nuevo Mundo done este mal de las bubas es muy ordinario y como se hubiese desde allí derramado por Europa como lo juzgan los más avisados, por este tiempo los soldados españoles le llevaron a Italia y a Nápoles (360- 361).

drive (52). These characteristics converge in the accusation that Delicado's contemporary Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón made against the *morisco* population in a 1532 sermon, describing them as, “gente sin fe, sin ley, sobervia, barbara, luxuriosa, bestial, robadora . . . sin arte ni orden de vida honesta” (Amelang 52).

Some medical writing linked the same minority groups blamed for spreading disease and immorality to unorthodox healing practices. For instance, the *Capitulo ouer receta* advises against charlatans—including herbalists, Jews, gypsies, and barbers—and *pazzie vulgo* (popular sayings, or nonsense), warning readers to trust doctors who are familiar with Hippocrates and Galen. The text warns that if patients fall for charlatans' tricks, they will have bought on their own death at a high price. Díaz de la Isla expresses a similar attitude toward empirics: “se metieron a curar esta enfermedad pobres indoctos sin ningunos principios de medicina a los quales los pacientes inficionados de la enfermedad daban muchos dineros: y por el consiguiente Roma y otras muchas ciudades dieron y dan a los semejantes grandes salarios” (fol. 4v).

This disconnect between alternative remedies and orthodoxy is logical given the often blurred lines between physical and moral health. McGinnis-Domínguez notes that the Renaissance Humanist return to Greek sources caused the disappearance of the Arabic ones that had dominated the Middle Ages (*Diagnosing Empire* 67). The resultant waning of Arabic medicine sparked *mudéjar* dependence on superstitious practices spurned by medical doctors for their lack of a theoretical base (McGinnis-Domínguez, *Diagnosing Empire* 67). During Juan II's reign, Jews and Moors were forbidden to work as apothecaries (García Ballester 544). While this law was hardly effective, the official, symbolic intent was nonetheless there. Several generations later, as medical practice

became controlled and institutionalized, ecclesiastical and medical examiners gained symbolic power over souls and bodies. On one hand, the requirements of *limpieza de sangre* that some religious institutions had adopted prior to the Inquisition attempted to rid the realm of alleged heresy and stained Jewish or Muslim ancestries, albeit the latter on an inconsistent basis until the mid-sixteenth-century (M. Martínez 197, 215). On the other hand, the Catholic Monarchs continued to promote what they perceived as overall health in their kingdoms by refining the medical sphere.

In an effort to rid the medical field of rampant corruption, Isabel redefined training requirements and subjected practitioners to scrutiny (García Ballester 529). The 1477 Cédula de Madrid mandated that four of the monarchs' personal physicians and surgeons should serve as "alcaldes e examinadores mayores" of all medical practitioners—physicians, surgeons, herbalists, apothecaries, and barbers—in their kingdoms. While it was common for Jewish doctors to take the required public exam, no record of a *mudéjar* doing so exists (García Ballester 548). These "alcaldes e jueces mayores" imposed and executed punishment to transgressors (García Ballester 527-528). Despite the Catholic Monarchs' efforts to control and streamline medical administration, municipal officials and feudal lords (both civil and ecclesiastic), continued to hold significant power over the medical field (García Ballester 546). Hence, state hegemony correlated with official, sanctioned medical practice. Sixteenth-century state authorities continued to promote the Old Christian theoretical doctor as the only legitimate healer (McGinnis-Domínguez, *Diagnosing Empire* 71). A 1522 Decree of Suprema prohibited Salamanca, Valladolid, and Toledo from conferring university degrees on any *converso* or on the son or grandson of anyone tried by the Inquisition (Lea, *A History of the Inquisition* 287).

While these exclusion laws were sometimes ineffective, only Old Christians enjoyed formal access to sanctioned medical knowledge.

Syphilis ignited the production of a literary corpus on the disease and its remedies. Spaniards published two of the first treatises on the illness: Gaspar Torroella's *Tractatus cum consiliis contra pudendam seu morbum gallicum* (1497) and Francisco López de Villalobos's 1498 *Sumario de la medicina con un tratado de las pestíferas bubas* (Herrero Ingelmo and Montero Cartelle 3; Palma and Palma 117; Bubnova 240). Palma and Palma gloss an unnamed pamphlet on guaiacum printed in Strasbourg in 1514. After 1518, treatises on syphilis regularly included discussions of *palo santo* (Herrero Ingelmo and Montero Cartelle 3). These include German physician Ulrich von Hutten's patient narrative on his experience as a syphilis patient: *De morbi gallici curatione per administrationem ligni guaiaci* (1535).

This is the context in which *El modo de usar el palo* (1525) appears. While Tatiana Bubnova recognizes that Villalobos and Delicado did not necessarily know each other's work, she points out various affinities between the two authors' publications. Focusing on Villalobos's *Anfitrión* and *La Lozana*, Bubnova hypothesizes that both writers' oeuvres belong to similar trends (248). We may say the same for their medical works, as well as for the stemma of literature on syphilis prior to Delicado's treatise, which I outlined in the previous paragraph. *El modo de usar el palo*'s place in the overall trend in literature on syphilis and guaiacum is apparent in the way the treatise both compares and contrasts with other contemporaneous writing on syphilis. Like other treatises, Delicado's considers the disease in regard to its origins and explains the preparation of Holy Wood, diet and additional aspects of patient care. The majority of

treatises on the disease and its remedies were written in Latin, while Díaz de la Isla, Monardes, and Acosta wrote theirs in Spanish. Delicado's text blends three languages: Latin in the dedication, primarily Italian in the prologue and body, and Spanish in the epilogue.

Delicado's primary use the vernacular over Latin—a language that only the educated could read—is one way he calls into question the medical genre, akin to the way he had contaminated the *Calila* go-between and the symbolic knot. He makes his writing available beyond an exclusive educated audience. Most medical treatises were written in Latin. In his prologue, originally in Italian,¹¹ Delicado explains his use of the vernacular to make his treatise accessible to average readers rather than limiting its readership to educated medical professionals: “Porque son más aquellos que no han conocimiento de la lengua latina que los otros, por esto me ha parecido cosa más conveniente escribir esta nuestra obra en *vulgar* antes que en latín, para que de ella puedan servirse más personas” (59). In other words, he departs from orthodox medical writing, stating that he aims for his work to reach a wider readership. Literacy was low, but whether or not the average patient could read the treatise, Delicado intends to make an exclusive genre available to both doctors and patients and achieves the type of symbolic contamination that we have seen in other facets of his work.

Delicado reiterates his aim in sharing the plant's marvelous qualities when he makes clear that his purpose is offer his testimonial to a wide readership:

Me ha parecido inhumano y muy ajeno al hombre no mostrar al resto por qué ingenio natural restituí la sanidad de antes . . . ruego [que] Él quiera por su

¹¹ Ignacio Ahumada translated the treatise into Spanish in his 2009 edition.

clemencia librarnos por intercesión de su santísimo apóstol san Diego y por intercesión de su santísima huésped Marta . . . Estas son aquellas cosas que han restituido a muchos y a mi mismo la sanidad, ni de ningún otro modo restituida salvo con el palo santo . . . ni argento muerto nin ningún mineral ni cauterización puede sanarla, saluo el legno áureo santo salutífero que nace en las ylsas de Yucathán encima d[e] las mineras del oro de do[n]de toma la virtud. (Delicado 57-80)

Delicado aligns the holy wood here with Saint Martha and Santiago: an appropriate link, since, as the name *palo santo* suggests, early modern Spaniards believed it to possess nearly miraculous curing capabilities. He also juxtaposes saintliness and gold in his description of the plant as *legno áureo santo salutífero* that absorbs its virtue from the gold mines of the Yucatan. Such a juxtaposition of miraculous descriptors recalls the title of Jacobo Vorágine's thirteenth-century work *Legenda áurea*, an apocryphal anthology that Delicado likely knew (Recio Veganzones 23).

Indirectly correlating guaiacum with the medieval hagiographic collection contributes to the presentation of the remedy's extraordinary characteristics. The woodcut that adorns the paratextual space in the only extant copy of Delicado's treatise intensifies said miraculous mode (figure 6).¹² Delicado appears kneeling before a guaiacum tree, with Santiago, the patron saint of Spain at his side. Santa Marta, the patron of Delicado's

¹² The image is from the second edition printed in 1529 which is currently kept at the Biblioteque Mazarine in Paris. See note 69, page. 92 of Ignacio Ahumada's introduction to his edition of Delicado's *El modo de usar el palo*, as well as the woodcut from the original edition with the year 1525 appearing below the kneeling Delicado. I have scanned this image directly from Ahumada's edition.

native Martos, mentioned numerous times in *Lozana* and *El modo de usar el palo*, occupies the right plane. The cane at the bottom symbolizes illness and pilgrimage (Recio Veganzones 22). The tree resembles both the Christian cross and the Virgin of Mercy, as seen in a late fifteenth-century painting commissioned by the Catholic Kings (figure 7); in this way, the tree conveys visually the miraculous overtones that appear textually in Delicado's descriptions of the evergreen guaiacum tree with golden colored fruit, a panacea for every ailment that was essential for perpetual health (69).



Fig. 6. Frontispiece from Francisco Delicado's *El modo de usar el leño de la India Occidental*, ed. Ignacio Ahumada, 2009

Several works contemporaneous to Delicado's employ language which conveys a tone similar to the woodcut. Gonzalo In his *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias*, Fernández de Oviedo emphasizes *guayaco*'s fame and powerful curative qualities: "y porque la virtud deste madero es sanar el mal de las bús y es cosa tan notoria, no me detengo mucho en ellos sanan sin ninguna duda muchos enfermos de aqueste mal es tan usado, y saben ya muchos cómo acá se ha de hacer muy fácilmente los indios se curan en las islas con este palo" (143). In his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1591), José de Acosta describes mercury, also administered for syphilis in the sixteenth century, as "un unguento [sic] maravilloso" (Lib. 4; ch. 10). In his pamphlet *Liber de morbo Gallico*, bound in a tome compiled by Nicolas Poll, Von Hutten describes guaiacum as "magnifica Guaiaci" (20). For his part, López de Gómara writes "Assí como vino el mal de las Indias vino el remedio, que tambien es otra razon para creer que traxo de alla origen, el qual es el palo y arbol, dicho Guaiacan, de cuyo genero ay grandissimos montes" (29).



Fig. 7. *Virgen de la misericordia con los Reyes Católicos y su familia*, Diego de la Cruz, c. 1486, Monasterio de Santa María la Real de las Huelgas, Burgos, Spain

The value of understanding syphilis and its remedy through experience, as opposed to sanctioned access, which Delicado presents in *El modo de usar el palo*, may illuminate the healing practices of his novel's protagonist. We have seen that Delicado's work coincides with other writing on the cure. In contrast to most aforementioned medical texts, however, he legitimizes his medical knowledge based on his experience as a patient, not as a licensed medical practitioner. Lozana, likewise, endures syphilis and employs empiric remedies. Her identity as both a diseased prostitute and a healer coalesce in a three-pronged marginalization: 1.) scapegoats who are blamed for spreading the disease; 2.) groups associated with unlicensed medical practice, such as Jews, *moriscos*, and women in general 3.) holy wood: an indigenous American remedy that, while popular in Europe, hailed from the edge of the Spanish empire, where there were no Western physicians or medical canons (Arrizabalaga 258).

In light of this three-pronged marginalization and Delicado's and Lozana's transmediterranean displacement, *Lozana andaluza* vindicates the marginal and destabilizes Spain's *translatio imperii*: Spain's claim to empire based on Western civilization's perceived movement from East to West (Bartosik-Vélez 560). This tenet maintains that the rightful seat of power during Ferdinand and Isabel's reign was West of Rome: in other words, Spain (Bartosik-Vélez 560). Furthermore, Spain saw itself as imperial heir based on the series of changes that are key in this dissertation: the end of the *reconquista*, expulsion edicts, and the New World encounter. In contrast to the directionality of *translatio imperii*, our New Christian author and protagonist move from west back to east and refashion themselves outside the Spanish metropolis and its official

colonies. Both *Lozana andaluza* and *El modo de usar el palo* advocate for a New World remedy. Consequently, Delicado vindicates the spatial and social marginal.

We can further see Delicado's defense of the periphery if we link Lozana to the Jewish *zarratani* mentioned above, indigenous communities, or to the *mudéjar* apothecaries previously described. As Fourquet-Reed observes, Lozana's medical knowledge alone can be linked to a Moorish past simply by its empiric nature, as well as the protagonist's Cordoban roots (169-170). Moreover, her empirical healing skills link her to the *mudéjares* who, perhaps due to the reliance on faith- or magic-based healing, did not take the public examinations required of medical practitioners. Lozana is an example of certain women in Europe who managed to develop exceptional empirical philosophies through Arabic and medieval influences, not through Humanist training, since a university education was inaccessible to them (Fourquet-Reed 169-170). Again, in pointing out additional evidence in support of Arabic influences, I do not mean to tag Lozana as definitively *morisca*. Again, I maintain that Delicado muddies the defining lines between socially-mandated categories. As I have previously mentioned, Lozana's signature physical attributes are her facial scar and missing nose. Oddly, despite these lesions, she is considered beautiful, and of "aspecto saludable;" the latter is another meaning for the term *lozano* (*Diccionario de la lengua*). Similarly, Delicado mobilizes his impure protagonist as a healer to blur cultural and social lines and challenges the rigid categories forced upon late medieval and early modern Spaniards: sick or healthy, *morisco*, *converso*, or Old Christian.

Despite her unorthodox practices, such as procuring and her own sexual transgression, Lozana is revered as a healer skilled at applying empirical remedies to treat

an array of ailments, most notably sexually transmitted infections, including *el mal francés*. Lozana's compatriot Hergeto invokes her acclaim when he tells the protagonist that he and his master Trujillo have traveled from Spain in search of Lozana's services to cure the latter's ailing member, "porque su fama vuela", and "en España nos dijeron mil bienes de Vuestra Merced" (Delicado 243; *mamotreto* XLIX). Hergeto and Trujillo's appreciation for Lozana as a popular healer with coveted medical knowledge contrasts sharply with the contemporaneous ideas about charlatans that we saw above. In *La Lozana*, the university educated doctors are untrustworthy, and the loquacious empiric of Semitic descent is the healer. Like Trujillo in the previous example, an eager Canon approaches her to cure his ailing member. In her reply, Lozano proudly invokes her expertise in treating sexually transmitted infections and expresses disdain for official, licensed physicians who seem eager to learn her secrets: "Lozana.—Mi señor, prometéme de no dallo en manos de médicos, y deja hacer a mí, que es miembro que quiere halagos y caricias, y no crueldad de médico codibcioso y bien vestido" (Delicado 110; *mamotreto* XXIII).

While the canon exits the scene before the reader can tell if our protagonist has cured him, the confidence and precision with which she applies her calming ointment and the gratitude with which her patient accepts it suggest the effectiveness of her remedies. Delicado critiques traditional medicine again when a surgeon and a physician accuse Lozana of stealing their clients and ask to share her secret remedies for ailments afflicting patients both above and below the waist:

CIRUGANO. Señora Lozana ¿Qué especiería es ésa que debajo lleváis? ¿Hay curas? ¡Danos parte! . . .Ni de la cintura arriba ni de la cintura abajo nos

dais parte . . . me habéis llevado de las manos más de seis personas que yo curaba que, como no les duelen las plagas, con lo que vos le habéis dicho no vienen a nosotros, y si no duelen las heridas, metemos con que duelan y escuezgan, porque vean que sabemos algo cuando le quitamos aquel dolor...a otros ponemos ungüento egipciaco.

LOZANA. Como a caballos, ungüento de albéitares. Señores, ya veo que me queréis motejar. Mis melecinas son: si pega, pega . . . no hay tan asno médico como el que quiere sanar el greñimón, que Dios lo puso en su desposición. (Delicado 224-226; *mamotreto* LIX)

Later Lozana calls into question the doctors who claim they can cure syphilis without the *leño santo*. In these passages, she clearly opposes the ineffectiveness of the torturous Galenic methods to treat the disease. The doctors go on to reveal other tricks to retain patients, which raises questions about their trustworthiness and authority. Lozana's mistrust of the doctors, on the one hand, and her own medical prowess and belief in the healing powers of *palo santo*, on the other, suggest multiple levels of social denunciation on the part of Delicado. As the above passages illustrate, Lozana declares her skepticism of educated physicians and their practices. Lozana's ability to withhold medical secrets gives her epistemological power over the educated doctors and, by extension, over Inquisitorial and royal power.

Delicado further challenges official or orthodox modes of knowing by depicting a protagonist as paradoxically erudite as Celestina. By the time the reader arrives to Lozana's encounters with Hergeteo and the medical practitioners toward the end of the dialogued novel, she or he already knows that the protagonist's medical skills are not the only knowledge she possesses that rivals that of educated men. Already in the opening line of the book, Autor states that "La señora Lozana fue natural compatriota de Séneca,

y no menos en su inteligencia y resaber” (Delicado 13; *mamotreto* I). Lozana herself goes on to laud her qualities as a “mujer sabida y no bestia” and quotes Seneca in an ironic description of her scar: “Como dijo Séneca: ‘Gracias hago a esta señal que me dio mi fortuna, que me costringe a no poder lo que no debo de querer” (Delicado 242-243; *mamotreto* XLIX). Her unrealistic knowledge of classical authorities such as Seneca would appear to compete with that of any university graduate. At several points, the Autor also compares her to Marcial, Avicena, and Cordobans Lucan and Seneca. Later the Embajador and the Caballero make a similar comparison: “...esta dona yo la vi en Bancos, que parlaba muy dulce y con audacia, que parecía un Séneca! Caballero—Es parienta del Ropero, conterrana [sic] de Séneca, Lucano, Marcial y Avicena. La tierra la lleva, está in agibilibus, no hay su par, y tiene otra excelencia, que *lustravit provincia*” (Delicado 185; *mamotreto* XXXVI). Placed in the mouth of a prostitute and go-between, her Senecan speech functions in an ironic mode. We can see one example of our protagonist's satirically philosophical discourse in a lengthy speech “en su [propio] laude” in a conversation concerning the state of prostitution and syphilis in Rome (Delicado 228; *mamotreto* XLVI).

Lozana. Oídme dos razones . . . Aquél es loado que mira y nota a tiempo manifiesta. Yo he andando en mi juventud por Levante y he visto y oído muchas cosas, y tenía yo más presentes que no el juez . . . qué concurrencia tenía de aquellos villanos que me tenían por médica, y venían todos a mí y cómo reñimos porque metió [Rampín] el otro día lo suyo en una olla que yo la tenía media de aguade mayo y, como armó dentro por causa del agua. (Delicado 228-229; *mamotreto* XLVI)

Lozana's erudite, logical speech questions both juridical and medical authorities. As Jacques Joset notes, her line about the judge alludes to corrupt justice, while her

description of Rampín's "suyo" and "olla" act as euphemisms for his member and a pot of aphrodisiacs (229). The philosophical language for which the Autor and Caballero laud her thus becomes humorously eroticized. Delicado deflates classical authorities of philosophy and rhetoric in the same way that he derides the medical establishment by exposing the fallacy of accepted treatments for syphilis. Delicado's jibe at the Galenics parallels the way the Humanist authors of *Celestina* take down the scholastics.

Lozana's medical and philosophical erudition again recall *Celestina*—a go-between, empiric, and retired prostitute—who possesses an out-of-character ability to quote authorities as if she were a brilliant Salamancan scholar. *Celestina*'s 'knowledge' of authorities such as Virgil and Seneca is markedly more noticeable than that of her interlocutor. In contrast, Calisto and Melibea's misreading of Ovid and Andreas Capellanus render them ridiculous in the eyes of the reader. Delicado depicts Lozana as a young version of an incongruously and surprisingly erudite *Celestina*. However astute and prudent she may be, a peasant-turned-prostitute well versed in Seneca is as improbable as a learned *Celestina*.

Delicado undoubtedly takes this incongruity from the Humanist authors of the *Comedia*. Canet reminds us that the continuation of *Celestina*'s first *auto*, which most likely circulated before 1499, coincided with the first Humanist attempt to reform the University of Salamanca (29). He further determines that *Celestina* and her fellow low-class characters engage in a parodied version of the medieval dispute, since they speak as though they were philosophers (66). Canet proposes that through the paradoxically erudite *Celestina* and the authorities-quoting Sempronio, Pármeno, and Calisto, the team of university intellectuals who must have written *Celestina* ridiculed medieval

scholasticism. In other words, Humanist intellectuals chose the go-between as protagonist of a text aimed at promoting reform of the Castilian university by defying the established authority on education.

Delicado also identified himself as a Humanist (Damiani, *Francisco Delicado* 13). As a Humanist and editor of two editions of *La Celestina*, he surely would have read the fifteenth-century masterpiece as Canet argues it was intended to be read: as a censure of the scholastic oral or written *disputa* in which interlocutors ceded all intellectual thought to *florilegios* and authorities. Comparable to Celestina's illogical knowledge of classical authorities, Lozana's rhetorical and medical knowledge surpass that of her male counterparts. Delicado's appropriation of the erudite go-between achieves two aims: first, like *La Celestina*, it questions accepted scholastic educational models. Second, it subverts authoritative roles by challenging Inquisitorial and medical authority. Louis Imperiale argues that in her conversation with *converso* doctor Salomón, Lozana subverts the Aristotelian theory of the vacuum, rendering it ridiculous in favor of common sense and popular knowledge (296): "Señor Salomón, sabé que cuatro cosas no valen nada si no son participadas o comunicadas a menudo: el placer y el saber, y el dinero, y el coño de la mujer, el cual no debe estar vacuo, según la filosofía natural" (Delicado 233; *mamotreto* LXI). The cited line appears to be a corruption of Celestina's conversation with Sempronio about Pármeno: "los bienes, si no son comunicados, no son bienes . . . te lo traeré manso y benigno a picar el pan en el puño y seremos dos a dos y, como dicen, tres al mohíno" (87; *auto* I). Celestina refers to the way she will convince the young lackey to join her and Sempronio's scheme to unite Calisto and Melibea. Since she does so by arranging an erotic encounter between him and Areúsa, her line is sexual. To Imperiale's

argument, I will add that Delicado takes Celestina's eroticization of a refrain one step further. Lozana further vulgarizes the concept of wasted goods and connects it to Aristotle's theory that denies the existence of the vacuum.

