ALDUS MANUTIUS
HUMANISM AND THE LATIN CLASSICS

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

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Introduction

In the prefatory letter to his 1514 edition of Cicero's rhetorical works, Aldus Manutius complains how his work is impeded by, among other things, "numerous letters from scholars that come . . . from all parts of the world." In a similar vein, in his eulogy of Aldus[1] in the edition of Lactantius, published in April 1515, just two months after Aldus' death, Giambattista Egnazio asserts that "there is no nation in Europe, no matter how uncultured or remote, to whom the name of Aldus is not well known and famous."

Such widespread fame that Aldus was to enjoy as a scholar-printer-publisher contrasts strongly with our dim knowledge of his early life. He was born in the small hill-town of Bassiano in Lazio, the year of his birth being uncertain (his son Paolo gives it as 1452, his grandson points to 1449 or 1450). We know from his prefaces that he went to Rome for his university education and that he attended the lectures of Domizio Calderini when he was still a boy (*puer*)[2] and was a pupil of Gaspare da Verona, professor of rhetoric. In the late 1470s he extended his studies by moving to Ferrara and working under Battista Guarini. There he pursued or continued to pursue the study of Greek, the importance of which for serious work on the classical corpus Aldus must have already understood.

As was the case with other young humanists, one path to some financial security after his studies lay in finding a position as tutor to an aristocratic family, and this is the route that Aldus followed. He seems to have spent most of the 1480s in Carpi, in the employment of Caterina Pio, the widow of Leonello, the prince of that small principality, as tutor to her sons, Alberto and Leonello.[3] This was Aldus' last official teaching position that we know of, but

even when he had changed his profession, he retained a strong conviction concerning the importance of the teacher as the nurturer of the intellectual and moral development of the young. In the preface to his Latin grammar of February 1501, Aldus writes explicitly about this to grammar school teachers:

> And so we must strive with all our strength to see to it that our young are taught virtuous behavior at the same time as they are being taught classical literature, since in no way can one of these be done without the other. But if one were to fall short in one area, I think that how to live an honorable life is more important than how to acquire learning in the best possible way. For I prefer that upright youths know nothing of literature than that immoral persons know everything . . . but are as dissolute as can be.

In the previous month, in the preface to the first volume of the collection of Christian poetry, he had said something similar, but with an added religious component. He writes there that he was publishing these poems so that "young children of impressionable age . . . in their adolescent years . . . would not turn out to be morally corrupt and unfaithful in their beliefs . . . but rather upright men and strict adherents of the Christian faith."[4]

In 1489 Aldus had moved to Venice, which, apart from some breaks caused by the turmoil of the wars in northern Italy, was to be his base for the rest of his life and where he was to publish from his press, over a period of twenty years, the 130 or so[5] editions of works in Greek, Latin, and the vernacular, which brought him fame all over Europe.

Although Venice was already one of the great centers of printing in southern Europe at that time, we do not know whether Aldus was drawn to the city because he had in mind for himself a new career as printer and publisher. However, he may have begun

to think about printing editions of Greek works soon after he arrived there; in the preface to his *Thesaurus Cornucopiae et Horti Adonidis* of August 1496, Aldus says that he has been working on the printing of Greek for more than six years.[6] If he is not exaggerating, this would place the beginning of his enterprise as far back as 1490, almost as soon as he arrived in Venice and five years before the first datable publication of the press, the Greek grammar of Constantine Lascaris (February–March, 1495).

At first the main attraction of the city to Aldus may have been the presence there of many Greek exiles and the possibility of gaining access, through them, to manuscripts of the works of the ancient Greek authors. However, additional draws may have been the opportunity for further employment as a tutor to the Venetian aristocratic families and the existence of some fine private libraries in the city, such as those of Bernardo Bembo, Marino Sanuto, Ermolao Barbaro, and Domenico Grimani.[7] Aldus was soon acquainted with leading Venetian scholars, including Giorgio Valla, who was public lecturer in humanities at the school of San Marco, and with high-ranking members of Venetian society, such as Sanuto and Pietro Bembo, and we know that he met Angelo Poliziano when the renowned Florentine scholar visited Venice in 1491, as Poliziano includes his name in a list of Venetian patricians that he encountered there. It is clear then that he was mixing with fairly illustrious and learned members of Venetian society. His first major publication, however, was his Latin grammar of 1493, an indication perhaps that he was still engaged in tutoring. This was published by Andrea Torresano d'Asola, who had worked in Venice under the famous printer Nicolas Jensen and had bought much of the equipment of Jensen's press. By the time of the publication of Aldus' grammar, Torresano had built up a thriving publishing business that, in addition to an output of very salable products, including breviaries and the works of

such authors as Cicero and Livy, served the needs of lawyers with legal works and those of students with philosophical texts.[8]

His association with Torresano and his acquaintanceship with Giorgio Valla may be the keys to understanding the turn that Aldus' life took in the early 1490s. Valla was particularly interested in the scientific works of the Greeks in the areas of medicine, geography, mathematics, and natural philosophy and had translated into Latin many Greek works in those areas. Both Valla and Aldus must have felt keenly the need to have printed editions of the Greek originals rather than having to be satisfied with the Latin translations that were on the market. The threat that the wars in Italy posed for the survival of Greek manuscripts would have added to their concern.[9] It seems likely that Aldus was the driving force behind the formation with Torresano of a company whose initial aim was to safeguard and promote Greek studies. In whatever way it came about, the Aldine Press was formed in 1495 by the partnership of Torresano and Aldus with the Venetian nobl man Pierfrancesco Barbarigo, who held a 50 percent stake in the company, the rest being divided between the two printers, 40 percent to Torresano and a mere 10 to Aldus.[10] In the last six years of the century, a stream of Greek works issued from the publishing house, most notably, in the years 1495 to 1499, the famous five volumes of Aristotle (without the *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*, however, and containing much material from Theophrastus as well as some other items). The focus of the press was clearly on Greek philosophical and scientific works. The latter included Dioscorides' *De materia medicinae* and Nicander's *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaka*, printed in one volume in 1499, while Aratus' *Phaenomena* and Proclus' *Sphaera* appeared in the same year. In comparison, there was very little by Latin authors, but even these publications had a scientific slant: Hyginus' *Astronomica* (1497); Varro's *De lingua latina* (1498); the astronomical/astrological works of Julius Firmicus Maternus and Manilius (1499), in the same volume as Aratus and

Proclus. Even the Lucretius of 1500 may have been chosen less for its literary qualities than for the philosophical content and the physical theories espoused in the poem.

