



## "Catalog of the exhibition" in "The first Roman printers and the idioms of humanism"

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# The First Roman Printers and the Idioms of Humanism

## *Catalog of the Exhibition*

1a LUCIUS CAELIUS LACTANTIUS FIRMIANUS

*Opera*

Subiaco, Sweynheym & Pannartz, 29 October 1465

Folio, 186 leaves.

HC 9806; BMC IV, 2; Goff L-1; IGI 5619.

Lent by the Milton S. Eisenhower Library, John Work Garrett Library, The Johns Hopkins University

1b LUCIUS CAELIUS LACTANTIUS FIRMIANUS

*Opera*, preface by J. A. Bussi

Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, [not after 30 August] 1470

Folio, 224 leaves.

II 9808; BMC IV, 10; Goff L-3; IGI 5621.

The Houghton Library. Typ Inc 3313. Bequest of Charles Sumner, class of 1830

THREE EDITIONS CAN be definitively attributed to the Sweynheym & Pannartz Subiaco press: Cicero, *De oratore* (before 30 September) 1465; the above Lactantius; and Augustine, *De civitate Dei* (12 June 1467). Lactantius, the second in this sequence, was the keystone of this humanist enterprise and served as the conciliatory medium between the rational scepticism of late antiquity (Cicero) and the triumphant faith of patristic Christianity (Augustine). Within the patristic canon, Lactantius is notable on two counts: his acceptance of pagan Roman authority, i.e., Lucretius, Cicero, and Virgil, and the density of his citations in the original Greek. In his major work, *Divinae institutiones*, the overwhelming majority of these citations are drawn from oracular sources, mainly the Sibylline prophecies. They constitute an anthology of the *prisca theologia*, the intuitive wisdom of the Age of Gold. The Christianity of Lactantius was, accordingly, a religion purged of its Judaic accretions and reestablished on purely classical foundations. These classical foundations were, in turn, sanctified by age. For

teris dūs abstulit nomen. Tertius enim uersus ostendit: dei ministros: non deos: sed reze angelos appellari oportere: de se qdem ille mentitus: q quom sit e numero demonum angelis se dei aggregauit. dumq; in aliis responsis demonē se esse confessus est. Nam quom interrogaret quomodo sibi supplicari uellet: ita respondit.

idest: omnia sapiens: oia docte qui per multa uersans exaudi demon. Item rursus quom preces i apollinē sanctū rogatus exprimeret ab hoc uersu exorsus est

idest captatio mundi fera totius sapiētię demon. Quid ergo superest nisi ut sua cōfessione uerbis ueri dei: ac pēnē subiaceat sempiternę. Nam in alio responsō ita dixit.

.i. demones q p̄gūt circa terrā et circa pontū infelli domant sub uerbere dei. De utriq; generibus in secundo libro differemus: interim nobis sat est quod dū se honorare uult: & in celo collocare cōfessus ē id quod res se habet: quomodo sint appellandi qui deo semp assistunt. Kerrahāt ergo se hoies ab erroribus et abiectis religiōibus prauis: parentē suū: dominūq; cognoscant: cuius nec uirtus existimari potest: nec magnitudo p̄spici: nec principū comprehendī: quom ad illum mentis humane intētio & acūmē et memoria p̄uenit: quę subductis & cōsumatis ōnibus uis substitit. Hęc & deficit: nec ē aliqd ulterius quo p̄gredi possit: ueze quia fieri nō potest quin id quod sit aliquādo esse cēperit: cōsequēs ē ut quoniā nihil ante illū fuit: ipse āre ōnia ex se ipso sit p̄creatus: ideo quia ab apollinē.

idest ex se ortus. A sibilla idest ex se genitus et ibest ingentis. & idest infectus noia. quod seneca homo acutus in exortationibus uidit. Nos iquit aliūde p̄demus. Itaq; ad aliquē p̄spicimus quoi quod ē optimū i nobis debeamus. Alius nos edidit: alius instruxit: deus ipse se fecit.

**H**is igit̄ tot et tantis retribus cōprobat̄ unius dei potestate ac p̄uidētia mūdum gubernari: cuius uim maiestatemq; tantā esse dicit i thimēo plato: ut eā neq; mente concipere neq; uerbis enarrare quisq; possit obmīa et ineximabilē potestatē: Dubitet ergo aliquis an quicq; difficile aut impossibile sit deo: qui tanta tamq; mirifica opera p̄uidentiā excogitauit: uirtute constituit: ratione p̄fecit: nunc autē spiritu sustentet potestate moderē: inexcogitabilis ineffabilis & nulli alii satis notus q̄ sibi. Vnde mihi de tāta maiestate sepius cogitāti qui deos colunt interdū uideri solent: tam

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Lactantius, *Opera*,

Subiaco, Sweynheim & Pannartz, 29 October 1465, F. 21r

nūc p̄phetas in testimonium uocabo. quorum ratio et diuinitas in hoc solo posita est: ut ad cultū dei et ad immortalitatē ab eo accipiendā creati hominem doceant. sed eos potius quibus istos qui respuunt ueritatē: credere sit necesse. Hermes naturā hominis describens ut doceret: quē admodū esset a deo factus. hec inculic.  
 και αν εξ εκατέρωφ φνσέωφ τισ τε αθαφατο και τισ θρη τισ μίαν έποιεί φνσίφ ανθρωπον τον αν τον πιμερ αθα φατοφ πι δε θρητοφ ποιησαφ και τον τον φέρωφ εφ με σωθειασ και αθαφατον φνσέωφ και τισ θρη τισ και εν με ταβλι τον ιδρνσέρ ιρα ορωφ απαρ τα απαρ τα και θαυμα σκ. Id est et idem ex utraq; natura immortalis et mortali unam faciebat naturam hominis: eundem in aliquo qdem immortalē in aliquo autem mortalem faciens: et hunc ferens in medio diuine & immortalis nature, et mortalis mutabilisq; constituit. ut oīa uidēs omnia miretur. Sed hunc fortasse aliq; in numero philosophoꝝ cōputet. quisi deos relatus Mercuri nomine ab egyptus honores. nec plus ei autoritatis tribuat: q̄ Platoni aut Pythagore. Maius igitē testimoniū requiramus. Polytes quidā cōsultit Appollinē Milesium utrū ne maneat anima post mortem: an resoluaatur: et Respondit his uersibus.

ψνχη με με χρισ ον δεσμοισ προσ σωμα κρατιται  
 φθαρτα μουνσα παθη θρη τισ αλγιδος ιμ ει κει  
 κρικα διαραλνσιφ βροτεφφ μετα σωμα μαραρθεφ  
 ωκιστηφ εν ριται εσα ιθερα πασα φορειται  
 αι εραγ ηραος ονσα μερει δεισ παμπαρα τηρισ  
 πρωτογορος γαρ τον το θεον διεταξε προφοια.

