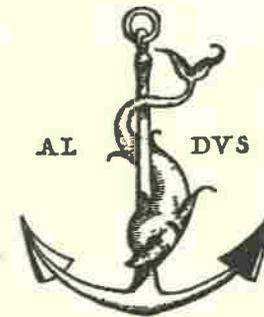


THE WORLD OF
ALDUS
MANUTIUS



BUSINESS AND SCHOLARSHIP
IN RENAISSANCE VENICE

MARTIN LOWRY



CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

INTRODUCTION



To the many readers who will take justifiable exception to it, I should like to confess at the very beginning that this book came to be written by accident. Its origins reach back six or seven years, to a time when I set out, fired with the carnivorous zeal of the recently successful postgraduate, to expand my thesis into the definitive work on sixteenth-century Venetian politics, and began with what I hoped would be an exhaustive reading of all fifty-eight volumes of Sanudo's Diaries. In the event, I got about two-thirds of the way through the first volume. There I found a mention of Cardinal Grimani's purchase of the library of Pico della Mirandola. Soon, I was beginning to wonder about the broader relationship between literary activity and publishing in Venice around the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and to ask myself whether accepted views on the subject were really satisfactory. Still trying to pretend that I would never be able to understand the political conduct of the Venetian nobility until I had grasped what was really important to them as individuals, I set myself to examining some of the intellectual circles in which prominent members of society had made their mark. And so, like many before me, I ended by saying "Right - let's visit Aldus." I was fairly across the printer's doorstep before I realised what a terrifying task his ghost was about to set me.

The truth is that understanding the precise role of a man such as Aldus in the cultural life of his time demands a whole range of academic skills, none of which will suffice to answer the questions by itself, but every one of which claims a lifetime from those who would seek real competence within it. Aldus is remembered chiefly as a printer and publisher, so it is not surprising that much of what has been written about him is the work of experts in typography and bibliography. Here lay my first disability. As I worked through Stanley Morison's lyrical praises of his preferred Roman fount, or

Robert Proctor's Olympian proclamations on the concept of visual clarity, I soon realised that this level of technical expertise could be attained only by those who enjoyed daily contact with the books concerned as part of their professional duties. But I also began to feel an uneasy suspicion that these great bibliographers had their heads far above the clouds, in a world of unchanging and unchallengeable aesthetic truths, and that their encyclopedic knowledge of the exterior of a book was sometimes matched by their ignorance of its contents, and even of the circumstances that brought it as far as the press. In any case, granting that Aldus is remembered chiefly as a maker of books, can he be understood simply as such? He shares with his contemporary, William Caxton, the distinction of having done very well in a quite different walk of life before turning to publishing, and he had no obvious economic or environmental reasons for doing so. So we must turn to other influences, intellectual or idealistic, to explain his career, and sure enough, much of the most stimulating research devoted to his life over the last two decades has been the work of intellectual historians or classical philologists. It soon became clear to me, too, that Aldus was a man of profound convictions, the most profound of all being his dedication to Greek antiquity and its revival. But was I competent to judge him on these terms? I can at least claim to have been well trained as an undergraduate classic, but I stopped far short of the hair-trigger sensitivity required of a textual critic and I have no more than a basic teaching acquaintance with the complex intellectual history of the later *Quattrocento*. And here again, I found myself wondering whether the intellectual historians and classicists were not working, like the bibliographers, in their own world of eternal verities, and missing the more mundane but also more pressing details of how a fifteenth-century publishing house was run and what made it successful. So I was driven back, finally, to the resources which I did have at my disposal – a reasonable knowledge of the Venetian history of the period and a sometimes rather twisted fascination for the private quirks and foibles of the men who made that history. If I could not interpret Aldus' life and career from empyrean heights of intellectual or aesthetic truth, perhaps I could approach him instead through the grimey and ink-spattered world captured so brilliantly by one of his own friends. This book is an attempt to understand Aldus at what I can only call "ground level": if it neglects higher disciplines in the process, then I can only ask my readers to be indulgent.

Even before my path was clear, there was no lack of friends to urge me forward, and I hope that all will now accept both my thanks and their due measure of responsibility. Several generations of students have listened patiently to lectures into which Venetian printing has been dragged on the slightest pretext: their interest has encouraged me, and their questions have directed my enquiries. The University of Warwick itself has thoughtfully dispatched me to Venice every year, besides providing me with the two sabbatical terms needed to bring my research to a conclusion, and the British Academy generously provided me with funds to spend a good deal of this time abroad. Obviously, my preparation has involved many visits to many different libraries, and while my thanks are due to all the staff who helped me, I must make special mention of the John Rylands Library of Manchester, the Universitätsbibliothek of Basel, the Estense of Modena, the Marciana of Venice, and the London Library, which always seems able to provide what cannot be found elsewhere. My main ally and advisor has been that guru of all visitors to the British Library, Dr Dennis Rhodes, who having for some reason declined to write the book himself has fed me a constant stream of information vital to it and been my final court of appeal on all points of doubt. Ruari McLean directed the early stages of writing: and since he first became aware of it, Sir Basil Blackwell has taken a kindly interest in the project and encouraged me in every way possible. He, Professors Denys Hay and Elizabeth Eisenstein, Michael Mallett and Robert Finlay, have all read various stages of the draft and combed out countless errors. Nigel Wilson has done everything in his power to put a sheen back on my sadly tarnished classical scholarship. Numerous friends and colleagues have helped more than they or I now realise by providing references, translating passages, or simply by throwing a chance-suggestion across a coffee-table. I have even dragged Volker Berghahn on several occasions into the unlikely role of research assistant in Greek textual criticism. But at least I hope that Jaynie Anderson, Jonathan Alexander, Humfrey and Susie Butters, Stanley Chojnacki, Cecil Clough, Henry Cohn, Desmond Costa, Conor Fahy, Paul Grendler, Michael Knapton, Reiny Mueller, Marilyn Perry, Chris Read, Rick Ruggiero, and Donald Russell will understand that I am grateful to them, even if they do not quite remember why. Finally, my wife and family have submitted patiently to the vagaries of a husband and father in academic birth-pangs, and calmly accepted the shade of Aldus to their hearth and home. I will not go so far as to say that

this book would never have been written without them: it would in fact have been written a good deal sooner. But it would have been a very different book, and a great deal duller.

Martin Lowry

Langley, Stratford-on-Avon, 27-28 February 1978

ABBREVIATIONS



The following abbreviations are used for the most frequently cited reference-works, collections of documents, and periodical series:

- ARIV = *Atti del reale istituto veneto di scienze, lettere e arti*.
 Allen = *Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi*, ed. P. S. and H. M. Allen, 12 vols, Oxford, 1906-1958.
 ASI = *Archivio storico italiano*.
 ASL = *Archivio storico lombardo*.
 A.S.V. = *Archivio di stato, Venezia*.
 AV = *Archivio veneto*.
 Baschet = A. Baschet, *Aldo Manuzio, Lettres et Documents, 1495-1515*, Venice, 1867.
 Bernoni = D. Bernoni *Dei Torresani, Blado e Ragazzoni, celebri stampatori a Venezia e Roma nel XV e XVI secolo*, reprinted Farnborough, 1968.
 BJRL = *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*.
 BMC = *Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century Now in the British Museum*, 9 vols., 1909-1949.
 BP = B. Botfield, *Praefationes et Epistolae Editionibus Principibus Auctorum Veterum Praepositae*, Cambridge, 1861.
 Burger = K. Burger, *The Printers and Publishers of the Fifteenth Century: Index to the Supplement of Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum*, London, 1902.
 CAM = P. de Nolhac, ed., "Les Correspondants d'Alde Manuce: Materiaux Nouveaux d'Histoire Littéraire, 1483-1515," *Studi e documenti di storia e di diritto*, Anno VIII, 1887, and IX, 1888. (References are to the number of the letter cited, as this selection has been separately reprinted and page-numbers vary.)
 CSV = C. Castellani, *La stampa in Venezia dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio Seniore*, new edition, 1973.
 DBI = *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome, 1960-.

- Ec. HR = *Economic History Review*.
 FD = R. Fulin, "Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana," *Archivio veneto*, XXIII, 1882, pp. 82-212, 390-405.
 GJB = *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*.
 GSLI = *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*.
 Hain = L. Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum ad Annum MD*, Stuttgart, 1826-38.
 IMU = *Italia medioevale e umanistica*.
 LBF = *La Bibliofilia*.
 OAME = G. Orlandi, *Aldo Manuzio, editore*, 2 vols., Milan, 1976. (References in Roman figures are to the number of each preface, as the division of text and commentary between volumes means that both often carry important material. References to particular passages are given in arabic numerals.)
 Panzer = G. Panzer, *Annales Typographici ab Artis Inventae Origine ad Annum 1500*, Vol. III, Nuremberg, 1795, VIII, 1800.
 RAlA = A. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde*, 3 vols, Paris, 1825.
 R.I.S. = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*.
 RSI = *Rivista storica italiana*.
 Schück = J. Schück, *Aldus Manutius und seine Zeitgenossen in Italien und Deutschland*, Berlin 1962.
 SDP = A. Sartori, "Documenti padovani sull'arte della stampa nel secolo XV," in *Libri e stampatori in Padova*, Miscellanea di studi storici in onore di mon. G. Bellini, Padua, 1959, pp. 112-228.
 Valla = J. Heiberg, ed., "Beiträge zu Georg Vallas und seiner Bibliothek," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XVI, 1896, pp. 54-103.
 ZFB = *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*.

I

MEN OF BUSINESS
AND MEN OF LETTERS

On 18 September 1469 a German resident named John of Speyer was granted a five-year monopoly over the craft of printing, which he had recently pioneered in the Republic of Venice. Petitions of the sort which John had presented were very common: they punctuate the records of all the main bodies in the Venetian state, cover every subject from improved windmills to experiments with poison-gas, and were normally treated with the same polite and sympathetic encouragement which John received.¹ Few came to anything. In this case, the thirty or so members of the College who voted on the privilege must have had much else on their minds: war with the newly established Ottoman power in the Aegean; the manoeuvring of their Italian neighbours, who regarded Venice with profound suspicion after her rapid expansion onto the mainland during the first half of the fifteenth century; above all, the preservation of the lucrative Eastern trade which Venice had effectively monopolised since her defeat of Genoa in 1381 and which by now had made her the most prosperous and most envied commercial centre in Europe.² John's petition can hardly have been more than a small item of extra business, and there was little to show that, within a few years, the craft which he represented would transform the life of the city more radically than the Sultan would ever do. John himself died within a few months of gaining the monopoly. His work was continued by his brother Windelin, but the privilege died with the original holder and competitors were soon thrusting themselves forward. The disgruntled scribe who complained in 1473 or 1474 that the city was "stuffed with books" appears to have been perfectly right. Since the beginning of the decade 176 different editions had been published:³ by the end of the same decade the figure would be 593; by the end of the century roughly 150 Venetian presses had turned out over 4,000 editions, representing nearly twice the known

production of the city's nearest rival, Paris, between a seventh and an eighth of the total output of Europe's presses during the period, and, at a very rough guess, twenty books to each individual member of the Venetian population.⁴ Not surprisingly, two of the largest-known and fastest-growing private libraries of the age belonged to Venetian citizens, the diarist Marin Sanudo and Cardinal Domenico Grimani.⁵ The look of the city itself was affected, for the printers rapidly took over the parishes of San Zulian and San Paternian as their particular quarter, and by the early 1490s rank upon rank of bookstalls tempted the passer-by as he walked from the Rialto down the Merceria towards San Marco.⁶ Venice may not have been even the first city in Italy to establish a printing industry;⁷ but the amazing expansion of that industry, once established, leaves no doubt that Venice was the first city in the world to feel the full impact of printing, and to experience the most important revolution in human communications between the development of letter-symbols some time in the fourth millennium before Christ and the emergence of electronic mass-media in our own age. Any study of the intellectual, social or economic life of Venice during the later fifteenth century must take account of this fact, and do something to explain it. Why, and how, did the press expand so rapidly? How did established intellectual circles react? How was society affected?

The lure of imagined wealth, and the apparent ease of achieving it will do much to explain the activity of the press in Venice, where the glitter of gold was more inviting than anywhere in fifteenth-century Europe. First, everyone was convinced that printers were rich. "Richissimo", wrote Sanudo of Nicholas Jenson, the most celebrated publisher in Venice during the 1470s. Erasmus credited Andrea Torresani with 1,000 ducats net profit each year, and an overall fortune of 100,000. As late as the 1530s a Basel printer, Thomas Platter, stated his motives with a disarming naïveté which must have been anticipated many times in a less experienced age: "But when I saw how Hervagius and the other printers had a good business, and with little work made a good profit, I thought, 'I should like to become a printer'."⁸

Next, and perhaps more important, there was nothing to stop those who felt this way from trying their luck, for the printing industry had grown up too quickly for the regulations which normally controlled medieval crafts to grow with it. Becoming a printer, wrote Erasmus acidly, was a great deal easier than becoming a baker.⁹ This freedom of access probably does much to explain the bewildering

variety of people who were involved in printing, and the very different fortunes which their trade brought them. The names of two noblemen, Andrea Badoer and Francesco Viaro, stand on Venetian copyrights of the 1490s.¹⁰ Jenson, once a metallurgist at the French mint, died in 1480 as a papal count palatine and the head of an international company.¹¹ At the other end of the scale we find Nicholas of Harlem financing his operations in Padua from the largesse of a certain lady, whose jewellery he attempts to redeem from the local Jewish pawn-brokers, or Gerard of Lisa, a Fleming who sinks into debt-ridden obscurity during the 1490s after some thirty years as teacher, choir-master, ecclesiastical tax-collector and, incidentally, printer.¹² For the truth is that the "boom" of the fifteenth-century press in Venice, like many similar surges of industrial activity, was a mad scramble in which numerous competitors trampled one another underfoot for a vision of prosperity that few attained, since it existed largely in their own minds. The real wealth even of those successful few hardly matched its reputation. Jenson's will disposed of approximately 4,000 ducats, a respectable fortune, certainly, but nothing alongside the hundreds of thousands left by Venice's merchant-noblemen, and a mere tenth of the sum made by one spice-dealer out of one year's shortage.¹³ Jenson was probably less typical than Gerard of Lisa. Rather more than 100 printing-companies have been identified in Venice up to 1490: twenty-three were still active during the following decade; only ten survived the century.¹⁴ Some were so small and short-lived that the only surviving traces of their existence are two or three unattributed, and often undated, editions. Court-humanists and dilettanti might rhapsodise about the "divine art", just as later historians have written airily of the Venetian presses' enjoying a "sweeping triumph": the printer, better informed, complained of the "treacherous rage and rivalry which are usual in this miserable trade". He knew that he was operating in a transient, hazardous and ruthless world.¹⁵

The first, and for many also the final, obstacle was expenditure on capital equipment. It is a mistake even to try reckoning the sum involved in absolute terms, since the different stages of production were not identified in the early days as integral parts of a single process, and the wide variety of aspiring printers had an almost equally wide measure of choice in the size of their investment. What never varied was the need to tie up money over a long period in an unpredictable and highly competitive market.

Oddly enough, the least problematic item appears to have been the press itself. Whether or not the story that Gutenberg was inspired by a wine-press is true, it is a simple matter of fact that the screw-press, set between two upright beams, had been known in Europe since the first century A.D., and was used to produce not only wine but cheese, linen and paper as well. It is possible that some of these presses could even have been adapted for printing: it is certain that the technology would have presented no especial difficulties.¹⁶ As early as 1474 we find Peter the Baker of Padua selling "one press for printing letters, wooden, fully equipped" among a job-lot of bric-a-brac which also included a lute (with case) and a moth-eaten fox-fur. The price asked was 100 lire, or just over sixteen ducats.¹⁷ It is an interesting comment on the ready availability and comparative cheapness of this vital piece of equipment.

Buying or preparing a type-fount was a quite different matter, since the skills involved were much more specialised and some of the processes quite new. The man best qualified to help will have been the trained metal-worker, and it is not surprising that goldsmiths figure largely in documents on early printing, whether they are producing books themselves or assisting those who do in the preliminary stages. To the metallurgist, the filing of a letter-form in relief onto the end of a hard steel punch will have been a familiar task from his experience with hall-marks, or with the preparation of coins and seals. Sinking the punch into a wedge of copper to form a "matrix" for each letter was simply a new form of the old operation. Fitting each matrix into a mould with adjustable sides and pouring in the correct alloy of lead, tin and antimony to form type-sorts of varying width and identical height, were all new processes, but they could be readily derived from existing workshop techniques.¹⁸

If the tradition that Jenson had been trained in the French royal mint is correct, this could explain a great deal about his success, his influence, and the size of his investment. In his will, he valued the contents of his workshop at the very high figure of 500 ducats, specifically excluding the steel punches which he bequeathed separately to one of his partners.¹⁹ Whether he had also used them to strike matrices for re-sale to other printers is not clear, but in Andrea Torrensani's claim to have worked with Jenson's types, and in the fact that some thirty founts similar to his in design can be traced in various Italian centres, there is the strongest suggestion that this was the case.²⁰ Jenson must stand as our most striking example of the pioneer-printer

in full control of the means of production, and the value of his plant shows the scale of the investment that might be needed to secure that control.

We do not know how many printers tried to carry out every stage of type-cutting and founding for themselves, but even before 1500 it cannot have been a very large proportion. Only a minority possessed the technical skills: fewer still could afford the time for design and experiment, which, as we shall see in Aldus' case, might take literally years. Subcontracting began very early. Gutenberg himself paid out 100 gulden to the goldsmith Dunne, and in 1475 one of Jenson's partners, Johan Rauchfass, directed Francesco da Bologna to copy two of the Frenchman's Gothic founts, probably by striking matrices from his punches.²¹ Over the first century of printing, the designing and cutting of punches was gradually becoming a specialised service-industry which reached full development around 1540, with the emergence of the Frenchman Claude Garamond as supplier of type to most of the prominent presses of Europe. How far this development had advanced during the fifteenth century is an almost complete mystery. A certain Hans Frank of Strassbourg was described as "a cutter of letters" as early as 1476, and by the end of the century similar phrases, now apparently signifying a distinct profession, were being applied to a number of individuals like Rynman of Augsburg or Corvus of Venice.²² But the capitalist printer, the ambitious goldsmith, and the amateur engraver, are still inextricably confused. For the aspiring printer, the confusion could only breed difficulty. If he was investing in his own punches, he must buy specialised equipment and a great deal of time. If, like most, he was restricting himself to matrices or even to finished types, he must still buy the metals and the skills required to fashion them. The lucky few with cash in hand would have to make a substantial investment: the small artisan would probably be forced to borrow on the security of future production. And even when he had his two basic pieces of equipment, a press and type-founts, he might still be many months from producing anything.

