

# Erasmus and the Aldine Academy of Venice

## *A Neglected Chapter in the Transmission of Graeco-Byzantine Learning to the West\**

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A PROBLEM AT ONCE VITAL and insufficiently examined in Medieval and Renaissance intellectual history is that of the transmission of Greek learning from the Byzantine East to Italy and its subsequent diffusion to various parts of Western Europe. Increasing attention to be sure is being given to the activities in southern Italy of such figures as Nicholas, Abbot of the Greek monastery of Casole, to Barlaam and Pilatus who, with hardly notable success, taught Petrarch and Boccaccio, and to the more fruitful instruction in Florence of the Byzantines Chrysoloras, Argyropoulos, and Chalcondyles.<sup>1</sup> But inadequate study has been devoted to the intellectual role of Venice, which at the close of the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth century was the leading *foyer* of Hellenism in all Europe.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For such a major problem as the transmission of Greek learning to the West, especially Italy, surprisingly few works of synthesis have been written. Notable are the recent ones of G. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo* I, *Manuele Crisolora* (Florence 1941); II, *Giovanni Argiropulo* (Florence 1941); III, *Demetrio Calcondila* (Florence 1954); and "Andronico Callisto," *Rinascita* 23-24 (1942) 1-61. Also B. Knös, *Un ambassadeur de l'hellénisme: Janus Lascaris et la tradition greco-byzantine dans l'humanisme français* (Paris-Upsala 1945). More recently, K. Setton, "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance," *Proceedings of the*

Situated between East and West, Venice from at least the ninth century had been especially receptive to Byzantine economic and, to a certain degree, cultural influences. We may cite in this connection establishment in the heart of Constantinople of the Venetian merchant colony, which in the twelfth century numbered more than 20,000 persons, but the importance of which as a medium of cultural exchange has not yet been fully exploited by historians.<sup>3</sup> Greeks and Venetians were brought into even closer contact as a result of the Fourth Crusade of 1204, which sacked Constantinople and established a Venetian Empire on the ruins of the Byzantine state, but which at the same time made the Greeks bitterly resentful of the Venetians. It was not until after the Council of Florence in 1438-39<sup>4</sup> and especially the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453 that Venice, no longer in Greek eyes the notorious oppressor of the crusades, became a veritable refuge and center of opportunity for many displaced educated Greeks. These refugees from Constantinople, Crete and other Venetian possessions found in Venice a *milieu* favorable to their abilities. And in return they benefited the state not only in their capacity as merchants but, more important, as teachers of Greek

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*American Philosophical Society* 100 (1956) 1-76. On Barlaam and Pilatus see Setton, *op.cit.* 41-45, A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison 1952) 713-22 and G. Schiro's articles in *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, vols. 1, 2, 5, 6 and 8. On Nicholas of Casole see P. Sambin, *Il vescovo Cotroneo Niccolò da Durazzo e un inventario di suoi codici latini e greci (1276)* (Rome 1954); and R. Weiss, "The Greek Culture of South Italy in the Later Middle Ages," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 37 (1951) 23-50. Still basic for Greek transmission are E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des grecs au XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris 1885) and R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci nei secoli XIV e XV*, 2 vols. (Florence 1905-14). Also, V. Rossi, *Il Quattrocento* (Milan 1933) esp. bibl. on 62-66. On the twelfth century see C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, Mass. 1924) esp. 141-242.

<sup>2</sup>Only one work of synthesis exists on the intellectual role of Venice in this period, A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise* (Paris 1875). But besides containing a considerable number of errors, it focuses exclusively on Aldus and his publications, and, as a factual presentation, offers little analysis of the problems of Greek transmission (*e.g.*, only brief references are made to Erasmus in Venice).

<sup>3</sup>Several works exist on the Venetian colony of Constantinople from the economic side. Haskins in *Mediaeval Science* was one of the first to attempt to discuss the Venetian (and Pisan) colony in Constantinople from the cultural point of view; Setton, *op.cit.* 22, 26, 29, also includes a brief discussion.

<sup>4</sup>See my article, "The Council of Florence (1438-39) and the Problem of Union between the Greek and Roman Churches," *Church History* (1955) 324-346, and now J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, Eng. 1959).

to the Venetian educated class and members of the citizenry aspiring to civil and diplomatic posts in the East. It was the activities in Venice of this learned Greek element that helped to draw to the city a considerable number of Western European devotees of Greek studies, who on their return home themselves became agents in transmitting Greek letters to the West.

An outstanding example is the Venetian sojourn of the celebrated Erasmus — an episode which, surprisingly enough, has never been carefully investigated for its significance in the dissemination of Greek.<sup>5</sup> It is the purpose of this essay to examine the visit of Erasmus to Venice, in particular his associations with the noted Venetian printer Aldus Manutius and Aldus' Greek Academy, with its nucleus of Byzantine scholars. Special attention will be focused on the Venetian edition of Erasmus' important work, the *Adages*, publication of which by the Aldine press was responsible for establishing Erasmus' reputation throughout Europe. From a comparison of the Greek material incorporated into the Aldine version with that included in the edition printed immediately prior to his arrival in Venice, certain data can be gathered on the degree to which the Aldine version was enriched. These observations, together with conclusions regarding his various activities in the Aldine circle, may shed light not only on Erasmus' indebtedness to the scholars of Venice but, in view of his special place in the history of Western letters, on an important link in the spread of Greek learning throughout Europe.

When Erasmus arrived in Italy in September of 1506 he had already achieved some recognition among European in-

<sup>5</sup>Several works have treated the entire three-year visit of Erasmus to Italy: the two rather brief studies of P. de Nolhac, *Erasme en Italie* (Paris 1898) and *Erasme et l'Italie* (Paris 1925); and, recently, by the eminent scholar A. Renaudet, *Érasme et l'Italie*, in *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 15 (Geneva 1954). But the first two are inadequate on his Venetian sojourn, while Renaudet, despite the excellence of his work in providing a composite picture of the development of Erasmus' intellectual constitution, is not concerned (in the ten pages allotted to Venice) with what Erasmus acquired in the way of Greek learning from the Aldine, especially Byzantine, scholars in Venice. The principal biographies of Erasmus (see below) are brief and sketchy on his activities in Venice. J. Sandys' important *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, Eng. 1908) devotes only a sentence or two to Erasmus' Italian visit (II 128-29). S. Nulli, *Erasmus e il Rinascimento* (Turin 1955) has little bearing on Greek studies.

tellectuals.<sup>6</sup> Through residence in Italy, however, he hoped to enhance his academic stature by obtaining a doctor's degree in theology, a requisite credential if his theological views were to receive the serious consideration of contemporary scholars.<sup>7</sup> More important, as several of his own statements attest, he went to Italy primarily to perfect his knowledge of Greek ("Italiam adivimus Graecitatis potissimum causa.")<sup>8</sup> Some proficiency in that language he had already acquired in northern Europe, partly as the result of self-instruction and partly under various teachers, among whom was George Hermonymus of Sparta, according to Erasmus an instructor of little worth under whom he had read in Paris.<sup>9</sup>

To emphasize how essential Erasmus considered a knowledge of Greek, one need quote only the now famous lines he wrote to his patron Anthony of St. Bergen: "If you would drink deeply of the wellspring of wisdom apply to Greek. We have in Latin at best some small brooks and turbid pools; while the Greeks have the purest fountains and rivers flowing with gold." And in the same letter he wrote even more pointedly, ". . . Latin erudition, however ample, is crippled and imperfect without Greek."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup>What brought him initial recognition was the first publication of his *Adages* in Paris in 1500, followed by the *Enchiridion militis christiani* in 1504 (which also drew criticism). See J. Mangan, *Life, Character and Influence of D. Erasmus of Rotterdam* (New York 1927) I, 121ff.

<sup>7</sup>See Erasmus' statement, in P. S. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami I* (Oxford 1906) 432-33, nos. 201, 203 (hereafter Allen). English trans. in F. Nichols, *The Epistles of Erasmus I* (London 1904) 418-20 (hereafter Nichols).

<sup>8</sup>Letter to Servatius of November, 1506, in Allen I, 433; Nichols trans. I, 420. See also M. Phillips' recent *Erasmus and the Northern Renaissance* (London 1949) 56: "In Italy Erasmus had a clear conception of what he was working for, and the gap to be filled was still in the fuller knowledge of Greek." A. Tilley, *Dawn of the French Renaissance* (Cambridge, Eng. 1918) 292, affirms that on Erasmus' arrival in Italy he was a "passable Greek scholar," and that he went there "chiefly for the sake of Greek" (287-292). He also believes (290) that Erasmus did not make the most of his opportunities in Paris with regard to Greek study, perhaps because of the increasingly theological tone of the University of Paris. In Paris Erasmus does not seem to have met the Byzantine Janus Lascaris, who had already helped Guillaume Budé with his Greek.

