

Celestina in Venice: Piety, Pornography, *Poligrafi**

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THE *TRAGICOMEDIA DE Calisto y Melibea*, known to modern readers as the *Celestina*, was the all-time best seller in Spain in the sixteenth century; in fact, «[w]hichever sets of figures one uses, *Celestina* was quite clearly the most successful piece of fiction in the entire Golden Age» (Whinnom 193). Yet it was also a nexus of ambivalence and diatribe even within the culture that claimed it as a vernacular classic. Described by a modern critic as a dialectical rape (Herrero 134), this work was viewed as scandalous by some moralists of Renaissance Spain.

One particularly fascinating exemplar of this text (Princeton EX 3176.68.324) was printed in Venice in 1556 by Gabriele Giolito de Ferraris and his brothers. A second printing (following one in 1553), it was edited in Spanish by Alfonso de Ulloa. This book would have cost about eight soldi (Bongi), and considering that during the second half of the Cinquecento a semi-skilled carpenter earned from 20 to 37 soldi per day, this price made the book quite affordable even to the poorest readers (Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition*, 14). Gabriele Giolito had bookstores in Ferrara, Bologna, and Naples as well as Venice (Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition*, 16), so the readers—although probably Venetian—could have lived almost anywhere in Italy.

Through examination of the only other surviving copy of this edition in North America (Hispanic Society of America, Penney 13), I have determined that Princeton has a mutilated one. The title page reads, «Ha se le añalido nueuamente una Grammatica, y un Vocabulario en Hespañol, y en Italiano, para mas introduction de los que studian la lengua Castella-

* The author wishes to thank Anthony Grafton and Paul Grendler for their comments and encouragement of this project. Thanks are due to John O'Neill and Susan Rosenstein at the Hispanic Society of America for their bibliographical assistance. To my research assistant, Michelle Huhn, I owe a debt of gratitude. Thanks also to Craig Kallendorf for his help with bibliographical format in Appendix 1.

na,» but these lexicographical tools are missing from this exemplar¹. Perhaps, as it bears a nineteenth-century parchment binding, it was rebound without them. (Regrettably, some of the marginal notes were also damaged as the pages were trimmed in the process of rebinding.) But it is also conceivable that Giolito left himself the option of selling the lexicon separately. What makes one suspicious that this is the case is that the Gioliti published an *Indice copioso* of their house's publications in 1592, and in this catalogue the lexicon appears to be listed as a separate work. Giolito used a different collating system for the quires of the lexicon, which has been called the first Italian/Spanish dictionary (see Appendix 1).

As mentioned, this edition was the second, the first having come out in 1553. Examination of an exemplar from the 1553 edition (Hispanic Society of America, Penney 11) renders another interesting discovery: Giolito evidently did not reprint the entire text but instead only replaced Quire A in the new edition. Collation shows that the rest of the text, including the lexicon, is identical in both editions. Giolito probably never sold all the copies of the first edition and decided to «repackage» them with different prefatory matter. He reset the title page, used different woodcut initials, and had Ulloa write a new dedication. Otherwise, it was the same product which the editor and publisher offered to their market.

There are many mysteries surrounding this tiny object. Let us see what this artifact can tell us about the culture in which it was produced and consumed. Perhaps we shall succeed in making it talk.

The Circumstances of Production

WHY WOULD ANYONE produce a Spanish vernacular work in Venice, especially such a controversial one? Alfonso de Ulloa was a Spanish editor with a patriotic literary agenda to promote, but relations between his own country and his adopted one were not always sanguine. A look at the relations between Spain and Italy at the time, on the political, linguistic, and personal levels, will allow us to grasp some of the tensions operating within the covers of this book.

1. Gallina describes *Introduzione... nelle quale s'insegna pronunciare la lingua spagnuola* (1553), a work published by Ulloa and Giolito which was appended to the *Celestina*, as this missing lexicographical tool: Ulloa «appuntò una 'Introduzione' del 1553, in cui, dopo aver dato alcune regole di pronuncia (per lo più tradotte da una consimile di Francisco Delicado premessa alla sua edizione veneziana della 'Celestina'), elenca qualche centinaio di vocaboli e locuzioni spagnuole, contenuti, in massima parte nella 'Celestina', con la traduzione italiana accanto... Il merito maggiore di questi... piccoli vocabolari é che sono i primi composti nelle due lingue» (61). Ulloa also wrote a similar vocabulary appended to the Spanish translation of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.

Most historians would modify the exaggeration that «up to the eighteenth century, the whole of Italy from Milan to Naples was either directly or indirectly controlled by Spain» (Dionisotti 5). But it is certainly true that Spaniards played a larger role in the culture of Italy during the late Renaissance than at any other time. However, it is also necessary, when viewing the attitudes of Spaniards toward Italians, to realize that Spaniards of this period, especially Castilians, have been described as experiencing a crisis of distrust for people of other nations. Baltasar Alamos de Barrientos, in his *Discurso político al rey Felipe III al comienzo de su reinado*, writes, «[t]he Italians... are also secret enemies» (quoted in Kagan and Parker 141). The same attitude is betrayed by a letter written by the Spanish governor of Milan to Philip II in 1570: «These Italians, although they are not Indians, have to be treated as such, so that they will understand that we are in charge of them and not they in charge of us» (Koenigsberger 48; quoted in Elliott 9).

Spanish arrogance toward Italians was displayed in the linguistic as well as the political arena. The Spaniards liked to think of themselves and their language as the closest extant links to the Roman and Greek past. Hispano, the first king of Spain, was said to have been the son of Hercules. This legend was diffused by the emblems of Alciato. To round out the *ethos* of direct links to antiquity, the Hispanic classical authors Lucan, Seneca, and Quintilian were cited in support of the intellect of the Spaniards. The praise of Spanish over other languages is best understood through the words of a contemporary. He goes back to ancient times:

acordó transportar muchas gentes ispanas en Roma y muchas romanas en Ispania, y en esta guisa ambas lenguas se bastardaron. Era antes la lengua romana perfecta latina, y dende llamamos oy nuestro común hablar romançe, porque vino de Roma. Ninguna naçion, aunque más vezina le sea, tan apropiada su lenguaje de aquélla ni tan çercana es de la lengua latina quanto ésta (Juan de Lucena, *Diálogo de vida beata*, quoted in Gómez Moreno 116).

Lucio Marineo Siculo repeated the theme in 1530: «la lengua española haze ventaja a todas las otras en elegancia y copia de vocablos y aun a la italiana» (quoted in Gómez Moreno 118). A Spaniard in a similar position to that of Ulloa, a man who translated the work of Guarino de Verona, asserted proudly, «coseruamos la nuestra lengua mucho mas que los mesmos romanos o ytalianos» (quoted in Gómez Moreno 116). In 1498 the pope held a debate for the ambassadors from Spain, France, Portugal, and Italy to determine which of these languages was preferable, judging by its proximity to Latin. They wrote speeches for the occasion, during which contest Spanish was declared to be the winner (Martín de Viciana,

Libro de alabaņas de las lenguas hebrea, griega, latina, castellana y valenciana [1574]; quoted in Gómez Moreno 117). It is fascinating to view this edition of the *Celestina* in light of the tensions of this cultural tug-of-war: «[t]here is no doubt that the shaping of an illustrious Castilian language as mirror of the Spanish myth of monarchical cultural unification... also underlay Ulloa's divulgative program of Spanish literature in Italy» (Bionotti 41).

But did Spanish arrogance embrace all of Spain's cultural products, including this artifact? The Spanish work under consideration here, *La Celestina*, is full of blasphemy, seen by many Spaniards as a contagious, sinful poison. As suggested previously, it was one of the most controversial works of the Golden Age, and one of which some Spaniards were acutely ashamed. For example, Luis de Maluenda wrote in 1545, roughly ten years before this edition was published:

[E]l libro que llaman *Celestina*, tan devoto de estos reinos, el cual es más estudiado y leído que el libro de los evangelios de Jesucristo de muchos y de muchas ¿Cuántos fuegos de Venus habrá encendido y cuántas virtudes castas habrá quemado en estos reinos, amigos de libros que traen el fuego consigo y de libros de falso color? Y como jamás la majestad de la dignidad del príncipe consiente que el príncipe vista ropa que traía las brasas de fuego bordadas en ella, así jamás ha de consentir que persona viciosa ande en su familiar conversación, ni tampoco libro ande en sus manos que quede encendido con llamas de Venus (*Leche de fe*, quoted in Avilés Fernández 238).

