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ALDUS MANUTIUS
♦ ♦ ♦
HUMANISM AND THE
LATIN CLASSICS

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

JOHN N. GRANT



THE I TATTI RENAISSANCE LIBRARY
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2 Si igitur, charissime Alde, cognoveris hunc quem veteris amicitiae nostrae causa tibi impono laborem tibi non esse aliquid dampni allaturum, velis Reverendissimi Domini Varadiensis et meo desiderio morem gerere, atque libros Tullii quos sine tuo beneficio legere non possumus legendos nobis tradere. In quo et nobis et studiosis omnibus rem facies valde gratam. Vale feliciter.

Ex Buda XX Decembris anno a nativitate Christi millesimo quinquagesimo primo.

: IV :

Aldi monitum in Lugdunenses typographos

Aldus Manutius Romanus lectori s.

1 Cum primum coepi suppeditare studiosis bonos libros, id solum negotii fore mihi existimabam ut optimi quique libri et Latini et Graeci exirent ex Neacademia nostra quam emendatissimi omnesque ad bona literas bonasque artes cura et ope nostra excitarentur. Verum longe aliter evenit: 'tantae molis erat Romanam condere linguam.' Nam praeter bella quae nescio quo infortunio eodem tempore coeperunt quo ego hanc duram accepi provinciam atque in hunc usque diem perseverant ita ut literae iam septennium cum armis quodammodo strenue pugnare videantur, quater iam in aedibus nostris ab operis et stipendiariis in me conspiratum est, duce malorum omnium matre Avaritia; quod Deo adiuvante sic fregi ut valde omnes poeniteat suae perfidiae.

If then, dearest Aldus, you determine that you will not incur a loss from this labor that I impose upon you in the name of our friendship, I hope you will be willing to provide what the most reverend bishop of Varád and I long for and give us to read the works of Cicero—we cannot read them without your kindness!²⁷ In this you will do something for which we and all devotees of literature will be extremely grateful. Farewell and best wishes;

From Buda, December 20, in the year of our Lord 1501.

: IV :

Aldus Manutius, Warning To the Typographers of Lyons

(March 16, 1503)

Aldus Manutius of Rome to his reader, greetings.

When I first began to supply scholars with fine books, I thought that my only concern would be to have all the best books in both Latin and Greek leave our Neacademy in as correct a form as possible and to rouse everyone by our efforts and with our help to embrace good letters and the liberal arts. But it has turned out quite differently, "such a heavy task it was to establish the Roman tongue."²⁸ For by some misfortune wars broke out at the same time that I took on these demanding responsibilities and have persisted right up to the present day, so much so that literature seems to have been fighting a fierce battle against armies for seven years now. Apart from these wars I have also been the victim of four conspiracies of my laborers and workmen in my publishing house, led by Avarice, the mother of all evils. With God's help I have so crushed these men that all of them deeply repent of their treachery.²⁹

- 2 Restabat ut in urbe Lugduno libros nostros et mendose excuderent et sub meo nomine publicarent in quibus nec artificis nomen nec locum ubinam impressi fuerint esse voluerunt quo incautos emptores fallerent ut, et characterum similitudine et enchiridii forma decepti, nostra cura Venetiis excusos putarent. Quamobrem, ne ea res studiosis damno, mihi vero et damno et dedecori foret, volui hac mea epistola omnes ne decipiantur admonere, infrascriptis videlicet signis.
- 3 Sunt iam impressi Lugduni (quod scierim) characteribus similibus nostris, Vergilius, Horatius, Iuvenalis cum Persio, Martialis, Lucanus, Catullus cum Tibullo et Propertio, Terentius. In quibus omnibus nec est impressoris nomen nec locus in quo impressi nec tempus quo absoluti fuerint. In nostris vero omnibus sic est: 'Venetiis in aedibus Aldi Romani illo vel illo tempore.' Item nulla in illis visuntur insignia; in nostris est delphinus anchorae involutus, ut infra licet videre. Praeterea deterior in illis charta et nescio quid grave olens; characteres vero diligentius intuenti sapiunt, ut sic dixerim, gallicitatem quandam; grandiusculae item sunt perquam deformes. Adde quod vocalibus consonantes non connectuntur, sed separatae sunt; in nostris plerasque omnes invicem connexas manumque mentientes operae pretium est videre.
- 4 Ad haec hisce quae inibi visuntur incorrectionibus non esse meos facile est cognoscere. Nam in Vergilio Lugduni impresso in fine epistolii nostri ante *Bucolicorum* Tityrum perperam impressum est 'optimos quousque autores' pro 'optimos quosque'; et in fine librorum Aeneidos, in prima epistolae nostrae semipagina ad studiosos, extremo versu male impressum est 'maria omnie cirtum'

