

Lucas Fernández and Two of his Intertexts: Fernando de Rojas's *La Celestina* and Diego de San Pedro's *Passión trobada*

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To the memory of my dear mentor Paco Márquez Villanueva, who introduced me to the cancioneros and their religious poetry at Harvard in 1961-62

Lucas Fernández is the heir to both Fray Íñigo de Mendoza and Juan del Encina's pioneering works, and as Maurizi points out, he developed the ludic and carnivalesque side of the shepherd's play (84). In fact, over half of each of his *Autos* of the birth of Christ is devoted to humorous interchange and insult between the shepherds, before the religious theme is developed by the arrival of a hermit and/or another shepherd announcing the happy event. He fits nicely into the category of the *converso* authors who helped the proselytizing agenda of the Catholic Monarchs (Severin 2013), although no evidence of a *converso* background has yet emerged. However some of his sources, not just Fray Íñigo, but also Fernando de Rojas and Diego de San Pedro, are definitely *conversos*. Márquez Villanueva stressed the importance of the *converso* class as the civil servants of their day, serving the aristocracy in myriad functions (1965, 401-402). Fray Íñigo was, of course, both a member of the nobility on his father's side and a scion of the famous Cartagena family of outstanding bishops and literati. Diego de San Pedro was *teniente* of Penafiel castle for the Girón family. Fernando de Rojas seems to have lived quietly as a lawyer and sometime mayor in Talavera after leaving university and abandoning the Puebla de Montalbán.

Valero Moreno's recent re-edition is useful for its glossary of *sayago* terminology, when the reader is baffled by some of the interchanges; I use his information for my footnotes on meanings of the more obscure words. Some of these are downright crude, despite the religious intention, and make us wonder if they were produced inside church, or outside the western portals. The *Égloga o farsa del nacimiento de Nuestro Redemptor*, which introduces two shepherds –Bonifacio and Gil–, then the hermit Macario, and finally the shepherd Marcelo, bringing the good news, begins with a surprisingly frank series of exchanges between Bonifacio and Gil. Clearly the shepherds have a good knowledge of *Celestina*, which they cite at length, after Bonifacio admits that the hermit of San Bricio is his mother:

Bonifacio

Y aún es mi madre señora
la ermitaña de san Bricio.

Gil

Ésa es gran embaidora
gran diablo, encantadora.

Bonifacio

Muger es de gran bollicio.

Gil

Medio bruja asmo que es,

y aun aosadas,
 que si buscarla querrés,
 cada noche la topéis
 por estas encrucijadas.
 Una vez entré en su ermita,
 y porque llegué a un altabaque,
 corrió la vieja maldita
 por me azotar muy afrita¹.
 Por huir le solté un traque².
 Dime si es caso del Papa
 este pecado,
 que allá me quedó la capa.

Bonifacio

De pecado ño se escapa
 si se te soltó en sagrado.

Gil

¡Qué ojos tiene tan ñublosos,
 manantiales de vino,
 muy bermejios, pitañosos,
 lamparosos³, lagañosos,
 siempre le lloran contino.
 Pichel, jarro o cangilón,
 que ella toma
 con muy sancta devoción,
 le pega tal suspirón
 que ño le deja carcoma.

Bonifacio

Sabe legar, deslegar,
 hace cien mil bebedizos
 para bienquerencias dar.
 También sabe en cerco entrar;
 sabe de agüero y de hechizos,
 sabe de ojo y aun de estrella,
 y es davina⁴.
 ¡Grolia habrás de conoscella!

Gil

¡Cuán gran puta vieja es ella!
 Peor es que Celestina.

¹ Afligida.

² Pedo.

³ Sucios.

⁴ Adevina, i.e., adivina.

Bonifacio

Sabe hacer bollo maimón,
 y hace asbondo⁵ sahumeros
 de las barbas del cabrón.
 Toparla has hecha visión
 De noche en los ceminterios.
 Tiene sogá de ahorcado,
 y de sus dientes
 las burras ha encomendado
 y de los llobos librado (Fernández 2: 178-180).