But pious as this Spaniard may sound, the double standard of the Spanish regarding obscenity is manifested by the fact that, as we remember, *Celestina* stayed at the top of the charts during the sixteenth century in Spain.

How did the Venetians view obscenity? Did they practice a double standard as well? The 1549 index (not implemented) drawn up by the Consiglio dei Dieci included books «containing things against good morals» (Grendler, *Culture and Censorship*, 32). And the Tridentine Index of 1564 banned obscene works, as Venice was not exempt from the «Counter Reformation approach of working with the state to extirpate heresy and punish moral offenders, including the vendors of lascivious literature» (Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition*, 20).

The obscenity problem in this particular edition of the *Celestina* is exacerbated by a pair of obscene illustrations which appear as woodcut initials (see plates). One depicts two male homosexual lovers engaging in embrace/intercourse. This woodcut also appears in the dedicatory letter

by the editor at the beginning of the edition. Another woodcut shows a frontally nude woman being admired by two men. Both of the instances of the woodcuts in the text are surprising because of their direct correspondence to the content of the material beside which they appear. Considering that not many years before, Savonarola's followers had burned books containing obscene pictures (Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition*, 67), these *iniziali parlanti* (Petrucci Nardell 17-33) may have placed the editor and publisher at some risk.

A V C T O S E X T O .



CALISTO CELESTINA,
PARMENO SEMPRONIO .



QUE dizes señora e madre mia?
O mi señor Calisto, e aquí estas, o mi nueuo amador dela muy fermosa Melibea, e con mucha razon, con que pagarás ala uieja que oy ha pue

Courtesy of Princeton University Library

Ulloa and Giolito were not entirely oblivious when it came to concerns over blasphemy and censorship. The fact that they were willing to print an *Indice copioso di tutti li libri stampati dalli Gioliti* (1592) shows not only a «sentido de una continuidad de trabajo y de producción» (Quondam 81), but also a willingness to have their catalogue scrutinized. Willingly or unwillingly, it and they had been scrutinized heavily at various points in their careers. The scrutiny started low on the production ladder and be-

came fiercer as it rose higher. Paolo Avanzo, a press man for Giolito, was accused of heresy and of trafficking in prohibited books (Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition*, 112). Ulloa's edition of a piece of sentimental fiction, Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de amor*, published by Giolito in the same year as the *Celestina*, was altered to suit the political-religious climate of Venice at the time. Certain references to God in amorous contexts were removed out of fear that they would be interpreted as blasphemous:

en la de Venecia, 1553... se suprimen algunas referencias a Dios o voces relacionadas con el léxico religioso. Atribuye Corfis estas variantes al clima de temor ante la inminente censura inquisitorial que se manifestaría para toda clase de libros por medio del Índice de 1547. Los editores... temerían que ciertas expresiones en un texto de carácter amoroso pudieran aparecer como blasfemas (Parrilla lxxvii).

AVCTO DOZENO



CALISTO, SEMPRONIO,
 PARMENO, LVCRECIA, MELIBEA,
 PLEBBERIO, ALISA,
 CELESTINA, ELICIA.



Ojos que hora da el
 relox e
 Las diez.
 O como me descontenta
 el oluido e los meços
 de mi mucho acuerdo
 en esta noche, e tu de=

The Myth of Venice is the much-studied notion that the Venetian Republic at this time (and for many centuries of its history) had a concept of itself as a pious city-state chosen by God for special holiness (Kallendorf 14). This myth was certainly the accepted theory in this society—at least by its accompanying upholders of standards of morality and piety. But what went on in practice? On the one hand, it is surprising that Venetian inquisitors were not more enraged at the circulation of such a book. But then again, «it is well known that the censors of the Inquisition were much more alert to doctrinal error in avowedly religious works than to what might be said in profane works» (Whinnom 190). Even if the Inquisitors had been concerned about this title, the bookmen, with the aid of the patriciate, defeated the Indices of 1549, 1554/55, and 1559. But it is also important to place this edition within the context of the literary activities of the *poligrafi*.

At this time in Venice there were alarming undercurrents of literary subversion by a group called *poligrafi*. The *poligrafi* are probably best known for their most infamous representative, Pietro Aretino. Seeing no conflict between prayers and pornography, he published both. Grendler explains that

penurious poligrafi came to Venice with the same desire to write freely away from the suffocating courts... [T]hey... were alert to new ideas in the air. Indeed, their livelihood depended upon giving the reading public what it wanted to read... [T]heir readers... included nobility, courtiers, merchants, professional men, perhaps literate artisans, and the academies where letterato, merchant, and noble met together. Their books were small in size, about four by six inches on the average, inexpensively printed, and sometimes profusely illustrated. They fitted easily into pockets or saddle bags ... These «pocket books» of the Cinquecento contained tales, poetry, plays, moral fables, travel literature, satires, letters and burlesques (Grendler, *Culture and Censorship*, 25-26).

The *poligrafi* performed rôles which were «más o menos autónomos, más o menos subalternos» as they used the

libro como ideología y como medio de conquista de una figura social nueva, de una promoción incluso cultural, además de aventura privada... [L]a escena intelectual del siglo XVI está repleta de «polígrafos» y de «aventureros de la pluma»... repleta de formas de prácticas discursivas desconectadas de los lugares institucionales tradicionales, y orientadas (como en el caso de Lando, de Franco y

de Doni) a procedimientos más o menos conscientes de desestructuración de los mismos estatutos clasicistas del saber... (Quondam 116).

Gabriele Giolito was the largest and most important vernacular publisher in all of Italy at this time, and one who looked favorably upon the *poligrafì*. Quondam describes Gabriele Giolito's editorial line as containing «siempre una estrecha relación entre autores reconocidos, por diversas razones seguros en el mercado, y autores nuevos» which showed «una capacidad de búsqueda y promoción» (Quondam 88). Giolito focused mainly on contemporary Italian authors like Piccolomini, Bembo, and Dolce (who lived with Giolito for a time). These men wrote texts, most in small *libellus* format, of social comportment, instruction of women, philosophy of love, or proverbial wisdom. This panorama suggests «el claro desenganche de la actividad editorial respecto a obligados puntos de referencia (sobre todo, las universidades) y la búsqueda de un campo de actividades autónomo» (Quondam 92). Giolito was committed to printing what the public wanted to read, even if he had to prod them along a bit: «publicar 40 o más libros al año significa no sólo responder a una demanda ya existente... sino más bien producir directamente su mismo consumo» (Quondam 85). And until 1565 in Venice, the public most wanted to read the work of the *poligrafì*.

In the tradition of the *poligrafì*, Alfonso de Ulloa, Giolito's mainstay Spanish editor, acted as an «introducor y divulgador de la cultura española en Italia... [N]o ha tenido rival ni antes ni después» (Rumeu de Armas 8). Unfortunately for him, he was also an «actor y víctima a un tiempo de conspiraciones e intrigas» (Rumeu de Armas 12). Fond of inserting defenses of himself and his editorial activities into his prologues and dedications, he often made self-conscious statements like the following:

Acompañara a las demás fatigas que por servicio de mi nación en cosas de letras... he hecho en esta ilustríssima ciudad, que cierto han sido muchas y con mas trabajo y costa de mi espíritu y vida que provecho y utilidad (prologue to Paulo Jovio, *Diálogo de las empresas militares y amorosas* [1558]; quoted in Rumeu de Armas 22-23).

It turns out that he had multiple reasons for defending his reputation. He was born into a noble Spanish family, and his first occupation in Venice was that of scribe to the Spanish ambassador (although this position ended abruptly). He then fought as a mercenary in the imperial army before his first collaboration with Giolito in 1552. His dedications are addressed to Venetian dogi, ambassadors, prelates, and patricians, but he was accused of espionage against the Spanish in alliance with

the French. For this crime, he was supposed to hang; but after managing to escape this dilemma, he composed many works, written in Spanish and Italian, of moral instruction for young men in matters of love. These books, like Inquisitorial witchcraft manuals of the same period, might have increased the currency of practices they purported to condemn. He may have belonged to a circle of *poligrafi* and certainly knew Latin and Portuguese, perhaps Greek, and possibly French (Gallina 60). Ulloa probably knew Pietro Aretino, but the only evidence for how they might have met comes from a letter written by Aretino to Gabriele Giolito, with whom he published eight of his works (Nicolini 180). He certainly knew Lodovico Dolce, who wrote of him in correspondence.