Id est. Anima quidem quoad uinculis corporeis tenetur: corruptibiles passiones sentiens. mortalibus cedit doloribus. Cum uero humanam solutionē uelocissimā post corruptū corpus iuenerit: omnis in ethera fertur: nunq̄ senescens. et manet in eternum sine pena. Primogenita etenim. hoc diuina disposuit prudentia. Quid carmina Sibyllina? Nonne ita esse declarant: cū fore aliquādo denuntiant: ut a deo de uiuis ac mortuis iudicetur? quoz; exēpla post inferemus. Falsa est igitur Democriti et Epicuri sententia & Diacearchi de animi dissolutione: qui profecto non auderent de interitu animarū Mago aliquo presente differere: qui sciret certis carminibus ciere ab inferis animas: et adesse et prebere se hūanis oculis uidendas: et loqui et futura p̄dicere. Et si auderent: re ipsa

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Lactantius, *Opera*,  
 Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, [not after 30 August 1470]. F. 148v

Lactantius, the Greek *prisca theologia* was the earliest documented evidence of man's awareness of a supernatural order.

The Subiaco edition of Lactantius was the first printed book whose execution called for a more or less complete Greek typefont. It was, however, an improvised effort. The type cast in Subiaco gives the impression of having been roughly hewn in stone. Greek, moreover, was not used in the composition of the first thirty-six leaves; in them the spaces assigned to Greek citations were either left blank or filled in by hand. The Greek type of Sweynheym & Pannartz's 1470 Roman edition is more refined. Nonetheless, the Subiaco editor, as an examination of parallel passages reveals, either knew more Greek or else took greater pains with the text than his Roman counterpart.

References: D. P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1972); M. D. Feld, "The Sibyls of Subiaco: Sweynheym and Pannartz and the *Editio Princeps* of Lactantius," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, ed. Andrew Morrogh et al., 2 vols. (Florence, 1985), I, 301-316.

## 2 LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI

"La Cifra," in *Opuscoli morali*, ed. and trans. by Cosimo Bartoli, pp. 200-224  
 Venice, Francesco Franceschi, 1568

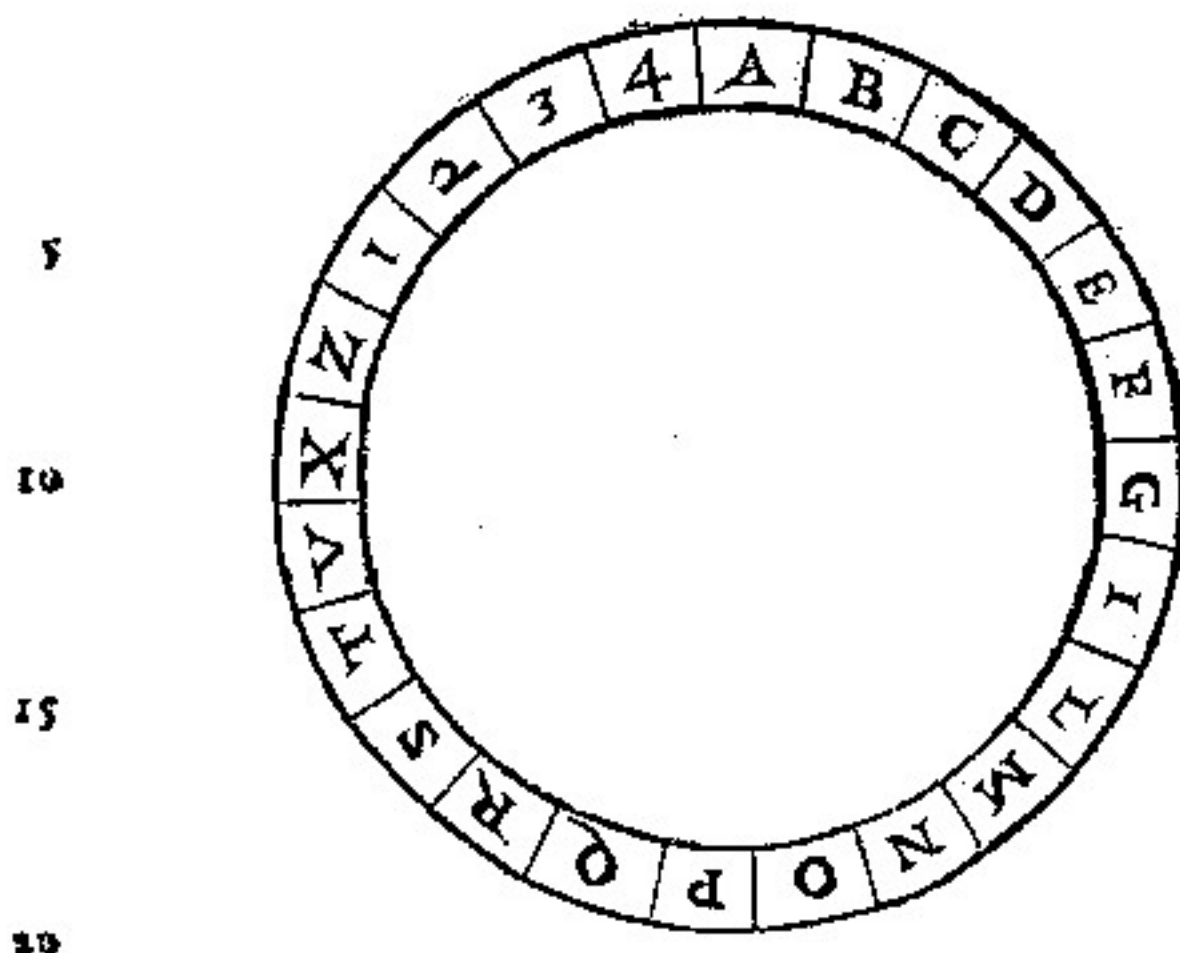
Quarto, 426 pages.

The Houghton Library. Ital 7302.5\*. From the library of Murray Anthony Potter '95

THE FIRST REFERENCE to the use in Italy of mechanical transcription by means of movable type occurs in *De componendis cifris*, the pamphlet in which Alberti (1404-1472) announced his invention of the cipher wheel. Alberti's cipher wheel, like printing, applied movable letter forms to confidential communication. *De componendis*, written about 1466 and first printed in this translation in 1568, is dedicated to Alberti's lifelong friend and fellow humanist, Leonardo Dati. In 1466, Dati was confidential secretary (*primo segretario*) to Pope Paul II (1464-1471) and was promoted to bishop of Massa Marittima the following year. Alberti compared his cipher wheel to the German invention he and Dati had recently observed in operation, which enabled three men to produce two hundred volumes within one hundred days.