The details from *Celestina* come from different parts of the original work, although a number of details are taken from Auto VII when Celestina describes her mentor Claudina's powers to Claudina's reluctant son Pármeno. In the first place Fernández's witch is found at a crossroads, presumably collecting earth from this liminal place, like Claudina: "Y aun la una le levantaron que era bruja, porque la hallaron de noche con unas candelillas, cogiendo tierra de una encrucijada" (Rojas 124). From a later interpolation into the banquet scene of Auto IX Fernández takes the details of her excessive drinking (Fernández 2: 144). And also from Celestina's description of Claudina's practices, Fernández has her entering a magic circle to do her magic: "Pues entrar en un cerco, mejor que yo y con más esfuerzo" (Fernández 2: 123). Peter Russell pointed out the significance of magic in *Celestina* in his seminal article of 1963, although he defined her as a *hechicera* or sorceress who performed white magic, in this case a *philocaptio* spell capturing the will of Melibea through the skein of thread anointed with snake oil while she was in the circle. But Russell thought that she was not a *bruja* or witch, performing black magic and deserving of the death penalty, which the text hints was the fate of her mentor Claudina.

In Auto III, when Celestina conjures the devil, we get the detail of the whiskers of the Billy goat, when Elicia is ordered by Celestina: "baja la sangre del cabrón y unas poquitas de las barbas que tú le cortaste" (Rojas 85), and also the dead man's noose "la sogá que traje del campo la otra noche cuando llovía y hacía oscuro" (Rojas 84). The cemetery also comes from the description of Claudina: "Tan sin pena ni temor se andaba a media noche de cimenterio en cimenterio, buscando aparejos para nuestro oficio, como de día" (Rojas 122). In my book on the topic of witchcraft and *Celestina*, I argued that the conjuration was far more than a mere *philocaptio* spell as it conjured up the devil to help Celestina, thus the use of the circle to protect herself from the devil's power. It is interesting that Fernández, or at least his mouthpiece Gil, agrees with me and says of Bonifacio's mother "Medio bruja asmo que es". In fact, Fernández has selected the passages from *Celestina* that will underline the witchcraft rather than the sorcery.

Finally in the penultimate stanza, the epithet "puta vieja" comes from a famous passage of Auto I, when all the workmen and their tools, all the animals and surroundings, sound out "puta vieja" when Celestina passes by, according to her stepson Pármeno.

Luckily, the devout hermit Macario arrives in search of the manger, and breaks up this not-very-edifying exchange. Fernández is an excellent example of how the early theatre is rapidly

⁵ Abundante.

developing, and the intertexts are beginning to mount up. His other *auto* of the birth of Christ is less original and interesting, and more unsurprising, as Pascual, cold and complaining, meets first Lloreinte, then Juan, who recounts the visit of the angel, and finally Pedro Picado and Mingo who join the *villancico* at the end of the piece.

Of much greater interest is Fernández's *Auto de la Pasión*, which seems to be directly influenced by the almost-lost original ending of Diego de San Pedro's *Passion trobada*, version which survives only in the *Cancionero de Oñate-Castañeda* (HH1),⁶ and consists of the Apostles reuniting after the Passion, repenting their cowardice and recounting their tales (Severin 1990). Although there was some question-mark over Diego de San Pedro's *converso* origins when Keith Whinnom pointed out that the Diego de San Pedro in the documentation produced by Cotarelo was unlikely to be the author San Pedro on account of the datings, on the other hand as our author seems to have been *teniente de Peñafiel* for the Girón family, like the man in the documents, it would be stretching a point to presume that the two were not relatives (Whinnom 255-288). Márquez Villanueva himself interpreted the *Cárcel de Amor* as a hidden criticism of despotic rulers (Márquez Villanueva 1966, 198-199), perhaps not many miles distant from the *Reyes Católicos* themselves. Lately, Fontes has argued on the topic of Diego de San Pedro writing in the face of persecution.

In Fernández's version of the post-Passion scene, we only get the apostle Peter, then St Dionysus, St Matthew the Evangelist, the prophet Jeremiah, and the three Mary's. Therefore, as in some of Juan del Encina's *autos*, the setting is both diachronic and synchronic at the same time, and combines present, past and future. Peter laments his denials of Christ, Dionysus reports the earthquake after the Passion and cannot understand how this contradicts his laws of astronomy, Matthew recounts the Passion, Jeremiah simply laments as is his wont in the Old Testament, the Marys add their lamentations to his, and the final *villancicos* are "Adorámoste, Señor", and "¡Ay, que por ti, pecador!"