The authors of the *Comedia* had endowed their lowly characters with the same dialectic and persuasive capability as doctors of law (Canet 26). Similarly, in *La Lozana*, an erudite author speaks through a go-between. Delicado gives his protagonist the ability not only to persuade, but to dismantle the hegemony of orthodox physicians associated with royal—and later—Inquisitorial power. Comparable to the way in which Delicado taints the Catholic Monarchs' knot, he also inverts sanctioned medical practices. In implementing his protagonist as a source of marginal wisdom, the author challenges the centralization and streamlining of medical authority, thereby using Lozana as a force of resistance, granting her agency or control over her body and those of others.

A final point in favor of the argument that Delicado questions state authority through the transculturation of the medieval go-between and literary “contamination” is the history of the material text itself. Curiously, the book is absent from Inquisitorial indices (Perugini 344). Giovanna Allegra believes Delicado self-censored his book upon returning to Spain in the 1530s and receiving the title of Vicar of Valle de Cabezuela, Plasencia. Whether due to his return to Spain or not, Delicado left only vague clues as to his identity. This self-censure, non-Christian characteristics, and the various examples of “contamination” for which I have argued throughout this chapter indicate that Delicado meant his book, like *La Celestina*, to be a criticism of prevailing social norms and injustices.

In conclusion, Lozana, a displaced Andalusian go-between, is the ideal figure

through which Delicado intentionally calls into question the identity categories of Old Christian, *converso*, and *morisco*. *Lozana andaluza* is much more than a "copy" of a bestselling *alcahueta* story, because her possible *morisca* background, in addition to her commonly accepted *conversa* identity, adds another dimension to her character. The *morbo gallico*'s infectious ability to transgress spatial boundaries, whether transatlantic or transmediterranean, reflects the itinerant nature of the prostitute or go-between, or the social pariah of the heretic.¹³ Syphilis and *palo santo* fuel the creation of Delicado's portrait of a go-between in a transatlantic and transmediterranean context.

The "New World," as both the Americas and a post-1492 Iberia, provide Delicado a platform through which to transculture the go-between. Delicado pulls the Humanist Celestinesque model into emblematic and medical terrain. He thereby deploys the Salamanca academics' original strategy in his own milieu in a literary project aimed at challenging Inquisitorial oppression of religious minorities. The Cordoban author thus

¹³ In Francisco López de Úbeda's *La pícaro Justina*, a *morisca* witch threatens to infect Christian with heresy and blasphemy. López de Úbeda puts medical term in Justina's mouth to describe the *morisca*. She, like other heretics, is like "bubas," and she wants to drink from all the glasses to spread her heretical diseases to others. The "morisca vieja, hechicera, experta, bisabuela de Celestina" in *La Pícaro Justina* suggests *moriscas'* perceived ability to both heal and infect. In other words, they could cure patients of ailments, but they posed a threat of infecting Christians with heresy and blasphemy. As a physician, López de Úbeda puts medical term in Justina's mouth to describe the *morisca*; she states that the "bubosa" witch wishes to teach her the black arts "como pegarle la sarna", since heretics always want someone to inherit their profession. The *morisca* demonstrates her lack of Christian devotion by stating her refusal to marry a Christian to avoid forced conversion, and by blaspheming in mass by making humorous gestures to scare children, or "mamonas" instead of the sign of the cross (López de Úbeda 871; *libro* III, *cap.* 3). Finally, the editor's margin notes imply that the reader to treat heresy like the plague: "Vieja indevota debe ser huida. Refiéranse sus blasfemas necedades" (López de Úbeda 871; *libro* III, *cap.* 3).

participates in a transnational dialogue on syphilis and *palo santo* by aligning its curative power with Iberia. In his respective texts, the impure, exiled author and protagonist provide the remedy for other contaminated people. At the same time, Delicado pulls both his written works into a linguistically and thematically hybrid space: his multilingual, empirical treatise contaminates the genre of the orthodox medical texts, and his Arabized, Italianized Spanish novel in dialogue features an “infectious” protagonist as a source of unorthodox wisdom.¹⁴ Such defiance of hierarchies serves to question notions of purity in late medieval and early modern Spain.

¹⁴ I borrow the term from McGinnis-Domínguez’s article “Infectious *Lozana andaluza*.”

CHAPTER 2

INVERTED MIRACLES AND MISPLACED SAINTS IN FELICIANO DE SILVA'S *SEGUNDA COMEDIA DE LA CELESTINA*

The plot of Feliciano de Silva's *Segunda Comedia de la Celestina* (1534) likely surprised sixteenth-century *La Celestina* readers.¹⁵ Whereas in the original comedy Pármeno and Sempronio supposedly murdered the *alcahueta*, Silva's sequel presupposes that she had faked her death in the *Comedia* (1499) and *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (1502). Having staged her murder by hiding in a bishop's house, she now feigns revival and convinces the other characters that, while in hell, she sharpened her skills in black magic. With the notable difference that, unlike *La Celestina*, Silva's comedy ends happily—the lovers marry and no deaths occur—the plot thereafter resembles the original oeuvre: Calisto's counterpart Felides hires the go-between to seduce Melibea's successor, Polandria.

Beneath the clear differences between the original dialogued comedy and the sequel lie more nuanced discrepancies, which are nonetheless crucial to the text's hermeneutics. For example, in *La Celestina*, Melibea plays the courtly love game and purportedly

¹⁵ As in chapter one of this dissertation *La Celestina* refers to the twenty-one act *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (1502), unless noted otherwise. Citations hail from Ed. Dorothy Severin. 3rd ed. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2013.

attempts to protect her honor against the bawd's advances to procure her for the enamored Calisto. However, in Silva's continuation of the comedy, the go-between appears as concerned with her own reputation as is the beloved with hers. In her interview with Polandria, Celestina defends her reputation against the lady's insults:

No quiero sino que lo oya Dios y todo el mundo, y sepa *mi limpieza* . . . que estoy para perder el seso, que me ha deshonrado la señora Polandria *sin oírme*, por *sólo sospechas*; que así parezca yo ante Dios como con *la limpieza e inocencia* que lo he havlaba [sic] . . . No me deshonres mis canas y dañes mi crédito, que a mí no me embía nadie a decir lo que digo, sino mi conciencia y el desseo de tu servicio" (Silva 395-398; emphasis added).

Readers familiar with the original bestseller will recognize this interview between the *alcahueta* and the lady, since the scene echoes the bawd's meeting with Melibea. As I analyzed in chapter one, in comparing Celestina's and Lozana's knots, this rendezvous unleashes a string of disastrous events. On the surface the passages cited above align with the typical interview between go-between and beloved. Nevertheless, Celestina's insistence on her *limpieza* and her objection to allegedly unfounded suspicions and the tainting of her reputation without being heard (*sin oírme*) point to a broader concern with issues of blood purity and the socio-political instability that characterized Silva's lifetime (1491-1554). Here the author's lexical choices like *oírme* and *sospechas* implicate the text in a greater legal discourse associated with the contemporaneous Spanish Inquisition.¹⁶

Recent critical discussion of Silva's text has focused on such topics as love,

¹⁶ Throughout this chapter, "Inquisition" refers only to the Spanish Holy Office, not the Roman or Portuguese institutions.

marriage, and the notion of the sequel. In her critical edition, Consolación Baranda sets the comedy in its literary historical context, in addition to focusing on the work's discrepancies with *La Celestina* and its varied linguistic registers: *germanía*, representations of black slaves' and shepherds' speech, and impersonations of Basque accents. Yolanda Iglesias reads the text as a denunciation of ecclesiastic and familial control of marriage and argues that *Segunda Celestina*, like *La Celestina*, decries marriage customs, in that the characters defend the idea of matrimony as an act of free will ("Aspectos legales y sociales del matrimonio" 467). For his part, William Hinrichs briefly describes the protagonist's resurrection as an inverted Reconquest (68). He connects Celestina's momentary mention of Moors to Silva's restoration of her power and professional honor, arguing that Celestina wins back the town, as well as her place in Spanish literary memory (59-61, 68).¹⁷

My analysis is primarily indebted to those who have argued that many late medieval and early modern literary works serve to challenge the Spanish state's legal and social imposition of orthodoxy. For example, in his influential *Myth and Archive*, Roberto González Echevarría writes that law and legal discourse pervaded the writing of history, sustained the concept of Empire, and was essential in the development of the picaresque (45). For instance, Francisco Márquez's many convincing cases for marks of

¹⁷ "Cuánto más moros, más ganancia. Todo esto es autorizar más mi persona, estimar más mi fama, dar más crédito a mi poder; porque, habiéndome visto muerta y viéndome agora biva, ¿quién dudará de mis artes?, ¿quién no temerá mis conjuros? ¿A quién faltará esperanza en mi saber? . . . "A la fe, hijas, pues agora lo podéis decir con razón, que traigo más ciencia que llevé" (Silva 180). I analyze the quote later in this chapter. Textual citations in this chapter hail from Consolación Baranda's edition of *Segunda comedia de la Celestina*.

a Semitic ancestry (both Jewish and Muslim) in pre-modern Spanish literature included studies that emphasize "el discurso judeoconverso de la alcahueta" (*Orígenes y sociología* 142). Along similar lines, Albert Sicroff showed that the destinies of certain Golden Age characters were linked to blood purity issues (344). In the more recent *Perfect Wives, Other Women: Adultery and Inquisition in Early Modern Spain*, Georgina Dopico-Black makes the case that *converso* Fray Luis de León's *La perfecta casada* (1583) alludes to Jewish concepts in response to anxieties about Biblical exegesis (48-108). In an important essay on *converso* literature, Gregory Kaplan explains that Diego San Pedro's *Cárcel de amor* (1492), *La Celestina*, and the poetry of Rodrigo Cota (d. 1498) interrogate Inquisitorial proceedings and the fifteenth-century treatment of Jewish and Muslim converts to Christianity and their descendants. In addition to his work on the erotic connotations of weaving in *La Lozana andaluza*, in his 2005 monograph *The Art of Subversion in Inquisitorial Spain: Rojas and Delicado*, Manuel da Costa Fontes explores the encoded attacks against Christian dogma in *La Celestina* and Delicado's pre-picaresque narrative.

Despite all the previously referenced work, Silva's sequel remains understudied. A close reading of *Segunda Celestina* has yet to form part of the dialogue on legal language and blood purity themes. In addition, nobody, to my knowledge, has discussed the textual or visual function of Celestina's return from the dead, nor have any critics concerned themselves with the visual history of the book. As early as the nineteenth century, Cristóbal Pérez Pastor glossed what little we know of the origins of the earliest surviving copy of *Segunda Celestina*: Medina del Campo 1534. In current scholarship, Víctor Infantes and Joseph Snow have studied the print culture of *La Celestina* and

several of its followers. Meanwhile Donatella Gagliardi examines the fifteenth-century bestseller's relationship with Spanish censorship. Building off their studies, this chapter examines the xylographs in the Medina del Campo 1534 edition of *Segunda Celestina* in relation to Silva's treatment of Christian and non-Christian heritage in Spanish.

This chapter expands my argument for the go-between as a literary nucleus for social criticism written from marginalization—in other words, literal and metaphoric marginal spaces or experiences. Like the authors of *La Celestina* and *Lozana andaluza*, Silva inverts and contaminates literary and socio-religious paradigms.¹⁸ Analogous to Delicado, Silva attributes more positive connotations to the normally negative idea of impurity. The sequel's author thus appropriates and inverts established notions of impurity and the resurrection theme through the figure of the go-between. If the state considered a perceived stained ancestry a threat to religious homogeneity, Silva's text serves to challenge literary and religious institutional hierarchies via a metaphorical contamination. Silva's text inverts Christian miracle motifs and imbues his sequel second *Celestina* lexically and spatially with the unease that characterized the experiences of many *conversos* and *moriscos*. Examining the ways Silva calls into question the notion of blood purity and the dominant Catholic doctrine of resurrection helps us further understand the mutually productive relationship between *La Celestina* and *Segunda Celestina*. In turn, exploring how Silva reinterpreted *La Celestina* may

¹⁸ Here I reference Jose Luis Canet's edition of the *Comedia*, instead of the *Tragicomedia*, in order to emphasize the hypotheses that the fifteen acts that were added to the first *auto*, among their many functions, serve to dismantle epistemological and literary paradigms such as scholasticism and sentimental fiction. I discussed this theory in detail in chapter one.

help us consider possible purposes of both the original bestseller and the sequel.

My comparative approach to *Segunda Celestina* demonstrates how the book draws on varied literary and iconographic traditions to challenge hierarchies. This appropriation is illustrated both in the author and printers' possible aims, as well as the text's reception. In particular, a comparison will be made to Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa María* (1221-1284), *El Libro de Apolonio* (c.1250), *El Libro del caballero Zifar* (c.1300), and *La relacion que dio Aluar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca de lo acaescido en las Indias* (1542). Despite these different genres, Silva capitalizes on the resurrection motif, which is used in multiple types of texts whose objectives are different from his. In addition to authorial and editorial objectives, a study of the prints in the earliest extant copy of *Segunda Celestina* scrutinizes the ways in which the text both visually questions both literary models and encrypts what may have been received by sixteenth-century readers as a twofold challenge: first, to the dominant Catholicism forced on New Christians, and second, to the institution of *limpieza de sangre*.

Although Rojas's biography and authorship remain debated, this chapter considers the possibility of their veracity which, in turn, proves valuable for understanding *Segunda Celestina*'s appropriation of blood purity themes from *La Celestina*. Both Rojas and Silva wrote amidst major changes in Spanish society and both shared connections to the *converso* community. Scholars continue to debate the former writer's alleged Jewish ancestry and its possible influence on the text's composition, as well as his possible authorship of the text. As I point out in the main introduction of this study, as well as in my first chapter on *La Lozana andaluza*, Luis Canet argues for little involvement, if any, on the part of Rojas. By contrast, in his foundational book *The Spain of Fernando de*

Rojas, Stephen Gilman stressed Rojas's authorship, as well as his *converso* identity, which, he argued, greatly influenced *La Celestina's* tragic themes. This chapter engages the unresolved issue of authorship and Rojas's alleged ties to the *converso* community.

Although George Ticknor mentions a 1530 edition of *Segunda Celestina*, the earliest known surviving copy is the previously referenced 1534 Medina del Campo version (269). These dates (1530-1534) signal that Silva lived when the Spanish Inquisition persecuted many alleged heretics, the echoes of which are heard in his writing.¹⁹ While one cannot prove that Silva associated Rojas directly with *La Celestina* or with the *converso* community, *Segunda Celestina's* author maintained a similar, indirect connection with New Christians: both he and Rojas shared ties to tainted Christianness through their wives' backgrounds. While Silva hailed from a distinguished Old Christian family, he was connected to *converso* circles through marriage and friendship: two details that may partly explain his treatment of themes of purity, precariousness, and reputation in his comedy. Consolación Baranda cites *converso* Jorge Montemayor's epitaph and elegy to Silva upon his death as well as exiled *converso* Núñez de Reinoso's nostalgic verses of his *Égloga Baltea* to our author (32) to argue / as evidence of Additionally, she summarizes the failed attempt of Silva's grandson, Fernando de Toledo y Silva, to be admitted to the Order of Santiago in 1596. Several contemporaries accused Toledo y Silva of impure blood by

¹⁹ The archives of Cuenca, Simancas, the Archivo Nacional Histórico, and the University of Texas, Austin house many Spanish Inquisitorial cases whose dates generally coincide with Silva's biography and sequel. In addition, one-third of the records at the University of Pennsylvania Kislak Center date to 1533-1550. Hence, they overlap with Silva's lifetime and *Segunda Celestina*, and provide several additional, contemporaneous examples of the Holy Office's activities. I will elaborate on several of these cases below.

pointing to his possible *converso* lineage through his grandmother, while others suggested Feliciano de Silva's wife was the illegitimate daughter of a noble (31). In either case, just as Rojas's family progeny inherited an ancestral infamy, a stain marked Silva's descendants, reflected in *Segunda Celestina*.²³

The language and space that I study in this chapter do not necessarily mean that the years in which Silva lived were more unsettling than Rojas's, or vice versa, since both authors lived through tumultuous times. Rojas saw the establishment of the Inquisition and Silva wrote and published *Segunda Celestina* after several events that excluded *conversos* from different organizations. Contextualizing both authors' writing and their family stories, we can understand how lineage-based discrimination crossed social classes, affecting *conversos* in relatively comfortable or powerful positions, or individuals whose political stances went against the grain. One example is the anti-Inquisitorial views of *conversos* such as the Hieronymite friar Hernando de Talavera that inspired their downfall in the eyes of the Catholic Monarchs. Another example is the 1522 Decree of Suprema that prohibited Salamanca, Valladolid, and Toledo from conferring university degrees on any *converso* or on the son or grandson of anyone tried by the Inquisition (Lea, *A History of the Inquisition* 287). Talavera's tolerance of the Granadan *mudéjares* led to a conflict with Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. The cardinal's influential role at court and in the national church made his voice esteemed above that of the archbishop (Harvey, *Muslims in Spain* 329).

We also see this type of social fragility in edicts of exclusion and the political uncertainty of Silva's family. A 1531 law barred New Christian monks from the monasteries of Santa María de Niebla and San Pedro Mártir de Toledo (Sicroff

119). By 1532, two years before the 1534 Medina del Campo edition, the exclusion of New Christians was such that the Cortes of Segovia petitioned that those who could prove their descent from Christian parents, grandparents, great grandparents, and great-great grandparents should be declared Old Christian (Lea, *A History of the Inquisition* 288). These are a few of many examples of exclusion based on blood purity and conflicting stances on forced conversion that figure into Silva's writing.

We may observe a similar instability in the Silva family's rivalry with two noble Castilian families over Ciudad Real: the Pachecos' and the Chaves.' In the author's struggle for the position of *regidor* he denounced his opponents for siding with the *comuneros*; but the Consejo Real ignored the accusation (Fernández Martín 298). Silva's vain attempt to increase his status in a legal forum strongly resonates with *Segunda Celestina's* themes of legal testimony and preoccupations with social status, which this chapter examines.

Both Silva's and Rojas's *converso* connections and the former's struggle for power are significant for understanding this chapter's themes. *Segunda Celestina* responds to *La Celestina* beyond merely continuing the bawd's story. Indeed, it seems Silva's relationship with the *converso* community and his struggle for political recognition motivated him to incorporate the importance of blood impurity, delicate status, and social commentary that we read in *La Celestina* as an essential thematic bridge to his sequel. In keeping with this dissertation's thesis, this chapter analyzes the mutually productive relationship between *Segunda Celestina* and its predecessor. In addition, understanding how authors affiliated with New Christians read and responded to *La Celestina* can help

us consider—or reconsider—the objectives of the fifteenth-century masterpiece.

2.1 The Language of *Limpieza*

Celestina's language and tone, as well as *Segunda Celestina*'s preoccupation with themes of testament and liminal space appear too insistently not to have historical resonance, which suggests that Spain's social atmosphere influenced the text. The importance that *Celestina* gives to witnessing recalls precariousness regarding blood purity. Her use of terms related to the idea of *limpieza* in contexts in which she defends herself highlight her status as a type of fugitive. As Da Costa Fontes writes, the word *limpieza* was so commonly aligned with blood purity that Sebastián Covarrubias noted, "limpio . . . se dice comúnmente del hombre Cristiano Viejo, sin raza de moro ni judío" (Covarrubias 1200; Da Costa Fontes 83). The word *limpieza* repeats eleven times in *Segunda Celestina*, compared to the twenty-two appearances that Da Costa Fontes counts in the *Tragicomedia*. Other types of language related to testimony and accusation that are pervasive in Silva's text also occur in Inquisitorial documents. *Celestina*'s lexical choices, and those of several other characters, evoke the tense atmosphere that we find in historiographical accounts of Inquisitorial proceedings of trials, including cases of heresy, *alumbradismo*, and Islamicizing.

As Da Costa Fontes observes, *Celestina* employs the word "limpio" in a deceptive manner in her visit to Melibea's house in *auto* 4 of the original *La Celestina*: "mas Dios conosce mis limpias entrañas, mi verdadero amor, que la distancia de las moradas no despega el amor de los coraçones" (227; *auto* 4; Da Costa Fontes 86). She also refers dishonestly to her "limpio motivo" and "limpio trato" later in the scene. In this interview

between Celestina and Melibea, the original *Comedia* parodies fifteenth-century sentimental fiction and courtly love poetry in the sense that courtly, chaste purity is ridiculed as the word *limpieza* is coopted for the purposes of debating bloodlines. In courtly love poetry and sentimental fiction, the beloved rejects the go-between's mediation to protect her honor, where virginity and ethnic pristineness align. In *La Celestina*, Melibea purports to follow the courtly love rules, refusing Celestina's advances for the sake of her honor. Although they are satirical in the comedy, the lady is depicted with the conventional descriptions employed to describe the beloved. Da Costa Fontes further observes Calisto's use of the word *limpieza* to describe both Melibea's sexual and blood purity, when the enamored young man tells his beloved, "soy cierto de tu limpieza de sangre" (Da Costa Fontes 87; *La Celestina* 222; *auto* 12). Whether we should take these descriptions of Melibea seriously, her alleged virginal and blood purity contrast with Celestina's profile as a prostitute and her deceptive *limpieza* of character.²⁰

We can see how Silva further masks his critique of *limpieza de sangre* behind chastity in his inversion of the *alcahueta*-beloved dyad: Celestina defends her reputation and *limpieza* more fervently than in the *Tragicomedia*. Several of Celestina's passages recall Inquisitorial procedures, and the context and spaces in which she speaks them reflect a climate infected with anxieties about different types of impurity in the era: witchcraft, heresy, and blood purity. While some of the more predominant Inquisition-related events occurred in the fifteenth century, *Segunda Celestina* appeared more than

²⁰ Yolanda Iglesias has argued that Melibea's rejection of Celestina's mediation is satirical and serves as part of the parody of sentimental fiction in the *Comedia* (*Una nueva mirada a la parodia de la novela sentimental* 24).

fifty years after the Catholic Monarchs appointed the first Inquisitors and religion-based exclusion and monitoring of New Christians had become more severe.