Sometime in the course of 1465 and 1466, Alberti and Dati had apparently visited Subiaco. Because of its troubled history, the Abbey of Santa Scholastica was at that time under direct curial supervision. Given these facts and the resources of his office, it seems reasonable to assume that Dati was responsible for the presence of these itinerant German printers in a closely regulated Benedictine monastery. The incongruity of Dati's official duties and his covert activities throws a strange light on the background of early humanist printing. The most substantial of Dati's surviving writings is the still unpublished commentary to Matteo Palmieri's didactic poem *La città di vita* (Laurentianus MS XL. 53, ca. 1464), an exposition of religious belief modelled on Dante's *La Divina Commedia*. The Cumaeen Sibyl served, like Virgil to Dante, as Palmieri's guide. Poem and commentary are alternately heretical and pagan in content. Palmieri (1406-1475) and Dati (1408?-1472) kept the manuscript a secret during their lifetimes. After Palmieri's death, the text was read and sequestered, and there is some evidence that the poet's bones were dug up and re-buried in unconsecrated ground.

References: Leon Battista Alberti, *La prima grammatica della lingua volgare, la grammaticetta vaticana Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 1370*, ed. Cecil Grayson (Bologna, 1964); Martin Davies, "Francesco Botticini, ca. 1446-1497," in *The Earlier Italian Schools*, 2d ed., rev., National Gallery Catalogues (London, 1956), pp. 118-127.



Lo strumento composto in questa maniera di così fatti duoi cerchi , chiamo  
 io il Modine o uoi Modello, & di questi Modini bisogna hauerne dua, uno che  
 resti appresso di te, & l'altro che porti seco quel tale al quale andando egli lonta  
 25 no tu harai a scriuere, & siano amenduoi questi Modini , & quanto al numero  
 delle lettere, & alla positura, & allo ordine similissimi, in maniera che non sie  
 no punto differenti in cosa alcuna . Fatte queste cose bisogna che noi delibe  
 riamo in fra di noi quale habbi ad esser quella lettera, che ci serua per contra  
 segno, conciosia che il contrasegno serue come quasi per una chiauè da aprirci  
 30 la entrata per potere penetrare negli intimi segreti . Ma questo contrasegno  
 è di due sorti, perche uno è quello che si piglia dalle Maiuscole stabili, & l'altro  
 è quello che si piglia dalle lettere piccole & mobili, & l'uno & l'altro a uoglia  
 nostra . Diremo prima del contrasegno Mobile, sia per modo di dire risoluto  
 35 fra noi che il contrasegno della Tauoletta mobile sia, K, io uoltero la Tauo  
 letta del modine, in modo che, hauendo a scriuere, uorrò che per modo d'esem  
 pio il, K, uengha sotto la Maiuscola, B, & che la seguente corrisponda a quel  
 la che segue . Quando adunque io ti scriuerò, la prima lettera che io scriuer  
 40 rò, inanzi a tutte l'altre, farà la maiuscola B, sotto la quale io che harò a scri  
 uere, harò posto il contrasegno K, & questo dimostrerà in che modo io mi sia  
 seruito del Modine, in esso scriuere. Et uolèdo tu che farai lontano leggere quel  
 che io ti harò scritto, ti bisognerà girare la tua tauoletta mobile del modine me  
 desimamente in maniera, che sotto la maiuscola, B, caschi il contrasegno, K,  
 di qui finalmente ti auerrà che tutte le altre lettere minori trouate nello scritto,  
 O 3 ti di.

The Houghton Library

Leon Battista Alberti, *Opuscoli morali*,  
 Venice, Francesco Franceschi, 1568. P. 213

3 RODERICUS ZAMORENSIS

*Speculum vitae humanae*

Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, [after 28 February] 1468

Quarto, 150 leaves.

HC 13939; BMC IV, 5; Goff R-214; IGI 8393.

The Houghton Library. Inc 3292. Gift of Harrison D. Horblit '33, in memory of his son Mark M. Horblit, II.

*SPECULUM VITAE HUMANAЕ* is the only book without discernible antiquarian connotations ever printed by Sweynheym & Pannartz. It is the earliest printed work with a preface written expressly for the occasion. The book was dedicated to Pope Paul II. Rodericus, bishop of Zamora (1404?-1470), was castellan of St. Angelo and gaoler to the recently imprisoned humanists. He was also the first author to appear in print during his own lifetime, and there is surely a connection between his official functions and the publication of his book, namely the desire of Sweynheym & Pannartz to please someone who might otherwise do them harm.

*Speculum* was a fifteenth-century bestseller. In a little over thirty years it went into at least twenty-six editions, including translations into German, French, and Spanish. Sweynheym & Pannartz's first printing was, however, the only edition produced by their press: further evidence that this particular work was published under duress, since the Roman prototypographers often reissued books.

References: Richard H. Trame, *Roderigo Sánchez de Arévalo, 1404-1470, Spanish Diplomat and Champion of the Papacy* (Washington, D.C., 1958), pp. 167-182; Frederick R. Goff, "The Earliest Instance of Printing on Vellum in an Italian Book," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1966), 80-85.



## 4 LUCIUS APULEIUS

*Opera*, preface by J. A. Bussi

Rome, Sweynheym &amp; Pannartz, 28 February 1469

Folio, 178 leaves.

H 1314; BMC IV, 5; GKW 2301; Goff A-934; IGI 769.

The Houghton Library. Inc 3297(B). Ex libris Boies Pentose, II

**A**PULEIUS CONTAINS the third of the twenty-three prefaces and postscripts that Bussi wrote for Sweynheym & Pannartz. The first two were for the two-volume edition of the *Epistolae* of St. Jerome (13 December 1468). In the ten-odd months between *Speculum* (entry 3) and Jerome's *Epistolae*, Sweynheym & Pannartz reprinted their thematic triad: Cicero, *De oratore*; Lactantius, *Opera*; and St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*. This repetition can be read as the announcement of a new program.

Sweynheym & Pannartz's resident editor, Johannes Andreas Bussi, bishop of Aleria (1417-1475), following the model of the politic Rodericus Zamorensis, introduced each volume of the new series with a preface expounding the reasons for its publication. In the first preface, that to *Epistolae*, Bussi invoked the authority of two churchmen esteemed by orthodox theologians and quattrocento humanists alike: St. Jerome, whose militant faith was held in check only by his passionate worship of pagan Latin literature, and Nicholas of Cusa, cardinal of St. Petrus ad Vincula (1401-1464), a Platonist, champion of papal supremacy, and the original force behind the transfer of the "sacred art of printing" from Germany to Rome. The preface to the second volume of *Epistolae* announced a forthcoming series of texts in which the ideas of Jerome and Cusa would be expounded at greater length.

The initial item in this series was, oddly enough, *Opera* of Apuleius, a pagan author. Bussi's preface was once more addressed to Pope Paul II. The naming of Paul II which, however, did not occur until line 6, was a transparent formality. The real subject of the preface is revealed in its opening sentence: "Bessarion, Cardinal Bishop of Sabina and Patriarch of Constantinople. . . ." Bessarion, who embodied the unity of Christianity and the primacy of the Roman church, was clearly identified as the new patron of Bussi and the printers.