<sup>9</sup>On Hermonymus see H. Omont, "Hermonyme de Sparte, maître de grec à Paris, et copiste de manuscrits (1476)", in *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 12 (1885) 65-98; J. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca* 5 (Paris 1833) 420-26; and G. Sathas, *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία* (Athens 1868) 69, who wrongly says that Melanchthon studied with Hermonymus. (On Greek studies in Paris fundamental is A. Renaudet, *Pré-é-forme et humanisme à Paris* [Paris 1916].) For Erasmus' opinion see Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* II, 169, note 3, quoting from Erasmus' *Catalogue of Lucubrations*, prefaced to his *Opera Omnia* (Leyden 1703).

<sup>10</sup>Allen no. 149, I, 352; Nichols I, 313.

On his arrival in Italy Erasmus' first step was to secure a degree from the University of Turin. His original intention had been to apply to the great University of Bologna, but to obtain a doctorate from that institution necessitated the possession of other scholarly titles which Erasmus had never found time to acquire.

After securing the Turin doctorate<sup>11</sup> (evidently with a minimum of effort), Erasmus proceeded to Bologna, where he was offered the hospitality of Paolo Bombasio, professor of Greek at the University there.<sup>12</sup> During a thirteen months' stay with Bombasio, Erasmus had the opportunity to meet a number of scholars and presumably to pursue the study of Greek, perhaps through attending some of Bombasio's lectures, certainly through engaging in informal discussions with his host.<sup>13</sup>

It was possibly Bombasio's suggestion that induced Erasmus, intending to leave soon for Rome, to write a letter (on the 28th of October 1507) to Europe's foremost printer, the Venetian Aldus Manutius, in which he requested publication of his Latin translation of two plays of Euripides, the *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*. Erasmus' letter,<sup>14</sup> a skillful combination of respect, flattery, and humility, began by complimenting Aldus<sup>15</sup> on his notable contribution to classical learning. Erasmus then struck a sympathetic note by mentioning reports that Aldus had received "no

<sup>11</sup>Cf. Mangan's explanation (*op.cit.* I, 223) that a relative of the pope was chancellor at Turin, while Bologna was then in the hands of papal enemies.

<sup>12</sup>On Bombasio, professor also of rhetoric and poetry see L. Simeoni, *Storia della Università di Bologna* 2 (Bologna 1947) 46-47, and P. de Nolhac, "Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce," *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto* 9 (1888) 230-232.

<sup>13</sup>According to a letter dated 1536 of Beatus Rhenanus (pupil and a kind of biographer of Erasmus) included in Froben's *Origen* (1536), Erasmus "when at Bologna did not attend any lectures, but, contented with the friendship of Paolo Bombasio . . . pursued his studies at home" (Allen I, 55; trans. in Nichols I, 23).

<sup>14</sup>This letter is among the fifteen discovered by Nolhac in the Vatican in 1898. Four constitute the sole correspondence we have between Erasmus and Aldus. Printed in Allen nos. 207, 209, 212, 213, I, pp. 437-442, 445-449. Trans. in Nichols I, 437-42, 445-49. Mangan, *op.cit.* I, 232, thinks dispatch of Erasmus' letter to Aldus may have been due to the influence of Carteromachus, whom Erasmus had recently met in Bologna.

<sup>15</sup>On Aldus see esp. Didot, *Alde Manuce*, the fullest account of his career and knowledge of Greek, though spotty and frequently inaccurate. Also F. Ferrigni, *Aldo Manuzio* (Milan 1925). A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*, 2nd. ed. (Paris 1825), 3 vols., is an excellent account of the publications of the Aldine Press. For other works, esp. on the Aldine Academy, see below.

proportionate gain" for his labors and expressed interest in Aldus' proposed Greek edition of Plato, while suggesting, interestingly enough, publication of the Greek text of the New Testament.<sup>16</sup> Subtly shifting his ground, Erasmus continued that though his two plays had already been printed in Paris (in September 1506) by Badius, he had refused Badius permission to reprint them because, to quote Erasmus' phrase, "I fear lest, as the proverb of Sophocles puts it, he will mend one mischief with another. I should think my lucubrations secure of immortality [however] if they came out printed in your type, especially the minute type which is the most elegant of all . . ." <sup>17</sup>

What the latter phrase referred to, of course, was the famous Aldino type (more commonly known as Italic), invented by Aldus.<sup>18</sup>

We know from a second letter of Erasmus that Aldus' response, which has been lost, must have been favorable.<sup>19</sup> Indeed Aldus may well have invited Erasmus to come to Venice, as may be surmised from Erasmus' plea of ill-health. Nevertheless Erasmus took care to send Aldus precise directions for the publication of his plays, the manuscript of which he now dispatched from Bologna to Venice.

In one month's time, by December 1507, the printing of the Euripidean plays was accomplished. At this juncture Erasmus, despite his originally stated intention to proceed to Rome, suddenly appeared in Venice. No letters explain the change in plan but it is probable that what persuaded him to make the journey was a desire to see published under the Aldine imprint one of his most cherished works, the *Adages*, a collection of proverbs gleaned

<sup>16</sup>The Aldine *ed. princeps* of Plato appeared in 1513. Aldus more than once had declared his intention of printing the Bible (see Nolhac, *Erasme en Italie* 98, n.4). Though he never carried this out (see C. Castellani, *La stampa in Venezia* [Venice 1889] 46, n.3 for explanation), he did publish one "polyglot" page of the Old Testament in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew (reproduced in Renouard, *Annales* III, 44).

<sup>17</sup>Allen no. 207, I, 439; and trans. Nichols I, 430.

<sup>18</sup>The old view was that the Aldine type imitated the hand of Petrarch. The generally accepted view today is that Aldus followed one of the two current book scripts of late 15th century Italy (more properly termed humanist cursive). See B. Bischoff, G. Lieftinck, G. Battelli, *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IX au XVIe siècles* (Paris 1954) 35-43 and now B. L. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Rome 1960), which I have not seen.

<sup>19</sup>Allen no. 209, I, 440-442; trans. Nichols I, 432.

chiefly from various classical authors, Latin and Greek. Erasmus had begun this collection shortly after his return from England in 1500 and in June of that year at Paris<sup>20</sup> it had been first printed by Jean Philippe as a slim volume entitled *Adagiorum Collectanea*. Already in Bologna Erasmus had devoted some little care to enlarging the work, but publication of a new edition at this time could afford considerable latitude for error, especially since he had not yet finished his intended revision of the volume.<sup>21</sup> His presence then at Venice was imperative, and thus for a period of nine months, from January to September 1508, Erasmus was to be a guest in the house of Aldus.

*Whoever you are, Aldus earnestly begs you to state your business in the fewest possible words and be gone, unless, like Hercules to weary Atlas, you would lend a helping hand. There will always be enough work for you and all who come this way.*

This challenge, inscribed over the door of Aldus' print shop,<sup>22</sup> confronted Erasmus when he presented himself at what then ranked as the leading publishing house in Europe. But what was this task for which Aldus was at once admonishing and enlisting the aid of passersby? It was to print systematically and for the first time all the major Greek classics of the ancient world. This was certainly an ambitious and praiseworthy design, for even in this period of avid interest in classical antiquity no press had hitherto been established primarily devoted to such a purpose.<sup>23</sup> Indeed

<sup>20</sup>See Allen no. 124, I, 287, and no. 126, I, note. Month of publication unstated. Nichols I, 236; P. Smith, *Erasmus* (New York 1923) 41; and E. Emerton, *Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam* (New York-London 1899) 91, agree on June, while Tilley, *op.cit.* 291 and others favor July. In any case, by the time of Erasmus' arrival in Venice the 2nd ed. of the *Adages* (published by Badius in Paris, Jan. 8, 1507; cf. Tilley, *op.cit.* 292) had been out a year.

<sup>21</sup>See below text for note 55, Erasmus' own statement. Also testimony of Rhenanus (Allen I, 55 and trans. in Nichols I, 23, 28; cf. Nolhac, *Erasme en Italie*, 24).

<sup>22</sup>Trans. E. Tatham, "Erasmus in Italy," *English Historical Review* 10 (1895) 649.

<sup>23</sup>The press of the Cretan, Zacharias Callierges, was, to be sure, devoted *exclusively* to Greek works, but his first publication, the famous *Etymologicum Magnum*, appeared only in 1499. How long this elaborate work was under preparation and in press is obscure. See Musurus' preface to the work in *Etymologicum Magnum*, ed. T. Gaisford (Oxford 1848) p. ii.

before the opening of the Aldine press in 1494-95<sup>24</sup> only a dozen Greek books had been printed in all of Italy,<sup>25</sup> despite the rapid development of the art of printing. Moreover the now firmly established Turkish occupation of the Greek East was threatening the loss or destruction of many priceless codices. Thus Aldus, bolstered by the encouragement and financial support of two close friends, the brothers Alberto and Lionello Pio, Princes of Carpi<sup>26</sup> (a small principality situated near Ferrara), had taken steps to establish such a press.