The largest items of recurrent expenditure were paper and labour, which appear to have accounted for roughly equal sections of the fifteenth-century printer's budget. Paper-prices varied enormously: the smooth "carta reale" cost five times as much as the cheapest grade which could be bought for only 2 soldi per quire, and by 1500 the demands of the market were becoming so voracious that the manu-

facturers were able to afford a general reduction of charges.²³ But the manufacturers themselves were established capitalists, sometimes holding a monopoly of the supply to an entire area. As small a press-run as 300 breviaries could demand forty ducats worth of paper which, once again, the printer might have to raise on the security of future production: so it was easy for the paper-supplier to turn creditor as well, to issue paper ream by ream as work was completed, and secure complete control over a press if it ran into difficulty.²⁴ From the other side the master-printer might be threatened at any moment by trouble with his own workers. Labour was not scarce, and a large force was not needed. The earliest illustrations show three men – compositor, inker and “torculator” or operator – at work on each press, so a small company could be run by a nucleus of less than half a dozen all told, and the master who employed twenty or thirty men on six to eight presses was in business on a substantial scale. Only the compositors needed any special training, and to judge by the remarks of contemporary satirists, there seems to have been no lack of unemployed domestic servants and penniless students to fill each and any one of the necessary posts.²⁵ But though readily available, labour was also surprisingly expensive. The three ducats per month which a compositor earned in Padua during 1475 was precisely the sum which the Venetian government offered in 1492 to a skilled hydraulic engineer, and it does not appear to have been the highest wage a compositor could demand.²⁶ So far as I can judge from a glance through the surviving records of the Signori di notte, Venetian printing workers do not appear to have been more active or riotous than other occupational groups, but their skills and their feeling of teamwork do seem to have given them a sense of identity which could erupt quickly in the overcharged atmosphere of a workshop that was also a home.²⁷ For apart from hiring them, the master-printer was normally also responsible for housing and feeding his workmen: this meant finding anything between five and fifty ducats per year in rent, and facing the constant problem of fluctuating food-prices. It is not surprising that disputes were frequent, or that they often took the form of domestic squabbles that make modern labour-relations look staid and sober in comparison. We have record of a group of compositors in Padua staging a walk-out because their beds had not been made. They were sacked.²⁸

Labour and capital equipment presented demands which every printer had to face, but there were still numerous incidental items on

the budget which, though less regular and liable to affect different men in different degrees, all added to the already formidable list. The soft type-metal soon wore out and needed replacing, so supplies of lead, tin and antimony had to be kept at hand. Ink had to be provided. The small operator might beg or borrow other printed texts for copy, or scratch out a living as a jobbing-printer, but the more ambitious would obtain access to manuscripts, hire professional scholars to edit them, and possibly proof-readers to check the results. Hire or purchase of a manuscript might involve almost any sum. Scholarly editors might settle for prestige and a lump-sum, but a proof-reader could claim a wage of four to six ducats per month.²⁹ When the Venetian printer Paganinis stated in 1492 that his edition of Nicholas of Lyra's commentary on the Bible would cost him a total of 4,000 ducats to produce, he was presenting a case for special treatment: so was Aldus, when he set the monthly expenses of his organisation at 200 ducats. Such round figures, produced in such circumstances, excite a good deal of suspicion. But we shall see in a later chapter that Aldus' statement of his “cash-flow situation” was more than mere rhetoric.³⁰

The difficulties of marketing were if anything worse than those of production. It has been said many times that no sharp line divided the world of the manuscript from the world of the printed book: scribes such as Zacharias Callierges readily became printers, and if printing did not bring sufficient returns, became scribes again.³¹ But, though cases like this can be used to show that one generation of book-producers was not immediately ruined by the arrival of the next, they also imply a slow readjustment of the market which brought problems of its own for the printer. He had to sell quickly, and in quantity, to cover the overheads we have just described. But what titles should he select? How many copies should he print? Where should he sell them, and what sort of competition ought he to expect from other printers? The world of the scribe, with its precise gearing of supply to demand, gave no help with these new questions, which could only be answered by equally new and often harsh experience. In the early 1470s an uncontrolled enthusiasm for the classical revival, probably inspired by the professional scholars who advised the printers, deluged the Italian market with more editions of the Latin classics than it could possibly absorb and left the printers with nothing but unsold copies to face their creditors. The Venetian industry reeled, its output declining by sixty-five per cent in 1473.³² In Rome Sweynheim and Pannartz, who claimed to have printed no less than 20,475

copies of their various editions, appealed to the Pope through their editor Gianandrea de Bussi, who reported that the workshop was "full of printed sheets, empty of necessities".³³ But even a timely grant of benefices did not save the partnership. Clearly, a great deal was learned from the shock. The surviving printers consolidated their **credit-structures**, sought to exploit special fields as their own, and avoided unnecessary competition with one another. The development of international book-fairs at Frankfurt and Lyons provided more detailed information about production in different centres and business-methods became more refined and subtle.³⁴ Unfortunately, subtlety can take many forms. Some of the petitions for copyright presented to the Venetian government during the 1490s conjure up pictures of a **sinister underground** at work within the industry: its agents sniff out any new and important work which is in preparation, bribe some disaffected worker, and secure a copy; secret presses mass-produce the stolen text; a cheap version appears on the market before the original, and the poor printer who has invested his money and expertise in the project is left destitute.³⁵ Accounts such as this are probably over-dramatised: fierce competition in a business which is too young to recognise or implement rules of fair trading may easily have seemed like conspiracy. But the problem of plagiarism troubled Aldus continually, and will play a considerable part in this study.

Time was probably a worse enemy to the printer than the industrial spy. He had not only to distribute a sufficient number of books over a large enough area, but also to realise the profits from their sale quickly enough to cover his investment. The actual process of distribution was by no means as primitive as is sometimes supposed. The pedlar with his donkey has become very popular among later historians, and he definitely played some part at the lower end of the market, distributing woodcuts of a local saint on his feast-day or printed sheets of the latest blood-curdling romance. But the more substantial book, printed or in manuscript, was valuable merchandise to be handled by merchants who knew their business. There is a particularly interesting case in the Florentine Gerolamo Strozzi, who in 1474 received from his clients in London a request for some vernacular translations of the Florentine Histories of Brunni and Poggio. Since he already dealt in books, Strozzi had manuscripts by the following June. But his business-interests took him to Venice and there, for unknown reasons, he decided on a far more ambitious investment. The two Florentine Histories were handed over to the printer Jacques

le Rouge, and an edition of Landino's Italian translation of Pliny's *Natural Histories* was ordered from Nicholas Jenson. By the summer of 1476 the original order had grown to more than 1,500 volumes, which were being distributed by Strozzi's agents in Rome, Siena, Pisa and Naples, or transported to customers in Bruges and London aboard the state-owned galleys of the Venetian Republic.³⁶ This extraordinarily detailed story not only illustrates the easy transition between manuscript and printed book, but shows how both could be distributed by the relatively sophisticated methods of international trade. It is worth recording that during the same period Jenson had 500 ducats worth of stock in Pavia alone, agents in most of the main centres of Italy, and a mysterious English contact named William Tose to manage his affairs north of the Alps. And when we read of salaried agents circulating in university-towns with books for sale, or professors recommending still unpublished editions in their lectures, we appear to be moving into a high-gear world of advance publicity and pyramid salesmanship.³⁷

But for the printer's or publisher's position to be secure, the quickening of supply had to be matched at every stage of the trading-cycle, and this readjustment took time: in fact the recorded reaction of both retailers and buyers casts a good deal of doubt on the notion that printing had to be invented in order for the supply of books to meet the demand. In 1476, the year of Strozzi's bold experiment, one bookshop in his native Florence stocked only two printed texts, and Strozzi himself left some very explicit instructions for his agent when business took him abroad again in 1477: "...you must dig the spurs into them [the booksellers] and drag the cash out of their hands. Make them enter all copies you give them in the account-book, in their own hand-writing."³⁸ In 1482 a retailer in Siena simply returned his unsold copies to Strozzi, and a year later the price of the books had to be reduced.

If we turn from this comparatively well-organised company to one of its more primitive contemporaries, the press run by the Ripoli convent in Florence, we find a comic-opera world in which books are bought piecemeal, on the security of silver spoons or tablecloths.³⁹ It is clear that many buyers were loath to abandon the leisurely habits of the **manuscript-market**: and since the printers tried to persuade their **customers that printed books were every bit as good as manuscripts**, this is not altogether surprising. Even in Venice, where demand must have quickened more rapidly than elsewhere, the surviving accounts

of the bookseller Francesco da Madiis reveal dizzy changes in the pattern of sales. Between 17 May 1484 and 23 January 1487-8 Francesco disposed of more than 12,000 volumes: but the number sold in any one month varied between a mere sixty in October 1485 and 535 in May 1487, while the takings in cash might stand anywhere between thirteen ducats and 210. The market was still utterly unpredictable, and the problems it imposed on the small producer, relying on credit, need not be emphasised further. "Even when copies are complete", lamented Bernardino Stagnino in 1496, "they cannot be sold quickly."⁴⁰ In sales, as in capital expenditure, the fifteenth-century printer was poised on the edge of a precipice.

To face their difficulties, printers naturally sought to spread the risks out amongst themselves or other interested parties, and an almost infinite variety of contracts, one frequently overlapping another, emerged from such dealings. Some were no more than short-term expedients to cover the cost of one or two editions: Gerolamo Strozzi, for example, had no long-standing concern with printing, but he bought paper to the value of 731 ducats for the texts in which he had an interest and presumably paid Jenson and le Rouge for the necessary time and labour. Then as now, an aspiring author might be expected to shoulder the expense of publishing his own work. Within their limits, agreements of this kind seem to have been popular, especially for risky or prestigious publications: they brought in capital from outside the industry, and above all, they brought in lump-sums which would cover the costs of paper and labour without an anxious wait to see how sales would go.⁴¹ But printers also banded together to pursue more distant aims. From 1507 we have the text of a contract which is particularly important because it illustrates the activity of a Venetian syndicate during the same period as Aldus. The de Tortis brothers, Zorzi Arrivabene, Lucantonio Giunti and Amadeo Scotto set out a joint plan for five years of business and specified the works to be published. Expenses and profits were to be divided into four equal shares: Giunti and Scotto, who in this instance provided only financial backing and were not involved in the actual printing, held one share each; Arrivabene and the de Tortis brothers, who offered four presses and took responsibility for the supply of paper, held the third share jointly: another partner had to be found for the fourth. The printed sheets would be stored in a warehouse whose rent would be paid collectively and to which each of the partners would have a key. Any decisions affecting prices, or the number of copies to be printed, were

to be taken by majority vote.⁴² The entire spirit of this document is one of co-operative enterprise.

But others show the business in a rather different light. In 1478 Leonardus of Ratisbon and Nicholas of Frankfurt, both resident in Venice, entered an agreement to produce 930 copies of the Bible over the following nine months. Since Nicholas undertook to provide both the paper and 243 ducats expenses, Leonardus, who handled the actual press-work, must have been well protected against the immediate problems of cash-flow: but he could draw the money only in instalments, as each batch of printed sheets was delivered, and he was barred from taking other work in hand. The craftsman, in fact, was bound hand and foot to the financier.⁴³ During the same year the French typographer, Peter Maufer, signed a new contract with a Paduan gentleman named Bartolomeo Valdezocco who was commissioning a large edition of the *Digestum Novum*. The two men had been associated in an earlier agreement rather similar to that between Leonardus of Ratisbon and his sponsor, and Maufer had ended with debts of 225 ducats to Valdezocco, who took formal possession of the entire workshop in settlement. The new contract made the situation cruelly explicit: "Item, in the printing of the aforesaid work the lord Bartolomeus is to be the superior party and the principal author: he shall collect . . . all quires of the aforesaid work as they are printed, day by day, until the entire work is completed. Master Peter is to be his servant."⁴⁴

The normal processes of jungle law meant that the risks of printing tended to favour those best equipped to survive them: in other words, those with capital, contacts, and experience. The need for capital investment soon created a special kind of entrepreneur. Convenience demands that we call these men "publishers", though the term is in fact anachronistic since they formed no special group socially or occupationally, and their interest in the business of publication varied greatly. Johan Rauchfass, a Frankfurt merchant whose multifarious activities earned him the title "Big John", may have regarded even his shares in the company of Nicholas Jenson as little more than an exotic item in his portfolio.⁴⁵ But Lucantonio Giunti, whom we met in the contract of 1507, and his associates of the Scotto family, clearly operated as professional underwriters, since they formed contracts with several different printers over a considerable number of years. They also printed editions on their own account. Andrea Torresani was active as a printer, bookseller and underwriter for more than a decade before he formed a partnership with Aldus, and

he continued to print independently of Aldus for twelve years afterwards.⁴⁶ There is a good deal to suggest that these printer/booksellers, who were able to delegate the immediate problems of production to their dependents and sniff the wind of international demand through their commercial contacts, were also the quickest to profit from the invention of printing. By the end of his life Jenson was concerned almost entirely with sales. Giunti more than doubled his company's capital base between 1491 and 1499, and had almost doubled it again by 1509.⁴⁷ Beyond question is the fact that, from the first decade of its existence, the Venetian printing industry was acquiring a thoroughly capitalistic structure, and that control of that structure was passing into the hands of merchants or printer/booksellers of the kind we have just described. According to Victor Scholderer's calculations, rather more than fifty presses turned out some 600 editions up to the end of 1481: of those editions, 260 – forty-three per cent – were the work of two companies, those of Nicholas Jenson and John of Cologne; their numerous rivals averaged only seven editions each, and the nearest rival to the output of the two giants was – significantly – an assorted group of seventy unattributed relics. There is, as he commented, “a sharp contrast between the few successful men at the top and the crowd of transient and financially embarrassed phantoms down below”.⁴⁸

We do not have sufficient evidence to state bluntly that capital and long credit were the main ingredients of success for the early printer. But the fortunes of Jenson and John of Cologne provide, at the very least, powerful confirmation of money's tendency to gravitate towards money. Jenson was backed from an unknown date by two Frankfurt merchants, “Big John” Rauchfass and Peter Uglheimer, who became a considerable book-collector in his own right. All we know of the scope of this triangular partnership is that Uglheimer's shares in it were ultimately liquidated by the payment of 1,000 ducats in gold to his heirs.⁴⁹ John of Cologne's company was a messier and more sprawling affair. He and an associate named Manthen salvaged the remains of Windelin of Speyer's company after the over-production crisis of 1473, and an astonishing lady named Madonna Paola, daughter of the painter Antonello da Messina and widow of Venice's first typographer John of Speyer, brought her personal talents to bear on the problem of cementing and diversifying the new company's interests. She first moved in with Manthen, though without apparently marrying him:⁵⁰ she then, at an unknown date, married another

printer, Rinaldus of Nijmegen, who was promptly drawn into the syndicate; finally, in 1477, she married off her daughter Hironima to a prosperous bookseller named Gaspar of Dinslaken, who gained a handsome dowry of 3,000 ducats – well above the limits permitted in Venice at the time – and was also immediately made a partner.⁵¹ Throughout the central and later 1470s, the two combines fenced cautiously, Jenson concentrating on legal texts, John and his partners on commentaries: both were obviously anxious to avoid choking the market with duplicated editions, as had happened in 1472–3. But in 1478 an even worse threat, plague, convulsed the Venetian industry yet again. Exactly half of the twenty-two active companies either suspended business or left the city, and the two main rivals, who had naturally been among those strong enough to survive this new shock, appear to have decided that there was more to be gained by joining forces. On 29 May 1480 a protocol brought into being the five-year syndicate of Nicholas Jenson, John of Cologne, and Company: a partnership to which John made an initial contribution of nearly 5,000 ducats worth of books, which was able to turn out some twenty folio editions in the next twelve months, and which exercised such an absolute domination of the Venetian industry that it became known simply as “The Company”. The two main partners died almost immediately afterwards, and evidence of “The Company's” overt activity vanishes from the end of 1481.⁵² An influx of new names gives the Venetian book-world of the 1480s a more dispersed and confusing character. But far into the age of Aldus, we find hints of an underlying and mighty influence from the past: Hironima, daughter of Madonna Paola and widow of Gaspar von Dinslaken since the late 1470s, still held stocks valued at 660 ducats in 1511, and was owed a further 207 ducats in gold by Lucantonio Giunti.⁵³ Even more important, perhaps, was the power of “The Company” as a golden image of success, beckoning the next generation to imitate, and prosper.

For as we move from the examination of Venetian printing as such to consider the relationship between the presses and the public, the tactics pursued by Jenson and John of Cologne provide important confirmation of a more general point which has been made about the Venetian editors: they were cautious and conservative, favouring established circles of readers and doing little to encourage the growth of a more popular market.⁵⁴ We can prove this observation up to a point from the statistical analysis of editions, but this is a hazardous

method. I suspect that far more chap-books and pamphlets than we realise may have disappeared without trace. But we can partly cross-check the statistics from evidence about demand and reading-habits – wills, bookshop and library inventories, the remarks of contemporaries in diaries, manuscripts, or prefaces to printed editions – and the signs still form a consistent pattern. The “new reader” – the man in the street, lacking a formal education – was not an important feature of the Venetian literary world. The printers tended to play follow-my-leader not only with established academic trends but with one another, and by the early 1490s they were beginning to operate in predictable and rather well-worn grooves.

In spite of the crisis of 1472–3, the demand for classical texts remained enormous. Scholderer's figures for the period up to 1481 – 206 editions out of a total of 600 – are distorted by the prodigious output of 1471–2, and both Jenson and John of Cologne clearly followed a much more cautious policy after 1475. But as the century progressed, trial and error produced a list of ever-popular authors – Virgil, Horace, the elegiac poets, the satirists, prose-writers such as Valerius Maximus, Livy, and above all Cicero – and editions followed one another with monotonous regularity. Philippus Pincius reprinted Virgil four times during the 1490s alone, and various works of Cicero account for ten per cent of his total output during that decade. Tacuinus specialised almost exclusively in Latin classics. The sales recorded by Francesco da Madiis suggest that roughly twenty per cent of his turnover in any one month consisted of classical texts, and while this proves that the local market was strong, it must also leave us with the suspicion that a considerable proportion of the total output was intended for export.⁵⁵ A good deal of the demand in Venice itself clearly derived from the city's active population of public and private teachers, to whose busy world we shall return in a later chapter. Jenson's text of Diogenes Laertius was edited by Benedetto Brugnolo, the head of the School of San Marco, at the request of two pupils, Lorenzo Zorzi and Jacobo Badoer: in 1478 Giorgio Merula published as a commentary on Cicero's *Oratio pro Ligario* the series of public lectures he had recently delivered; several petitions for the monopoly of particular editions contain references to the interest of students.⁵⁶ But it is also clear that demand extended far beyond the schools. In the dedication to his commentaries on Martial, Merula wrote of Marcantonio Morosini's asking for guidance on that author's poems, and taking Calderinis' commentary to read during his time as governor

of Cremona. On several occasions Francesco da Madiis sold virtually complete libraries of classics, and few even of his specialist customers, who came for legal or theological texts, left the shop without taking some Latin literature to leaven the academic lump. We cannot tell whether any of the surviving volumes, often finely bound, illuminated, and carrying the arms of noble families, once belonged to these now nameless purchasers: but we can be certain that the fashionable taste for antiquity was spreading rapidly through the upper echelons of Venetian society.⁵⁷

Though Venice lagged behind other European centres in the production of theological and liturgical works, there is a good deal to suggest that editions of this type formed a vital part of her printers' output, and, before 1500, probably the majority of her booksellers' stocks. In 1572 a papal observer commented: “They [the printers] have been used to relying on these little service-books for their livelihood.”⁵⁸ At first sight this would seem hardly applicable to an earlier period. Even a printer like Simon Bevilaqua, who produced five missals during the 1490s, turned out a great deal more classical literature during the same period and can hardly be said to have relied on liturgical editions. On the other hand Francesco da Madiis' turnover of theological works, devotional literature, and service-books was truly colossal: it accounted for roughly half his total sales in any one month, doubling the proportion of any other type of material. There are two possible explanations of what seems a paradox: first, it seems likely that a good deal of theological work was brought into Venice from other centres; second, editions of this kind brought problems and advantages of their own, which are well illustrated in a series of directives issued during 1495 by the Patriarch of Aquileia, Nicolo Donato. In an attempt to standardise religious practice throughout his sprawling ecclesiastical domain, Donato commissioned 500 copies of a *Missale secundum rubricam Aquileiensem* for compulsory circulation to all beneficed clergy. The price was set at the very high figure of twenty-three lire – more than three and a half ducats – for a bound volume.⁵⁹ Though in this case the work was to be carried out in Augsburg, it is easy to see how the printer who secured such a commission could forget the problems of cash-flow and pour copies into what was effectively a captive market. Wide variations in local practice served to increase the printers' opportunity, and even on the open bookstall, liturgical texts seem to have sold easily and in bulk. On 7 January 1487–8 Francesco da Madiis disposed of 50 psalters in a single batch.⁶⁰

If Venetian printers seem on the face of it to have produced a relatively small proportion of theological and liturgical material, we should remember that the number of editions by itself is no sure guide to the popularity and economic importance of the books concerned. It is clear that the service-book of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries enjoyed many of the commercial advantages associated with a first-rate text-book in the twentieth: many had to buy it as part of their professional duties, many more might want to do so for personal reasons.