Ulloa's Spanish editorial program in Venice (published almost entirely by Giolito) included Spanish works published in the original Spanish, Spanish works translated into Italian, and even Italian works translated into Spanish. This latter category suggests an audience or pool of possible consumers who were Spanish speakers or others who, for some reason, wished to read works already available in Italian in Spanish instead. He also wrote two original works in Spanish (historical accounts of Spanish military victories), in addition to multiple original compositions in Italian. His most interesting (but by no means all of his) other contributions to the Spanish image in Italy were the following:²

Spanish works published in Spanish

Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio 1553

Carcel de amor hecha por Hernando de Sanct Pedro, con otras obras suyas
1553

Processo de cartas de amores 1553

Las obras de Boscan, y algunas de Garcilaso dela Vega 1553

Question de amor de dos enamorados 1553

Dialogo de la verdadera Honrra Militar 1556

La Diana de Jorge de Montemayor 1569

Spanish works translated into Italian

Libro secondo di Marco Aurelio 1553-54

*La prima parte del libro chiamato Monte Calvario... composto dall'illustre S.
Don Antonio di Guevara* 1555

2. Titles are given as semi-diplomatic transcriptions of title pages. For a complete panorama of Giolito's program, see Bongi and Pastorello. For a description of his editing preferences, see Richardson. In the Spanish line, there were 15 titles and 62 editions of Luis de Granada alone. Another Spanish best-seller in Venice was the secular title most often taught in vernacular schools, Antonio de Guevara's *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio*. For a list of Ulloa's prolific original and editorial work, see Rumeau de Armas.

- Cronica generale d'Hispania et del Regno di Valenza* 1556
Vite di tutti gli Imperatori... cominciando da Giulio Cesare fino a Massimiliano, composte in lingua spagnuola da Pietro Messia 1561
Le Historie del sig. Agostino di Zarate... Dello scoprimento et conquista del Peru 1563
Ragionamenti del Magnifico, e Nobile Cavaliere Pietro Messia 1565
Dialogo del vero honore militare... Composto dall'Illustre Sig. Don Geronimo di Urrea 1569
Relatione della Morte, et esequie del Serenissimo Principe Carlo, Figliolo del Cattolico Re Filippo II Re di Spagna... Composta et ordinato dal R. M. Giovanni Lopez... 1569
Historie del S. D. Fernando Colombo 1571
Militia Celeste del Pie della Rosa Fragante... Del Sig. Hieronimo San Pietro 1590

Italian works translated into Spanish

- Dolce Ludovico. Breve demostracion de muchas comparaciones y sentencias que por el Ariosto han sido imitadas en diversos autores, y exposicion de todos los lugares difficultosos que en el presente libro se contienen* 1556
Dialogo de las Empresas militares y amorosas de Paulo Jovio 1558
Orlando Furioso de M. Ludovico Ariosto... Traduzido en romance Castellano por el S. Don Hieronimo de Vrrea 1553
Las reglas militares de Antonio Cornazano; traduzidas en romance castellano, por Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa 1558
De los Sonetos, Canciones, Madrigales y Sextinas del gran Poeta y Orador Francisco Petrarca, traduzidos por Salusque Lusitano 1567

The emphasis of Giolito's program made a drastic switch around 1565 (a rough dividing line would be the third convening of the Council of Trent). Of the 290 authors represented in the editions of the powerful Gioliti (Quondam 87), those published after this date exclude most non-devotional literature; this was also the moment of onslaught for «the invasion of Spanish spirituality in the late Cinquecento» (Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, 288). But Marco Santoro calls this radical shift mere «moderna funzionalità» instead of anything resembling piety (Santoro 114). Paul Grendler agrees: «[a] keen observer and a shrewd businessman, Gabriel completely changed the subject emphasis of his list, though he continued to publish almost exclusively in the vernacular» (*The Roman Inquisition*, 133). The proximate cause of this Protean maneuver was that in 1565, Gabriele Giolito and his 16 editors suffered investigation by the Inquisition, which confiscated their Venetian book holdings as well as those of Giolito's bookstore in Naples, directed by Cappello (Quondam 96). It was the end of an era.

It is most curious that in several of his dedicatory letters, Ulloa appropriated the last words of Pleberio at the end of the *Celestina*: «que me hayáis dexado solo y desconsolado en este valle de lágrimas» (joint edition of Paulo Jovio, *Diálogo de las empresas militares y amorosas*, and Ludovico Domenichi, *Razonamiento de las empresas militares* [1558]; quoted in Rumeu de Armas 25). Here, at least, is one editor who seems to have internalized something from the literature to which he devoted his life. His tragic end would eventually give him ample reason to describe his life as a valley of tears. He was thrown into prison in 1568 by the Council of Ten for «haver fatto un mandato falso di capi di questo Consiglio» in 1563 (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Consiglio di X Registri Criminali n. 10; quoted in Rumeu de Armas 63). We learn from a letter he wrote to the Spanish king that the falsified document had to do with «una lisençia de un libro que aqui se imprimio... por mandado [supuesto] de los Inquisidores» (quoted in Rumeu de Armas 63). We will find out later just what sort of book this clandestine edition was. From the Valier prison, he wrote letters of appeal to famous personages such as the Spanish Secretary of State, the Hapsburg Archdukes of Austria, the Gonzaga family, and even King Philip II. The king gave him a good character recommendation, but neither this nor anything else succeeded in saving him. Sentenced to perpetual incarceration, he continued to write and translate books with a dizzyingly prolific output. He died in prison of tuberculosis at about the age of forty, a seeming martyr to freedom of the press.

It is fascinating to ruminate, then, that the artifact in question could not have been produced either ten years before or ten years after it was published by Ulloa and Giolito. Ten years before, Ulloa had not yet arrived on the scene. Ten years later, Giolito's program had shifted emphasis. It was only at this moment in history that circumstances were favorable enough for it to come into being.

The Circumstances of Consumption I: Intended Market

ITALIAN INTEREST IN Spanish vernacular literature may, perhaps, best be understood in terms of a larger movement in Europe toward the vernacular in general. This movement toward vernacular prose had been advocated by upper-class Italians such as Pietro Bembo, a fact reminding us that «the rejection by the dominant culture of forms rooted in the common culture came late» (Chartier 169). That is, literature in the vernacular served to bind upper and lower classes:

earlier in the sixteenth century, when moralists castigated the public which read with avidity *Cárcel de amor*, *Celestina*, *Amadís*, and *Diana*, they made no distinction

between the nobility and the vulgo... [W]e cannot usefully distinguish an upper and lower class of reading public even in the seventeenth century (Whinnom 195).

Just because «a ratos, el más sesudo de los varones podía hallar deleite en las ficciones narrativas» does not mean that these frivolous readings were not «hábilmente compaginadas con lecturas profesionales o con otras más apropiadas a su condición» (Gómez Moreno 11). It is also important to remember that «obras de ficción sentimental, fue[ron] pasatiempo para los lectores pero también instrumento literario para aprender lenguas» (Parrilla lxxvi).

Even on this level of basic utility as a tool for language learning, it is undeniable that the appeal of this particular cultural artifact says something about the willingness of Italian readers to open their minds to both the world of the vernacular and the world of Spain. Gómez Moreno describes «la buena estrella que gozó *La Celestina* entre el público de Italia, tal vez acallados por la rancia estirpe de... la comedia humanística... [V]ale concluir que el lector de aquel entonces sintió muchos menos prejuicios de los que hoy sospechamos a la hora de escoger sus lecturas» (Gómez Moreno 12).

Italians of this period were so interested in Spanish literature that many intellectual histories have striven to discover why: «España nunca fue indiferente para los humanistas italianos; la presencia española en su tierra provocó, de acuerdo con cada momento y escritor, sentimientos de amor y odio, de atracción y rechazo» (Gómez Moreno 124). The Italians were united with the Spaniards against their common enemy France, which was allied with the pope. The Italians had many reasons to look to the Spaniards as friends: Italy called upon Charles V to defend it from the Turks, and the Spaniards came through with aid against the French as well. In 1557 the prince of Molfetta was a noted presence in Venice as he prepared to sail with the Spanish against Pope Paul IV and the French King Henri II.