Celestina's emphasis on testimony recalls the importance of witnessing in Inquisition trials, including the accounts of accused New Christians, witnesses, and anti-inquisitorial *conversos*. She first utters the term *limpieza* in a conversation with Centurio, the same ruffian from the original comedy:

CENTURIO. Señora madre, ¿para qué lloras y dizes esso? Que así se cree de tu *santidad*, no hay necesidad de *juramentos*.

CELESTINA. ¿No quieres que llore, padeciendo mi honra con tan *falso testimonio*? . . . y bien parescen, Señor, que estás en los cielos, tus justos *juizios*, que por esso permitiste que para *purgar mi limpieza y inocencia* tornasse a este siglo. (Silva 239; our emphasis)

Her fear that her reputation might be stained by false testimony, in addition to her invocation of God and reference to His subsequent redemption of her to purify her image (or prove her innocence) could all be part of Celestina's false piety. However, the passage also echoes Inquisitorial discourse. The records of *conversa* María de Cazalla's trial contain several lines that resonate with Celestina's remarks. This daughter of a *converso* and an alleged Judaizing mother was accused of *alumbradismo* and arrested in Toledo in 1532, then again in 1534 when she withstood torture and a lengthy trial before the court absolved her (Homza 112). The notions of innocence and purging can be heard in her 1525 confession, in response to accusations of heresy, in which she states: "I confess . . . that my spirit has done what it could . . . If something else is alleged, I will suffer without being guilty . . . In battling wicked thoughts and not giving into them, there was an opportunity to purge the soul" (Homza 112). Cazalla's case also "touches on the

rhetoric of a successful defense” (Homza 113), because she refutes with a lawyer’s expertise each of the thirty-two charges brought against her. For example, to the accusation that she had denied transubstantiation she replies, “Sometimes I said that I remained sad and dissatisfied with the preparation I underwent to receive Communion. . . . I have never lacked faith in the sacraments” (Homza 132). In response to the charge that she “held the memory of the Passion of Christ as spiritual imperfection” she answers, “I said the loftiest thing is contemplation of His divinity, not His humanity” (Homza 132).

Since readers familiar with the protagonist of *La Celestina* know that the protagonist is anything but innocent, her exaggerated, humorous defenses of her guiltlessness in the sequel may be read as a condemnation of real Inquisitorial persecution and the truly successful defenses of wrongly accused New Christians. As Sicroff reminds us, *conversos* often responded with hate and rage to unfounded Old Christian accusations and branding of their origins as sinful (10). The following passage from *Segunda Celestina* conveys a similarly defensive tone. The bawd addresses the bishop who had hidden her in his home:

He querido dezirte lo dicho para que no vivas connigo engañada, porque ya es tiempo de . . . fingir mi resurrección, y no quiero . . . que quedes con sospecha y, por parte de tenella, con quexa de la que no se debe de mí tener. Que, como crees en Dios, pues tener por fe que ni yo tengo tales pensamientos, ni hay para qué los tener . . . basta haver ofendido a Dios en tramar esos hilados, de lo cual ya tengo la experiencia de mi yerro para me arrepentir y emendar y hazer penitencia de lo pasado. (Silva 171)

Here Celestina’s preoccupation with her honor and reputation intersects with her rejection of an unwarranted denouncement. Her defense of her honor against false testament in response to accusations that she had caused Melibea and Calisto’s deaths

recalls allusions to the Inquisition's random discriminatory practices in earlier works, such as *Cárcel de amor* (Kaplan 126). Celestina's histrionics when the reader knows she is guilty both recalls and contrasts with Laureola's claim of innocence and her father's tyrannical defense of the purity of the family line (Kaplan 126). In depicting a character whom the reader knows is guilty, and who now claims a desire to make amends, Silva judges an establishment based largely on testimony and repentance. He also defies the paradigm of the repentant transgressive female character of contemporaneous works depicting *converso* themes, such as Lozana's "rebirth" as Vellida. Furthermore, he trivializes the Holy Office's practices and proceedings by providing readers with a caricature of the defense of one's reputation.

In a similar vein, in *Segunda Celestina* Centurio's reassurance of the protagonist's saintliness and his insistence that she not swear *juramentos* resembles the language in the trials of several *conversas* and *moriscas* accused of apostasy in years coinciding with the publication of the work. In the same previously mentioned trial record, María Cazalla stated, "I . . . confess . . . that my spirit has done what it could, and I have begged Our Lord to help me, and I find I have nothing to say about such ugly and abominable errors [of the *alumbrados*]. If something else is alleged, I will suffer without being guilty" (Homza 113).

In another scene in *Segunda Celestina*, the disgruntled *alcahueta* bemoans, "Nunca el diablo me ha de sacar de moços susurradores" (274). Her complaint of not being free from rumors recalls unstable reputations in Spain from the late fourteenth-century pogroms through the early modern period. Indeed, social statuses were fragile, and even personal safety relied heavily on the public approval of one's Christianness. In a similar

passage, the go-between supplicates to Polandria that her interlocutor not dishonor her. In threatening to loudly voice her innocence, Celestina's desperate insistence that she lives cleanly (*limpiamente*) conveys desperation: "No me deshonres, si no, daré bozes . . . y a todo el mundo *haré testigo de mi inocencia*. Señora Polandria, no soy mujer de nada desas tramas, *limpiamente* vivo, honestamente trato, de *castidad* me precio, no me embiaron de otro mundo a tales liviandades" (Silva 397; emphasis added).

Equally suggestive are two examples in the text that evoke the importance of the domestic and public space, as well as witnesses in the historical period and plot. Several *cenos* (scenes) situate Celestina in a risky position in which the other characters implore discretion on her part. One example occurs in the scene in which Pandulfo, seeking Celestina's services to help his lovesick master Felides, implores the go-between: "Que llegues . . . a parte donde él te pueda hablar sin sospecha," to which the latter replies, "¿qué sospecha puede haver de mujer tan vieja como yo . . . dize el proverbio, que noramala nace quien mala fama cobra, y de aquí se levanta la tos a la gallina, como lo de Calisto y *otras tales cosas que me han levantado*." (Silva 241; emphasis added). The idea of being free of "tales cosas que me han levantado" in addition to moving to a location where they can speak without making others suspicious recalls the fragility of reputations and the importance of appearances and hearsay during Silva's lifetime and the years coinciding with *Segunda Celestina*'s publication.

Lexical marks of concern with hearsay also occur in a dialogue between Celestina and the ruffian Traso el Coxo in the doorway to her home. In *Segunda Celestina*, the following exchange evokes *converso* literature that manifested subversive reactions to discriminatory doctrines by resorting to allegory (Kaplan 123):

TRASO EL COXO. Éntrate en casa, señora, *no estés aquí dando cuenta a los que pasan.*

CELESTINA. Desso huelgo yo, *de dalla a Dios y a todo el mundo* . . . Claramente . . . bivo, y *limpia*, que ni hay aquí hipocresías ni santidades fingidas . . . a solo Dios tengo de *dar esas cuentas*. (Silva 527; emphasis added)

As Kaplan maintains, certain literary characters' actions and references to landscapes crystallize the *converso* experience of living as perceived inferior subjects (137). The physical space of the domestic threshold—between the private and the public spheres—may serve as an allegorical landscape that represents the New Christian reality that Kaplan describes. We can see this idea illustrated in the case of María Naranja, tried between 1538 and 1544 "por hereje a posthata de nuestra santa fe catholica y excomulgada segun parece por los libros y Registros deste santo officio" (Kislak Center, HCL, Folder 8, 2r, 1538-1544).²¹ Indeed, the notary recorded that Naranja's mother provided public evidence against her daughter: "de testigos de catalina la naranja [sic] su madre que esta en su proceso . . . contra tal herege y aposthata de nuestra santa fe catholica excomulga . . . Muger de Pedro de . . . bezina de daimiel que vino sin ser llamada e juro en forma de [dz] . . . e dixo de ser de edad de cuarenta años . . . e dixo e declaro lo susodicho fue lo siguiente" (Kislak Center, HCL, Folder 8, 2r, 1538-1544). Witnesses accused Naranja of not eating meat from one of her bulls that had died of natural causes, as opposed to *halal* (sanctioned) Islamic butchering: a sign of her suspected crypto-Muslim status (Lea, *Los moriscos españoles* 196). Documents from her trial contain reports that the defendant had been seen giving some of the meat to the

²¹ The legal case of this *morisca* is recorded in a manuscript in Henry Charles Lea's collection at the University of Pennsylvania's Kislak Center.

farmhand and throwing the rest to her dogs (Lea, *Los moriscos españoles* 196).

Traso el Coxo's fear that a passerby may overhear a private conversation recalls the ease with which people could charge their enemies, neighbors, and even relatives with heresy, since the public judicial system depended on the community's collaborative testimony (Kamen 175). The dialogue between Traso el Coxo and Celestina also gestures to public shows of Christian customs, such as ostentatious rituals of eating certain foods in public with the goal of warding off suspicious neighbors (Menocal 262). Such displays were meant to help New Christians avoid situations like Naranja's. Analogous to these public displays of orthodoxy, Traso el Coxo's comment and his apprehension toward the public space is indicative of a time when behavior could betray lineage and status (Cook 87).

Given the importance of the public's eyes and ears, as well as *limpieza*'s direct link to Inquisitorial practice in late medieval and early modern Spain, it is useful to consider the presence of El Pueblo, a character who embodies the collective consciousness. This approach allows us to see how joint testimony functions in the text. The observing, speaking role of El Pueblo in *Segunda Celestina* is another unique characteristic to this sequel, and the scenes in which it speaks parallel the public and community-based nature of accusations and testimony reflected in Naranja's case. El Pueblo fulfills the function of a Greek chorus, appearing listed in the epigraph as a character and serving as both a soliloquy-speaking informant to the reader and Celestina's interlocutor:

PUEBLO. Parécenos que la vieja viene escarmentada; trato la deven haver dado por donde quiere mudar el natural, que no se dirá agora que mudó la piel la raposa, mas su natural no despoja, pues con mudar la piel viene mudadas las obras; no de balde se dize que el loco por la pena es cuerdo; aquí podremos, con razón, decir que de

los escarmentados se hacen los arteros. Por cierto, caso de predestinación paresce, pues la quiso Dios sacar de los infernos para tornalla a hazer penitencia de sus pecados. (Silva 192)

El Pueblo relays speculation to the reader about Celestina: specifically, that her repentance signals culpability for the crimes committed in the *Tragicomedia*: her conjuring of the devil and greed-driven mediation of Calisto and Melibea. Analyzed more closely within the context of legal language, El Pueblo offers collective testimony about a fugitive who had just spent a significant amount of time in hiding and who now gives the impression of having undergone Christian repentance. Thus, this neighbor-like character denounces Celestina based on anonymous, but collective speculation. In the early years of the Spanish Holy Office's existence, this type of act frequently led to accusations (Kamen 177). Comparable to the theatrics of public conversion in the female picaresque genre, here the past participle *escarmentada* recalls the importance of exaggerated displays of repentance that characterized Inquisitorial trials and *autos de fe*. The *Diccionario de Autoridades* defines the term: "Tomar advertencia y enseñanza de lo que en si mismo u en otros ha visto y experimentado, para no caer ni errar en adelante" (557). Thus, Celestina is the quintessential example of *escarmiento* as were the many *conversos* who endured public punishment. Covarrubias also aligns *escarmiento* with old women:

algunas veces ejecutada en la misma persona, con cuya memoria nos apartamos de pecar. Es término judicial de que usa el pregón, siempre que se ejecuta alguna pena, con estas palabras . . . Para que a este sea castigo y a los demás escarmiento. Proverbio: Vieja escarmentada pasa el vado arregazada . . . vale defensa y reparo, porque con el escarmiento nos apartamos de la culpa y nos escudamos contra

ella. (Covarrubias 810)

While Silva was Old Christian, his implementation of language and space linked to Inquisitorial themes aligns his text with a similar type of work that, as Márquez argues, reveals a *converso* dissatisfaction with a society that rewarded lineage over merit and perpetually viewed the convert as suspect (*De la España judeoconversa* 34). Because Celestina and Centurio's conversations recall the language found in documented judicial proceedings, the Inquisitorial climate of sixteenth-century Spain may have influenced *Segunda Celestina*, as Sicroff maintains was the case for Cervantes's writing in the latter part of the century (344-345). The similarities between Celestina's, Cazalla's, Naranja's, and Páez's defenses indicate that Silva's eponymous character and the book itself may be concerned with themes relevant to *conversos* and *moriscos* in sixteenth-century Spain: public testament and a perceived purity of blood.

2.2 The Go-Between Resurrected

Segunda Celestina's attention to testimony and liminal spaces recalls the weight of rumors in accusing one of being a New Christian apostate or heretic. The protagonist's use of phrases such as "yo vi" are also typical of genres in which testimony was necessary, such as hagiographic and chivalrous texts, in addition to travel literature and New World chronicles of conquest and colonization. In this section I compare these varying genres of fictional and historical writing to scrutinize how Silva employs the resurrection motif, which was so prominent that the work was retitled *Resurrección de Celestina* (Hinrichs 59). According to the *Index des livres interdits*, it was also commonly known as *Celestina resucitada* (*Index* 531). In fact, the bawd's revival was so

prominent that it appeared in the full title of Venice 1536: *Segunda comedia de la famosa Celestina en la qual se trata de la Resurrección de la dicha Celestina*.

To understand how the protagonist's rebirth contributes to the subversive social criticism and literary contamination that the sequel performs, we must review the fates of the go-betweens in *La Celestina* and *La Lozana andaluza*. The alcahueta's death in *La Celestina* launches the chain of deaths following hers: those of Calisto, Melibea, Pármemo, and Sempronio (Baranda 34). In the final *mamotreto* of *La Lozana*, Delicado redeems his protagonist by displacing her to the island of Lípári. *Segunda Celestina* differs from these two earlier texts by tying the go-between's fate to her entrance to the comedy instead of her exit. Here the go-between has no dramatic exodus, as she does in the previous two texts: she is not murdered, as is Celestina, nor does she flee to an island sanctuary, as does Lozana. The last scene in which she appears is in the penultimate scene, *cena XXXIX*. The scene is uneventful, save its echo of *auto XII* in *La Celestina* via a verbal scuffle over money between Celestina and Pandulfo: Sempronio's or Pármemo's counterpart. There are several moments in the text that make it clear that the resurrection is a hoax. As mentioned, Celestina tells Zenara, "He querido dezirte lo dicho para que no vivas conmigo engañada, porque ya es tiempo de salir a fingir mi resurrección" (Silva 171). Felides further summarizes her trick in the final scene: "y ella con sus hechizos hizo parescer todo lo passado para se vengar de los criados de Calisto, porque le querían tomar lo que su amo le había dado, y hizo con sus encantamientos parecer que era muerta, y ahora fingió haver ressucitado" (Silva 578). Finally, Polandria chastises her criada Poncia for believing in the hoax: ¿Cómo diablos dirá lo que no vio? Ora cree que es el diablo, y no otro"

(Silva 579).

Celestina's deceptive resurrection denounces the atmosphere of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Castile where appearances and reputation were of utmost importance and false rumors spread quickly. Again, Hinrichs describes Celestina's resurrection as a chivalric Reconquest of the town to which she returns (68). The inversion transforms the protagonist into an archetype that transcends death (68). This interpretation of an unorthodox character's successful reconquest is valuable for highlighting the text's challenge of authority. Hinrichs also compares the blood symbolism in *La Celestina* to hymens and Celestina's death. Nevertheless, he does not consider that the resurrection not only results in Celestina's reconquering the town, but also in the text's overall defiance of Christian dogma and blood purity.

Celestina allegedly returns to "enmendar la vida de acá, para con las obras dar el enxemplo con aviso de lo que allá passa, pues la misericordia de Dios fue de bolverme al siglo a hazer penitencia" (Silva 191). Although the reader knows the resurrection is a farce, the other characters treat it as a serious miraculous act. Pandulfo voices the importance of this resurrection: "Señora, agora no se habla de otra cosa sino en tu resurrección" (238). Felides blasphemously describes Celestina's return as a holy miracle, since he does not pause to think which side of the afterlife she had experienced (Hinrichs 69). This ironic treatment of hell echoes and surpasses the triviality with which the afterlife is treated in the original *La Celestina*, which suggests that many of the main characters are destined for hell as a result of dying without the required Catholic confession.

In addition to clarifying that the resurrection is a hoax, Silva makes other efforts to

outwardly conform to orthodoxy, such as creating characters who appear as redeemed versions of their original counterparts. Consider, for example, Felides's advice to Sigeril: "Felides: Dexa ya, Sigeril, la vanidad de dioses vanos, y adora aquel solo que yo por Dios adoro y conozco" (Silva 441). His comments are quite the opposite of Calisto's infamous quote "Melibeo soy," one of the lines that censors later expurgated because of its sacrilege: Calisto professes that he is more devoted to Melibea than to the Christian God. Despite Silva's apparent moves away from any true heresy, the Inquisition indexed the book in 1559 (*Index* 531). By contrast, the Holy Office did not veto *La Celestina* until the seventeenth century. Perhaps its popularity allowed it to survive, despite censorship. Such was the case with *Lazarillo de Tormes*, which, as Francisco Rico notes, enjoyed an omnipresence in literature and the popular language of the *refranero* despite its 1559 prohibition (28). In fact, there is no record of the *Comedia* or the *Tragicomedia* in the 1557 or 1559 Valdés Indices, and the earliest expurgations that Clara Penney lists date to the eighteenth century (128). Several early sixteenth-century efforts to index the text proved unsuccessful, because those who controlled censorship were more concerned with expurgating religious works than fiction (Gagliardi 60).²² Consequently, *La Celestina* appears to have remained uncensored until the beginning of the seventeenth century when Gaspar de Zaragoza and Francisco Martínez denounced several blasphemous lines in the first act.²³ The result was the 1632 expurgations of about fifty lines, the majority of which

²² Juan Luis Vives, Alejo Venegas, and Fray Antonio de Guevara railed against *La Celestina* in vain (Gagliardi 59). The Valladolid Cortes' 1555 petition for censorship was also unsuccessful. For a helpful chronology, see Gagliardi 59-60.

²³ "¿Quién vido en esta vida cuerpo glorificado de ningún hombre como agora el mío? Por cierto, los gloriosos santos que se deleitan en la visión divina no gozan más que yo agora en el acatamiento tuyo" (*La Celestina* 65; *auto* I).

Calisto speaks in *auto* I in equating Melibea to divinity (Gagliardi 73-74). *La Celestina* sustained evasion of the Índice thus contrasts with the almost immediate, full suppression of *Segunda Celestina*. Given the original comedy's early resistance to censorship, it is quite plausible that Silva read the passages where Calisto blasphemously idolizes Melibea.

While it evaded actual censorship, the work did, however, meet widespread disapproval by clergymen and Christian moralists of the sixteenth century (Gagliardi 59). Silva was undoubtedly aware of such opprobrium when he decided to continue and even surpass the original book's blasphemous traits. Nowhere is this irreverence more overt than in Celestina's resurrection. The much quicker reaction of censors to *Segunda Celestina* reveals that sixteenth-century authorities considered her resurrection a dangerous challenge to religious orthodoxy. While Hinrichs interprets the resurrection as a kind of chivalric redemption, I maintain that irony, more than heroism, are at play here. *Segunda Celestina* disguises serious social criticism in a cloak of satirical sacrilege, similar to how the original authors of the *Comedia* and Francisco Delicado (as well as the anonymous author of *Lazarillo de Tormes* [1554], other picaresque authors, and Cervantes in *Don Quijote* [1605-1615]) enclose serious commentary in their humorous texts. Because censoring authorities considered the sequel more heretical than the original text, Silva's book achieves a more aggressive imputation than the original bestseller.

Several characters employ miraculous language to describe Celestina's satirical revival:

AREÚSA: ¡Ay, tía señora!, espantadas nos tienes en ver cuanto dizes . . . ¡Oh, madre Celestina!, ¿qué maravilla tan grande ha sido ésta de tu resurrección?

PUEBLO. Madre, espantados nos tienes de lo que dizes, mucha honra nos harías en decirnos algo de lo que allá viste. (Silva 190-191)

This tone of awe and fear, as well as El Pueblo's desire to hear Celestina's account, parody earlier literary acts of raising the dead. We find, for instance, several medieval examples of language comparable to *Segunda Celestina's*, such as the resurrections that Holy Mary performs for two devoted mothers in Alfonso's *cantigas*.²⁴ *Cantiga* 21 tells the story of a barren woman who prays to the Virgin for a child. Although Mary answers her prayer, the infant dies shortly after birth. The mother takes the lifeless newborn to the monastery, lays him before the altar, and prays to the Blessed Mother, who restores him to life. The text provides a Castilian prosified refrain after each of verses that I quote below: "Santa María puede enfermos guarir,/quando ella quesier e muertos resurgir" (Alfonso, *Cantigas de Santa María* 341): "Ca tu soa es a que mio podes dar . . . groriosa Sennora, sen tardar/dá-mio vivo, que aja que ti gracir . . . menyo tornou en vida/por prazer da Virgen santa conprida . . . Quand' esto viu a moller, ouve pavor . . . " (Alfonso, *Cantigas de Santa María* 113; *cantiga* 21, vv. 45-59).²⁵

²⁴ *Cantigas* 11, 21, 26, 122, 224, 241, and 391 recount resurrections. I analyze 21 and 122 for the purpose of focusing on women whom the Virgin restores to life.