Another problem remained. Our books were being printed— 2
faultily—in the city of Lyons and were being published under my name, since those responsible for them did not wish to display the name of the artisan who produced these books or the name of the place where they had been printed. Their aim was to trick unwary purchasers. Deceived by the similarity of the font and the pocket-book format, they would think that the books had been printed by us in Venice. So that scholars may not incur financial loss because of this, and so that I do not lose my high reputation as well as money, I wish to use this letter to warn everyone against this deceit, by indicating below the characteristics of these books.

To my knowledge the following have been printed in Lyons in a 3
font very similar to ours: Vergil, Horace, Juvenal with Persius, Martial, Lucan, Catullus with Tibullus and Propertius, Terence.³⁰ None of these has the name of the printer, the place where they were printed or the date of completion, while all of our publications read as follows: "Venice, in the printing house of Aldus of Rome, at such and such a date." Neither are there any emblems to be seen in them; our editions display a dolphin entwined around an anchor, as can be seen below.³¹ Moreover, the paper in their books is of an inferior quality and is somewhat malodorous, while the font, if one looks carefully at it, smacks of a certain "Frenchness," so to speak, and the capitals are quite ugly. An additional point is that the consonants are not connected to vowels but are separate from each other; in our books almost all the letters are connected and simulate handwriting, a worthwhile sight to behold.

Besides all this, one can easily recognize that these editions are 4
not by me from the errors that can be seen there. For in the Vergil printed in Lyons, at the end of our short letter that appears before the "Tityrus" of the *Eclogues*, *optimos quousque autores* has been mistakenly printed instead of *optimos quosque*; at the end of the *Aeneid*, on the first page of our letter to students,³² *maria omnie cirtum* in

pro 'maria omnia circum'; ubi etiam nulli accentus observantur, cum ego eam epistolam propterea composuerim ut ostenderem quonam modo apud nostros utendum est accentuunculis.

- 5 In Horatio, in mea epistola, secundo versu sic est excusum 'imprissis Vergilianis operibus' pro 'impressis' et tertio sic: 'Flaccum aggrssi' pro 'aggressi.' Grandiusculae praeterea literae ante primam oden primo et secundo versu sunt impressorio atramento supra et infra quasi linea conclusae perturpiter.
- 6 In Iuvenale, in mea epistola, tertio versu est 'pubilcamus' pro 'publicamus'; et decimo versu 'Ungues quae suos' pro 'unguesque suos.' Item in prima semipagina: 'Semper et assiduo ruptae rectore' pro 'lectore.' In eadem 'si vacat et placidi rationem admittitis, eadem' pro 'edam.' Et paulo post 'Cum tenet uxorem' pro 'tener.' Item inibi 'Eigat aprum' pro 'figat.'
- 7 In Martiale, statim in principio primae semipaginae est impressum literis grandiusculis sic: 'AMPHITEATRUM' pro 'AMPHITHEATRUM.' Et in eadem: 'Quae tam se posita' pro 'seposita.' Item in libro secundo ad Severum deest Graecum ἔσχατοκωλικόν; et in Candidum ubique deest Graecum, id est κοινὰ φίλων πάντα, et in fine κοινὰ φίλων.
- 8 In Lucano nulla est epistola in principio; at in meo maxime. In fine Catulli eam quae in meo est epistolam praetermiserunt. Quae etiam possunt esse signa Lugdunine an Venetiis mea cura impressi fuerint.
- 9 Terentium etsi ego nondum curavi imprimendum, tamen Lugduni una cum caeteris sine cuiusquam nomine impressus est. Quod ideo factum est ut emptores, meum esse et libri parvitate et characterum similitudine existimantes, deciperentur. Sciunt enim

the last line is a printing error for *maria omnia circum*. They also do not indicate any accents, even though I wrote that letter with the purpose of showing how accents should be used in our books.

