

ALDUS'S GREEK
COLLABORATORS



Aldus Manutius's personality, his contribution to learning and the propagation of Greek and Roman Letters, and humanist literature beyond the confines of Italy, as well as his constant pursuit of perfection in his editorial projects, are subjects which have been dealt with several times. The world of intellectuals and nobles who aided Aldus in his editorial enterprise, and financed the publication of important works of ancient Greek literature, such as the prince of Carpi, Alberto Pio, for the *Complete works* of Aristotle, have been equally well explored. Here, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out Aldus's position on the dissemination of ancient Greek Letters, as exposted by him in his *Musarum panegyris*, a text also known as *Epistola ad Catherinam Piam*: "How could a person who does not know Greek imitate the Greek authors who by everybody's account are the most versed in all the sciences and nothing comparable to their works has come out of the Latin language?"

OAME, I, 160-161

12. *Aldus Manutius, engraving from Orazio Pagani, Dell'acque di Recoaro, Vicenza, apresso Antonio Veronese, c. 1761.*



13. Aldus Manutius, late 15th-early 16th century engraving.

The life of Aldus

Aldus Manutius was born at Bassiano near Rome one year before or after 1450.¹ He received his early education in Rome, at a time when the splendour of the Greek and Italian thinkers of the Curia of Pope Nicolas V (d. 1455) was but a memory. Aldus records the names of his first Latin teachers, Gaspare da Verona and Domizio Calderini, in his preface to the *Idylls* of Theocritus (1495-96) and to the *Silvae* of Statius (1502), respectively. He studied Greek in Ferrara, under Battista Guarino, in the late 1470s, but was initiated into the subtleties of the language and especially the Attic dialect by Emmanuel Adramyttenos.² Ferrara had a long-standing tradition of Greek letters, as Guarino Veronese and Theodoros Gaza taught in that city with great success. There, Aldus got to know two prominent exponents of the humanist ideals: Niccolò Leonicensio, who was to become an active collaborator of his and a contributor to his editorial project, and the demonic Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Indeed, it is possible that Pico della Mirandola, who was a relative of the Carpi rulers, recommended him for the position of tutor to princes Alberto and Lionello Pio. Aldus was later named a citizen of Carpi, while the rulers of that small state became the most fervent supporters and endorsers of his plans. He did not live in Carpi permanently, but often travelled to nearby cities, depending on the political circumstances in the region.



14. Emblem of the Manutius family, which embellished Aldus's publishing house.

Bartelucci,
Genealogia

When the Venetians attacked Ferrara in 1482, he was forced to seek refuge in Mirandola, together with Pico and Adramytenos.

Aldus was a fervent admirer of Angelo Poliziano (Politian), the most insightful Hellenist in Italy and a distinguished



15. Venice, wood engraving from J. Ph. Foresti, da Bergamo, *Supplementum Chronicarum*, 1490.

Maier,
Politian

teacher of Greek literature in Florence. Poliziano was a role model for Aldus, who was greatly impressed by his tireless quest for the philological “truth” and the acute critical faculties evident from his writings. Even though he was one of the leading intellectuals of his time, Poliziano never claimed to be a Platonist or even a true philosopher: he was devoted to the voca-

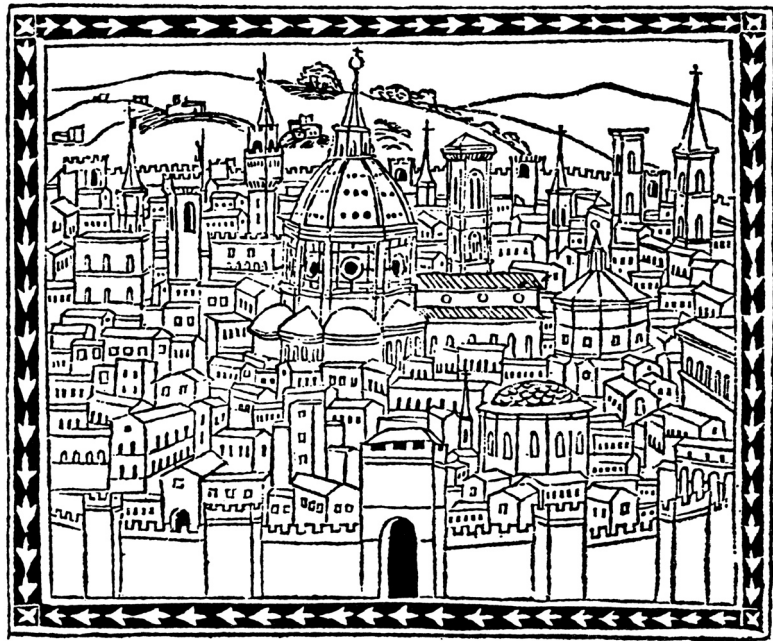
tion of grammarian (*grammaticus*), which Aldus also sought to become.³ When Pico della Mirandola showed him a copy of the *Silvae*, Aldus, full of enthusiasm, wrote to Poliziano and asked to be included in his close circle, even among his *familiars*. Also, Aldus expressed his boundless gratitude to this “grammarian” by publishing his complete works: *Opera*, 1498.

By the age of forty, around 1490, Aldus had made a career as a tutor and teacher, and enjoyed the esteem of his circle of friends. However, he was not particularly renowned in the world of Letters and was in constant search of his identity. No major event took place which could adequately explain why Aldus abandoned teaching and turned to printing. This career change could perhaps be traced to two interconnected factors; he was highly sensitive to grammatical niceties and the correct pronunciation of Greek and Latin, and he attached great importance to education, and consequently to the quality of teaching aids and manuals which should be available to tutors. Aldus believed – and this is one of the clearest expressions of the humanist ideal – that with the appropriate tools teachers could mould their students into righteous men and utilize to advantage human virtues and values, thus shaping personalities able to contribute to society according to their potential. Printing, thanks to its amazing achievements, was the most dynamic and effective means of spreading Aldus’s humanist ideals. Indeed, comparison of his Greek with his Latin *editiones principes* reveals that from the outset he gave priority to the publication of the monuments of ancient Greek literature.

Aldus's considerations regarding the establishment of his press

Aldus's decision to set up his printing shop in Venice, rather than in some other publishing centre of Italy, with a longer tradition in the cultivation of Greek Letters, such as Florence, Rome or Milan, was probably due to commercial considerations.

Venice was the main and most populous centre of the Greek diaspora, as well as the major nexus of communication with Greek territories. In addition, the fact that the Serene Republic



16. *View of Florence*, wood engraving from Bernardino da Firenze, *Le bellezze di Firenze*, Florence, L. Morgiani and Giovanni di Pietro, c. 1495.

ruled over several regions in Greece offered the possibility for regular commercial exchanges with the Greeks, whom Aldus hoped to attract as customers. The close contact he maintained with the Cretan scholars and their copying workshops served the same goal, that of the best possible organization of his printing press and distribution of its products. The Venetians had established the most important printing tradition in the West and thanks to their mercantile prowess had broadened their market beyond Italy. Furthermore, the possibility that Bessarion's last will and testament would be executed, and his collection would become essentially a public library, obviously served Aldus's editorial projects. We should not forget that, as we shall see later, Bessarion had possessed the most important private collection of codices in the West.

Scholderer,
Printers

From early in 1490, everything showed that the position of Florence as the major centre of Humanism and the dissemination of Greek Letters in the West would gradually be taken over by Venice. The strong presence of Greeks in Florence was largely due to the allure of a limited number of personalities, such as Manuel Chrysoloras, Ioannis Argyropoulos and Janus Lascaris, whose work was decisive for the systematic cultivation of the Greek language in Italy. However, no Greek community, not even a small one, was ever established in Florence, and although the systematic teaching of Greek became widespread thanks to the circles of scholars and the Medici court, there was never a question of Greek becoming the second national language. Thus, without the support of a dynamic Greek element, any organized movement to disseminate Greek books was doomed to fail.

Florence undoubtedly remained the hub of Humanism until 1495, when it was captured by the French, but the idiosyncratic character of Florentine humanists demanded the publication of Greek and Latin books for the city's university community, rather than for Hellenism everywhere. In Venice, as early as 1486, two Cretans, Laonicus and Alexander, published the *Psalter* and *Batrachomyomachia*, books intended



17. Sabellico, wood engraving from *N. Reusner, Icones sive Imagines vivae...*

exclusively for the Greek public, very possibly that of Crete. In addition, some of the most distinguished Byzantine scholars began to realize that the Greeks had to unite by means of their common ideals, customs and traditions, and above all to preserve and cultivate the Greek language. Printing was indisputably the ideal means to ensure systematic communication between Greeks everywhere, and Greek men

of letters, having made a decisive contribution to the Italian centres in which Greek books were published, felt obliged to establish and organize a permanent hearth for their reproduction.

Sabellico's role in Aldus's project

The years between 1490 and late 1493, when Aldus's printing press probably began to operate, albeit experimentally, are marked by his intensive effort to forge his way and to find the people he could work with. One person who may have contributed decisively to the realization of Aldus's plan was Marco Antonio Sabellico. There are no clear testimonies as to the relationship between the two, but the fact that Sabellico came



18. *Entrance to the Marcian Library, Venice.*

from Rome and was a pupil of Gaspare da Verona and of Calderini, who were teachers of Aldus as well, might have brought about their first encounter. Sabellico was already experienced in publications but Aldus was probably more inter-

ested in his relations with the Venetian authorities, as well as the fact that, around 1501, Sabelico was appointed librarian of the Libreria Nicena (later Marcian Library), where Bessarion's then unrivalled collection of manuscripts was kept unused. Among Aldus's first collaborators was Arsenios Apostolis, editor of the *Galeomyomachia*, probably the first typographical proof to emerge from Aldus's printing press, even if the circumstances in which this was undertaken remain unknown.

The Library of Bessarion

Zorzi,
Libreria

In contrast to what Cardinal Bessarion had envisioned when he offered his collection of 752 codices and incunabula to the Senate of Venice, his collection remained inaccessible for decades. Thus, in spite of his explicit wish, his donation did not contribute to the dissemination of Greek Letters, except in rare cases.⁴ The authorities of Venice opted instead to bury his books and showed infuriating indifference towards this treasure. The Greek cardinal had provided the opportunity for anyone and everyone not only to consult the manuscripts but also to borrow them, by depositing the double of their value as pledge. In 1473, a year after Bessarion's death and approximately five years since he had made the donation, the manuscripts remained locked away in chests in the Sala di Scrutinio. Ten years later, they were still in the same place. In 1485, it was judged that they took up precious space and thus they were stacked on top of one another and stored in a corner of the room. This, in spite of the fact that the person responsible for



19. Cardinal Bessarion, wood engraving from the edition: J.B. Schioppalalba, In Perantiquam Sacram Tabulam Graecam Insigni Sodalitio Sanctae Mariae Caritatis Venetiarum ab amplissimo Cardinali Bessarione dono datam dissertatio, Venice, Typis Modesti Fentii, 1768.

the collection, Marco Barbarigo, brother of the Doge Agostino Barbarigo (1486-1501), was not short of political connections. These conditions clearly did not permit any serious study of the manuscripts; at best, what could be done was a limited collation of the texts. In 1506, after the death of Sabellico, who had been the first official librarian, several thefts of manuscripts upset the Venetian Senate to the extent that even visits to the library became nearly impossible. The borrowing of books was not allowed and a special permit was needed to study the manuscripts. The archives show that, contrary to Bessarion's explicit request, the books were not kept in Venice and those who borrowed them seldom deposited the required sum.

The Library of Musurus

If we review the editions by Aldus and take into account the information on the owners of the manuscripts on which the editions were based, we may safely conclude that the library of Marcus Musurus perhaps played the main part in Aldus's publishing activity, at least as far as Greek books were concerned.⁵ It is of course impossible to have a complete picture, as Musurus's library has not been preserved in its entirety; nevertheless scattered information and indications lead to the conclusion that he had assembled an impressive corpus of manuscripts.

Aldus's vision, articulated with his prestige as a competent philologist and the aid of Marcus Musurus and Janus Lascaris, who knew better than anyone else the total of extant codices of

ancient Greek and Byzantine literature, in West and East, led others to play a part in his publishing venture, thus shaking off misconceptions surrounding the uniqueness of manuscripts.