In the course of the preface to Apuleius, Bessarion (d. 1472) was further described as the author of a masterly defense of Plato, the crowning item in the series cited in the preface to the second volume of *Epistolae*. Apuleius, the Latin sourcebook of daemonic Platonism, was, on the testimony of St. Augustine, the most Christian of the pagan neo-Platonists, the link, therefore, between *prisca theologia* and patristic theology. The claims made on

Apuleius's behalf were fortified with two texts appended to this edition: the first printed work of Hermes Trismegistus, the *Asclepius*, in a Latin translation erroneously ascribed to Apuleius; and the *Epitome* of Alcinous, a manual of Platonism much favored by Bussi's late patron and Bessarion's intellectual comrade-in-arms, Nicholas of Cusa.

References: Giovanni Andrea Bussi, *Prefazioni alle edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz, prototipografi romani*, ed. Massimo Miglio (Milan, 1978); John Dillon, *The Middle Platonists, 80 B.C. to A.D. 220* (Ithaca, 1977), pp. 306-338.

5 AULUS GELLIUS

*Noctes Atticae*, preface by J. A. Bussi

Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, 11 April 1469

Folio, 202 leaves.

H 7517; BMC IV, 6; Goff G-118; IGI 4186.

The Houghton Library. Inc 3298. Gift of Ward M. Canaday '07 and Mrs. Canaday

**B**Y VIRTUE OF its author's erudition, *Noctes Atticae* was, Bussi asserted, an encyclopedic concordance of Greek wisdom and Latin elegance. The elegance of Latin, according to Aulus Gellius, had an Hellenic foundation. Any serious attempt at mastery of the classical style must therefore begin with thorough study of the Greek language and literature.

References: Hans Baron, "Aulus Gellius in the Renaissance: His Influence and a Manuscript from the School of Guarino," in his *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni: Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature* (Chicago, 1968), pp. 196-215.

- 6 AURELIUS THEODOSIUS MACROBIUS  
*Somnium Scipionis, Saturnalia*  
 Venice, Nicolas Jenson, 1472

H 10426; BMC V, 172; Goff M-8; IGI 5923.

The Houghton Library. Inc 4085. Gift of Ward M. Canaday '07 and Mrs. Canaday

IN THE RECORDS of early Roman printing, Macrobius represents the case of the hound that never barked. Bussi in his prefaces listed it twice, along with Apuleius and Aulus Gellius, as part of a series in process. Neither Sweynheym & Pannartz nor their Roman colleagues produced an edition. There is evidence of the substitution of a hastily prepared and confessedly defective printing of a text of an entirely different nature, Caesar's *Commentarii* (12 May 1469). The *editio princeps* of Macrobius appeared three years later in the relative safety of Venice.

The doctrines of Macrobius were associated with the name of Sigismondo Malatesta (1417-1468), a sun-worshiper and political enemy of the papacy. The polytheism of late antiquity was in the *Saturnalia* provided with a *prisca theologia* pedigree, making it a pagan counterpart of Lactantius. Texts of Macrobius and Lactantius were requested by the imprisoned humanist scholar Pomponio Leto (1428-1497). He was given instead two works written by his gaoler, Rodericus Zamorensis, designed to purge souls of their inherent frivolity: *Contra tres propositiones Concilii Basiliensis* (Against Three Propositions of the Council of Basel) and *An licit fugere a locis ubi saevit pestis?* (Can One Ever Rightfully Flee a Place Where Plague is Raging?).

References: M. D. Feld, "Sweynheym and Pannartz, Cardinal Bessarion, Neoplatonism: Renaissance Humanism and Two Early Printers' Choice of Texts," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 30 (1982), 282-335; Charles Mitchell, "Il Tempio Malatestiano," *Studi Malatestiani*, Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, Studi storici, fasc. 110-111 (Rome, 1978), 71-103.

7 CARDINAL BESSARION

*In calumniatorem Platonis*

Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, [before 28 August] 1469

Folio, 234 leaves.

H 3004; BMC IV, 7; GW 4183; Goff B-518; IGI 1621.

The Houghton Library. WKR 1.1.11. Bequest of William King Richardson, class of 1880

THIS IS THE CROWNING work of the first sustained venture in typographical patronage: the Bussi-edited series published by Sweynheym & Pannartz. Bessarion's magnum opus was designed to establish western Platonism on firmly orthodox foundations. The Plato of *In calumniatorem Platonis* is the heir and culmination of the *prisca theologia* and the pre-Socratics, the master and source of Aristotle, an oracle to classical Latin authors, and a paradigm for Scholastic theology. Presentation copies of this edition, on the evidence of surviving correspondence, were distributed among the prominent Italian humanists of the era.

References: Ludwig Möhler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann*, 3 vols. (Paderborn, 1923-1942); John Monfasani, "Bessarion Latinus," *Rinascimento*, ns 21 (1981), 165-209.

- 8 GAIUS TRANQUILLUS SUETONIUS  
*Vitae Caesarum*, preface by J. A. Bussi  
 Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, [after 30 August] 1470

Folio, 108 leaves.

H 15116; BMC IV, 11; Goff S-816; IGI 9228.

Lent by the Princeton University Library

**T**HE WOODBLOCK INITIALS of this copy of *Vitae Caesarum* represent the earliest use of such letter forms in a printed book. They are significant for both the history of printing and the history of ideas. These particular initials constitute the crucial link in the chain leading from the Roman prototypographers to Regiomontanus (1436–1476), the first printer to undertake systematic publication of the classical corpus of mathematical and astronomical texts.

Intriguing in this connection is the fact that this enterprise of scientific publishing was located in Nuremberg and that Regiomontanus was the first German printer to use roman type. Although the reasons behind the choice of Nuremberg as the site await explanation, the participation of Regiomontanus poses no great puzzle. Regiomontanus was Bessarion's personal astrologer, a protégé of the cardinal, and a distinguished humanist in his own right. His Nuremberg typefaces have a strong family resemblance to those of Sweynheym & Pannartz.

The initials in question are the earliest known geometrically proportioned printed letters. Astronomy, mathematics, and the concept of a universe formed and functioning according to the principles of geometry were integral components of Bessarion's neo-Platonism. Approximately one half of the surviving copies of this edition, however, have woodblock initials, and such initials are not found in other Sweynheym & Pannartz editions. In this and analogous examples of the *Vitae Caesarum*, moreover, the geometry is in the design rather than the execution. The woodblock initials are somewhat askew and irregularly spaced — evidence that they were added after the actual printing, in a separate operation, and probably stamped by hand. In such particulars, the contrast with the Latin texts printed by Regiomontanus, with initials made from an identical set of woodblocks, is illuminating (see entry 9).