In the Horace, in the second line of my letter, *imprissis Vergilianibus operibus* is printed instead of *impressis*, and, in the third line, *Flaccum aggrssi* instead of *aggressi*. Moreover, the capital letters in the first and second lines that stand at the head of the first ode are framed at their top and bottom by lines of printer's ink in a most unsightly way.

In the Juvenal, in the third line of my letter, we read *pubilcamus* instead of *publicamus*, and, in the tenth, *ungues quae suos* for *unguesque suos*. Also, on the first page we read *Semper et assiduo ruptae rectore* instead of *lectore*,³³ and in the same place *si vacat et placidi rationem admittitis, eadem* instead of *edam*. And a little after this we read *Cum tenet uxorem* instead of *tener*. We also find there *Eigat aprum* for *figat*.

In the Martial, at the very beginning of the first page there is printed in capital letters *AMPHITEATRUM* instead of *AMPHITHEATRUM*. And in the same place *Quae tam se posita* instead of *seposita*.³⁴ Also in the second book, in the poem to Severus the Greek ἔσχατοκωλικόν is missing,³⁵ and in the poem to Candidus the Greek is missing everywhere: *κοινὰ φίλων πάντα* and, at the end, *κοινὰ φίλων*.³⁶

In the Lucan there is no letter at the beginning, although there is certainly one in my edition.³⁷ The letter that stood at the end of my Catullus has been overlooked.³⁸ These too can be indications as to whether these editions have been printed in Lyons or in Venice under my supervision.

I have not yet undertaken to publish Terence,³⁹ yet a Terence has been printed at Lyons along with all the others without giving the name of any printer. The purpose of this was to deceive buyers into thinking that the book was produced by me because of its small size and the similarity of the font. For these printers know

quem nos in pristinam correctionem, servatis etiam metris, restituendum curamus in summa esse expectatione; et propterea suum edere accelerarunt, sperantes ante eum venundatum iri quam emittatur meus.

- 10 Sed quam ille emendatus exierit vel hinc cognosci potest quod statim in principio sic est impressum: 'EPITAPHIUM TERENTII' pro 'TERENTII'; item 'Bellica praedia fui' pro 'praeda'; et 'Haec quunq̄ue leget' pro 'quicunq̄ue.' Praeterea in principio secundae chartae: 'Acta ludis Megalensibus M. Fulvio aedilibus et M. Glabrione Q. Minutio Valerio curulibus' pro 'M. Glabrione Qu. Minutio Valerio aedilibus curulibus.' Quod etiam putantes esse argumentum impresserunt 'ARGUMENTUM ANDRIAE.' Ante etiam 'Sororem falso' est 'TERENTII ARGUMENTUM,' cum argumenta omnia comoediarum Terentii non Terentius sed Sulpitius Apollinaris composuerit; sic enim in vetustissimis habetur codicibus: 'C. Sulpitii Apollinaris periocha.'

- 11 Metra etiam confusa sunt omnia. Versus enim primae scenae, quae tota trimetris constat, sic (tamquam chaos in elementa) separati ab invicem in suum locum sunt restituendi:

SI. Vos istaec intro auferte; abite. Sosia,
ades dum, paucis te volo. SO. Dictum puta.
Nempe, ut curentur recte haec. SI. Immo aliud. SO. quid est
quod tibi mea ars efficere hoc possit amplius? . . .