Thomas Linacre worked on the completion of the Aristotle edition (1495-1498) and contributed a rare manuscript by Prudentius, in his possession, which was used in the first volume of the edition of *Poetae Christiani*. G. Bardellone, owner of the only surviving manuscript of Hesychius' *Lexicon*, although

Lowry,
Aldus, 259 ff.



20. Marcus Musurus, engraving by Tobias Simmer.



21. Erasmus, sixteenth-century engraving (1524).

well aware of its rarity, entrusted it to Aldus, to serve as the basis for his edition. Equally, Leonicensino never refused Aldus any of his precious and reliable codices, mostly of medical texts, which would make the latter's editions more complete. Concurrently, he was publishing his own opuscula at Terme. And, as Aldus was waiting for rare codices from the North, which Conrad Celtis had promised him, Erasmus told of Poles and Hungarians who approached him and offered him manu-

scripts. Enthralled by the relentless and sometimes adventurous search for Greek codices, Aldus never considered Janus Pannonius's tale of a tower full of books, somewhere in Dacia, to be a fantasy. Several notable collections of Greek books had been established in Venice itself, such as the library of Giorgio Valla, which included important Greek codices. After it came into the hands of Alberto Pio, it was classified by Musurus, who also took the necessary notes on Aldus's behalf. Another rich library was that of Cardinal Domenico Grimani, which from 1498 onward housed the 1,190 codices that had belonged to Pico della Mirandola; several of these were in Greek and included works by Aristotle's commentators. In 1523, the year of Grimani's death, the collection numbered 15,000 volumes!

The beginnings of Aldine typography

When Aldus decided to bring to fruition his vision of propagating Greek thought by means of typography and by setting up his own printing press, he had to face three main issues; securing the necessary funds, choosing the right collaborators and, above all, resolving the technical problems in order to cut an original Greek typeface. In his Preface to his edition of Musaeus, which is addressed to Musurus, Aldus exhorts his readers to assist him in his editorial endeavour: *καὶ ὄντως, εἰ δώσετε, δώσω ὅτι οὐκ ἔχω ἐντυποῦν ἄνευ χρημάτων πολλῶν* (“I shall give something if you do, as I cannot print without a lot of money”), and it is obvious that he has started off with limited financial means. However, Pierfrancesco Barbarigo,

OAME, I, 5

Marco's son, and Andrea Torresani were his inconspicuous helpers, while he received a significant financial contribution from Alberto Pio for his edition of Aristotle, and not only that.

Two people seem to have responded right away to Aldus's appeal for help in promoting printed Greek books: Arsenios Apostolis and Marcus Musurus. Apostolis in fact had hopes of undertaking an editorial project of his own. It is possible that his eventual breach with Aldus, for reasons unknown, is related to his competitive stance. In contrast, there can be no doubt that Musurus shared Aldus's vision and that he dedicated himself to finding and collating the best codices for each edition, meticulously editing the Greek texts. At times, he tried to adapt to Aldus's unrealistic projects, such as that of publishing Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*, as we shall see later.

Charta, I,
311-312

As regards the much-discussed typeface chosen by Aldus, recent investigation by N. Barker supports the view that at least the first font family (Musaeus, c. 1494) was modelled on the handwriting of Immanuel Roussotas. There can be no doubt as to the identity of the artisan who cast the type; Francesco Griffo da Bologna was well-known to everyone in his time, even though today we have little information on his life and work.

Aldus shares with his readers what his editorial endeavour meant to him, in the Preface to his first dated book (C. Lascaris, *Epitome of the Eight Parts of Speech*, 1495):

“I decided to devote my whole life to serving my fellow men. As God is my witness, I wish for nothing more than to do something for them, as all my life hitherto shows, in all my undertakings – and I hope to give more in the future”.

OAME, I, 4

Bartelluci,
Genealogia
OAME, I, 120

In his prefaces, Aldus refers repeatedly to Musurus's contribution to his publishing enterprise. In the Preface to *Greek Orators* (1509) we read: "If there is someone worthy of being addressed in the Greek books we edit and publish, it is you, wisest Musurus. And not only because you have always been ready to help us and continue to aid us in our labour [...]". In the corresponding Preface to Cicero's *Epistles to Atticus*



22. *The printing house of Aldus at Venice (Angolo degli Onori-Manuzi), Via Ospedale di Staffolo, Venice.*

(1513), he notes with enthusiasm: "[...] the help of the erudite Marcus Musurus, my excellent collaborator, whose contribution to editing and restituting the texts is so precious that, had Greece begotten two more men of his value, I would not lose my hope of soon providing the cultivated public with authoritative editions of the masterpieces of Greek and Latin literature".

Aldus's Greek typeface

The design of the typeface in which Aldus printed his Greek texts has been studied extensively since the late nineteenth century. In his fundamental work *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* (93-106), Robert Proctor relies on the words of Ioustinos Dekadyos:

“Aldus, surnamed Manutius...through his pursuit of virtue and thanks to his love and care for our matters [Greek Letters] invented, by the acuity of his own mind, these befitting letters; not even the most accomplished calligraphers have engraved more beautiful ones”.

Dekadyos’s opinion can be interpreted in several ways, as it is not clear whether he means the Greek characters used before Aldus or the script of the calligraphers of his era. So, what did actually happen?⁶ Following the steps of Proctor and other scholars of Aldine typography, such as V. Schoelderer, G. Mardersteig (*Caratteri*) investigated the different fonts used by Aldus in his editions and revealed the protagonists in their design and cutting.

Barker,
Script,
434 ff.

In order to print his Greek books, Aldus had to make two major decisions for his typeface and the person who would cut and cast the punches. The person entrusted with providing Aldus’s house with the necessary Greek fonts was Francesco Griffo, as noted above. Proctor had identified four main families of Greek fonts, of different size but identical style.

As mentioned already, Aldus chose a simplified form of Immanuel Roussotas’s handwriting as the model for his type. Roussotas had been working in Venice at least since February 1465 and it is possible that one of the Grigoropoulos brothers, Ioannis or Manuel, brought him into contact with Aldus. Whatever the case, it is certain that Lascaris’s *Epitome* was printed with this first family of fonts, on 25 February 1495, and that for the same typeface, these “*lettere greche in summa bellezza de ogni sorte in questa terra*”, the *Signoria* granted Aldus exclusive rights for twenty years. A question which remains open is whether the un-

Proctor,
Greek,
99

Ἄλλος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος τοῖς ἀποιδυαίοις
 ὠπράτην
 ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΝ γόν παλαιότατον γρητιῶ ἠθέλησαι
 προοιμιάζειν τῷ τὲ Ἀεῖσοτέλει, ἔτ' σοφῶν τοῖς
 ἑτέροις αὐτίκα διέμεινον ἔνυπνοσμένῳ τῷ τὲ εἰς αὐ-
 τὸν ἠδὲσον ἀμακὴ λογιώτατῆ καλίστα αἰσθῆ
 τετὰ πρὸ ἀρόντα τῷ Οὐιδίω. δανειθέντα δειμονί

ἀβλά, πρὸς πατήε. (Φιλόδημ) δὲ χε μὲν εἰσθῆ εἰς τὸν γὰρ. ὁ
 πρὸ αὐτῆ ἡμετέρας, εἰς ἐκείνον ἤξοντα τὰς παιδὸς χροῖσ. καὶ τῶ
 σῶν ἐκείν) εἶναι, (ἔπρῆσεος, ἔτ' αὐτὰ μὲν ἔσωσι μὲν τῶν, κη-
 δὲν Διῶσων ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλοφροσύνῃ. Νικολάφ.
 εἰ Πιεσίλα μὲν σισχόρω, ὡς ἠξίουσ' περὶ τῶ ἐλεγεία. καὶ τὸν
 ἴσπυ ὑπετέμεθαι ὡς χεῖ γρὰ φθν. ὁ δὲ, ἀσμενος ἡμῖν φιλίαι
 τῶ φύσεωσ ἐπιδώσεν ὑπεχέτω, παραμυθία ἰσῶσ ἡ γρὺ με-
 νοσ' ἐσεδάσσι τῶ πένθους τῶ σοφίαν. ἢ μὲν οὐ συμφορὰ, δὲσ: πῶ
 ρηγῶρητος, (ἔβαρυτέρα, ἢ ὡς τε λόγιοσ' ἐπιλοιο Φιλοπῆναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τ

ΦΟΙΝΙΣΣΑΙ
 Ἐτεοκλέα, κλεινὴν τε Πολυνείκους βίαν.
 κόρας τε διασάς· τὴν μὲν, Ἰσμήνην πατὴρ
 ὠνόμασε· τὴν δὲ πρόσθεν, Ἀντιγόνην ἐγώ-
 μαθῶν δὲ τὰ μὰ λέκτρα μητρῶν γάμων
 ὁ πάντ' ἀνατλάς Οὐιδίπυος παθῆματα,
 εἰς ὅματ' αὐτῶ δεινὸν ἐμβάλλει φόνον,
 χρυσηλάτοις πόρπασιν ἀμάξιασ κόρας·
 ἐπὶ δὲ τέκνων γένυς ἐμῶν σκιάζεται,
 κλέθροισ ἐρυφῶν πατέρ', ἵν' ἀμνήμων τύχη

23. Families of Greek fonts made by Aldus: (a) Musaeus, (b) Nicander, Alexipharmaca and (c) Euripides, Tragedies.

dated edition of Musaeus (*Hero and Leander*) and the *Galeomyomachia*, “published” by Arsenios Apostolis, were printed before, after or at the same time as Lascaris’s *Epitome*.

The second Aldine family of Greek fonts was first used in August 1495. As Proctor observes, it is but a recast of the first family of characters, now with a smaller eye.

Greek,
103-104

The third typeface appeared in July 1499 and was used to print the *Scholia (Commentaries)* of Nicander on the *Alexipharmaca* (included in the edition of Dioscorides’ *Materia Medica*). This time Aldus chose the writing style of Musurus, but possibly incorporated elements of the style of Ioannis Grigoropoulos as well. This third typeface of Aldus was the most successful one and remained in use for a long time, becoming the model for several Greek fonts created in Europe.

Proctor,
Greek,
104-106

The fourth Aldine Greek typeface was first used to print the *editio princeps* of Sophocles’ tragedies in 1502. Emmanuela Quaranta has shown conclusively that the type was modelled after Aldus’s own handwriting, as demonstrated also by his manuscript titled *Grammaticae Istitutiones Graecae*, published posthumously by Musurus in 1516.

Osservazioni

7Roussotas (Rhusotas). The only information available on the copyist who signed his works as “Immanuel Roussotas” comes from the manuscripts he produced and signed. The name Roussotas or Rossotas is found in the Byzantine onomatology from the fourteenth century. In a letter from Isidoros Glavas, Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, to Ioannis Karantinos, the Roussotas are mentioned among the families of that city. In the early fifteenth century, Ioannis Rossotas or Kaloioannis is mentioned among those in the service of Constantine Palaiol-

ogos, while he was Despot of Mystras. It is possible that Immanuel was born in the Peloponnese, as his style of writing is recognizable in many manuscripts penned by calligraphers of that region (codex Par. gr. 2162). At the time when Roussotas was active in the Peloponnese, in the mid-fifteenth century, other renowned calligraphers were also working at Mystras, such as Nicolaos Melanchroinos, who was *vestiaritis* and secretary to the *potes* Moraioi and to Nicolaos Eparchos.

Twenty-one manuscripts by Roussotas's hand have been identified and allow us to trace an itinerary of the cities in which he was active before he settled in Venice (1465). However, no other evidence has shed light on his life. His signing as "Immanuel" rather than the Byzantine "Emmanuel" indicates that he preferred the Italian version of his name. Agamemnon Tselikas, who has studied this calligrapher's life and work in depth, does not exclude the possibility that Roussotas, like Caesar Strategos, might have been part of the team working in the humanist scriptorium of the monastery of Santi Giovanni e Paolo at Venice, under the guidance of Ioakeim Tourianos. (Information drawn from an unpublished study by Agamemnon Tselikas.)