But in commercial value, in prestige, and in sheer bulk all other fields of Venetian publication were eclipsed by the Law. It was a costly and rather exclusive market, into which a printer might have to earn his way by several years of successful activity and careful cultivation of the necessary contacts: some of the most active publishers of the 1480s and 1490s – Arrivabene, Benalius and the de Gregoriis brothers – worked with classical texts for up to five years before moving on to Law, while Tacuinus and Aldus himself avoided it entirely. The reasons for both caution and ambition appear clearly in da Madiis' accounts. The actual number of legal texts he sold never approached the figures achieved repeatedly by classical or devotional literature, and he sometimes sold none at all for several months on end. But when a customer arrived, he bought in quantity and he paid in ducats. During the lean month of September 1485 when takings were down to thirty-nine and a half ducats, nearly a third of the total came from a single sale of seven law-books for twelve and a half ducats.⁶¹ Every fat legal folio that Francesco passed over the counter cost at least a ducat. For the printers, the results of this situation are obvious enough. A legal text represented a large investment in terms of paper, time, and labour, and a novice would generally be unable to face the high risks involved: but for an established man who could sound out the market accurately the profits might be sure and large. Law apparently made the fortunes of both Jenson and John of Cologne, accounting for twenty-nine per cent of the Frenchman's output and forty-eight per cent of the German's: they set an example of success which the next generation found irresistible, for fifty-one per cent of Arrivabene's editions and fifty-three per cent of Torresani's, were also legal. This is one area of Venetian publication where we can be quite specific about the causes of prosperity and expansion. The Venetian industry was perfectly placed to supply the nearby universities of Padua, Bologna, Pavia and Ferrara, all of which were increasing their numbers

during the relative political calm of the later Quattrocento, while none had its needs fully met by the local presses.⁶² Cooperation between Padua and the Venetian printers was very close indeed, since the university town was barely twenty miles away, ruled by Venice, and much frequented by its citizens and subjects. Alessandro de Nevo, Pietro Fossano and other academic lawyers edited and corrected texts: when Benalius approached the government in 1494 to seek protection of his edition of Alessandro Tartagni, the request was backed in writing by the rector of the law-school and a number of lecturers; and almost every petition concerning a legal text contains reference to the advantages which students may expect to derive from it.⁶³ There is also a good deal to suggest that professional lawyers, who needed a wide range of reference-works and were accustomed to treating books as necessary equipment rather than aesthetic objects, adjusted to print rather more quickly than those fastidious spirits whose values were dictated by their own visions of classical antiquity. Jacopo Zen, canon-lawyer and cardinal-bishop of Padua, died in 1481 when the presses had been operating in Venice for just over a decade. But when his library was inventoried a year later more than forty per cent of it – 149 volumes out of 361 – was composed of printed texts. So long as he had the books, the Cardinal seems to have had few inhibitions about how they were produced.⁶⁴

The importance of the academic market can be demonstrated yet again, if less forcefully, from philosophical, scientific and medical texts. One of the busiest printers of the 1490s, Bonetus Locatellus, chose to avoid the Law entirely and concentrate on classics, theology, and philosophy, the latter accounting for over half his total production up to 1500. Even an experienced legal publisher like Torresani thought this field a worthwhile alternative, and brought out a burst of Aristotelian commentaries during the early years of the sixteenth century. Pomponazzi's lectures in philosophy could generate as much excitement, publicity, and consequently business as could Jason de Mayno's in Law.⁶⁵ There is no need to labour the argument further: the evidence for direct academic co-operation is similar, and the point to be derived from it is identical. According to all available statistics of production and purchase, the flood of reading matter which poured from the presses after 1470 was aimed at the upper levels of society. It was the established sections of the reading public – priests, teachers in school and university, lawyers, doctors, students, secretaries and clerks – who felt its first impact.

But how were such people affected and how did they react? Though there was an immense range of individual opinions, all can be placed somewhere between committed acclamation and absolute rejection. The mass of cheaper books and the standardisation of material might mean an increasing number of readers, a general spread of enlightenment, a better society, and a surer way to God: or they might mean the debasement and dilution of learning that had once been pure and precious, the spread only of confusion, obscenity and heresy among simple people who would consequently be led straight to damnation. It was a division of ideals which in many ways anticipates the cultural and educational debates of the present day: certainly, the sense of hostility to the press could not be better summed up than by the modern slogan, "More means Worse". But in practice the division was much less clear-cut than one might expect. Few intellectuals were bold or decisive enough to commit themselves wholeheartedly to either position, for there was no traditional thought to give them guidance and the situation was changing so rapidly that many shifted ground uneasily or moved from one extreme to the other. In Venice, where change was most rapid, opinions were naturally very confused: and in seeking to unravel them, the historian is not helped by the easy assumption that, since scholars such as Merula and Sabellico worked for the Venetian press, they were wholly committed to the idea of printing.⁶⁶

The most enthusiastic statement on behalf of the early press comes not from Venice, but from Rome and from Gianandrea de Bussi, Bishop of Aleria and editor for the first typographers in Italy, Sweynheim and Pannartz. Introducing him here is therefore something of a digression: but it can be justified, first, by the clarity of his opinions, second, by the faint possibility that they may have reached the young Aldus Manutius.⁶⁷ Whether Gianandrea's views were quite as altruistic as he implied is a debatable point, which I shall not labour here. What matters is that his prefaces and dedications set out a programme which was logically consistent, broadly related to certain current educational theories, and circulated between 1468 and 1472, during the earliest stages of Italian printing and in time to serve as a statement of principle for those who came afterwards. Gianandrea's background had given him a profound sense of the importance of literacy and the duty of spreading it. From around 1440 he had studied at Mantua under Vittorino da Feltre, a philanthropist who overspent the budget allowed him by filling his school with penniless



Contemporary portrait-medallion of Aldus Manutius, and his typographic mark of the Dolphin. From the Museo Civico, Vicenza.



Aldus' pupil and patron, Alberto Pio, Prince of Carpi. The date is 1512, but the artist is unknown. From the National Gallery, London.



Contemporary wood-cut portrait of Aldus, formerly attributed to Ugo da Carpi. From the Kupferstichkabinet, Berlin.

cius: et stolam glorie induit ei.
 In ciuitate et exultatione iherusa-
 lem: et nomen eius: et nomen eius
 hereditabit illis: dominus deus noster.
 In festo sanctorum in ceteris. *Loc. libri
 apocalypsis beati iohannis apoli.*

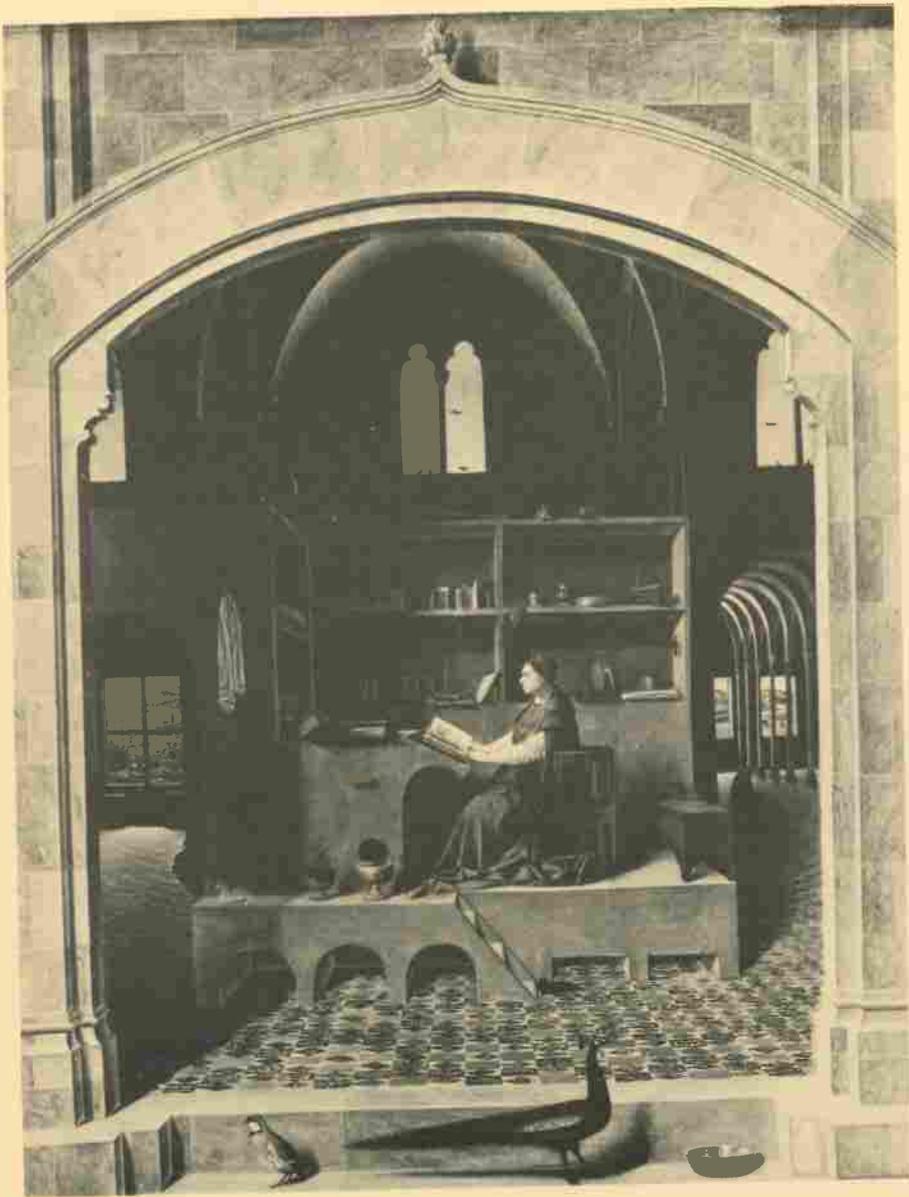


Et dicit
 illic: michi
 supra mo-
 tem sion
 agni sta-
 tes: et cius
 eo centi
 quadra-
 ginta quattuor: milia. habentes
 nomen eius: et nomen patris eius
 scriptum in frontibus suis. Et audi

The Slaughter of the Innocents, by Benedetto Bordone. From the British Library, Additional manuscript 15815, f. llv.



Martial crowned by the Emperor Domitian. From the British Library, C.4.d.11.



'I read them as I walk around on the business of the court...' Antonello da Messina's St. Jerome, and Bronzino's portrait of an unknown courtier (shown on the opposite page), together reveal the change in reading habits that the octavo made possible, and illustrate the comments made by Thurz to Aldus in 1502. From the National Gallery, London, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Bronzino's portrait of an unknown courtier.

the Vatican library. But he had shown the strength of his conviction by editing twenty-four texts in four years.⁷²

Appropriately, Gianandrea's opposite number came from Venice. His name was Filippo di Strata, and one of his poems informs us that he was Pavian by birth, a Dominican friar by vocation, a resident in the convent of San Cipriano in Murano, and a master of theology. He was probably not a professional copyist, for he clearly had other means of support and the surviving manuscripts which he wrote cover a long period of time and are very diverse in character: there is a version of the *Fiori di virtù*; a number of sermons and extracts from patristic commentaries; some love poems, apparently commissioned by friends; an elegy against the use of the organ in church; and the various personal compositions which are our main interest. One of these, a ponderous Latin address to Doge Nicolo Marcello, must have been written between August 1473 and December 1474. Another, which refers to Aldus as a celebrated printer, must have been written after 1495, and several references to the French invaders also prove that Fra Filippo was still active at the end of the century.⁷³ He was therefore an observer and critic of the Venetian press throughout the period of its early expansion, and his virulent hostility to it gives him a special place in this study.

At the root of Fra Filippo's feelings lay a deep dislike of printers as people, his various descriptions of them revealing an interesting fusion of snobbery and nationalism. They were vagabonds, idlers, dismissed servants: they were ignorant, but at the same time ambitious; they would snore away the hours in a drunken stupor, but they would still be dreaming of their profits; they were German interlopers, driving honest Italian scribes out of work. He would have no objections, wrote Fra Filippo, if men like these would stay where they belonged, squabbling and singing in alleys or cheap taverns and selling their sordid wares to their sordid equals: but they were trying to rise above themselves, and in doing so were threatening the whole fabric of society. First, they were vulgarising intellectual life. The city was so full of books that it was hardly possible to walk down a street without finding armfuls of them thrust at you, "like cats in a bag," for two or three coppers. The texts were hopelessly inaccurate, since they had been prepared by ignorant oafs and then never corrected: but they still drove valuable manuscripts out of the market, and tempted uneducated fools to give themselves the airs of learned doctors.

Now folk who don't know 'talian
Will teach you to speak Tullian.⁷⁴

A second and graver danger lay in the threat to morals. Books were now so cheap that children could afford them and the crafty printers, seeing their opportunity, produced volumes of pagan mythology and lascivious Roman love-poetry to titillate the erotic fantasies of the young. Finally and worst of all, religion was in imminent peril. Vernacular translations of the scriptures dimmed the beauty and twisted the subtle meaning of the Latin: now that cheap printed versions, prepared by unqualified profiteers, were circulating throughout society, simple people were bound to be led astray towards heresy, damnation and hell. Let the Doge be warned that printing was a whore: or rather it was worse than a whore, since it deserved to be banned from Venice by law.⁷⁵

Fra Filippo is a caricature of the reactionary: at one point he actually says that the world has got along perfectly well for six thousand years without printing, and has no need to change now. When we set his words against their background of surging expansion in press activity, it is easy to treat him with pity or ridicule as the last survivor of a doomed generation, screaming in the faces of a solid phalanx of noblemen, intellectuals, and artisans who march shoulder to shoulder towards enlightenment and a better life. But he cannot be brushed aside so easily. His attitudes were consistent and, as we shall see, based on a better appreciation of facts than de Bussi's. It is interesting enough to find that, even when printing had been established in Venice for nearly thirty years, Aldus could still be warned that he was building a higher wall on the same weak foundations, and would have further to fall.⁷⁶ When we find that Fra Filippo addressed himself to a doge, a member of the powerful Council of Ten, and a number of other nobles, it becomes apparent that he was not without friends, and the fact that sixty members of the Senate out of 159 voted against a printer's petition in 1492 suggests that some opposition to the press may have lingered on for a surprising length of time. Fra Filippo was by no means alone in his fears: no one else made the same points so coherently or with such virulence, but even scholars who worked continuously with the press repeated one or other of his objections to it.⁷⁷

A degree of personal dislike for the printer was almost universal among intellectuals. Sebastian Brant used many of the same terms of abuse as Fra Filippo in giving both masters and workers a prominent place in his *Ship of Fools*, and the general charges of rowdiness, greed

and incompetence, which were already abroad in the 1470s, had hardly changed when Erasmus prepared the Venetian edition of the *Adagia* with Aldus in 1508. But the argument from silence is if anything more significant. Giorgio Merula, the public lecturer whom we have already mentioned, worked intermittently throughout the 1470s with a number of Venetian printers, including Windelin of Speyer, Jenson, and John of Cologne: but apart from a generally worded tribute to Jenson, he has nothing to say about printers as people, and even in the preface to a printed edition, does not hesitate to question whether the new craft is a help or a hindrance to scholarship.⁷⁸ Marcantonio Sabellico, one of Merula's successors, provides an even more striking example. According to contemporary opinion, he owed his appointment to a substantial popular history of Venice, which he composed in fifteen months and on which he obtained the first known author's copyright in 1486.⁷⁹ He worked closely with a number of presses during the later 1480s and 1490s, and probably deserves the title usually reserved for Erasmus – that of being the first writer to make a career from the new medium. Naturally, his twelve books of letters abound in references to the press, which range from the broadest judgements down to details of marketing technique. But printers themselves are mentioned only as tiresome tradesmen, whose demands come at difficult moments and whose work is invariably slipshod.⁸⁰ For a while this barrier of mutual incomprehension may have been kept up by national, local and linguistic differences. For the first decade of its existence, the Venetian industry was dominated largely by German immigrants, and Merula could not forget, even when he was working for John of Cologne and still wholly enthusiastic about printing, that the invention had come from “that once rugged and brutish land of Germany”.⁸¹ When Italian printers began to push themselves forward after 1480, they still came from outlying towns, and often kept their local origins before the public eye – Philippus Pincius of Mantua, Bernardinus Benalius of Bergamo, and Andrea Torresani of Asola. Differences of dialect were still strong, traditions of local prejudice even stronger: it must have been perilously easy for the sophisticated and metropolitan Venetians to treat the newcomers as boorish, grasping and provincial.⁸² Until the age of Aldus, there is little sign of anything more than a business relationship between printers and scholars. Though the bookseller might perhaps have aspired to the respectability of international trade, the printer, with his grubby ground-floor workshop and his drunken

assistants, was on the face of it a small artisan. In 1493 Matteo of Pavia was cited for assaulting and killing a deaf-mute in the Fondaco de' Tedeschi: in 1499 “Morgante, a printer of books”, was accused of a similar attack on a common prostitute. It was a world for which the intellectual had been schooled by the urban violence of the previous century to feel nothing more than a mixture of horror and contempt.⁸³

To some extent, complaint about the printers' debasement of intellectual life must have been derived from the premise that printers were low characters already. But the idea was based on observed fact as well as prejudice, and could gain ground with remarkable speed. Merula edited Cicero's *De Finibus* for John of Cologne in 1471, and his dedication of the work to Ludovico Foscarini uses language very similar to that of Gianandrea de Bussi: man has always wielded Promethean skills, but the invention of printing surpasses any previous achievement; the rarest works are now ready to hand and anyone can savour their wisdom. But only a year later Merula was much cooler, when he edited the *Scriptores Rei Rusticae* with Jenson. He still clung to de Bussi's hope of purifying the Latin language by saturating the learned world with books, but he was gravely concerned about the more immediate consequences of the process: “matters which in happier times were remote, secret and barely known even to the wise are now bandied around in alleyways by the vilest people, in the vulgar tongue”.⁸⁴ The resemblance of his repulsion to Fra Filippo's is obvious.

There are signs of a rather similar shift of ground in the comments of another editor, Hironimo Squarciafico. In 1477 he wrote enthusiastically of persuading John of Cologne to publish all the Latin classics, just as he had published all the commentators on Civil and Canon Law: but in 1481 he imagined an argument in the Elysian Fields between the great authors of the past, some pressing the benefits of the new art, others complaining that “printing had fallen into the hands of unlettered men, who corrupted almost everything”.⁸⁵ Sabellico raised the same problems in the dialogue *De Latinae linguae Reparatione*, which he published in 1493, and, as we shall see in due course, he was most reluctant to give a direct answer to his own question. The issue was still open when Erasmus visited Venice in 1507: and in 1515 the Venetian government felt bound to intervene, for it gave the new librarian of the Marciana the additional duty of revising all literary texts published in the city. Constant protestations in

colophons that the work concerned has been printed "accuratissime" hint obliquely at the printers' awareness of the hostility felt against them.⁸⁶

There are two points involved here, one academic and philological, the other relating to society at large. First, de Bussi's hopes for a sober exchange of information about the Latin classics worked out in a very different way. The science of textual criticism was not even into its infancy. Poliziano's *Miscellanea*, which appeared in 1489, offered some important guidelines, but there were no clear ideas on the relative antiquity of various scripts, the merits of different manuscripts, or the means and the necessity of establishing connections between them. The availability of the manuscripts themselves was a matter of chance, for many owners were reluctant to let valuable property out of their hands. Another risk lay in the fashionable cult for eloquence: it tempted editors to score points off each other by daring conjectures, on the basis of their own assumed knowledge of what the Latin text ought to have said, and distracted them from a careful examination of the authorities. Conjecture was in any case a much faster way of working, and the printers, desperate to get books sold and their investments recovered at the earliest possible moment, badgered their collaborators for a finished copy or simply published what they had, regardless of its quality.⁸⁷ The results were inevitable. Editions of the classics were prepared at breakneck speed, generally from a very narrow selection of recent manuscripts, often from a single copy or an earlier printed edition peppered with a few conjectures or variant readings selected at random from whatever manuscript happened to be available. Once copies reached the market, the process of vulgarisation took another and possibly more dangerous turn. Classical texts were widely used in schools, and the pupils, accustomed for generations to listening and memorising while their teacher read and commented on an ancient author, were delighted with this opportunity to follow and to think for themselves. They noted their lecturer's emendations in the margins of their own texts: they made suggestions of their own; they were only too ready to pass a copy on to the printers and pocket a few ducats and a little academic prestige for themselves. Poliziano, Sabellico and Giorgio Valla all complained of their ideas being poached in this way, and Codrus Urceus of Bologna framed one of his satirical monologues round "a sleek young man with a ready tongue and a good store of learning", who was making a considerable name for himself by working as a sort of literary shark

within the University. Unquestionably, the later fifteenth century saw a "classroom revolution". The teachers and lecturers were pleased, but at the same time disconcerted because they could not control a process which indirectly challenged their own authority and which threatened to turn their cautious reconstruction of correct Latin usage into a babel of confusion and dissent. They blamed their pupils for irresponsibility, and the printers for greed: modern critics have in their turn blamed their fifteenth-century colleagues for lack of intellectual discernment.⁸⁸ In fact, the hard economic necessity which we mentioned earlier may have been the most potent factor of all.