C. Suetonii Tranquilli.

Othonis Imperatoris uita.



Atores Othonis orti sunt oppido Ferentino, familia uetere & honorata: atq; ex Præcipuis Etrurie. Auus. M. Siluius Otbo præ eque Ro. matre humili incertum an ingenua per gratiam Luce Auguste in cuius domo creuerat: Senator factus est. Nec Preture gradum excessit. Pater. L. Otbo materno genere preclaro: multarumq; et magnarum propinquitatum tam carus tanq; non ab similib; facie Tybeno principi fuit: ut pleriq; procreatum ex eo crederent. Urbanos honores Proconsulatum Africe & extraordinaria Imperia seuerissime administrauit. Auus est etiam in Illyrico milites quosdam: q; metu Camilli ex penitentia prepositos suos quasi defectiois aduersus Claudium auctores occiderant: capite punire. Et quidem ante principia se coram: q; ob id ipsum p̄motos in ampliore gradum a Claudio sciret. Quo facto sicut gloriam auxit: ita gratiam minuit: quam tamen manire recuperauit: detecta equit. Ro. fraude quem prodentibus seruis necem Claudio parare compererat. Namq; et Senatus honore rarissimo statua in palatio posita prosecutus eum. Et Claudius affectum inter patricios collaudans amplissimis uerbis hec quoq; adiecit. Vir quo meliores liberos habere ne opto quidem. Ex Albia Terentia splendidissima femina duos tulit filios. L. Ticianum et minorem Marcum cognomine Otbo sibi. Tibi: et filiam quam nondum nubilem Druso Germanice filio despondit. Otbo Imperator. iiii. Kalend. Maii natus est. Camillo Aruntio Domitio Enobarbo Cōsulibus. a primâ adolescentia prodigus ac procax adeo ut sepe flagris obiurgaretur, a patre ferebatur et uagari noctibus solitus: atq; sualidum queniq; obuiorum uel potulentum corripere: ac diserto sago impositum in sublime iactare. Post patris deinde mortē libertinâ aulicam gratiosam: quo efficacius coleret: etiâ diligere simulant: quos autem ac pene decrepitam. Per hanc insinuationē Neroni facile summum inter amicos locum tenuit congruentia morum. Vt uero quidam tradunt: et consuetudine mutui stupri.

The Princeton University Library

Gaius Tranquillus Suetonius, *Vitae Caesarum*,  
 Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, [after 30 August] 1470. F. 88v

9 MARCUS MANILIUS

*Astronomicon*Nuremberg, Regiomontanus (Johannes Müller of Königsberg),  
[1471-74]

Quarto, 72 leaves.

H 10703; BMC II, 456; Goff M-202; IGI 6125.

The Houghton Library. Inc 2209. Gift of Harrison D. Horblit '33, in memory of his son Mark M. Horblit, II

**A**STRONOMICON, composed during the reign of Augustus Caesar, is the most detailed of the surviving classical Latin astronomical, viz. astrological, treatises. This edition, most probably printed sometime in 1471, has woodblock initials absolutely identical with those of the Sweynheym & Pannartz *Vitae Caesarum*. All known copies of this edition of Manilius have these initials and, in further contrast with the *Vitae*, the initials of the *Astronomicon* were printed simultaneously with the text and with due regard for the niceties of alignment and proportion.

The initials first used in Rome were, beyond any reasonable doubt, commissioned and designed for the Nuremberg enterprise. Every Latin text printed by Regiomontanus in the course of his firm's existence was, as if to proclaim the sovereignty of mathematics, headed with these same woodblock letters. The link between Rome and Nuremberg was Hartmann Schedel, author of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* and one of the first collectors of printed books. Hartmann's uncle, Hermann Schedel, was a member of the syndicate of Nuremberg patricians that financed the printing enterprise of Regiomontanus.

We know from an autograph price list that Hartmann Schedel visited the workshop of Sweynheym & Pannartz. His visit almost certainly took place after 15 March 1471, the date of the latest book on his list, the Sweynheym & Pannartz two-volume edition of the Vulgate Bible. *Vitae Caesarum*, which is not on his list, was presumably then in press. Schedel, who no doubt had been commissioned to inspect these authentically Roman woodblocks and to supervise their shipment, must have used sets of the recently printed sheets of *Vitae Caesarum* for trial runs before sending the woodblocks themselves off to Nuremberg.

References: M. D. Feld, "Constructed Letters and Illuminated Texts: Regiomontanus, Leon Battista Alberti, and the Origins of Roman Type," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 28 (1980), 357-379.

F emineū fortita iugum cum pompa rependit  
 A tq; ipsa iliaco certarunt fulmina fistro.  
 R estabant pfugo seruilia milite bella  
 Q uom patrios armis imitatus filius hostis  
 A equora Pompeius cepit defensa parenti.  
 S ed satis hoc satis fuerit. iam bella quiescunt  
 A tq; adamanteis discordia uincta catenis  
 A eternos habeat frenos in carcere clausa.  
 S it pater inuidtus patrię. sit roma sub illo.  
 C um q; deum celo dederit non quęrat in orbes;

M. MANILII ASTRONOMICON  
SECUNDVS



A ximus iliace gentis cer /  
 tamina uates  
 E t quinquaginta regū re /  
 gem q; patrem q;  
 H ectoream q; facit tutam  
 sub q; Hectore troiam:  
 E rrorem q; ducis totidem  
 quot fecerat annis

I nstantem bello geminata p agmina ponti  
 V ltrima q; in patriam captis q; penatibus arma  
 O re sacro cecinit patria atqui iura petentem  
 D um dabat eripuit. cuius q; ex ore pfuso  
 O mnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit.  
 A mnem q; in tenuis ausa est deducere riuos  
 V nus fecunda bonis. sed pximus illi  
 H esiodus memorat diuos: diuum q; parentis:

*The Houghton Library*

Marcus Manilius, *Astronomicon*, Nuremberg, Regiomontanus, [1471-74]. F. 16v



10 MARCUS FABIVS QUINTILIANVS

*Institutiones oratoriae*, prefaces by J. A. Campanus and J. A. Bussi  
Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, [after 30 August] 1470

Folio, 240 leaves.

H 13645; BMC IV, II; Goff Q-25; IGI 8259.

Lent by Mrs. John D. Gordan

THIS QUINTILIAN REPRESENTS the first instance in which Sweynheym & Pannartz reprinted an edition of another press. The *editio princeps* of *Institutiones* is credited to Giovanni Killipo de Lignamine, the first non-printer to give his name to a typographical enterprise. Lignamine subsidized and directed his printing venture with the intention of advancing his own career. He was a member of the papal curia, and his texts reflect the interests and outlook of that body. *Institutiones oratoriae* was the first of his editions. Quintilian was the *fons et origo* of the critical philology of Lorenzo Valla (ca. 1406–1457), the source of Valla's three principles — reason, authority, and custom. Custom and authority were, in this context, the recorded practice of classical Latin authors. In the intellectual and social climate of late quattrocento Rome, Quintilian had two other points in his favor: his text, which was explicitly designed for the education of a member of the imperial family, was, therefore, free of classical Latin's republican taint, and it had as its pedagogical foundation a working knowledge of Greek.