Aldus's Greek collaborators

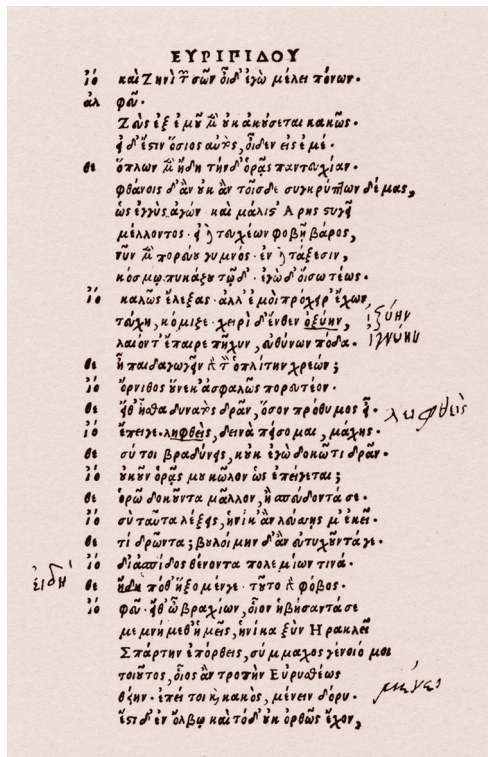
Aldus published a total of seventy-five texts by Classical Greek and Byzantine authors; this number includes grammatical works, *feuilles détachées* and series, as well as Latin translations of Greek works. Most of them were edited by his Greek collaborators, among them M. Musurus, I. Grigoropoulos, D. Doulas, I. Dekadyos, as well as Bolzanio, Leoniceno, Linacre and others, who contributed to the five-volume edition of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*.

Manoussakas,
Umanisti

Marcus Musurus

Marcus Musurus, the most prominent philologist of the Renaissance, renowned teacher at the University of Padua, calligrapher, avid collector of Greek codices and eminent Latin scholar, was the pillar of Aldus's project of Greek publications, and others.⁷

Charta, I,
328-351



24. Hand-written notes attributed to Marcus Musurus, from the Tragedies of Euripides, 1503.

Musurus was born on Crete, possibly at Candia, around 1470. He received his early education on his native isle, where

Geanakoplos,
Greek Scholars,
111-166

Müller,
Lascaris

he was taught Greek and Latin; it is possible that Ioannis Grigoropoulos was his classmate. He first travelled to Italy at a young age, escorted by his father. He settled in Florence in 1492, when Lorenzo the Magnificent was ruler of the city. At the time, the city on the Arno housed a university, the *Studium*, where Manuel Chrysoloras had first taught Greek in 1397. When Musurus came to Florence, Demetrios Chalcocondyles was professor of Greek. The details of Musurus's studies are not well known, but it is presumed that he studied under Janus Lascaris and attended lectures on the great ancient Greek historians, orators and tragic poets, such as Thucydides, Demosthenes and Sophocles. Whatever the case, Musurus's apprenticeship with Lascaris must have lasted until 1490, when the latter travelled to the East (in 1490 or 1491), on a mission on behalf of Lorenzo *il Magnifico*, to find and purchase Greek manuscripts for the Medici library, while his pupil remained in Florence until 1493.

Before settling in Venice and commencing his collaboration with Aldus, Musurus visited his birthplace. From one of his letters to Ioannis Grigoropoulos we know that settling in Venice was related to the goals of enhancing his knowledge of Greek language and literature, and of working for a living.

It is unclear when his collaboration with Aldus started; it is certain that he was already helping him from 1494 and continued to work with him until Aldus's death in 1515.

Giunti, I,
71, 81

In 1515 Musurus started to work with the Florentine printing house of Giunta, which also had a branch in Venice. The fruits of this collaboration were two books edited by Musurus: the *editio princeps* of Oppian's *Halieutica* (1515), and Theocritus' *Bucolics* (1515-16). His partnership with the Florentine press did not last

long and in 1516 Musurus definitively left Venice for Rome. He was received with great honours by Pope Leo X himself, who appointed him Archbishop of the Catholic See of Monemvasia. In addition to awarding him this distinction, the Pope saw that he obtained other incomes from the Diocese of Hierapetra on Crete and from Cyprus. It should be added that, on the Pope's initiative, a Greek College was established in Rome in 1516, where Musurus and Janus Lascaris taught Greek. The last translation and edition of Musurus in Rome was a Latin version of a treatise on the treatment of gout, written by Demetrios Pepagomenos at the behest of Michael VIII Palaiologos. Musurus was urged to undertake the translation by Janus Lascaris, who suffered from this ailment, to honour his patron, Scaramuza Trivulzio Bishop of Como, who too was afflicted by gout. The book, titled *Libellus de Podagra (On Gout)*, was printed in Rome in 1517.

Charta, I,
351

The cause of Musurus's untimely death remains unknown. However, the exact date was discovered by M. Manoussakas, in the course of his investigations in the Marcian Library: 24 to 25 October (night of Saturday to Sunday) 1517, in Rome.

Manoussakas,
Mort

Ioustinos Dekadyos

Ioustinos Dekadyos, a scholar from Corfu born around 1472, was another of Aldus's collaborators. We know nothing about his studies, but he evidently had sufficient knowledge of Greek, since in the Preface to the third volume of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* (1498) Aldus praises him for his contribution to the edition of *History of Animals*.⁸

Legrand,
Bibliogr.,
I/1, 24

Dekadyos was also the sole editor of the *Psalter* (c. 1497),

the only liturgical Greek book published by Aldus, aside from Ὡραι τῆς ἀειπαρθένου [Hours of the Virgin], of 1497. In his inspired Preface to the *Psalter*, Dekadyos announced the trilingual edition of the *Pentateuch* (in Hebrew, Greek and Latin). The project was well on its way by 1501 and a text in three languages had already been typeset, but the book was never published, even though Aldus himself had informed Conrad Celtis that it was forthcoming “*Vetus et novum Testamentum graece, latine e hebraice mundum impressi, sed parturio*”.

Renouard,
Annales,
321

No information is available on other editions of Dekadyos. From some point onwards he settled in Constantinople and became part of the circle of the Patriarchate. He corresponded with Arsenios Apostolis, who was also his personal friend, as can be seen from the last letter of their correspondence.

Ioannis Grigoropoulos

Ioannis Grigoropoulos can justly be called an ardent lover of Greek literature, a pioneer of Greek printing and a famed calligrapher. Most of his activity took place in Venice. The son of Georgios and Foteini, and brother to Manuel Grigoropoulos, Ioannis was born in Candia on an unspecified date.⁹ He was a pupil of Arsenios Apostolis in Crete and before moving to Venice in 1494, he worked as a codex copyist, a profession he pursued until 1498, or thereabouts, when he started collaborating with Nikolaos Vlastos and Zacharias Kalliergis. Grigoropoulos was a close friend of his schoolmate and brother-in-law Marcus Musurus, and of his former teacher Apostolis. He was quite renowned in publishing circles for his excellent knowledge of

Greek literature, which was probably the reason why Aldus's competitors, Giovanni Bissoli, Benedetto Mangio, Bartolomeo Pelusio and Gabriele Bracci, unsuccessfully attempted to recruit him to their newly-founded printing press in Venice.

Charta, I,
232-233

Grigoropoulos worked as proofreader in the printing house of Vlastos and Kalliergis. He compared the manuscripts to the



25. View of the town and port of Candia (Heraklion), from: J. von Sandrart, *Kurtze Beschreibung von dem Ursprung...*, Nuremberg 1686.

typeset text, which is precisely how he is mentioned in the regulation of the Neacademia, “φυλῆς διορθωτίδος”. Grigoropoulos is not mentioned in any of Aldus's dedicatory prefaces nor in his correspondence. Apparently, he started teaching at the University of Padua in the early sixteenth century, since Johann Cuno attended his lectures on Aristotle in 1504. From then on, his trail is lost. M. Manoussakas believes that he returned to Candia and was still alive in 1508, as the handwriting of the will of Maria Stephanopoulina resembles that of Grigoropoulos.

Charta, I,
393-394

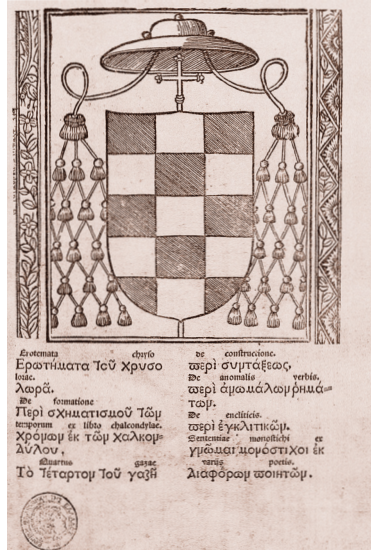
Demetrios Doukas

Geanakoplos,
Greek Scholars,
223-255

Another important collaborator of Aldus was Demetrios Doukas, who was probably born in Candia, Crete around 1480.¹⁰ Nothing is known of his youth or his teachers. He is mentioned for the first time in a will made in Candia in

November 1500. In the Preface to the *Polyglot Bible* of Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, Doukas himself indicates that he had travelled to Constantinople. He settled in Venice in the early sixteenth century and became part of Manutius's editorial team some time before 1508.

Aldus entrusted him with the edition of *Greek Orators* (*Rhetores Graeci*), which was published in two volumes in 1508 and 1509. Apart from the exercises and speeches of famous orators, it included the



26. Title page of *Erotemata* by Manuel Chrysoloras, Alcalá de Henares, Guillermo de Brocar, 1514.

editio princeps of Aristotle's *Poetics*. Doukas was apparently an excellent philologist, judging by the fact that in one of his letters he advises Musurus, then a professor at Padua, to include the *Rhetorics* of Hermogenes in his lectures; this was a very influential diatribe during the Renaissance, especially after George of Trebizond had extolled the art of the orator Hermogenes of Tarsus in his major work *Rhetoricorum Libri V*, which

is based on Byzantine orations.¹¹ Alongside *Greek Orators*, Doukas edited Plutarch's *Moralia*, which circulated in 1509. After this last edition, and the closure of Aldus's press, Doukas moved to Spain, where he became a member of the scholarly coterie of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. He was engaged as professor of Greek in the newly-founded University of Alcalá and from that position participated in several Greek publications such as Manuel Chrysoloras's *Erotemata* and Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, dated 1514.

Legrand,
Bibliogr., I/1,
118-120 (41),
120-121 (42)

Doukas's major contribution to the dissemination of Greek letters in Spain was not his teaching but his participation in the *Polyglot Bible*; he edited the original Greek text of the *New Testament*. Apparently Doukas continued teaching at the University of Alcalá even after the publication of *The Polyglot Bible*, since he is mentioned in the salary lists until October 1517. From that date, however, we know nothing about his activity. Aldus had died in 1515, and Doukas moved to Rome for unknown reasons in 1526. He is mentioned as the editor of the *Liturgies of Saint John Chrysostom, Basil the Great and of the Presanctified of Archbishop Germanos*, published in Rome, for which he used typeface belonging to Z. Kalliergis, among other material. Doukas is mentioned for the last time in 1527, as "public professor" of Greek in Rome, appointed by Pope Clement VII.

Charta, I,
420

Ioannis Rossos

Another Greek who moved in the printers' circles in Venice was Ioannis Rossos, the most eminent Greek calligrapher of

Tselikas,
Rossos

the Renaissance. Born in Candia, he probably joined the clergy at an early age. He also became involved in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Candia Diocese, and even in the issue of Cardinal Bessarion's Endowment, while at the same time working as a codex copyist.

Staikos,
Printing

The beginnings of Rossos's activity as a calligrapher are traced to Venice in 1449. He worked in that city until 1455, when he travelled to Rome, with the intention of working for Cardinal Bessarion. Rossos did not stay in the circle of the Academy founded by the Greek cardinal. Instead, he visited several humanist centres of Italy, such as Bologna and Florence, offering his artistic skills. It is probable that from around 1495 he was again in Venice and participated in the monumental edition of the *Great Etymologicon* (N. Vlastos - Z. Kalliergis, 1499). After the interruption of the work of the Cretan printing shop of Vlastos and Kalliergis, in 1500, he seems to have helped at the printing house of Aldus, and among other projects edited the manuscript entitled *Rules of the New Academy*.