The social dimensions of "vulgarisation" are easier to explain because the attitudes involved are less abstract, less intricate, and much longer-lived. The fears of Fra Filippo or Merula found a more curt expression in Squarciafico's words – "abundance of books makes men less studious" – and they still find their way to the surface in criticisms of modern electronic culture, with its "Invitation to a Candy-Floss World". Fundamentally, the position taken is as follows: true learning demands profound knowledge, acquired through long application; superficiality is dangerous in itself because it can mislead, and dangerous socially because it can undermine the position of those who are properly qualified to answer the questions concerned. Nowadays, these objections tend to fasten onto the colour supplement, the paperback synopsis, or the overstated documentary film: in the fifteenth century, they fastened onto equivalents – the abridgement, the commentary, the paraphrased version of a major author's work. This is a field of early publication which has received relatively little attention from bibliographers, and which is difficult to define, quantify, and consequently to assess. But the hostility towards it can be easily illustrated from a single successful title, Jacobo Filippo Foresti's *Supplementum Chronicarum*, a compilation of world-history which was first printed by Bernardinus Benalius in 1483 and ran triumphantly through nine Latin editions and a vernacular translation, including various supplements to the original supplement, during the next thirty years. Though he was a member of the Augustinian order, Foresti welcomed printing with none of the mystical fervour of de Bussi, but as a short cut to self-improvement. Why, he asked in his introduction, should older men be preferred to their juniors, now that it was possible for young men, by diligent study, to acquire the same knowledge and experience? His own work offered them the ideal text. It covered all civilizations:

it spanned the period from the Creation until 1483, and was regularly brought up to date. He proudly claimed to have summarised the contents of both the Old and New Testaments, the works of Josephus, Herodotus, Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, Livy, Pliny, Strabo, Solinus, Suetonius, Aelian, Julius Capitolinus, Aulus Gellius, Justin, Orosius, Eutropius, Polycrates, Paul the Lombard, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Eusebius, Isidore of Seville, Bede, Gratian, Leonardo Bruni, Flavio Biondo, and Platina, to say nothing of Virgil and Ovid. Here indeed is the ancestor of the "Readers' Digest" mentality. It is easy to imagine how such boasts must have seared the nerves of those who had spent a lifetime in the patient study of their preferred authors, and disturbed the more reactionary sections of Venetian society, which set the highest premium on age, respectability and experience.⁸⁹ Here too was a manual for Fra Filippo di Strata's self-styled doctors, with their vulgar display of superficial learning. But when one glances through Foresti's brisk narrative of contemporary events, his portraits of celebrated intellectuals and his observations on the arts, one cannot help feeling that his readers must, in their way, have been better informed people than Merula or Filippo di Strata.⁹⁰

If intellectual uneasiness about the press was fairly widespread, and based on observation as well as mere prejudice, moral and religious anxieties had no particular connection to the press at all: the arrival of printing simply sharpened fears which were already centuries old. Plato had pointed to the dangerous effects of love-poetry in the early books of the Republic. The idea passed into Christian tradition through Basil of Caesarea, and a sharp controversy between Giovanni Dominici and the circle of the Florentine chancellor, Coluccio Salutati, had drawn renewed attention to the issue only a generation before the invention of printing.⁹¹ When Fra Filippo complained of "tender youths and delicate maidens" panting over their texts of Ovid and Tibullus, he was using a commonplace: but he was using it to illustrate what must have been one of the more striking developments of his own time – the wide availability of books to the young. On his facts, Fra Filippo was perfectly correct. Ovid ranks with Virgil as the most popular poet of the fifteenth century, and the large stocks held by Hironima von Dinslaken, or the fact that Bevilacqua reprinted the *Metamorphoses* three times during the 1490s alone, underline Venetian tastes emphatically enough.⁸² But neither was Fra Filippo alone in his anxieties. Baptista Mantuanus published his

Contra Poetas impudice loquentes Carmen, a sharp attack on all lascivious or pagan verse, in 1489, and his prestige gave the work considerable circulation. In 1497 the Patriarch of Venice, Tomaso Donà, was horrified to discover that Giovanni Rubeo and Lucantonio Giunti were preparing an edition of the *Metamorphoses* which was not only in the vernacular, and therefore liable to be more widely read, but illustrated with woodcuts of the various transformations and feats of erotic athleticism described in the text. The publishers were ordered, on pain of excommunication, to remove the pictures of "naked women, phallic deities, and other unclean objects".⁹³ Two years later a scholar from Camerinum named Macarius Mutius published in Venice a short hexametric poem entitled *De Triumpho Christi*, which served mainly as a vehicle for two prose essays, the first attacking the indecency of pagan poetry, again with particular reference to the perilous *Metamorphoses*, the second suggesting more suitable, Christianised themes.

It is most unlikely that these well-intentioned citizens achieved a great deal. The tides of popular taste were running too strongly, and enthusiasts could always take refuge in the excuse that mythology contained deep and subtle lessons.⁹⁴ An even more reliable defence lay in the purely physical difficulties of imposing effective censorship on what was fast becoming a mass-medium. Somebody worked through at least a portion of Rubeo's illustrated *Metamorphoses*, discreetly inking out the erogenous zones: but the epigrammatist who warned another outraged friar that it would now be easier to emasculate the readers than the books was the real prophet of the 1490s.⁹⁵ What must not be overlooked is the existence, even in an ebullient and high-living society like Renaissance Venice, of a ground-swell of moral sensitivity which in times of crisis could break out with surprising force and produce repression, sumptuary legislation, even victimisation. When this occurred, the press was liable to feel its effect immediately.

Objections to the reading of the Scriptures and of popular devotional literature in the vernacular probably derived mainly from the fears engendered by the heresies of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Here again, printing only gave wider scope to an already open issue. But the problems are slightly more subtle, since the critics of the press for the first time become concerned with the ordinary reader rather than the upstart, and we must attempt to analyse different strata in the reading public. Fra Filippo's onslaught upon Italian Bibles was, yet again, based on an accurate appreciation of the facts.

Venice led Italy in the production of such books: eleven editions had appeared by 1500, three of them being underwritten by the funds of that dangerous populariser, Lucantonio Giunti.⁹⁶ But this version was most certainly not turned out by an “unproven person”, as Fra Filippo contended, and it is at least very unlikely that many copies found their way into the hands of “simple and ignorant people”. The translator was Nicolo Malermi, Venetian abbot of San Michele di Lermo, and the Bibles, like the classical texts or legal commentaries we have already discussed, were well produced folio volumes obviously intended for a moneyed and literate clientele. Here, too, the established sections of the reading public were the first to feel the benefits of printing. But the hunger for religious information was felt at every level of society. We catch a hint of it in the anonymous preface to a short work entitled *Luctus Christianorum ex Passione Christi*, printed by Jenson during 1471 in a small quarto form which would have been well within the reach of the less wealthy buyer.

Dearly beloved, I have been pressed for many months now by your warm and most earnest requests to translate into ordinary language (vulgar stilo) the common points of all four Gospels, adding to them in the form of a meditation a few modest and appropriate words such as might, perhaps, have been uttered at the time both by our Lord Jesus and by every other person who took part in the events of the Passion.

It is hard to believe that this gentle, devoted pastor – evidently a parish priest of a kind hardly believed to exist in the fifteenth century – misled any of his flock with the simple narration which followed. But this kind of free composition by an individual on a sacred theme could easily, and not always unjustly, provoke accusations of making the Scriptures “ugly and confused”, or perverting their meaning. Turning to the contemporary *Fioretti della Bibbia*, which was also published as a small quarto,⁹⁷ we find an astounding tissue of fantasies: a series of metaphysical propositions on omnipotence, which would hardly have pleased a theologian or enlightened a humble seeker after knowledge; a smattering of recognisable stories from the apocryphal tradition; and a great variety of what one can only think were half-remembered gleanings from the schoolroom combined with fragments from old sermons. Herod, we learn, had two sons named Aristotle and Alexander, the first being renowned for his wisdom, the second for his strength. Christ had two teachers, the first of whom he drove distracted, while the second, Socrates, he finally converted. Much of this, as

Fra Filippo seems to imply, may have been the silt of unnumbered generations of story-telling at street corners and by tavern fire-sides: in that form it was not dangerous, because it was still subject to infinite variation, it was not widespread, and it was not noticeable. But once such stories found their way into print, they lost this fluid quality and began to acquire the mysterious potency which surrounds the written word. Ecclesiastical authorities could no longer ignore their existence.

Venice reacted more slowly than her neighbour imperial Germany, where the University of Cologne was granted a general supervision over publication as early as 1479, and from 1485 the Archbishop of Mainz launched a fairly consistent campaign to prevent the translation of “learned texts into incorrect and vulgar German”, their distribution to the “common people”, and the consequent “misunderstandings”.⁹⁸ But in 1491 the Bishop of Treviso and papal legate, Nicolo Franco, warned against the diffusion of certain works “tainted with heresy”, and attempted to subject future editions to the approval of the local bishop or his vicar:⁹⁹ and in 1494 the Venetian Senate gave a clear sign of its willingness to act by ordering the confiscation and burning of all copies of a scurrilous pamphlet published by a renegade Franciscan in Verona.¹⁰⁰ Finally, in 1510, the patriarch Antonio Contarini made a more comprehensive if rather simplistic effort to call the Venetian printers to heel. He expressed pained regret at the number of uncorrected religious works which had appeared, and at the confusions which they might have spread in “the hearts of the simple”. The printers were urged in future to submit all works of a religious nature to his approval, and to avoid any texts, in Latin or Italian, which alluded to “the lewdness of women, or of anything else”.¹⁰¹ Contarini’s decree was one part of the surge of moral revulsion which swept Venice after the disasters of 1509, and like the other episodes of that crusade, was probably soon forgotten. But it still provides some confirmation of the point from which we began: the fears of Fra Filippo di Strata about the press, and the language that he used, were fairly common currency in Venice at the time.

Fra Filippo seems to have been alone only in his consistency, in his unremitting hatred of the printers and everything they represented. For if any general conclusion emerges from this analysis, it must be that intellectuals were thrown into complete disarray by the arrival of a medium which they did not understand and soon found themselves unable to control. The tension is perhaps most obvious among the clergy. It has been reckoned that some two fifths of the entire output

of Europe's presses during the fifteenth century were made up of the works of Franciscan and Dominican authors, and even this comparatively limited study has already shown examples of an interest among clerics which bears no resemblance to the reactionary obscurantism denounced by the humanists of Erasmus' generation. De Bussi was a bishop, Sweynheim and Pannartz were both in minor orders. The abbot of Lermo and the author of *Luctus Christianorum* worked through the night to bring knowledge to the faithful. The Patriarch of Aquileia happily contemplated the uniformity in the divine service which his 500 new missals would bring, and the bumptious Augustinian Filippo Foresti offered instant edification to his readers. But the bishop of Treviso and the two Patriarchs of Venice who wrung their hands over the spread of moral corruption and heresy, or the Dominican Filippo di Strata who consigned the printers and all they stood for to perdition, must, at their various levels in the hierarchy, have been men of an education and outlook basically similar to those of the enthusiasts. Secular intellectuals seem to have been hardly surer of their position. There is the same polarisation of eagerness and outrage: the Ferrarese court-humanist Ludovico Carbone on the one side, the disgruntled Vespasiano de' Bisticci on the other.¹⁰² But these men knew little about the press. The most informed opinion seems to be represented by the embarrassment, the shifts of position, and the enormous silences of Venetian editors such as Merula or Squarciafico. These uncertainties find their most intriguing expression in the dialogue of Sabellico which we have already mentioned in passing. But we must now analyse them in greater detail as our best available reflection of views about printing in Venice immediately before the developments with which this study is mainly concerned.

Sabellico wrote and published *De Latinae Linguae Reparatione* in 1493, when Aldus Manutius had been in Venice for at least three years and was seeking support for his own plans.¹⁰³ The two overlapping scenes which the dialogue describes – a walk through Venice's bookselling quarter and a discussion between friends under the portico of the ducal palace – may have been partly or wholly fictitious. But they were common enough experiences. All the main participants in the discussion were alive at the time, and all were in Sabellico's circle of acquaintances. They included the humanist Battista Guarino, Aldus' teacher in Ferrara: the head of the Venetian School of San Marco, Benedetto Brugnolo; and a number of patrician intellectuals such as Daniel Renier, and Gerolamo Donato, who later took an

interest in Aldus' activities. Clearly, the writer could not make characters like these express views which they did not hold, and the dialogue must represent a carefully staged reproduction of many similar encounters whose opinions it must to some extent reflect. Sabellico opens with one of those descriptive passages in which he excelled, and which in this case one can only wish he had extended. A Venetian named Sararisius sets out one morning with his guest, Juliarius, to walk along the Merceria from the Fondaco dei Tedeschi towards San Marco. But their route is lined with bookstalls: Sararisius soon has to leave his friend and go about his own affairs. When he returns some hours later, Juliarius has hardly moved and stands surrounded by his purchases. He is finally coaxed into walking on towards the Piazza, where the two companions are joined by Sabellico himself, and discussion turns to the morning's experiences. Does he feel, Sabellico asks Juliarius, that the flood of new writings has purified or enriched the Latin language? Up to this point the writer has given us a superbly vivid picture of literate society in the process of transition, and of the intellectual excitement that was driving it forward: the new question seems to promise some more searching examination. But none is forthcoming. Sabellico is persuaded to tackle the problem himself, and he does so by recalling a conversation with Battista Guarino during the recent visit of Alfonso d'Este. It is hardly more than a biographical outline of the previous century and a half of classical scholarship, which pays eloquent tribute to the achievements of Barzizza, Bruni and Lorenzo Valla but makes no direct attempt to answer the question in hand. Only at the very end is Guarino made to observe, in much the same terms as Squarciafico, that commentaries and abridgements of the ancient authors may encourage intellectual idleness in readers who would be better employed in studying the original texts. All of these were now readily available.¹⁰⁴

It is the manner, rather than the matter of this dialogue that deserves our attention. As has already been said, the author owed a substantial part of his success to the Venetian press, and his opening lines show how clearly he knew the world of books. He was well known as a popular writer. His notes on Pliny and Valerius Maximus, his paraphrase of Suetonius, his *Enneades* of world history, and his *Exempla* of heroic lives, of which Hironima von Dinslaken stocked forty copies, all prove that he played a great part in the diffusion of commentaries and abridgements whose value he is suddenly found calling into question. Obviously, he felt the need to justify himself. He attempted

to do so not by appealing, as de Bussi had done, to the spread of literacy, but by identifying himself with the dreams of the humanist past – the recovery and purification of correct Latin usage. Petrarch, Poggio and Valla filled his mind: there is not a word of John and Windelin of Speyer, of Jenson, or Torresani. It is a striking comment on the uneasiness of intellectuals about the press, and on the yawning gulf that still separated the men of letters from the men of business.

Though we cannot hope to take the temperature of opinion at all accurately at such a distance and with such uncertain evidence, there are some reasons for believing that dissatisfaction with the world of publishing and speculation about its future were beginning to spread in Venice during the early 1490s. Sabellico's ambiguous position is significant enough. "The Frenchman, Jenson, was long famed among the Venetians.... After him, barbarity invaded a noble art",¹⁰⁵ complained another contemporary. In technical terms, the decline can be appreciated simply by setting one of Jenson's texts alongside any of those turned out by his immediate successors, even reputable typographers like Tacuinus or Philippus Pincius, who stayed in business for many years. The Frenchman's bold Roman type was widely copied, but inferior cutting or casting always made the result less precise: and instead of the evenly spaced lines of text, the reader is faced by a page jumbled with commentary which is often packed on fifty or sixty lines at a time, with dislocated half-lines and syllables jostling one another for any available space.¹⁰⁶ But the problem went far deeper than the printed page. Jenson and John of Cologne had set a pattern which their followers found difficult to abandon because of its proven success, and the intellectuals, whirled along by the functioning of a medium which they did not understand and often deplored, gave no clear guidance. So the legal commentaries and classical texts followed one another in a sequence which must, after ten or a dozen years, have been wearing a tired and monotonous look. There was a need not only for new techniques, but for new ideas, and for a firm lead. Sure enough, during the 1490s, the new ideas came. There were experiments with the printing of maps, of oriental languages, and of music.¹⁰⁷ But the first and most important development was the arrival of a scholar with an established reputation in the intellectual world, who had become convinced of the value of printing and was determined to give it a new direction. His background, and his personality broke through the barriers of prejudice and incomprehension, setting the men of business and the men of

facit. Primum igitur legum diuinarum lator ita cuncta deo parere ostendit: ut nihil agi nihil excogitari possit quod eum lateat: deinde ceteros omnes homines falso multitudinem deorum introducere docuit: quum ipsi multo prelatiores sint quam dii sui quos uenerantur: quorum simulacra lapidea uel lignea tanquam imagines eorum qui ad uitam sibi non nihil contulerunt adorant sensum ipsi habentes ea quae insensata penitus sunt. Cur autem oio quasi dii a gentibus coluntur illi qui ad usum humanae uitae aliquid inuenerunt: quum non fecerint neque producerint ipsi quicquam: sed meliorem eorum quae sunt usum excogitarunt: aut cur hodie quoque multi non adorantur: quum antiquioribus ad inueniendum excogitandumque multa sagaciores acutioresque sint. Nam de Aegyptiis quidem nescio quid dicere oporteat: baluas enim & serpentes & uiuos & mortuos uenerant. Haec igitur inspicies diuinus ille uir moribus ferreis & inuolabili uallo a ceteris gentibus separe nos uoluit: quo pacto facilius corpore atque animo immaculatos loqueque ab huiusmodi falsis opinionibus remotos fore uidebat: ut solum uerum deum praeter ceteras gentes adorantes illi solummodo inhareamus. Vnde factum est ut a nonnullis aegyptiorum sacerdotibus qui disciplinam nostram altius considerarunt dei homines gens nostra sit appellata: quod nemini nisi deum uerum colat accidere potest. Nec id iniuria: reliquis enim cibo potui uestituique inhiantibus nostri omnibus istis contemptis per totam uitam de omnipotentia dei cogitant. Ne igitur conuersatione atque consuetudine aliorum corrupti ad impietatem eorum deferamur: cibi & potus tactus & auditus atque uisionis purificatione legali nos a ceteris separauit. Cuncta enim ab una potentia omnipotentis dei gubernata naturali ratione similia sunt: quis singula a quibus abstinemus & quibus utimur profundam habeant rationem: quorum unum aut alterum exempli gratia ponam: ne putes temere de rebus tam praeuis a Moysse fuisse conscriptum: sed omnia uideas ad probitatem hominum & iustitiae perfectionem sancte pertinere. Volucres enim omnes quibus utimur domesticae mundaque sunt tritico aut leguminibus connutritae: ut colubae turtures perdices anseres ceteraque huiusmodi: quae uero prohibita sunt

ipitat & TANta resigta e ipsa roma: aut focus i quo cōdita ē. ER Ant. paucis bob' rga uis paucis fatis erant: aut ga pauper colōq; paucos hēbit boues. ARA mea: aliq; legūt ara mea collis erat: melius ara mea ē collinā fidē facit uerbis suis: quod facellū suo nomini dedicatum adhuc exaret in eo colle quem incoluit: & qui ab eo saniculus nuncupatur. ARA mea est col. quasi habeo aram in eo colle. Q. VEM collem. VVLgus nuncuo. no. nostro ap. pellat a meo noie. ET hęc etas uocat taniculusga n̄ mē ueteres: sed q nūc unū taniculi dicitur: n̄fo quoq; tpe mēs taniculus d̄f ubi ē tēplū diui onophrii: claq; tū ipsa religio ē: & hōium frēq;ntia. Tū ē Antonii cāpani iunioris fratris mei sepulchro: quē si i maturiore aetate fata. pue n̄ silent: suo carmie itiquoq; portage famā adeq; fletū for amā bōis iuidēs eū nobis i ipsa adolefētia surripuit. TVNC: eo ergo tpe i teris regnabāt. cuq; iter hōis dū erāt. TVNC: eo tpe. EGO regnabāt: cū terra esset patēs deo: q; eo tpe quo terra poterat sustinere deos: hoc ē aīquā ab hōium sceleribus pellectē. ET numia mōta eēt. IVM Anis locum: etony m̄is: ipē eā qd' tenet. p eo qd' tenet: hoc ē locū p locato. & d. cū dū eēt holbus imiet. Nōdū iusticiā regnabat tūc ianus nōdū mortalium scelerata iusticiā ex orbe fugatent. cū oēs iusti suapte natura eēt: neq; arma usq; fabricarēt. NONdum: nō ad hoc. FACinus mortales cetera mortalium Interdum facinus in bonam partem accipitur: ut egregium facinus & clarum facinus & similia. FVG Arat iustitiam: pepulerat ex orbe astrēam ipsam: quē iusticia dicitur.