- 12 Item secunda scena, cuius tres primi versus sunt trimetri, quartus tetrameter, quintus dimeter et caeteri omnes quadrati, sic esse debet:

that an author on whom we are working to restore to his original correct form, with the meters also preserved, is most eagerly awaited by all. That is why they have speeded up the publication of their own edition, hoping that this would be on sale before mine was released.

But you can easily see in what state of correctness it has been published from the following errors, printed right at the beginning: *EPITAPHIUM TERENTII* for *TERENTII*; *Bellica praedia fui* for *praeda*; *Haec quunq̄ue leget* for *quicunq̄ue*. In addition, at the beginning of the second page we read: *Acta ludis Megalensibus M. Fulvio aedilibus et M. Glabrione Q. Minutio Valerio curulibus* for *M. Glabrione Qu. Minutio Valerio aedilibus curulibus*.⁴⁰ Thinking this was a plot summary, they printed *ARGUMENTUM ANDRIAE*. There is a heading *TERENTII ARGUMENTUM* [Plot summary of Terence] standing before the line beginning *Sororem falso*, although all the summaries of the comedies of Terence were composed by Sulpicius Apollinaris, not Terence. For this is what we find in the oldest manuscripts: *C. Sulpitii Apollinaris periocha* [Summary of Gaius Sulpicius Apollinaris].

The meters are also completely confused.⁴¹ The verses of the first scene, which consists wholly of trimeters, have to be disentangled from each other and restored to their proper position, like the elements that have to be extracted from chaos:

SI. Vos istaec intro auferte; abite. Sosia,
ades dum, paucis te volo. SO. Dictum puta.
Nempe, ut curentur recte haec. SI. Immo aliud. SO. quid est
quod tibi mea ars efficere hoc possit amplius? . . .

In a similar fashion, in the second scene the first three verses are trimeters, the fourth a tetrameter, the fifth a dimeter⁴² and all the rest quadrati,⁴³ and the lines ought to be printed as follows:⁴⁴

SI. Non dubium est quin uxorem nolit filius.

Ita Davum modo timere sensi, ubi nuptias
futuras esse audivit; sed ipse exit foras.

DA. Mirabar hoc si sic abiret et heri semper lenitas
verebar quorsum evaderet.

Qui postquam audivit non datum iri filio uxorem suo,
nunquam cuiquam nostrum verbum fecit neque id aegre tulit.

SI. At nunc faciet neque, ut opinor, sine tuo magno malo.

DA. Id voluit, nos sic opinantes duci falso gaudio,
sperantes iam amoto metu, interea oscitantes obprimi,
ne esset spatium cogitandi ad disturbandas nuptias.

Astute. SI. Carnifex quae loquitur? DA. Herus est, neque
provideram . . .

13 Qua in re quantus sit mihi labor cogitent qui intellegunt. Certe
plurimum die noctuque elaboramus.

Haec publicanda iussimus ut qui libellos enchiridii forma excu-
sos empturus est ne decipiatur. Facile enim cognoscet Venetiisne
in aedibus nostris fuerint an Lugduni. Vale.

Venetiis XVI Martii M.D. III.

: V :

*Ioannes Iucundus Veronensis Iuliano Medici
s. p. d.*

1 Si diligentius quis consideret, Iuliane illustrissime, quot is qui cor-
rupta antiquorum scripta ut emendata in manus hominum exeant

SI. Non dubium est quin uxorem nolit filius.

Ita Davum modo timere sensi, ubi nuptias
futuras esse audivit; sed ipse exit foras.

DA. Mirabar hoc si sic abiret et heri semper lenitas
verebar quorsum evaderet.

Qui postquam audivit non datum iri filio uxorem suo,
nunquam cuiquam nostrum verbum fecit neque id aegre tulit.

SI. At nunc faciet neque, ut opinor, sine tuo magno malo.

DA. Id voluit, nos sic opinantes duci falso gaudio,
sperantes iam amoto metu, interea oscitantes obprimi,
ne esset spatium cogitandi ad disturbandas nuptias.

Astute. SI. Carnifex quae loquitur? DA. Herus est, neque provideram
. . .

Let those who understand these things consider how much la- 13
bor is involved for me in this business of ours. To be sure, we toil
extremely hard, day and night.