There was only one city, however, which could fulfill all the demands of a Greek press in this period — Venice — and it attests to Aldus' judgement and breadth of vision that he was able to resist the urgings of his patrons to set up his press in their palace at Carpi and to proceed instead to Venice. Of all the Italian cities, Venice possessed the greatest fund of experience in printing. The city's first press had been established in 1469, and of the more than 5,000 books printed in Italy before 1500 over one-half were produced in Venice.<sup>27</sup>

Of further importance to Aldus must have been Venetian possession of several great libraries, especially the Marciana, the nucleus of which was the impressive collection of about 500 Greek manuscripts bequeathed to Venice by the famous Byzantine statesman-scholar, Cardinal Bessarion.<sup>28</sup> Significant too was the tradi-

<sup>24</sup>Renouard, *op.cit.* I, 2-3, cites the year 1494. But cf. V. Scholderer, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XV Century Now in the British Museum* 5 (London 1924) p. li, who says 1495. The problem is complicated because the first Aldine works were undated; involved also is the question of the Venetian calendar: see esp. Renouard, *op.cit.* I, 2-3.

<sup>25</sup>See C. Castellani, *La Stampa in Venezia* (Venice 1889) 37. Also R. Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford 1900) 156.

<sup>26</sup>On Carpi and the brothers (whose preceptor Aldus had been) see H. Semper, *Carpi: Ein Fürstensitz der Renaissance* (Dresden 1882).

<sup>27</sup>The exact figure is 2,835 Venetian books, according to Sandys, *op.cit.* II, 97. Strikingly, only 10,000 in all of Europe (B. Botfield, *Prefaces to the First Editions of the Classics* [London 1861] p. LXII.) But cf. the authoritative V. Scholderer, *Printers and Readers in Italy in the 15th Century* (1949) 6-7, who believes these figures too low. He says Venice put out 4,500 editions before 1500.

<sup>28</sup>See H. Omont, "Inventaire des manuscrits grecs et latins donnés à Saint-Marc de Venise par le Cardinal Bessarion en 1468," *Revue des bibliothèques* 4 (1894) 130, who says *ca.* 500 Mss., and whose catalogue actually cites 482 (pp. 149-169). On Bessarion see L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann* (Paderborn 1923) and H. Vast, *Le Cardinal Bessarion. Etude sur la Chrétienté et la renaissance vers le milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1878).



tion of Greek studies established in Venice earlier in the fifteenth century (*e.g.*, involving Francesco and Ermolao Barbaro), and the instruction in Greek offered by Giorgio Valla and others. Added to these factors was the presence nearby of the University of Padua, which in the fields of pure Aristotelian philosophy, medicine and, significantly, Hellenic studies, was now one of the leading universities of Western Europe.<sup>29</sup>

No small consideration was of course the economic prosperity of Venice as the center of a still flourishing empire, a fact able to guarantee a class sufficiently wealthy and with leisure to buy and read the printed classics.<sup>30</sup>

With Aldus' primary emphasis on the publication of Greek works, of especial importance, finally, was the presence in Venice of a remarkably large, thriving Greek community — an agglomeration of merchants, mercenaries and others along with a considerable number of highly educated Greeks, refugees or voluntary exiles from Crete or their Turkish-occupied homelands. Venice's position as the center of empire and traditional port of entry to the West made it the funnel through which passed most of these refugees. And as many, owing to the opportunities presented for employment, chose to remain in the city, the Greek colony of Venice increased to more than 4,500 out of what has been estimated a total Venetian population of some 110,000 people.<sup>31</sup> The Venetians accordingly were able to profit from first hand knowledge

<sup>29</sup>On Padua, in effect the state university of Venice, see Knös, *Janus Lascaris* 38 (for its libraries of Greek manuscripts); P. Molmenti, *Venice, Its Individual Growth to the Fall of the Republic* (Chicago 1907) pt. 2, I, 258-67; and J. Facciolati, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini* (Padua 1757) 3 vols. N. Papadopoli, *Historia Gymnasii Patavini*, (Venice 1726) is often unreliable. On the development of Greek learning in Venice see my forthcoming book.

<sup>30</sup>See esp. Molmenti, *Venice* pt. 2, I, esp. 227-230, who lists the many Venetian nobles interested in letters. Cf. Didot, *Alde Manuce* 16-36.

<sup>31</sup>On the Greek colony see G. Veludo, *Sulla colonia greca orientale stabilita in Venezia. Cenni* (Venice 1847) and esp. the Greek version, 'Ελλήνων Ὀρθοδόξων ἀποικία ἐν Βενετία (Venice 1893) 6, which gives 5,000 Greeks for 1478. Cf. Knös, *Janus Lascaris* 21-30, who cites 4000 Greeks. For figures on the entire city of Venice see Molmenti, *Venice* I, pt. 2, 2, note 1. The figure I have used (110,000) is that of A. 1509. Cf. G. Beloch, "La popolazione d'Italia nei sec. XVI, XVII, e XVIII", in *Bulletin de l'Institut international de statistique* III (1888) and "La popolazione di Ven. nei sec. XVI e XVII," in *Nuovo arch. veneto*, n. s. III, p. 1. More recently, *Cities of the World B. C. 2500-A. D. 1936* (New York 1940) 12, under A. 1450 lists Venice as the West's largest city with 150,000 inhabitants, and with 158,000 in 1550.

of the Greek language. The more intellectual of the citizenry became increasingly imbued with an appreciation for the ideals of Hellenic and Byzantine learning until by the first decade of the sixteenth century Greek was better known in Venice than anywhere in the West.<sup>32</sup> Thus one Greek emigré, nostalgically contemplating the splendor of the city with its flourishing Greek community, could exclaim that Venice was "quasi alterum Byzantium."<sup>33</sup> In view of such considerations it is little wonder that Aldus chose to establish his press in the city of the lagoons.

Publication of Greek texts entailed difficulties compared to which the printing of Latin works was relatively easy. To begin with, not only had the most authentic manuscript of a particular author to be sought out from among those in possession of libraries, perhaps recalcitrant monks or cantankerous private owners of Italy, the Greek East, or even more distant lands such as Poland,<sup>34</sup> but after the finding of such works permission had to be obtained to copy, borrow, or as a last resort to buy them from their owners. Only after these often painful preliminaries could the task of preparing the manuscript for the press begin.

Establishment of the original text was the basic problem. In an era when the science of palaeography was in its infancy, this was indeed a slow, difficult process. After the decipherment and transcription of the manuscript — frequently from faulty, mutilated, or otherwise unsatisfactory documents — as well as attempts to solve the numerous philological questions that remained, the text would be set in type. Following these steps, the proofs had to be read by a person not only skilled in the technical aspects of typography but also familiar with the style of the author in question.

Aldus found the solution to the many facets of his task by gathering around him a group of learned men and, in what was soon to become the fashion of the age, forming an academy. Thus in 1500 in conjunction with two friends, the Italian Scipio

<sup>32</sup>See Knös, *Janus Lascaris* 21. Cf. notes 30-31 above.

<sup>33</sup>Statement of Bessarion, cited in his will leaving his library to Venice. See Omont, "Inventaire des manuscrits grecs" 139.

<sup>34</sup>See Nichols I, 437, quoting in trans. from Erasmus' *Adages* of 1526; cf. Didot, *Alde Manuce* 420.

Carteromachus (known in Italian as Forteguerra) and the Cretan John Gregoropoulos of the Greek colony in Venice, Aldus founded his *Νεακαδημία* (New Academy). Its prime function was to select the Greek authors to be printed and to seek a solution of the various philological and literary problems involved.<sup>35</sup> Although every important Italian city of the Renaissance period would possess one or more academies, that of Aldus alone was dedicated entirely to Greek studies.<sup>36</sup> Its constitution (*Νεακαδημίας Νόμος*) which was drawn up in Greek, provided for the exclusive use of that language at all sessions; in the event of violation of this rule a fine had to be paid to Aldus.<sup>37</sup> With the money collected, periodic banquets were held in imitation of the Platonic symposia.

In order to aid in the exigencies of the publishing process, the Academy was divided into several sections, with a group of proof-readers, including a head reader and a corrector, belonging to each. Though each section was carefully organized, the Academy as a whole operated on a rather informal basis. Membership was apparently not fixed and changes in the roster seem to have been not infrequent.<sup>38</sup> Included were some very famous names, the more important of which may here be listed: Prince Alberto Pio of Carpi, Scipio Carteromachus, Fra Urbano Bolzanio, Battista Egnazio, Girolamo Aleandro (the "true" founder of the teaching of Greek in Paris and before whom, in his capacity of papal nuncio,

<sup>35</sup>From 1494 to 1515 no less than 30 *editiones principes* of Greek authors and works of reference were produced by Aldus (see E. Robertson "Aldus Manutius, the Scholar-Printer." *Bulletin of J. Rylands Library* 23 [1950] 72; 27 *ed. pr.*, according to Sandys, *op.cit.* II. 100; cf. H. Omont, *Catalogues des livres grecs et latins imprimés par Alde Manuce à Venise, 1498, 1503, 1513* [Paris 1892]). Sandys' statement, often repeated (II 265, n.1), that by Aldus' death in 1515 "all the principal Greek classics had been printed" is not exactly correct, Polybius, *e.g.*, not being printed until later.

<sup>36</sup>J. Sandys, *Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning* (Cambridge 1905) 100. Of course, the circle of Bessarion in Rome (when under Nicholas V's protection, 1447-55) had also been devoted to Greek studies, but there Latin translation from the Greek—not publication—was the aim, and unlike the Aldine Academy, exclusive use of the Greek language in meetings was not prescribed.