Nondum iustitiam facinus mortale fugarat
Ultima de superis illa reliquit humum
Proq; metu populū sine ni pudor ipse tegebat
Nullis erat iustis reddere iura labor.
Nil mihi cum bello: pacem posteq; tuebar.
Et clauem ostendens: hac ait: arma gero
Preferat ora deus: tūc sic ego nostra resouo
Voce mea uocis eliciente dei.
Cum tot sint iani: cur istas lacratas in uno
Hic ubi iuncta foris: templa duob' hēs;

¶ VLTima de iopis illa reliquit humū ipse alibi & ANT. FAN. uirgo caede madēs ultima caelestū terras astra reliquit. Viri Geor. Extrema p illos iustitia excedēs terris uestigia fecit. ET clauē ostēdēs hac ait arma gero. Quia ē portage custos ut dixit. Vñ ē Portunus clauē tenere māu fingeat q; deus putare. esse portarū Cū tot sint iani cur istas lacratas in uno. Querit cur iano uno tū i tēplo Romā rē diuinā faciāt cū multa eius dei tēpla i urbe sint. HIC Vbi iuncta foris tēpla duobus hēs. Aedes iani celeberrima: quā ser. Iunus Numa fecit ad iūmū argiletū ut apia bellū clausū pacē significaret fuit iter duo fora: boarū uel eliet & pī scariū ap' tyberī: Vñ ait Varro: Ad ianū foga pī scariū uocat sunt i hac caede simulachrū iani uetustū qd dem sed qd' artificio placere possit. Ply. Fuisse at statuariā

Car iano uno ianū in templo cū plura sint sacris iani aedes ubi iur

artē familiāre Italice quoq; & uetustā idēat Hercules ab Esidro lacratas ut pdunt in foro boario qui triumphalis uocat atq; p triūphos uentū hitū triūphali p̄terea ianus gēnus a Numa rege dicitur: q; p̄terea bellū argumentū co situr. Hęc imago ut inquit Ser. trāstata ē ad trāstoria foga: posteaq; captis phaleris ciuitate thulicā: inuentum ē ad mulachrum iani cum lionibus quatuor & unum templum quatuor portarum est constitutum: ut dicitur in pra. Multa hoc loco praeterire libet: quoq; partem explicamus p̄ter dictū ianus p̄ter ornitū ianus fastidū p̄ter.

PAV MAR.

¶ VLTima illa astra seu iusticia. DE Superis: ultima ex omni deoq; caelestū nūero. RELiquit humū: hoc ē de seruit terras. caelestiq; astra petiuit: & in meta. Vltima caelestū terras astra reliquit. tēdū. n̄ in orbe fuit: qd' dū si ne scelere uitit mortale genus. Iusticiā q; & uirgo dē hyginus iouis & themidis filiū dicit. Aratus astra & aurora q; eodē tpe fuerit cū aurea secula: & eog; principē fuisse demfat q; pp diligentā & equitate: iustitiā appellat neq; si lo tpe ab hominib' exeras natiōes bello lacelitas eē neq; nauigio quēq; uis sed agris colēdis uia agere cōsueit. se. sed post eog; obtū qui sunt natiōes multi. n. metu su p̄piciū non delingunt. AT ill nonnullo metu: sed pudore tantum quaeq; turpia uitabant. SI VE uirgati cū nullis uiribus cogentur pudore tantum non delinguebant. NIL mihi cū bello: tpe n̄ erā ego bellis p̄positas ego bellis p̄positas: tūc sic ego nostra resouo. VOCE mea uocis eliciente dei. CUM tot sint iani: cur istas lacratas in uno. HIC ubi iuncta foris: templa duob' hēs; artē familiāre Italice quoq; & uetustā idēat Hercules ab Esidro lacratas ut pdunt in foro boario qui triumphalis uocat atq; p triūphos uentū hitū triūphali p̄terea ianus gēnus a Numa rege dicitur: q; p̄terea bellū argumentū co situr. Hęc imago ut inquit Ser. trāstata ē ad trāstoria foga: posteaq; captis phaleris ciuitate thulicā: inuentum ē ad mulachrum iani cum lionibus quatuor & unum templum quatuor portarum est constitutum: ut dicitur in pra. Multa hoc loco praeterire libet: quoq; partem explicamus p̄ter dictū ianus p̄ter ornitū ianus fastidū p̄ter. ¶ VLTima illa astra seu iusticia. DE Superis: ultima ex omni deoq; caelestū nūero. RELiquit humū: hoc ē de seruit terras. caelestiq; astra petiuit: & in meta. Vltima caelestū terras astra reliquit. tēdū. n̄ in orbe fuit: qd' dū si ne scelere uitit mortale genus. Iusticiā q; & uirgo dē hyginus iouis & themidis filiū dicit. Aratus astra & aurora q; eodē tpe fuerit cū aurea secula: & eog; principē fuisse demfat q; pp diligentā & equitate: iustitiā appellat neq; si lo tpe ab hominib' exeras natiōes bello lacelitas eē neq; nauigio quēq; uis sed agris colēdis uia agere cōsueit. se. sed post eog; obtū qui sunt natiōes multi. n. metu su p̄piciū non delingunt. AT ill nonnullo metu: sed pudore tantum quaeq; turpia uitabant. SI VE uirgati cū nullis uiribus cogentur pudore tantum non delinguebant. NIL mihi cū bello: tpe n̄ erā ego bellis p̄positas ego bellis p̄positas: tūc sic ego nostra resouo. VOCE mea uocis eliciente dei. CUM tot sint iani: cur istas lacratas in uno. HIC ubi iuncta foris: templa duob' hēs;

Tacuinus' Roman Type

letters onto a common path. "Aldus", wrote the poet who lamented the decline of printing,

Saves our times from the stain of disgrace.

NOTES

- 1 FD p. 99, Doc. 1. CSV pp. 69–70. For an odder case compare M. E. Mallett, *Mercenaries and their Masters*, London, 1974, p. 204.
- 2 F. C. Lane, *Venice, a Maritime Republic*, Johns Hopkins, 1973, pp. 225–238.
- 3 V. Scholderer, "Printing at Venice to the end of 1481", reprinted from *The Library*, V 1924, pp. 129–152, in *Fifty Essays in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Bibliography*, ed. D. E. Rhodes, Amsterdam, 1966, pp. 74–89. See esp. the chart on p. 88.
- 4 Figures up to 1480 are reasonably secure: afterwards, the number of unidentified presses grows (see Scholderer, *op. cit.*, and H. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, London, 1891, pp. 28f. Venetian editions until 1500 were numbered at 3754 by J. Lenhart, *Pre-reformation Printed Books*, New York, 1935, p. 76, the figure for Paris being 2,254. Scholderer raises the Venetian total to c. 4,500 ("Printers and Readers in Italy in the Fifteenth Century", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxxv, 1949, pp. 28–30) but in view of the frequent references in diaries to speeches or sermons which were printed but have not survived, I am inclined to think that the real figure may be higher.
- 5 Sanudo's library grew from around 500 volumes in 1502 to 6,500 by the 1530s: see OAME XLIII and K. Wagner, "Sulla sorte di alcuni manoscritti appartenuti a Marin Sanudo", LBF LXXIII, 1971, pp. 247–262. Grimani's library numbered 15,000 volumes in 1523; Lowry, "Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius", BJRL 57, 1974, No. 1, pp. 128–166. On the exceptional level of these totals see L. Febvre, H.-J. Martin, *L'Apparition du Livre*, Paris, 1958, pp. 397–400.
- 6 M. A. Sabellico, *De Latinae Linguae Reparatione*, in *Opera Omnia*, Vol. iv, Basel, 1560, p. 321.
- 7 Brown, *Venetian Press*, pp. 1–10. If John of Speyer was the first printer in Venice the city ranks third in Italy behind Rome and Subiaco. The earlier date 1461 carried by Jenson's *Decor Puellarum* is probably not authentic.
- 8 P. Munroe, ed., *Thomas Platter and the Educational Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, New York, 1904, p. 195. On Torresani see below, Ch. III, passim: and on Jenson's reputation, Brown, *Venetian Press*, p. 12.
- 9 M. M. Philips, *The Adages of Erasmus – a Study with Translations*, Cambridge, 1964, p. 182. For general comment, R. Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading, 1450–1550*, Wiesbaden, 1967, pp. 17f.
- 10 A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni Terra, Registro XI, f. 60r (Badoer): FD p. 107, No. 14 (Viaro – "nobilis noster").
- 11 CSV pp. 24–5.

- 12 SDP pp. 143-4, Doc. xx. Scholderer, "A Fleming in Venetia: Gerardus of Lisa, printer, bookseller, schoolmaster and musician", *The Library*, Fourth Series, x, 1930, pp. 253-73.
- 13 CSV pp. 85-92.
- 14 Figures from Hirsch, *Printing...*, pp. 42f.
- 15 FD p. 132, No. 77. Compare BP p. 132 (Carbone to Borso d'Este).
- 16 J. Moran, *Printing Presses*, London, 1973, p. 19. On the possibility of adapting existing presses, R. Deacon, *A Biography of William Caxton*, London, 1976, pp. 97-9.
- 17 SDP pp. 124-5. At this date 1 ducat was worth 6.4 lire.
- 18 H. Carter, *A View of Early Typography up to about 1600*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 5-8, 102-5.
- 19 CSV p. 88. There is a measure of doubt about Jenson's background: see L. Gerulaitis, *Printing and Publishing in Fifteenth-Century Venice*, London, 1976, p. 22, n. 12.
- 20 Carter, *Typography*, p. 71. For Torresani's link with Jenson, see below, Ch. III, n. 25.
- 21 Carter, *Typography*, p. 103. On Francesco da Bologna, see below, Ch. III, n. 66.
- 22 Carter, *Typography*, loc. cit., and pp. 84f, on Garamond.
- 23 SDP, p. 103, quotes a document of 1503 reducing prices by one third. On the general theme see Febvre-Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
- 24 W. Pettas, "The Cost of printing a Florentine incunable", LBF LXXV, 1973, pp. 67-85. For a case of the supplier as creditor see SDP xxiv.
- 25 S. Brant, *The Ship of Fools*, trans. E. Zeydel, New York, 1962, p. 125. See also below, n. 71. For illustrations of early presses see Moran, *op. cit.*
- 26 SDP Doc. VII: A. S. V. Senato, Terra, Rg. XI, f. 122r. See also Hirsch, *Printing...*, pp. 36-9, on the variation in wage-levels.
- 27 A.S.V., Signori di Notte, Notizie di crimini, 1472-1507, reveals a few assaults involving printers but nothing like the organised agitation traced by N. Z. Davis, "A Trades-Union in Sixteenth-Century France", *Ec. HR* 19, 1966, pp. 48-69.
- 28 G. Mardersteig, "La singolare cronaca della nascita di un incunabolo", *IMU* VIII, 1965, pp. 251-2.
- 29 E. Motta, "Demetrio Calcondila, editore", *ASL* 20, 1893, pp. 163-5 (purchase of manuscript for 1499 edition of Suda for 25 ducats: proof-reader to receive 5 ducats per month). Compare SDP p. 125, Doc. VI (payment of 10 ducats to editor Vernia).
- 30 FD, pp. 104-5, Doc. 9, pp. 149-50, Doc. 126. See below, Ch. III, nn. 103-10.
- 31 E.g. Hirsch, *Printing...*, pp. 27-30: C. Buhler, *The Fifteenth-Century Book*, Philadelphia, 1960, pp. 15-40. On Callierges see below, Ch. IV, nn. 61, 69.
- 32 Scholderer, "Printing at Venice...", pp. 132-3 in *The Library*: "Printers and Readers...", pp. 28-30.
- 33 BP pp. 64-7: see Scholderer, "The Petition of Sweynheim and Pannartz to Sixtus IV", *The Library*, Third Series, VI, 1915, pp. 186-90, reprinted in *Fifty Essays...*, pp. 72-3.
- 34 Hirsch, *Printing...*, pp. 62-3.

- 35 FD pp. 121-2, Docs. 44 and 47.
- 36 E. de Roover, "Per la storia dell'arte della stampa in Italia: come furono stampati a Venezia tre dei primi libri in volgare", LBF, LV, 1953, pp. 107-15.
- 37 G. d'Adda, *Indagini storiche, artistiche e bibliografiche sulla libreria Viscontea-Sforzesca del Castello di Pavia*, Vol. I, Milan, 1875, pp. 137-8. SDP p. 159, Doc. xxxvi (Tose): p. 152, Doc. xxviii (agents in universities).
- 38 De Roover, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17. Compare G. Martini, "La bottega di un cartolaio fiorentino della seconda metà del Quattrocento", LBF LVIII (Supp.), 1956, p. 21.
- 39 P. Bologna, "La stamperia fiorentina del monastero di S. Jacopo di Ripoli e le sue edizioni", *GSLI* xx, 1892, pp. 366-8.
- 40 Biblioteca Marciana, Venezia, Ms. italiani, Cl. XI, 45 (7439). On this manuscript see Gerulaitis, *Printing...*, p. 3. For Stagnino's complaint see FD p. 126, Doc. 58.
- 41 De Roover, *op. cit.*, p. 110. A glance through Panzer or Hain reveals the number of editions produced "by the labour of... (printer's name) and at the expense of... (backer's name)".
- 42 FD pp. 401-5 (Supplementary piece).
- 43 FD pp. 100-1, Doc. 2.
- 44 SDP p. 157, Doc. xxxiii. See also Docs. xxvii and xxxii, and Mardersteig, *op. cit.* under n. 23, for a discussion of the relationship.
- 45 SDP pp. 160-4 (mention of Rauchfass in several contracts): B. Cecchetti, "Stampatori e libri stampati nel secolo xv - testamento di Niccolò Jenson e di altri tipografi in Venezia", *AV* xxxiii, 1888, p. 458 (translated extract of R.'s will).
- 46 P. Camerini, *Annali dei Giunti*, Vol. I, Florence, 1962, pp. 21f: C. Volpati, "Gli Scotti di Monza, tipografi-editori in Venezia", *ASL* 59, 1932, pp. 365-382.
- 47 Camerini, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 22. 4,500 Florins (1491) had become 11,302 by 1499.
- 48 "Printing at Venice...", pp. 146-7 (in *The Library*).
- 49 E. Motta, "Pamfilo Castaldi, Antonio Planella, Pietro Ugleimer ed il Vescovo d'Aleria", *RSI* I, 1884, p. 260. Jenson's will (see n. 16, above) left his type-punches to Uglheimer.
- 50 K. Haebler, "Das Testament des Johann Manthen von Gerresheim", LBF xxvi, 1924, pp. 1-9. "Domina Paola, relicta ser Iohannis de Speier, quae de presenti habitat mecum..." received a legacy of 225 ducats.
- 51 On the structure see Scholderer, "Printing at Venice...", pp. 134f (*The Library*) and for the source-material G. Ludwig, "Contratti fra lo stampador Zuan di Colonia ed i suoi soci e inventario di una parte del loro magazzino", *Miscellanea di storia veneta, R. Dep. veneta di storia patria*, Seconda serie, Tom. VIII, 1902, pp. 45f. A thorough review of all the evidence is now available in Gerulaitis, *Printing...*, pp. 20-30.
- 52 Information from Scholderer and Ludwig (see especially the will of Hironima, pp. 60-2). For use of the term "La Compagnia", cf. Brown, *Venetian Press*, p. 38.
- 53 Ludwig, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-85. For possible influence on Aldus see below, Ch. III, nn. 66, 96-7.

- 54 Hirsch, *Printing...*, pp. 149-51.
- 55 Statistics from Scholderer, "Printing in Venice...": BMC v; Burger III; Panzer VIII.
- 56 FD pp. 127, 151, Docs. 63, 134. Merulae, *Annotationes in Ligarianam Ciceronis*, Venetiis per Gabrielem Petri, 1478.
- 57 Georgii Merulae, *Adversus Domitii commentarios in Martialem*, Venetiis per Gabrielem Petri, 1478. Da Madiis, cod. cit. f. 34v. On surviving copies see D. Fava, "Libri membranacei stampati in Italia nel Quattrocento", GJB 1937, pp. 55-84.
- 58 Quoted in P. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, Princeton, 1977, p. 177, n. 42.
- 58 V. Joppi, "Dei libri liturgici a stampa della Chiesa d'Aquileia", AV xxxi, 1887, pp. 259-267.
- 60 Cod. cit. f. 112r.
- 61 *Ib.*, f. 27v.
- 62 Statistics from Burger, Bernoni. On the universities see C. Piana, *Ricerche sulle università di Bologna e di Parma nel secolo XV*, Florence, 1963; P. Vaccari, *Storia dell'università di Ferrara, 1391-1950*, Bologna, 1950; on Padua see below, Ch. V, nn. 44-9. On local presses see C. Bühler, *The University and the Press in Fifteenth-Century Bologna*, Indiana, 1958 and V. Scholderer, "Printing at Ferrara in the Fifteenth Century", in *Fifty Essays...*, pp. 91-5.
- 63 FD p. 110, Doc. 20: see also Docs. 4, 16 etc.
- 64 E. Govi, "La biblioteca di Jacopo Zen", *Bollettino dell'istituto di patologia del libro*, Anno x, fasc. i-iv, 1951, pp. 34-118.
- 65 Burger, and Bernoni, pp. 269f. On the Paduan philosophy school see E. Gilson, "L'affaire de l'immortalité de l'âme à Venise au début du XVIe siècle", in *Umanesimo europeo e umanesimo veneziano*, Venice, 1963, pp. 31-61. SDP p. 125, Doc. vi, for a case of an academic philosopher working for the press.
- 66 F. Gabotto and A. Badini Confaloniere, *Vita di Giorgio Merula*, Alessandria, 1893, pp. 38-66.
- 67 See above, under n. 29, for reference to De Bussi, and Ch. II, nn. 6f, for his possible affect on Aldus. For a full study and bibliography see DBI 15, Rome, 1972; and for some critical discussion E. J. Kenney, "The Character of Humanist Philology", in R. Bolgar, ed., *Classical Influences on European Culture*, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 123-4, further developed in *The Classical Text*, Berkeley, 1974, pp. 12f.
- 68 See the Lives of Vittorino by Platina and Francesco da Castiglione in E. Garin, *Il pensiero pedagogico dell'umanesimo*, Florence, 1958, pp. 540, 678.
- 69 The most recent and comprehensive study is R. Post's *The Modern Devotion - Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism*, Leyden, 1967.
- 70 BP pp. 98-9 (Lucan): *Praefatio in S. Hieronymi Epistolas*, Sweynheim and Pannartz, 1468. For comment DBI p. 569, Kenney, *The Classical Text*, loc. cit. De Bussi's texts were based on inferior manuscripts even when better copies were available, and on at least one occasion he simply reprinted an earlier text.
- 71 BP p. 81 (Aulus Gellius).