The contribution of Musurus to the editions of Aldus

Charta, I,
337-342

Ferreri,
Musuro,
112-131

The first stage of Aldus's collaboration with Musurus in Venice spans the years from 1497, when Giovanni Crastoni's *Dictionary Graecum* was published, to 1499 or early 1500, when the *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων φιλοσόφων, ρητόρων, σοφιστῶν* (*Epistolae diversorum philosophorum oratorum*) was published. Musurus probably did not play a significant part in the edition

of Musaeus, since we know that he left Venice before the end of 1495 to travel to Crete, and did not return to the Serenissima until September 1497. It is also probable that the purpose of his journey was to collect manuscripts for Aldus's future editions. During these three years (1497-1499/1500), Musurus edited at least three other books for Aldus's press: the aforementioned *Dictionarium Graecum* by Crastoni (1497), the *Comedies* of Aristophanes (1498) and *Epistolae diversorum philosophorum* (1499). At the same time he helped the Cretans Nikolaos Vlastos and Zacharias Kalliergis to realize their dream of founding an exclusively Greek printing press in Italy. Their first monumental edition, the *Great Etymologicon* (1499), opens with two notes by Musurus.

Ferreri,
Musuro,
93-234

Charta, I,
395

In July 1499, Musurus interrupted his collaboration with the presses of Aldus and Vlastos - Kalliergis, and travelled to Ferrara to meet Niccolò Leonicensi, a famous physician who also possessed an important collection of manuscripts. The aim of his visit was to find out whether Leonicensi would be willing to sell a manuscript of Galen's *Therapeutics* (*On the method of curing diseases*), which would serve as the model for the edition planned by Vlastos and Kalliergis. Musurus stayed in Ferrara for approximately three months and subsequently, without apparent reason, settled in the nearby town of Carpi in 1499 or early 1500, instead of returning to Venice. He completely changed his career, abandoned the world of printing and became a tutor or mentor to Prince Alberto Pio – a position formerly held by Aldus. Musurus led a tranquil life in this new environment, as his duties by the prince only required a few hours of his day. Thus he was also able to manage the estate

Manoussakas -
Patrinellis,
Corr.,
181-184
(n. 10, 11)

donated to him by the ruler of Carpi, and to devote most of his time to studying and organizing the large library of Alberto Pio, which had been enriched with rare Greek codices from the collection of Giorgio Valla and was thus especially interesting to Musurus.

The Rules of the New Academy

Aldus's ambitious project to publish as many Classical Greek works as possible, in an almost unfeasibly short time, must have created the need for effective organization of his enterprise from early on.¹² The problem was not only the numerous philological questions, which demanded fast and authoritative solutions, but also the coordination of typesetters, proofreaders and technicians handling the presses. Solving these problems required concerted and continuous effort, and being the meticulous publisher that he was, Aldus set up a committee comprised mainly of the Hellenists who worked with him.

Aldus's printing house functioned in exemplary fashion, and by dubbing the committee "New Academy" he aspired probably to give it an academic identity. Only naturally, the authority of his editions and the rigorous philological editing of the Classical texts attracted a coterie of thinkers around him. It became commonplace to say that a stay at Aldus's press, however brief, was a necessary experience for those wishing to get to know the world of printing and the mechanisms of publishing and circulating reliable copies of works of the Classical literary corpus. During the Italian Renaissance the term of

“academy” had considerable appeal for the cultivated public, as it evoked the ideal world of Plato’s Academy. Thus, by his move, Aldus added academic prestige to his editions and made their quality more widely known. At the same time he was preparing the ground for a future expansion of his activity.

The first reference to the existence of the New Academy is in the Preface to the *Tragedies* of Sophocles (1502). It should be noted that the Academy’s work related solely to subjects connected to Greek literature, as no Latin edition of Aldus mentions the Academy. Addressing Janus Lascaris, Aldus writes:

“When the cold foggy nights found the members of the Academy sitting around the fireplace, with Musurus among us [Musurus was then living in Carpi] we often talked about you...”

OAME, I, 61-62

In the colophon to the same edition is the indication “*Venetiis in Aldi Romani Academia*” and for the next two years (until 1504) all Aldus’s publications carry the emblem of the

Ενετίησι παρ’ Αλδω τῷ Ρωμαίῳ, οὐ
μῆν γε ἄνευ προνομίου, Χιλιοστῷ Πεντακοσιοστῷ
δευτέρῳ, Μαυμακτηριῶνος τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ . | Venetiis
in Aldi Romani Academia mense Augusto · M · DII · |

27. UCLA, I, 68(48).

New Academy, which subsequently is used only occasionally, as in the edition of Pindar’s *Odes* in 1513. The rules of the New Academy (*ΝΕΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑΣ ΝΟΜΟΣ*) have survived but throw no light on the issue. This unique document records the names

Lowry,
Aldus,
199-201

of the seven founding members, and states that they are obliged to speak Greek, setting a penalty for every infraction of this rule, while at the same time it declares that new members are welcome as long as they comply with this condition. However, independently of the existence of the New Academy and its *modus operandi*, this regulation points to nothing more than the enthusiasm of a small lively group of “men who appropriately were dreaming already of the New Academy and almost Platonically constructed it” (ἀλλ’ ἀνδράσι πρεπόντως τοῖς τήν Νεακαδημίαν ὄνειροπολοῦσιν ἤδη καὶ πλατωνικῆς μικροῦ δεῖν καὶ κατασκευάσασιν αὐτήν).

The Rule of the New Academy is preserved in the sole copy kept at the Vatican Library, cited later on. The founding members are stated to be Aldus, surnamed “the Leader”, Scipio Foriguerra, dubbed “of the Readers’ tribe”, Ioannis of Crete “of the Proofreaders’ tribe” (probably Ioannis Grigoropoulos, but also possibly Ioannis Rossos), Battista Egnazio “of the Priests’ tribe”, Paolo Canal “of the Nobles’ tribe”, possibly due to his noble descent, Girolamo Menocchio, “of the Surgeons’ tribe”, possibly due to his medical knowledge and Francesco Rosetto, of the “Teachers’ tribe”.

Members of the Academy

Aldes,
441-470

Firmin-Didot composed a list of at least thirty regular members of the New Academy; he also asserted that often eminent scholars were declared honorary members and were thus able to attend the Academy’s sessions. However, neither the regulation of

the New Academy nor any other text contain indications which would allow such a supposition. Aldus envisaged the Academy as becoming a cultural institution in Venice and in the North generally, and thus asked Emperor Maximilian I to validate its operation by an imperial edict. This did not materialize, and following Aldus's death in 1515 the New Academy was dissolved.

Donati,
Seconda

The suspension of Aldus's work

Venice's expansionist tendencies in Italy posed a threat to a number of cities, such as Milan, Ferrara and Carpi, which thus formed alliances in order to salvage their autonomy. This led eventually to the formation of a European coalition, with the participation of France, Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, Florence and the Vatican. The coalition represented a real peril for the Serene Republic and the city devoted its energies to organizing its defences. In this climate of insecurity, Aldus abandoned Venice in May 1509, retired to Ferrara and left his father-in-law Andrea Torresani in charge of his printing press and other affairs. The same year saw the shutdown of the University of Padua, and Musurus was obliged to leave the city in June 1509 and seek refuge in Venice. Aldus made a failed attempt to transfer his printing press to Vienna. Finally, in order to protect his property from the onslaught, he left Venice and did not return until 1512.

The resumption of Aldus's activities

In 1512, Aldus succumbed to the pressure of his peers and mainly to the insistence of Andrea Navagero, Giovanni

Giocondo and Marcus Musurus, and was persuaded to reopen his press. When he returned to Venice, Aldus was impressed by the deep devotion of the Serenissima's citizens to the Arts and Sciences, and spoke of the city of the Doges with admiration, not hesitating to call it "a new Athens".

Musurus returned to the house of Aldus and, judging by the four major and time-consuming editions attributed exclusively to him (Alexander of Aphrodisias 1513; Plato 1513; Hesychius 1514 and Athenaeus 1514), he must have worked indefatigably,



28. Andrea Navagero, wood engraving from: N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae...*

even more so if one takes into account the editions which he prepared and which circulated after Aldus's death, such as Pausanias's *Description of Greece*.

When Aldus died in February 1515, at the age of sixty-three, the intellectual world of the West lost the person who had helped most to propagate Greek thought through printing. His library must have been extraordinarily rich, especially in Greek codices, and must have contained all of his editions as well as previous and contemporary ones by other publishers. Erasmus called Aldus's workshop the "house of treasures", possibly referring to the libraries of the other scholars who frequented the place. We can form an impression of Aldus's col-

lection from the words of the Ambassador of Mantua, who stated in 1580: “I spoke this morning to Master Aldo Manuzio, who, as he says, has one of the most greatest libraries, one that every scholar would wish for, even if he were a prince”. When Aldus the Younger died in 1597, his library numbered 343 manuscripts and 1,564 editions, but we do not know how many of these books had belonged to Aldus the Elder.

Bertolotti,
Varietà

Lowry,
Aldus,
60-61

The Manutius publishing house continued to operate under the direction of Aldus’s father-in-law and business partner, Andrea Torresani d’Asola. A successful printer and publisher himself, Torresani d’Asola carried on Aldus’s work in the same spirit, but his editions did not have the same allure as those of his predecessor and he took a different editorial tack. Torresani

Cataldi-Palau,
Asola

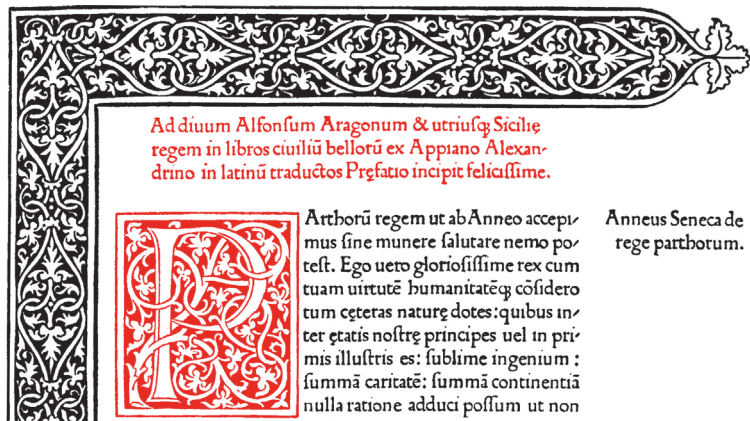
was mainly concerned with the commercial success of his books and turned to subjects which would ensure him large runs, and sell well. In November 1515 Musurus fulfilled Aldus’s wish and published the Greek grammar that Manutius had composed. Thus he paid tribute to Aldus, who had been his faithful friend and ideal collaborator for approximately twenty years. The *Grammar* circulated with commentaries in Greek and a Preface addressed to the celebrated French book collector Jean Grolier.



29. Printer's mark of Federico Torresani from *Erotemata* by Manuel Chrysoloras, Venice 1539.

The printing tradition of Venice

When Aldus started to collect material with a view to the systematic publication of Greek and Latin books, he did not have the necessary funds and certainly was unable to calculate the cost of the huge philological work necessary to produce authoritative editions of the Greek Classical and Byzantine au-



30. Appian, *Historia Romana*, Venice 1477.

thors, primarily. In this sense, he was not interested in luxurious editions and did not wish to continue or compete with the achievements of older printing houses, which had produced splendid and artistically refined books. It is sufficient to recall the marginal vignettes and ornamented initials of Erhard Ratdolt and Petrus Loslein, which illustrate Appian's *Roman History* (1477), or the Renaissance-type frame of *De arte grammatica* by Diomedes, printed in Venice by Christophorus de Pensis in 1491. Aldus was interested first and foremost in of-

Ongania,
Venetian,
49, 88

fering the reading public the most reliable editions he could produce, by collating exhaustively as many manuscripts of the work as possible.