Along with such works were the aids to learning Greek. In addition to the Greek grammar of Constantine Lascaris of 1495, already mentioned, that of Theodore Gaza appeared in the same year, to be followed in 1497 by Aldus' Greek dictionary and the Greek grammar of Urbano da Belluno. Hand in hand with these were the editions of Theocritus-Hesiod in 1496, Aristophanes in 1498, and the Greek epistolographers of 1499; these were authors that Aldus felt helped students to achieve all-round proficiency in Greek. On the Latin side, a new edition of Aldus' grammar appeared in 1501, but, at the other end of the educational spectrum, this had been preceded, in 1498 and 1499, respectively, by the extremely learned *Cornucopiae* of Niccolò Perotti and the *Opera* of Angelo Poliziano, works of enormous interest and appeal to scholars of the day.

If Aldus' publishing career had come to an end in 1500, posterity would still have thought that he had accomplished much, particularly in the areas of Greek philosophy and literature;[11] his editions of the works of Aristotle, Aristophanes, and Aratus were *editiones principes*. Some would have thought that any plan to print any work in ancient Greek at that time was a risky and foolhardy undertaking, and one that was in no way certain to be successful financially. The presence of ligatures and abbreviations, as well as of breathings and accents, in Greek handwriting made printing a work in that language quite complicated, and only a few Greek fonts had been used in the 1470s and 1480s. One way of circumventing the difficulty was devised by Janus Lascaris in Florence in the 1490s. He chose to print the text in an uppercase font, similar to the letter forms in ancient inscriptions. His text included diacritics, but there were no ligatures or abbreviations. In contrast, Aldus opted for a font that resembled the script of contemporary

copyists. He was fortunate to engage the services of a skilled punch cutter, Francesco da Bologna (identified as Francesco Griffo), to make the font.[12] But even with that hurdle passed, the production of a Greek text was bound to be more time-consuming than one printed in Roman type. Compositors would make more mistakes and more time had to be devoted to proofreading. Editions of Greek authors were inevitably expensive to produce. Moreover, there was no huge market for Greek texts that would offset to some extent the extra production costs. The Greek exiles in Venice may well have purchased the texts, but the number of even the well-educated and well-off members of the public who were able to read or were interested in reading ancient Greek was quite small, compared to the market for the Latin classics. We do not know how much of a commercial success these editions were, but since the 1513 catalog of Aldine books for sale shows that there were copies of the five volumes of Aristotle still available in that year, they do not seem to have been what we might call "best sellers." The financial status of the company after the first six years of its existence may well have been the impetus for a new accomplishment of Aldus as a publisher, for which he is also remembered.

In April 1501, the Aldine Press published an edition of Vergil in a pocket-book size (octavo), printed in a new font, which was very similar to the humanistic cursive script of the time, what we call italic. It is difficult for the modern reader to imagine the significance of what Aldus did with this presentation of the text of a classical author, unencumbered by any surrounding commentary and printed in an attractive font with familiar letter shapes, in a book whose size and weight allowed it to be carried and read when one was away from one's library or home (hence the name for such a volume was *enchiridium*, literally, "what can be carried in the hand"). The format of the volume was not in itself an innovation, as the octavo size had been used for some time, but primarily for devotional works, an obvious convenience for a worshipper.[13] The

novelty was in its use for the great authors of antiquity, "all the best authors," as Aldus describes them. Aldus may have been nervous about this initiative of his, as he makes very little of the innovation in the two very short prefaces of the Vergil. Perhaps he was uncertain about how it would be received because of the religious association of the format; Aldus writes there that he has not included in the volume the poems of what we now call the *Appendix Vergiliana*. This includes "obscene poems which are not worthy of being in an *enchiridium*." If Aldus held any doubts, they were quickly swept away. The Vergil edition was soon followed by volumes in the same format of other Latin authors: Horace (May), Juvenal-Persius (October), Martial (December), and Catullus-Tibullus-Propertius (January 1502), and Aldus becomes more expansive in the prefaces about the merits of this new presentation of classical texts, often stressing the convenience that the pocket-book format provided.[14] One unfortunate indication of the success of Aldus' innovation was the almost immediate appearance of counterfeit copies of his editions, in similar format and with a similar, if inferior, font. These were produced by printers in several cities, but primarily in Lyons.[15]

This deviation in 1501 from an almost exclusive focus on Greek works was probably prompted by financial considerations and pressure from his partners.[16] The Latin authors would sell, and sell well. The Catullus-Tibullus-Propertius volume of the following year had a press run of three thousand, and second editions of Vergil and Horace appeared in 1505 and 1509, respectively.[17] It is not surprising then that, in addition to the composite volume of the love poets, Latin authors were prominent in the publications of the press in 1502, with the appearance of editions of Cicero's *Letters to Friends*, Lucan, Statius, Valerius Maximus, and Ovid (in three volumes). Greek, however, and the initial mission of Aldus were in no way abandoned. Editions of Thucydides, Herodotus, and Sophocles appeared in 1502, and the next year saw the publi-

cation of the works of Lucian, Xenophon, and Euripides.[18] This list, not complete,[19] of the products of the press in the years 1501 to 1503 is quite astonishing, and it was not matched in later years. Indeed, there were subsequent periods when the press was inactive, mostly because of the unsettled state of affairs in northern Italy. Nothing appeared in 1506 and most of 1507, and the thirty months between April 1509 and October 1512 were also barren. But between this last date and the end of 1514, there was another stream of publications, both in Greek and in Latin. On the Greek side most notable were the editions of Plato, Pindar, Hesychius, and Athenaeus, on the Latin there were the *Commentaries* of Julius Caesar, Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, Cicero's rhetorical works, a volume containing Columella and other writers on agriculture, and Quintilian. Aldus' final publication, in January 1515, was a new edition of Lucretius, in which Aldus talks of the severe illness that has afflicted him for several months. By coincidence, the addressee of the prefatory letter of that final edition was also the first person to be specifically named in a dedication: Alberto Pio, Aldus' former pupil, to whom Aldus dedicated the first of the five volumes of Aristotle in 1497. Aldus died on February 6, 1515, a man "whose industriousness neither our age not any earlier age has matched," as Egnazio states in his eulogy.