- 72 *Ib.*, pp. 64-5 (list of editions in preface to Nicholas of Lyra's Commentary). See also DBI p. 568. De Bussi did not edit the texts of the Subiaco period.
- 73 The most important texts are Biblioteca Marciana, Venezia, Ms. italiani Cl. II, 133 (4846) (personal information): Cl. I, 72 (5054) (Vernacular poem against printing and Latin address to doge Marcello). For further information and references to other manuscripts see A. Segarizzi, "Un calligrafo milanese", *Ateneo veneto*, xxxii, 1, 1909, pp. 63-77; F. Novati, "Ancora di Fra Filippo di Strata: un domenicano nemico degli stampatori", *Il libro e la stampa*, v, N.S. fasc. iv, 1911, pp. 117-28. Segarizzi quotes the vernacular poem against the press in full, but makes little use of the address to Marcello.
- 74 The vernacular poem of the 1490s (Cl. I, 72 (5054) f. ir) gives the most vivid account of social realities. Cl. II, 133 (4846) ff. 411-421, contains a poem which demands the immediate return of a number of books: Fra Filippo was afraid that one "Gaspar", who had borrowed them, was about to sell the manuscripts to the press and ruin their value.
- 75 "Est virgo hec penna: meretrix est stampificata." The address to doge Marcello, though more formal, makes most of the same points as the Italian poem.
- 76 Segarizzi, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- 77 II, 133 (4846) f. lv, contains an address to Zuane Capello, a member of the Ten. I, 71 (4832) contains a number of welcomes to new bishops, local administrators, etc., of a very conventional nature. FD p. 105, Doc. 9, for the numbers voting in the Senate.
- 78 BP pp. 145-8 (*Scriptores Rei Rusticae*). On his editions see A. Zeno, *Dissertationi Vossiane*, Vol. II, Venice, 1753, 62f.
- 79 A. Pertusi, "Gli inizi della storiografia umanistica nel Quattrocento", in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI*, Florence, 1970, pp. 319f. FD p. 102, No. 3, for his copyright.
- 80 *Opera Omnia*, Vol. IV, p. 358. "Vix dici potest, quantum illorum incuria vel ignavia potius verae lectioni ademerit."
- 81 Georgius Merula, *In Ciceronis Libros De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, Venetiis, 1471, Ioanne ex Colonia Agrippinensi sumptum ministrante impressum. See also below.
- 82 On this type of local prejudice see F. Braudel, *Le Méditerranée e le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Époque de Philippe II*, Paris, 1966, Vol. I, pp. 39-42.
- 83 A.S.V., Signori di notte, Notizie di Crimini 1472-1507, ff. 60r, 74v. See G. Brucker, "The Ciompi Revolution", in *Florentine Studies*, ed. N. Rubinstein, London, 1968, pp. 314-56.
- 84 BP p. 147.
- 85 Asconii *Commentarii in Orationes Ciceronis*, Manthen and John of Cologne, 1477, f. 183r. For the argument of the great authors see L. A. Shepherd, "A Fifteenth-Century Humanist, Francesco Filelfo", *The Library*, Fourth Series, xvi, 1936, p. 25.
- 86 For the text of Andrea Navagero's appointment see P. Papinio, "Nuove notizie intorno ad Andrea Navagero e Daniele Barbaro", AV III, 1872, p. 256. "...le piui

- incorrecte stampe vadino per il mondo sonno quelle escono e qui, non senza infamia de la città." For some remarks on the claims of colophons and a very different interpretation of them see D. Marzi, "I tipografi tedeschi in Italia durante il secolo XV", *Festschrift der Stadt Mainz zur Gutenberg feier im Jahre 1900*, pp. 423-4.
- 87 Ovidii *Metamorphoses cum integris ac emendatissimis Raphaelis Regii commentariis*, Bevilacqua, 1493, f. 167v. Regius warned readers that this was the correct version of his commentary, which had been published in the previous year in an incomplete version, without his permission.
- 88 Codri Urcei Sermo Primus, in *Opera Omnia*, Platonides, Bologna, 1502 (unpaginated). For comment see Kenney, *The Classical Text*, pp. 3f, and below, Ch. V, nn. 35-8.
- 89 On this aspect of Venetian social attitudes see D. S. Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice*, London, 1970, pp. 82-4.
- 90 Eg. 1486 edition, f. 282v (Gutenberg and the press), ff. 291v-292v (Bellini's mission to paint the Sultan's portrait): 1513 edition, ff. 328v-329v (Account of the discovery of America). Filippo's introduction, which is not carried by the later editions, can be found on ff. 30r-v, of the 1486 text.
- 91 On the dispute over Florentine classicism, and the intellectual background, see the first chapter of G. Holmes, *The Florentine Enlightenment*, London, 1969.
- 92 On the popularity of Ovid, see Febvre-Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 386. On Bevilacqua, Burger, pp. 347-8. Ludwig, *op. cit.*, p. 76, shows that Gaspar's widow stocked 49 copies of the *Fasti* in 1511.
- 93 A. Niero, "Decreti pretridentini di due patriarchi di Venezia su stampa di libri", *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, XIV, 1960, pp. 450-2.
- 94 Daphne's transformation into a laurel showed that the girl who defended her virginity to the death was rewarded with an evergreen crown of chastity: Regius, in the edition of *Metamorphoses* cited under n. 87.
- 95 *Cantalycii Epigrammatum Liber*, Matteo Capcasa, Venice, 1493. "In praedicatorum iubentem comburi ovidianas artes."
- 96 Hain, Nos. 3148-3157. See K. Forster, "Vernacular Scriptures in Italy", in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, Vol. II, Cambridge, 1969, pp. 453-465.
- 97 The version examined was that of Giorgio di Rusconi, printed in Venice during 1503.
- 98 R. Hirsch, "Pre-Reformation Censorship of Printed Books", *The Library Chronicle*, XXI, No. 1, 1955, pp. 100-5.
- 99 G. Putnam, *The Censorship of the Church of Rome and its Influence on the Production and Distribution of Literature*, Vol. 1, London, 1906, p. 79.
- 100 A.S.V., Senato, Terra, Rg. XII, ff. 54v-55r.
- 101 Niero, "Decreti pretridentini...", p. 452.
- 102 BP p. 132: C. Buhler, *The Fifteenth-Century Book*, Philadelphia, 1960, pp. 20-24, 50.
- 103 Sabellici, *Opera Omnia*, Vol. IV, pp. 320-32. On Aldus' early years in Venice see below, Ch. V, nn. 50-3.
- 104 *Ib.*, p. 332: compare the remark "Abundance of books makes men less studious",

- which Squarciafico attributed to the ghosts in the Elysian Fields. See the article cited under n. 85, above.
- 105 Museo Correr, Venezia, Fondo Cicogna, Ms. 949, No. 56: Hieronimi Bononii *Tarvisini Promiscuorum septimus libellus*.
- 106 Brown, *Venetian Press*, pp. 34-5. My observations here are based on Tacuinus' text of Ovid's *Fasti* (1496), but they can be multiplied at will.
- 107 FD p. 153, Docs. 81, 82 (petitions for copyright on music and oriental languages). The petition of Andrea Badoer cited above under n. 10 refers to the printing of navigational charts.

II

THE WANDERING SCHOLAR



How far is it possible to trace the currents within this maelstrom of interests and opinions which led Aldus Manutius to become the scholar who turned printer? The question is as important as it is puzzling: Aldus made his crucial decision when he was forty, and comfortably established in the career of a professional teacher, so we must explain first why the decision was made at all. But we have virtually no information about these forty years. Even the biographer's usual stepping stones, a date of birth and the influence of a family, are denied to us, for Aldus' son and grandson disagreed over the year of his birth and we know nothing of his family except the names of three sisters for whom he assumed responsibility.¹ We can only approach the first half of Aldus' life by fitting the few established facts as closely as possible into a cultural framework. And the facts give us at least one promising line of investigation: Aldus must have been aware of printing from almost the first moment of its arrival in Italy.

He was born at Bassiano, near Rome, a year or so on either side of 1450, and his early education was naturally acquired in Rome. We learn this from two very oblique references in his later dedications: the first, in the Theocritus of 1495, recalls the Latin lessons of Gaspare da Verona; the second, in the Statius of 1502, mentions a lecture of Domizio Calderini which the writer had heard "at Rome, when I was a boy".² The mention of Calderini is useful chiefly as a chronological guide. This aggressive Veronese philologist had arrived in Rome around 1467 and over the next eight years established a reputation which for a while stood very high, even though it was soon eclipsed by Calderini's early death in 1478, and by the rising fame of Poliziano and Ermolao Barbaro. He began his career as an apostolic secretary: but in 1470 he was hired by the university and lectured with conspicuous success on a number of Latin authors. In 1472 he accompanied Cardinal Bessarion to France, and later attempted to inflate his own reputation by claiming to have discovered the lost *Elegantiae*

of Asconius and the works of a previously unknown Latin grammarian called Marius Rusticus. Both claims were in fact pure fabrication. But by recalling the lecture in which he had heard of them, Aldus at least shows that he was still studying in Rome during the mid-1470s, after Calderini's return from France. It is hard to squeeze much more than this superficial information from the facts. Calderini was clearly a man who recognised the potential of the press for keeping himself in the public eye: he edited Quintilian, and published commentaries on Juvenal, Martial, Statius' *Silvae*, Ovid's *Sappho* and *Ibis*, and some of the poems of Propertius before his early death, leaving a number of other works to appear posthumously. But Aldus says only that he "heard" his lectures: so, according to contemporary accounts, did most of the intellectuals in Rome. There is no proof of any closer connection which might have contributed to Aldus' views on the press.³

Gaspare da Verona presents problems of a different order. He belonged to an earlier generation, having known Guarino Veronese, studied under the future Pope Nicholas V, and corresponded with Ambrogio Traversari. A footloose and rather thrusting character, he had at one time been attached to the Porcari family and visited France and England with them, but by the early 1440s he had acquired a solid respectability and took advantage of his connections at the papal court to settle permanently in Rome. At first he ran a small private school which was attended mainly by the "nipoti" of higher clerics, including Roderigo Borgia: but during the later 1450s he was named professor of rhetoric at the Sapienza, without apparently being obliged to abandon his prestigious assignment at the papal palace. Aldus presumably studied under him at the Sapienza, and he may have done so at almost any time between 1460 and 1473, when Gaspare withdrew to Viterbo. To judge from his *Regulae Grammaticales* his commentary on Juvenal, and from the respectful if not effusive tributes of ex-pupils such as Sabellico and Cantalyccio, Gaspare was a thoroughly competent but hardly inspiring teacher who worked along the lines set out by the elder Guarino. There is nothing to suggest that his personality fired Aldus or anyone else.⁴ But when, probably during 1467, Gaspare composed his laudatory biography of the reigning Pope, Paul II, he made a crucial note of one minor incident:

About this time certain young Germans arrived in Rome and in a single month produced the works of Lactatius Firminianus On the Creation of Man, On the Anger of God, and Against the Gentiles. They made 200 such books every

month. It would be most difficult to give an account of their craft, which was the invention of great genius, if many did not know the whole truth.

They also printed (finxerunt) Augustine's *City of God*, Cicero's *On the Orator*, and his Letters to his brother Quintus, all of which they sold at a low price. They are intending to produce other books in the same way."⁵

The precision with which Gaspare recorded the first publications of Sweynheim and Pannartz, including those from the Subiaco period, leaves no doubt that he was immediately aware of the impact of printing and keenly interested in its future development. It is impossible to believe that this interest was not communicated in some form to his pupils, and there is an overwhelming temptation to find the first vital influence on Aldus' career in the school of Gaspare da Verona.

Sure enough, Aldus' work shows slight but unmistakable traces of the first Roman editions, and his ideals of a society enlightened by the press bear some resemblance to the dreams of Gianandrea de Bussi. The Aldine text of Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem Platonis* was based, by the editor's own admission, on that published by Sweynheim and Pannartz in 1469.⁶ In the dedication to one of his earliest editions, the Theocritus of 1495, Aldus used and elaborated an argument which could have been borrowed from de Bussi: unknown manuscripts, he claimed, are never corrected, but at least some copies of a printed text will find their way into learned hands and so knowledge will be shared, and the author's work restored to its original purity. He cited the recent discussions of Quintilian and Pliny to prove his point.⁷ When Aldus appeals to the good of all mankind, or speaks of supplying the books which will restore all fields of knowledge to their ancient splendour, or looks up from his books in the din of the print-shop to tell Erasmus that he is studying, the reader naturally recalls de Bussi's hopes of taking part in a universal enlightenment.⁸

But there are grave difficulties in treating any single aspect of Aldus' experience in Rome as a decisive influence on his future career. He refers to Sweynheim's text of *In Calumniatorem Platonis* only to call it a shoddy piece of work, and he never mentions de Bussi's name at all. If the idealism of de Bussi, or the comments of Gaspare da Verona on the possible development of printing, had made a really deep impact, then it is hard to understand why Aldus waited for twenty years before applying the lessons he had learned. When he did so, he chose to concentrate on Greek literature: in Rome, as he states explicitly, he had studied only Latin. Both on an intellectual and a personal level, Aldus seems in fact to have neglected his Roman

background so completely that it is hard to treat his attitude as a simple matter of coincidence or oversight. As has been said, the mentions of Gaspare and Calderini are very terse, and partly intended to express a debt to another city and another man: Verona and Battista Guarino rather than Gaspare and Rome. The contrast with Aldus' usual expressions of respect is almost pointed. His intellectual rejection of Roman scholarship is obvious. Pomponio Leto and his school valued exhaustive commentaries on the works of individual Roman authors: Aldus emphasised Greek, and printed plain texts. His small, unelaborated, octavo editions of Juvenal, Martial, Statius and Ovid owe nothing to the copious observations of Calderini on these authors.⁹ Aldus' rejection appears to have gone further than questions of scholarship. When he arrived in Venice around 1490, one of those best placed to assist him was Marcantonio Sabellico, whose experience of the publishing world has been discussed in the previous chapter and who, as librarian of the Marciana, was in charge of the richest collection of Greek manuscripts in the Western world. He was a fellow-Roman, and a pupil of both Gaspare da Verona and Calderini. A connection would have been obvious, and highly advantageous. But the only evidence we have that contact was made lies in the request of another scholar to Aldus, who is asked to pay respects to Sabellico. Rather than cultivating his influential senior, Aldus made a life-long friend of his main rival Giambattista Egnazio, who in his *Racemationes* of 1502 sharply attacked Sabellico's scholarship, and his attempts to undermine Egnazio's own popularity.¹⁰ We can only speculate about the reasons for Aldus' apparent hostility to the Roman school. A sincerely pious Christian, he may have been disturbed by the more bizarre antiquarian posturings of Pomponio Leto and his circle, and by the suspicions of paganism or conspiracy which had fastened onto them in 1468.¹¹ But this could hardly have affected his feelings about Gaspare or de Bussi. Whatever the reasons, it is clearly most unsafe to attach any decisive importance to Aldus' period of study in Rome. The early view of printing, and the visionary hopes of de Bussi, may have fallen on fertile soil. If so, they sank very deep, and many years of different experience would be needed before they could germinate.

In the same, vital dedication of his edition of Theocritus to Battista Guarino Aldus shows that he had studied Greek under that distinguished teacher in Ferrara. The exact dates are again uncertain, and they were very probably discontinuous. To have heard Calderini's higher flights of imagination, Aldus must still have been in Rome

around the mid-1470s: while a document from the archives of Carpi, dated 8 March 1480, grants him citizenship of that town, naming him tutor to the princes Alberto and Lionello Pio and a resident for some time.¹² Obviously, Aldus studied in Ferrara during the later 1470s. But in a letter of 1485 he states explicitly that he left Ferrara only in 1482, and much later he claims to have taught there himself.¹³ Even though they apparently conflict, these references build up a picture which, against the academic background of the times, is perfectly consistent. It was common enough for scholars of mature years to support their own studies from the patronage of their more fortunate fellows, whether by tuition within the university or intermittent teaching outside it. Exactly how or when Aldus secured his post at Carpi is not clear: it seems most likely that he was recommended by the famous uncle of the two princes, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, who was also studying in Ferrara during this period. A sober and gentle character, approaching the age of thirty and with a good background of Latin scholarship, Aldus must have been an obvious choice.¹⁴ He probably passed frequently between Ferrara and Carpi not only during the 1470s but again after 1484, when peace between Venice and the Estensi made conditions possible again and Alberto Pio went to study at Ferrara in his own right. The scattered references show that Aldus was now fully launched on the career of a professional man of letters, clinging to the fringe of the academic world and taking the opportunities that came his way.

To such a man, Ferrara must have offered good prospects during the 1470s and 1480s. Though the university could not rival Bologna or Padua in numbers or prestige, it had made steady progress during the fifteenth century thanks to the interest and protection of the ruling Este family. By the 1450s and 1460s an average of thirty or more degrees was being awarded every year, and since nearly forty per cent of those known to have graduated came from the transalpine countries, there was a definite air of cosmopolitanism.¹⁵ The university also had its particular areas of excellence: Niccolo Leonicensi's research on the text of Pliny's *Natural Histories* made the medical faculty the focus of considerable interest and controversy during the later years of the century.¹⁶ An even more lasting reputation was enjoyed by the grammar school of Guarino Veronese, which was closely linked to both the university and the Este court by Guarino's dual position as court-tutor and Professor of Rhetoric. Until 1460 the school was a major international centre which attracted scholars from all over Europe,

five from England alone: the elder Guarino's death removed the unique quality of the teacher who had studied Greek in Byzantium and taken part in the first heroic quests for lost manuscripts, but Battista maintained much of the impetus by carefully codifying and continuing his father's work. His *De Ordine Docendi et Studendi*, perhaps the most elaborate of the humanistic educational treatises, sets out a precise scheme of grammatical instruction, insists on the interdependence of Latin and Greek, and recommends translation between the two languages as a means of learning both thoroughly.¹⁷

The direct impact of Guarino's methods and the subtle influence of the Ferrarese cultural environment upon Aldus' outlook are so obvious that they provide a striking contrast to the uncertainties which surround his view of Rome. In his last will, he named three Ferrarese executors including the duchess Lucretia Borgia: in his first, he suggested that his young wife should seek another partner in Ferrara if he failed to return from his imminent journey: and one of his earliest publications, the text of Theocritus and Hesiod which we have already mentioned on several occasions, was dedicated to Battista Guarino with the words: "Here, most illustrious master, is the Theogonia of Hesiod, which you ask me to provide for the public instruction of your pupils."¹⁸ Co-operation between the press and the intellectual could hardly go further. How far we should trace Aldus' conviction that Greek held the key to excellence in every field of learning back to the teaching of Battista seems a great deal less certain. There were other Hellenists within the university – Leonicensi, Codrus Urceus, and Giorgio Valla, for example –¹⁹ and there is some evidence to suggest that, even if Aldus learned the rudiments of Greek from Guarino, he received some more important instruction outside the main stream of academic life. His association with the family of Pico della Mirandola has already been mentioned, and it is now time to estimate the precise nature and effect of that relationship.

On 28 October 1485 Aldus wrote to offer his friendship and service to Angelo Poliziano. The aim – common enough at the time – was plainly to gather some reflected glory by linking his name to that of the great philologist whose letters were passed frequently from hand to hand: the tone was therefore obsequious, and the form was a brief account of how Aldus' regard for Poliziano had originated and increased. When the Venetians attacked Ferrara three years earlier, Aldus wrote, he had sought refuge with Pico in Mirandola and had been shown by his "great friend" Manuel Adramyttenus a Greek

letter written by Poliziano. The purity of the Attic style had impressed him greatly. Shortly afterwards, Manuel had set out for Pavia in Pico's company and died there, but Pico had passed through Carpi on his return and shown Aldus a copy of Poliziano's *Silvae*, which had swelled his admiration yet further. Aldus could now restrain himself no longer: he asked only to be included among Poliziano's friends, and treated as one of his domestic servants.²⁰

Though this letter is full of information, and presents a vivid picture of the mobile academic life of the time, there is plainly a great deal which it leaves unsaid and which is very difficult to reconstruct now. First there are the uncertainties which surround the life of the mysterious Adramyttenus. We know that he was a Cretan who studied under Michael Apostolis for seven years during the 1460s and 1470s, and subsequently quarrelled violently with his old teacher as a result of his friendship with another Manuel who led him into dissipated, Westernised ways. The two reprobates seem to have set out from Crete to seek their fortune some time during the mid-1470s, and it was possibly this expedition which led Adramyttenus eventually to Mirandola: Aldus' expressions – 'a great friend', and 'devoted to me' – suggest that he had known Manuel for some time and profited considerably from his teaching. But all we know of Adramyttenus during the later 1470s is that he acted, as did so many Cretans, as a professional scribe: there is little to show what his intellectual attainments were, or where he exercised them before he was drawn into Pico's circle.²¹ Next, what sort of "circle" was this? Aldus' remarks about the favour shown by Pico to literary men may be no more than the polite inanities of humanist language, but scattered evidence in other letters does suggest that Pico made a considerable effort during the early 1480s to turn Mirandola into a centre of scholarly patronage. On 20 July 1482 he addressed a breathless invitation to Leonicensino, whom he had failed to find in Florence and now sought in Bologna:²²

You must have forgotten this little town of mine, or despised it. You seem, Nicholas, to mistrust either my good will or my resources, which are indeed far smaller than your services to me. But they are greater than you believe. I shall be delighted if you will tell me what your plans are, and most delighted of all if you will deign to make my house yours and take your ease here while others are caught up in the business of war. I send you the rest of John the Grammarian, which I have at last found after many days of search. I am yours, and I expect you. Farewell. . . . Please take care, as you love me, to have a list made of all the

books in the library of Saint Dominic's, and to send it or bring it yourself. Again, farewell. I have built a villa outside the town, and it is pleasant enough considering the nature of the site. I have written a long poem about it: you will like the villa and you may quite like the poem as well. Farewell again.