²⁵ "For only you can give him to me, and so I come to ask it of you. Therefore, Glorious Lady, give me my son alive at once and I shall be grateful to you.' At once the woman's prayer was heard, and the little boy came back to life. The Holy Blessed Virgin so willed it and made him stir in the bed where he lay. When the woman saw this, she was startled at first, then overjoyed, and therefore gave thanks to Our Lord and to His Mother, because She heard her prayer" (Alfonso 30, *Songs of Holy Mary*; *Cantiga* 21). I include the quote to highlight that the woman specifies that only the Virgin ("tu soa") has the power to resurrect her dead son, in addition to the initial fear ["Quand' esto viu a moller, ouve pavor/da primeir', e pois tornou-sse-l'en sabor" (Alfonso, *Cantigas de Santa María* 113; *Cantiga* 21, v. 55)] that the mother feels upon witnessing the miracle.

Similar examples of resurrection as a kind of reward for Christian feminine devotion appear in *cantiga* 122, the *Libro de Apolonio*, and the *Libro del Caballero Zifar*. *Cantiga* 122 recounts "Cómo Santa Maria resucitó a una infanta, hija de un rey, que después fue monja y muy santa mujer" (Alfonso, *Cantigas* 188).²⁶ In this purportedly autobiographical song, Alfonso's mother takes her deceased daughter to the Virgin's chapel and affirms her faith that the saint will resuscitate her: Mary again revives the dead infant. In *Libro de Apolonio* the king believes his wife Luciana has died, her companions throw her coffin into the sea. Doctors rescue her and bring her back to life. She then becomes an abbess. Later, husband and wife's *agnórisis* unfolds as follows:

‘Yo ssó la tu muger, la que era perdida,/la que en la mar echeste, que tienes por transida;/del rey Architrastres fija muy querida,/Luciana he por nombre, biua ssó et guarida’/[Apolonio] Por poco que con gozo non perdió la memoria; amos huno con otro viéronsse en gran gloria,/car auiéles Dios dado grant gracia et gran victoria Do gozo Antinágora, el cabosso confradre,/lloraua de los ojos como ssi fuesse su fradre . . . Por la çibdat de Effesio corrié grant alegría,/auién con esta cosa todos plazentería;/mas llorauan las duenyas dentro de la mongía,/ca sse temién de la sennyora que sse quería yr ssu vía. (*Libro de Apolonio* 204; vv. 587-597)²⁷

Luciana describes the widespread, joyously tearful response to her resurrection, attributing the miracle to the grace of God. Indeed, the scene fits into the Christian model of revival as an accolade for piety. The trope of the resurrected lady reemerges in the *Libro del caballero Zifar*, with the Virgin's miraculous revival of Grima, the lady of

²⁶ This selection, which appears as number 21 in Jesús Montoya's edition is *cantiga* 122 in *E* and *T*. The verses do not appear in volume I of Mettman's edition, which concludes with *cantiga* 100. Volume II is unavailable. I cite from two editions because each contains a different example of a feminine resurrection miracle.

²⁷ Citation hails from Ed. Carmen Monedero. Madrid: Castalia, 1987.

the villa Galapia, who, as Marilyn Olsen hypothesizes, faints upon receiving bad news from the battlefield (Martínez 21). The unconscious woman's friends believe her dead:

Las dueñas estando enderredor de su señora, llorando . . . oyeron vna voz en la capiella do estaua su señora, que dixo asy: 'Amiga de Dios leuantate, que tu gente esta desconortada e tienen que quanta merçed les fizo Dios mio fijo el Saluador del mundo oy en este dia, que se les es tornada en contrario por esta tu muerte. E crey que voluntad es de mio fijo de endresçar tu fecho a tu voluntad e a tu talante'. Todas las dueñas que y estauan fueron mucho espantadas e maravillaronse . . . vieron a su señora que abrio los ojos e alço las manos ayuntadas contra el çielo e dixo asy: 'Señora, Virgen Santa Maria...Ca me tornaste por la tu santa piedat de muerte a vida' . . . Todos los que y estauan oyeron muy bien lo que dezia, e enbiaron mandado a los caualleros de commo su señora era biua. (*Libro del caballero Zifar* 120)

Areúsa's and Elicia's fearful marvelling clearly echoes that of Grima's ladies in waiting. Similar to the grieving mothers in the *Cantigas*, both Grima and Luciana are exemplary Christian—or Christianized²⁸—women, and three of them are model mothers. Luciana's revival results in her assuming a religiously authoritative position. News of her return to life spread quickly through Effesio igniting tears of joy in her husband, child, and many of the kingdom's subjects, as well as fear in the nuns, not unlike the grieving mother's initial "pavor" upon witnessing the miracle in *cantiga* 21. Grima's

²⁸ *Libro de Apolonio* derives from a Byzantine novel featuring pagan characters, but medieval writers often recreated classical figures and personas with Christian traits. For instance, Luciana serves the Criador and dresses more like nun than an ancient temple priestess (Monedero 48). See Solomon, Michael and Juan Carlos Temprano. "Modos de percepción histórica en el Libro de Alexandre" *Inti: Revista de literatura* vol. 1, no. 15, 1982 to learn about how the author of *Libro de Alexandre* christianizes Alexander the Great.

resurrection is dually edifying in that Mary, the ultimate model of female sanctity, brings back the exemplary woman and clarifies that it is her son's will, not unlike the way the *cantigas* make clear that only Mary shares Christ's power to raise the dead. In sum, the Virgin Mary, the epitome of Christian maternal femininity, answers the prayers of devout Catholic mothers.

Like the women in the medieval examples above, Silva's Celestina attributes her false miracle to the will of the Christian God. In response to Areúsa's and Elicia's exclamations of fear and disbelief, Celestina responds, "¡Dad las gracias a Dios que acá tornar me dexó!" (Silva 177). Furthermore, just as Apolonio receives Luciana and the *dueñas* greet Grima, Areúsa and Elicia react to their surrogate mother's return with fear, followed by joy. However, Areúsa's and Elicia's exclamations, explained in the following quote, span six pages: a much more extensive, dramatic reception compared to the few verses or paragraphs dedicated to the rebirths in the *Cantigas*, *Libro de Apolonio*, and *Libro del Caballero Zifar*:

¡Ay, hermana mía, que mi madre Celestina paresce! ¡Ay, váleme la Virgen María, no sea algún fantasma que nos quiera matar! (Silva 177) . . . ¡Ay tía, señora, y bien seas venida! . . . ¿Y qué hombre pudiera venir a quien yo más quisiera que a ti? . . . lloro de gozo de te ver . . . ¡Ay tía, señora mía . . . cuán perdidas sin ti hemos estado! . . . Dáme acá las manos, señora, y holgarme he contigo, que, en mi ánima, no puedo aún acabar de creer que eres tú...¡Ay, madre!, por cierto, más huelgo yo de tales besar que cuantas manos de galanes puede haver; que déstas me viene a mí, cierto, más provecho. (Silva 177-178)

This purportedly holy resurrection of an evil sorceress and brothel mother, the opposite of the lady of Galapia and the devout mothers in the *cantigas* and *Libro de Apolonio*, would no doubt have appeared unorthodox to sixteenth-century readers

familiar with literary traditions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as well as medieval Biblical stories. Silva adds another blasphemous component to his go-between by placing her in the role of the figure happily greeted by her followers after her resurrection from Hell. In the *Cantigas*, the Virgin intervenes to correct a wrong and restore harmony (MacDonald 318). Her interposition in *Libro de Apolonio* and *Libro del caballero Zifar* achieves similar results, since the wrongs in these texts include the untimely deaths described above. Viewed as an ironically righted wrong, and a restoration of harmony, Celestina's resurrection contaminates the medieval model of justice, since the go-between's crimes render her an unlikely candidate for the divine intercession that typically results in resurrection. While the protagonist claims that God has brought her back to life to amend past wrongs, many would recognize the famous bawd's hypocrisy when she explains the truth behind her trick: "Todo esto es autorizar más mi persona, estimar más mi fama, dar más crédito a mi poder; porque, habiéndome visto muerta y viéndome agora biva, ¿quién dudará de mis artes?, ¿quién no temerá mis conjuros? ¿A quién faltará esperanza en mi saber? . . . "A la fe, hijas, pues agora lo podéis decir con razón, que traigo más ciencia que llevé" (Silva 180). The language of authority and power that Celestina employs here even appear to usurp divine power and authority. In other words, Celestina makes clear that she stages her resurrection not to do penance for past crimes, but to bolster her profile as go-between. Celestina thus serves as ironic counterpart to the women in the four earlier texts. In this way, Silva pushes the limits of the trope of the Madonna-like lady/mother brought back from the dead by the Christian God, or resurrection as a response to saintly femininity or Marian maternity.

Returning to Silva's time, *La Relación que dio Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca* (1542)

also appropriates the resurrection theme from medieval literature while conveying sixteenth-century attitudes toward the miraculous raising of the dead. In the eight years following their shipwreck off the coast of Florida in 1527, Núñez and several other survivors travelled to the area that currently constitutes the U.S. Southwest where they encountered a various indigenous communities. Núñez, who became a healer, claims in one of his *Relación*'s episodes to have revived a deceased Native American:

Vinieron muchos indios en busca de Castillo que los curasse y él los encomendó a dios nuestro señor...le suplicamos les diessemos salud: pues él vía que no avía otro remedio para que aquella gente nos ayudasse. Los indios me dixerón que yo fuesse a curarlos . . . *yo vi* que el enfermo que yuamos a curar que estaua muerto . . . estaua mucha gente al derredor del llorando: y su casa desecha que es señal que el dueño está muerto. Y así quando yo llegué, hallé el indio los ojos bueltos y sin ningún pulso y con todas señales de muerto y a mi así me paresçio y los mismos dixo Dorantes. Yo le quité una estera que tenía ençima con que estava cubierto y lo mejor que pude supliqué a nuestro señor fuesse servido de dar salud a aquel y a todos los otros que della tenía necesidad. E después de santiguado y soplado muchas vezes dixerón que aquel que estava muerto y yo avía curado en presençia dellos se avía leuantado bueno y se auía paseado y comido y hablado con ellos y que todos quantos avía curado quedauan sanos...*esto causo muy gran admiración y espanto y en toda la tierra no se hablaua en otra cosa*. Todos aquellos a quien esta fama llegaua nos venían a buscar para que los curéssemos y santiguéssemos sus hijos. (Núñez 158- 164; emphasis added)

The italicized words in this passage, compared with those from *Segunda Celestina*, highlighted above, show that Núñez's account of the resurrected Indian coincides with Celestina's rebirth in some of the terms and phrases. However, unlike Silva, Núñez recounts a marvelous resurrection with the verisimilitude necessary to convey a truthful account to the Crown: an aspect of the genre of New World chronicles highlighted by

Blanca López de Mariscal (30-31). He stresses that the merit of his writing as a gesture of royal service and guide for future travelers inspired by his observations (Merrim 90, 93). By contrast, Celestina does not purport to relay truthful testimony, but rather, to entertain readers. While she dishonestly emphasizes the event's truthfulness, the text lacks the verisimilitude that characterized medieval and early modern chronicles. Despite her attempt to legitimize her return to the world, Celestina's humorous, blasphemous resurrection contrasts with the serious tone of Núñez's *Relación* in that her revival from hell ridicules the Christian belief in rising from the dead.

Another point of comparison between Núñez and Silva's texts suggests that the latter parodies a popular literary convention of his time: the "función testimonial" (López de Mariscal 31) and "yo he visto". Common to narratives of discovery and conquest like that of Núñez, the convention also appears in Celestina's resurrection:

CELESTINA. Aquel Sempronio...yo lo vi, en los infiernos abrasado" . . .

ELICIA: ¡Qué de cosas debes allá haver visto, en el otro mundo! . . .

AREÚSA. ¡Cómo las deve haver visto!

CELESTINA. "He visto, hija, tanto, que no se puede dezir; y agora más tiempo es de descansar de mi camino que de saber nuevas de lo que allá passa.

[ELICIA]. ¡Ay, dinos ahora algo, tía!

AREÚSA. ¿Qué más ha de dezir que verla...? ¿Y para qué quieres tú ver ni saber más? (Silva 178-181)

This exchange conveys the idea of Celestina as messenger of incredible events seen in another—if not new—world. In effect, Areúsa and Elicia address her as if she had traveled to a distant land: in this case, the afterlife. Here, Celestina legitimizes her experiences in Hell with testimony, while Elicia responds with marvel. As López de Mariscal points out, a singular "yo" conveys a stronger sense of verisimilitude and

testimonial force than the plural “vimos”, “sobre todo cuando lo que se describe o se narra resulta tan extraño para el narrador y para el destinatario que es importante reforzar con el: ‘yo lo vi,’ ‘yo estuve ahí’ (31). Posited this way, Celestina’s resurrection recalls and inverts the classic, hagiographic, and medieval ideas of witnessing tied to miracles. In the bawd’s revival, the marvelous combines with the ethnographic telling of strange but true events that, as Stephanie Merrim points out, set the tone in the second part of the *Relación* (92). Núñez alerts the reader to incredible but true events in his dedication to the emperor: “Lo cual yo escreví con tanta certinidad que aunque en ella se lean algunas cosas muy nuevas y para algunos muy difíciles de creer, pueden sin dubda creerlas” (Núñez 20).

The remarkable truth-telling that appears in Núñez’s later *Relación* changes the way the reader may receive and interpret Silva’s appropriations of these conventions. Since Silva sets Celestina’s fake return from the underworld within a miraculous framework, her eyewitness reports of her observations in the afterlife may be read through a satirical lens. Celestina, like Núñez and other explorers who claimed to witness marvels first hand, bears news from a strange, distant world (in this case, the afterlife). While most of the characters erroneously believe that Celestina’s hoax is true, Silva goes to great lengths to ensure the reader knows that Celestina’s resurrection is fictional. Celestina, a sorceress condemned to a hell of her own doing, is revived in what appears to be a parody of both the miraculous and the marvelous. Such a satire trivializes the seriousness of the allegedly truthful travel narratives and accounts of miracles, parallel to the way the original *La Celestina* derides sentimental fiction and scholasticism. Consequently, *Segunda Celestina*’s fictitiousness allows Silva to appropriate *La Celestina*’s practice of

inverting tropes, since he depicts a clearly invented miracle. Moreover, he leans on a bestseller's fame to stage his criticism, thereby assuring that his censure reaches a wide audience.

Silva's trivialization of miraculous and marvelous resurrections questions prevailing notions of obligatory conversion. Indeed, the bawd's return from the underworld challenges a pillar of Christianity that was forced upon the converts required to make public displays of their acceptance of this belief. Later early modern texts, such as Miguel de Cervantes's "Entremés del retablo de las maravillas" (1615), convey similar reproaches Old Christian anxiety and hypocrisy. In his *entremés*, Cervantes addresses the state of contemporary drama and uses the audience's gullibility to question the preoccupation with blood purity, (Gerli, "*El retablo de la maravillas*" 478). In a story similar to "The Emperor's New Clothes," the *Retablo*'s onlookers dare not confess they see an empty stage, lest they be taken for one "que tenga raza de confeso" (1086). Indeed, the fear of being labeled a *converso* was so great that it compelled Old Christians to either see absurd or frightening images where they were none, or to feign such observations in accordance with their fellow onlookers. In a similar vein, Silva's parody of resurrection has several functions. The hoax highlights the foolish credulity of those who believe that Celestina has truly risen from the dead. This naïveté resonates with that of the *Retablo*'s spectators or the Almagro residents who believed María Páez's reports. The texts thus serve as satires of the Inquisitorial system, which relied on and fomented speculation and unfounded beliefs.

Celestina's hoax serves to transpose miracles and ironically legitimize the unorthodox. Let us reexamine the bawd's revelation of her staged resurrection: "Todo

esto es autorizar más mi persona . . . habiéndome visto muerta y viéndome agora biva, ¿quién dudará de mis artes?, ¿quién no temerá mis conjuros? (Silva 180). Considered in this light, Silva ironically aligns black magic—albeit artificial in this case—with authoritative knowledge, legitimacy, and authorship. The relationship between this magic and revived Celestina’s role as a go-between merits commentary: aside from the lack of true black magic, one of the most notable aspects of this sequel is the lack of *philocaptio*, or a love spell, that is generally thought to prove crucial in *La Celestina*. In *Segunda Celestina*, the devil’s alleged relationship to the go-between modifies the plot where it should, according to the genre: in Celestina’s access to the beloved’s home, her mediation on behalf of Felides, and the lovers’ union.

QUINCIA. “¡Válala al diablo la vieja! Señora, mala muerte me tome si Celestina, la que resucitó, no está allí.

POLANDRIA. Ay, señora, por tu vida, que suba, y dezirnos ha algo del otro mundo; que muero por vella, que es maravilla. (Silva 311)

A tone of admiration comparable to that of Núñez’s later account resounds here in the exchange between lady and servant and allows for several observations. Núñez employs language conventional to medieval travel literature with serious aims, even if sixteenth-century readers displayed little confidence in the *Relación*’s claims. By comparison, Silva redeploys the same trope in a heterodox, fictional scene. Polandria’s interest in the supposedly reborn Celestina’s eye-witness account is one way in which the bawd obtains access to the lady’s house. The devil is absent from her resurrection. And the go-between clarifies that he is absent from her visit to Polandria, when, after the interview she calls the visit a “¡maravillosa burla! ¿Quién como yo supiera rodear tan bien y tan sin sospecha este negocio? ¡Y cómo le hize entender lo que me complía, vendiéndogelo

por su provecho, siendo en su daño y mi provecho!” (329). Here, black magic, or at least its surface idea, is as essential a part of the plot as it is in *La Celestina*. While there is no conjuring, and no Satanic pact as in the original bestseller, the devil lingers on Celestina’s entrance to the lady’s house. As we have seen, in the masterpiece, the real conjuring of the devil Pluto and his presence wrapped up in Celestina’s enchanted skein are the *alcahueta*’s ticket to Melibea’s house.

Employing a similar trope in two different genres—a chronicle and the continuation of a bestselling comedy. Because most of the characters in *Segunda Celestina* believe news of the bawd’s return, this false verisimilitude inverts the serious marvel as it reemerges in travel narratives and ethnographic accounts. Both works belong to the same cultural world and similar literary traditions: the hagiographic *cantiga*, Byzantine novel, and novel of chivalry. Silva satirically positions his protagonist as a source of knowledge, or, an authority on strange but true events. In this case, the retired prostitute is not only an expert mediator, she is also an authority on the afterlife, as evinced by Areúsa’s sacroprofane remark to her adoptive mother that she missed hearing her spout her glorious knowledge: “¡Ay tía, señora mía, y qué gran Gloria es oírte dar los consejos y avisos que das a todo el mundo, y la gran abundancia de sabiduría que tienes!” (179).

Here Areúsa depicts her adoptive mother as an authority on the afterlife; the irony is abundantly clear to readers who know Celestina has lied/is lying. By subverting serious resurrections, *Segunda Celestina* adopts and adapts the *Comedia*’s use of humor as a weapon against mainstream models of knowledge and writing. In my analysis of Delicado’s writing, I highlighted the *Comedia*’s literary irreverence in not conforming to prevailing literary and epistemological paradigms. On a related note, I showed how

Lozana's paradoxical philosophical and medical knowledge questions hierarchies.

My intention in this section has been to compare varying genres of fictional and historical writing to scrutinize how Silva employs language common to hagiographic, chivalrous, and travel literature. In doing so, he satirizes the idea of the revealer of real yet unbelievable events. Lozana's repentance and redemption differentiate her from the original *Celestina*. By contrast, the second *Celestina*'s repentance is as false as her resurrection. Her intentions are as sinister as in the original, as seen in her mediation of Polandria.

2.3 Some Comments on Medina del Campo 1534

The previous section explored how the resurrection of the go-between functions as a literary and social denunciation. A study of the prints in the earliest conserved edition of *Segunda Celestina*, by Pedro de Tovans, will now reveal how Silva's comedy in dialogue visually dismantles religious paradigms.²⁹ The initials beside the text show how *Segunda*

²⁹ Pedro de Mercado appears to be the book's "corrector" as stated in the original long-form title: *Segunda comedia de Celestina: en lo quall se trata de los amores de vn cauallero llamado Felides: y de vna doncella de clara sangre llamada Polandria. Donde pueden salir para los que lieren muchos y grandes auisos que della se pueden tomar. Derigida y endre...çada al muy excelente e illustrissimo señor: don Francisco de çuñiga guzman: y de Sotomayor. Duque de Bejar: marques [sic] de Ayamonte y de Bibraleon. Conde de Belalcalçar y de Bañares. Señor de la puebla Alcocer con todo su vizcondado y dellas villas de Lepe: Burguillos y Capilla y justicia mayor d'Castilla. La qual comedia fue corregida y emendada por el muy noble cauallero Pedro d'Mercado: vezino y morador en la nobla villa de Medina del Campo.* One Pedro Tovans appears listed at the end of the book as the printer: "Acabóse la presente obra en la muy noble villa de Medina del Campo, en casa de Pedro Tovans en el coral de boeys. Año de M.D. xxxiiij a xxix de Octubre" (583). Joseph Snow did not include this book's images in his *Catálogo de Ilustraciones añadidas*. He mentions that a certain 1534 copy of Silva's comedy had recycled blocks from the same series used in Juan Bautista Pedrezano's and Estefano da Sabio's editions of *La Celestina*, printed in 1531 and 1534, respectively (Snow, "La iconografía" 61). Although Snow does not specify which edition of *Segunda Celestina* he references, he

Celestina visually inverts resurrection themes. This section explores the



Figure 8. Christ/*agnus dei*.³⁵



Figure 9. St. Paul



Figure 10. St. Martha



Figure 11. Revelations



Figure 12. Assumptioin



Figure 13. Decorated initial, Bible printed by Guillén de Brocar

cannot be referring here to Medina del Campo 1534, because the only visual material in this copy consists of an elaborate frontispiece, three decorative initial capitals repeated throughout the forty scenes, and three final panels depicting the Assumption following six prints, which repeat throughout Medina del Campo 1534.