We ordered this to be published so that anyone intending to
buy books printed in pocket-book format will not be deceived.
Such a person will easily recognize whether books have been
printed in Venice in our publishing house or in Lyons. Farewell.

Venice, March 16, 1503.

: V :

*Giovanni Giocondo, Letter to Giuliano de' Medici
(April 1513)*

*Giovanni Giocondo of Verona⁴⁵ to Giuliano de' Medici,⁴⁶
warmest greetings.*

Most illustrious Giuliano, if anyone were to consider carefully how 1
many labors have to be endured by those whose concern it is that

rity evokes the recovered purity of the text of Lucretius. The phrase *meis auspiciis* reinforces the reference to ritual. In Greek myth, Asclepius (see n. 9, above) is also credited with resurrecting Hippolytus.

15. Vincenzo Querini (1478/79–1514), a member of a rich and powerful Venetian family, studied philosophy at Padua, after which he presented, as did Superchio, his doctoral dissertation in Rome in the summer of 1501. He was a close friend of Pietro Bembo at this time, who thought highly of his scholarly abilities, but they later became estranged. Querini served as Venice's ambassador to Philip, duke of Burgundy, in 1504 and then, soon afterward, to Emperor Maximilian I. Always attracted to the contemplative life and to monasticism, he entered a Camaldese hermitage in 1511. Avanzi dedicated one of his poetic works to him in 1502. See Stephen D. Bowd, *Reform Before the Reformation. Vincenzo Querini and the Religious Renaissance in Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

16. The university of Padua is meant.

17. The rest of the sentence suggests that by "mathematics" Avanzi included astronomy (which in turn included astrology).

18. Domenico Grimani (1461–1523), born into a prominent Venetian family, was appointed cardinal deacon in 1493, having served as apostolic secretary to Innocent VIII. He studied classical literature, philosophy, theology, and canon law in different centers, including Padua, where he earned a doctorate in 1487. He continued to enjoy a high reputation for his proficiency in these areas, despite his involvement in affairs of the church. He amassed a huge personal library, reputed to contain some fifteen thousand volumes. See M. J. C. Lowry, "Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 42 (1975–76): 128–66; also *CEBR* 2:132–34.

19. Rather awkwardly, no subject of the verb (*cognoscant*) is expressed.

20. The phrase "so to speak" refers to the use of the word *emaculationes*, which may be a coinage, based on the verb *emaculo*.

21. An exaggeration on Avanzi's part as far as Hebrew is concerned, though Aldus contemplated a trilingual polyglot Bible, mentioned in William Grocyn's letter of August 27, 1499 to him (see *Greek Classics*, Appendix IV). It never came to fruition, although a pair of proof sheets of

the Bible survive. See Davies, *Aldus Manutius. Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice*, 57 (Fig. 28). Davies dates the sheets to 1501.

22. On Alberto Pio, see the preface to Lucretius (ANT 2, n. 6).

23. If the date given here is correct, the edition of Lucretius did not appear until almost two years after this letter was written, in December 1500. Avanzi's words suggest that Aldus was in no hurry to publish the volume, but the date may be given in the Venetian style, and the year may have been actually 1500.

24. The text of the letter is taken from de Nolhac, no. 23. It is a little surprising that Aldus did not print it in the edition of Cicero's *Letters to Friends*, since it is an excellent endorsement of the Aldine Press and of the convenience of the pocket-size format.

25. For Thurzó, see the preface to Cicero, *Letters to Friends* (ANT 8, n. 49).

26. He seems to be referring to other classical authors rather than other editions of Vergil and Horace.

27. An obvious exaggeration.

28. An adaptation of Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.33, with *linguam* (language) replacing *gentem* (race).

29. Aldus refers to friction between his workers and him in the prefatory letter to the first volume of the Christian poets of January 1501 (ANT 3).

30. The edition of Vergil was the first in the pocket-book format with the italic font, appearing in March 1501, almost exactly two years before this pamphlet. The most recent edition of those mentioned was the Lucan of April 1502. On Terence, see nn. 39–41, below.