The tone is that of a charming and slightly overzealous youth trying to cut a figure in the literary world. Pico was not simply opening his court as a refuge for the displaced scholars of embattled Ferrara: he was trying to tempt distinguished intellectuals to his side from a considerable distance, and he seems to have scored some success. We have too little information even to guess whether or not this was an attempt to establish some kind of academy on the pattern of those in Florence and Rome, and Pico himself stayed in one place for such short periods that there can hardly have been any continuity. But there was clearly some formal academic discussion, and some sense of camaraderie among the inmates. A jovial letter from Pico to Poliziano, probably written during 1483, describes the reception given to the Florentine's *Enchiridion Epicteti*, stressing the excitement with which the Latin text was read through, "even though there were some in the assembly, who knew Greek", and the wholesale conversion of the company to the Stoic philosophy as a result of the translator's skill.²³ Aldus' own story of reading Poliziano's Greek letter with Adramyttenus offers a hint that he had learned a good deal of his Greek in this kind of half-social, half-intellectual gathering at Pico's villa. His friendship with Adramyttenus was obviously close. Giambattista Scita – one of those mentioned by Poliziano in the letter quoted above – wrote to Aldus in 1483 about the progress that Pico ("our prince") was making at Pavia, and remained in touch when his old colleague began work as a printer. Leonicensino became one of Aldus' most active helpers, both as a corrector of texts and a contributor of original material. Such activity as there was probably did not survive the turbulent years of Pico's wandering from Florence to Paris, thence to Rome, but at least between 1482 and 1484, the activity was real enough.²⁴

A lively imagination could derive endless consequences from Aldus' experiences during these years in Ferrara, Carpi and Mirandola: later in life, when he dreamed of founding an academy of his own, was he remembering hours of animated discussion with like-minded friends at Pico's pleasant villa? Perhaps: but there is no point in pretending that we have the evidence to prove it. All we can do is place Aldus more accurately in his intellectual background. It is too easily implied

that he was a passing acquaintance and minor protégé of Pico's, hardly able to do more than admire the count from a distance.²⁵ But the evidence suggests that Pico was trying actively to form his own intellectual circle, and Aldus' presence must argue either that he already enjoyed at least a fair reputation as a scholar, or that he was well known to Pico, or both. His letter to Poliziano, with its eager commendation of Hellenism, entirely follows the tone of those directed by Pico to Poliziano during the same period. "I will imitate you", wrote the count, "in justifying yourself to the Greeks on the ground that you are a Latin, and to the Latins because you are studying Greek".²⁶ In the single surviving letter that passed between them, Pico urged Aldus to press ahead with his philosophical research, but never to take his eyes from the final revelation.²⁷ Aldus was an associate as well as a client, and was whirled along in the currents of Pico's quest for universal knowledge.

These hints are expressed far more forcefully in the only other surviving pieces written by Aldus during the 1480s, which are preserved in a short pamphlet variously known as *Musarum Panegyris* or *Epistola ad Catherinam Piam*, according to the different components. These include some trite Latin elegiacs written to encourage Aldus' young pupils, Alberto and Lionello Pio, and a longer justification of his educational aims directed to the princes' mother. Only four copies survive, and the presswork, contained on eight quarto-sized leaves, has been attributed on typographic grounds to Baptista de Tortis of Venice. The date of publication must fall between March 1487, since Pietro Barozzi is named as Bishop of Padua, and March 1491, since Ermolao Barbaro could hardly have been called "the glory of the Venetian senate" after his acceptance of the Patriarchate of Aquileia and consequent banishment. The actual composition is probably earlier: the lumbering elegiacs definitely belong to the school-room, and a declaration of educational aims would have come far more naturally from Aldus during the early 1480s than at the end of the decade, when his mind must already have been turning to printing. Possibly he touched up and published some early drafts as a form of self-advertisement when he arrived in Venice around 1489, for there is evidence that he acted as a teacher in the early 1490s, and the link with a princely family would have been an excellent selling-point.²⁸ Juggling dates in any case hardly affects the overall relevance of the assorted pieces: they amount to a broad statement of Aldus' intellectual standing as he wished it to be known, both to

his patrons and to a wider audience, and the statement itself follows naturally from the correspondence with Poliziano. In the elegiacs, the princes are urged to "read the Greek books, those divine volumes, along with the Romans..."²⁹ and immediately after the preliminary courtesies of his letter to Catherina, Aldus asks: "How can one who does not know Greek imitate the Greek authors, who are the most advanced in every field of learning and from whom, as is known, everything that is worthy of praise has passed into the Latin tongue?"³⁰ Cicero, Horace and Quintilian are cited to prove both the charms of Greek literature and its absolute necessity as an aid to true Latin scholarship. True to the humanist principle of instruction by example, Aldus then proceeds to the examples set by learned princes: Philip, Alexander and Julius Caesar lead on to the contemporary Federigo da Montefeltro, and so to the arts of peace and virtues of Pico, Pietro Barozzi and Ermolao Barbaro, "a most famous knight, a most learned lawyer, a most celebrated philosopher, profoundly skilled in the Greek and Roman languages". There is no evidence to prove that Aldus actually met Barbaro, who must have left Venice on his ill-starred embassy to Rome very soon after Aldus' arrival, if not before: but the special praise reserved for his universal knowledge, and the insistence on an educational system which provided for a thorough grasp of Greek, show that Aldus was now a complete convert to the exhaustive programme of Poliziano, Pico and Barbaro. The values of the ancient world must be recreated by an all-pervading scholarship which recognised no boundaries of language or discipline.³¹

It is vital to remember, and almost impossible to express, the absolute faith which these men placed in their philological skills, and the soaring hopes which they erected over its narrow foundation. Poliziano corresponded with Leonicensino about the texts of Pliny and Dioscurides: but he addressed him as the new Asclepius, whose knowledge would rescue his generation from disease and death. If rightly understood, there was nothing which the word, that supreme expression of the rational faculty which separated man from beast, might not accomplish.³² Pico's dream of reconciling all faiths in a single ultimate mystery rested on the same conviction. No doubt Aldus, the client and intellectual shield-bearer of the great men, had seen the same visions and dreamed the same dreams. But this still leaves the crucial question of his life unanswered: why did he decide to become a printer? There is little sign that Pico, Poliziano or Barbaro held any very strong views on the new art. Pico wrote to Aldus in 1491, when

his old friend must already have been in Venice pressing ahead with his plans, and he sent a Homer which may well have had a place in those plans: but the subject of printing was not mentioned. Poliziano clearly understood many of the implications of printing for the author and his reputation, but his anxieties seem to have centred on seeing that the right text was printed rather than that the maximum number of people read it.³³ Barbaro's attitude was thoroughly conservative. In the dedication of his *Paraphrase of Themistius*, written in 1480, he had commended Plato's advocacy of a rigid censorship of all material to be circulated in private or in public, observing that here was the way to control the flood of books which, in his own time, was being composed by rogues and read by fools.³⁴ These great scholars might write of human dignity, the human word as the rational expression of that dignity, and ancient literature as the highest expression of the human word: but there is little to show that they had found a place for the press in their scheme of things. However much we emphasise the idealism of Aldus' letter to Catherina Pia, or stress its dependence on the ideas of Pico and Barbaro, the fact remains that it does not once mention printing. There is nothing to suggest that it is more than a piece of educational publicity. Finally, we should remember that neither Ferrara, where Aldus had pursued his formal studies, nor Florence, the main source of inspiration for Hellenic scholarship, had become a major centre of press activity by 1490.³⁵

If his intellectual contact with the great humanists of the 1480s gives no obvious explanation of Aldus' decision to become a printer, his social links with them and their peers make the entry into a ruthlessly speculative field even more difficult to understand. For a contemporary who had assessed his position during the later 1480s would surely have reckoned that Aldus' ship was now riding safely and comfortably in port. He was approaching forty, an age at which men of the time began to feel the creaking of their joints and the blurring of their eyes.³⁶ His career had been thoroughly respectable, if un-spectacular. He had acquired the attention of his superiors, the respect of his peers, and – most important of all – patronage which offered as much security as a second-rank man of letters could hope to enjoy.

It is somewhat less than just that Alberto Pio should now be remembered chiefly as the pupil of Aldus, a young man who perhaps took himself and the world rather too seriously, a bitter opponent of Erasmus, and a tragic casualty of repeated foreign intervention in Italy.³⁷ His absolute commitment to literature and the arts is difficult

to appreciate outside his native Emilia, and a casual observer might wonder how he had time for such interests. During the 1490s, his early manhood was taken up in a vicious feud with his cousin Giberto for the possession of Carpi: in July 1497 his house was sacked and he was forced to take refuge in Ferrara.³⁸ Yet even as a refugee, Alberto was able to maintain a considerable household, to spend nearly fifty florins in five months on the purchase and decoration of books, and to employ Musurus as Greek tutor and librarian.³⁹ In 1500 a new Ferrarese initiative followed by the providential death of his cousin meant that Alberto could return home in comparative safety: so he celebrated the occasion by spending 800 gold crowns on the library of the deceased Giorgio Valla, and set immediately about transforming the city of Carpi.⁴⁰ He resided there for only seven years. But during that time the Cathedral was reconstructed on the new, Bramantesque, design, the Palazzo rebuilt and frescoed by Bernardino Loschi, and a sweeping classical arcade extended along the opposite side of the piazza.⁴¹ So anxious was Alberto to establish Carpi as a centre of all the liberal arts that he eventually invited the typographer Benedetto Dolcibello de Manzi, a native of the place who had already been prosecuted for violating Aldus' Greek copyright, and immediately violated another by printing Latin texts in cursive.⁴² But Aldus seems to have held his old pupil politely at arm's length. He thanked him for constant support: he gratefully mentioned offers of estates, complete authority over an entire town, even the chance to found an academy; but he would not settle in Carpi.⁴³ In the context of 1497, when Alberto was an exile and Aldus was bound to his investors, the discreet refusal is not too surprising. But when we read in Aldus' earliest preface "Though I could lead a quiet and peaceful life, I have chosen one full of toil and trouble",⁴⁴ then recall the type of patronage which was certainly available to him, we are brought directly back to the original problem. Aldus did not need to become a printer.

So we must shift the emphasis of the enquiry, and look for personal motives which could have inspired the decision. Lack of evidence makes the search exceedingly hazardous, and at first sight deepens the mystery: for such information as we have suggests that Aldus was a rather retiring man who did not pursue literary fame in the aggressive fashion adopted by many of his contemporaries, and was even slightly embarrassed at times by the reputation that printing brought him. His prefaces may stress the pains taken over a text, and exaggerate the excellence of the version produced.⁴⁵ But he wrote little else, and

in his first will left instructions for his executors to destroy certain small grammatical works which the sensitive author did not consider sufficiently polished for publication.⁴⁶ He knew of the savage academic controversies of the time, approved them as a stimulus to the purification of classical texts, and lived surrounded by their main participants: but he took no part himself.⁴⁷ Two of the leading humanists of the university of Padua, Giovanni Calurnio and Raphael Regius, exchanged insults throughout the later 1480s. Aldus remained on good terms with both.⁴⁸ He showed no inclination to join his friend Egnazio's attack on Sabellico. And when several of his associates became rivals for one of Venice's public lectureships, he avoided taking sides. Finally, we have the evidence of Aldus' plain texts of the classics to reinforce the point made both by the scarcity of information about his personality, and by the quality of what little there is: the press was not seen as a means of self-advertisement, and the ancient authors could be left to speak for themselves.⁴⁹

At first sight, there is some case for seeing Aldus as a committed and discerning antiquarian, a man cast in the same mould as his idol Poliziano, and one who spent a good part of his life collecting precious skills and information which he eventually felt the need to communicate. Erasmus' discussion of the proverb "Hasten slowly" centred on the dolphin and anchor depicted on a Roman coin which Aldus had shown him, and though what we know of the printer's busy life does not suggest that he had time or money to indulge a taste for antique-collecting, he certainly lived in a world of dedicated antiquarians. Pietro Bembo, who is supposed to have given him the coin in question, spent his life expanding an already considerable family collection. Several of Aldus' associates were avid students of Latin epigraphy, and as we shall see in due course, his own choice of type-founts reflects what was probably an interest he shared with many friends.⁵⁰ But there is more information about his personal library. In the same passage, Erasmus called it "a treasure-house", and a similar claim was made in the later sixteenth century, when Aldus' grandson began to speak of selling the books. In 1580 the Mantuan ambassador reported from Venice: "I have spoken this morning with Master Aldo Manuccio, who, according to rumour, has one of the most beautiful libraries which a scholar could desire, even if he were also a prince."⁵¹

But in the event, the rumours proved to stem from the owner himself, and to be no more than the sales talk of a man in serious financial

difficulties. The younger Aldus was counting on his family library as a capital asset, and anxious to inflate its value at any cost. Eventually, no sale was arranged: the books were appropriated by the Holy See after the owner's death in 1597 in part-settlement of his debts, and the inventories made for the Vatican library show that even Erasmus' estimate was probably overgenerous.⁵² We have no means of knowing how many of the 343 manuscripts and 1,564 printed texts had been in the possession of Aldus the elder, unless the printed editions are dated after his death. But this hardly matters. Even in 1600, as a contemporary commented, there was little "to make one's month water", and there was certainly nothing among the manuscripts which could have formed the basis for a major programme of publication in both the ancient languages.⁵³ A few Greek items – a Lycophron copied by Arsenios Apostolios, and a selection of letters – might possibly have been used, and can be identified with reasonable precision. But they do not even carry Aldus' signature, let alone any sign of comment or conjecture on the text.⁵⁴ The great part of the manuscript collection was a commonplace bundle of Latin classics, local chronicles, devotional works, anthologies, and commentaries. The younger Aldus did succeed in passing off one printed text, an early edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, to the Roman bibliophile Fulvio Orsini as a genuine specimen of his grandfather's preparatory work, and the book carries Orsini's proud heading "Ovidii Metamorphoseos cum emendationibus Aldi". The buyer may, or may not have been the victim of a confidence trick. Once again, it hardly matters. For what Orsini termed "emendations" are no more than explanations or paraphrases, with the occasional correction of an obvious printing error: nowhere is there any sign of a keen editorial brain criticising a clumsy first effort, bringing superior textual and linguistic knowledge to bear, and sharpening its wits for a shrewder cut at the same problems.⁵⁵ Even when he had been printing for some years, Aldus was no textual critic, and it was certainly not expertise in this field which led him to printing.⁵⁶

There is one trait in Aldus' character of which we can be absolutely sure and which, though it cannot by itself explain why he began printing, may shed some light on the working of his mind and on the principle which ruled him. He was fascinated by language: not by language as the expression of man's rational faculty, though he would no doubt have paid lip-service to that fashionable idea, but by language in itself, as a pattern of sounds with music in its rhythms and riches

in its variety. Perhaps as a result of this, perhaps because of the many years he had spent in the school-room, he was almost morbidly sensitive about grammatical accuracy and correct pronunciation. Erasmus joked light-heartedly about this: in the *Praise of Folly*, written just after his departure from Italy, he showed how the Goddess sustained the grammarians in their wild rejoicings over a new inscription and their furious quarrels over a disputed case-ending. No trouble was too much in the fight to settle these imaginery issues: Aldus alone had written five grammars.⁵⁷ The quip was not maliciously intended, and Aldus would probably not have been displeased by it. Only a year later he was writing that he had never yet produced a book that satisfied him, and would gladly redeem every error he had made for a gold piece.⁵⁸ And Erasmus' joke was true in spirit, if not yet in fact. Aldus published his Latin Grammar for the first time in 1493, mentioning a Greek Grammar, grammatical exercises, and various shorter works which he hoped would soon follow. The Latin Grammar was re-issued in 1501, 1508 and 1514, with additions, alterations in layout, the change of a word here or there: the Greek Grammar was still unpublished at the time of its author's death, and was seen through the press by his friend Musurus; all but one of the others seem to have perished, as Aldus wished.⁵⁹ We can only agree with Erasmus, that Aldus was meticulous to a fault. But in a publisher, it might prove to be a good fault.

The Grammars also reveal the more positive side of the author's attitude to language. In the introduction to the 1501 edition, Aldus revealed his deep dissatisfaction with the standard work, the twelfth-century *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu: the style was so appalling, the labour of committing to memory the 2,000-line poetic exposition of Latin grammar so daunting, that many pupils came to regard the whole process of learning with horror and even those who survived the ordeal forgot what they had learned immediately, since they could not relate it to anything; far more could be gained if some of the time spent in learning by heart was devoted to reading Cicero or Virgil, who would provide models of proper Latin style.⁶⁰ These objections reveal Aldus' fundamental position. Villedieu's *Doctrinale* tended to treat the rules of Latin grammar as the dictates of some Divine Reason, existing by logical necessity rather than evolving through constant use. Little was said of exceptions or anomalies: examples were generally invented, and authorities rarely cited. To Aldus, such an approach to language was repugnant, first because it neglected the essential mobility

of words, second because it took no account of the classics, third because the divorce of grammar from its origins and from literature made the subject educationally stultifying. His own Grammar was not, in fact, a great success. It was re-issued some fifteen times before 1568, but it certainly never supplanted the despised *Doctrinale*, which ran triumphantly through 279 editions during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁶¹ Aldus' Grammar is rarely mentioned in the correspondence of his friends, and I suspect that even its limited success was due more to the prestige of its author than to the intrinsic merits of the work. It is not very original. In the 1514 edition, Aldus claimed to have "followed the ancient Greek and Latin grammarians": this meant, in effect, that he had adopted the three-part scheme laid down by Donatus' fourth-century Grammar, devoting one section to nouns, pronouns and declension, a second to verbs and conjugation, and a third to syntax.⁶² In spite of the protest against too much learning by rote, the material was still laid out in a "question and answer" format which would compel the bemused ten-year-olds to intone the complex definitions back to their teacher. Even Alexander of Villedieu's use of poetic rhythms as a mnemonic device was preserved in Aldus' lists of nouns arranged in hexameters.⁶³ But the signs of a fundamentally different approach to language are still apparent. Aldus' lists of nouns are lists of exceptions, which decline only in the singular or the plural: he was abreast of his English contemporary, John Holt, in providing explanations of Latin moods and tenses in the vernacular; and he stated his principles firmly in the opening definition: "What is Grammar? An art and a profession based on reason, usage and authorities."⁶⁴ Linguistic rules were at least being given a life of their own.