By the end of the fifteenth century, approximately 140 printing shops had been established in Venice, although many of them only worked with occasional commissions or for short periods of time. Printers would buy or borrow a large part of their typographic material from their colleagues. Original visual material, such as embellishments, vignettes, garlands and arabesques, as well as illustrations, was expensive, which is why many printers borrowed or bought pictorial motifs from printing shops that had closed down. Thus it was not uncommon for headpieces, initials and images (mainly woodcuts or wood engravings) to be used by diverse presses at different periods and to reappear over extended periods of time. In addition, because many printers had not settled permanently in printing centres of Italy but instead moved from town to town, depending on the entrepreneurial possibilities generated by social needs, university centres and humanist schools, they adapted the style of their editions to the local typographical tradition.

Scholderer,
Venice

The aesthetic tradition of Greek books

The aesthetics of Aldus's Greek editions is not far removed from the printing tradition of Greek books from 1470 onwards. Printed Greek books were not embellished with headpieces and initials, although the initial of each chapter is clearly differentiated. The only example of an embellished Greek book is the

rubrication used by Demetrios Damilas, such as ΕΙΔΥΛΙΟΝ • Α • ΚΥΚΛΩΨ, in the edition of Theocritus's *Idylls* (Milan, c. 1480).

Charta, I,
272-274

The absence of headpieces and initials in Greek books before Aldus's time was not related to financial considerations on the part of printing shops; instead, it was an aesthetic stance, which dictated that Greek incunabula should be distinguished by their austerity, just like ancient texts and funerary inscriptions on stelai. This was the aesthetic choice of Janus Lascaris for the *Palatine* or *Greek Anthology* (Florence 1494), the Florentine *editiones principes* of Euripides' *Tragedies*, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, and all of his editions at the Press of the Greek College of Rome (1517-1521). Lascaris's initial intention was to publish works of Greek literature using only capital (majuscule) script, which he rejected in the course of his project, as the ancient text had to be accompanied by its ancient commentary.

Graphic material of the Aldine press

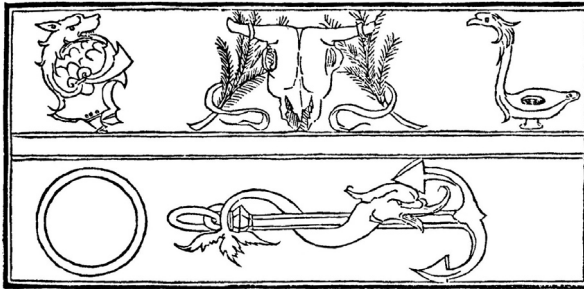
Fletcher,
Aldine

To my knowledge, the visual adornments of Aldus's editions, such as headpieces, initials and illustrations, have not been studied with regard to their style, original models and use. Consequently, they have not been compared to the artistic tradition of Venetian publications from 1470 onwards. In contrast, Harry George Fletcher III has made a meticulous study of the varying representations of Aldus's anchor, in his Greek and Latin editions. Aside from headpieces and initials, Aldus's Greek editions are also embellished by seven wood engravings.

The printer's mark of Aldus

Aldus started to decorate his editions with printer's marks approximately seven years after he had published his first book, that is, from 1501 onwards. By 1499 he had chosen his printer's mark, and made known the motto which was to com-

Fletcher,
Aldine,
43-44



Da l'altra parte tale elegãte scãlptura mirai. Vno circulo. Vna ancora
Sopra la stangula dilla q̃le se rouoluea uno Delphino. Et q̃sti optimam etiã
cufiãio li interpretai. ΑΕΙ ΣΠΕΥΔΕ ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ. Semp festina tarde.

31. The original version of Aldus's printer's mark first appeared in *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Venice 1499.

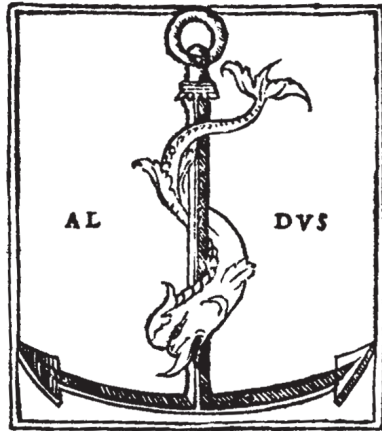
plete it, both to his collaborators and the wider public, in the edition of Poliziano's *Opera* (1499). The maxim "*festina lente*" (hasten slowly) is traditionally attributed to Emperor Augustus. It first appeared, together with the composition of dolphin and anchor in horizontal alignment, in the edition of *Hypnerotomachia* (f. d7).

Suetonius,
Augustus,
25, 4

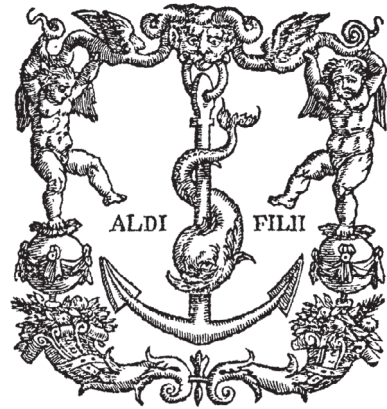
Manutius's printer's mark is the best-known and most characteristic in the history of printing. The dolphin represents activity, while the anchor stands for steadiness. Its classic version appeared first in the second volume of *Poetae Christiani*

Veteres (1502) and for the first time in a Greek book in the *Tragedies* of Sophocles (1502). Henceforth, the imprint was used in all of Aldus's editions with minor variations, mainly in size.

Depending on the case, the initials *AL* and *DVS* or *ALDVS* *MA*[nutius]. *RO*[manus] are printed on either side of the an-



32. Aldus Manutius's printer's mark from *Poetae Christiani Veteres*, vol. II, Venice 1501.



33. Printer's mark of *Anthology of epigrams*, apud Aldi filios [Paulus Manutius], Venice 1550.

chor. The device was usually printed in black ink, except for a few cases where it was printed in red, such as in the *Libri lectionum* by Ludovicus Caelius Rhodiginus (1516) and *Sacrae Scripturae Veteris novae'que omnia* (1518).

After Aldus's death, his heirs, Andrea d'Asola and later Aldus's and Andrea's sons continued to use the anchor as printer's mark, with occasional variations. It is usually framed by the indications *ALDI FILII* and *Aldus Iunior*.

Staikos,
Printers,
13-14

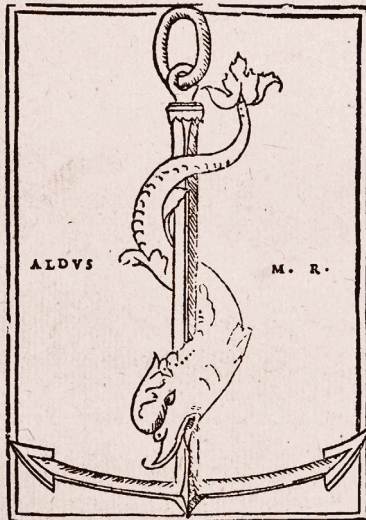
Σ Υ Ι Δ Α .

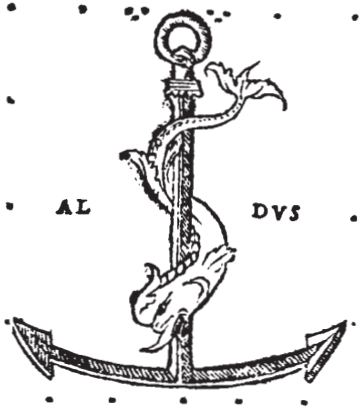
Σ Ο Υ Ϊ Δ Α .

ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡΘΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ, ΣΟΥΪΔΑ. ΟΪ ΔΕ ΣΥΝ-

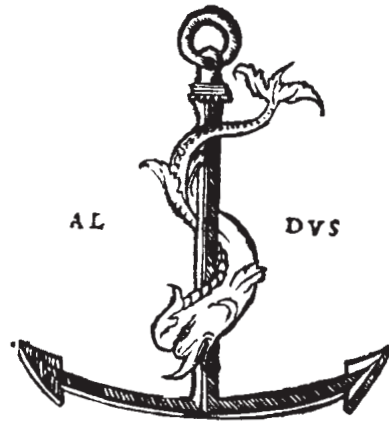
ΤΑΞΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ, ἌΝΔΡΕΣ ΣΟΦΟΪ.

- Ξ ὕψιμος ῥήτορ, πῶδὲ λέξεων ἑστὰ σοιχείον.
Ξ Μάξιμος ἑστὸν Θεοδοσίον τῶ νέου, ἰμοίωσ.
Ξ ὑγένιος ἀγλαυτο πόλεως τῆς ὠ φρυγίας πα μμιγῆ λέξιν ἑστὰ σοιχείον.
Ζ ὠσιμος γαζάιος λέξις ῥητορικός, ἑστὰ σοιχείον.
Κ αμίλιος σκελιώτης ἐκλογῶν λέξεων ἑστὰ σοιχείον.
Λ ογνίος ὁ κλάσιος, λέξεις ἑστὰ σοιχείον.
Λ ούπδρικος βερύτιος, ἀπίμοι λέξις.
Ϊ ουσίος Ιούλιος σοφιστής, ἐπιτομῶν πῶν πα μάλιν γλωσσῶν, ἐκβλίω ἀννηνῆ
κοντα ὠός.
Γ ἀκίλος πῶδὲ σιωνθείας ἀπικῆς ἑστὰ σοιχείον.
Γ ἀμυλλος, ἡμίωνα λέξεων ῥητόρων περισχίν ἐκβλίω ἀννηνῆται πέντε. ἔστ
δὲ ἀπὸ τῶ ἐ σοιχείς, ἑως τῶ τὰ ἰ ἀπὸ τῶ ἄ, μέχρι τῶ δ, ζ απὸ τῶν ἐπερὶ κη.
Γ ωλίω ἀλεξανδρῶν, ἀπικῶν λέξεων σωματογῶν ἑστὰ σοιχείον.





34.



35.



36.



37.



38.



39.



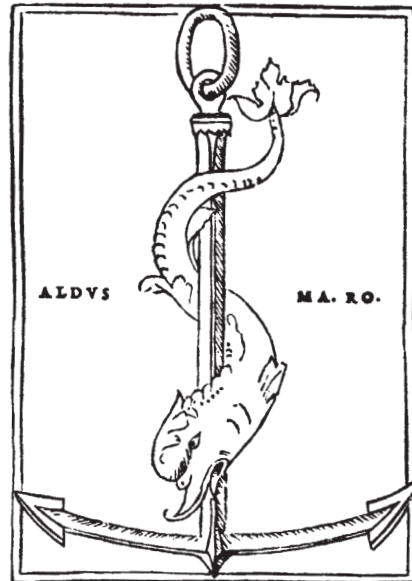
40.



41.



42.



43.

34. Sophocles, *Tragedies*, Venice, 1502.

Bibl.: Renouard, 34 (6). Firmin-Didot, 212-213. Adams, S 1438. *OAME*, I, 61-62 (XXXVIII). UCLA, I, 68 (48). *Le Edizioni di Testi Greci*, 68-69 (14). *Manuzio*, 62 * PM: Kristeller, 66-67 (174-178). Vaccaro, 299 (il. 392). Fletcher, 45 (2). Staikos, *Marks*, 10.

35. Herodotus, *Histories*, Venice, 1502.

Bibl.: Renouard, 35 (8). Kristeller, 67 (174). Firmin-Didot, 216-218. Adams, H 394. *OAME*, I, 64-65. UCLA, I, 70 (50) * PM: Zappella II, 38. Fletcher, 46 (2a). *Le Edizioni di Testi Greci*, 70-71 (15). *Manuzio*, 64. Staikos, *Marks*, 11.

36. Lucian, *Dialogues*, Venice, 1503.

Bibl.: Renouard, 39-40 (3). Firmin-Didot, 243-244. Adams, L 1602. UCLA, I, 81 (57). *Le Edizioni di Testi Greci*, 74-75 (17). *Manuzio*, 75 * PM: Kristeller, 67 (178). Fletcher, 53 (fl). Staikos, *Marks*, 12.