The closest analogues between Fernández and Diego de San Pedro's work are the words of Peter in *Passión trobada* as he repents his cowardice:

[Peter Repents]

Pedro dixo vergonçoso,
 Puestos los ojos en tierra,
 Llorando muy amargoso,
 Que se non dava reposso
 Como faze aquel que yerra;
 Y las barvas se mesando
 Llamávase pecador,
 Y consigo en tierra dando
 Ante todos confesando:
 Yo negué a mi Señor (Severin 1990, *Passión Trobada*: 259A; San Pedro 1979, 3: 236).

It is piquant to reflect that *conversos* often took the name of the saint or apostle to whom they were related by their Judaic lineage, and for Diego de San Pedro his lamentations of Saint Peter would have had a particular poignancy and relevance. Of course we know nothing of Fernández's background, but his Saint Peter is also very moving:

⁶ I use Dutton's ID system to locate songbooks mentioned in this article.

San Pedro

Oíd mi voz dolorosa,
 Oíd los vivientes del mundo,
 Oíd la pasión rabiosa
 Que en su humanidad preciosa
 Sufre nuestro Dios jocundo.
 Salgan mis lágrimas vivas
 Del abismo de mis penas,
 Pues que de ansias tan altivas,
 Tan esquivas,
 Mis entrañas están llenas.

¡Ay de mi desconsolado!
 ¿Para que quiero la vida?
 ¿Qué haré ya, desdichado?
 Ya mi bien es acabado,
 Ya mi gloria es fenecida,
 ¿Cómo pude yo negar
 Tres veces al Señor?
 Mi vida será llorar
 El pesar
 De mi pecado y error (Fernández 2: 233-234).

These lamentations continue for another four stanzas, rather suggesting those other lamentations of the Virgin that Diego de San Pedro wrote in both *Passión trobada* and *Siete Angustias de Nuestra Señora*:

[Virgin]

¿Adónde iré, que haré
 hijo, bien de los mortales?
 ¿A quién me querellaré?
 ¿Con quién me consolaré?
 ¿A quién quejaré mis males? (*Passión Trobada* 212; San Pedro 1979, 3: 202).

As we know, *Passión trobada* was the most popular Spanish Passion poem of the early modern period and continued to be printed in chapbooks until the nineteenth century, as well as being incorporated into Alonso del Campo's *Auto de la pasión*, one of our earliest surviving examples of Castilian Passion theatre. Even more intriguing is the question of whether Lucas Fernández was familiar not just with the printed tradition of *Passión trobada*, but with the almost-lost manuscript tradition with its unique ending, which does not owe anything to the traditional apocryphal versions of the Passion which were used in the long mystery and Passion plays of England, France and Germany.

A connection with the *Passión Trobada* of Diego de San Pedro's most famous protagonist, Leriano of the *Cárcel de Amor*, and his bereaved mother, is also present in these lamentations (Severin 1988). As Miguel-Prendes has pointed out, the contemplative tradition of the *devotio*

moderna is foremost in the *Cárcel de amor* (Miguel-Prendes 32), which is itself first presented as a *retablo* of suffering.⁷

Lucas Fernández proves himself an versatile and fearless poet, mining not only the possibly heterodox and dangerous tradition of witchcraft as found in *Celestina* for his humorous treatment of the birth of Christ, but also the stately tradition of the lamentations of the Virgin for his more orthodox treatment of the Passion. His poetic invention is quite daring and he does not perceive any incongruity in incorporating quite coarse material into the traditionally humorous representation of the shepherds that had previously been developed by Fray Íñigo de Mendoza and Juan del Encina. Similarly, he is happy to use non-traditional apocryphal material without qualm for his treatment of the tragic Passion tradition, and to invent and embroider on this use by devising new characters and situations –Dionysus, Jeremiah from the Old Testament– alongside the more traditional Evangelist Matthew and the three Marys.

⁷ Also see Sharrer for the effigy of the beloved and its religious overtones.

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