No one can doubt the veracity of those words of Egnazio. The output of Aldus' publishing house in the twenty years that passed from the time when the company was formed is outstanding, and it is little wonder that the Aldine press enjoyed considerable prestige, not simply from the quantity of the editions it produced but also from the typographical innovations and from the pocket-size format that it popularized. Fame and commercial success were not achieved, however, without the marketing skill and techniques that Aldus used.[20] The world of printing and selling books was an expensive and risky place to inhabit, but it was heavily populated

by a large number of companies. Many of those did not survive in a highly competitive market.[21]

Aldus employed more than one approach to boost sales of his publications. An obvious one was to advertise his wares, by publishing a list of the books for sale. Three of these lists of Aldine books survive, dated to 1498, 1503, and 1513,[22] and there may have been more. The distribution of such fly sheets was probably a common practice of publishing houses but, because of their nature, it is not surprising that few have been preserved. As far as can be seen, however, Aldus' list gave a much more detailed description of the books than was usual.[23] This at least is true for the Greek works, where he often listed many of the components of the volumes (for example, the individual works of Aristotle or Theophrastus in a particular tome), information that might have whetted a reader's interest enough to make a purchase.[24] How much in the way of sales these catalogs produced we cannot know; the fact that he published at least three of them suggests that he thought it might generate some income.[25]

A significant part of Aldus' marketing arsenal was the revival of the use of prefatory letters. The prolific editor of many of the first editions of Latin works, Giovanni Andrea de' Bussi, had prefaced the text of almost all his editions in Rome with a dedication, but this practice became less prevalent in the late 1470s and 1480s. Aldus, however, included prefatory letters in many of his publications. Some of these were addressed to the anonymous reader (*lector*) or to *studiosi*, a term which seems to embrace students, scholars, and all devotees of classical literature (*studiosi litterarum bonarum*).[26] In most of them, however, the recipients were particular individuals, many of whom were prominent members of their society.

In the early works, Aldus uses such letters to appeal directly to anyone who might browse through the edition with the intention

of buying it and thus ensuring other publications in Greek from his press, as in the preface to Musaeus (ca. 1495–97):

> So accept this little book, though it is not free; but give me the money so that for my part I may furnish you with all the best Greek books. If you give, I certainly will; I am unable to print without substantial funds.[27]

In a more subtle approach, Aldus chose to dedicate to academics and schoolmasters editions of appropriate authors, appropriate in that these were the authors they were expounding to their students. Battista Guarini, the former teacher of Aldus in Ferrara, is the dedicatee of the 1496 volume that included Theocritus and Hesiod, a text that Battista had requested from Aldus, because he was about to give public lectures on Hesiod's *Theogony*. Aldus probably hoped that Battista would recommend the edition to his students and that the prestige of the professor would be an inducement for others to consider its purchase. Similarly, in the prefatory letter of *The Greek Epistolographers* of 1499 (*Greek Classics*, Preface 14) addressed to Urceo Codro, professor at Bologna, Aldus expresses the hope that Codro will show the edition to his pupils.[28] At a lower level, Daniele Clario, the rector of a thriving school in Dubrovnik, is the addressee in four volumes, whose authors were eminently suitable for teaching: Aristophanes (1498), the two volumes of the Christian poets (1501 and 1502), and Demosthenes (1504). In the first of these, Aldus admits that he has never met Clario but is dedicating the volume to him because of regular favors Clario has done him. The most obvious kind of favor would have consisted of promoting the purchase by students or fellow teachers of Aldus' earlier publications, such as the Greek grammars of Lascaris, Theodore Gaza, and Urbano da Belluno, or perhaps Aldus' own Latin grammar of 1493.

Aldus cast his net further than Dubrovnik, however, and aimed higher than the schoolroom and the lecture hall. Cicero's *Letters to*

Friends was dedicated to Sigismund Thurzó, who was secretary to Vladislav II of Hungary, while the *Letters to Atticus* were directed to a successor of Thurzó's in the same court, Filippo Csulai Móré. Johann Kollauer, secretary to the emperor Maximilian I, was the addressee of the 1505 edition of Pontano's Latin poems, and Jan Lubański, advisor to the Polish king, was honored in the edition of Valerius Maximus of 1502. One cannot help but think that such men would have been happy to promote Aldus' work in their milieu in return for the compliment Aldus paid them.

Even more exalted recipients were persons of noble rank. In the prefatory letter of the 1499 edition of Iulius Firmicus, Aldus writes:

> I think it is well worthwhile for all the volumes that we undertake to print to reach the hands of the public with the protection of a preface that acts, as it were, as a shield, and for them to be dedicated to men who are highly distinguished by their learning or their rank (or by both of these) so that these books may carry more weight with our readers.[29]

It is not surprising, then, that in this context the addressee is Guido da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, who clearly satisfies the criterion of rank and is addressed as "most learned prince."[30] Aldus' former pupil Alberto Pio certainly qualified in both respects and was the recipient of a dozen dedications. To him one may add Gianfrancesco Pico, Lucrezia Borgia, and Giovanni de' Medici.[31]

There can be no doubt that, despite all the difficulties it faced, the Aldine Press was a commercial success and that this resulted not just from its innovations in fonts and format but also from the marketing skills of Aldus. To those that have already been mentioned, we must add Aldus' adoption of what became the identifying trademark of books of the Aldine press—the symbol of the dolphin and the anchor, a pictorial representation of the proverb

Festina lente (Hasten slowly). The dolphin reflected the speed and tireless energy with which the publishing house worked, the anchor marked the delay in publication that resulted from careful checking and correcting of the texts. Aldus first mentions the proverb in the preface to Poliziano's *Opera* of 1498, crediting Marino Sanuto, the addressee, with providing the proverb as advice to him, but the symbol, based on a coin issued by the emperor Titus and given to Aldus by Pietro Bembo, did not make its appearance as a trademark of the Aldine press until June 1502, in the second volume of Christian poets. Thereafter, it was a staple component of the books Aldus published, becoming an acknowledged mark of excellence for the products in which it appeared. To its use in this regard, Erasmus pays tribute in his lengthy discussion of the proverb in the 1508 edition of his *Adagia*:[32]

> His trade-mark, the same which pleased Titus Vespasianus once, is now not only famous but beloved wherever Good Letters are known or cherished. Indeed I should not think this symbol was more illustrious [then] . . . than now, when it is sent out beyond the bounds of Christendom, on all kinds of books in both languages, recognized, owned and praised by all to whom liberal studies are holy.

Though Erasmus was not a disinterested observer,[33] the success of the symbol as a marketing tool can hardly be doubted.

From the perspective of a much later age, however, an inevitable question is whether the editorial quality of volumes deserves the same plaudits as Aldus' business expertise. In this regard, the works in Greek, a large number of which are *editiones principes*, must be looked at separately from those in Latin.