37. Maximus Planudes, *Anthology*, Venice, 1503.

Bibl.: Renouard, 42 (9). Firmin-Didot, 251-254. Adams, A 1181. UCLA, I, 87 (62). *Le Edizioni di Testi Greci*, 80-81 (20). *Manuzio*, 81 * PM: Fletcher, 47 (3). Staikos, *Marks*, 13.

38. *Horae in Laudem Beatissimae Virginis*, Venice, 1505.

Bibl.: Renouard, 49 (3). Firmin-Didot, 227. *OAME*, I, 91 (LXVIII). UCLA, I, 101 (74). *Manuzio*, 92 * PM: Fletcher, 47 (4). Staikos, *Marks*, 14.

39. Plutarch, *Opuscula*, Venice, 1509.

Bibl.: Renouard, 55 (1). Firmin-Didot, 317-321. Adams, P 1634. *OAME*, I, 99-101 (LXVI). UCLA, I, 117 (84). B. Hilyard, «Girolamo Aleandro Editor of Plutarch's *Moralia*», *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 36 (1974), 517-531. *Le Edizioni di Testi Greci*, 100-101 (27). *Manuzio*, 103 * PM: Fletcher, 54 (f2). Staikos, *Marks*, 15.

40. Constantine Lascaris, *Epitome of the Eight Parts of Speech*, Venice, 1512.

Bibl.: Renouard, 58 (1). Firmin-Didot, 329-330. *BH I/3*, 180-181 (54). Adams, L 228. PAP I, 253 (3427). *OAME*, I, 105-106 (LXXI). UCLA, I, 123 (90). *Manuzio*, 107 * PM: Fletcher, 47 (3), without AL DVS. Staikos, *Marks*, 16.

41. Emmanuel Chrysoloras, *Erotemata*, Venice, 1512.

Bibl.: Renouard, 59 (2). Firmin-Didot, 328-329. *BH I/3*, 98-99 (1680). Adams, C 1506. PAP I, 124 (1680). UCLA, I, 121 (88). *OAME*, I, 104 (LXX). *Le Edizioni di Testi Greci*, 102-103 (28). *Manuzio*, 108 * PM: Fletcher, 48 (5). Staikos, *Marks*, 17.

42. Plato, *Complete Works* [edited by Marcus Musurus], Venice, 1513.

Bibl.: Renouard, 62 (4). Firmin-Didot, 342-351. *BH I/1*, 100-112 (39). Adams, P 1436. PAP I, 363 (4857). *Manuzio*, 116. UCLA, I, 136 (97/1). *OAME*, I, 120-123 (LXXVIII). *Le Edizioni di Testi Greci*, 106-107 (30) * PM: Kristeller, 67 (177). Fletcher, 54 (f4). Staikos, *Marks*, 18.

43. Aristotle, *De natura animalium* (translated by Theodorus Gaza), Venice, 1513.

Bibl.: Renouard, 65 (11). Firmin-Didot, 367. *BH I/3*, 186-188 (159). Adams, A 1765. PAP I, 46 (589). UCLA, I, 129 (94). *OAME*, I, 76-77 (XLVIII). *Manuzio*, 112 * PM: Fletcher, 54 (f3). Staikos, *Marks*, 19.

A. *Initials and Headpieces*

The initials and headpieces of Aldus are distinguished by the simplicity of their design but not by their originality, and are inferior to comparable embellishments and marginalia of other printers active in Venice long before Aldus started his publishing house, such as Bernardinus Benali and Johannes Emericus de Spira, and naturally Erhard Ratdolt.

a. *Initials*

The trunk of the initials is outlined in antique style and does not differ in design from the capital letters used by other Venetian printers such as Erhardt Ratdolt or Herbolt de Seligenstadt.¹³ All these initials consist of a simple form of the letter, encircled by intertwined vegetal ornaments, mainly stylized leaves, palmettes and rosettes. Sometimes initials are part of a freer composition, in which the decorative band spiralling around the trunk of the letter seems to form a single ensemble. Initials of similar style to those of Aldus were used in the presses of Venice from the early 1480s. Some examples are those used by an unknown printer in 1482 in the edition of Alexander de Villa Dei's *Doctrinale*, with commentaries by Ludovicus de Guaschis. Sometimes these compositions are inscribed in square or rectangular frames and drawn against a dark ground.¹⁴

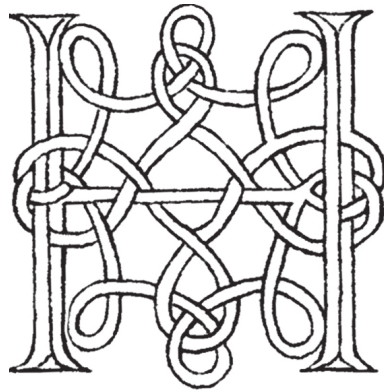
Ongania
Venetian,
49 ff.

BMC V 585

44. A. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* (c. 1496-1497). 45. Aristotle, *On skies* (1497) 46-47. Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale* (1498). 48. *Aristophanes*, Plutus (1498). 49. C. Lascaris, *Epitome of the Eight Parts of Speech* (1495).



44.



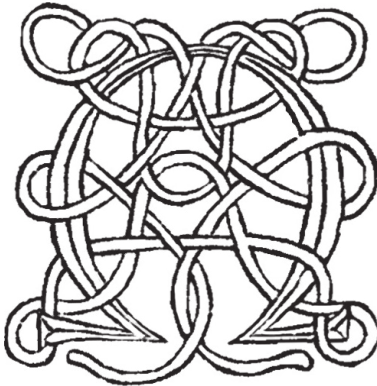
45.



46.



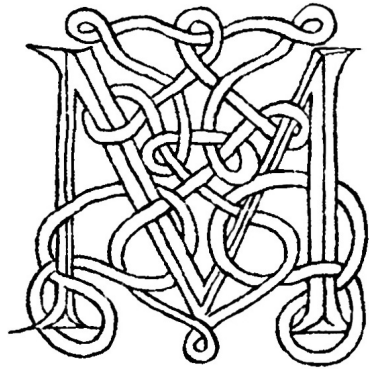
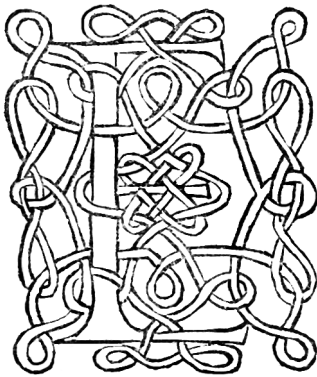
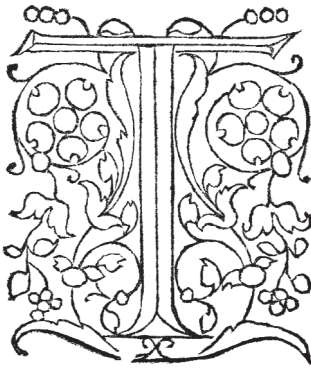
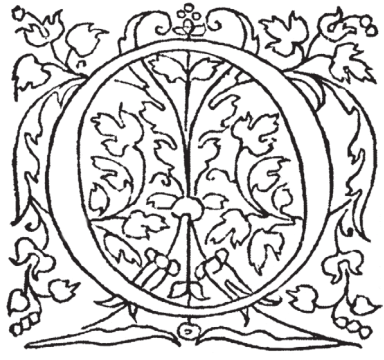
47.

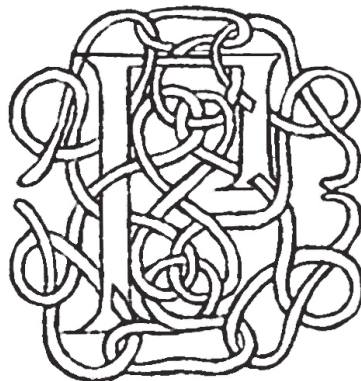
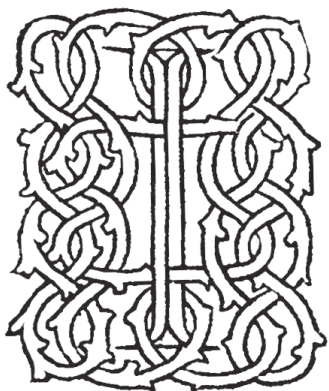
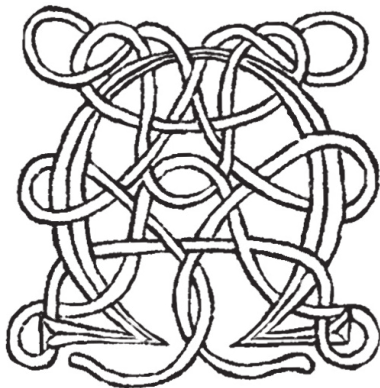
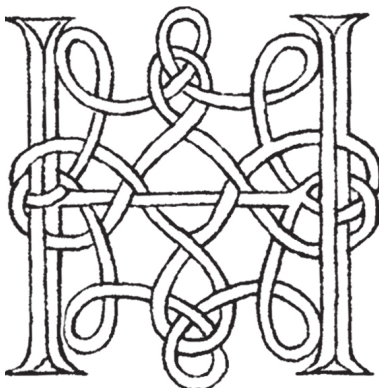


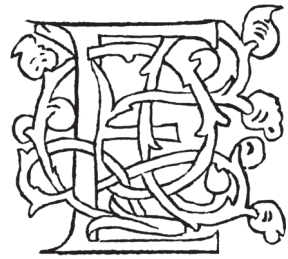
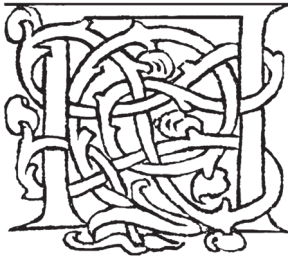
48.



49.









ΚΗΡΙΟΚΛΕΓΓΗΣ.



Ὁν κλέπταν πρῶτῶτα κακὰ κέντασε μέλισα,

Κηρίον ἐκσίμβλων συλὸν μένον ἄκραδὲ
χειρῶν

Δάκτυλα πάντῳ ἐνὺξεν· ὁ δ' ἄλγει καὶ χεῖρ' ἐφύσθη.

Καὶ τὰν γὰρ ἐπάταξε καὶ ἄλατο· τὰ δ' ἄφροδίται.

Δεῖξεν τὸν ὀδύαν· καὶ μέμφετο ὅτι γε τυτθὸν

Θηρίον ἐντὶ μέλισα· καὶ ἀλίκα τραύματα ποιεῖ.

Χᾶμάτηρ γε λάζασα, τὴν δούκισον ἐσὶ μελίωσας,



Σὰρχαλι· ὅθεν
ράπ' δυσφορεῖς
δεσπότην ἐπομέ
νον τυφλῶ ἀσφί· τοῦ δὲ
ὡς, πῶς λεπτὴ ἡ διάνοις
ἐκ τοῦ θαύματος ἰσχυροῦ
ασμῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ ῥήκ
μα, ἐπαμφορεῖ ζῆ· ἢ ἐσὶ
παῦθα ἐλύπηται, ἠὲ τὰ σέως
δηλωτικῆ· ἐπαμφορεῖ δὲ οὐδὲ
ἀπὸ μᾶχην, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ
ἐπεχθῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν· τῶν



Ἰπὸ σὶ πάχθη·
προλοήζουσι δὲ οὐ
οἰεῖται, ἀπὸ δευτε
ρῶν τῆς θ'· τὴν φυλακῆν
τοῦ γένεσθαι διὰ τὴν κα
τὰ τὴν τῶν, σὶ χλῖα μβοι τρι
μιβοι ἀκατάληκτι, σκθ·
ὡν πλετὸν θ'· πολλῶν δι
κασῶν σφηκῶν διασκει
σθ· φυλακῶν κατὰ λυθν.
οὐ τὸ λῆγοισι τὸ ὡν· οὐσα ῥθρ
ὡν· φθι φυλακῆς, φυλακῆς

b. Headpieces

Headpieces were designed in similar logic to the initials, or vice-versa, and fall into two categories: composite and linear.