References: Salvatore I. Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla: Umanesimo e teologia* (Florence, 1972); M. D. Feld, "A Theory of the Early Italian Printing Firm, Part I: Variants of Humanism," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 33 (1985), 341–377 and "Part II: The Political Economy of Patronage," *ibid.*, 34 (1986), 294–332.

11 JOANNUS TORTELLIUS

*Orthographia*

Rome, Ulrich Han & Simone Chardella, [after 10 August] 1471

Folio, 304 leaves.

H 15563; BMC IV, 23; Goff T-394; IGI 9682.

The Hilles Library, Harvard University. Ex libris Syston Park

**G**IOVANNI TORTELLI (ca. 1400–1466) was a curial humanist and close associate of both Lorenzo Valla and Niccolò Perotti (1429–1480). *Orthographia*, originally written during the papacy of Nicholas V (1447–1455), was the first systematic Latin-Greek lexicon, and, along with the *Elegantiae* of Lorenzo Valla (see entry 15), an elementary handbook of curial humanism. The printer, Han, who was of Viennese birth, was a one-time colleague and later competitor of Sweynheym & Pannartz; Chardella was a Luccan merchant with curial connections.

References: Ottavio Besomi, "Dai 'Gesta Ferdinandi Regis Aragonum' del Valla al 'De Orthographi' del Tortelli," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 9 (1966), 75-121; Ferdinand Geldner, "Ulrich Han und Sixtus Riessinger im ältesten römischen Buchdruck," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 10 (1969), 1003-1008.

12 POLYBIUS

*Historiae*, trans. and with a preface by Nicolaus Perottus

Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, 31 December 1472

Folio, 156 leaves.

HC 13246; BMC IV, 16; Goff P-907; IGI 7978.

The Houghton Library. Inc 3336. Gift of Ward M. Canaday '07 and Mrs. Canaday

**N**ICCOLÒ PEROTTI, sometime private secretary to Cardinal Besarion, succeeded Bussi as managing editor for the Sweynheym & Pannartz venture. His tenure was notable for, among other things, the publication of his collected works, probably at his own expense. This translation and its preface were written for Nicholas V. The tradition that Rome had been destined to succeed Greece as guarantor of European Mediterranean rule had its source in Polybius.

References: Giovanni Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti, arcivescovo di Siponto*, Studi e testi, 44 (Rome, 1925); Arnaldo Momigliano, "Polybius' Reappearance in Western Europe," in his *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 79-98.

- 13 NICOLAUS PEROTTUS  
*Rudimenta grammatices*  
 Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, 19 March 1473

Folio, 114 leaves.

HC 12643; BMC IV, 17; Goff P-300.

Lent by Mrs. John D. Gordan

**R**UDIMENTA is the first school text to treat grammar and rhetoric as interlocking parts of a single, coherent system. It may well have been the most influential fifteenth-century printed book. There are recorded at least 88 Italian printings before 1501 and no fewer than 127 European — all in 27 years. No book played a greater role than *Rudimenta grammatices* in making Latin the *lingua franca* of educated Europeans.

References: W. Keith Percival, "The Place of the Rudimenta Grammatices in the History of Latin Grammar," *Res Publica Litterarum*, 4 (1981), 233-264; Wolfgang Milde, "Zur Druckhäufigkeit von Niccolò Perotti's 'Cornucopiae' und 'Rudimenta grammatices' im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," *Res Publica Litterarum*, 5 (1982), 29-42.

- 14 MARCUS VALERIUS MARTIALIS  
*Epigrammata* (ed. by Niccolò Perotti).  
 Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, 30 April 1473

Folio, 150 leaves.

H 10811; Goff M-299; IGI 6218.

Lent by Mrs. John D. Gordan

**T**HE 1473 Sweynheym & Pannartz edition of Martial is the first printed work conceived in the spirit of wholly disinterested scholarship. The text was prepared for publication with no discernible purpose other than that of attaining the most faithful rendition possible of the author's original. Perotti allotted himself the role of expunging the errors of previous scribes. No mention of his name is in the printed text, and no sign exists of any hand other than that of Martial. The role of Perotti is known solely from manuscript sources. One week after this Martial, an edition of Pliny's *Historia naturalis* came off the press (7 May 1473), also anonymously edited by Perotti. Sweynheym & Pannartz then suspended operations.

References: Francesco Della Corte, "Niccolò Perotti e gli epigrammi di Marziale," *Res Publica Litterarum*, 9 (1986), 97-107.

- 15 LAURENTIUS VALLA  
*Elegantiae linguae latinae*  
Rome, Arnold Pannartz, 2 July 1475

Folio, 186 leaves.

H 15804; BMC IV, 61; Goff V-54; IGI 10084.

Lent by Mrs. John D. Gordan

*ELEGANTIAE* is the seminal Renaissance handbook of Latin usage. It is founded on the belief in a pre-ordained harmony between the Roman imperial achievement and the felicities of Latin. Valla collapsed the Quintilian principles of reason, authority, and custom into a single rule, that of the equivalency of the Roman imperium and correct Latin prose style ("ibi namque Romanum imperium est, ubique romana lingua dominatur"). The lesson was clear. Since the authority of ancient Rome had resided in its language, all claimants to imperial status, popes included, had to justify their candidacy in terms of the stylistic virtuosity of their official pronouncements — doing better, in effect, than the so-called Donation of Constantine. It was, therefore, of the utmost political importance that only individuals capable of writing correct and fluent Latin be employed in responsible and well-paid positions.

This edition, the fifth, is part of a belated awakening to the existence of a market for humanist manuals. On 2 December 1474, seventeen months after the closing of the Sweynheym & Pannartz firm, Arnold Pannartz resumed printing under his own name with an edition of Perotti's *Rudimenta*. *Elegantiae* followed shortly.

References: Salvatore I. Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla, umanesimo e teologia* (Florence, 1972); M. D. Feld, "A Theory of the Early Italian Printing Firm, Part I: Variants of Humanism," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 33 (1985), 341-377 and "Part II: The Political Economy of Patronage," *ibid.*, 34 (1986), 294-332.

- 16 NICOLAUS PEROTTUS  
*Cornucopiae, seu Commentariorum linguae latinae*, ed. Pyrrhus  
 Perottus, rev. Lodovicus Oxadis.  
 Venice, Paganinus de Paganinis, 4 May 1489

Folio, 374 leaves.

H 12697; BMC V, 455; Goff P-288; IGI 7419.