But the Italians also distrusted the Spaniards, and Venetians in particular criticized the heavy-handedness of the Spanish Inquisition (Pullan 57). Qualities often cited by Cinquecento Italians in criticism of the Spaniards are belicosity and rusticity, as well as lack of orderliness. A century earlier, Giovanni Pontano had blamed the Spaniards for the bad habits acquired by the Neapolitans (Giovanni Pontano, *Antonius*; quoted in Gómez Moreno 124). Boccaccio himself had alluded to the *hispani* as «semibarbari et efferati homines» (dedicatory letter to *De casibus virorum illustrium*; quoted in Gómez Moreno 125). Nevertheless, there had been, since 1369, a Colegio Español in the University of Bologna. Spaniards also attended school in Venice; one prominent example is Antonio Pérez, the future Spanish Secretary of State and also a friend of Ulloa's, who

lived in Venice in 1553-54. One scholar claims, «[e]l interés por ciertas narraciones españolas de los últimos años del siglo xv fue estimulado en Italia por la pareja formada por Alfonso d'Este y Lucrecia Borgia; por ello Isabella emulaba a su cuñada, introduciendo tanto en Mantua como en Ferrara parecidas modas literarias» (Parrilla lxxviii).

But from these broad generalities we must narrow our discussion to focus on this specific artifact. Some group of readers somewhere in Italy wanted to read a Spanish vernacular classic in Spanish, as evidenced by the fact that this 1556 edition was a reprint from an earlier press run of 1553. So we must ask ourselves the obvious question: within the limitations of basic Spanish literacy, who were the readers of this text after it was re-inscribed in the Venetian literary market?

To respond to this question, we must distinguish immediately between intended and actual readers. The

image of the intended reader can take on different forms, according to the text being dealt with: it may be the idealized reader; or it may reveal itself through anticipation of the norms and values of contemporary readers, through individualization of the the public, through apostrophes to the reader, through the assigning of attitudes, or didactic intentions, or the demand for the willing suspension of disbelief. Thus the intended reader, as a sort of fictional inhabitant of the text, can embody not only the concepts and conventions of the contemporary public but also the desire of the author both to link up with these concepts and to work on them... [B]y characterizing this fictitious reader it is possible to reconstruct the public which the author wished to address (Iser 33).

But it is not always useful to talk about intended readers when all we really ever have are actual readers. A given exemplar of a work of literature «must be thought of as an event in time. It is not an object or an ideal entity. It happens during a coming-together, a compenetration, of a reader and a text» (Rosenblatt 12). Roger Chartier describes the challenge posed to historians of the book by the prospect of unraveling these appropriations:

the reader invariably finds himself inscribed in the text, but in turn the text is itself inscribed variously in its different readers. Thus it is necessary to bring together two perspectives that are often disjointed: on the one hand, the study of the way in which texts and the printed works that convey them organize the pre-

scribed reading; and on the other, the collection of actual readings tracked down in individual confessions... (Chartier 157-58).

Let us therefore turn to the responses of actual readers to determine as much as possible about how an artifact like this was used and what its early readers hoped to gain from it.

The Circumstances of Consumption II: «Actual Readings Tracked Down in Individual Confessions»

THE *CELESTINA* HAS proven peculiarly suitable for reader-response studies. For example, Joseph T. Snow wrote an essay on the several iterations of the text in «Fernando de Rojas as First Reader: Reader-Response Criticism and *Celestina*» (Snow 245-58). But Rojas's Prologue has also attracted attention among historians of the book who are completely unaffiliated with Spanish Golden Age scholarship. Roger Chartier sees this Prologue as a model of reader-response theory, a virtual manifesto proclaiming emphasis on the reader. He expounds admiringly:

Rojas notes at least three readings of the *tragicomedia*. The first focuses not on the story as a whole but rather on certain detached episodes... The second reading retains from the tragicomedy nothing more than easily memorized formulas, those *donaires y refranes* (pleasantries and proverbs) that provide clichés and ready-made expressions. These formulas are collected in the course of a reading that establishes absolutely no intimate relationship, no individual rapport, between the reader and what is read. To these practices, which mutilate the work and miss its true meaning, the author opposes the correct, profitable reading (Chartier 155).

To my knowledge, however, no studies of actual readership notes have been done for any exemplars of this text. The two readers of this exemplar have written in an early seventeenth-century hand. Chartier (and Rojas, for that matter) would probably conclude that neither of this exemplar's two readers has achieved the third and highest level of readership skill. But each has «appropriated» the text in a unique and interesting way.

Reader # 1

THE BEST EXAMPLE of this reader's handwriting occurs on 31r.³ We may guess at his profile from the rhetorical term *comparatio* which he writes in the margin of this page: he has studied at least the basic figures of speech in school and can both recognize them and recall their names. Another characteristic of his reading style suggests that he may have attended one of the Latin schools: this reader seems most concerned with the «*sententias philosophales*» promised in the title. In reference to this text, Gómez Moreno explains with respect to Italian readers: «a pesar de que nuestros gustos hayan variado de forma ostensible, no han de escapársenos las palabras de Fernando de Rojas en el prólogo a *La Celestina*: gracias a ellas, sabemos que las flores de sabios eran tan atractivas para el lector del momento que procedía usarlas como reclamo» (Gómez Moreno 221).

These proverbs may well have attracted this reader, especially because he probably fit into the category of *mancebos* mentioned in the advertisement blurb for the book. Chartier would call him the epitome of a «level two» reader as outlined in Rojas's Prologue. But this mode of reading also fits into a larger educational program through which students were taught to collect pithy sayings as a way of preparing for their own speeches and compositions. An English contemporary of our readers, an anonymous student, recommended in his commonplace book a «Compendious & Profitable Way of Studying» which would involve «some Rhetoricall expressions, Description, or some very apt Simile, or a very applicative story, & the most choise morrall sentences» (quoted in Sherman 61).⁴

3. It is important to keep in mind that all readers of this artifact and the ones at the Hispanic Society wrote in late 16th —or early 17th— century hand. For convenience of reference, I have left citations to this artifact in the text with traditional abbreviations for *recto* and *verso*. I have also indicated line breaks in the print with a «/». All other symbols, such as «=», are reproduced faithfully from the original. The printer often, but inconsistently, used this sign in the way that we would use a hyphen to divide a word. In the discussion that follows, I have quoted nothing that was not noted by one of the early readers.

4. Another Englishman of the same time period, Edward Vaughan, published a textbook on efficient reading (specifically on the Bible) in 1594. In it he gave a detailed list of instructions on how to compile, and later use, commonplace books:

You must digest in a writing booke of two quires, after the maner of common places: one of the same places or titles must be at the upper end of eurie second leafe in Quarto; and be sure to place nothing vnderneath but such matter as the place and title requireth. And when you haue so gone ouer and written all your booke, then cast it aside, and take to another after the same order... Thus doe once more in another booke, and then you shall be able readily and roundly to speake artificially and diuinely of all things necessarie to saluation... (quoted in Sherman 61).

William Sherman describes the process as «not so much a question of cracking the code of a text as determining its relevance and applicability in contexts often very different from that

This reader's primary annotational device is a line drawn horizontally in the margin next to a passage (usually a single line of printed text) which interests him. It would be much tidier if all of the proverbs marked by this reader would fall clearly into thematic groups which could then be considered the equivalents of pages in his commonplace book. But some of the proverbs he marks simply resist thematization.⁵ One of the best examples of the reader's attention to random sayings occurs next to what is more a *refrán* than a proverb. It is a nifty way to say «shut up» in Spanish. Sempronio says, «por mi amor hermano que oygas e calles, que por esso te dio Dios dos ohidos, e una lengua sola» (97v). Perhaps the reader wanted to incorporate this phrase into his repertoire of Spanish slang.

Many of the passages of interest for this reader are of the «el Sol mas arde donde puede reberuerar» variety —i.e., generic maxims (12v). But

in which it was produced... Such preparation aimed at the accumulation of copia for the sake not only of eloquentia but of sapientia and prudentia» (Sherman 61-62).

5. For the sake of comparison among characters—to see which ones this reader likes the most or responds to the most frequently—it is somewhat useful, from a literary critic's perspective, to group the unthematized proverbs marked by the reader into lines spoken by the various participants in the Tragicomedia:

Celestina speaks:

- «El cierto amigo en la cosa incierta se conoce» (65v).
- «Estremo es creer a todos e yerro no creer a nin/guno» (28r).
- «a cada cabo hay tres leguas de mal quebranto» (44r).
- «que dizen, que offrescer mucho al que poco pide es especie de negar» (60r).
- «El proposito muda el sabio, el nescio perseue=ra» (54r).
- «Pues de cossario a cossario, no se pierden sino los barriles» (73v).
- «quien en muchas par/tes derrama su memoria, en ninguna la puede tener» (74r).
- «Da Dios havas a quien no tiene qvixadas» (28v).

(These last two proverbs of Celestina's and the first one of Sempronio's, below, actually appear in all capital letters in the text, thus already highlighted for the reader by the printer.)

Pármeno speaks:

- «O Dios no hay pestilencia mas efficaz que el ene/migo de casa para empecer» (30r).