31. This famous symbol of the Aldine Press first appeared in the second volume of *Poetae Christiani veteres* (see ANT 10).

32. See Preface C of the 1501 edition of Vergil (ANT 4).

33. Juvenal 1.13. The three following examples refer to Juvenal 1.21, 1.22, 1.23.

34. Martial *Spectacula* 3.1.

35. Martial 2.6.3. The correct reading is actually *ἑσχατοκόλλιον*, meaning the end of a papyrus roll.
36. Martial 2.43.1 and 2.43.16.
37. Aldus addresses a prefatory letter to Marcantonio Morosini in his edition of Lucan (ANT 9).
38. Since this letter deals primarily with errors in the Aldine edition of Lucretius of 1500, it is not surprising that the pressmen of Lyons omitted it from their pirated edition of Catullus.
39. Aldus did not live to publish an edition of Terence. However, the Aldine Press produced an edition in 1517.
40. This last point concerns the production details relating to Terence's *Woman of Andros*: "Put on at the Ludi Megalenses when M. Fulvius, Marcus Glabrio and Quintus Minutius Valerius were curule aediles." The appropriate heading would be DIDASCALIA [production notes], not ARGUMENTUM.
41. In many of the early editions of Terence, the plays were printed as prose. This reflects the practice in a large number of late manuscripts. Even in manuscripts where the plays were written as verse, the line breaks were often wrong, corrupting the meters. So too the versification in the better printed editions was in places defective.
42. Iambic meters are meant, and Aldus is correct in his analysis of these five lines (Terence, *Andria* 172–76).
43. *Quadrati* is another term for trochaic septenarii, but what Aldus says holds good only for the sixth and seven lines of the passage quoted. The remainder are iambic octonarii.
44. The verse breaks in these lines (Terence, *Andria* 172–83) are correct.
45. On Giovanni Giocondo, see the dedicatory letter to the 1508 edition of Pliny's *Letters* (ANT 18, n. 172).
46. Giuliano de' Medici (1479–1516) was the third son of Lorenzo de' Medici (il Magnifico) and the younger brother of Giovanni (see n. 48).

47. Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449–92) was renowned for his patronage of scholars and artists, including Poliziano, Botticelli, and Leonardo da Vinci.
48. Giovanni de' Medici (1475–1521) became Pope Leo X on March 11, 1513, just a month before this edition of Caesar's *Commentaria* appeared. His immediate appointment to the apostolic secretariat of Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sadoletto was an indication of his support of humanistic learning. A letter of Giovanni Giocondo to Pope Leo X was included in the 1514 edition of the *Scriptores rei rusticae* (see Appendix VI).
49. The phrase comes from Pliny, *Letters* 1.8.1, and became proverbial. See Erasmus, *Adagia* 1.2.47 (CWE 31:189–90).
50. This letter appears after the two prefaces of Aldus in his *Scriptores rei rusticae*, published in May 1514 (ANT 25).
51. On Giocondo, see the prefatory letter to Pliny's *Letters* (ANT 18, n. 172).
52. On Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici), see n. 48, above.
53. Manius (not Marcus) Curius Dentatus (d. 270 BCE) held the consulship on three occasions, in the first of which (in 290) he defeated the Sabines and Samnites. In 275 (again as consul) he repelled Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. He served as an example of Roman incorruptibility, since he refused the bribes offered him by the Samnites, preferring turnips to wealth. For his response to the Samnites reported here, Giocondo draws on Valerius Maximus 4.3.5, though the story is told elsewhere. See Erasmus, *Apophthegmata* 5.264 (CWE 38:534).
54. Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus is another hero of the early Roman Republic, renowned for preferring a simple life as a farmer to political power. After obeying the call to confront the Aequi, he retired to his farm after defeating them, having held the office of dictator for a mere fifteen days. See Livy, 3.29.
55. Cicero, *De senectute* 16.55; Plutarch, *Vita Catonis maioris* 9.
56. John 15:5.
57. Compare John 15:14.