Lent by the Boston Public Library

**T**HIS POSTHUMOUSLY PUBLISHED work of Niccolò Perotti, edited by his nephew, was the most influential quattrocento textual commentary. *Cornucopiae* is a compendium of Latin linguistic usage based on Book I of Martial's *Epigrammata*. The term *Cornucopiae* (horn of plenty) and the notion of the classical text as an inexhaustible quarry of linguistic and topical lore comes from Aulus Gellius (entry 5). *Cornucopiae's* initial entry, "Barbara pyramidum sileat miracula Memphis," ("Let barbarous Memphis be silent about the miracle of its pyramids") (Martial, I, I, 1) contrasts the mysteries of the pre-historic Mediterranean world with the hurly-burly of imperial Rome. For Perotti, the relevance of Martial lay not only in his rich and colloquial vocabulary but also in the comprehensive scope of his references. His themes comprehended both the high and low life of the late Roman empire, and his sites ranged from Egypt and Assyria to Spain and the British Isles. This commentary of Perotti is notable for its systematic interlacing of words and things. *Cornucopiae* in this respect is as much encyclopedia as lexicon.

References: J. C. Margolin, "La fonction pragmatique et l'influence culturelle de la *Cornucopiae* de Niccolò Perotti," *Res Publica Litterarum*, 4 (1981), 123-171.

17 HERMES TRISMEGISTUS

*Pimander de potestate et sapientia Dei*, trans. by Marsilio Ficino  
Treviso, Gerardus de Lisa, 18 December 1471

Octavo, 56 leaves.

H 8456; BMC VI, 883; Goff H-77; IGI 4684.

The Houghton Library. Inc 6458(A). Gift of Ward M. Canaday '07 and Mrs. Canaday

**P**IMANDER IS THE FIRST printed hermetic text. The Greek manuscript first arrived in Florence about 1460 and was acquired by Cosimo de' Medici who thereupon ordered Ficino (1433-1499) to put aside Plato and devote himself to translating this hitherto unknown text. The principle of authority from age was never more in evidence. "Egypt was before Greece; Hermes was earlier than Plato. Renaissance respect for the old, the primary, the far-away, as nearest to the divine truth, demanded that the Corpus Hermeticum should be translated before Plato's *Republic* or *Symposium*, and so this was in fact the first translation that Ficino made" (Yates, pp. 13-14). Cosimo had been converted to Platonism by Giorgio Gemistos Pletho, Bessarion's acknowledged master.

References: François Masai, *Pléthon et le platonisme de Mistra* (Paris, 1956); Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago, 1964).

18 REGIOMONTANUS

*Kalender*

Nuremberg, Regiomontanus, 1474

Octavo, 30 leaves.

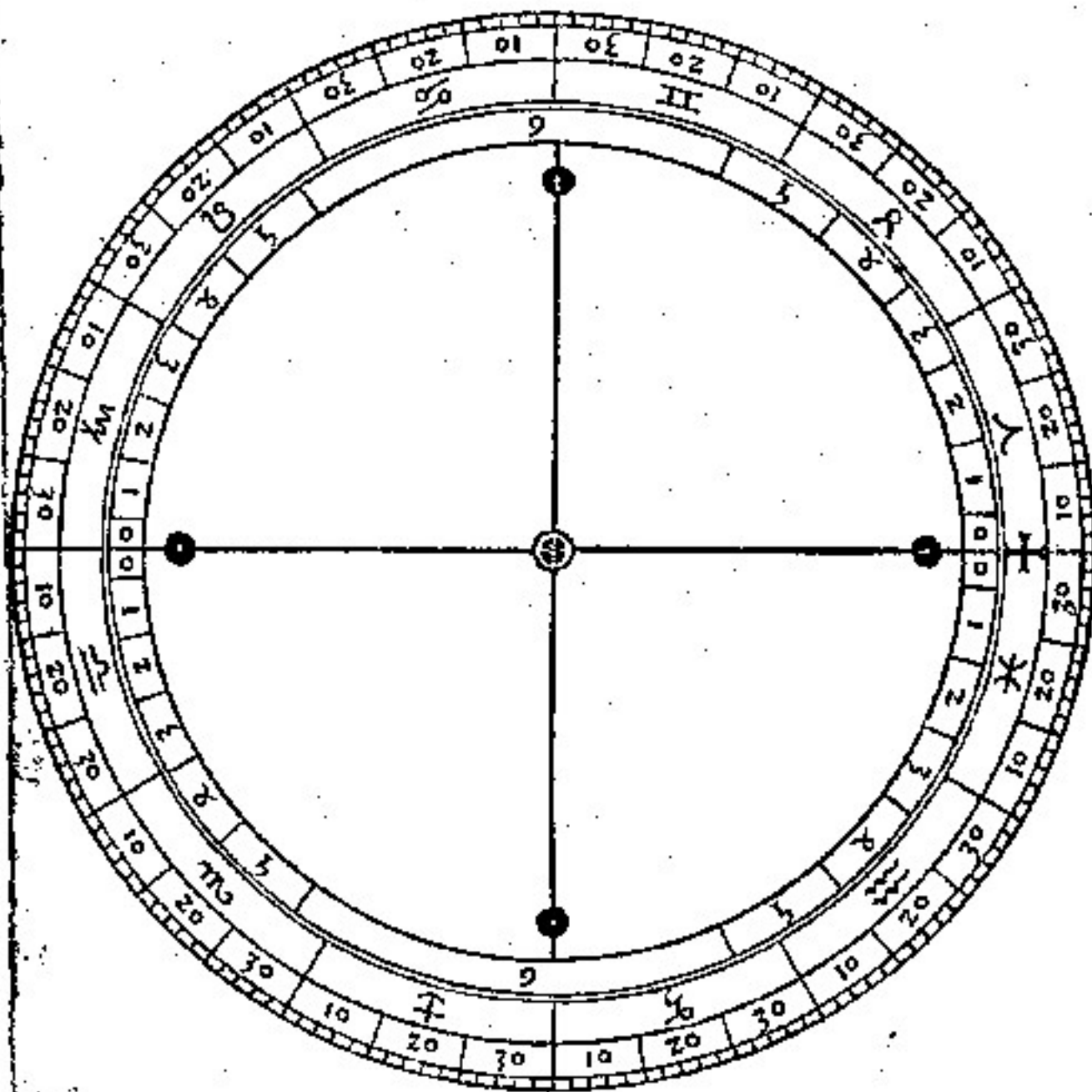
HC 13775; BMC II, 456.

The Houghton Library. Inc 2216. Gift of David Pingree Wheatland '22

REGIOMONTANUS, Bessarion's personal astrologer and the leading astronomer of his time, established a press at Nuremberg about 1471 with the announced intention of publishing the major astronomical and mathematical texts of classical antiquity and his own era. *Kalender* is an almanac for 1475, 1494, and 1513, in which the astronomical data for those years is collated with the dates of the chief festival and fast days. Astrology and astronomy, significantly, were the earliest learned subjects to be made accessible in vernacular translation. Bessarion's death in late 1472 may have had an inhibiting effect on this venture. Only a small part of the announced program of Regiomontanus was actually printed, and his press ceased operations sometime in 1474.