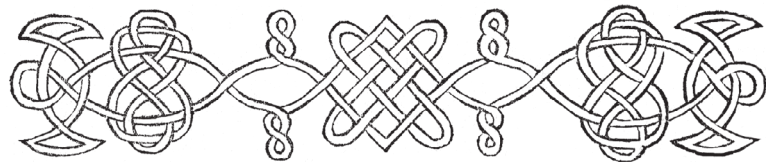
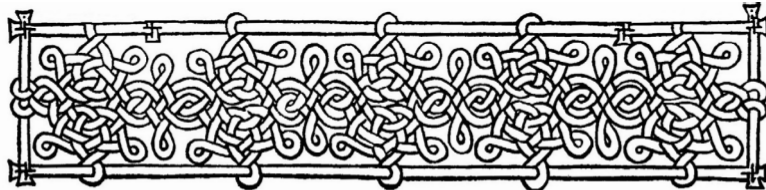
Composite headpieces consist of vegetal patterns developed

Essling,
Figures, Ip, II/1,
210-211 (747)



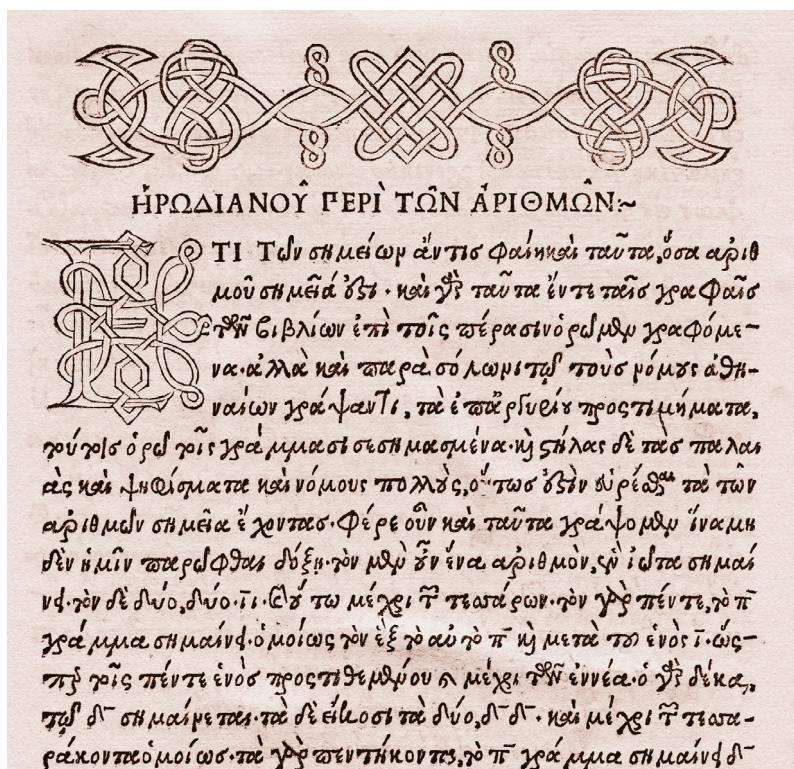
symmetrically around a central motif, such as a mask, from which sprout flowering branches and foliage with rosettes and fruit. The model for this composition of Aldus was a part of the frame of the title page to Lucian's *De veris narrationibus*, published by Simon Bevilacqua in Venice, 1494.

Essling,
Figures, Ip, II/1,
230, 234



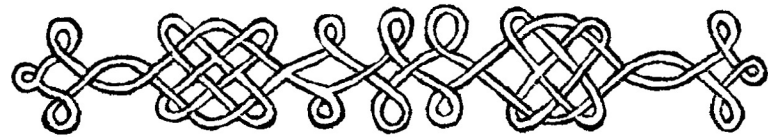
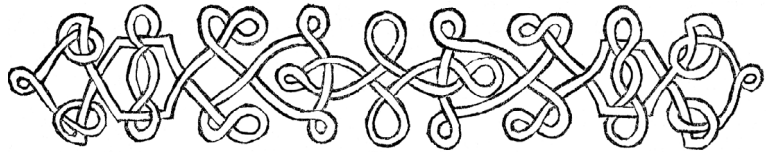
Linear headpieces are inspired by or probably copied from the marginal wood engraving that frames the text of Luca Pacioli's *Summa de Arithmetica*, which circulated from the printing house of Paganino de Paganini in 1494. Aldus created

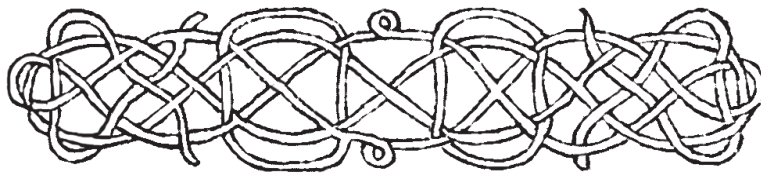
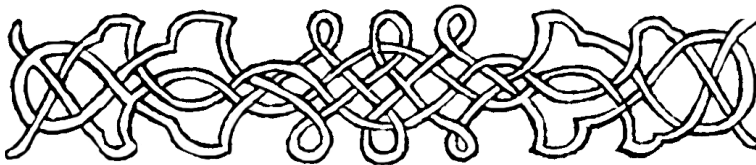
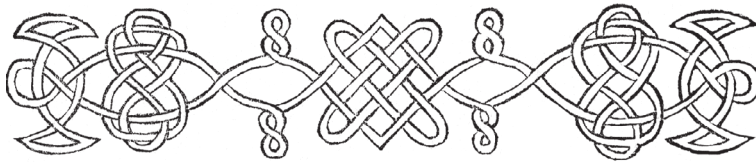
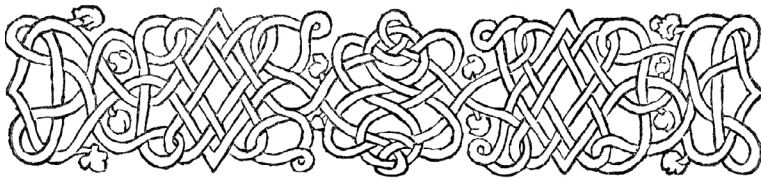
BMC V 457



50. Herodian, *On numbers*, in *Theodorus Gaza*, Introduction to Grammar, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495.

harmonious combinations of headpieces and initials for Herodian's essay *On Numbers* (1495) and Aristophanes's *Comedies* (1498) and other works.¹⁵





B. Illustrations

The incunabulum of Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, with two woodcuts, is the first Greek illustrated book. The woodcuts, in "folk" style, were never reproduced again and depicted the cities of Sestus and Abydos on the Hellespont. Hero watches as Leander makes his ill-fated attempt to swim across the channel, and throws herself out of the window when she sees him lying dead on the sand. Both woodcuts are crowned by epigrams related to the poem, composed by Antipater of Thessalonica, in Greek and in Latin translation. The same representation, but in smaller size, embellished the re-edition of Musaeus' work by Aldus's heirs in 1517. The woodcuts are modelled on the earlier edition but were certainly made by a different artist.

The small booklet of *Hours of the Virgin*, printed by Aldus in 1497, is illustrated with an image of the Annunciation to the

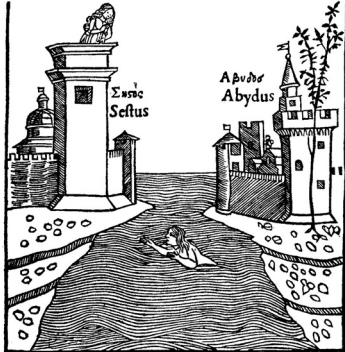


Essling,
Figures,
Ip, I, [407]

51. Wood engraving from *Hours of the Virgin*, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1497.

Virgin, on the reverse of the title page. The woodcut had been used originally by Johannes Hamman de Landoia in the edition of *Officia beate marie secundum usum Romane ecclesiae* (Venice, 1497) and subsequently in the Latin edition of the *Horologion* of 1505. The Annunciation to the Virgin also illustrates an undated edition by Aldus, printed around 1497 and titled *Breussima introductio ad litteras graecas*.

Αμπύδου πύργου.
 Οὗτος ὁ Λεάνδρου θύρα παλάσῃ· οὗτος ὁ πύργου.
 Περὶ μὲν, ὃ μὴ μόνον τῆς Φιλίππου βασιλῆος.
 Ταύτην τὰ πύργου παλαιὰ α. τῶν τῶν πύργου
 Λεάνδρου ὁ πύργου τῶν πύργου λυγρῶν.
 Κοινὸν δὲ μνηστεύου ὁ δ. ἵνα τῶν πύργου, εἴτι καὶ τῶ
 Κεῖν τῶν πύργου μνηστεύου ἀνίμῃ.



Antipatri-
 Hic est Leandri tranatus hoc est ponti
 Fretum non foli amanti graue .
 Hæc Herus antiquæ domicilia hæ turris
 Reliquiæ proditrix hic pendeat lucerna.
 Cômuneq; ambos hoc habet sepulchrum, nûc quoq;
 De illo inuidio conquerentes uento .



52. Wood engravings from Musaeus, Hero and Leander (c. 1495), the first-ever illustrated Greek book.



53. Wood engravings from Musaeus, Hero and Leander (c. 1517), identical to the first edition of Aldus (c. 1495).

The richest illustration of all the Greek books printed by Aldus is found on the first page of the text of the *Psalter*. The elaborate woodcut, as well as the extensive use of red print (rubrication) on all pages of the text, is encountered for the one and only time. The text is framed by a row of linear compositions of differing thickness, reminiscent of arabesques, interpolated in which are two images: David playing the lyre, and a rabbit. To our knowledge, none of these images illustrate any earlier incunabulum, in Greek or any other language.

The aesthetics of Greek editions

In relation to the use of adornments such as initials, headpieces and illustrations in Aldus's Greek editions, it should be noted that a difference in style distinguishes them in two sets. Until 1499, all the *editiones principes*, and others, were embellished with initials and headpieces, with the exception of *Θησαυρός, Κέρας Αμαλθείας και Κήποι Αδώνιδος* (*Thesaurus, Cornu copiae et Horti Adonidis* 1496) and the *Dictionarium Graecum* (1497), which is adorned with just one initial (199a). From 1499 onward, starting with *Epistles of Various Philosophers...*, all embellishments disappear; the place of the initial on the first page remains empty and sometimes the first letter of the first word is in lowercase: α | βαια (Pollux, *Onomasticon*, 1512).

It is possible that the Greek editions of Aldus were stripped of decorative elements in order to reduce costs. For the same reason he used a new font with smaller eye, as well as smaller



54. *Decorative elements on the first page of the Psalter (c. 1497), edited by Ioustinos Dekadyos.*

spacing in comparison to editions such as the *Idylls* of Theocritus and the *Grammar* of Theodorus Gaza.

It should also be noted here that in his editions until 1499 there were frequent inconsistencies as to the embellishments, that is, initials and headpieces. For example, in the edition of Aristophanes, on page (N), where the *hypothesis* (plot) of *Peace* is cited, three paragraphs are laid out with a place for the initial: while the first paragraph starts with a figured *H*, the other two start with moveable type characters (Φ and *T*). This cannot have been due to time considerations, as the ending of *Peace* is typeset in triangular layout, which was surely more time-consuming.

Obstacles to his editorial projects

The dedicatory prefaces which Aldus wrote for his Greek editions, and especially those addressed to the sponsors and supporters of his endeavour, clearly show the difficulties he was facing, not only due to the lack of reliable manuscripts and money, but also because of the envy of his enemies and competitors. It should be noted that until the mid-1490s none of the publishing houses of Italy had ventured to circulate systematically the great literary works of Classical Greece, and so the territory for Greek books in university schools was essentially uncharted.

Aldus's ulterior intention, beyond overcoming the continuous obstacles, was to stimulate the scholarly and cultivated public of Italy and the North to learn the Greek language, so

that they would be able to read from the original. When Aldus addresses his main sponsor, Alberto Pio Prince of Carpi, in the Latin Preface to Aristotle's *Organum*, he points out that even in advanced years Cato the Roman never abandoned the idea of studying Greek. And although young boys were being taught Greek on an equal footing with Latin at their schools, older people should not give up but follow Cato's example instead. This is the main reason why Aldus repeatedly dedicated his editions of Greek authors to teachers of Greek in schools even in remote cities of the Venetian territory; such as Daniele Clario of Ragusa, to whom he dedicated the *editio princeps* of Aristophanes's *Comedies* (1498), and Codro Urceo, teacher at the Gymnasium of Bologna (*Epistles*, 1499). Aldus accomplished two goals by these dedications: he rewarded Italian Hellenists for their teaching practice, and at the same time he advertised his editions to the wider reading public, in cities of difficult access, such as Ragusa, and even beyond the Alps, such as Paris, where Girolamo Aleandro played a leading role in distributing Aldine editions.