Aldus' twin convictions – of the dynamism of language and the predominance of classical authority – appear even more clearly in his shorter works than in his full-length Grammar. To his earliest edition, the Greek Grammar of Constantine Lascaris, he appended a few pages of his own "On Greek letters, diphthongs, and how they have come down to us", laying careful stress on correct pronunciation and on the differences or similarities of the Latin and Greek forms.⁶⁵ He offered a comparative index of Greek and Latin proper names to readers of his text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, again inviting them to watch the parallel but distinct development of the two languages.⁶⁶ Problems of correct usage, whether in speech or writing, wholly obsessed him. Even in his "Brief introduction to the Hebrew language"

(of which he can hardly have known more than the barest rudiments) he gave careful instructions on the pronunciation of palatal, dental and labial phonemes.⁶⁷ The widespread tendency to shorten Latin and Greek diphthongs into long vowels troubled him deeply. He reacted against it in a short essay – presumably one of the “fragments” which should have been destroyed – argued that both vowel-sounds ought to be given their proper length and value, and appealed to the authority of Terence and Eustathius.⁶⁸ He printed accusative plurals in *-eis* in his first text of Virgil, justifying his choice from Priscian.⁶⁹ Whenever we find Aldus at work on a project of his own, rather than the editing of a text, he seems crouched in an attitude of intense concentration over some minute problem of linguistic usage. His text of Caesar contained a long list of the place-names of ancient Gaul and their modern French equivalents.⁷⁰ His edition of the Roman agricultural writers concluded with a detailed exposition of Palladius’ system of days, and a table showing how to calculate the exact length of a Roman hour during each month of the year.⁷¹ Even the growing interest in lyric metres which becomes apparent in the short appendix attached to Prudentius in 1501, or in the new book added to the Latin Grammar in 1508, may have derived from the same profound philological curiosity.⁷² By 1509 Aldus was able to correct his manuscripts of Horace on the basis of a thorough metrical knowledge.⁷³

This concern with microscopic questions of language and antiquity could easily have developed into the crabbed, sterile pedantry which, we may note, is commonly associated with bachelor schoolmasters of advancing years. Aldus managed to avoid the danger. Possibly his temperament helped him: as we have seen, he did not enjoy controversy and he was not basically a crabbed or pedantic person. There is no questioning his respect for classical authority. Occasionally, he annexed short “Lives” to his editions, and they are little more than extended lists of citations from the author concerned. The personality of Aldus encroaches only to add a cross-reference or a counter-argument from some other authority: Suetonius or Pliny on the reasons for Ovid’s exile, Symmachus and Ambrose on the dating of Prudentius’ works.⁷⁴ In his own writings preferred quotations and classical catch-phrases – “You would need an Oedipus to guess that” or “the spear of Achilles” or “faithful Achates⁷⁵ – flow from the end of his pen with a facility which shows how deeply the ancient authors had penetrated into his mind. But Aldus’ intellectual attitude to the classics was never pedantic. To him, they formed only one part of a broader linguistic

picture: the most elaborate and interesting part, certainly, but still only a part, and one which had no exclusive claims to a scholar’s attention. In 1501 he defended his text of Petrarch with as much vehemence as he had lavished on his Virgilian readings, and at far greater length: it was absurd, he told his critics, to latinise Tuscan forms by writing “vulgari” for “volgari” or “Canzona” for “canzone” because any Tuscan knew that his dialect did not follow Latin forms in every case. His manuscripts showed that “canzone” was good enough for Petrarch.⁷⁶ The message is exactly that of “Greek letters and diphthongs, and how they come down to us”, of the index of Greek and Latin names in the *Metamorphoses*, and of the list of Latin and French place-names: languages have lives of their own, they are constantly changing, and they all deserve attention. As early as 1496, Aldus had compared the varieties of Italian local usage to the rich tapestry of the Greek literary dialects, and his comments on that occasion sum up his attitude perfectly: “Sometimes I cannot help laughing at this change in the form of words.”⁷⁷ All language was interesting and amusing.

There can be little doubt that when Aldus gave his contemporaries the texts of Horace and Homer, Sophocles and Sannazaro, Dante and Dioscurides, he was giving them the authorities to follow and appreciate a phenomenon which fascinated him – the phenomenon of language, its changes, and its correct use. It is not in fact possible to treat Aldus’ publications simply as the expression of his humanist ideals: we shall see in the next chapter that his programme was capable of exciting commercial interest, and was carried out in what for the times was a thoroughly businesslike fashion. But, since we lack any clear evidence of economic need or intellectual pressure, the case for regarding Aldus’ original decision to become a printer as the result of personal conviction is very strong indeed. This seems to have been his own version of the story, so far as he gave one. In 1501, he addressed his Latin Grammar to the teachers whom he hoped would use it, and gave them a portentous reminder of the responsibilities they carried for the good and evil in the world: they formed the characters of boys who would go on to become lawyers and philosophers, rulers and princes, bishops and even popes; they must not bore, or brutalise, their pupils but lead them, through the study of the best authors, to a knowledge of good literature and upright conduct.⁷⁸ A splendidly phrased homily, no doubt, but not very startling in itself. The notion that reading directly frames character had passed

very early into the Western educational tradition from Plato and St. Basil, and been widely discussed by the liberal theorists of fifteenth-century Italy: it will almost certainly have reached Aldus through Battista Guarino.⁷⁹ But Aldus took the reasoning one stage further. In 1495 he attached a sort of declaration of intent to his edition of Lascaris' Greek Grammar, re-printing it in all subsequent issues of that work and of his own Latin Grammar: "I have decided to spend all my life in the service of my fellow-men. God is my witness, I desire nothing more than to do something for them, as my past life shows, wherever it has been spent, and as I hope my future life will show still more. . . ."⁸⁰

Though it is expressed in the sugary rhetoric of the times, this passage does reveal a consistent process of reasoning. Literary education improves character. The more good literature is made available, the more characters will be improved. To Aldus, printing was not a break in his activity as an educator, but a continuation of it into a new dimension. We have no means of knowing how or when he came to this conclusion: six years of teaching must certainly have affected him; so, perhaps, did the examples of Pico, Poliziano and Barbaro, though it is hard to be sure. All we can know for certain is that by the end of the 1480s, Aldus had formed his conviction and was ready to put it into practice.

NOTES

1 Aldus' son Paulus put the date in 1452 by saying that his father died "in his sixty-third year" (1515). The younger Aldus pushed the date back to 1449 by referring to 1597 as "the hundred and forty-seventh year after the birth of my grandfather". For citations see E. Pastorello, "Di Aldo Pio Manuzio - testimonianze e documenti", LBF LXVII, 1965, p. 165. An even earlier date, 1447, is suggested by A. Zeno and D. M. Manni, *Vita di Aldo Pio Manuzio insigne restauratore delle lettere greche e latine* Venice, 1759, p. 2. Pastorello argues for the latest possible date, as this would explain Aldus' calling himself a "boy" when he heard Calderini.

Aldus made provision for three sisters named Julia, Petrucia and Benevenuta, in his first two, but not in his last will: CSV pp. 92-9.

The recent attempt of L. Gerulaitis to provide Aldus with a pedigree seems to me ingenious rather than enlightening: "The Ancestry of Aldus Manutius", *Renaissance News*, XIX, No. 1, 1966, pp. 1-12.

2 OAME v, xxxix.

3 Information from R. Weiss, "In memoriam Domitii Calderini", IMU III, 1960, pp. 309-20; C. Dionisotti, "Calderini, Poliziano e altri", *ib.*, XI, 1968, pp. 151-85; J. Dunston, "Studies in Domizio Calderini", *ib.*, same number, pp. 71-150.

4 G. Zippel, introduction to *Le vite di Paolo II di Gaspare da Verona e Michele Canensi*, R.I.S. Tom. III, pars xvi, Città di Castello, 1904. D. S. Chambers, "Stadium Urbis and Gabella Urbis: the University of Rome in the Fifteenth Century", in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: essays presented to P. O. Kristeller*, ed. C. Clough, Manchester, 1976, pp. 68-87.

5 R.I.S. vol. cit., p. 57, with Zippel's notes.

6 OAME L, B (Vol. I, p. 78): "multa correximus, quae perperam Romae impressa fuerant."

7 *Ib.*, v. Compare De Bussi's preface to St. Jerome, Rome, 1468: "Adde quod quicquid ingeniorum olim fuit, latebatque paene in pulvere et tineis propter immensos labores ac nimium describentium precia, sub tuo principatu coeptum est scaturire et per omnem orbem uberrimo fonte diffluere." See also BP pp. 98-9.

8 OAME I, B, XI: compare BP p. 81 (preface to Aulus Gellius).

9 C. Dionisotti, "Aldo Manuzio umanista", in *Umanesimo europeo e umanesimo veneziano*, Venice, 1963, pp. 213-43. Chambers' article, cited under n. 4, above, reveals the instability of papal patronage and the uneven functioning of the university.

10 Schuck, Doc. v, p. 119. On the dispute with Egnazio see below, Ch. V, nn. 11, 19.

11 On the activities of what has been called a "heathen and republican secret society" see L. von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol. IV, London, 1923, pp. 37-79. Though never censorious, Aldus was clearly suspicious of poets such as Lucretius: see Dionisotti, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

12 OAME v. The document from Carpi, and a tax-return of the same year, are now lost: they have been reconstructed from eighteenth-century descriptions by Pastorello, "Testimonianze de documenti. . .", p. 166.

13 See below, n. 20. Also OAME LXXIII.

14 CAM I. The letter, dated 5 November 1483, calls Aldus "Cato", apparently in jocular allusion to the Roman censor. The term "our prince", applied to Pico, also suggests a close relationship.

15 For a convenient guide to the development of the university and for further bibliography see the recent study of W. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara - the Style of a Renaissance Despotism*, Princeton, 1973, pp. 59-65, 162-3. The almost day-to-day involvement of Duke Ercole in university matters comes out clearly in the *Diario Ferrarese* of Bernardino Zambotti (R.I.S. Tom. XXIV, pars vii, Bologna, 1937).

16 D. Vitaliani, *Della vita e delle opere di Niccolò Leonicoeno vicentino*, Verona, 1892: A. Castiglioni, "The School of Ferrara and the Controversy on Pliny", in *Science, Medicine and History: Essays on the Evolution of Scientific Thought and Medical Practice Written in Honour of Charles Singer*, ed. E. Underwood, Vol. I, Oxford, 1953, pp. 269-79.

17 R. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Veronese*, Catania, 1896. For the text of *De Ordine*, as well as various speeches in Guarino's honour, see E. Garin, *Il pensiero pedagogico dell'umanesimo*, Florence, 1958, pp. 434f. Grey, Fleming, Free, Gunthorpe and Tiptoft are named by Ludovico Carbone among his pupils, p. 477.

18 OAME v (Vol. I, p. 9). See references to Aldus' wills under n. 1.

- 19 See under n. 16, above, on Leonicensino. Valla's presence is noted by G. Bertoni, *La biblioteca Estense e la cultura ferrarese ai tempi del duca Ercole I, 1471-1505*, Turin, 1903, p. 113, but I have found no definite evidence of it. See below, Ch. V, nn. 12f. The presence of Urceus, and his subsequent interest in Aldus' career, are beyond question: C. Malagola, *Della vita e delle opere di Antonio Urceo, detto Codro*, Bologna, 1878, pp. 150f.
- 20 For the correct text of this letter see L. Dorez, "Alde Manuce et Ange Politien", *Revue des Bibliothèques*, Ann. VI, 1896, pp. 319-21. For Poliziano's reply, pp. 321-3. Hostilities between Venice and Ferrara lasted from 2 May 1482 until 8 August 1484: S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, Vol. IV, Venice, 1973 ed., pp. 97-117.
- 21 Information from H. Noiret, *Lettres Inédites de Michel Apostolis, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, Paris, 1889: pp. 29-30 contain an account of the known facts about Adramytenus, and name him as the scribe of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Graecus, 1761 and Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Palatinus 115.
- 22 Ioannis Pici Mirandulae, *Opera Omnia*, Basel, 1557, pp. 363-4.
- 23 Politiani, *Opera Omnia*, Aldus, 1498, unpaginated: Epistolarum Lib. I, Nos. 4 and 5 (Poliziano's letter and Pico's reply). For the dating see E. Garin, "Ricerche su Giovanni Pico della Mirandola - l'epistolario", in *La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano*, Florence, 1961, p. 258.
- 24 For Scita's letter see reference under n. 14, above. His involvement in the printing-company was much less active than Leonicensino's, but perhaps shows in the epigramme he contributed to *Hypnerotomachia Polifili* in 1499. An exhaustive bibliography of Pico's career is not necessary, but a useful introduction is now available in the English translation of some of Garin's essays: see *Portraits from the Quattrocento*, New York/London, 1972, pp. 190-221.
- 25 Compare for example the passing reference of A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise*, Paris, 1875, pp. 6-7.
- 26 Politiani, *Opera Omnia*, Ep. Lib. I, No. 8.
- 27 Pici, *Opera Omnia*, p. 359.
- 28 The text is now readily available in Orlandi's appendices: Vol. I, pp. 157-164. The problems of composition and dating can only be solved by assuming that some reworking was done: see C. F. Buhler, "The First Aldine", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XLII, 1948, pp. 3-14, and "Aldus' Paraenesis to his Pupil, Lionello Pio", *The Library*, Fifth Series, XVII, 1962, pp. 240-2. See also Buhler's *Early Books and Manuscripts*, New York, 1973, where his scattered bibliographical essays are collected. For evidence of Aldus' teaching activity see below, Ch. V, n. 53.
- 29 OAME, Vol. I, p. 160.
- 30 *Ib.*, p. 161.
- 31 *Ib.*, pp. 163-4. I do not think that Aldus' words can be used to prove that he actually met Barbaro, but the point is unimportant since it is clear that he belonged to the

- same intellectual circle and accepted the same values. See V. Branca, "Ermolao Barbaro and late Quattrocento Venetian Humanism", in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J. R. Hale, London, 1973, pp. 218-43.
- 32 Politiani, *Opera Omnia*, Ep. Lib. II, Nos. 6, 7. For full discussion of the intellectual positions involved, cf. Branca's article, cited in previous note.
- 33 See above, n. 27, for Pico's letter. Some of the polemics concerning his 900 theses were printed, but this may not have been of his choosing: R. Marcel, "Pic et la France", in *L'opera e il pensiero di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, Florence, 1965, pp. 205-30. On Poliziano's attitude see *Opera Omnia*, Ep. Lib. IV, No. 13 (request to Andrea Magnanimo of Bologna to be sure that correct texts are printed).
- 34 *Ib.*, Ep. Lib. XII, No. 44.
- 35 R. Ridolfi, *La stampa in Firenze nel secolo XV*, Florence, 1957: V. Scholderer, "Printing in Ferrara in the Fifteenth Century", in *Fifty Essays...*, pp. 91-5.
- 36 C. Gilbert, "When did a Man in the Renaissance Grow Old?", *Studies in the Renaissance* XIV, 1967, pp. 7-32.
- 37 M. Gilmore, "Erasmus and Alberto Pio, Prince of Carpi", in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe*, Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison, ed. T. Rabb and J. Seigel, Princeton, 1969, pp. 299-318.
- 38 P. Guaitoli, "Memorie sulla vita d'Alberto Pio III", *Memorie storiche e documenti sulla città e sull'antico principato di Carpi*, I, Carpi, 1877, pp. 135-41.
- 39 A. Morselli, "Intorno a una lista di libraro ferrarese", in his collection of material "Notizie e documenti sulla vita di Alberto Pio", *Ib.*, XI, 1931, pp. 135-52. The document records the sale of over 200 volumes to Alberto between August 1499 and February 1500. On Musurus' position see D. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice*, Harvard, 1962, pp. 125-8.
- 40 On the pacification imposed by Ferrara see Guaitoli, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-4. On the purchase of Valla's library, D. Fava, *La Biblioteca Estense nel suo sviluppo storico*, Modena, 1925, p. 152.
- 41 On the building programme see Morselli, "Alberto e la corte di Carpi", *Memorie storiche...*, Vol. cit., pp. 153-83.
- 42 Fava, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-2, and "L'introduzione del corsivo nella tipografia e l'opera di Benedetto Dolcibello", *Internationale Vereinigung für Dokumentation, Dreimonatliche Berichte*, Haag, IX, fasc. I, 1942, pp. 2-7. Dolcibello printed two folio volumes of commentary on Scottus in April and May, 1506. On his infringement of Aldus' Greek copyright see below, Ch. IV, nn. 64-6.
- 43 Dedication of Aristotle and Theophrastus, in OAME VIII.
- 44 *Ib.*, I B.
- 45 See below, Ch. IV, n. 178. But Aldus did claim credit where none was due in his edition of Craston's Lexicon: RAIA pp. 13-14.
- 46 CSV p. 95.
- 47 OAME v.
- 48 Raphaelis Regii *De quibusdam Quintiliani locis cum quodam Calfurnio Dialogus*, Venetiis, Gulielmus Tridentinus, 1490. The issue was one of those noted by Aldus in the

- passage cited above. OAME XL, XLII, show him addressing dedications to both of the antagonists.
- 49 See Ch. V, below, nn. 11, 19. On the tacit "declaration" made by Aldus' plain texts see Dionisotti, *op. cit.* under n. 9, above.
- 50 M. M. Philips, *The Adages of Erasmus* pp. 174-5. See Ch. IV, below nn. 78 f., on Aldus' types.
- 51 A. Bertolotti, "Varietà archivistiche e bibliografiche", *Il Bibliofilo*, Anno VII, 1886, p. 181.
- 52 J. Bignami-Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV a Pie XI*, Studi e Testi, No. 272, Città del Vaticano, 1973, p. 81.
- 53 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Latini No. 7121, ff. 511-59r: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, Cod. J. 100 inf.
The comment is that of Fulvio Orsini in 1590: P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, Paris, 1887, p. 245: "...non vedo cosa da far venire l'acqua alla bocca."
- 54 Bibl. Ap. Vat., Ms. Graeci Nos. 1467 (Epistolographi), 1471 (Lycophron).
- 55 *Ib.*, Incunabulum III, 16 (= 1135). See Nolhac, *Fulvio Orsini*, pp. 243-4: it is not clear that the writing is that of Aldus.
- 56 Kenney, *The Classical Text*, p. 18. See below, Ch. VI, *passim*.
- 57 Ch. 49. There is now a readily available English edition, ed. A. H. T. Levi, London, 1971. The work was first published in 1511.
- 58 OAME LXXVIII.
- 59 The "Rudimenta Grammatices" of 1501 was not divided into books, and the introductory material on letter and syllable-forms was fairly brief. In the next edition a new section on metres was added, and the whole work was divided into four books: the introductory sections were completely replanned, and a number of word-forms changed (eg. "Quaestiones" replaced "Interrogationes"). On the Greek Grammar see RAIA p. 73.
- 60 OAME XXV.
- 61 Space does not allow an exhaustive bibliography on the *Doctrinale*: for a clear introduction, and the source of my own remarks, see R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, London/New York, 1964 ed., pp. 208-10, with notes. My estimate of the number of editions of Aldus' Grammar is derived from the British Museum Catalogue.
- 62 A comparison of Aldus' Grammar with the *Ars Minor* of Donatus soon reveals the exact similarity of structure. Since Donatus was still widely used, Aldus' failure to attract much attention is not very surprising.
- 63 *Rudimenta Grammatices*, 1501, f. c i v.
- 64 *Ib.*, f. a v i r. On Holt see N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, London, 1973, pp. 28-9.
- 65 RAIA, p. 1. This section was also appended to the 1512 edition of Lascaris' Grammar, and the 1501 edition of Aldus' Latin Grammar.
- 66 Ovidii *Metamorphoseon libri quindecim*, 1502, ff. a iii r-f iii r.

- 67 Appended to the *Rudimenta Grammatices* in 1501, and to all subsequent editions of Aldus' Grammar. RAIA pp. 31, 69.
- 68 *De vitata vocalium ac diphthongorum prolotione*. It seems likely that Erasmus had secured a copy of this work, since it was published along with his *De recta Latini Graecique Sermonis Pronunciatione* in Basel during 1528.
- 69 OAME XXVII C.
- 70 *Ib.* LXXIV B. See also Vol. I, p. 191.
- 71 *Ib.* LXXXIII B.
- 72 Printed in Orlandi's appendix, Vol. I, pp. 167-9. On the addition to the Latin Grammar cf. n. 59, above.
- 73 *Adnotationes in Horatium*, in Orlandi's appendix, Vol. I, pp. 172-90.
- 74 Ovidii *Metamorphoseon libri*, f. g i r-v. "Aurelii Prudentii Vita per Aldum Romanum", in *Poetae Christiani Veteres*, Vol. I, 1501, f. 4 r.
- 75 OAME v: xvii B: LXXXVI. Orlandi's commentary provides an exhaustive guide to Aldus' classical citations, and a glance at any of the prefaces will reveal the extent of the printer's debt to his preferred authors.
- 76 *Ib.*, xxx.
- 77 *Ib.*, vi (Thesaurus Cornucopiae). On the comparison between vernacular and Greek dialect usage see C. Dionisotti, *Gli umanisti e il volgare fra Quattro- e Cinquecento*, Florence, 1968, pp. 1-14.
- 78 OAME xxv.
- 79 E. Garin, *L'educazione in Europa*, Bari, 1957, pp. 137-59.
- 80 OAME I.