Melibea speaks:

- «no es uencido sino el que se cree serlo» (48r).

Areúsa speaks:

- «el gusto dañado muchas uezes juzga por dulce lo amargo» (83v).

Calisto speaks:

- «Del Monte sale con que se arde» and on the next line «que criè cueruo que me sacasse el ojo» (119r).

Sempronio speaks:

- «Mvcho pvede el continvo trabajo» (78r).
- «quien con modo torpe sube en alto mas presto cae que sube» (53v).
- «No sea ruydo hechizo... que afí se suelen dar las çaraças en pan embueltas, porque no las sienta el gusto» (98v).

In a final example from Sempronio, two different parts of his speech are highlighted by the reader: «no es todo blanco aquello que de negro no tiene semejança, ni es todo oro quanto ama=rillo reluze» and «en poco espacio de tiêpo no cabe grã biê auenturança. Vn solo golpe, no derriba un roble, apercibete con sufrimiento, porque la prudencia es cosa loable, y el apercibimiento resiste el fuerte combate» (80r).

many marked passages may be grouped together to reveal an interest in specific themes or *topoi*. Perhaps the following were some divisions within this reader's commonplace book: honor, financial status, religion, and love. Let us examine each of these in turn to explore the reader's specific points of interaction with the text.

The most interesting annotation overall by this reader occurs next to a passage about honor. Sempronio declares,

Entre los elementos el fuego por ser mas actiuo es mas noble, enlas espheras puesto en mas noble lugar. E dizen algunos que la nobleza es una alaban=ça que prouiene delos merecimientos e antigüe=dad delos padres: yo digo que la agena luz nun/ca te harà claro, si la propia no tienes, e por tan/to no te estimes enla claridad de tu padre que tã magnifico fue, sino enla tuya, e asì se gana la honrra... (31 r-v)

Beside the passage our reader writes:

comparatio
mas vale noblesa de linagio q'.

Whatever comparison this reader made was cropped off when the book was rebound. But what is especially interesting about this annotation is the conflation of Spanish and Italian orthography to the extent that the words do not really pertain to either lexicon. He makes another mark as the passage continues, «el bueno como tu es digno que tenga perfecta uirtud. Y aun te digo, q' la uirtud perfecta no pone que sea fecho con digno honor, porende goza de hauer seydo asì magnifico e liberal» (31v). In connection with the theme of honor, the reader seems especially interested in what society requires of women. Pleberio speaks of «las quatro princ/cipales cosas que enlos casamientos se deman=dan, conuiene a saber lo primero, discrecion, ho/nestidad, e uirginidad» (127r), and the reader takes note. Also in relation to love customs, Calisto says of noble women «aquien mas quieren peor fablan, e si as=si no fuesse ninguna diferencia hauria entre las publicas que aman alas escondidas donzellas» (57r), and the reader seems to agree with this description of their coquettishness. He also notes the text's radical claim that, at least in some form, honor does not pertain to the upper class alone. The reader marks an expression of concern with social status by Sempronio, a low-class servant: «Que cierto peor extremo es dexarse hom/bre de su merecimiento, que poner se en mas al/to lugar que deue» (16r).

Perhaps as a subdivision of the «social class» page in his commonplace book, this reader might have made room for some quotations about financial status. He marks the line of Pármeno: «por una parte te tengo por ma=dre, por otra a Calisto por amo, riqueza desseo, pero quien tor-

pemente sube alo alto mas ayna cae que subió» (27v). When *la codiciosa* Celestina sounds like Iago tempting Rodrigo in the «put money in thy purse» speech of *Othello* —«no hay lugar tã alto q'un asno cargado de oro no lo suba» (37v)— the reader makes a mark.⁶ He does likewise when Celestina reiterates this theme with, «Refran uiejo es, quien menos procura, alcanza mas bien» (61r). He also draws a line in the margin when Sempronio, observing her, comments, «yo he dicho quanto en los uiejos reyna este uicio de cobdicia» (110r).

When Melibea speaks to Celestina, emphasizing the social abyss between them («Bien conozco que fablas dela feria, segun te ua enella, aßi que otra cancion diran los rricos» [44r]), the reader becomes even more interested. The speech continues on the same page with «Aquel es rico que está bien con Dios,» and this time it gets two lines of emphasis from the reader. One recognized origin of some of these proverbs was the *De remediis utriusque fortunae* of Petrarch, a small treatise in the consolatory tradition which along with the *Fiammetta* of Boccaccio (also figuring in Giolito's program), was a source for Fernando de Rojas. Many of the proverbs about poverty noted by our reader were drawn directly from Petrarch. For example, the reader notes that Pármeno says,

La neceßidad e pobreza, la hambre, que no hay mejor maestra enel mundo, no hay mejor desper/tadora e abiuadora de ingenios, quien mostrò alas picaças, e papagayos imitar nuestra propia fabla con sus harpadas lenguas, nuestro organo e boz, sino esta? (82r)

The reader also sees that Calisto negates the apparent good fortune of wealth: «Quando el uil esta rico ni tiene pariente ni amigo» (119r). He sees the same message repeated in, «O simple diras que a donde hay mayor entendimiento, hay mayor fortuna, y donde mas discrecion alli es menor la fortuna, dichas son» (28v).⁷ In the vein of what the reader would have recognized as Petrarchan neo-Stoicism, Celestina speaks of «los coraçones aparejados con apercibimiento rezio contra las aduersidades» (103r). Celestina also comforts herself in the tradition of consolatory literature, in a phrase perhaps recognized by the reader as having been taken directly from Petrarch's title: «siempre lo ohi dezir, que es mas difficil de suf-frir la prospera fortuna que la aduersa» (98v).

Another major area of concern for this apparently pious reader was religion. In one of the first occurrences of Sempronio's often repeated «Cal-

6. A reader of the 1553 edition at the Hispanic Society marked this same passage. This other reader also, in line with the poverty/wealth theme, marked the passage, «digo que no los q' poco tienen son pobres, mas los que mucho dessean» (27v).

7. We may only speculate that, though it may have gone unnoticed by this reader, perhaps not a native speaker of Spanish, the printers (perhaps not natives either), made an error and printed «mayor» for «menor.»

la Dios mio,» the first and third words are vigorously crossed out (19r). Maybe the reader considered this blasphemy. But if this is an instance of homemade censorship, the corrected version in context now reads «Dios, y enojas te?» —a version which seems equally irreverent. Henceforth the reader appears to dispense with any attempt at censorship— he would have to scratch out large portions of every page! He seems to turn instead to a more productive way of reading: an examination of his conscience. He draws lines in the margin next to the following descriptions of specific vices:

«Delos hombres es errar, e bestial es la porfia» (29v)

«el mas empescible miembro del mal hõbre o muger es la lengua» (misnumbered 48r, really 47r).

Some of the juxtapositions of vices with their corresponding virtues may have been recognized by the reader as derived from specific Biblical episodes:

From the «poor in spirit» part of the Beatitudes: «uirtud nos amonesta a suf=frir las tentaciones y no dar mal por mal, y espe/cial quando somos tentados» (24v).

From the Good Shepherd story: «del buen pa/stor es propio trasquilar sus ouejas e ganado pero no destruirlo e estragarlo» (117r).

From the vengeance/mercy dichotomy: «ya sa=bes que el deleycte dela uengança dura un mo=mento, y el dela misericordia para siempre» (48v).

Some of the religious passages are less subtle and complex. The reader makes a graphic nod in the margin when Sempronio praises God: «O soberano Dios quan altos son tus misterios» (13v). In Aretino we find this same ideal of simple, emotional faith.

The final major area of concern for this reader, a *topos* which must have taken up several pages in his commonplace book, was eros or romantic love and the pain it could cause. He writes in capitals *DE AMOR* next to Calisto's refutation of Sempronio's misogyny:⁸

SEM. Que sometes la dignidad del hombre ala imper/feccion dela flaca muger.

CAL. Muger? o grossero Dios, Dios (14r).

8. The reader notes two other instances of misogyny in the text: Celestina to Melibea, «donde no hay uaron todo bien fallece, con mal està el suso...» (46r) and Calisto, «el genero flaco de las hembras es mas apto para las prestas cautelas: que el delos uarones» (59v).