³⁵ Figures 8-12 are courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America, whose staff has digitized the images directly from Medina del Campo 1534.



Fig. 8. Decorated initial depicting Christ/*agnus dei*

Cena X (figure 8) opens with a man standing before a cross, beside a creature which, for its halo, appears to be *agnus Dei*, or the lamb of God. The initial appears below the epigraph: “Felides pregunta a Sigeril si es verdad la resurerecion [sic] de Celestina,” and opens the *cena* in which Felides and his henchmen Sigeril and Pandulfo discuss Celestina’s resurrection. Here Sigeril and Felides employ the inverted trope of eye-witness testimony. The best plot Celestina can weave is with hypocrisy and false saintliness, an idea to which Pandulfo alludes in his descriptions of the untrustworthy fox and the ability to “tornarte de otro pelo” within three days after confessing like a saint

(Silva 205). The resurrected lamb of God contrasts with Celestina's attitude and her unworldly resurrection.

FELIDES. ¿Qué cosa es Sigeril? Es verdad que ha resusitado aquella honrrada dueña?
(SIGERIL). Por Nuestra Señora: señor, *yo la vi*...si es fantasma o no no lo sé: mas ver
quá santa viene y predicadora no lo podrias creer . . .

PANDULPHO. La major trama que ella puede tramar es con hipocresía y santidad
urdir para texer sus telas, que con este hilado podrá ella mejor urdir tu tela con
Polandria que el de las madexas texó el de Calisto y Melibea . . . ¿No sabes...que
muda la piel la raposa, mas su natural no despoja? ¿No te acontece venirte de
confessar un santo y de ay a tres días tornarte de otro pelo? (Silva 205; our
empahsis).



Fig. 9. Deocrated inintial depicting St. Paul

The unorthodox text clashes with other prints. *Cena XVI* (figure 9) starts with an initial illustrating a male figure possibly shielding his eyes from miraculous light, an image that recalls Christ's appearance to St. Paul. The revelation resulted in the blinding, followed by the saint's salvation and subsequent conversion to Christianity. Celestina's satirical salvation—that is, her false rebirth and her exaggerated desire to repent for past sins and live a more pious life—ironically invert the miraculous revelation pictured in the initial.



Fig. 10. Decorated initial depicting St. Martha

Cenas XIV, XVII, and XIX's xylographs all depict the same woman shown in figure 10. Her covered head suggests modesty, while the offering in her hand could

recall myrrh-bearing Saint Martha, whom Delicado labels as the patron saint of Martos in *El modo de usar el leño de la India Occidental*.³⁶ Another interpretation for the object in the figure's hands could be the story of St. Martha that appears in Jacobo Vorágine's *Legenda áurea* (ca. 1260), in which the saint defeats a menacing dragon with holy water (410). The hagiographic anthology continued to circulate widely throughout the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and Tovans was likely familiar with the stories, which also include the tale of Jesus raising Martha's brother Lazarus from the dead (Vorágine 376; Morrás 16). Therefore, the figure's allusion to Saint Martha adds another layer of significance to its inclusion in Silva's text, as the serious witnessing of Christ raising Lazarus from the dead is juxtaposed with Celestina's trickster resurrection of herself. Saint Martha's cloak-covered body, her submissive kneeling posture, and the content in the *cena* dialogues ironically with her saintly halo: the *manto* that Pandulfo gives Celestina on behalf of Felides and Celestina's promise to "dar oy cuatro bueltas a mi rosario" (Silva 302). The serious miraculous image in the historiated initial again contrasts with Celestina's hypocritical saintliness: "Si por camino de santidad nos vamos, que somos ya tomados con el hurto" (Silva 306). Baranda notes that this line is appropriated from Celestina's interview with Melibea, after which the former mutters: "Si con el hurto soy tomada, nunca de muerta o encorizada falto, a buen librar" (IV, 86; Silva 306, note 17). The woodcut depicting a serious model of a saintly feminine figure poses a disjuncture with Celestina's signature false piety.

³⁶ See the title page woodcut of Francisco Delicado's medical treatise discussed in chapter 1, section 3 of the present study.



Fig. 11. Decorated initial depicting scene from *Revelations*

Cena XV's woodcut (figure 11) of a male figure kneeling in prayer before a body of water and a hovering celestial face recalls the Biblical story of how the resurrected Jesus appeared to the disciples by the Sea of Tiberias to create an abundance of fish for the hungry fishermen: *postea manifestavit se iterum Iesus ad mare Tiberiadis manifestavit hoc iam tertio manifestatus est Iesus discipulis cum surrexisset a mortuis* (Ioannes: xxi:1, 4).³⁰ Here, a serious rebirth accompanies the story of the revived sorceress, a juxtaposition that would have been jarring to readers familiar with the Biblical story.

³⁰ The following two excerpts are from the John Carter Brown Library's 1512 copy of a Bible printed in Alcalá de Henares. Given the date, these are the versions of the stories with which Silva's readers would have been most likely familiar. Here I provide Spanish translations of the Latin text. Excerpt 1: "Se manifestó Jesús otra vez a sus discípulos en el mar de Tiberias . . . esta era ya la tercera vez que Jesús se manifestó a sus discípulos, habiendo resucitado de los muertos (Juan 21: 1,4, ed. Mundo Hispano).

Cena XV's initial has a similar effect if interpreted as an allusion to Revelations 10:

Et vidi alium angelum fortem descendente de celo amictum nube . . . Et hebat in manu sua libellum apertum . . . Et ego scriptura e raz et audium voces de celo dicenten mihi. Signa que locuta sunt septe tonitrua et noli ea scribere et angelus quem vidi stantesm supra mare et supra terram . . . Vade et acciptem librum aperum...de manus angelum dicense ei vt . . . daret mihi librus et dixit mihi. Accipe librum et deuora illum et faciet amaricari vetre tuum . . . Et accepi librum de manum angeli et deuoravi illum. (Apocalypsis x:1-4; ed. Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, et. al.)³⁸

Again, Tovans, the type-setter, has placed a woodcut depicting a serious revelation episode alongside the blasphemous tale of the resurrected sorceress, perhaps to put an orthodox stamp on the text, to remind readers of a true revelation. Parallel to the way Delicado had sullied the go-between episode in *Calila e Dimna* and the medical writing genre the printer, takes Silva's contamination of the miraculous and eye witness tropes one step further: this unusual juxtaposition reminds readers of a true Christian miracle in contrast to the false miracle of the text.

³⁸ "Vi otro ángel fuerte descender del cielo, cercado de una nube . . . y tenía en su mano un librito abierto . . . y cuando los siete truenos hubieron hablado sus voces, yo iba a escribir, y oí una voz del cielo que me decía: Sella las cosas que los siete truenos han hablado, y no las escribas. Y el ángel que vi estar sobre el mar y sobre la tierra, levantó su mano al cielo" (Apocalipsis 10:1-4; ed. Mundo Hispano).



Fig. 12. Woodcuts depicting the Assumption from "Nueva coronación"

The final images in the text—the three engravings of the Virgin Mary placed above a 54-stanza poem recounting her “Nueva coronación” (figure 12)—appear after the conclusion of Silva’s comedy. The inscription in the center reads: “Assunta es maria sup coru angelorum” (fol. 132r). Once again, the images depicting the Virgin’s glorious assumption and the religious poem they illustrate contrast with varying moments and themes throughout the main body of the text. The crowning of the risen Virgin occurring in the center woodblock may serve as a redemptive counterpart to the textual image of a miter-crowned go-between that the prostitute Palana describes in *cena* 2: “Como si no supiésemos aquí quién es Celestina, á cabo de ser coronada tres veces por alcahueta” (Silva 347). The euphemism alludes to the practice of forcing women accused of *alcahuetería* to wear a type of headdress that

resembled a crown or a Bishop's head cover (Baranda 347). It is also notable that throughout the *Segunda Celestina*, as in Rojas's original, the eponymous protagonist is frequently referred to as "Madre Celestina." Hence her stand-in daughter, the prostitute Elicia, addresses Celestina, her brothel "mother", as "Madre" (112, *auto* 3). Similarly, the Pueblo's passage discussed above begins "¡Oh, madre Celestina, ¿qué maravilla tan grande ha sido ésta de tu resurrección? . . . Madre, espantados nos tienes de lo que dizes" (Silva 190-191).³¹

The Marian images contrast with vocative statements and references to Celestina as "madre." They also offer an edifying afterward to the comedy's apparently happy ending. Polandria and Felides marry, as do their servants Poncia and Sigeril, and order is restored. This occurs in the final *cena*, after an exchange between Polandria, Poncia, and Felides concerning Celestina's negative qualities (her sharp tongue and astuteness) vis-a-vis her (few) virtues. Notably, Felides speaks of his marital union with Polandria as a conversion, exclaiming that, "con la gloria del bien que en los braços tengo . . . para más en ti estar convertido . . . que milagrosamente tengo vida" (Silva 568). Polandria responds with a remark equally as charged with a concern with lineage and blood purity: "Mañana embíes a pedirme a mi madre en casamiento; y hay un gran bien para ello, y es que yo supe hoy della que la manda que mi padre hizo, que casasse con hombre que fuesse de mi linaje, no pudo perjudicar mi mayorazgo, por cuanto mis agüelos lo dexaron libre de la tal restitución" (Silva 575). Poncia concludes the comedy with a speech in which she instructs Polandria on

³¹ The examples of Celestina's interlocutors addressing her as "madre" abound in both *La Celestina* and *Segunda Celestina*. Here I have selected a few examples.

honesty, honor, and virtue, linking these three qualities to civil obedience and *limpieza*: "con la virtud se hazen los hombres esentos de las leyes, y por falta de virtud se sujetan a las leyes y punición, por la fealdad del delito de traspasar la virtud . . . y con la gloria de haver conservado el previllejo de nuestra limpieza . . . nos vamos a acostar" (Silva 582). The comedy ends on an ironic, multi-layered note. On the one hand, the lovers marry outside their caste, as Silva himself did. Calisto and Melibea, also of disparate *linajes*, never achieved this fairy-tale ending. On the other hand, Poncia's didactic, orthodox conclusion feeds into the images of the virtuous virgin that continue the edifying tone with which the story of the revived brothel mother ends. Perhaps the Marian images serve to enclose the story in an exemplary message of saintliness and thereby deliver Silva's scandalous comedy and denunciation of *limpieza* in a more pious package to readers. This would have been particularly possible because Marianism and the image of the Virgin as the exemplary woman were in vogue in fifteenth-century Spain (Morrás 13-14).

The broken borders around each image suggest that by 1534 the blocks used to create them had already been worn with age, which means that they were likely not cut for Silva's text but were used in previous publications. This was common practice, as woodblocks were costly and printers often reused them in popular works (Norton xix, Lucía Megías 465). In Spain there was little capital in the sixteenth century to invest in new blocks (Lucía Megías 467). Given that the blocks in Medina del Campo 1534 depict miraculous scenes, they were probably recycled. Such was the case with novels of chivalry (*caballerías*), whose initial majuscules often hailed from religious or liturgical works, and were employed to imitate medieval codices

(Lucía Megías 465). And yet, although recycled blocks departed thematically from the text, they held a privileged place in the reader's eye, due to their predominant position (Infantes 94). They form part of the visual sense of the text, forming an alternative "story," even when not historiated (Infantes 95, 98).

Tovans was a small-scale printer, and very few of his productions survive (Pérez Pastor 481), making it difficult to tell with certainty where the blocks originally appeared. We do know, however, that he printed a copy of Diego San Pedro's *Las siete angustias de nuestra señora*, as well as the anonymous *A las completas* and *Despertador de peccadores*, and Luis de Montoya's *Meditacion de la passion para las siete horas canonicas* [sic], in Medina del Campo the same year he printed *Segunda Celestina* (UCD Iberian Book project).³² Both are possible points of origin for Medina del Campo 1534's woodcuts, which bear a striking resemblance to those found in religious texts, such as several that Infantes describes in his inventory of early books printed in Spain: Kempis's, *De imitatione Christi* (1520), *Missale Bendictinum* (1521), *Las lecciones [sci] de Job trobadas por vn reuerendo y deuoto religioso de la orden de los predicadores con vn Infierno de dañados* (1524), and Alexandro Anglico's *Tractado muy útil* [sic] *de las obras de misericordia* (1530), to name only a few (100-101). The majuscules in these and other works in Infantes' inventory depict praying figures, hagiographic scenes, representations of Christ's life,

³² No known copy of Tovans' copy of the *Meditación de la passion* survives. The British Library owns his reproduction of *Despertador de peccadores*, although the edition does not appear to be digitally accessible. The Iberian Book projects indicates that the Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina own *Las siete angustias de nuestra señora*. However, a search in their online catalog yielded no results.

and the Assumption (100-103). The letters in Silva's text also resemble an initial cut in a contemporaneous Spanish Bible (figure 13), with its partially visible celestial light shining down on the figure occupying the focal point:



Fig. 13. Decorated initial photographed directly from Spanish Polyglot Bible, ed. Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, et. al., 1514-1517

The blocks in Silva's text were most likely recycled, which suggests that the images could have been manually chosen for use in Silva's text. This is a provocative idea, considering the juxtaposition of sacred images and blasphemous themes that the reader encounters upon engaging with the book. As shocking as it must have been for *La Celestina* fans to discover that the popular *alcahueta* had risen from the dead, it could have been equally as reassuring to find saintly figures decorating such a deviant story. Tovans also produced an edition of *La Celestina* between 1530 and 1540, which contains ornamental material commonly used in printed copies of the text

(Penney102). The production of this copy coincides with Medina del Campo 1534, which means that Tovans had more mainstream *Tragicomedia* blocks available to him, none of which appear in any part of the sequel. It is true that printers in the same town sometimes lent or rented material to each other, and decorated initial capitals were easily sold and rented (Norton xix; Lucía Megías 465, 468). However, other than Nicolás del Piemonte's brief appearance in Medina del Campo in 1511, Tovans appears to have been the only printer in in the town during the first half of the sixteenth-century (Norton xix; Penney 102). For this reason, borrowing or renting the *Tragicomedia* woodblocks from a neighboring printer would have been difficult, which suggests that Tovans used these religious blocks instead of those he used in *La Celestina*. In other words, instead of visually imitating the bestseller, and further relying on its fame and its popular woodcuts to sell copies of the sequel, the blocks in the Mercado-Tovans edition emulate those found in religious texts. The Marian images and verses do not appear in Venice 1536, Paris/Antwerp 1540, or Paris/Antwerp 1550, nor do the decorated initials.³³ While these image-less editions offered a less shocking experience for readers, the xylographs in the earliest surviving edition reinforce the importance of the paradoxical miraculous tone in the text. The initials and the final woodcuts of the Virgin suggest that the printer, Tovans—and Silva, if he had any hand in the selection of blocks—wanted the miraculous resurrection to stand out to readers. Regardless of their original circumstances, the images of the Virgin Mary and other saints would seem incongruous to readers

³³ The Hispanic Society of America and Houghton Library own copies of these editions, which I have consulted for this chapter.

accustomed to the diabolic Celestina and her black magic—or the memory thereof—and the blasphemous lines and scenes characteristic of both the original *La Celestina* and the sequel.

In this case, the images of the Virgen and Saints would most likely have struck early modern readers as paradoxical. The initial capitals, juxtaposed with the story of a mock-resurrected sorceress turn into visual manifestations of the multi-layered reminder of some of Catholic dogma's distinguishing tenets—miracles and resurrection—in contrast to the text's blasphemy. The blocks of the Virgin conclude both the exogamous union that "corrects" Calisto and Melibea's forbidden marriage and Poncia's Plautine diatribe on qualities—virtue, meekness, honor, and honesty—that contrast with Celestina, thus forming a purifying seal to the contaminated story. The juxtaposition may serve as an edifying device of containment that superimposes the pillars of Christianity onto a sacriligious textual world.

To conclude, *Segunda Celestina* serves as both a thematic and visual manifestation of what Albert Sicroff described as the perpetuation of the very impurity that Spain had fought so hard to eradicate (9). Silva revives the murdered go-between, undoing and trivializing key events in the *Tragicomedia*—namely, the deaths of Celestina and the central characters—to invert conventional literary tropes and prevailing socio-religious paradigms. Through his disregard of moments in the *Tragicomedia's* plot, he appropriates one of the possible objectives of the *Comedia*, which served to interrogate multiple paradigms. Silva maintains enough fidelity to the *La Celestina* to continue the bawd's story, while simultaneously contaminating and subverting it by transculturating it to 1530s Castile. While Delicado had appropriated

and transposed certain motifs found in literature featuring the go-between—such as the scar, missing nose, and knot—Silva questions society through the marvelous resurrection of the murdered Celestina, and the language of *limpieza*.

The points of similarity with contemporaneous travel writing that I have demonstrated reveal that beyond Rojas's original comedy, *Segunda Celestina* is indebted to a broader social and literary climate. By employing conventions common to both Old and New World chronicles of travel, discovery, and conquest, Silva adds a new voice into his work to remind readers that Spain is changing as it expands, and that literature featuring the go-between must also change. After all, it is no longer Rojas's 1500, and the imperial aspect of Silva's text reflects the need for the literary imagination to expand with the geographic (Hinrichs 70). Finally, as I have shown, the juxtaposition of the story of the resurrected sorceress against the serious, religious woodcuts with in the Pedro del Mercado edition gives an additional diabolic twist to the important Biblical theme of miracles, which play a central role in the revival of his go-between. The authors of the *Comedia* restored little order upon killing the protagonist, as her death and those of the other characters show a chaotic society. Silva, by unleashing her back into the world despite her apparent repentance, further inverts social order. For, even though the lovers marry, Spain's favorite trickster proves invincible, and unconfined to any one text. Silva's resuscitation of the famous sorceress and his blasphemous treatment of the afterlife serves as a challenge to the orthodoxy upheld by state authorities.

Segunda Celestina's multiple inversions, combined with Rojas's and Silva's ties to the *converso* community, suggest that the sequel's author intended for more than

editorial success. The evidence I have put forth in this chapter suggests that he read *La Celestina* as a challenge to paradigms, as well as a reaction to marginalization due to prevailing notions of contamination, purity, and orthodoxy. Like Delicado, and like the anonymous *morisco* writer El Mancebo de Arévalo, who will be studied in the next chapter, Silva takes the Celestinesque genre beyond witchcraft and prostitution to channel his concerns about Spanish society. The medieval Iberian *alcahueta* is, in the end, an adequate vehicle for Silva's criticism of the dominant order responsible for creating the new attitudes toward minorities that were prevalent in late medieval and early modern Spain.

CHAPTER 3

FROM THE TANNERIES “A LA CUESTA DEL RÍO” TO THE PUERTA DE ELVIRA: CELESTINA'S *MORISCA* DAUGHTERS

*Porkel mundo...Kiríyya las
kosas a manera de kontiyenda y-
a modo de peleytesíyya...Más
diyzen: sin lid ni
ofensiyyón, ninguna kosa
enseendoró nattuwlaressa kes
madre de todas las kosas [...]
Puwes entere los
animales ninguno ay en sus
chéneros, no karessen de gerra.
Esterelos, pesses i las aves i los
demás terrestes
animales hasta los
pensamiyentos gerrean entere
los engaños kontara los
kuwerpos i las almas y en toda
kosa se paresserá lo mesmo.*

—El Mancebo de Arévalo, *Tafsira*, 296

In a philosophical chapter of *Tafsira*, El Mancebo de Arévalo transcribes one of *La Celestina*'s most famous passages, which appears in the epigraph. Cloaking in *aljamiado* this quote from Petrarch's *Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul*, the author imbues the text with a sense of social precariousness analagous to that with which Feliciano de Silva's

Segunda comedia de la Celestina, as indeed the original work, concerns itself. As these lines highlight the inevitability of war, it seems appropriate that they should appear in *Tafsira*: a text that mourns the fall of Muslim Spain and the plight of the *moriscos*. This hybrid, miscellaneous manuscript includes Islamic exegesis that was forbidden in Spain during the sixteenth century, as well as autobiographical and travel narratives. Nuria Martínez de Castilla Muñoz has described the treatise as "una serie de preceptos, ritos y tradiciones musulmanes" (1054). Indeed, El Mancebo describes the secret meeting of Islamic leaders who requested he write his treatise:

Fuwweron achuntados en Ssaragossa una konpañia de onrrados mmusliymes, a donde se hallaron más de beinte mmusliymes; y komenssaron a taratar de nuwestoros dduwelos ikada uno disso suw arenga; y entere muchas kosas no faltó kiyen diyssó kómo era garande nuwestara pérdida i de kuwan poka esensiyya era nuwestara obra. Akí me rrogaron estos onrrados alimes [islamic community leaders], biyendo la demensiyya sobredicha de nuwestoro alddin ke, en el intere de miy parda, yo me okuw pase en rrenuwemerar alguna parte sustansiyyal de ssalhes de nuwestoro onrrado Alqur'an, lo m'as berebe I konpendiyyosamente possible. Yyo aseté este pekeño tarabasso desta tafssira³⁴ por sumelar a la obligazziyón mmusliyminada, i por el rruewego destos onrrados alimes. Pelege a suw inmensa bondad kayga en apalasso I parabiyén de todos hasta ke la pelage otra tafsira más garanada kon libertad desta tiyerra. (El Mancebo de Arévalo 103-104, fol. 3v)

The passage highlights the dire reality of Iberian Islam, which had recently fallen indefinitely at Christian hands: a situation that resonates with the bellicose tone of Petrarch's quote. The thematic similarities between the two passages lend support to María Teresa Narváez's argument that *Tafsira's* indebtedness to *La Celestina* extends

³⁴ *Tafssira* is Arabic for Koranic exegesis (my translation).

beyond a mere transcription of a quote. Indeed, Narváez first observed that El Mancebo was drawn to *La Celestina*, and to Petrarch's quote due to his experience as a marginalized member of Spanish society ("El Mancebo de Arévalo," 259).

