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si sarebbe potuta offrire sia circa i passaggi antiquari dei diversi esemplari (qualche riferimento già in SANDER), sia circa le riproduzioni ora disponibili: per esempio dell'esemplare all'Accademia della Crusca è on line la digitalizzazione (<<http://incunaboli.accademiadellacrusca.org/theke/schedaimmagine2.asp?es=0&radice=000189798>>). Chiudono il volume trentadue tavole fotografiche a colori, la bibliografia (pp. 217-234), quindi l'indice dei manoscritti del *De viris illustribus* considerati (p. 235), quello degli altri manoscritti (pp. 237-238), quello delle edizioni quattro e cinquecentesche citate (pp. 239-242) e l'indice dei nomi (pp. 243-248).

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The Afterlife of Aldus. Posthumous Fame, Collectors and the Book Trade, edited by Jill Kraye and Paolo Sachet, London, The Warburg Institute, 2018 (Warburg Institute Colloquia, 25), pp. XIII+220, ISBN 978-1-908590-55-8, £ 30,00.

Five Centuries Later. Aldus Manutius: Culture, Typography and Philology, a cura di Natale Vacalebri, Firenze-Milano, Olschki – Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2018 (Biblioteca di Bibliografia, 207), pp. XXXVI+244, ISBN 978-88-222-6601-9, € 35,00.

Three years after the quincentennial of the death of Aldus Manutius, we are seeing some latecomers among publications generated by the worldwide celebrations. Perhaps not inappropriately, the two tardy volumes under review here say much more about the lasting, even present-day influence of Aldus than about him or his work. Both emerged from conferences that deliberately concentrated not on Aldus the Elder but rather studies of his milieu, his descendants, and the institution that Aldus and Aldines became in the later history of printing and bibliophilia. Certainly there is work still to be done in this broad field of cultural history. As Paolo Sachet has it in his essay in *The Afterlife of Aldus*, «the Aldine firm's success... is currently more an article of faith than a phenomenon examined in all its complexity and variability». Two volumes of Aldine essays that this writer reviewed in «La Bibliofilia», CXX, 2018, pp. 342-347¹ added considerably to our understanding of this complex, collective 'Aldus' and so do the present compilations. The two new volumes overlap in subject terms; some of the same authors appear in both; and each makes reference to the other even though they appeared less than six months apart. Some of the authors also cite the volumes published in 2016 and 2017. This is testimony to the compact (but not parochial) world of Aldus studies and to a happy modern habit of sharing work in progress. Aldus might have been proud of the workshop quality of the overall enterprise of celebrating the 2015 anniversary of his death.

The slighter of the two collections is *The Afterlife*, which derives from a one-day colloquium at the Warburg Institute. It includes nine essays and the catalog of a small exhibition assembled for the occasion at the British Library. Part I concerns the sixteenth-century vicissitudes of the Aldine enterprise. Lodovica Braida gives an account of Paolo Manuzio's published letter collections; Shanti Graheli provides an interim report on his ongoing study of the publication program of the Academia Veneta; and Angela Nuovo describes the end of Aldus the Younger's life and the fate of his much celebrated library. The narratives on offer here are not happy ones. The first enterprise was successful, but did not give its editor much satisfaction; Paolo seems to have agonized over his ongoing efforts to update and refashion himself in successive editions

¹ *Collectanea manutiana. Studi critici su Aldo Manuzio*, a cura di Pier Davide Accendere e Stefano U. Baldassarri, Firenze, Le Lettere, 2017; *Aldo Manuzio. La costruzione del mito/Aldus Manutius, the Making of the Myth*, a cura di Mario Infelise, Venezia, Marsilio, 2016.

of his own letters. The Academia Veneta is a famous example of failure described here in some detail. And Aldus the Younger was, in Nuovo's account, both depressed by repeated disappointments over lost opportunities and delusional about the size and value of his library. Nuovo provides full texts and a convincing reading of important new documents for what she styles "The End of the Manutius Dynasty". These are letters between the younger Aldus's business partner and successor Niccolò Manassi and Cardinal Paolo Ramusio, the patron in Rome from whom Manassi hoped to get help in repatriating the library.