He writes again, this time in miniscules, *de amor* next to Calisto's reference to Melibea as «...esta, que no tiene menor poderio en mi uida que Dios» (20r). These annotations are, of course, in Spanish. He writes *Amor* next to «Dios» again when Calisto calls Melibea «mi señora e mi Dios» (34r). The reader may, perhaps, even identify with the symptoms of love sickness which he marks recurrently: «No es cosa mas propia del que ama, que la im=paciencia, toda tardança le es tormento, ningun=dilacion le agrada, en un momento querrian poner en effecto, sus cogitaciones» (35r); «no sabes que aliuia la pena llorar la causa?» (32r); and «Nunca el coraçon lastimado de desseo toma la buena nueua por cierta, ni la mala dubdosa» (98r). Near the nihilistic end of the work, the reader notes the rejection of romantic love without freedom in Melibea's soliloquy: «no piensen enestas uani/dades ni enestos casamientos, *quemas uale ser buena amiga, que mala casada: dexeñme gozar mi mocedad alegre*» (128r, emphasis mine).

Reader #2

THIS READER IS identifiable by his childish handwriting and lighter ink, and he was more likely than not a student at one of the less prestigious schools. Students attending the approximately 85 vernacular schools comprised 53 percent of the pupils in Renaissance Venice, and they were taught «a standard group of vernacular religious and secular textbooks, plus writing and the mathematical and accounting skills needed for the world of commerce» (Grendler, *Schooling*, 50).⁹ Aside from a doodled hand drawn next to a version of the same Spanish phrase for «shut up» (132r), this reader has concerns very distinct from those of the first reader. On many occasions he appears simply to be translating from Spanish to Italian (see Appendix II).¹⁰ On 12v the reader writes *nuoce*, from the verb *nuo-*

9. My assumption of male gender for these two readers is based on Grendler's statistics for pupils in Venice at this time. In 1587 there were only thirty female pupils in all of Venice (96). The census of 1586 had shown that only .2 percent of school-age girls attended formal schools (44), and only 12.2-13.2 percent of all women were literate (46). See also Grendler, *Books and Schools*, 43.

10. A reader of the 1553 edition, a copy of which I have examined (Hispanic Society of America, shelf mark Penney 11), is reading in the same way, methodically looking up Spanish words he does not understand and translating them into Italian in the margin. He usually makes a small dot under the word in the text to which his note corresponds. He seems to engage with the text consistently through Act IV, but then lapses away from annotating again until Acts IX and XII.

It is interesting that almost none of the words he glosses appear in the lexicon at the back, a tool to which he has access but which appears not to help him with many of the words he is interested in. He may, however, look up the words which do appear in the back, but without taking notes on words that would be easy to look up again in the lexicon. See Appendix 2 for a representative list of the words this reader has glossed.

cere, «to be harmful,» next to a place where Sempronio speaks of the pain of unrequited love. I quote here the whole passage he underlines:

Por otra parte dizen los sabios, que es grande descanso a los affligidos tener con quien puedan sus cuytas llorar, e que llaga interior mas empece, pues en estos estremos en que estoy perplexo lo mas sano es entrar y sufrirle y con/solarle, porque aunque es posible sanar sin arte ni aparejo, mas ligero es guarecer por arte y por cura. (12v)

There is also a line of Calisto's to which the reader might be referring: «quierome sufrir un po=co, si entre tanto se matare muera» (12v). On the same page he writes *forse* in the margin next to the word «quiçà» in the text, which he also underlines. The reader also underlines «que oydo he dezir» (12v), one of the more difficult Spanish grammatical inversions with which he may have had trouble. The reader draws a line to Celestina's description of her woman friend Claudina, specifically her recollection of her as «agradable cōpañia» (37r), and writes *amica* or possibly *amiche* in the margin. His interest picks up as he moves through the text, and he begins to write comments of more than one word. Next to Celestina's «no lo digas a tu señora» to Lucrecia, with her promise to give the foul-smelling Lucrecia some mouthwash, the reader writes *o di cosa dura*, perhaps a reflection on the impropriety exposed. When Lucrecia speaks of a specific *alcahueta* (female pimp) to Alisa, mother of Melibea, with, «no se como no tienes memoria dela que empi=cotaron por hechizera, que uendia las moças a los abbades, e descansaua mill casados» (42r), the reader writes *caduto de* to indicate either the witch's punishment or the maidens' loss of virginity. Perhaps the reader is also predicting the impending fall of Melibea if her mother does not guard her from Celestina.

The reader's interest picks up further as the text becomes increasingly pornographic. He begins to draw and doodle, expressing restlessness or agitation. He draws scribbles in the shape of an S near the following speech of Celestina advocating that women take more than one lover:

No hay cosa mas perdida fija, que el mur que no sabe sino un horado, si aquel le tapan no haurà donde se esconda del gato. Quien no tiende sino un ojo mira a quanto peligro anda. Una anima sola ni canta, ni llora, un solo acto no faze habito. Un frayle solo pocas uezes lo encontraràs por la calle. Una perdiz sola por marauilla buela. Un manjar solo contino presto pone hastio. Una golondrina no haze uerano. Un testigo solo no es entera fe, quien sola una ro/pa tiene presto la enuegece. Que quieres fija de=ste numero de uno, mas inconuinientes te dirè del, que años tengo acuestas. (72r)

There is a hand drawn next to a similar eulogy by Celestina of the pleasure of sex: «Es un fuego escondido, una agradable llaga, un sabroso ueneno, una dulce amargura, una delei/ctable dulceza, un alegre tormento, una dulce e fiera ferida, una blanda muerte» (93v). The reader draws multiple A's, S's and crosses (+')s next to Tristan's vituperation against women who sell their bodies:

queria condenar el anima por coten/tar su dañada uoluntad. O rufianada muger, y con que blanco pan te daua çaraças, queria uender su cuerpo a trueco de contienda, oyeme e si aßi presumes que es, armale trato doble qual yo te diré, que quien engaña al engañador... (138r).

There is a line in the margin by the passage, and then three columns, each with an A at the top, three crosses below, and an S at the bottom. One can only speculate that the A might stand for «Amor,» the S for «Sexo.» The scene to which the reader is responding here is the most pornographic of the entire book, in which the female pimp acts as *voyeuse* while the prostitute and her seducer have intercourse.

The Circumstances of Consumption III: A Potential Community of Readers¹¹

THE READER WILL recall that Alfonso de Ulloa was thrown into prison for falsifying a document pertaining to a clandestine edition of an unauthorized book. It is time to explore further details about this secret operation. According to a letter written by the King of Spain to the Doge of Venice in 1569, we discover that his crime was actually «aver... hecho imprimir... çierto libro en lengua hebrea, sin liçençia de la Señoria» (Rumeu de Armas 63). For this act, he was sentenced to decapitation. One of the statements issued by the Council of Ten concerning this case referred to the lack of caution in Ulloa's «scritture et opere stampate o da stampar» (Rumeu de Armas 63). They were worried enough about these printed and unprinted materials to confiscate them.

Ulloa had edited the works of Fernando de Rojas, Diego de San Pedro, Ferdinand Columbus, and others, all either certainly of, or with strong probability of, Jewish ancestry. In his correspondence, he often evinced a (Jewish? or typically Spanish?) hatred of Arabs. Ulloa left Spain around 1549, for unknown reasons: «[e]l porque del exodo... a Italia está envuelto en el misterio» (Rumeu de Armas 36). It was not unheard of for Spanish *conversos* to flee Spanish persecution and escape to Italy, where they

11. The phrase is borrowed from Fish 48.

sometimes set up printing businesses.¹² Antonio Salamanca, a *converso* (or *marrano*, as they were known in Italy), moved to Rome and opened a shop there, working as librarian, publisher, and printer. The community of *marrani* there supported his efforts: «la presenza di tanti connazionali poteva assicurare un solido supporto all'inizio di una nuova attività» (Misiti 551).

In Italy, Ulloa also developed ties to a support group of adversaries to the Spanish crown, and later, he avoided the death sentence by turning in his accomplices (Rumeu de Armas 42, 64). Two critics have expressed curiosity at his dissident attitude, revealed at times in his dedicatory letters as a tone of dissatisfaction with Spain (Di Filippo Bareggi 227; cited in Binotti). When he was finally thrown into prison, had the authorities kept an eye on him for some time already? He did make one journey back to Spain in 1560 as an interpreter for Prospero Publicola. Was the atmosphere in Venice becoming unsafe for him even then?

Manasseh ben Israel reported in *To His Highnesse the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, the Humble Addresses... in behalfe of the Jewish Nation* (Amsterdam, 1655):

In Italy the Jews are generally protected by all the Princes. Their principall residence is in this most famous City of Venice; so that in that same City alone they possesse about 1400 houses; and are used there with much courtesy and clemency (quoted in Yerushalmi 194).