Although Aldus was supported by eminent intellectuals and scholars, including some members of the Venetian Senate, his publishing initiatives had also earned him some opponents, mainly because his books enjoyed a wide circulation. The book trade was an important source of income for Venice and enhanced the Republic's prestige in its numerous territories in Greece. Aldus's initiative in supplying the book market with reliable Greek editions, which were also affordable, in small format and easy to use ('pocket' edition of Sophocles' *Tragedies*, 1502), impressively increased his clientele, especially

among young students. To give an example, at the time of circulation of the *Tragedies* of Sophocles, his editions were printed in 2000 copies, and Manutius himself claimed that 1,000 volumes were available to the public every month!

Education in the Palaiologan period

Aldus's guide in scheduling his Greek editions was the teaching curriculum established in Byzantine schools during the Palaiologan period. This was the two-stage system implemented by Maximus Planudes, Thomas Magister, Manuel Moschopoulos, and Demetrios Triklinos, which aimed at consolidating knowledge of grammatical principles, so that students could proceed to the philological analysis of ancient literary works.¹⁶

The teaching of grammar was based on the *Ars Grammatica* of Dionysius of Thrace, (2nd century BC) and on Byzantine grammar textbooks such as Manuel Moschopoulos's *Περὶ σχεδῶν* (*De ratione examinandae orationis libellus*), and other minor manuals, through which Byzantine teachers sought to make the more profound concepts of the ancient literary corpus better understood. With these grammatical tools, their rules and methods, students were taught the meaning of words, their etymology, and the characteristics and particularities of each dialect. On this foundation, the teacher would help consolidate the pupil's knowledge by the use of examples, such as extended passages from Classical and Postclassical texts, and works of Christian authors. This practice dates from the time of Georgios Choïroboskos (6-7th century AD).

Armed with the tools of grammatical knowledge, students were then able to follow and understand literary texts. The most widely used textbooks were Homer's works and in particular the *Iliad*, which was viewed as a treasury of wisdom, from which all those wishing to serve Greek Letters could draw inspiration and knowledge. Following this, students passed to the analysis of three tragedies by Sophocles: *Aias* (*Ajax*), *Electra* and *Oedipus Rex*, which were selected both as literary models and for the moral principles and messages they promoted.

The next stage of the students' education included mostly works of authors of the Classical period, considered exemplary as to their plot, symbolism, poetic form, purity of language, rhetoric, and so on. The recurring names are those of Aeschylus, Hesiod, Pindar, Oppian, Theognis, Philostratus, Libanius, Demosthenes, Theocritus, Nicander, Menander (*Gnomai*), Lycophron, *e.a.* Without doubt, the teaching of literature (poetry and prose) alongside grammar was the best indicated method for the deeper comprehension of each text.

The teaching of Greek in Italy. Teaching according to the Palaiologan tradition was initiated in Italy when Manuel Chrysoloras was appointed to the official Chair of Greek at the Studium of Florence in 1397. It is almost certain that the Greek scholars who thereafter taught the language in Italy, such as Theodorus Gaza, George of Trebizond, Andronicus Callistus, Janus and Constantine Lascaris, followed this teaching method. A proof of this can be found in the publishing project of Buono Accorsi, who was probably aided by Andronicus Callistus, the

first person to establish a humanist school in Italy, in order to teach Greek literature, from the beginnings of printing in the Italian Peninsula (1465).

Accorsi was born before the mid-fifteenth century and was probably taught philology and Greek at Milan by Francesco Filelfo. In 1456 he was in Pavia, where he took courses to perfect his Greek with Andronicus Callistus, with whom he be-



55. George of Trebizond, wood engraving from N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae...*

came friends. From 1460 he engaged in codex copying and in 1461 he travelled to Florence, at Filelfo's suggestion, and became a protégé of Piero de' Medici. He later set up a school at Pisa, where Demetrios Castrenos paid him a visit in March 1469. An important scholar from Constantinople, Castrenos was not lucky enough to become a member of a scholarly circle or a ruler's court in Italy, although he was under Filelfo's patronage

and lived for a time at the court of Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino.

Around 1474 Accorsi returned to Milan, where he founded a private school which focused on Greek literature and rhetoric, and was in contact with printers of the city. In 1476, he and Giovanni Francisco della Torre bought the manuscript collection of Andronicus Callistus, so that the latter could travel to Paris. Callistus's manuscripts helped Accorsi to im-

prove his teaching curriculum as well as to further his publishing plans.

Taking as precedent the *Epitome of the Eight Parts of Speech* by Constantine Lascaris, which had been printed in a typeface cut and cast by Demetrios Damilas in 1476, Accorsi undertook the publication of bilingual (Greek and Latin) editions, in order to support the teaching at his school and perhaps in other cultural centres of Italy. From late 1476-early 1477 to late 1481 Accorsi published several editions, such as Crastoni's *Dictionary*, Aesop's *Fables*, a reedition of Lascaris's *Grammar*, the *Idylls* of Theocritus, Hesiod's *Works and Days* and the first edition of the *Psalter*.

Accorsi did not limit himself to publishing only Greek works. He also circulated Latin and contemporary humanist texts, such as Cicero's *Epistulae ad Familiares* and the *Elegantiolae* of Agostino Dati, a philosopher, historian and founder of the rhetoric school of Sienna. To print his Greek and Latin editions, Accorsi worked with various presses in Milan, notably those of Filippo de Lavagnia and Antonio Zaroto. In any case, the typeface was probably set by Damilas at a printing press of Milan.



56. Theodorus Gaza, wood engraving from N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae...*

Charta, I,
142-150

Aldus's publications

During the period of his printing activity, from 1494 until his death in 1515, Aldus published one hundred and thirty-six titles (dated and undated), by Greek and Latin authors, as well as Renaissance humanist authors. Many volumes include other, smaller treatises and essays of the Greek and Latin tradition, mainly on rhetoric and poetics, as well as Catalogues of his books.

The Greek editions of Aldus number seventy-four. Twenty-one of them, which are discussed below, were published before 1500. Aldus also published Greek texts in Latin translation, such as Averroes's commentaries on Aristotle, *In Analytica Priori Aristotelis* (1497), Iamblichus's *De mysteriis* (1497) in the translation of Marsilio Ficino, Cardinal Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis* (1503), Origen's *Homilies* (1503/4) in the translation of Saint Jerome, Euripides's *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulis* (1507) in Erasmus's Latin translation, and Aristotle's *De natura animalium* in Theodorus Gaza's historical translation in 1504, which was reprinted 1514.

Aldus's publishing orientation during the stage of early typography differs from the path he followed from the early sixteenth century onwards. As has already been stated, of his forty-one incunabula, twenty-one are Greek, and demanded a great deal of time and effort on the part of the editors; such were the five-volume edition of the Aristotelian corpus, the *editio princeps* of the *Comedies* of Aristophanes, including the ancient commentaries, Theophrastus's *Enquiry into Plants* and Dioscorides's *De Materia Medica*. Comparison of the Greek to the Latin editions of Aldus, in terms of content, reveals that the

f. cum B.

ΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ ΚΑΤ' ΑΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ.

Alpha. cum A.



αληκός . ο . ὄ . ἡ . infrangibilis .
ἀαστος : itāgibilis . uel . cui . nocere . q̄s . neq̄t
ἀασας . nocuisti . pro ἀασας . ab ἀτω .
ἀασχιος . ου . irretentibilis .
ἀατα . laesus . est . ab ἀτω .
ἀατος . ου . ὄ . ἡ .

ἀαστος . infaciabilis .

Λ. cum B.

ἄβασκαμος . ου . ὄ . ἡ . inuidia . uacutus .
ἀβατος . ου . ὄ . ἡ . inaccessibleis .
ἀβαφος . ου . ὄ . ἡ . non . tinctus .
ἀβεισμος . ου . ὄ . ἡ . instabilis .
ἀβελτρία . ἡ . stoliditas . ruditas . insipientia .
ἀβελτρος . ου . ὄ . ἡ . stolidus . ignarus .
ἀβιος . ου . ὄ . ἡ . non . curans . de . uita .
ἀβιωτος . ου . ὄ . ἡ . non . uiuendus .
ἀβλάβεια . ας . ἡ . incolumitas .
ἀβλαβης . ἰος . ὄ . ἡ . innocuus . incolumis .
ἀβλεψια . ας . ἡ . cæcitas .
ἀβληκός . ἡτος . nō . missus . noui . tæli . epitheton .
ἀβλητος . ου . ὄ . ἡ . inuulneratus .
ἀβληχρος . ου . ὄ . ἡ . robustus . imbecillus .
ἀβοήθητος . ου . ὄ . ἡ . auxilio . carens .
ἀβουλος . ου . ὄ . ἡ . flumen . ciliaris .
ἀβουλια . temeritas . insipientia . malū . cōsiliū
ἀβουλος . ου . ὄ . ἡ . consilio . carens . inconsultus .
ἀβρα . ας . ἡ . ancilla .
ἀβρακισαμ . fonuerunt .
ἀβρόβιος . mollis . i . delicate . uiuens .
ἀβροδιαιτος . ου . ὄ . ἡ . mollis . ut . supra .

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57. Crastoni, Giovanni, Dictionarium graeco-latinum, Milan, [Demetrios Damilas], for Buono Accorsi [no later than 1478].

Latin publications do not follow a specific programme. Some of them were published thanks to Aldus's ties of friendship with humanist circles of Venice, Padua, Ferrara and elsewhere. For example, from the texts of Roman literature, Aldus chose to publish only *De Rerum Naturae* of Lucretius, edited by the eminent humanist Girolamo Avanzi, and the *Astronomicon* of Firmicus Maternus, which is included in *Scriptores Astronomici* (1499) alongside other astronomical treatises. Another precious edition was the *Complete Works (Opera)* of Poliziano, edited by Lorenzo Sarti and printed in 1498, which includes the complete correspondence of Poliziano with the major exponents of Renaissance Humanism in Italy, alongside several translations and commentaries on Greek and Latin philosophical and literary essays, such as Plato's *Charmides*.

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However, the greatest number of Aldus's Latin incunabula consists in essays by scholars of his acquaintance, several of whom entrusted their precious manuscripts to him, so that they could be published, as was the case with Niccolò Leonico (*Da epidemia*, 1497). Another of Aldus's early achievements in printing was *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* by Francesco Colonna, which was published in 1499 at the expenses of Leonardo Grassi.

From the early sixteenth century, Aldus and his close collaborators realized that many changes should be made so that the orientation of the house could be maintained without depending almost exclusively on generous sponsors. Not only was the publishing programme redesigned, but also the format and appearance of the books. Probably the fact that the publishing house functioned as an Academy contributed to this

change. Whatever the case, the year 1502 saw the launch of Greek editions in small format, the proliferation of works of Latin literature. As previously stated, in order to reduce costs, the books were normally printed without headpieces, initials or other ornaments. Thus, Aldus's small-format Greek and



58. Engraving from *Hypnetoromachia Poliphili*, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1499.

Latin editions were accessible to students attending the universities of Padua, Ferrara and elsewhere, and not limited to affluent collectors and court circles in Italy and the North.

From the early sixteenth century until his death, Aldus pub-

lished ninety-one volumes of ancient Greek and Christian texts, both autonomous works and collections of writings. Thirty-five of those are purely Greek, while two other editions are trilingual and bilingual respectively: the one-page trial print of the *Old Testament* (1501) and Erasmus's collection of Greek and Latin sayings and proverbs, printed under the title *Adagia* (1508), as well, of course, as his two Catalogues.

Last, the exhaustive pace of work in Aldus's printing house should not be overlooked, as his press published 28 titles in just two years (1501-1502).