A second section of *The Afterlife* concerns private collections of Aldines in early modern Italy and France. The 2015 Aldine centennial stimulated a large number of exhibits and exhibit catalogs that showed off the holdings of individual libraries and detailed the provenances of their Aldines. Many specialized studies on Aldine provenance and bindings appeared as well. This new literature and the not inconsiderable number of older studies are summarized usefully in two essays in *The Afterlife* – a second piece by Graheli (on 16th century French collectors of Aldines) and one by Luca Rivali on early modern Italian collectors. Both essays are well documented and thus provide access to the scattered specialized studies. More importantly, these essays amass enough examples to flesh out a chronology of collecting tastes and practices. In both countries the scholarly value of Aldus's texts provided the first impulse for collecting them; and in both countries bibliophiles followed close behind. However, in France it is possible to pinpoint the origin of Aldine bibliophilia, what Graheli calls an Italophile fashion, in the prestigious collections of Aldines amassed by Francis I and Jean Grolier. Italian bibliophile interest in Aldines was more diffuse and slower to develop. It can be documented from the very beginning (with Aldus the Elder's own production of luxurious copies printed on vellum), but it does not seem to have become a decisive factor in collecting until the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when collections built specifically on book history criteria were founded. Inevitably, studies of the history of collecting involve dense lists of collectors and copies, purchases and sales, gifts and donations. In many cases the Aldines in question were neither numerous nor, apparently, very important to the collectors. Both these essays suffer somewhat from this Christmas-tree effect; it is difficult to find useful generalizations. It might have served the authors and their readers better to have stated a few general observations, documented the minor examples only in passing, and then exemplified the important trends with just one or two specimen collectors examined in greater depth.

A third part-two essay by François Depuigrenet Desroussilles and Jean Viardot achieves better focus, both because its sources are more abundant and more discursive and because it concerns fewer individuals and more important, better focused collections of Aldines. These are the collectors who exemplify what the authors call in their title «Aristocratic Values in French Bibliophily Before and After the French Revolution». Here we find a clear periodization as well as distinctions of social class that shifted. Interestingly, the heyday of French Aldine collecting survived the Revolution, running as it did from about 1780 to 1830, no doubt fed by the dissolution of so many collections in that period.

Part III of *The Afterlife* includes three entertaining accounts of the modern trade in and collecting of Aldines, chiefly in Britain and America. The first, by Paolo Sachet, effectively continues the account of the French situation, documenting the much longer-lived Aldine mania of the British. Sachet's essay, however, offers only provisional conclusions based upon the results to date of an extensive database he is developing of British sales catalogs entirely or largely concerned with Aldines. He offers some useful methodological ideas but only sketchy conclusions. The remaining essays by Nicholas Poole-Wilson and G. Scott Clemons, are anecdotal accounts of trading and collecting Aldines in the twentieth century. Poole-Wilson offers an appropriate epigraph to the volume by noting that «there is still spice for the jaded palate in collecting Aldines».

Some months after the appearance of *Afterlife* in London, *Five Centuries Later* appeared in Florence and Milan. It is a larger and better focused collection, which took its departure from a two-day conference held at the Ambrosiana Library in Milan. It opens with a foreword by Federico Gallo, of the Ambrosiana (which co-published the volume) and an introduction (in the form of an address at the opening of the conference) by editor Natale Vacalebri. Don Federico's *Presentazione* is far more than ceremonial. It is a carefully documented account of the importance of the Manuzios and of Aldine books in the earliest documents of the Ambrosiana. Aldo the Elder and Paolo Manuzio were present in the form of autograph letters on view at the inaugural exhibition in 1609. Moreover, Gallo makes a case that Federigo Borromeo himself studied and admired Aldo and Paolo seriously; his collecting of their work (and of the famous portraits) was not merely a nod to their posthumous fame, but genuine scholarly esteem. Gallo also provides the first of many echoes of *Afterlife* to be found in *Five Centuries*. A passage he quotes in which Borromeo describes Paolo's enormous compositional labors on the basis of autographs nicely mirrors the account Braida gives of the tortured editing of the letters. Vacalebri's introduction, meanwhile, bears a subtitle that promises some "reflections" on Aldine humanism; they are substantial. Vacalebri emphasizes the unique depth and conviction of Aldo's Greek humanism, pointing out how it was different from the real but more tenuous pre-existing tradition of Greek study and publishing in Northern Italy. Vacalebri sees Aldo's particular brand of Greek learning as the source of the mature humanist conviction that Greek offers access to a civilization greater than any other. Vacalebri's Aldo is both courageous and optimistic, even in the face of war; his humanism was truly new because it promised a renewal of society, not merely personal consolation and joy.

As a logical start to the volume proper, Piero Scapecchi reviews the literature that came out of the 1994 quinquennial of the first publications of Aldus and what appeared between then and 2015, enunciating a number of important themes still with us: how cataloging (in print and on line) have enriched our understanding of the influence of Aldus; how collecting affected the reputation of the Aldine press; how the mythmaking started in Aldus' lifetime and has yet to cease; and what our deepening understanding of Aldus' biography, spirituality, and learning mean for the history of Renaissance thought. Scapecchi also remarks the considerable new literature on the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* and important studies of the shop practice of Aldus's day.