This description would seem to indicate that by the mid-seventeenth century, Venice was being viewed by Jewish people as a safe haven or refuge. But just fifty to seventy years earlier, the situation had been much worse. In the Cinquecento Jewish Spaniards who settled in Venice had to choose immediately whether to declare themselves Christians or Jews (Pullan 86). For those who went the Jewish route,

before 1589, there was only one safe way for Marranos to obliterate their past and win effective guarantees against prosecution for apostasy. This was to join the ranks of the Spanish-speaking Levantines, for the Venetians were disinclined to pursue those who plainly

12. I am currently investigating the possibility that Jewish publishers in several locations may have printed editions of the *Celestina*. Specifically, I am attempting to determine whether the following publishers of the *Celestina* in these specific editions, all with names which might be Jewish, had any Jewish ancestry:

Jacobo Cromberger, Seville, 1525, 1528, 1550

Mathias Mares, Salamanca, 1569

Mathias Gast, Salamanca, 1570

Daniel & David Aubrios, Frankfurt, 1624.

declared themselves to be Jews, and who, by accepting the constrictions imposed upon Jews, also accepted the Venetian concept of order (Pullan 168).

This complex notion of a restricted haven forced Jews, especially those of the upper class, to make a difficult choice. In 1573 the Venetian Council of Ten offered safe-conduct to all Spanish Jews who wanted to settle in Venice within the next two years. But this privilege would only extend to those who agreed to live in the Ghetto and wear yellow hats, causing no «scandal in matters of faith» (Pullan 183). Conversely, for those who fashioned for themselves a Christian identity,

[a]nnual confession and Communion in a parish church, where the communicant stood some chance of being known and remembered, were the indispensable signs of adhesion to the Catholic faith... Towards 1580, Spanish or Portuguese immigrants would excite suspicion if they failed to commission for their dead relatives funeral rites of suitable grandeur... «Marrano»... had passed into the Italian vocabulary of religious abuse and had even entered Venetian official documents... [T]he term meant a dissembler—one who, even in Italy, lived outwardly as a Christian but inwardly as a Jew... [I]t was an insult reserved to Spanish or Portuguese Jews... (Pullan 126, 170).

Jews were a sizeable contingent of the population in Venice at this time, but the authoritarian social structure did its best to contain them: «the Università degli Ebrei ...comprised the several Jewish nations, and the Jews could also be said to form an estate of outcastes, lower in status than all the recognized Christian orders... The social framework was... rigid and formalized» (Pullan 146). The Talmud was burned all over Italy by the Inquisition in 1553, the same year Ulloa published his first edition of the *Celestina*. Other books condemned by the Inquisition in Venice included Spanish rite Jewish festival prayers (Grendler, *Culture and Censorship*, 115), which were published by numerous Hebrew presses in the city, such as that of Daniel Bromberg (Ioly Zorattini 555).¹³ In 1550 the Senate had ordered that the *marrani* be expelled, but merchants complained so vehemently that the order had not been carried out.

Ulloa's promulgation of a Spanish-language editorial program would not have been incompatible with pro-Jewish sentiment. There is «pow-

13. For another example of Spanish rite Jewish festival prayers, see Isaac Nieto's *Orden de los Oraciones de Ros-ashanah y Kipur* (London, 1740), described in Kobrin and Shear 30. Another early example of a Jewish printing house in Italy was the Sons of Israel Nathan Soncino in Soncino, Italy, who were printing Jewish texts as early as 1485 (Kobrin and Shear 21).

erful evidence that Spaniards of Jewish descent harboured a deep-seated loyalty to Spain, or a nostalgia for it, which survived expulsion or emigration... This found expression in the tombstones of Iberian Jews in Venice and Livorno embellished with the arms of *hidalgos* and bearing inscriptions in Spanish, or in the synagogues of Salonica, called by the names of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, Catalonia...» (Pullan 128). And besides, Jewish heritage had nothing to do with practice, just as Spanish Catholic roots did not equal devotion. The assessment of Paolo Tiepolo made in 1563 was often repeated during this time, that Spaniards were extravagantly pious but equally prone to allowing religion to serve the same purpose as festival or comedy (cited in Pullan 208). His relatively high birth should also not rule out the possibility that Ulloa was part Jewish: many high-ranking Spanish officials were not pure-blooded by any means (Castro 39). Besides, in Italy in general «in the fifteenth century, it had become extremely difficult to distinguish Jews from Christians. They spoke the same language, lived in similar houses, and dressed with an eye to the same fashion. Jews who settled in Italy from German cities were indeed shocked by the extent of assimilation among their Italian coreligionists» (Hughes 158).

But let us return to the artifact that inspired this study. Ulloa makes reference to Jewish sacrificial practice in the dedication of this edition of the *Celestina*: «pues el Dios uerdadero se contenta d'el que no le puede offercer una Cabra, le offrezca los pelos d'a=/quella» (3v). Mysteriously, he feigns not to know who the author of the work was, even though it was well known at this time that Rojas, a *converso*, was responsible for writing it. And as in other dedications of other works, Ulloa once again appropriates the closing words of the *Celestina*, originally taken from the Psalmist: «hauiamos de caminar eneste Valle de lagrimas» (2r).

The best evidence for Ulloa's Jewish sympathies comes from his forgeries of some alleged letters of Antonio de Guevara. He published this volume under Guevara's name but, curiously, left multiple traces of his own authorship, such as a letter addressed to his own father. In addition to the falsified letters, the volume contains several letters which were Guevara's but which had been excluded from two previous editions published by Giolito because of their overtly political nature: these letters addressed the revolt of the *Comunidades* in the 1520s. When Ulloa chose to bring these to light, he was probably thinking of his own public as well (Binotti 46).¹⁴ Di Filippo Bareggi describes Ulloa's strident dissidence: «[e] quanto a uno dei problemi più tipici della Spagna, quello dei convertiti, egli, per bocca del Guevara, addito decisamente al lettore italiano la falsità delle motivazioni religiose dell'intolleranza dei suoi compatrioti» (Di Filippo

14. Lucia Binotti, following the basic premises of all the other critics who have written on Ulloa, never mentions the possibility of his Jewish sympathies.

Bareggi 227, quoted in Binotti 43). Through this venue Ulloa, hiding himself behind the falsified identity of an indisputably Catholic bishop, diffused information in Italy about Spanish persecution of the Jews.

It is tantalizing to speculate about the specifics of Ulloa's target audience, whose cultural frames of reference he knew well and whose expectations he could maneuver (Binotti 42). The only enlightening trace of potential *marrano* readership in this exemplar was made by the first reader, who marked the passage, «Los peregrinos tienen muchas posadas, e pocas amistades» (26v). But it is intriguing that a reader of another exemplar of the same edition, whose annotations I have examined in the Hispanic Society of America (Penney 13), marked the exact same passage. Just hypothetically, if these readers had been *conversos* reading a work written by a *converso* and edited by another potential *converso*, they would have known from personal experience how these lonely pilgrims felt.

What is more exciting still is that yet a different reader, this time of the 1553 edition of the same text (Hispanic Society of America, Penney 11), wrote *ghetto* next to the famous «Putá Vieja» speech describing Celestina's habitual walks around her neighborhood (20v). The etymology of the word *ghetto* reveals it to derive from the Italian word *getto*, meaning foundry, since the very first ghetto anywhere in the world was founded in Venice in 1516 on the site of a foundry (*Oxford English Dictionary Online*). This quarter of the city, called the Ghetto, was specifically created as the area to which Jews were restricted. The fact that the notion of a neighborhood automatically evoked for this reader an image of a ghetto or Jewish community, as the term implied at the time—perhaps even *the* Ghetto in Venice—suggests an intimate familiarity with this place. The reader was not glossing any specific word in the text; he was engaging with it on a deeper level and identifying with it in some way.

The *limpieza de sangre*, or lack thereof, of Ulloa must necessarily remain a matter of speculation. Even if Ulloa himself had no Jewish ancestry, «[c]laims to a broader expertise on Jewish festivals and devotions, a readiness to see Judaism in terms of beliefs and arguments as well as rituals and routines, could be expected from Spanish or Portuguese residents in Venice» (Pullan 128). Whether or not he was in contact with any Penintine (Western) Jews, Ulloa would have been attuned to the Jewish readership market from having lived around *conversos* all his life and would have been capable of exploiting the financial prospects of this business venture. The *marrani* in Venice were one potential group of consumers which the producers of this cultural artifact may have been targeting. It is impossible to tell for sure from the marks of ownership whether their (or our) speculation succeeded. Many mysteries remain, but perhaps fewer than when we began.