In the absence of earlier printed editions of Greek authors, Aldus and his editors had to rely on the manuscripts that they were able to procure.[34] It used to be thought that Aldus would have had access to the fine library of Cardinal Bessarion, which had been

bequeathed to Venice. There is no indication that this was the case, and there is good evidence to the contrary.[35] More often than not, the manuscripts used were poor witnesses to the text, and the result is often that a poor text in the press copy becomes an even poorer one in print. Even the readings of a manuscript of good quality did not always make their way into the printed text, and sometimes editors flitted in an unsystematic manner from one witness to another. The prefaces suggest that Aldus was involved in some capacity or other in the production of all the volumes that left his press. In some cases, however, the task of actually establishing the text fell principally to others. Demetrius Ducas had the prime responsibility for the volume of Greek rhetoricians of 1508 and Plutarch's *Moralia* of 1509, while John Gregoropoulos was the main editor of Sophocles (1502) and Euripides (1503). The star among Aldus' editors of Greek texts was undoubtedly Marcus Musurus, the leading Hellenic scholar of his day. He seems to have been the principal editor of Aristophanes (1498), the Greek epistolographers (1499), Plato (1513), Alexander of Aphrodisias (also 1513), Hesychius and Athenaeus (both appearing in 1514). These surpass in quality the other Aldine editions of Greek authors. This is particularly true of the lexicon of Hesychius, to whose text Musurus made many valuable improvements.[36] However, the unhappy result of the prestige that the Aldine editions acquired was that in many cases (Aristotle, Sophocles, and Euripides, for example) their text held a privileged position for three hundred years, though the shortcomings of some were immediately apparent to contemporary scholars.[37]

In the preparation of the texts of Latin authors, Aldus also made use of the services of fellow humanists: Andrea Navagero for Quintilian and Vergil (both in 1514) and Lucretius (1515); Giovanni Giocondo for Pliny (1508),[38] Caesar and Nonius Marcellus (both in 1513), and the edition of the writers on agriculture (1514); Girolamo Avanzi for Lucretius (1500) and the volume of the Latin

love poets of 1502; Francesco Negri for Iulius Firmicus Maternus in the 1499 edition of astronomical works. Again, as in the case of the Greek editions, we cannot be sure how significant a role Aldus played when it came to the question of the constitution of the text, but it is most unlikely that he did not have some input in that regard. His words in the preface to Catullus imply that he worked alongside Avanzi in improving the text of that author:

> Avanzi . . . expended much energy on correcting the text and restoring it to its pristine splendor, doing so for a long time on his own in the past and with great labor, and then together he and I applied ourselves with extreme diligence to the same end while the book was being printed.

On occasions it seems that Aldus may have been the prime editor, if not the sole one; this is suggested by the content of the preface to the Ovidian volume containing the *Heroides*. There he writes that *he* has removed two verses of *Heroides* 16 (ll. 97–98) on the grounds that they are spurious; he also points out other instances of non-Ovidian intrusions into the manuscripts.[39]

Unlike the Greek authors, however, almost all of the Latin writers had a history of more than thirty years of printed editions that preceded Aldus, with only a few exceptions, such as the *Mathesis* of Julius Firmicus Maternus and the *De prodigiis* of Julius Obsequens.[40] It is not surprising, then, that Aldus, like many contemporary printers, often stresses in his prefaces that his editions surpass in quality those already in circulation,[41] claiming that many errors in the text have been removed.

In support of this, Aldus frequently adduces the evidence that the finding of new manuscripts has brought. Giovanni Giocondo's discovery in Paris of a very old codex of Pliny provided a large number of letters that were omitted in most previous editions, and the same scholar's use of *antiqua exemplaria* in France increased the text of Nonius Marcellus by a third;[42] Cuspinianus supplied Aldus

with missing parts of Valerius Maximus that he had found in a manuscript in Vienna;[43] the codex that Francesco Negri unearthed in a remote part of what is now Romania did the same for the text of Julius Firmicus Maternus; a manuscript from Britain made an improved edition of Prudentius possible.[44] Nearer to home, Aldus himself spent time searching for manuscripts in Lombardy in 1506–7, two years for most of which the press was inactive.

In some respects, then, the text of some of the Aldine editions marked an improvement over previous ones as a result of manuscript discoveries. But overall, it was a hit-or-miss affair, depending on the quality of the manuscripts used by his fellow editors and the quality of the editors themselves. Avanzi made improvements to the vulgate text of Catullus, in correcting errors in previous editions with the use of two manuscripts, but his text of that poet was still far removed from that in modern editions. Even a manuscript of high quality, such as that of Pliny's *Letters* that was brought to Aldus from France, was poorly and unsystematically drawn on.[45] As for his choice of editors, one wonders why Aldus did not employ the services of Raffaele Regio for the 1514 edition of Quintilian. Regio was public lecturer in Latin in Venice at the time and he had earlier published an imposing work on textual problems in the author.[46] Instead, Aldus seems to have taken an edition published a few years earlier and handed it over to Andrea Navagero and Giovanni Battista Ramusio to serve as their base text. Despite these criticisms, however, the text of most of his Latin editions would have compared favorably with that of contemporary ones, and it would be harsh and unfair to judge them by the editing principles of the nineteenth century.

If we can admit the shortcomings of some of Aldus' editions, what is to be made of him as a scholar? He had an excellent education at Rome and Ferrara, two outstanding centers of learning, under the tutelage of well-respected scholars and teachers, and there is no reason to think that he did not widen his intellectual

horizons in Venice through his association with Giorgio Valla and others.

Aldus never published separately a scholarly work of his own, such as a collection of notes on the scale of Poliziano's *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* or Filippo Beroaldo's *Annotationes centum*, or a commentary on a particular author or work. The most extensive piece of scholarship is his *Adnotationes in Horatium*, included as an appendix to the edition of Horace published in 1509. Aldus discusses over twenty passages of the poet's work, making textual corrections on the basis, among other things, of meter (on which he is clearly an expert), the prosody of Greek words used by Horace, and manuscript evidence. The notes are presented in a scholarly manner, and to support his points Aldus draws on a wide range of authors and works, including the *Suda*, the grammarians and metricians of antiquity, and such evidence as the commentaries of Porphyrio and pseudo-Acro. Most of his suggestions are correct, but they do not improve the text of Horace in a significant way.