Historical and literary context may help us understand El Mancebo's attraction to *La Celestina* in addition to the sense of violence in the above epigraph. As his account of his secret meeting shows, a community of crypto-Muslims had begun efforts to protect their endangered religion, cultural identity, and what was left of their language. While *aljamiado* literature goes back to the *mudéjar* period, the bulk of texts appeared in the sixteenth century during a time of heightened prohibition and *morisco* loss of identity (Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, "Reading *aljamiado*"). El Mancebo de Arévalo travelled and wrote in this crypto-Muslim world. Akin to that of the authors of *La Celestina* and Francisco Delicado his identity remains unknown, a fact that speaks to the controversial nature of his task and mission. *Tafsira* was not confronted with Inquisitorial censorship, since like most *aljamiado* manuscripts, there is no record of the manuscript circulating during the author's lifetime.³⁵ Nevertheless, a 1568 manuscript of the "Leyenda morisca de Ibrahim," conserved in the Historical Archive of Cuenca in the same file as the documented Inquisitorial proceedings to which it was subject, confirms the Holy Office's interest in *aljamiado* writing (Martínez de Castilla Muñoz 1053).

Literary history may also explain some of the affinities between the *Tafsira* and the previous texts in this study. Given certain clues in the *Tafsira*, historian L. P. Harvey dates the manuscript to approximately 1535, based on the date of the aforementioned

³⁵ The majority of *aljamiado* manuscripts were discovered upon demolishing apartment complexes in Aragon in the nineteenth century (Harvey, *Muslims in Spain* 108).

meeting in Zaragoza ("Un manuscrito *aljamiado*," 52-53).³⁶ This fact means the author most likely finished writing the treatise one year after Silva published *Segunda Celestina*, about eight to ten years after Delicado published *La Lozana*, and twenty-six years after the printing of the first editions of the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*. In addition, no translations of *tafsir*, the Arabic term for Koranic exegesis, from Arabic to *aljamiado* exist from prior to the sixteenth century (Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, "Reading *aljamiado*"). As we shall see below, *Tafsira* shares thematic and stylistic similarities with these previous texts. Moreover, this treatise's chronology coincides with the bulk of *aljamiado* literature produced during the sixteenth century.

Several other literary historical features both link *Tafsira* to and differentiate it from the majority of known *aljamiado* literature. Martínez de Castilla Muñoz has further described the corpus as a genre written by *moriscos* for *moriscos* ("Reading *aljamiado*"). A striking amount of manuscripts were produced, a sign that this group attempted to preserve what surviving bits of their culture they could (Montaner 1036). Furthermore, most *aljamiado* manuscripts are translations of religious, scientific, and literary texts, while only approximately ten percent are original works (Martínez de Castilla Muñoz 1045). El Mancebo's is one of these original works, which indicates an intentional effort to piece together a treatise with a purpose that surpasses the *alimes'* request:

Aquí me rrogaron estos onrrados alimes, biyendo la demensiyya sobredicha de

³⁶ Harvey bases his hypothesis on the fourth folio of the manuscript of *Breve compendio* in which El Mancebo writes, "comencé esta obra ocho años después de la dicha conversión" (fol. 4r; "Un manuscrito *aljamiado*" 52). The *morisco* author is referring to the 1525 mandated conversion of Aragonese Muslims. Additionally, one of El Mancebo's interlocutors in *Tafsira*, Baray de Reminyo, describes events that took place ten years after the said decree.

nuwestoro alddin ke, en el intere de miy parda, yo me okuw pase en rrenuwemerar alguna parte sustansiyyal de ssalhes de nuwestoro onrrado Alqur'an, lo m'as berebe I konpendiyyosamente posible. (El Mancebo de Arévalo 104, fol. 3v)

The young man, whoever he may have been, assumes the true role of author who not only offers Koranic interpretation but also apparently takes creative license in depicting the textual portraits of his interlocutors. Ineed, the fictional literature of the time appears to have influenced El Mancebo's oeuvre. Given the considerable amount of narrative content in these treatises, they merit study from a cultural and literary perspective (Martínez de Castilla Muñoz 1054). As I will argue, several episodes call into question the social reality of the *moriscos*, like the way *La Celestina*, *La Lozana*, and *Segunda Celestina* challenge late medieval and early modern attitudes toward orthodoxy and heterodoxy. *Tafsira*, like *La Celestina* and *La Lozana*, encloses a social critique within a unique literary genre. Unlike most *aljamiado* treatises, *Tafsira* does not subscribe to the Arabic *fiqh* genre, which consists of exegesis of Sharia law (Wiegers 171).

Furthermore, while *Tafsira* relates to other *aljamiado* writing that incorporates religious themes—such as those compiled in the nineteenth century and entitled *Leyendas moriscas*—it is unique for the anecdotes and biography interpolated in it (Narváez, "Nozaita Kalderán" 502). According to Narváez, this literary style contrasts with contemporaneous *aljamiado* literature, which was sparse in autobiographical details. One can also see the same type of pre-picaresque quality as in *La Lozana andaluza*: El Mancebo's text showcases a series of adventures and encounters with diverse individuals; indeed, Narváez has described El Mancebo as a journalist before his time (Introduction 31). All of these literary characteristics allow the work to dialogue with the other texts in the present study.

Other scholars have noted the great extent to which *aljamiado* literature coincides dialogues with more mainstream Castilian medieval and Golden Age literature. From the medieval period, they were influenced by literary traditions that were autochthonous to Spain, such as the *Poema de Yuçuf*, written in *cuaderna vía*. From the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we find several *aljamiado* texts influenced by works by Garcilaso de la Vega, Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, and Góngora. Given the impact that mainstream Spanish literature had on *aljamiado* writing, this chapter explores the ways *Tafsira* may have been influenced by *La Celestina*, as well as other contemporaneous literature, in more ways than have previously been shown.

Mercedes García Arenal's multiple cultural histories of the *moriscos*, from the Granada capitulations to expulsion provide both broad chronological overviews and more focused studies, as well as transcriptions of several *aljamiado* texts. Seth Kimmel has focused on the ways in which philosophical questions of conversion promoted religious reform and intellectual ingenuity. Karoline Cook has provided a thorough study of New World *morisco* Diego Romero, focusing on issues of religious identity, blood purity, and the fragility of social statuses. Israel Burshatin, in "Interrogating Hermaphroditism in Sixteenth-Century Spain," studies the unique historical figure of the intersexed *morisco* Eleno de Céspedes, while Ronald Surtz has explored blasphemy as a transgression of social norms in the Inquisitorial trial of *morisco* Cristóbal Duarte de Ballester. Furthermore, David Coleman and Katie Harris have engaged Granada's transition from a Muslim city to an officially Christian space.

Alberto Montaner, Nuria Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, Luce López-Baralt, and Vincent Barletta have provided useful overviews of the history and genres of *aljamiado*

manuscripts. López-Baralt's influential monograph, *La literatura secreta de los últimos musulmanes de España*, analyzes and contextualizes a variety of *aljamiado* manuscripts, including literary, medical, magical, and erotic texts. In addition, Gerard Wiegers' thorough study of Iça Gébiri's life and work has allowed the American academy to approach this *mudéjar* intellectual's groundbreaking work. Benjamin Liu has examined *mudéjar* works in the *Cantigas de escarnio y maldecir* and mudejarism in Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa María* ("Un pueblo laborioso": *mudejar* Work in the Cantigas").

Examining El Mancebo's work in particular, Harvey's doctoral dissertation constituted a thorough study of El Mancebo's *Breve compendio*, a treatise similar to the *Tafsira*.³⁷ Harvey postulates compelling theories about the young man's biography and literary motives, in addition to briefly discussing the two *morisca* women who form the focus of the present chapter: La Mora de Úbeda and Nozaita de Kalderán. Additionally, historian María Jesús Fuente includes similar sketches of the two women in an important publication on medieval women of the three cultures: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. María Teresa Narváez offers the first critical edition of the *Tafsira*, in addition to several articles on the text, in which she briefly studies Nozaita de Kalderán. Her discovery of passages that El Mancebo likely transcribed directly from *La Celestina* that appear above in the epigraph has been essential for the present study.

Francisco Márquez and Leyla Rouhi have analyzed Islamic influences on the

³⁷ Harvey, Narváez, and Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons are collaborating with Brill on an updated transcription of the *Brevio compendio*. While the Cambridge University Library has digitized the full manuscript in *aljamiado*, Harvey's doctoral dissertation is currently the only known transcription of the text into Latin letters. As the thesis is not in circulation or print, the work is not available for consultation for the study at hand.

Spanish literary *alcahueta*. As for emblematic spaces and architectural structures and their representation in literature of the reconquest, in "The Moor in the Text: Metaphor, Emblem, and Silence," Israel Burshatin examines the Tower of Hercules in the fifteenth-century *Crónica de Saracina*, recounting the important role of the chronicle to the history of the Muslim conquest of Spain, as well as the narration that unfolds in the space.

In addition to scholarship focused on *moriscos*, this chapter is indebted to the work of those who have studied *La Celestina* and other contemporaneous works of Castilian literature. In her important historicist article on prostitution in the text—"La evolución de la prostitución en la Castilla del Siglo XV y la mancebía de Salamanca en tiempos de Fernando de Rojas"—María Eugenia Lacarra studies Celestina's movement outside her home and throughout the city, interpreting several lines and scenes as reflections of late fifteenth-century laws that restricted prostitutes to certain urban areas. Focusing on private space, Michael Gerli analyzes the dialogue that unfolds inside the bawd's house. Moreover, María Cruz García de Enterría's 1987 commentary on historical sites in the *Romancero viejo* and the widespread oral circulation of the ballads has proven fruitful for the examination of the go-betweens' space and movement in *Tafsira*.

Finally, while diverse theories of *La Celestina*'s authorship have proven fruitful, my study of El Mancebo's treatise most closely engages the theories of both José Guillermo García Valdecasas and José Antonio Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo. This strain of criticism has argued that Fernando de Rojas literally "finished" the *Comedia* the way the acrostics clearly state. In other words, the bachelor found a complete sixteen-act *Comedia* and inserted/added certain passages and scenes, including lines from Petrarch. These two scholars argue that others have misinterpreted declarations that Rojas "composed

Celestina." In Álvaro de Montalbán's trial, the accused stated that his son-in-law, Rojas, "compuso Melibea" and that "componer" in sixteenth-century Spanish meant "arreglar." (Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo).⁴⁸ García Valdecasas and Quirós Mateo maintain that Rojas salvaged and tailored a primitive manuscript of the *Comedia*, appending the lovers' deaths and Pleberio's lament in an attempt to assert his intellectual and literary authority.

Another aspect of their hypotheses is Rojas's lack of familiarity with the *comedia humanística* genre, which prompted him to embed passages from philosophical authorities into his own text. Rojas's other alterations, following this theory, include the "Carta del autor a un su amigo," "Prólogo," and acrostics. García Valdecasas and Quirós Mateo propose that these additions converted the text from a *comedia humanística* to the hybrid masterpiece we know as *La Celestina*. Reading *Tafsira* through this theory's lens also elucidates the possible purposes of El Mancebo's writing that I consider in the pages that follow.

While Narvaez's analysis of El Mancebo as a marginalized reader of *La Celestina* has been groundbreaking, there remains much to be said about the numerous ways El Mancebo seems to incorporate themes, language, and space from *La Celestina* into his work. This chapter thus explores the young man's responses to the medieval bestseller as part of a social denunciation that corresponds to *La Lozana andaluza* and *Segunda Celestina*. I will show that El Mancebo, a young Castilian scholar with ties to the New Christian community—a trait that he shares with Rojas, Delicado, and Silva—appropriated certain themes from *La Celestina* to write a social criticism.

Narváez's study of El Mancebo as reader of *La Celestina* serves as a point of departure for further analysis. Expanding on her work, I provide a more profound study of

the *morisco* author's appropriation of the go-between and the fifteenth-century bestseller. In doing so, I will carry out two main case studies: one for each of the two women that fascinated El Mancebo. In Part 3.1, "Nozaita de Kalderán: una Celestina 'arabiada,'" I focus on Nozaita de Kalderán, a *morisca* who appears to share many of Celestina's signature *oficios*. Part 3.2, "La Mora de Úbeda: una Celestina fronteriza," comprises my comparative study of Moorish spaces in El Mancebo's work and those to which several characters allude in *La Celestina*, in addition to those depicted in other contemporaneous Spanish literature, such as medieval ballads and Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada*. That is, the section considers the ways El Mancebo situates the *morisca* go-between in liminal spaces that have symbolic value in Spanish literary tradition.

Contextualizing *Tafsira*'s symbolic space in its architectural and cultural history has allowed for connections between the visual and textual memory of Al-Ándalus that El Mancebo presents in his narrative. Instead of the urban underground of a Spanish or Italian city, Nozaita and El Mancebo inhabit what Harvey has described as the "*morisco* underground" (*Muslims in Spain* 178). El Mancebo appropriates and transculturates the figure of the go-between to his cultural milieu and unique literary genre. While *Tafsira* purports to be a travel account, the young man's reading of *La Celestina* and knowledge of other contemporaneous literary traditions may have influenced his representation of his interlocutors as the original bawd's *morisca* daughters.

This chapter departs from the aforementioned studies on *aljamiado* writing, *La Celestina*, and other late medieval and early modern literature to analyze *Tafsira* as a work that performs both textual contamination and social denunciation. In situating Nozaita de Kalderán and La Mora de Úbeda within the context of literature influenced by

the fifteenth-century masterpiece, I explore how El Mancebo challenges the dominant social order and recreates the go-between figure in a text targeted at a *morisco* readership. As we shall see, El Mancebo's representation of Nozaita de Kalderán and La Mora de Úbeda contributes to the textual denunciation that his treatise performs.

3.1 Nozaita de Kalderán: una Celestina ‘arabiada’

On his way to San Clemente, Cuenca, El Mancebo meets Nozaita de Kalderán, a Crypto-Muslim healer, midwife, and Islamic theologian. His encounter with this figure represents the first example of unorthodox female agency in *Tafsira*. Echoing the *comedia dialogada* in its conversational format, the chapter entitled "Parátika entere el Mansebo i Nozzayta Kalderán" comprises a significant moment in the treatise. The account of the meeting occupies nearly the entire chapter and focuses on Nozaita's knowledge of the Quran and the nine days the author spends with her: "Hallé a Nuzzayta de Kalderán, de lo cual me holgué mucho porque estuvimos allí nueve días y un día nos salimos a la Huerta del Almirante y le moví una plática que pensé en usarla porque le dije abiertamente que no llevaba vía de salvación" (276, f. 244r). The following analysis focuses on this *plática* between author and interlocutor. The section opens with a comparison of shared attributes between Nozaita, Celestina, and Lozana, which narrows to a focus on the *morisca's* unorthodox erudition. As we shall see, El Mancebo's representation of this figure contributes to the overall textual contamination that his treatise achieves.

Nozaita shares several characteristics with Celestina. This elderly Muslim woman's array of trades as midwife, astrologer, and healer are a cover for her clandestine

identity as Koranic scholar. Such an occultation of a forbidden skill—or knowledge—recalls Celestina's weaving profession, which, as I highlighted in my study of *La Lozana*, masks her role as go-between and enchantress. As Pármene tells Calisto:

Era el primer oficio [labrandería] cobertura de los otros, so color del cual muchas mozas de estas sirvientes entraban en su casa a labrarase y a labrar camisas y gorgueras y otras muchas cosas" perfumera, maestra de hacer afeites y de hacer virgos, alcahueta y un poquito hechicera". (82, *auto* I)³⁸

In addition, Nozaita's infamy rivals that of Celestina, since the *morisca* recounts to El Mancebo that "Yyo me e achenado de mi nattuwal adonde soy odi-/ada de los míyyos i paso...Allah me ayyuwde por tiyyerras estrañas...I por kasos soy kondolida I por ka-/sos soy akorde i konfiyyo en Allah/ke seré debasso de suw ti-ribuwnisiyya" (El Mancebo 276). Celestina is both famous and infamous, both revered for her success as a prostitute and *alcahueta* and feared for her black magic. Lucrecia voices the general sense of dread that Celestina's reputation causes when attempting to circumlocute the bawd's name before reluctantly muttering, "Celestina, hablando con su reverncia, es su nombre" (117, *auto* 4).

Furthermore, Nozaita is not only heterodox in her teaching of the Quran, but in her practices which are reminiscent of both the original Celestina and Silva's copy of the character. We have seen how Celestina's and Lozana's scars suggest a deviant past. This obscure, unorthodox background echoes metaphorically in Nozaita's secretive present as a crypto-Muslim. In addition, while there is no account of necromancy in the chapter on

³⁸ Throughout this chapter, as in the rest of this dissertation, citations from *La Celestina* (the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*) hail from Ed. Dorothy Severin. 3rd ed. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2013.

this *morisca*, El Mancebo describes her as a "maga" and an exorcist, calling her *antesihra*, from *sihr*, the Arabic word for magic (276; Narvaez 62). Such a description suggests that she practices as a sorceress, *adivina*, and astrologer (Narváez 62). Recalling Pármeno's disapproving descriptions of Celestina in *auto* I, El Mancebo's comments indicate his possible condemnation of Nozaita's supernatural practices, as does his suggestion that such unorthodox acts would affect her salvation: "le dije abiertamente que no llevaba vía de salvación."³⁹ Y ella me atacó con palabras evidentes y me dijo: Hijo, ya me has almusido dos veces, a la tercera no seremos amigos" (276, fol. 244r; Narváez 64).

Yet Nozaita's connections to Celestina and Lozana run deeper than these common characteristics, important as those similarities are in setting up her persona as a figure similar to the literary go-between. El Mancebo reports that Nozaita had resided outside Spain for sixty years before eventually returning: a characteristic that links her to Lozana and the exiled go-between figure. Her name further suggests her nature as a wandering *morisca*, as Nozaita may be a Castilianized, nominalized version of the Andalusí Arabic lexical paradigm NZH, "to emigrate", for which Federico Corriente lists the following entry: "yanzah nazah nazh nazih + in/...nawazih to emigrate" (*A Dictionary of Andalusí Arabic* 525). Harvey has observed that the name Nuzay, while it seems strange at first, appeared in *morisco* communities. Nozaita's name thus conveys the notion of emigration: a characteristic that dually links her to the go-between's unfixed status, as well as the marginalized identity of Spain's New Christian population.

³⁹ In *La Celestina* there are many other instances of other characters disapproving of the go-between's role as enchantress. Lucrecia, for example, also reproaches Celestina's sorcery in a scene that I will analyze below.

In *La Lozana* and *Segunda Celestina*, an out-of-character erudition and an unorthodox authoritative knowledge are key components of these go-betweens' character sketches and functions in their respective texts. The authors question social norms through the ironic wisdom that their protagonists exhibit upon addressing male interlocutors. Aside from her infamy for her magic, the *morisco* population also widely acclaims Nozaita's extensive religious knowledge. We have seen how Celestina ironically quotes classical and philosophical authorities of which a prostitute realistically would not have had knowledge. The satire of scholasticism is fundamental to the text's role as an advocate for humanism. In other words, Celestina's humorously erudite knowledge promotes one epistemology over another.

Much the same as Celestina, Nozaita appears as an atypical source of knowledge. El Mancebo is taken with this woman whom he describes as "muy arabiada," which likely refers to her knowledge of Islamic theology and her eloquent classical Arabic (276). In addition to her previously mentioned infamy for her magic, she is famous in the Muslim community for her knowledge. Like her predecessors, Nozaita is presented as an authority. In *Brevio compendio*, El Mancebo records that in Segovia, in the presence of many people, Nozaita made a notable pronouncement on ritual purification (*alwudduwe*) writing, "Her power of scholarly expression left us all silent (fol. 25r; Harvey, *Muslims in Spain* 188)." ⁴⁰

Nozaita also references authorities, like Celestina. In her conversation with El Mancebo, she quotes She goes on to cite a scholar by the name of Ka'bu Alhabar on

⁴⁰ See note 36. Because no transcription of *Breve compendio* is available for scholarly consultation, I quote Harvey's English translation.

"este lenwwache de nuwestro nrrado Al qura'n" (El Mancebo 278, fol. 247v-248r).

Nozaita also cites La Mora de Úbeda, who will be studied in the next section, in addition to an obscure religious authority called Almurabey: "dijo Almurabey: a me enpalagado y engorosado de tal manera nuwestoro onrrado Alquran ke estoy sordo de los oídos . . . Esta es la suwbisiyyón del segundo lenwwache del-onrrado Alqur'an" (276, fol. 245r-245v). Her monologue on the languages of Islam continues throughout the next twelve folios, in which she cites Islamic authorities and then interprets these quotes. Due to a lack of historical evidence, it is impossible to know whether Nozaita truly quotes these alleged authorities, or if El Mancebo has taken authorial liberty in crafting her use of them. According to Harvey, Almurabey never existed, and either Nozaita or El Mancebo is deceiving their audience (*Muslims in Spain* 178). Narváez reiterates the importance of exploring this invented knowledge, however fictitious (Narváez, "Nozaita Kalderán" 511). Almurabey may be a pure product of El Mancebo's imagination, as the alleged scholar does not appear mentioned in any other source. Harvey explains that El Mancebo's literary invention of an Islamic source of knowledge stems from a collective effort to fill the spiritual void left by forced conversion (Harvey, *Muslims in Spain* 178-179). Nozaita's and El Mancebo's alleged deception of their audience thus responds to what *moriscos* referred to as *taqiyya*: the systematic deceit that was forced on Muslims by the State, and which required them to feign Christian devoutness (Harvey, *Muslims in Spain* 178).