Two essays in *Five Centuries* were authored by members of the Grolier Club of New York, which co-sponsored the conference in Milan and contributed to the costs of publication. That of G. Scott Clemons on the finances of the press of Aldus the Elder offers a thoughtful counterpoint to studies that treat the Aldine achievement largely in humanist terms. He begins by reminding us that «Printing is not a good business»; it is risky and unprofitable. So it is worth asking why Aldus, a successful mid-career educator, would have entered it. Clemons's answer is that, yes, Aldus had a noble goal, to improve the texts available for teaching the classics, but that he also saw that there was a viable market for such books and that Venice could provide the capital he needed – financial, human, and political. Clemons reviews the many known facts of Aldus life in this light and thereby gives a fresh and rich businessman's reading of sources that are for the most part not business records. The great merit of his essay is to pinpoint anachronisms in the existing literature that have arisen because scholars in the past did not appreciate the business dimensions of publishing decisions. Robin Raybould, also of the Grolier Club, takes up an entirely different matter, the perennial question of the numismatic origins of the Aldine mark and its afterlife among other printers.

One of the most important essays in *Five Centuries* is that of David Speranzi on Aldus the Elder's Greek hand, a subject he observes has been little studied. He does not claim to offer a definitive account or even a handlist of surviving autographs, but he does name most of the known examples in his notes. In text he provides descriptions

of many of them, eliminating a few attributions and confirming some important ones, including that of the *Institutiones Grammaticae Graecae* in Ambrosiana P 35. This manuscript served as exemplar for the first posthumous edition of this text. It is to manuscripts of this sort – printer's exemplars – that Speranzi devotes the largest part of his essay. He describes a variety of interventions by Aldus in such manuscripts, including corrections made to manuscripts by reference to earlier printed editions of Greek texts and at least one decision to abandon a manuscript exemplar in favor of a printed one.

Grammar as taught by Aldus, though in this case Latin not Greek, is the subject of a contribution from Patrizia Bertini Malgarini and Ugo Vignuzzi, who give a brief account of the use of vernacular equivalents in successive editions of Aldus' Latin textbook. It should be read in conjunction with the essays of Robert Black and Brian Richardson in the 2017 *Collectanea manutiana*.² Similarly, Miriam Foot's update on the controversy over an 'Aldine binder' should be contextualized with the important findings of Carlo Federici and Melania Zanetti in the quincentennial volume edited by Mario Infelise.³ And again, Suzy Marcon here takes up the matter of portraits of Aldus, a subject entertainingly discussed by Anna Giulia Cavagna in the Infelise collection.⁴

An essay on the enormously successful and long-lived Venetian printer Giovanni Tacuino might seem out of place in a volume on Aldus, but the title that Alessandro Leda and Luca Rivali give to their piece points to the aptness of the juxtaposition: *Johannes alter Aldus? Giovanni Tacuino e l'editoria umanistica nella Venezia di Manuzio*. These scholars are engaged in a much-needed set of annals for Tacuino, and their essay here is by way of a progress report on interesting findings along the way as these conduce to a thoughtful comparison of Tacuino and Aldus, their publishing programs, and the different markets they addressed. Clearly, the Venetian market for humanist books was big enough to support profitable publications on very different models. So it is important to realize that Aldus' revolution did not sweep away an older publishing tradition; it merely enriched it.

Collecting has been an important subject in almost every set of essays to come out of the centennial; *Five Centuries* is no exception and the essays here offer the same riches and suffer the same limits as those in *Afterlife*. Nicholas Barker revisits the Ahmandson-Murphy Collection at the University of California Los Angeles and reminds us of the "heroic" efforts of its collectors and catalogers. An essay by Dorit Raines, *Becoming Collectable: Collecting and Selling Aldines in Early-Modern Venice*, would have benefited by a closer reading of older literature on collecting, including 2016 and 2017 publications that others in this volume cite, but it provides an important account of the prices Aldines fetched in eighteenth-century Venice. *Five Centuries* is rounded out by four essays on present-day collections of Aldines, their provenance, and the meaning of collecting Aldines across the centuries. In this volume, Isabella Fiorentini, Marina Bonomelli, and Marzia Sorrentino describe collections presently at the Trivulziana and Ambrosiana libraries and at two smaller libraries in Monreale, while Andrea De Pasquale takes on a broader field in surveying North Italian libraries of the nineteenth century. Individual essays of the sort tend to be somewhat repetitive and even sleep-inducing, but the value of such detailed studies is in the aggregate, since they will eventually conduce to a global history of Aldus's influence. This global history, indeed, is the real promise and product of the two essay collections at hand. Each contains essays that will become standard references on Aldus and Aldines.

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² ROBERT BLACK, *Aldo Manuzio Grammarian*, in *Collectanea manutiana*, pp. 65-92 and BRIAN RICHARDSON, *Aldo Manuzio and the Uses of Translation*, *ibid.*, pp. 145-169.

³ *Le legature dei libri di Aldo*, in *Aldo Manuzio. La costruzione del mito*, pp. 182-197.

⁴ *Volte di Aldo Manuzio*, in *Aldo Manuzio. La costruzione del mito*, pp. 275-299.