It is primarily in the prefaces to his editions that Aldus displays his learning, whether it is in airing scholarly questions that interested him or providing useful information for his readers. In the Ovid of December 1502, he argues that *Heroides* 17, 19, and 21 (the letters of Helen, Hero, and Cydippe, respectively) were the work of the poet Sabinus, whom Ovid refers to at *Amores* 2.18. The authenticity of the letters of Pliny to the emperor Trajan in Book 10 is well defended at length in the edition of Pliny's *Letters* of 1508. Conversely, he argues against Ciceronian authorship of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in the preface to the edition of Cicero's rhetorical works. Even when he is not arguing a point, the information he imparts to his addressee is often of a learned nature, as in the preface to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where he identifies several Greek writers of *Metamorphoses*, adducing Plutarch, Poliziano, and Aristotle. His explanation in the volume of writers on agriculture

(Preface 25) of how the sundial works is impressive, and the detailed map of Gaul that he included in the edition of Julius Caesar's *Commentaries* is no mean feat of scholarship.

Another aspect of Aldus' aspirations in the area of scholarship was his desire to set up an academy. In this he was probably influenced by his experience in Rome in his student days, where he would have known of the academy led by Pomponio Leto and other similar informal associations, such as the group of scholars, including his teacher Domizio Calderini, who were in the entourage of Cardinal Bessarion. The Neapolitan academy under Giovanni Pontano would also have been known to him.

This project, whose main focus was on Greek rather than Latin studies, surfaces on several occasions throughout his printing career, from hints in the preface to Aristotle's *Physics* (1497) of its being established in Carpi in facilities provided by Alberto Pio, to a request to Pope Leo X in the preface to Plato in September 1513 that such an academy be set up in Rome. His high hopes for such an academy, which included on more than one occasion a possible location in Germany,[47] were never fulfilled, and some form of it seems to have functioned in some capacity for only a few years, primarily between 1502 and 1504. The Aldine edition of Sophocles of 1502 was the first to give the publishing information as "In Venice in the Academy of Aldus of Rome" in its colophon, and we find reference to the Academia and the Neacademia in other editions of these years, either in the colophons or in the prefaces.[48] Its constitution, which has survived, suggests that it did not become much more than an occasional forum for learned discussion, conducted in Greek, of literary and other classical topics.[49]

His scholarly projects were not confined in 1513 to his continuing struggle to establish an academy. In his preface to Pindar of that year, he writes of a plan to publish the ancient and medieval commentaries on Pindar and several other Greek writers and to complement these with an index of important topics within

them;[50] in the preface to Caesar's *Commentaries*, he seems to be envisaging an illustrated encyclopedia that would cover many aspects of life in the ancient world. These ambitious plans came to naught, however; Aldus died just two years later, in February 1515.

Aldus' mission in life was less to display his own erudition than to serve the scholarly needs of his contemporaries, whether they were young students, educated readers, learned academics, or distinguished authors. To this end Aldus accomplished much; his contribution to the promotion of classical languages and literature was a considerable one, and it was recognized as such by his contemporaries:

> In the recent death of Aldus Manutius we have suffered a grievous wound and a greater affliction than any one could imagine. This has befallen not only me, who have been deprived of enjoying the pleasant company of a close and dear friend and of engaging in the activities that we had in common, but also and clearly all men of learning and all devotees of the liberal arts.[51]

I am most grateful to my colleague Randall McLeod for providing me with information on the prefaces on several points and for comments on the Introduction, and to Charles Fantazzi for his views on some difficult Latin passages. Nigel Wilson kindly allowed me access to the manuscript of his edition of the prefaces to the Greek works (volume 70 in the I Tatti Renaissance Library), and this was of considerable help. Robert Maxwell of Brigham Young University generously gave of his time to check some readings in Aldine editions held by the Harold B. Lee Library. As in the past, I am greatly indebted to James Hankins for making improvements to my manuscript in preparing it for the press.

NOTES

1. See Appendix VII, below. Full references to works cited briefly in the notes may be found in the Abbreviations.

2. This he tells us in the preface to Statius (ANT 11). Since Domizio Calderini moved to Rome in 1466 or 1467, it seems more likely that 1452 (rather than 1449 or 1450) was Aldus' year of birth.

3. In the preface to his Latin grammar of 1493, Aldus tells us that he held that position "for more than six years," although it is generally thought that he was in Carpi from 1480 to 1489 (*DBI* 69 [2007]: 237). It is possible, therefore, that for some of those nine or so years he held some other position, perhaps serving in some capacity the brother of Caterina, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, whom he probably met in Ferrara and with whom he spent some months in 1482.

4. See 11 below. Similar sentiments are expressed in the preface to the second volume of the Christian poets (see 33 below).

5. The number depends on how composite volumes are counted. Lowry (218) counts 112 editions, based on the listings in Renouard, where the composite volumes, such as the Catullus-Propertius-Tibullus, count as one. I have seen the number being reported as high as 134.

6. *Greek Classics*, Preface 6 (p. 27).

7. On his death in 1472 Cardinal Bessarion had bequeathed his library to Venice, but for the most part it lay unused and uncataloged. It seems doubtful that this was an attraction for Aldus, as he never seems to have mentioned it.

8. Lowry, 78.

9. The preface to Constantine Lascaris' grammar refers to the "great wars which now afflict the whole of Italy" (*Greek Classics*, Preface 1). The danger that war and invasions pose to manuscripts surfaces elsewhere, as in the preface to Euripides ten years later: "Have we not seen in our own time in Italy very large libraries of good books dispersed within a few years, do we not see them closed because of some disaster and consigned

to moths and book-worms?" (*Greek Classics*, 115). See also the preface to Pliny's *Letters* (ANT 17, §2).

10. However, the first appearance of Torresano's name in a colophon alongside that of Aldus does not occur until the edition of Pliny in 1508.

11. A convenient list of Aldine publications in Greek, Latin, and Italian from 1494 to 1500 can be found in Lowry, 112–13.

12. See N. Barker, "The Italic Script," *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script and Type* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992).

13. See Barker, 105–6, who points out that there exist a small number of manuscripts of similar size that contain literary texts, but these texts are late medieval.

14. See especially the prefaces to Catullus, Cicero's *Letters to Friends*, and Lucan (the last two both appearing in April 1502). For one reader's a preciation of the handiness of the new format, see the letter of Sigismund Thurzó (Appendix III).

15. Aldus applied to the Venetian senate in March 1502 for a *privilegium* to protect his italic font, but even though this was obtained, it was ineffectual against the presses of Lyons. He resorted to his *Warning to the Typographers of Lyons* (see Appendix IV).