Both Harvey's theory and Narváez's stance on the invention of Islamic sources in *Tafsira* are fruitful for studying Nozaita through the lens of the literary go-between. El Mancebo's recorded—or invented—case of an elderly *morisca* who quotes fictitious

authorities offers an intriguing twist, in a *morisco* context, to the paradigm of the ironically erudite *alcahueta*. If the scholars she quotes never existed, then two possible readings arise. First, Nozaita may be an expert in the art of deception, as are both the first and second Celestinas, as well as Lozana. We have seen that deception is one of go-between's defining arts. Among her many other deceptive practices, Celestina is an expert at applying cosmetics, which conceals true appearances (Gerli, *Celestina and the Ends of Desire* 48). We have also seen Celestina's perfidious use of her skein of thread as well as the revived go-between's fraudulent death and resurrection. Considering these farses, we must recognize that, while El Mancebo cannot control what Nozaita reports in the writing, he can indeed choose what to emphasize in his treatise. In other words, the author opts to include this dialogue as a significant part of his text, dedicating an entire chapter to it. As we can see clearly in his transcription of the Petrarchan passage, he seems to have been familiar with *La Celestina*, which suggests a possible interest in the go-between as a popular Iberian character type. Nozaita is a metaphorical "weaver" of intricate fictional tales. This ability to "spin" a narrative echoes both Celestina's work as a *labrandería*, as well as her skills in persuasion and deception. The *morisca*'s possible talent at fabricating stories also reminds the reader of the importance of Celestina's skein in bringing out an illicit union, as well as Lozana's knot of Solomon, through which the protagonist alters the narrative of the go-between's fate. El Mancebo's description of his encounter with Nozaita offers evidence that she entraps her listeners with her *parátika* (*plática*):

Y en el mesón donde posábamos hallé a Nuzzayta Kalderán, de lo kuwal me holgé mmucho porkestuvbimos allí nuwebe díyyas, i un díya . . . le mmobí una parátika . . . Y ella me atankó kon palabras ebidentes i me diyso . . . i por otra parte e subenido a

fechos de alto peres ke balen más kel tesoro de la Indiyya. Mas, si no los abes, aún lo sabrás si bas por tiyerras achenas porke al tal las doblas se le tornan rreales i los rreales maravedíes. Y en este knsorsiyyo mobí parátika de los lenwwaches de nuwestoro onhrrado Alquran para pasiwwalla . . . (276, fol. 244r-244v)

Nozaita goes on to relay to El Mancebo the anecdote of her consortium on the languages of the Quran with Islamic alfaqui's. The passage quoted above, in addition to the chapter as a whole, is rich with evidence that Nozaita entraps her listeners, both El Mancebo, on one level, and, on another, those who comprise the consortia, or audiences, in faroff lands (*tiyerras achenas*). First, her spinning of tales is so captivating that, as El Mancebo tells his readers, he prolongs his stay in San Clemente for nine days. Second, the reader may also deduce evidence of her entrapment of her listeners in the sheer length of her anecdote, which spans fourteen folios. Third, the literary style and the didactic, anecdotal tone of her monologue recall both Celestina's tales of resurrection and Lozana's medical commentary on the *mal de francés* and her parodically erudite retort to her interlocutor on Aristotelian philosophy. Indeed, Nozaita's monologue is complete with historical references, such as twelfth-century Islamic philosopher Muhammed Algazel and the *infantes de Kórdoba*, which lend a decidedly exemplary tone to her account. Her entrapment of her listeners thus recalls the knots and threads that seem to be perpetually bound to the Iberian go-between's character type: we have already seen such examples of this in Trotaconvento's role as *xaquima*, Celestina's artful craftiness, Lozana's rewoven narrative, and the second Celestina's false resurrection. It is far from my intention here to equate Nozaita's Quranic commentary with the sarcasm or blasphemous webs that her counterparts weave. Nevertheless, El Mancebo clearly depicts her with a similar type of character de "habladera . . . y . . . gracia en cuanto hablaba, de modo que embaía a los que

la oían" as Celestina and Lozana (Delicado 25; *mamotreto* V). Indeed, the morisco author emphasizes Nozaita's *parátika* similar to the way Delicado highlights Lozana's *plática*: "Y como era plática y de gran conversación. . . siempre . . . en compañía de personas gentiles" (Delicado 25; *mamotreto* V).

The second possible interpretation of Almurabey is that, instead of considering Nozaita as a deceptive figure, we may focus on El Mancebo as a misleading author. If we consider the theory that the elusive, fictitious scholar Almurabey is not a product of Nozaita's imagination but, rather, the author's, we can see that the paradigm of the deceptive, ironically erudite go-between achieves an additional interpretive layer. Indeed, he offers potential *morisco* readers an entertaining account of a familiar figure—an elderly, Celestina-like character—combined with desired information on forbidden Muslim knowledge, however false this may prove to twenty-first century scholars (*Muslims in Spain* 173). Consequently, while Harvey highlights that El Mancebo's misleading account does not reflect well on him as a narrator, I argue that this deception contributes to the social denunciation that his treatise performs. Like the authors of *La Celestina*, *La Lozana andaluza*, and *Segunda Celestina*, El Mancebo chooses the figure of the deceptive go-between through which to voice a challenge to social norms.

A further shared similarity among Nozaita, Celestina, and Lozana is the marginal space they all occupy. As a crypto-Muslim scholar, Nozaita's possession and teaching of Islam is as forbidden as the ownership of books in Arabic and *aljamiado*.⁴¹ Furthermore, Nozaita pushes the limits of Koranic study in *aljamiado* writing. Whereas other *aljamiado*

⁴¹ In 1604, Isabel Zelim, an elderly Valencian *morisca*, appeared in an *auto de fe* and faced fines and imprisonment for owning a book in Arabic script (Barletta 72).

texts discuss surahs—or “chapters” in the Quran—Nozaita's character extends beyond what was common in *aljamiado* texts, in that she offers a complex commentary on Quranic exegesis (Narváez, "Nozaita Kalderán" 503, 511). In particular, she educates El Mancebo on the three languages and three *departensiyyas* of the Quran: "Nuwestoro onrrado Alquran tiyene teres lenwassess. Uno literal . . . El segundo . . . es dokkuwemental . . . El tersero . . . es tarasendiyente " (276-277; 244r-245v). Nozaita is thus a mediator between the Quran and its crypto-believers.

Reading Nozaita's chapter in comparison with fictional texts such as *La Celestina*, *Lozana andaluza* and *Segunda Celestina* allows the reader to see the go-between figure emerges in *morisco* literature of exile and social change as she does in Old Christian and *converso* literature. Rather than bring about forbidden erotic unions, this *morisca* go-between facilitates spiritual and intellectual unions that were illicit in the eyes of Spanish ruling authorities: those of Muslim believers and their religion. Unlike Celestina, she does not "corrupt" youths such as Pármeno, Calisto, and Melibea. Instead, the so-called corruption that she performs is teaching El Mancebo about the Islam he so covets, which may recall the way Calisto longs for Melibea in *La Celestina* and Felides pines for Polandria in *Segunda Celestina*. However, while in other texts the lovers summon the go-between to cure their *mal de amores* or ailing members, the Muslims of the *morsico* underground call upon Nozaita to facilitate spiritual health and accord. The longing for Melibea and Felides is personal, individual, whereas El Mancebo's longing is collective.

3.2 Una Celestina fronteriza: La Mora de Úbeda at the Threshold of Christian Spain

El Mancebo's recorded sojourn ends with a visit to Granada and the story of an

encounter there with an elderly *morsica* woman to whom he refers simply as La Mora de Úbeda. She "era mmuy biyecha... Ya korriyyan soberlla nobenta i teres años . . . Teniyya suw dispensa mmuy segurada, no teniyya erederos ke todos akabaron kuwando la konkista de Granada" (399, 440r). Clearly a significant part of the text, the story of this elderly Nasrid woman occupies an extensive ten folios that constitute two chapters. On the surface, the *morisca* resembles Celestina in the sense that both are elderly, childless women. As the following section will show, La Mora, like Nozaita, shares additional, more profound connections to the go-between figure. Celestina, Lozana, Silva's second Celestina, and Nozaita de Kalderán. The section opens with a brief history of the Puerta de Elvira in Granada followed by an analysis of space. Then an overview of the location of La Mora's domicile narrows to a focus on the literary history of a particularly symbolic space in the former Nasrid kingdom, which connects to *La Celestina*.

El Mancebo's interview with La Mora de Úbeda takes place at her home by the Puerta de Elvira, a Moorish gate in what remains of a primitive wall surrounding the original city of Granada. The Puerta is located at the entrance to the Albaicín, an area that the Nasrids added to the outskirts of the city in the fourteenth century. Her home on the edge of the old *madinat* Ilbirra—once an emirs' residence and a protective barrier that allowed access to the city and closed it off to invaders—symbolizes the *moriscos*' position on the frontiers of society: between Christianity and Islam (Torres Balbás 284). Location number 48 in Ambrosio Vico's sixteenth-century plan of Granada, depicted below in figure 14, illustrates the Puerta's liminal position on the border of the Albaicín. This type of door in medieval Hispano-Muslim cities typically closed at night, securely enclosing its inhabitants (Torres Balbás 284).

Fabrizio Castello's sixteenth-century fresco of the 1431 Battle of Híguera in the Escorial captures this use of the Puerta as a stronghold to protect Granadan subjects against Christian invaders (figure 15). The image highlights the space's survival in Spanish early modern memory as testament to Granada's Nasrid past and vulnerability in the face of Castilian forces during the final decades of the *Reconquista*. Francisco Heylan's woodcut with its images of *moriscos* passing through the Puerta and positioned directly inside its archway in the Albaicín further emphasizes the space's emblematic quality as a site of Islamic heritage even into the early seventeenth century.⁴²



Fig. 14. La Puerta de Elvira in *Plataforma de Granada*, Ambrosio Vico, 1588

⁴² The figures may be identified as *moriscos* based on their clothing, which resembles that of *moriscos* in Pere Oromig's famous 1616 painting "Embarkation of Moriscos in Valencia," as well as in Christoph Weiditz's 1529 drawing of "Moriscos in Granada."



Fig. 15. "La batalla de la higuieruela," Fabrizio Castello, 1587

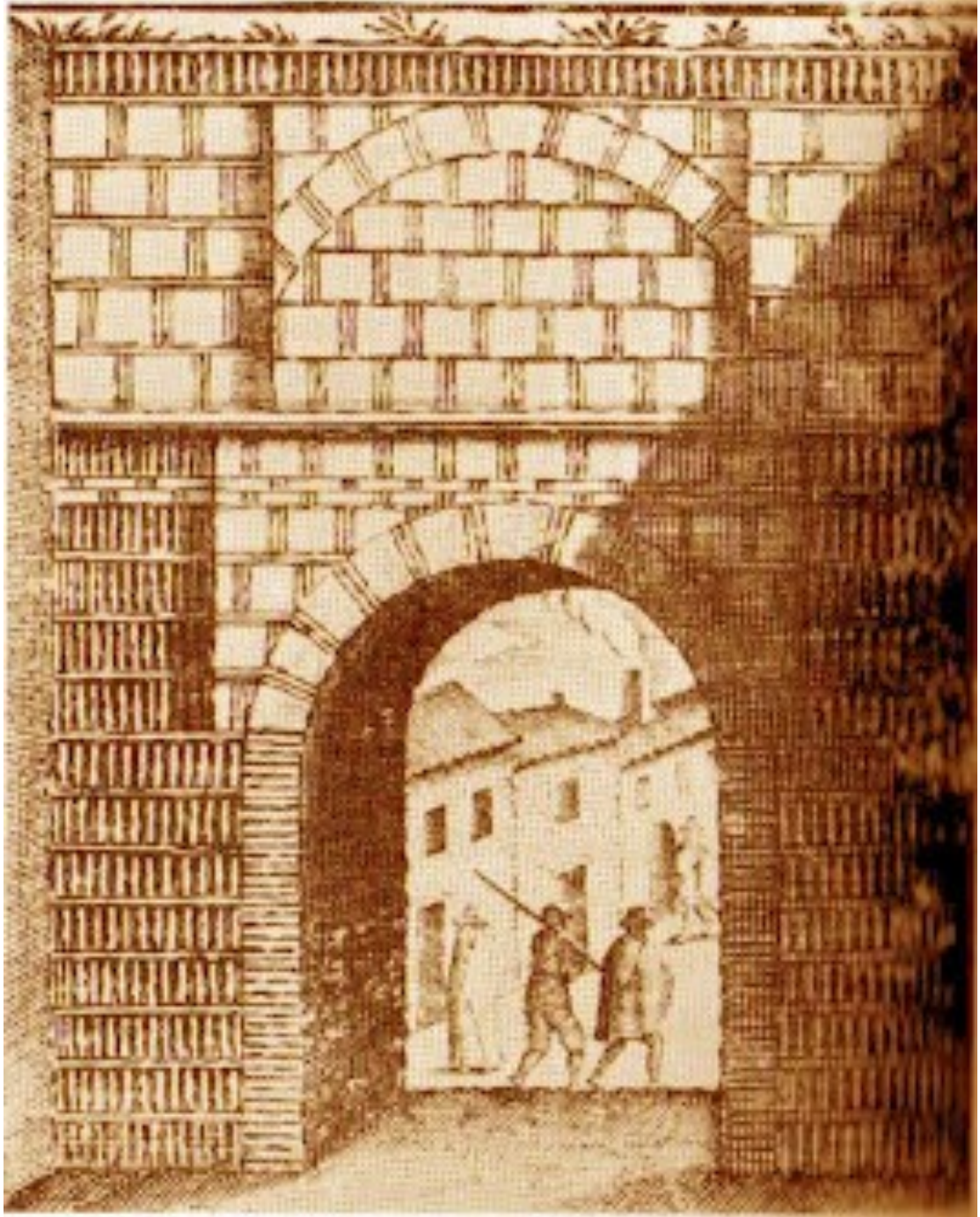


Fig. 16. "Los moriscos de Granada," in *Relación breve de las reliquias que se hallaron en la ciudad de Granada*, Francisco Heylan, 1612

In its transformation from an essential blockade and portal as part of a functioning fortress to conquered space, the Puerta appears to have changed from a protective structure to a constant, looming reminder of Hispano-Muslim vulnerability. While it is true that Granada had been sieged by Muslim invaders long before the ultimate Christian conquest, the new type of vulnerability that resulted from forced conversion left its mark on the *morisco* population. The structure's location in the Albaicín neighborhood is particularly symbolic, because it is the space where in 1499 the Granadan *mudéjares* rebelled against Cardinal Cisneros's extreme efforts to promote conversion from Islam to Christianity. Reacting to this uprising, the Catholic Monarchs reneged on their promise to tolerate Islam in Granada (Harvey, *Muslims in Spain* 329). Consequently, they decreed in 1501 that all Granadan Muslims should officially convert to Christianity or abandon Castile (Harvey, *Muslims in Spain* 329). The Puerta remerged as witness to the Christianization of the city and the royal maltreatment of moriscos that escalated over time. Between 1511 and 1553, the Royal Hospital, a Mercederian monastery, and the Church of St. Ildefonso replaced a major Granadan cemetery directly beyond the Puerta (Harris 11). In 1569, as a reaction to the Alpujarras rebellion, Juan de Austria ordered the humiliating arrest and expulsion of innocent native Granadans from the city. Indeed, after having been rounded up and imprisoned in the city's parishes, all *morisco* men and boys of age suitable for joining rebel forces were marched with bound hands through the Puerta outside the city where they were confined in the Royal Hospital (Coleman 184).

Because of its crucial location, the Puerta de Elvira remained an area caught between places and times and occupied an important place in both the *morisco* memory and

mainstream Spanish literature of the time. Barbara Fuchs argues that, as a result of their status as a monument to maurophilia and the complicated negotiation of the memory of its Moorish history, Granada and its landscape became tragically romanticized in sixteenth-century literature (*Exotic Nation* 46). Fuchs explains how the kingdom's Muslim history is inscribed in spaces such as Suspiro del Moro and Peña de los Enamorados, and how the Alhambra stands for both centuries of Andalusí cultural achievement and Christian triumph (*Exotic Nation* 46-49). The Puerta de Elvira lends itself to a similar reading. Indeed, the space left its legacy in late medieval and early modern Spanish literature, where the structure symbolizes the fall of Granada and the defeat of Islam in the Peninsula. One of the most emblematic places in Granada, the Puerta appears in romances recounting the Catholic Monarchs' triumph over the kingdom. The following two examples of anonymous ballads convey a sense of loss similar to El Mancebo's nostalgic tone in his treatise. One of the most ballads recounts the fall of the kingdom: "Pasaba el rey moro por la Puerta de Elvira, cartas le fueron llegando que Granada fue ganada" and Paseábase el rey moro/por la ciudad de Granada,/desde la puerta de Elvira/hasta la de Vivarrambla/--¡Ay de mi Alhama!/Cartas le fueron venidas/que Alhama era ganada (García de Enterría 89;vv. 1-5). "¡Ay de mi Alhama!" has an elegiac effect on the listener (García de Enterría 89). Indeed, in this ballad, an Islamic community leader—an *alfaquí*—monumentalizes the Puerta as personifies the Alhambra and laments the fall of Granada, accusing the king of opening Granada's doors to the *tornadizos* of Córdoba.

Similar tones of loss and nostalgia reappear in popular literature following the conquest and throughout the mid-sixteenth century. In the second half of the century

Pérez de Hita writes, in his Moorish novel called *Guerras civiles de Granada* (1595):

"Este romance se hizo en árabeto en aquella ocasión de la pérdida de Alhama, el cual era en aquella lengua muy doloroso y triste, tanto, que vino a vedarse en Granada que no se cantase, porque cada vez que lo cantaban en cualquier parte, provocaba a llanto y dolor" (254). The Puerta Elvira was the opening to an important part of the city and the entranceway for the news of Granada's fate. In his description of the siege of Granada and the Santa Fe capitulations, Pérez de Hita included the following verses in his novel: "Mensajeros le han entrado/al rey Chico de Granada;/entran por la puerta Elvira/y paran en el Alhambra . . . Nuevas te traigo, señor,/y una mala embajada,/por ese fresco Genil/mucha gente viene armada" (Pérez de Hita 275, vv.1-4, 13-16).⁴³ These verses illustrate the Puerta's symbolism as entryway to the Alhambra. And, because news of Granada's fall travels through the Puerta, the verses juxtapose the door with the conquest of the Nasrid seat of power. Consequently, the space was poetically linked to the fall of Muslim Spain.

The ballads were extremely popular and were not limited to any one social group or class (García de Enterría 30). On the contrary, their oral, popular nature suggests that they reached the ears of the masses. Furthermore, the poems were disseminated orally and, beginning in the early sixteenth century, were printed and distributed widely (García de Enterría 30). Given the popularity of these ballads', it is highly plausible that El Mancebo had knowledge of them, as did perhaps most Spaniards in the late fifteenth and early to mid-sixteenth centuries. Pérez de Hita's *novela morisca*, which he likely wrote between

⁴³ The people to which the speaker, Mahomed Zegrí, refers are Isabel's Castilian troops.

1595 and 1619, contains a variety of these poems.

From the beginning of the sixteenth-century, ballads on *pliegos sueltos* "estaban al alcance de todos los bolsillos, y así lo explica no sólo la abundancia de pliegos y su masiva difusión, sino la clase de composiciones que en ellos se imprimía: la que respondía al gusto más generalizado" (García de Enterría 30). The presence of the Puerta de Elvira in this genre suggests that the space continued to conjure tones of loss. El Mancebo captures this sense of sorrow, working it into a text where loss and liminality are at the core.

Examined more closely in conjunction with *La Lozana* and *Segunda Celestina*, the spatial and cultural marginalization of the old *morisca's* home and her interview with El Mancebo are additionally relevant. The description of La Mora's house beside a doorway on the periphery of primitive Muslim Granada may recall Celestina's house on the edge of the river. Furthermore, the fear in which La Mora lives—"ni salíya de suw kasa por ninguna biyya i komo el tiyenpo iba tan de kaída sobre los mmusliymes, esta mmora se retarasso a la ssonbara de suw meskindad llorando la kaída de los mmusliymes" (298, fol. 278)—could echo Celestina's apprehension to venture beyond certain areas of the city. Both La Mora's house on the edge of the city and her *meskindad* recall Celestina's reasonable reluctance to leave her own sanctioned space:

CELESTINA. Agora que voy sola, quiero mirar bien lo que Sempronio ha temido de este mi camino . . . Que, aunque yo he disimulado con él, podría ser que, si me sintiesen en estos pasos de parte de Melibea, que no me pagase con pena, que menor fuese que la vida, o muy amenguada quedase, cuando matar no me quisiesen, manteándome o azotándome cruelmente . . . ¿Qué haré, cuitada, mezquina de mí, que ni el salir afuera

es provechoso ni la perseverancia carece de peligro? ¿Pues iré o tornarme he? . . .

LUCRECIA. Celestina . . . Cuál Dios te trajo por estos barrios no acostumbrados? . . . ¿A eso sólo saliste de tu casa? Maravíllome de ti, que no es ésa tu costumbre ni sueles dar paso sin provecho.

ALISA. ¿Con quién hablas, Lucrecia?