<sup>37</sup>Greek text of constitution in Didot, *Alde Manuce* 435, who remarks (148) that solecisms were not fined! One wonders if Erasmus, who is generally accepted as a visiting member of the Academy, had to pay many fines. It is extremely doubtful that he spoke Greek with any degree of fluency. See Nichols I, 450.

<sup>38</sup>As is evident from P. de Nolhac, "Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce," *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto* 8 (1887) 255-299, who includes letters to Aldus from former or absent members of the Academy.

Luther would be arraigned at Worms),<sup>39</sup> Pietro Bembo (later secretary to Pope Leo X and Cardinal)<sup>40</sup> and Fra Giocondo — all Italian humanist scholars; Andrea Navagero, Daniele Ranieri, Marino Sanuto (whose famous *Diarii* are a mine of information for the period), and Paolo Canale — Venetian statesmen and nobles;<sup>41</sup> Giovanni da Lucca and Ambrogio Leoni — Italian physicians; and finally a large group of Greeks — Marcus Musurus,<sup>42</sup> Demetrius Ducas (who subsequently went to Spain and helped to produce the Greek versions of Cardinal Ximenes' famous Polyglot Bible), John Gregoropoulos, Arsenios Apostolis, and John Rhosos,<sup>43</sup> all of Crete; Justin Decadyos of Corfu, and the Constantinopolitan Janus Lascaris, who had assumed Bessarion's role as "protector of the Greeks" and at this time held the high office of French ambassador to the republic of Venice.<sup>44</sup> Many celebrated names in Western intellectual as well as political history are to be found here.

Of capital significance is the fact that of a total of what have been estimated as some 36 to 39 more or less permanent members,<sup>45</sup> more than a dozen were Greek-born, refugees or exiles from the wreck of the Byzantine world, and of this latter number about half were from the island of Crete, then still under Venetian domin-

<sup>39</sup>On Carteromachus see Nichols I, 453-54. On Egnazio see Nichols I, 441 and Renaudet, *op.cit.* 84. There is a large bibl. on Aleandro; for his relations with Erasmus (which cooled), see esp. J. Paquier, "Erasmus et Aléandre," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome* 15 (1895). Aleandro, upon leaving Italy, obtained his position as a teacher of Greek in Paris on Erasmus' recommendation. See Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris* 501ff.

<sup>40</sup>J. Schück, *Aldus Manutius und seine Zeitgenossen in Italien und Deutschland* (Berlin 1862) 75, and others list Bembo as an Academy member, though there seems to be no mention of him in the sources at the time of Erasmus' visit.

<sup>41</sup>On all of these see Didot 468-70 and 447-48, and Renaudet, *Erasmus et l'Italie*, 82.

<sup>42</sup>On him see below.

<sup>43</sup>On all of these see Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, I, and documents in vol. 2; also my forthcoming book on Greek learning in Venice.

<sup>44</sup>On Lascaris see esp. Knös, *Janus Lascaris*.

<sup>45</sup>Exact number disputed: Didot, *Alde Manuce* 148, names 39, the largest list; Renouard, *Annales* III, 38, objects, believing probably justifiably that not every associate of Aldus was an "Academician." Schück, *Aldus Manutius* 69-84, tends to agree with Renouard. Yet their lists, including 36 names, are hardly smaller than that of Didot. M. Gilmore, *The World of Humanism* (New York 1952) 190, notes that almost half of the total number were Greek. In general, on all the Greek scholars mentioned in this study see Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*; C. Boerner, *De doctis hominibus graecis* (Leipzig 1701), C. Sathas, *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία* (Athens 1868); and on their work as copyists see esp. M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909).

ation.<sup>46</sup> Crete too after 1453 had received an influx of refugees from Byzantine territories, a considerable number of whom, owing to the dearth of economic and intellectual opportunities on the island, had subsequently migrated to Venice, there to contribute to the activities of its Greek colony.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to regular membership, the *Neakademia* on occasion would confer a kind of honorary status on distinguished foreign visitors, who were thus enabled to attend its meetings during the course of their stay in Venice and who could not but profit from their experience. Such was the case of Erasmus of Rotterdam.<sup>48</sup>

Before discussing the activities of Erasmus in the Aldine environment, it may be well to give some account of the living and working conditions of the employees and associates of Aldus. Erasmus himself, in his colloquy *Opulentia Sordida* (*The Wealthy Miser*, as someone has aptly translated it) has left us what is generally accepted as a description of the Aldine establishment.<sup>49</sup> Virtually all the employees, some thirty-three in number,<sup>50</sup> lived in the same household, a building in the quarter of San Paterniano which was the possession of Aldus' father-in-law and later business partner, Andrea d'Asola. In these cramped quarters where Erasmus had to share a room with Girolamo Aleandro and where, moreover, all were accustomed to take their meals together, Erasmus, a chronic complainer, was evidently not exactly satisfied. Erasmus describes the household as miserly; the host, he says, crudely economized by serving only two meals a day, the first at one o'clock and the second on the master's — that is d'Asola's — return, often after ten. The fare was extremely frugal, usually thin soup and bad wine (responsible, claimed Erasmus, for bringing

<sup>46</sup>Most of the Academy compositors were Cretans, the head corrector being John Gregoropoulos (Didot, *Alde Manuce* 151, 440). A remarkable number of Cretans achieved fame in the West as copyists of Mss. See H. Omont, *Fac-similés des Manuscrits grecs des XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris 1887).

<sup>47</sup>See Veludo, *Sulla colonia greca . . . in Venezia*, and Greek version (1893), *passim*.

<sup>48</sup>Another example is that of the English scholar Linacre, whose Latin trans. of Proclus' *Sphere* Aldus had published in 1499; cf. Schüeck, *Aldus Manutius* 69, n.1.

<sup>49</sup>Text in *Colloquies of Desiderius Erasmus*, trans. by N. Bailey, 3 (London 1900) 180-195. Also see Mangan, *op.cit.* I, 247. For analysis see esp. P. Smith, "Key to the Colloquies of Erasmus," *Harvard Theological Studies* XIII (1927), who identifies the pseudonyms used by Erasmus.

<sup>50</sup>See Mangan, *op.cit.* I, 248-49, for Erasmus' enumeration.

on his first attack of the stone), with the *pièce de résistance* consisting of "a morsel of stony cheese and seven small lettuce leaves floating in a bowl of rancid vinegar."<sup>51</sup>

Most scholars agree that while this picture of the Aldine household contains certain elements of truth, it is at the same time grossly distorted. Actually the colloquy was written twenty-three years later as a defense against the scurrilous attack on Erasmus of the Ciceronian, Julius Caesar Scaliger, who reproached him with "having escaped from a monastery in Holland in order to take refuge with Aldus, engaging himself as a corrector of proofs and drinking like a triple Geryon, but doing only half the work of one man."<sup>52</sup>

Whatever sentiments Erasmus may have expressed subsequently, there is no evidence of a rift between him and members of the Aldine circle during the period of his stay in Venice. Evidently the only person provoked by the satire was Aldus' old friend Alberto Pio, who much later, in 1535, while an exile in Paris and himself involved in the conflict over Ciceronianism, scornfully accused Erasmus of ingratitude to Aldus and of working for the latter as a mere corrector of proofs rather than as an associate.<sup>53</sup> But in the Aldine workshop the terms "corrector" and "editor" were virtually synonymous. Aldus himself, for example, insisted on reading all final proofs and even such eminent Hellenists as Marcus Musurus — in my view the greatest Greek philologist of the entire Renaissance — and Demetrius Ducas, supervisor of the Aldine *Rhetores Graeci*, on occasion served as correctors. The term therefore had no opprobrious connotation. Nevertheless, in view of the remarks of his detractors, Erasmus always was careful to

<sup>51</sup>On all this see esp. letter of Beatus Rhenanus (Nichols I, 30). Also Erasmus' *Apologia ad xxiv libros Alberti Pii* (trans. in Nichols I, 447). Because of the stone Erasmus requested d'Asola that he be allowed to prepare meals in his chamber. For Erasmus' statement quoted here see trans. of Mangan, *op.cit.* I, 250.

<sup>52</sup>For (disputed) date of Scaliger's work containing this statement and for a clear study of their complex controversy, see esp. V. Hall Jr, "The Life of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558)", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. 40 (1950) 99ff. Cf. Smith, *Erasmus* 311 who dates it 1529. Also Mangan, *op.cit.* I, 256.