16. Although one gets the clear impression that Aldus was the man-in-charge in the running of the press and in the choice of what to print, the preface to the Vergil of 1505 (ANT 17) shows that he did not always get things all his own way. There he admits to including, against his will, the book composed by Maffeo Vegio to extend the *Aeneid*, claiming that he had to give in to certain persons.

17. A third edition of Vergil appeared in 1514. A new edition of Lucretius (originally printed by Aldus in 1500) was issued in 1515.

18. The volumes of Sophocles and Euripides were published in the pocket-sized format.

19. More in keeping with the nature of the initial publications in Greek in the last six years of the century are the *Vocabularium* of Pollux and Stephanus' *De urbibus*, both published in 1502.

20. On these techniques, see Martin Lowry, "The Manutius Publicity Campaign," in *Renaissance Culture*, 31–46. The next few paragraphs draw in part on this essay.

21. For the expense and difficulties that printers faced, see Lowry, chapter 1.

22. Reproduced in facsimile in Orlandi as plates IX–XVIII.

23. See Lowry, "The Manutius Publicity Campaign," 34–37.

24. In the case of Latin authors, the descriptions were short, usually consisting of the author's name alone. Latin works seem to have sold themselves. One assumes that in addition to other means of distribution these lists were sent out with customers' orders in the hope of eliciting more purchases.

25. The catalogs are reproduced in Orlandi, tavv. IX–XVIII.

26. The word *studiosi* has been rendered differently in the following translations of the prefaces, depending on context and the nature of the work.

27. *Greek Classics*, Preface 2. A similar appeal can be found in the colophon of the Greek grammar of Constantine Lascaris (*Greek Classics*, Preface 1 C).

28. Giovanni Taberio, who held a chair at Brescia, is the dedicatee of the edition of Stephanus of Byzantium (1502), and Aldus sees this as a way of thanking Taberio for having previously ordered Greek books for his pupils (*Greek Classics*, 91). Other recipients of similar rank are Giovanni Calpurnio (*Greek Classics*, Preface 22) and Demetrius Chalcondyles (*Greek Classics*, Preface 23).

29. See p. 3, below.

30. He is also the addressee of the preface to the edition of Xenophon of 1503 (*Greek Classics*, Preface 25).

31. Pio was honored primarily in philosophical works such as the five volumes of Aristotle (1495–98). Giovanni Francesco Pico is the addressee in the grammar of Urbano da Belluno (1498), Lucrezia Borgia in the edition of the poems of Tito and Ercole Strozzi (1513), Pope Leo X in the edition of Plato (1513). The *Erotemata* of Chrysoloras (1512) is dedicated to Cesare d'Aragona, the son of Federico I of Naples.

32. Erasmus, *Adagia* 2.1.1 (*CWE* 33:13–17). The quotation that follows is taken from Phillips, 179.

33. Erasmus and Aldus worked closely together in the production of the edition, as described by Erasmus in his expansion of the essay on this proverb in the 1526 edition.

34. Seminal works for an evaluation of how Aldus and his colleagues utilized their manuscript sources are Martin Sicherl, *Handschriftliche Vorlagen des Editio Princeps des Aristoteles* (Mainz, 1976), and (by the same author) "Die *Editio Princeps Aldina* des Euripides und ihre Vorlagen," *Rheinisches Museum* 118 (1975): 205–25; *Griechische Erstausgabe des Aldus Manutius: Druckvorlagen, Stellenwert, kultureller Hintergrund* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997). See also Lowry, 234–42.

35. See Wilson (1977): 153, where he refers to manuscripts (of Theophrastus and Aristotle) in the collection that Aldus would have used if he had had access to it.

36. As acknowledged in Aldus' preface to the volume (see *Greek Classics*, 261). See Wilson (1992), 152–53; Geanakoplos, 154–55. E. J. Kenney, *The Classical Text: Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 18, has a less favorable view of Musurus' edition of Hesychius.

37. Errors in the Aldine text of Aristotle's *De historia animalium* were soon pointed out by Urceo Codro, who taught at the university in Bologna. See Wilson (1992), 128.

38. Giocondo certainly provided Aldus with information about man script readings for the text of Pliny, but it is not clear whether he was physically present when the edition was being produced.

39. See ANT 14, §§3 and 7.

40. The Aldine edition is the sole source of *De prodigiis*. There was an earlier edition of the complete *Mathesis*, printed in Venice in 1497, but it was the Aldine edition that acquired the status of *editio princeps*, its text being the basis for later editions; see the Teubner edition of the work by W. Kroll and F. Skutsch, xxviii–xxxiii. The Prudentius in the first volume of the collection of Christian poets had a similar status.

41. In the Lucretius of 1500, Vergil of 1505, Quintilian of 1514, and Lucretius of 1515.

42. The information about Fra Giocondo's use of allegedly ancient manuscripts of Nonius Marcellus in France is given in the table of contents of the 1513 edition of Perotti's *Cornucopiae*, which included other items.

43. However, the missing parts are to be found in earlier editions; see ANT 12, n. 100.

44. For Aldus it almost seemed that the remoteness of a manuscript's location suggested superiority: *remotiores, non deteriores*.

45. See Kenney, *The Classical Text*, 18.

46. See ANT 26, n. 334. Regio was into his seventies, however, when the edition of Quintilian was being prepared, and his age may have been a deterrent.

47. See HUM 8, n. 82.

48. References to the academy are not confined to Greek works. We find *Academia* in the colophon of Ovid's *Fasti, Tristia*, etc. of 1502, and there are references to the Academy in the prefaces of Statius and Valerius Maximus (both of 1502). The term *Neacademia* is to be found in the colophon of a May 1504 edition of a speech by Scipio Carteromachus (a member of the academy) in praise of Greek literature, as well as in editions of Xenophon (1503) and Gregory of Nazianzus (June 1504) and in the *Warning To the Typographers of Lyons* (1503, Appendix IV).

49. This is what is suggested by the surviving copy of the statutes of the academy, in which criteria for membership are also pointed out. See *Greek Classics*, Appendix V. On the academy, see M. J. C. Lowry, "The 'New Academy' of Aldus Manutius: A Renaissance Dream," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester* 58 (1975–76): 378–420; Wilson (1992), 127–33; Stefano Pagliaroli, "L'Accademia Aldina," *Incontri triestini di filologia classica* 9 (2009–10): 175–87.

50. *Greek Classics*, 221.