LUCRECIA. Señora, con aquella vieja de la cuchillada, que solía vivir aquí en las tenerías, a la cuesta del río. (114-116; *auto* 4)

María Eugenia Lacarra's two studies on prostitution that manifests in *La Celestina* reveal the probable historic realities behind Celestina's and Lucrecia's comments and the description of the bawd's house on the edge of the river. According to Lacarra, the dialogue reproduced above reflects fifteenth-century changes in statutes that limited prostitutes to certain areas of urban spaces. Readers will recall that *auto* 9 tells of Celestina's once flourishing business and brothel of nine prostitutes (Lacarra, "La evolución" 46). Rojas does not inform readers of the reason for her move from the urban center to the slums on its outskirts. Nevertheless, Lacarra deduces that this relocation must have been due to a series of royal edicts and municipal laws that were passed between 1476 and 1500. Measure to control and tax prostitution were passed as part of the efforts of the Crown and the municipal courts to resolve their economic problems (Lacarra, "La evolución" 43-46 and "Prostitución" 272).⁴⁴ As authorities were concerned with the danger to public health

⁴⁴ These laws first confined and then later expelled prostitutes from *mancebías* and strictly outlawed procuring. In the late fifteenth century Fernando de Aragón outlawed clandestine prostitution and expelled prostitutes to public *mancebías* on the outskirts of Castilian cities so that the women could be controlled, exploited, and taxed (Lacarra, "La evolución" 40). The ensuing lack of legal protection of prostitutes extended to other residents and spaces. For examples, innkeepers were no longer permitted to host

and morality that prostitutes' free movement posed, this plan would separate "mugeres del mundo" from so-called honorable people and protect women from *alcahuetas*, who were threatened with facing the death penalty if caught (Lacarra, "Prostitución" 271-272).⁴⁵

A 1498 document from Salamanca describes the *mancebía* as the "arrabal allende el puente" and near the tanneries, a once flourishing spot for commerce of all types (Lacarra, "La evolución" 42).⁴⁶ Nevertheless, many prostitutes continued to practice their trade illegally as *encubiertas* outside the *mancebía*, within their own homes or outside of them, in other areas. For this reason, houses were constructed for all prostitutes, who were to live and practice their trade in a single area of town that would be the sole designated *mancebía*. Otherwise, they would have to "arrepentirse y dejar la mala vida" (Lacarra, "La evolución" 44). In *Segunda Celestina*, Centurio cautions Celestina to beware of listening neighbors during their conversation in the doorway. Similarly, prostitutes and *alcahuetas* had to proceed with utmost discretion, and be especially wary of neighbors, who were often summoned to testify to the woman's arrivals and departures to and from her home, in addition to the people who visited her

prostitutes (Lacarra, "La evolución" 43).

⁴⁵ In 1476 the Cortes de Madrigal mandated that throughout the kingdom prostitutes should pay 12-24 maravedíes annually, depending on whether they practiced publically or privately (Lacarra, "Prostitución" 271). These new rules were strictly enforced, and even bred corruption, because, in 1480, the Monarchs mandated that fines that prostitutes had to pay for breaking the rules were to be distributed among the king's chambers, the accusing party and the judge who presided over the case (Lacarra, "La evolución" 44).

⁴⁶ Travelers rarely avoided stopping in these areas. Their prime location prompted the Concejo de Segovia to seek and obtain control over commerce in the area, including prostitution (Lacarra, "La evolución" 42).

there (Lacarra, "La evolución" 46). The reader may hear this fear in Areúsa's concern about taking Pármeno into Areúsa's house: "¿cómo quieres que haga tal cosa, que tengo que a quien dar cuenta, como has oído, y si soy sentida, matarme ha? Tengo vecinas envidiosas. Luego lo dirán. Así que, aunque no haya más mal de perderle, será más que ganaré en agradar al que me mandas" (*auto* VII; Lacarra, "Prostitución" 275). Areúsa, an *encubierta*—a term used to indicate a clandestine, rather than public, prostitute—risks incarceration if caught practicing her trade outside the designated public *mancebía*, as could Celestina for her procuring (Lacarra, "Prostitución" 275). Lacarra attributes the old bawd's fear, as well as the physical deterioration of her house, to these hard times that had befallen *alcahuetas* and prostitutes.

The text does not explicitly describe the exact reason for Celestina's poverty. But her impoverishment could have been due to the high taxes that prostitutes were required to pay, in addition to the heavy surveillance and severe penalties for procuring or practicing prostitution clandestinely. Another reason for Celestina's move away from the *mancebía* may have been simply the conversions of her apprentices from prostitutes to "decent" women (Lacarra, "Prostitución" 275).

In "Precincts of Conention: Urban Places and the Ideology of Space in *Celestina*" Michael Gerli analyzes the bawd's domicile from the inside. The banquet scene in *auto* IX depicts the space as one occupied by members of the lower class who have been pushed to the outskirts of town, as victims living the effects of the control of the inhabitants of one locale by those of another (Gerli, "Precints of Contention" 68). All readers will recall Areusa's acerbic criticism of Melibea and the upper class in the scene: "Las riquezas las hacen a éstas hermosas y ser alabadas; que no las gracias de su cuerpo" (187). The banquet in *auto* IX comprises "a scene of

coveted opulence for those who do not normally enjoy it" (Gerli 61). Because we hear the voices of the underprivileged in the *auto*, Gerli describes Celestina's house as an expression of social stratification and segregation, noting that printers understood Celestina's house as an important place of sanctuary for marginalized people.⁴⁷ Woodcutters depicted the space in their prints, as figure 17 illustrates below. It would follow, then, that as a reader of *La Celestina*, El Mancebo could have read and seen the space represented this way in the images that accompanied early printed editions of the text.



Fig. 17. Woodcut from *auto* IX of *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*, ed. Fadrique de Basilea, 1499

⁴⁷ See (Gerli, "Precincts of Contention" 71-72).

Lacarra's and Gerli's observations prove even more fruitful when one compares *La Celestina* to La Mora's story. In *Tafsira*, El Mancebo's dialogue with La Mora unfolds in a symbolic space: Although the treatise purports to be a true account, perhaps the author's reading of *La Celestina* influenced his literary recreation of that space. While Celestina's house on the outskirts of the city, La Mora's is situated in the peripheral area of the Albaicín. Furthermore, El Mancebo reports that La Mora lives in economic, cultural, and physical dilapidation:

I me diyssso: Pele-ge a suw inmensa bondad, hicho, ke no dduwela este hecho tan largo komo a míy se me rreperere-senta porke la edad posterera es de mayyor rrenkanbiyyamiyento para hechos buewnos, I para hechos tarasgeressariyyos; ke en todos peresseden a lo pasado" (El Mancebo de Arévalo 400).

Her age and haggard condition in relation to the marginalization in which *moriscos* lived echoes Celestina's advanced age and worn condition in relation to both her poverty and that of late fifteenth-century Castilian prostitutes. Furthermore, just as prostitutes were considered a threat to public health and morality, *moriscos* were considered a threat to orthodoxy. As I highlighted in my study of syphilis in *La Lozana andaluza*, New Christians were accused of infecting devout Old Christians with heresy or other types of perceived impurity.⁴⁸ In the case of *La Celestina*, there is a clear parallel between the prostitutes who were given the option to practice their trade in limited areas or virtually

⁴⁸ As I pointed out in my study of *La Lozana andaluza* in chapter one of this dissertation, Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón railed against the *morisco* population in a 1532 sermon, describing them as, “gente sin fe, sin ley, sobervia, barbara, luxuriosa, bestial, robadora . . . sin arte ni orden de vida honesta” (Amelang 52).

convert to a more orthodox lifestyle. We saw another? literary example of this in Lozana's choice to leave behind her devious lifestyle. La Mora's case presents a parallel conversion from Islam to Christianity.

La Mora's house is a different kind of underworld than Celestina's, although the space promotes a similar type of transgression. In Celestina's house a criticism of the upper class occurs, while in La Mora's, the interlocutors call into question the social conditions that have contributed to the "tiyenpo . . . tan de kaída sobre los mmusliymes" (El Mancebo de Arévalo 400, fol. 442r). El Mancebo further links La Mora to the fall of Al-Ándalus by citing her as an Islamic authority:

Era Granada imentada en todo el mmundo; no abíyya en Maka más alto torofeo kera el de los rreyes de-Andaluwsíyya. No abíya en tiyyerra de rreyes ni suldadnes mas suwbilimes alkassares ni más deleytosos bercheles ni más anchas begas kon roobeles de diberersos furuwtos . . . Ya al kabo de toda suw tarankilidad, biyenen por sus pekados a dar en manos de sus enemgios tan desakordadamente ke si bido mmuy kalaro ser kastigo seleste i por eso diysso la moratika de Wúbeda: Pelege a suw dibina bondad, hiycho ke kon esto hagamos la paga. (El Mancebo de Arévalo 311)

La Mora's home is thus a place where a lost dynasty may be remembered and a forbidden religion may be discussed. If, in Celestina's house, the banquet is a scene of coveted opulence for those who do not normally enjoy it, the conversation in La Mora's house is a scene of coveted religious freedom spoken by those who cannot practice it. El Mancebo thus recreates the powerlessness that Michael Gerli argues leads to transgression, which we find in *La Celestina* (Gerli, "Precints of Contention" 7). Celestina arranges for Calisto's illicit transgression into Melibea's home, in spite of the walls meant to protect Pleberio's daughter. Similarly, El Mancebo's entrance to her

home: a forbidden space for the exchanges that will take place on the secrets of Islam:

Dezziyya la popuwlanssa de akella tiyyerra ke teniya esta mora kerédito en las kosas de nuwestara ley il-sunna más ke todos los de suw tiyenpo...Era mmuy konosida de todas las naziyyones porke menseñó kartas de todos los kuwatoro kabildos de nuwestara ley a menos de otras de garandes mmusties y nahues. Para buwestara pasibilidad demandaisme, señor, ke os diga kkuwantas rriyyones i millares de almalakes desendiyyeron kon la deballazziyyón de nuwestoro onrrado Alqur'an . . . s'm a todo me perefiyyero más no a esta posterera demanda porke se podriyya atankar mi poemanssa i depuwés no faltariyya kiyen me kaluwniyyase. (El Mancebo de Arévalo 399-401).

In the first part of the passage, La Mora shares letters from great Islamic leaders from four primary Spanish municipalities with El Mancebo. She thus makes him privy to information on Islam that, as I have previously pointed out, was strongly desired by many *moriscos*. The second part of the above quote is a transcription of La Mora's letter to the Great Moor of Granada on several religious topics, including a discussion on the presence of angels during the *salat* (the required daily Muslim prayers) and *halal* (sanctioned) and *haram* (forbidden) actions during Ramadan. The letter offers two important points since La Mora's function as literary go-between. On the one hand, this letter, like those from the *cabildos*, communicates clandestine information on Islam with El Mancebo. On the other hand, La Mora appears more knowledgeable than the Great Moor, as we hear in her tone, thus fulfilling the role of erudite female go-between.

Both passages allow us to see how these two *moriscos* inhabit property owned by someone else: the Christian conquerors. Her home is beside a doorway, a liminal threshold that separates two spaces and recalls Celestina and Centurio's conversation about the bawd's reputation and her fear that it might be stained by false testimony.

Celestina's "exile" to the tanneries and her living in fear, which she manifests in her risky trip to the center of town, appear to be replayed in the Mora de Úbeda's living in fear. While the *morisca* has not opted for exile, she lives on the figurative margins of the young Spanish empire. We have also previously seen how the resurrected Celestina occupies a dangerous space on the threshold to her home. La Mora's reluctance to leave her residence thus echoes Celestina's fear on her journey to Melibea's house. The *morisca*'s fear of leaving her home and her comments about the times that have befallen Spanish Muslims remind the reader of the wariness with which all prostitutes had to practice their trade, new sentenceas well as the various examples of a fear of surveillance and testimony that I analyzed in my study of *Segunda Celestina*. In the clandestine space of her peripheral abode, La Mora shares her testimony, like the way that Silva's Celestina shares her experiences in the underworld with Centurio in the doorway to her house.

El Mancebo, thus, transposes the go-between's sharing of unorthodox knowledge in a covert space. El Mancebo, like Silva, harnesses elements of sixteenth-century Spain's Inquisitorial and legal culture, appropriating and inverting them. He, like Silva, would have been familiar with the general climate of the time, in which personal testimony was a crucial part of quotidian life such that neighbors could testify against one another for overhearing information told from one person to another in the door to their home. Narváez describes this proliferation of anecdotes as a way for El Mancebo to insert himself as an authorial presence as he appropriates testimonial culture and literature in order to record knowledge about his fellow *moriscos* (*Tafsira* 64).

Both Celestina's and La Mora's domiciles mark deeper social and historical marginalization. Celestina's dilapidated house reflects her age, exile, and the end of the

unhindered movement that prostitutes had before the fifteenth-century legal changes. Celestina's displacement and the final phase of her life mark the end of free movement and practice for Castilian prostitutes and go-betweens. La Mora's house on the edge of the last Muslim stronghold symbolizes the loss of the freedom that Spanish Muslims enjoyed before forced conversion in the early sixteenth century. Situated at the end of *Tafsira*, the story of the old *morisca* seals the text with a farewell to Muslim Spain. La Mora's knowledge recalls the erudition and authoritative knowledge that we saw in Celestina's handling of classical authorities, Lozana's medical knowledge, and the second Celestina's satirical expertise on the afterlife. As one of few *moriscos* old enough to remember Nasrid Granada, La Mora serves as one of few remaining intermediaries between Granada's Andalusí past and its official Christian present. El Mancebo's story of her vast Islam wisdom juxtaposes the loss of this knowledge with the tragic fall of a dynasty.

A final point in favor of the argument that we may read *Tafsira* in comparison with *La Celestina*, *La Lozana*, and *Segunda Celestina* is the question of authorship. Reading *La Celestina* through the lens of Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo's theories may shed further light on El Mancebo's appropriation of the go-between and his authorial role. Per Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo, talking about *La Celestina*, many of the quotes of classical sources in the fifteenth-century comedy are a result of Rojas's misreading of the text as *comedia humanística* and his subsequent attempt to showcase his erudition as a learned Humanist scholar (Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo, interview). An additional component of his argument is that Rojas's insertion of classical and philosophical lines detracted from *La Celestina*'s quality as *comedia humanística*. Considering such a theory in an

alternative light and in conjunction with the positive spin that I have put on the concept of contamination throughout the study at hand, it would appear again that Rojas contaminates the original *Comedia*, transforming it from a pure *comedia humanística* in the Italian tradition to a hybrid, Iberian mosaic of genres that we are still unable to strictly categorize even in the twenty-first century. Ironically, this contamination, which may have been due to Rojas' alleged misreading, resulted in a masterpiece.

Again, El Mancebo's transcription of lines from *La Celestina*'s prologue suggests his familiarity with the text and his identification, at least in part, with the text's themes of marginalization (Narváez, "El Mancebo de Arévalo" 255, 257). It appears quite plausible, then, that he gleaned Rojas's possible hybridization or contamination of *La Celestina* and incorporated this aspect into his treatise. Although his narrative is his own, it is a hybrid blend of copies from other readings, observations, and conversations.

As previously mentioned, El Mancebo's biography shares several points in common with Rojas's: both are allegedly young, educated Humanist Spaniards with ties to the New Christian community and an ability to recognize and engage with contemporary literature. While Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo doubts that Rojas could have recognized the anguish of different social classes, it is very possible that these voices compelled El Mancebo to capture the experiences of the *moriscos* in his treatise. Like the way in which Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo argues that we owe to Rojas the salvation of the *Comedia*, which preserved and projected those underrepresented voices, so too do we owe to El Mancebo the preservation of those *morisco* voices.

El Mancebo appropriates and transculturates the go-between, as well as the notion of being caught between two cultural spaces as he saw it reflected in his interlocutors'

experiences. In El Mancebo's encounters with Nozaita and La Mora, a female interlocutor expresses the overall tone of nostalgia and loss in the text. Like Lozana, these women's inability to fit into any one category reflects the idea of existing in-between religions and cultures at a time when official categories of identity were becoming more rigid than ever before. Like Celestina and Lozana, the *morisca* go-betweens in *Tafsira* are at the center of the changes in space and society that occurred in Spain in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has attempted to demonstrate the importance of the late medieval and early modern literary go-between in calling into question social injustices. The principal texts that I have examined in these three chapters span approximately thirty-five years. Each one resonates with the changes in Spanish university education, demographics, and public policy during the reigns of the Catholic Monarchs and the Emperor Charles V of Habsburg, I of Spain. In Chapter One, we saw the way Francisco Delicado pulls both his written works, *Retrato de la Lozana andaluza* and *El modo de usar el palo de la India Occidental*, into a linguistically and thematically hybrid space. His multilingual treatise contaminates the genre of orthodox medical literature, and his Arabized, Italianized Spanish novel in dialogue features an impure protagonist as a source of unorthodox knowledge. Lozana's facial markings, her knot of Solomon, and her medical skills reveal the author's symbolic appropriation of the medieval *alcahueta* and his harnessing of his own non-Christian origins. Delicado responds directly to *La Celestina* and challenges homogeneity by returning the go-between to impurity and calling into question the physical and social divides between Old and New Christians.

Chapter Two illustrated the ways that Feliciano de Silva's *Segunda comedia de la Celestina* takes the Celestinesque genre beyond black magic and prostitution to subversively relay the author's concerns about Spanish society. Textual and visual evidence suggest that we may read Celestina's false resurrection as a challenge to literary, social, and religious paradigms. Considering the revived go-between, as well as visual

aspects of the oldest surviving edition of Silva's text, I argue that Silva's capitalization on the resurrection motif serves to question notions of blood purity and orthodoxy in sixteenth-century Spain. In reviving the famous *alcahueta*, the author challenges the Catholic tenets forced upon Spanish New Christians and their descendants. The dialogue, particularly Celestina's lines, illustrate tensions between the private and public spheres and the danger of thresholds. Silva's own struggle for status after the Comuneros' rebellion, his ties to Spain's formerly Jewish community, and the effects that his marriage to the *conversa* Gracia Fe undoubtedly made him deeply sensitive to the plight of New Christians.

In Chapter Three, we saw El Mancebo de Arévalo's transculturation of the go-between, as well as the notion of in-between as the author found it reflected in his interlocutors' experiences. The Islamicizing treatise, *Tafsira*, serves as one of the first examples of journalistic writing in Spain: the author recorded memories of Nasrid Granada, in addition to the anecdotes of those who witnessed the effects of the *reconquista* in different areas of the peninsula. In the *morisco's* conversations with two *morisca* women, Nozaita de Kalderán and La Mora de Úbeda, a female figure relays the overall tone of nostalgia and loss in the text, in addition to reflecting the sense of existing in between cultures and religions. The go-between thus takes on a non-traditional dimension in El Mancebo's work, as the figure occupies peripheral spaces that are iconic to Spanish Muslims' trajectory from *mudéjares* to *moriscos*. Nozaita and La Mora form part of the treatise's defense of *morisco* knowledge and literary abilities.

It is no coincidence that the three authors at the core of this study chose the go-between as protagonists of their books or chapters within their larger works. As we have seen, the texts studied in this dissertation were written by authors who directly or indirectly experienced the effects of Spain's massive expulsions of Jews and Muslims, the blood purity statutes, and the exclusion laws. The go-between successfully defies and traverses the rigid boundaries and identity categories that emerged because of those three interrelated historical changes. We have also seen that the figure lends herself to a plethora of readings, and that *La Celestina*'s unclear origins and purpose allowed it to yield interpretations as diverse in the sixteenth century as they are today. The obscurity of the author(s) and purpose of the medieval bestseller—like the enigmatic identities of several writers and figures in this study—allow for varying interpretations of textual meaning and function.

More research still needs to be done on understudied texts in the so-called *Celestina* cycle, such as the connections between gender and blood purity, or the multi-layered meanings of *castidad*, in Juan Rodríguez's *Comedia llamada Florinea* (1554), of which a modern edition is lacking. Alonso Villegas's *Comedia selvagia* (1554) has also received little scholarly attention. In particular, future projects focusing on this comedy might consider the figure of the *alcahueta* Dolosina or the visual and material characteristics of Joan Ferrer's 1554 Toledo edition housed at Harvard University's Houghton Library. Further research might also analyze the woodcuts and engravings in other early copies of *Segunda comedia de la a Celestina* or additional works in the *Celestina* cycle.

Future projects ought to consider other crafty female figures, such as understudied New World indigenous intermediaries. A starting point might be Gaspar Pérez de

Villagrà's epic poem, *Historia de la Nuevo México* (1610), which highlights the episode of Doña Inés, a young Native American woman who, having been sequestered for the purpose of becoming an interpreter for Juan de Oñate's conquistadors, outsmarts her captors and wins her freedom (xxxix).

Spanish appreciation for the go-between, and particularly for Celestina, extends beyond the medieval, early modern, and colonial periods. More than six centuries have passed since Juan Ruiz's poetic homage to the Spain of the three cultures through the go-between figure. Despite this chronological gap, the character remains perpetually present in the Spanish literary canon and modern historical fiction. Twenty-first century novelists Juan Carlos Arce and Luis García Jambrina have continued the tradition of the Celestina cycle by writing the metafictional stories of a young Fernando de Rojas whose life is marked by his relationship with the *converso* community, as well as his own encounter with the Spanish Holy Office. The analysis that this study has put forth constitutes evidence that it is no mere coincidence that the go-between has remained a monument of Iberian multiculturalism, and that the authors in this study did not merely rely on *La Celestina*'s fame to publish their own work. As Francisco Márquez wrote in *Orígenes y sociología del tema celestinesco*, what we celebrate today as one of Juan Ruiz's ingenious novelties (the multicultural *alcahueta*) are common characteristics of literary *mudejarismo*: *La Celestina* could not have been conceived outside this long tradition of *mestizaje* (190-191).

The go-between has withstood the test of time and *La Celestina* continues to be one of the most intriguing Spanish texts ever written. What was it about that fifteenth-century text that remains a permanent imprint in Spanish literature and culture, as

permanent as issues of religious and cultural coexistence continue to be? The feeling of being caught between cultures and worlds is universal, as is the sense of uprootedness that exiles and refugees continuously endure, and social isolation traverses space and time, extending beyond temporal and geographic borders. Although *La Celestina*'s authors, Francisco Delicado, Feliciano de Silva, and El Mancebo de Arévalo all experienced different types of marginalization and wrote in varying cultural milieu, their texts achieve similar results. Their literary defiance of hierarchies poses a challenge to prevailing attitudes toward purity, and the Iberian *alcahueta* figure is an ideal medium through which the authors' relay their defiant messages.

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