<sup>53</sup>On Pio see Semper, *Carpi: Ein Fürstensitz* 21A. Excerpts from polemics of Pio and Erasmus printed *ibid.* 27B-29, and esp. in note 152. Scaliger repeated Pio's charge (Nichols I, 448).

maintain that he corrected only his own work and this after elimination of the obvious errors by another proofreader.<sup>54</sup>

Immediately upon Erasmus' arrival in Venice the work of publishing an enlarged edition of his *Adages* began. As noted, revision of the volume was then far from complete. Indeed, to quote his own words, he had at the time "but the confused and undigested material of future work, and that compiled *only from authors already published*."<sup>55</sup> The closing phrase may be compared with a revealing statement Erasmus made later as to the unavailability of Greek manuscripts when (in 1500) he published the first edition of the *Adages* in Paris: "I had no supply of Greek codices, without which trying to write about proverbs is nothing else than trying to fly without wings, as Plautus says."<sup>56</sup>

Erasmus found the situation in Venice altogether different. Generous aid came from members of the Aldine circle who supplied him with various manuscripts in their possession, including even texts of unedited authors. Aldus himself provided unpublished codices from his own library, which, Erasmus attests, was supplied better than any other especially in Greek books.<sup>57</sup> In addition Aldus permitted Erasmus access to letters of scholars from all over Europe with whom he was in correspondence regarding manuscript and literary problems.<sup>58</sup> Specific acknowledgement of indebtedness was made by Erasmus in the famous adage "Festina Lente," in which he wrote that "without the precious aid of these men my book would have been much less complete."<sup>59</sup>

Erasmus makes individual mention in the same adage of the Greeks Janus Lascaris and Marcus Musurus, as well as the

<sup>54</sup>For Erasmus' defense see trans. of his *Apologia ad xxiv libros*, in Nichols I, 446-47.

<sup>55</sup>"Idque ex evulgatis dumtaxat autoribus" (from 1526, Froben ed. [entitled *Adagiorum Opus*] of "Festina Lente," Chil. II, cent. 1, prov. 1, p. 340). Trans. in Nichols I, 438.

<sup>56</sup>Remark printed in preface of Froben 1515 ed. of *Adages*; trans. in T. Appelt, *Studies in the Sources and Contents of Erasmus' Adagia* (Dissertation, University of Chicago 1942) 14; and see Allen I, 523.

<sup>57</sup>See Nolhac, *Erasme en Italie* 51, citing "Festina Lente." Also cf. Froben 1526 ed., p. 139.

<sup>58</sup>For the correspondence see Nolhac, "Les Correspondants d'Alde Manuce," *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto* 8 (1887) and 9 (1888), esp. 250ff. and 253.

<sup>59</sup>See Froben ed. (Basle 1526), entitled *Adagiorum Opus*, 339-40. Also trans. of passage by Smith, *Erasmus* 42: "many learned men of their own accord offered me authors not yet published." That these passages appear later in the 1526 ed. but not in the original Aldine makes them even more significant.

Italians Battista Egnazio and "Frater" Urbanus (Urbano Bolzanio).<sup>60</sup> All of them are credited by Erasmus with the loan of rare manuscripts from their private libraries, including a large number of very important Greek works otherwise unprinted or inaccessible to him. Among the Greek manuscripts loaned were the dialogues of Plato (the Greek *editio princeps* edited by Musurus was soon to issue from the Aldine press in 1513); Plutarch's *Lives* and *Moralia* (the latter of which, edited by Ducas, was at that very moment being printed);<sup>61</sup> Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*,<sup>62</sup> Aphthonius;<sup>63</sup> Hermogenes with scholia and the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle (both of which were included in the Aldine *Rhetores Graeci* printed in 1508-9);<sup>64</sup> a complete Aristides with annotations;<sup>65</sup> scholia on Hesiod and Theocritus, as well as the even more valuable ones of Eustathius of Thessalonika on Homer;<sup>66</sup> Pausanias;<sup>67</sup> Pindar with (to quote Erasmus' own phrase) "care-

<sup>60</sup>All four are again mentioned by name in Erasmus' later work, *Apologia ad xxiv libros* (see Nichols I, 447).

<sup>61</sup>See 1526 Froben ed. of Erasmus' *Adages* 340: "Moralia, quae sub finem operis mei coepta sunt excudi." Plutarch's *Moralia* was actually issued in 1509. The *Lives* were first printed in 1517 by F. Giunta of Florence. See A. M. Bandini, *De Florentina Juntarum Typographia et Juntarum Typog. Annales*, II (Lucca 1791). The *Lives* were published in 1519 by Aldus (Renouard, *Annales* I, 207).

<sup>62</sup>Unavailability to the West corroborated by C. Bühler, "Aldus Manutius and the Printing of Athenaeus," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (Mainz 1955) 104-6. The *ed. princeps*, ed. by Musurus, was published by Aldus in 1514, although there exists a single page of a projected Aldine edition dating from 1499-1500.

<sup>63</sup>On Aphthonius, the 4th century Greek rhetorician, see Didot, *Alde Manuce* 312, and J. Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux* I (Dresden 1859) 158. His *Progymnasmata* was evidently under press when Erasmus was with Aldus.

<sup>64</sup>The Hermogenes first became known in the West through the Aldine ed., which also contained Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (and included Aristotle's *Poetics*.) Curiously, in his statement analyzed here, Erasmus affirms that Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, loaned to him, included the commentary of Gregory of Nazianzus ("Aristotelis rhetorica cum scholiis Gregorii Nazianseni": ed. cited *supra* n. 59). However, Gregory does not seem to have written such a work: at least I can find no evidence of it. Nohac, *Erasme en Italie* 40, n.4; Renaudet 85; and Appelt, *op.cit.* 146, cite Gregory's scholia but without comment. Smith, *Erasmus* 146, deliberately omits mention of Gregory's work though he is quoting Erasmus' own words.

<sup>65</sup>Unknown to the West before this time, the *ed. princeps* of Aristides was published in 1517 by Giunta at Florence (Graesse, *op.cit.* I, 205). But Aldus published certain of Aristides' orations in his *Rhetorum Graecorum Orationes* in 1513 (Didot, 334).

<sup>66</sup>Eustathius' scholia were already known to the West through Mss. of Bessarion, but the scholia were not published until 1542-50 in Rome, ed. by Mathew Devaris of Corfu, pupil of Janus Lascaris (Graesse, *op.cit.* II, 258; also Sandys, *Hist. Class. Schol.* II, 78).

<sup>67</sup>The *ed. princeps* of Pausanias appeared in 1516, Aldine press (after Aldus' death) and edited by Musurus (Graesse, *op.cit.* V, 177 and cf. Sandys, *Hist. of Class. Schol.* II, 104). But the work was probably known to the West before this time.



fully made annotations;"<sup>68</sup> proverb collections ascribed to Plutarch<sup>69</sup> and also the sayings compiled by Michael Apostolis (the fifteenth century Byzantine whose son, Arsenios, at one time was a member of the Aldine group)<sup>70</sup> — and, as Erasmus concludes in the same adage, "alia minuta."<sup>71</sup>

Even a cursory glance at this list reveals that it comprises some of the most celebrated and influential works of Greek antiquity in the fields of rhetoric, philosophy, ethics, geography, and epic and lyric poetry. And the large majority of these — with the notable exception of the writings of Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch— were virtually unknown to the West before their subsequent publication by the Aldine Press. Through Erasmus' own words, moreover, there is here revealed direct exchange between representatives of not two but three cultural traditions — Byzantine, Italian, and, if we may use the term, Northern European — a fact of vital importance for the later development of Western intellectual thought. Only in Venice, owing to the peculiar circumstances of its connections with the East, could Erasmus in this period have been provided with such a rich variety of important and unexploited Greek authors.<sup>72</sup>

For this magnificent aid Erasmus more than once expressed gratitude. In one place he records that he was assisted by certain ones "whom I knew neither personally nor by name." Notable is the contrast he draws, again in "Festina Lente," between the

<sup>68</sup>The *ed. princeps* of Pindar was issued by Aldus in 1513. Callierges' famous Pindar with scholia appeared in Rome in 1515. The author of Erasmus' "carefully made annotations" is not specified, though he may well have been Musurus.

<sup>69</sup>Some modern scholars cite the author as "a certain Plutarch," but since the famous Plutarch of Boeotia did make such a collection, this refers probably to him. The collection is referred to usually as that of Pseudo-Plutarch.

<sup>70</sup>Michael's collection in its entirety was not published until 1832. His son and literary heir Arsenios had been in Venice for several years before 1500 because his name appears on two Aldine publications of 1494-95 and 1496 and it seems that in 1498-9 he quarreled with Aldus. Cf. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique* II, 337. According to documents recently found by M. Manousakas ("Ἀρχιερείς Μεθώνης . . .," *Πελοποννησιακά* 3 [1959] 115-116, 144) Arsenios was in Venice and knew Erasmus during the latter's stay there.

<sup>71</sup>All the above Mss., as noted, are listed in the slightly enlarged version of the adage, "Festina Lente," published in the 1526 ed. *Adagiorum Opus* p. 340, of Froben.

<sup>72</sup>Pope Nicholas V, already in the mid-fifteenth century, had in Rome collected 350 Greek Mss., but Bessarion's library, now deposited in Venice, included ca. 500 Mss. (see Omont's article, *supra* n. 28). Indeed in Venice Erasmus seems to have used not so much Bessarion's library as private collections like those of Janus Lascaris, Musurus, and Aldus, as Erasmus himself indicates (see text above).

liberality of the Aldine scholars who strove to aid him, "an utter stranger," and what he terms the "selfishness" of the Northern savants.<sup>73</sup>

Incorporation of the mass of new material so increased the scope of the *Adages* that this Aldine edition of 1508, a folio volume of over 500 pages containing more than 3,000 adages, constituted in reality a new work.