51. From the beginning of the eulogy of Egnazio in the edition of Lactantius (Appendix VII).

: IV :

A

Aldus Manutius Romanus lectori s.

1 Omne inventum, quantumvis ingeniosum et conducibile, adulterari longa die, ac potius malitia hominum qui, se sibi solis rati natos, student semper ex alienis incommodis sua ut comparent commoda, converti in malum constat; quemadmodum temporibus nostris accidisse videmus in miro hoc et quam laboriosissimo modo scribendorum librorum.

2 Nam quantum quisque commodi ex ea re futurum sperabat nemo est qui non perspiciat; quantum item inde incommodi, quanta bonorum librorum pernicies, quanta ruina et iam sit et futura, nisi Deus prohibeat, videatur non queo dicere. Primum enim in quorum artificum manus pervenerint sacra literarum monumenta videmus; deinde qua literatura praediti quidam libros omnis enarrare, commentari, corrigere audeant scimus. Quamobrem periculum non mediocre est ne beneficium hoc imprimendi libros a Deo immortali hominibus datum ipsi, cum liceat vel infantissimo cuique pro animi sui libidine temere in quem vult librum grassari, in maximum maleficium convertamus et sanctarum literarum perniciem.

3 Sed de hoc alias. Non enim brevi epistola opus esset, si singillatim et cumulate tractare id velim. Illud nolo silentio praeteriri me,

: IV :

Niccolò Perotti, Cornucopiae
(July 1499)

A

Aldus Manutius of Rome to his reader, greetings.

It is generally agreed that every invention, no matter how ingenious and useful, is tainted by the passage of time and indeed becomes a curse less through time than through the wickedness of those human beings who are completely self-centered and are always eager to procure advantages for themselves at the expense of others. In our own times we have seen that this has befallen our marvelous, though most exhausting way of printing books. 1

Everyone can perceive how much profit each of such men was hoping to acquire from the printing press. I cannot say how much harm this invention seems to have caused, how much destruction and ruination of good books has arisen and will arise from it unless God prevents it. First of all, we see the kind of artisans into whose hands the sacred monuments of literature have fallen; secondly, we know how certain men with little education dare to explain, comment on and emend every book. Therefore there is no little danger that we ourselves may transform this blessing of how to print books, granted to us by immortal God, into the greatest of banes and bring about the destruction of noble letters; for all the most inarticulate of men can recklessly put their hands to any book at all as their desires lead them. 2

But more of this on another occasion. For it would need a very long letter if I wished to treat this topic comprehensively, point by point. I do not wish to leave it unsaid, that to the best of my abil- 3

quod in me erit—pedibus manibusque, ut aiunt—facturum ut laboranti rei literariae consulatur.

4 Quemadmodum hoc in libro fecimus, in quo plurima vulnera ope et labore nostro sanata sunt, licet multa sint praetermissa consulto, quod non esset satis ocii ad curandum. Quis enim in tanta operarum, ac potius inimicorum (nam tot inimici, quot operae) vel festinatione vel ignorantia vel malitia aliquid mediocri etiam dignum laude queat efficere? Si diem unum aut biduum triduumve ad summum mecum viveres, studiose lector, mirum diceres si quid a nobis bene factum est fieri potuisse. Sed si quo volo tandem hoc saxum volvero, si potuero aliquando parere quod iandiu et multos annos parturio, spero, volente Iesu, Deo optimo maximo, unde optimum quodque donum et omne bonum perfectum proficiscitur, effecturum quod cupio ac studiosis omnibus hac nostra perlaboriosa provincia satis abundeque facturum.

5 Habes nunc, lector amice, diligenter ac miro ordine typis nostris excusum Perotti Sypontini pontificis cornucopiae, in quo si quid vel a nobis vel ab ipso authore erratum fuerit, ignoscendum est nobis, ob eas ipsas quas supra diximus rationes, authori, quia non ipse, sed Pyrrhus fratris filius hunc librum ediderit. Morte enim praeventus recognoscere non potuit suas has perdoctas et laboriosas lucubrationes. Quare et ipse de suis Latinae linguae commentariis iure dicere moriens potuisset, 'Emendaturus, si licuisset, eram.'

6 Improbe igitur faciunt quidam in alieno libro ingeniosi, cum in mortuos de nobis bene meritos invehuntur. Quin potius, cum ali-

ity—with hand and feet,[43] as the saying goes—I will strive to look after the good health of the republic of letters in its distress.

That is what we have done in the case of this book, in which 4
many defects have been removed through my aid and labor, although many have been deliberately passed over, since I did not have sufficient time to attend to them. For when one's workers (or rather, one's enemies, since one has as many enemies as one has workers) are consumed by haste, or are acting in ignorance or with malice, who can accomplish anything worthy of even moderate praise? If you were to live with me for one day or two days or three at the most, my learned reader, you would say it must have been a miracle that it was possible for us to do whatever we did well. But if I roll this stone of mine to where I wish,[44] if I can finally give birth to what I have been carrying, as it were, for many years now, I hope (Jesus, God Almighty, willing, from whom all perfect gifts and blessings flow) that I will fulfill my desire to do sufficient and more for all devotees of learning in this chosen profession of mine that is so demanding of my energy.

You now have in your possession, my dear reader, the *Cornuco-* 5
piae of Perotti, archbishop of Siponto,[45] which we have printed in our type with great care and with admirable organization of the material. If we or the author himself have made any errors, you must forgive not only us (for the very reasons we have just given) but also the author, because it was not he, but his nephew Pirro,[46] who published this book. For Perotti's premature death prevented him from reviewing these learned and painstaking deliberations of his. This is why, when he was dying, with justification he himself could have said about his commentary on the Latin language, "I would have corrected the errors, if it had been allowed me."[47]

And so some clever men are quite shameless in their treatment 6
of someone else's book, when they revile the dead who have served us well. When they discover that an author has nodded at some point (human nature being what it is), they should not take pride

quo in loco dormitasse authorem, quae humana est natura, inveniunt, non praedicando gloriari, non scriptis publicare, sed taciti ac si ipsi opus composuissent emendare deberent, atque ita gratiam referre benefactori, qui quam maxime potuit utilis fuit studuitque prodesse posteritati. Vale.