Appendix I: Bibliographical Description of «The First Italian/ Spanish Dictionary»

ULLOA'S LEXICOGRAPHICAL AID, written as a companion to his 1553 edition of the *Celestina* (and carried over into the 1556 edition), has been called by many historians of idiom the first Italian/Spanish dictionary, even though it was limited to some of the more difficult words contained in this one text. It is arranged alphabetically by the first two letters only. The Princeton exemplar of the 1556 *Celestina* is a mutilated copy, lacking this section at the end. The following is a transcription of the distinguishing features of this tiny «dictionary» (in three gatherings of 8 signed *, **, ***) taken from the other copy of this edition surviving in the U.S., now at the Hispanic Society of America (Penney 13):

- f.*1r, INTRODVTIONE / DEL SIGNOR ALPHONSO DI / UGLIOA,
NELLA QVALE S'INSE/GNA PRONVNCIARE LA / LINGVA
SPAGNVOLA, / CON VNA ESPOSITIONE DA LUI FATTA / Ne-
lla Italiana, di parecchi uocaboli Hispagnuoli, dif-/ficili, contenuti
quasi tutti nella Tragicome/dia di Calisto e Melibea o / *Celestina*. /
[fleur-de-lis device] / CON PRIVILEGIO / [Giolito printer's device]
/ IN VINEGIA APPRESSO GABRIEL / GIOLITO DE FERRARI / E
FRATELLI. / MDLIII.
- f.*1v, blank
- f.*2r, Al muy magnifico señor el señor Gabriel Giolito de Ferrariis,
Alonso de Ulloa, *Inc.*: Hauiendome V. Merced encomedado los
dias passados...
- f.*3r, Introdutione che mostra il Signor Alfonso di Ugliaa a proferire
la lingua castigliana, *Inc.*: Per esser poca la differenza che ce tra la
lingua Castigliana e
Thoscana...
- f.*6r, Espositione in lingua Thoscana, di parecchi vocaboli hispagnuo-
li, fatta dal Signore Alfonso di Ugliaa, *Inc.*: Abasta. Per abastare et
abondare ...
- f.***7r, *colophon*: IMPRESSA EN VENECIA EN CASA DE GABRIEL
GIOLITO DE FERRARIIS / Y SUS HERMANOS. MD LIII
- f.***7v, Giolito printer's device
- f.***8, blank

Appendix II

THE FOLLOWING IS a representative list of the Spanish words Reader # 2 glossed by writing in the margin their Italian translations. In each case I

have italicized the reader's note and juxtaposed it to the word or phrase he highlights with a dot in the text:

rufiani/sirvientes y alcahuetas (10r); *horto/huerta, patron/amo, atti/fechos* (10v); *premia/galardo, grande/esquivo, timore/recelo* (11r); *absentia/ausencia, anchora/aun, finisca/acabes, ardire/atrevimiento, pche* [perche] /pues (11v); *forse/quiça, precipitoso/arreatado, a fortuna caso/acotescimiento, senso/seso, testimonio/testigo* (12r); *lamentasil/desbraue, sdegnan/dexemos, contro/antepone, dolori/cuytas, don-nosa/enestos estremos, depinto/pintada* (12v); *eretico/heresia* (13v); *indietro/atras, assai/harto, reprehendis/repruevas* (14r); *figlio de putana/*hideputa, *petti/pechos, mulatieri/azemileros* (14v); *ava/abuela, avo/abuelo, ascolta/escucha, suceda/acotezca, bugie/mentiras, audacie/osadías, oblivio/olvido, paura/miedo, audacia/atreuimiento, stregarie/hechicerías* (15r); *rufianaria/alcahueteria, sotile/delgadas, orar/rezado, far vergogna/denuestan en la calle, convitano/conbiden* (15v); *doppo chel/desque, oltra/allende, quantita/cantidad* (16r); *insino/fasta, ligati/atados, sotili/delgados, grossetti/grossezuelos, strega/hechicera* (16v); *sassi/penas, buone nove/albricias, parente/primo* (18r); *aime/ay, ay, alte/arriba, grasso/gordo, durezze/petreras, muri/paredes, volta/cara* (18v); *nozze/bodas, fraternita/cofradias, bestiami/ganados, legnaioli/carpinteros, horti/huertas* (20v); *tenera/tierna, muralia/tenerias, rotta malcompostol/cayda, grano/trigo, pezzo di carne secca meschinelle/* [description of food] (21r); *terra/barro* (21v); *diedi/di, una oltra/allende* (31r); *anchora/aun, sciolta/suelta* (31v); *Pozzie/sin seso, in tenebre/oscuro* (32r); *cinq/cinco, liberalia/franqueza* (32v); *error/yerro, emplumata/emplumada* (33r); *liberale/franco, cibo/ceuo, senza causa/embalde* (38r); *grandel/profundi* (41r); *forse che/quiça por* (42r); *trovarmi/fallarme, desiderato/desse, tunica/tosquillas* (42v); *ringratio/agradezco, forte/rezio* [glossed twice], *insino/desde, pezzo di tempo/rato, assai/harto* (43r); *acquedutti/* [description of aqueducts], *posseduti/posseydo, in poca spesa/a poca costa* (44r); *appresso/cabe* (45r); *fatte viuda/me embiudé, voto/vazio* [this word pair appears in the lexicon] (45v); *felice/dichosa* (46r); *doni/dadivas* (47v); *giovane/mancebo* (48r).

I have underlined the words he glosses which seem thematically interesting. They may indicate a desire on the part of the reader to know or remember the words for various *illiciti* and *villanie* (as the reader calls them, 31v and 41r): sons-of-bitches, witches, pimps, mad women, ruffians, heretics, and others who get tarred and feathered or «go naked in the street.» He writes *parole piccole componghi molti* next to a passage about sweet talk, or flirting. He also makes the comment *agudezza*, perhaps a nod of approval for a character's action equivalent to our expression «smart move.»

This reader, apparently unsophisticated with his Spanish language ability —although he attempts to correct the text twice (38r and 41v), he gets

it wrong once— seems to be struggling through the text to get the meaning of the basic plot instead of reading for any thematic coherence. But he does mark one other motif twice: the recurrent image in the text of the two-faced pimp, who conducts a respectable business as a façade during the day to hide the other occupation at night. The reader writes *specie* with a double-line symbol next to «era el primer officio cobbertura delos otros» (21v) and again *specie false* next to a description of pimping activities.

One other item of interest: on 16r this reader switches into Spanish once in his annotation, writing *comparacion* next to «aconstelacion.» This note fits with another indication that this reader has received basic instruction on the figures of speech: on 37r he writes *inditio per metafora*.

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KALLENDFORF, Hillaire, «*Celestina* in Venice: Piety, Pornography, *Poligrafi*», *Celestinesca* 27 (2003), pp. 75-106.

RESUMEN

ESTE ENSAYO ES una contribución a la historia de la recepción de la *Celestina* entre escritores y lectores hispanohablantes, y posiblemente judíos, que vivían en Venecia durante los siglos dieciseis y diecisiete. Como tal utiliza la metodología del campo de estudio conocida como la historia del libro para explorar las circunstancias de producción y consumo de este artefacto cultural. ¿Quién quería publicar una edición en español de la *Celestina* en Venecia en 1556? ¿Y quién la quería leer? Aun más, ¿quién hubiera querido suprimir o prohibir tal libro? Tras un estudio cuidadoso de los prefacios y dedicatorias, los grabados ilustrativos, el aparato lexicográfico y las anotaciones marginales hechas por dos lectores tempranos distintos, la autora encuentra unas respuestas a estas preguntas en la cultura literaria de los *poligrafi* y su preocupación binaria entre la piedad y la pornografía.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Celestina* ed. veneciana de 1556, historia del libro, pornografía, polígrafos.

ABSTRACT

THIS ESSAY IS a contribution to the reception history of the *Celestina* among Spanish-speaking, possibly Jewish, editors and readers living in Venice in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As such, it utilizes the methodology of the field known as history of the book to explore the circumstances of production and consumption of this cultural artifact. Who wanted to publish a Spanish-language edition of the *Celestina* in Venice in 1556? And who wanted to read it? Furthermore, who might have wanted to prohibit such a book? Through careful study of prefatory matter, woodcut illustrations, lexicographical apparatus, and marginal annotations by two different early readers, the author concludes that answers to some of these questions may be encountered in the literary culture of the *poligrafi* and their dual preoccupations with piety and pornography.

KEY WORDS: *Celestina* venetian edition 1556, history of de book, pornography, *poligrafi*.