While Erasmus set himself to write, Aldus began to print with that "deliberate rapidity" which Erasmus has helped to make famous in "Festina Lente," the adage in which he describes the Aldine printer's mark of an anchor entwined with a dolphin, and praises Aldus' professional ideals of tempering swiftness with deliberateness.

It was the first time that Erasmus had essayed the role of writing at the same time that printing was in progress. What rendered his task even more difficult was the skill of the Aldine workmen, who printed with a rapidity extraordinary for the time. The first proof, we are told, was corrected by an employee named Serafino. Erasmus then occupied himself with additions and what today would be termed corrections of the author. The final copy was always corrected by Aldus himself. Aldus' meticulousness evoked a query from Erasmus as to why he took such pains, to which the reply was "*studeo*."<sup>74</sup> The picture of the two scholars working together in a room filled with the noise of the press has remained classic in the annals of printing.

Publication of the *Adages* was completed by September (1508) after nine months of uninterrupted labor. The volume, which occupies a capital place in the development of humanistic learning, is essentially a vast congeries of proverbs, maxims, and pithy sayings gleaned from Greek and Latin authors. The idea of making such a collection was not new, for works of more or less similar type had already been compiled in Byzantium, such as that of the so-called Suidas (more correctly Suda) of the 10th century,<sup>75</sup> and

<sup>73</sup>See 1526 Froben ed. of *Adages* 340; also Nichols I, 438-39.

<sup>74</sup>See Erasmus' *Apologia ad xxiv libros Alberti Pii* (in Nichols I, 446).

<sup>75</sup>Suidas is actually the name of a lexicon (correctly, ἡ Σούδα), not an author. Evidently Eustathius of Thessalonica (12th century) was the first to use the term as that of an author. See F. Dölger, "Der Titel des sogenannten Suidaslexikons," *Sitzungsb. der Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.* (Munich 1936) 6.

of Michael Apostolis of the late fifteenth. But the work of Erasmus is among the very first of its kind in the West.<sup>76</sup>

What made his volume particularly distinctive was not only the richness and variety of the proverbs included but the fact that a predominant number were accompanied by instructive commentaries, the content of which, Erasmus admits, was in great part based on Greek materials given to him and analyzed in conjunction with members of the Aldine circle.<sup>77</sup> Such a storehouse of ancient sayings with explanation would be invaluable to those desirous of improving their knowledge of the classics and of even more practical use to the educated man, for whom elegance of style could be enhanced by graceful allusion to classical authors. The *Adages* in fact were to enjoy enormous popularity, especially in the North, and were utilized for over a century not only as a Latin and Greek dictionary and grammar, but also as a commonplace book, journal, and history of travel all in one.<sup>78</sup> Not without justification has the book been termed the most popular work of the entire period.

In order better to explain the nature of the Aldine publication and especially the magnitude of the Greek material newly incorporated, two selections from the work, by the persons responsible for its production, are here presented in English translation:<sup>79</sup> first, the preface of Aldus in which he praises Erasmus to the reader,

<sup>76</sup>According to Mangan, *op.cit.* I, 126, several other Westerners, including Polydore Virgil, anticipated Erasmus in this field, though Erasmus' work is of course much larger and enriched with comments. Typical of Erasmus, he failed to mention his indebtedness to Polydore, a fact which incensed the latter.

<sup>77</sup>See e.g., Erasmus' adage, "Rana Gyrina Sapientior," from Plato's *Theatetus*, as printed in *Opera Omnia* (Leyden 1703) (first appearing in ed. of 1520 so far as I am aware), where Erasmus writes: "That I was able to interpret this passage more accurately was due to Girolamo Aleandro, a man . . . bound to me by an old friendship." Since Erasmus and Aleandro fell out *after* Erasmus left Venice, this should refer to their common residence in that city. This is a specific example of the kind of discussion that constantly went on in the Aldine group.

<sup>78</sup>See Drummond, *Erasmus* 27. Cf. Appelt, *op.cit.* 40, who regards this statement as slightly exaggerated as, in his view, the *Adages* lacked organization. However, though the earlier editions have no index (only a table of contents), the Aldine (1508) ed. (which Appelt does not use) contains not only an alphabetical index but one carefully arranged by subject, a fact of much help to readers.

<sup>79</sup>Complete title of Aldine ed. is *Adagiorum Chiliades tres, ac centuriae fere totidem*. Date of publication is given as September, 1508, "Venetiis in aedibus Aldi." My microfilm was obtained from the Bodleian Library of Oxford University. I have also consulted a copy of the original Aldine ed. in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, Italy.

and second, a similar passage by Erasmus from his adage "Festina Lente," wherein, as if in response to Aldus' preface, he extols the work of his printer and his contribution to letters.<sup>80</sup>

*Aldus to Scholars*

*I wish nothing more, dear readers, than to be of service to you. On this account, therefore, when there had come into my hands this erudite work of Erasmus of Rotterdam, that most learned of men in the world — (this work containing adages of such variety and richness of content is worthy of being compared with the works of antiquity itself) — I interrupted the publication of certain ancient authors which I had been preparing in order that we might print this instead, believing that it would prove useful to you, both because of the great number of adages which the author has assiduously collected with a maximum of effort and solicitude from a large group of writers, Latin as well as Greek, and also because during the course of the work many passages in the writings of either language were judiciously emended by him or eruditely explained.*

*The work reveals how much one may profit from proverbs such as these — just think, in fact, how they can be accommodated to different uses. In this work about ten thousand verses from Homer, Euripides, and other Greek writers have been faithfully and scholarly translated into Latin utilizing the same meter as the Greek, in addition to numerous passages from Plato, Demosthenes, and other authors.*

*But whether I speak the truth, you shall judge from your own experience. "Behold Rhodes, behold therefore where you must jump."<sup>81</sup> For, as is often said, "He plays the flute best who plays himself."<sup>82</sup>*

These two proverbs are evidently taken from the collection of the Cretan Michael Apostolis, a copy of which was presented to Erasmus by his room mate Aleandro, who in turn, probably

<sup>80</sup>Except for a part of Aldus' preface, this is, to my knowledge, the first time the following two selections appear in English translation (the translations are my own). The Latin original of the first selection is printed in Renouard, *Annales* I, 125.

<sup>81</sup>For this proverb, for which Aldus cites no provenience, see L. Leutsch's ed. of *Paroemiographi Graeci* 2 (Göttingen 1951) 149. Leutsch cites Gregory of Cyprus (13th century), who evidently took it from Aesop, fable 30 (see Leutsch 101, n. 86).

<sup>82</sup>See Leutsch, 149. Proverb included in Michael Apostolis' collection and in the earlier ones of (pseudo) Diogenianus and Macarius of Philadelphia.

secured it from an Aldine colleague, Michael's son Arsenios Apostolis.<sup>83</sup>

[*Erasmus' Encomium on Aldus*]<sup>84</sup>

*Indeed I do not believe that this mark [Aldus' printer's mark of the anchor and the dolphin] was even more illustrious at that time when, engraved on the imperial nomisma [the Byzantine coin] it was carried about to be effaced by the handling of merchants, than it is now, when everywhere in the world, in fact even beyond the limits of the Christian Empire, it is spread abroad along with books of both languages to be recognized, held in esteem, and exalted by all who devote themselves to the cult of liberal studies: particularly by those who, surfeited with that debased, barbarous, and dull learning,<sup>85</sup> aspire to true and ancient erudition, for the restoration of which this man, as if born for the task, seems made, indeed coined so to speak, by the fates themselves. With such ardent devotion does he aspire to this one end, with such indefatigable zeal does he strive, that he has hitherto not shied away from any task whatever in order that the material of literature may be restored for scholars, [and rendered] unimpaired, genuine, and pure . . . By God, it is a Herculean task and one worthy of a princely mind to restore to the world something divine which has almost completely foundered, to search for what is hidden, to bring to light what has been concealed, to imbue with life what has been extinguished, to reconstruct passages that have been mutilated, and to emend others distorted in countless ways through the fault especially of irresponsible printers, to whom the small profit of even one gold coin is of greater value than all of literature . . .*

*If one seeks to evaluate the accomplishments of princes, among these the greatest glory must be ascribed to Ptolemy [Philadelphus]. But his library was enclosed within the con-*

<sup>83</sup>On Aleandro's presentation of the work to Erasmus see the latter's words in his "Festina Lente," Froben ed., 1526, p. 340: "Proverbiorum collectio . . . titulo Apostoli, cuius libri nobis copiam fecit Hieronymus Aleander." On Arsenios' contribution see *supra*, n. 70.

<sup>84</sup>This selection, from adage "Festina Lente", first appears in the Aldine *Adages*, though Smith, *Erasmus* 41-42, 44, states the adage was not printed until 1526. The single passage concerning aid rendered Erasmus by the Aldine circle is lacking from the 1508 ed. but the adage proper is certainly included.

<sup>85</sup>A reference to medieval scholastic learning.