B

7 Quo facilius noster hic inveniendorum vocabulorum index intelligatur, scito, carissime lector, primum numerum conclusum punctis semipaginam significare, secundum vero numerum, punctis item conclusum, semipaginae versum, et sic tertium, si quis fuerit, eiusdem semipaginae versum ostendere, donec ad *et* coniunctionem pervenias: nam primus numerus post *et* coniunctionem semipaginam ostendit, secundus vero semipaginae versum, et sic tertius et quartus semipaginae versus demonstrant, si qui fuerint. Exempli gratia, *examen* sic est in indice: 'Examen .36.21.25. et .281.34.' hoc est: semipagina trigesima sexta, versu vigesimo primo, versu vigesimo quinto, et semipagina ducentesima octogesima prima, versu 34; et sic in caeteris.

C

Ad lectorem.

8 Recognito diligenter toto volumine, carissime lector, errores qui alicuius momenti visi sunt collegi, ut facile tu tibi librum tuum emendare possis; caeteros, si qui relicti sunt, consulto praetermisi, ratus perfaciles cognitu vel mediocriter eruditis. Nec omnes impressorum incuria aut festinatione factos putes; nam multi exemplarium culpa evenerunt; quanquam, si studiose nostrum hunc librum cum caeteris conferas, in mille locis et amplius emendatum invenies.

in proclaiming it abroad or in publishing it in their writings, but rather they should correct an error silently just as if they themselves had composed the work. In this way they give thanks to their benefactor who was as useful as he possibly could be and strove to benefit posterity. Farewell.

B[48]

Dearest reader, so that you may more readily understand our in- 7
dex for finding words, be informed that the first number, marked off by periods, refers to a page,[49] while the second number, also marked off by periods, refers to a line of the page, and the third number, if there is one, indicates the line of the same page. When you encounter the conjunction *et*, the first number to follow it indicates a page, the second a line in the page, as do the third or fourth numbers, if there are any. By way of an example the entry for *examen* in the index is "*Examen* .31.21.25 et .282.34," that is, page 31, lines 21 and 25 and page 282, line 34. Likewise for all other entries.

C

To the reader.

Dearest reader, after carefully going through the whole volume, I 8
have gathered together those errors that I thought were of some importance; you can then readily correct your own copy for yourself. I deliberately passed over all the other remaining ones, since I thought that they could be easily recognized by readers of even modest education. Do not think that all of these were the result of the carelessness or haste of the compositors. Many occurred because of the fault of the master copy. However, if you compare with keen attentiveness this book with all others in circulation,[50] you will find in it a thousand and more corrections.

40. After the resounding success of Poliziano's *Miscellaneorum centuria*, published in 1489, it was the disappearance of its sequel in the years immediately following his death in late September 1494 that most disturbed his followers. The autograph manuscript of the work, incomplete as it turned out, was not to surface until nearly five centuries had elapsed. See A. Poliziano, *Miscellaneorum centuria secunda*, ed. V. Branca—M. Pastori Stocchi (Florence: Fratelli Alinari, Istituto di Edizione Artistiche, 1972). Some of the other works mentioned here have also surfaced (see following note).

41. On these see, for example, G. Gardenal, *Il Poliziano e Suetonio: Contributo alla storia della filologia umanistica* (Florence: Olschki, 1975); V. Fera, *Una ignota* Expositio Suetoni *del Poliziano* (Messina: Centro di Studi umanistici, 1983); R. Lattanza Roselli, *La commedia antica e l'*Andria *di Terenzio* (Florence: Olschki, 1973); L. Cesarini Martinelli, *Commento inedito alle* Selve *di Stazio* (Florence: Sansoni, 1978).

42. Although the two letters of Pietro Crinito to Sarti, printed by Aldus in Book 12 (nos. 22 and 23), focus primarily on topics that Crinito knew to be in Poliziano's second century, he also refers in passing to the question of Poliziano's work being appropriated and published by others. See J. H. Cotton, "Frosino Bonini: Politian's protégé and plagiarist," *La bibliofilia* 71 (1969): 157–75.

43. Erasmus, *Adagia* 1.5.15 (*CWE* 31:332).

44. Compare Terence, *Eunuchus* 1095. The image is one that Aldus frequently uses in his prefatory letters.

45. Niccolò Perotti (1429–80) was in the service of Cardinal Bessarion in Rome and was appointed bishop of Siponto in 1458. Although he had a distinguished career as a member of the Curia, serving as papal governor in Viterbo, Spoleto, and Perugia, he never gave up his scholarly interests. He was one of the team of translators that Pope Nicholas V enlisted to translate Greek works into Latin, being responsible for the first translation of Polybius, Books 1–5 (1452–54). His Latin grammar, published in 1473, was extremely popular. He was also responsible for editions of Martial and Pliny the Elder in the same year. Other works include a tract on letter writing, *De componendis epistolis*, and a commentary on Statius.

The *Cornucopiae* was a quite different work; it started as a commentary on Book 1 of Martial but amounted to more than one thousand learned columns of small print in the 1513 edition and covered many aspects of classical philology. In the 1470s Perotti was engaged in a bitter dispute with Domizio Calderini, who had also been in the entourage of Bessarion and who published his commentary on Martial in 1474. On the dispute, see Campanelli, *Polemiche e filologia*, 13–21.

46. Perotti dedicated to his nephew his Latin grammar as well as other works, including his commentary on Statius.

47. Ovid, *Tristia* 1.7.40. Also used by Aldus in the prefatory letters to Poliziano's *Opera* (HUM 3) and the poetry of Tito and Ercole Strozzi (HUM 12).

48. This immediately follows the dedicatory letter.

49. Aldus uses the term *semipagina*, literally, "half-page." This refers to one side of a leaf. See Rizzo, 36, n. 2.

50. The *editio princeps* of the *Cornucopiae* appeared in Venice in 1489 (P. Paganini), nine years after Perotti's death.

51. It is not immediately clear whether Aldus is referring to this edition of his Latin grammar (note that the prefatory letter is dated to four months after the date of the initial publication of the work) or to the earlier edition of 1493. If we set store by titles, then the former must be true, since the 1493 edition was entitled *Institutiones grammaticae Latinae*. It seems more likely, however, that he is referring to the earlier edition, of which this new edition is an expansion; this included the addition of several texts for students to read, almost all of which were religious in nature. The presence of this amount of reading material made Aldus' grammar distinctive among other Latin grammars; see Jensen, "The Latin Grammar of Aldus Manutius and its Fortuna," in *Renaissance Culture*, 253. Aldus printed two later editions of the grammar in his lifetime, one in 1508 and the other in 1514, both in quarto. During the sixteenth century, more than sixty editions of the grammar were printed in Europe, including France, Germany, and the Netherlands, as well as Italy, but it was less popular than others on the market.