*straining walls of a building, while that of Aldus is delimited only by the ends of the world itself.*

A more precise method of measuring the extent of the influence of the Aldine group on Erasmus would be to establish the number of Greek passages added to the Aldine version as compared with those included in the edition produced in Paris immediately before his Venetian residence.<sup>86</sup> Though the *Adages* had already undergone various reprintings,<sup>87</sup> only this 1507 Paris edition, done by Jean Petit and Josse Badius, was actually a revision. And in this Paris edition, which bears the title *Adagiorum Collectanea*, there is an increase of merely 23 adages over the original edition, with only 332 paragraphs containing Greek.<sup>88</sup> In the vastly enlarged Aldine edition, however, of which the new title *Chiliades Adagiorum Tres* is extremely revealing, more than four-fifths of the total proverbs are now entirely new or substantially altered in form. And 2,734, or no less than 84 per cent of the total, now contain Greek passages of two to six lines or more in length, along with greatly extended Latin elaborations of previous annotational material.<sup>89</sup>

Although in subsequent editions the total number of proverbs

<sup>86</sup>Such a comparison has not hitherto been attempted.

<sup>87</sup>On the various editions see F. Van der Haeghen, R. Van der Berghe, and Th. J. Arnold, *Bibliotheca Erasmi, Bibliographie des oeuvres d'Erasmus: Adagia* (Gand 1897). Though the original Paris ed., entitled *Adagiorum Collectanea*, was far slimmer than the Aldine *Chiliades*, publishers continued to print it. The *Collectanea* went through four editions (1500, 1507, 1509, and one undated) and thirty-one reprints. The *Chiliades* was published in fifteen editions (nine during Erasmus' lifetime) and thirty-six reprints.

<sup>88</sup>This Petit-Badius ed. (1507) is generally cited as containing 838 adages. But three adages are misnumbered (*e.g.*, two sometimes are given the same number); hence there are actually 841. Incidentally, in the Aldine ed. I have also noted ten misnumbered adages.

<sup>89</sup>This percentage is based on a careful comparison of the two editions made by my assistant Catherine Byerly, who has determined that only slightly over half (463 adages) of the 1507 edition adages were incorporated into the Aldine publication. Of these 463, passages in Greek were now first introduced into 129 adages of the Aldine edition, while in the case of 103 adages the amount of Greek was increased. The number of adages without Greek passages remained relatively static—509 adages in 1507 and 537 in 1508. The conclusion to be drawn is that the overall increase in size of the Aldine ed. is due mainly to the addition of proverbs derived from Greek sources, which would mean the Mss. given him by members of the Aldine circle. T. Appelt, *Studies in the Contents and Sources of Erasmus' Adagia with Particular Reference to the First Edition, 1500, and the Edition of 1526* (Chicago 1942) hardly considers the Aldine 1508 ed. nor the problem of Erasmus' debt to the Aldine circle.

in the *Adages* was ultimately to exceed 4,000,<sup>90</sup> it is evident that the greatest increase in the size of the volume occurred in the interval between the two editions in question, that is, between the 1507 Paris edition and the Aldine of 1508. Aside from the contribution of Bombasio in Bologna — which seems to have been small and regarding which Erasmus hardly makes mention<sup>91</sup> — it seems clear that by far the largest share of credit for this tremendous increase in content, particularly in connection with Greek authors, should be ascribed to members of the Aldine circle, especially the Byzantine scholars, who lent rare manuscripts to Erasmus and discussed with him the meaning and significance of the material therein.

Erasmus' Venetian residence would have been profitable if marked only by publication of this enriched edition of the *Adages*. But there were other ways in which he benefited from the Aldine group. We may, for example, consider the problem of the so-called "Erasmian" pronunciation of ancient Greek, current today and which is commonly held to be the work of Erasmus.<sup>92</sup> Closer scrutiny, however, reveals that this belief has little basis in fact and that the inspiration for the theory came at least in part from the Aldine circle.

Actually three other Western scholars preceded Erasmus in this field, Antonio de Lebrija, of Salamanca University in Spain, the Italian Girolamo Aleandro, and Aldus himself.<sup>93</sup> Aside from

<sup>90</sup>In last ed. published by Erasmus (Froben 1536).

<sup>91</sup>Appelt, *op.cit.* 145, shows that in the 1526 ed. Erasmus mentions Bombasio only twice for suggesting proverbs, while, for example, citing "Suidas" 325 times. I was able to discover only one mention of Bombasio in the entire Aldine 1508 ed. (p. 65r).

<sup>92</sup>See Erasmus' treatise, *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione . . .* (1528). On the Erasmian pronunciation see esp. W. Drerup, *Die Schulaussprache des Griechischen von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart*, 1 (Paderborn 1930); E. Egger, *Hellénisme en France* 1 (Paris 1869) 451-70; and H. Pernot and D. Hesselting, "Erasme et les origines de la prononciation érasmienne," *Revue des études grecques* 22 (1919) 278-301.

<sup>93</sup>Lebrija stayed for ten years in Italy, where he studied Greek at Bologna under Andronicos Callistos and perhaps Constantine Lascaris and Demetrios Chalcondyles (see Drerup, *op.cit.* I, 31; Bywater, *The Erasmian Pronunciation of Greek and its Precursors* [London 1908]; but cf. G. Cammelli, "Andronico Callisto," *Rinascita* 23-24 [1942], who does not mention Lebrija). Lebrija wrote on Greek pronunciation as early as 1503 (Bywater, 20), his work later being appended to the Alcalà ed. of *Introductiones Latinae*. On Lebrija see also P. Lemus y Rubio, "El Maestro Elio Antonio de Librixa 1441?-1522," *Revue Hispanique* 22 (1910) 459-508, and 29 (1917) 13-120, esp. 91, which lists under A. 1563 a work of Lebrija entitled *De litteris Graecis* (Saragossa 1563). According to Bywater, *op.cit.* 11, Aleandro had produced a short statement on Greek pronunciation in 1512.—With respect to Greek pronunciation Drerup, *op.cit.* I, 39, also mentions a Dutch contemporary of Erasmus named Ceratinus.

Lebrija, who was not an Aldine but who seems to have studied Greek in Italy with at least one Byzantine scholar, Aleandro was evidently only following in the footsteps of his employer and associate Aldus.<sup>94</sup> A small tract of Aldus on this very problem, *De literis graecis, ac diphthongis et quemadmodum ad nos veniant . . .*<sup>95</sup> was under press at the time of Erasmus' arrival at the Aldine establishment and during the initial stages of publication of his *Adages*. Granted the freedom permitted the eternally inquisitive Erasmus to browse in Aldus' library, even to the point of examining his personal correspondence, Erasmus could not have failed to read a tract published for anyone to see. But this raises an even more basic question: if we accept the inspiration of Aldus and what seems the anterior but more obscure influence of Lebrija on Erasmus' ideas of the proper Greek pronunciation, to whom should be attributed the original suggestion for such a reform? There is reason to believe that initial responsibility should rest with the Greek refugee-scholars themselves,<sup>96</sup> who were the most influential instruments for reviving the study of Greek in the West. With ancient Greek a quantitative, and Byzantine (as well as modern) Greek an accentual (or isochronal) language, the Byzantines must have suspected even before this period — and there is evidence to support this — that there existed certain differences between their own pronunciation and that of their ancient forebears, especially with respect to metrics in poetry.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>94</sup>Bywater, *op.cit.* 12-13, 21, who also affirms that Lebrija owed nothing to his contemporaries. (Lebrija himself remarked that he stood alone with regard to Greek pronunciation. Cf. *supra* n. 93.) Drerup, *op.cit.* 37, states that Lebrija first attempted to systematize a new method of pronunciation and dared to criticize the Byzantine pronunciation but that for Aldus and Aleandro the ideas remained theoretical.

<sup>95</sup>See Renouard, *Annales* I, 123; Bywater, *op.cit.* 13, says this *fragmentum* of Aldus is lost.

<sup>96</sup>Pernot-Hesseling, "Erasmus et . . . la prononciation érasmienne," 299-300, and Drerup, *op.cit.* 37, believe that the Greek exiles first suggested changes in pronunciation or at least had views in agreement with, or later adopted by, Aldus and Aleandro. Bywater, *op.cit.* 11, observes that the protest of Aldus and Aleandro against current Greek was "without a sign of apprehension that the new view might alienate their Greek friends or be resented by them as the suggestion of barbarians". Aleandro in his own treatise wrote that "the Greeks of our day are no more happy in their pronunciation than the Latins in theirs" (*ibid.*). In Bywater's view Aleandro must have been repeating what others, especially Musurus, told him. Drerup, *op.cit.* 62 and Knös, *Janus Lascaris* 160, n. 2, also count Lascaris among promoters of a new pronunciation (cf. Pernot-Hesseling 301).

<sup>97</sup>We know for example that Demetrios Triklinios and other 14th century Byzantine scholars must have known about quantity since they emended ancient texts correctly—to this extent at least.



In reply to the obvious question as to why these Byzantines never attempted to implement their own ideas, the answer is that it would have militated against their national pride to try to alter a pronunciation traditional for centuries. One must remember that for a sensitive, subject people, recently conquered by the Turks, almost the sole vestige of ethnic identity, apart from the Orthodox faith, was heritage of the Greek language. Consequently any attempt to tamper with the customary pronunciation, however theoretical, would have met with immediate opposition. As for Erasmus, though he must thus be stripped of the credit for originally conceiving the idea of a reformed or, more accurately, "restored" pronunciation, to him must go the credit of systematizing the theories already suggested by others into a full program of Greek pronunciation. In other words, it was his treatise which later served as the basis for a successful propagation of the new pronunciation.<sup>98</sup>

Erasmus relates that after publication of the *Adages*, he was persuaded by Aldus to remain a few weeks longer in Venice. During this period he discussed problems of rhetoric with Aldus, emended certain confused verses in manuscripts of Plautus, edited texts of Terence and Seneca and, with Aleandro, corrected the proofs of Plutarch's *Moralia*, which was then under publication.<sup>99</sup>

At the end of October or beginning of November Erasmus departed for Padua, some twenty miles distant from Venice, in order to accept a position as preceptor to the son of the king of Scotland. But as Nolhac has justly affirmed, "Padoue, c'est encore Venise." Hence Erasmus probably maintained close contact with the Aldine group while the press was issuing its impressive edition of the *Rhetores Graeci*.<sup>100</sup>

In Padua, Erasmus spent long hours with the most remarkable

<sup>98</sup>See Drerup, *op.cit.* 47 and Bywater, *op.cit.* 7. On the reception of the Erasmian pronunciation in Western Europe see G. Anagnostopoulos, 'Ελληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία vol. 11, 499 (with bibl.) and Sandys, *Hist. of Class. Schol.* II, 130. An outspoken opponent of the Erasmian pronunciation and supporter of the Byzantine was Reuchlin in Germany, after whom the modern Greek (Byzantine) pronunciation is today often called Reuchlinian.

<sup>99</sup>See Erasmus' *Apologia ad xxiv libros* (in Nichols I, 445). Also Didot, *Alde Manuce* 317 and 414, n. 2. Cf. statement of Rhenanus in Mangan, *op.cit.* I, 261.

<sup>100</sup>See Allen I, 447 and Renaudet, *op.cit.* 87. Also Nolhac, *Erasme en Italie* 53; and Renouard, *Annales* I, 128.

of the Greek emigré scholars, the Cretan Marcus Musurus,<sup>101</sup> then professor of Greek at the city's renowned university and who was what we would call a "commuting" member of the Aldine Academy. Besides editing for Aldus first editions of Hesychius, Aristophanes, Euripides, and many others, it was Musurus who later supervised the Greek *editio princeps* of the complete Plato. For Musurus' scholarship Erasmus expressed only the highest praise, terming him "marvelously skilled in the Latin language, an accomplishment attained by scarcely any (other) Greek except Theodore Gaza and Janus Lascaris . . ." <sup>102</sup> Erasmus was also favorably impressed by Musurus' character, a judgement all too rarely expressed by Westerners on the Greek refugees, who, despite the warm reception at first accorded them, found that as the Westerners began to acquire greater mastery of Greek they tended to have less and less use for their teachers. Through association with Musurus, it would seem very plausible that Erasmus increased his knowledge of Greek during his Paduan stay, even by attendance at Musurus' lectures which were then attracting students from all parts of Europe. Not without reason did Erasmus later, from his vantage point in the North, look upon Padua as "the richest and most famous center of exchange for the best disciplines." <sup>103</sup>

Erasmus had come to enjoy Padua thoroughly. He was deeply vexed when it became apparent that the danger threatening Venetia as a result of the formation of the League of Cambrai would force his departure. As he wrote to his "amicissimus" Aldus, "A curse on these wars which prevent our enjoying a part of Italy which pleases me more and more every day." <sup>104</sup>

<sup>101</sup>On the life of Musurus there is only one work of merit (though inadequate in certain respects), R. Menge, *De Marci Musuri Cretensis vita studiis ingenio narratio*, in *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, ed. M. Schmidt, V (Jena 1868). Brief sketches also exist in Legrand, Boerner, etc.

<sup>102</sup>Nichols I, 449. Cf. my article, "A Byzantine Looks at the Renaissance: The Attitude of Michael Apostolis toward the Rise of Italy to Cultural Eminence," *Greek and Byzantine Studies* 1 (1958) 158.

<sup>103</sup>Quoted in Nohac, *Erasme en Italie* 57, n. 3. On the popularity of Musurus' lectures we may cite, e.g., Erasmus' letter to Gaverus (trans. in Nichols I, 449-50) for mention of a 70-year-old Latin professor at Padua who never missed attending despite the coldest of weather and the early hour at which they were held.

<sup>104</sup>Allen 449, no. 213 and Nichols I, 451.

Erasmus left Padua in December. Although he was never to return to Venice, he forgot neither Aldus' family nor the Aldine circle. Evidence of a continuing friendship between Erasmus and members of the group is provided both by the letters subsequently exchanged<sup>105</sup> and by the warm welcome later extended by old members of the Academy to the German humanist Ulrich von Hutten,<sup>106</sup> on the occasion of his visit to Venice bearing letters of recommendation from Erasmus.

In later years when Erasmus became involved in disputes with the Ciceronian purists such as Scaliger and Dolet and especially Aldus' old Maecenas Alberto Pio,<sup>107</sup> he responded to their attacks with certain exaggerated statements minimizing the extent of his scholarly acquisitions in Venice and particularly his indebtedness to Aldus. Thus in one polemic Erasmus wrote that Aldus would be quite amused to hear that he (Erasmus) had learned Greek and Latin from him — to which Erasmus added the categorical statement, "For myself, I am not indebted to Italy for any letters that I may have . . ." <sup>108</sup> Elsewhere he expressly denied acquisition of any languages in Italy, his specious explanation for which was that in Italy he lacked the leisure to learn.<sup>109</sup> But it would be remarkable indeed if the beneficent influences which made the Queen City of the Adriatic the intellectual center of all Europe did not contribute considerably to the formation of Erasmus' intellectual constitution. In the light of our evidence, therefore, his remarks may be dismissed as the exaggerated protests of a hypersensitive person who felt that his ability as a selfmade scholar must at all costs be defended.

<sup>105</sup>See Nolhac, *Erasme en Italie*, for four letters of Erasmus written in 1523 to Aldus' family.

<sup>106</sup>On relations of Erasmus and Hutten see W. Kaegi, "Hutten und Erasmus," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 22 (1924-25) 200-278 and 461-504; Nolhac, *Erasme en Italie* 43.

<sup>107</sup>On this conflict see bibl. in notes 52-53 above. Also M. Chassigne, *Etienne Dolet* (Paris 1930) 93ff.; O. Galtier, *Etienne Dolet* (Paris n.d.) 137-146; and the old work of R. Christie, *Etienne Dolet* (London 1899) 203-11, 224.

<sup>108</sup>See *Apologia ad xxiv libros* (trans. in Nichols I, 446-447). Rhenanus says that Erasmus brought to Italy more dignified erudition than most take from it (Mangan, *op.cit.* I, 259), but of course Rhenanus was a partisan and pupil of Erasmus.

<sup>109</sup>Nichols I, 448; and Mangan, *op.cit.* I, 259, for Erasmus' argument to Pio: "Where was the leisure for learning Greek and Latin? We were so busy that we had hardly time, as they say, to scratch our ears." But recall Aldus' answer to Erasmus' query as to why he took such pains: "studeo". See above text and note 74.

In summary, to substantiate the view that Erasmus' classical education was broadened during his nine months in Venice and Padua, one need only point to the *milieu* in which he then moved. Here for the first time he had the opportunity to enjoy the intimacy of a large group of accomplished Greeks who, despite the increasingly able scholarship of the Italians, were still the final authority for Greek in the West; he could participate in the learned discussions of the exclusive Aldine Academy; he had access to the valuable libraries of Aldus and his associates, containing a wealth of Greek manuscripts, many yet unprinted and hence unknown to large sections of the West; and he had undoubtedly heard Aldus and perhaps Aleandro energetically, though amicably, criticizing the Greek pronunciation of their Byzantine confrères. More concretely, through publication of the Aldine *Adages* and the wide circulation of this work throughout Europe, Erasmus achieved recognition as the foremost scholar of the Western world.<sup>110</sup>

When one considers that Erasmus on his return to the North took with him the knowledge he had acquired in Venice, and that the extent of his influence was soon to become unrivaled in European letters, the implications for the diffusion of Greek learning become immediately apparent. It must be emphasized, however, that this Venetian episode reflecting the influence of the Aldine Academy on Erasmus is only a single example, albeit a climactic one, of the traditional medieval function of Venice as intermediary between Byzantium and the Latin West. Constant emphasis on Venice's economic and political activities has served to obscure her purely intellectual achievements. But it is hoped that the analysis presented here may lead to greater appreciation of the Venetian role in the long process of transmitting to the West a language and literature which, in the last analysis, occupied the most significant place in expanding the intellectual horizon of the late medieval and Renaissance world.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>110</sup>See Renaudet, *op.cit.* 83 and Tilley, *Dawn of the French Renaissance* 287.

<sup>111</sup>Cf. M. Gilmore, *The World of Humanism* (New York 1952) 190. For a more detailed treatment of the Venetian role in the transmission of Greek learning see my forthcoming book, to be published by the Harvard University Press.