References: Ernst Zinner, *Leben und Wirken des Johannes Müller von Königsberg genannt Regiomontanus*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Osnabruck, 1968).

I N S T R V M E N T V M V E R I  
M O T V S L V N A E .  
. M I N V E .



. A D D E .

In den schaltjaren an sand Mathias tag saltu  
die 3wo scheiben fürpas rücken auff xiii grad.

The Houghton Library

Regiomontanus, *Kalender*, Nuremberg, Regiomontanus, 1474. F. 29v



19 REGIOMONTANUS

*Calendario*

Venice, Bernhard Maler, Peter Löslein, Erhard Ratdolt, 1476

Quarto, 32 leaves.

H 13776; BMC V, 243; Goff R-103; IGI 5310.

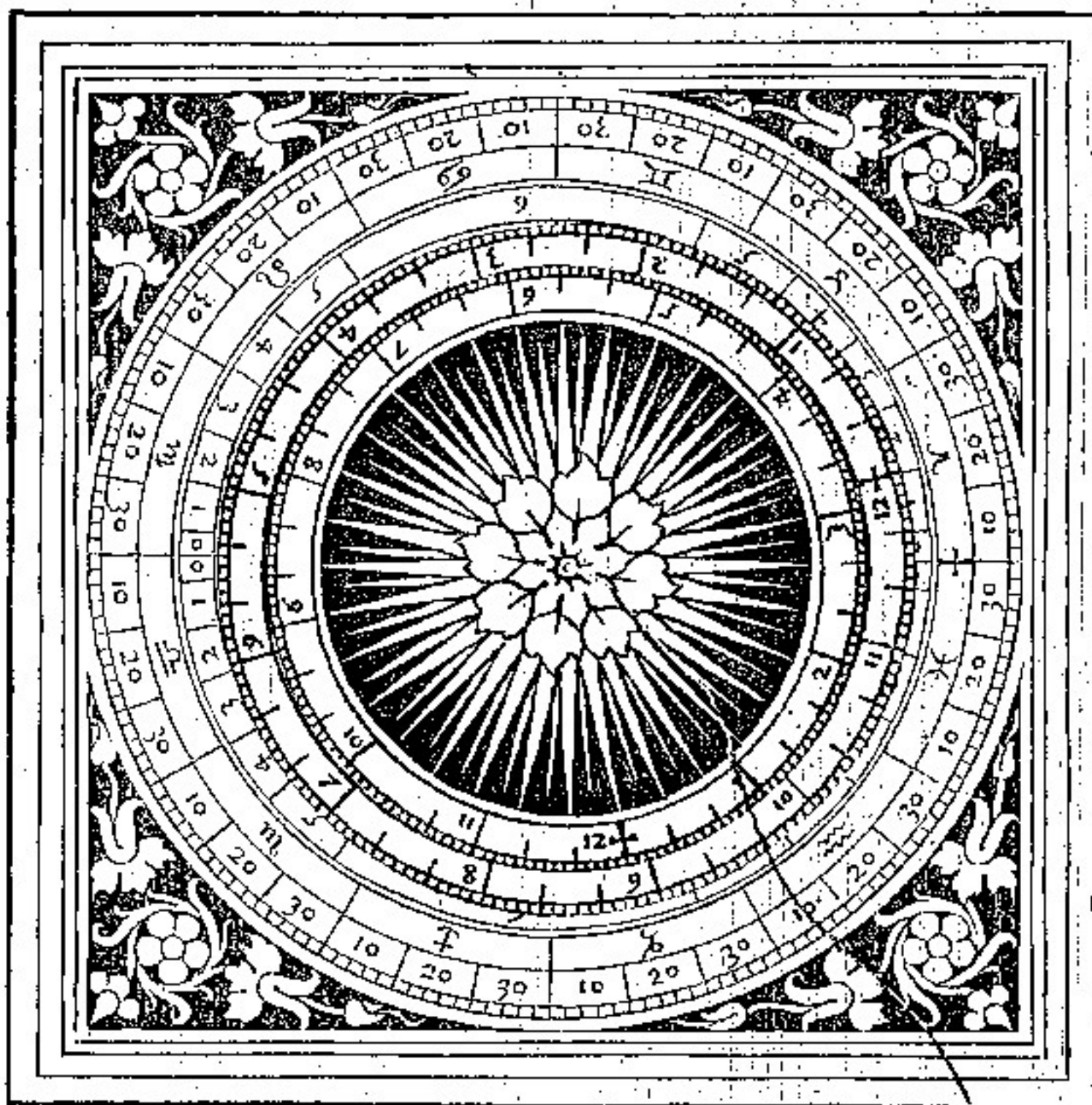
The Houghton Library. Typ Inc 4366. Gift of Philip Hofer '21

ERHARD RATDOLT (d. 1528) was a printer and possibly shop foreman for Regiomontanus. Upon the suspension in 1474 of the Nuremberg enterprise, Ratdolt moved to Venice and there became the first commercial publisher to specialize in scientific texts. As in Nuremberg, *Calendarium* was printed twice, first in Latin and then in the vernacular. These two Venetian printings are among the first books of any kind with a separate title page. In this and in his mechanical and graphic improvements on the *editio princeps*, Ratdolt was highly inventive. As editor and publisher, he played a major role in disseminating humanist notions of harmony and proportion.

References: Gilbert R. Redgrave, *Erhard Ratdolt and His Work at Venice* (London, 1894).

LO INSTRUMENTO DEL VERO MOTO DE LA LVNA.

MINVE.



ADDE.

*The Houghton Library*

Regiomontanus, *Calendario*,  
Venice, Bernhard Maler, Peter Löslein, Erhard Ratdolt, 1476. F. 18v

20 MARSILIO FICINO

*De christiana religione*

Florence, [Nicolaus Laurentii Alemanus, between 10 November and 10 December 1476]

Quarto, 135 leaves.

HC 7069; BMC VI, 625; Goff F-148; IGI 3857.

The Houghton Library. Inc 6125. Purchased with the H. S. Howe fund

*DE CHRISTIANA RELIGIONE* is Ficino's principal theological statement. Although written after his commentaries on Plato's *Symposium* and *Philebus*, and after *Theologica Platonica*, his chief philosophical text, *De christiana religione* was the first of Ficino's original texts to appear in print. At the time of Hermes Trismegistus and the prophet poet Orpheus, Ficino declared, the same man was both philosopher and priest. There is thus a direct line of ascent from the poet-theologians of ancient Greece to Pythagoras and Plato and from them to Apuleius and St. Augustine. Ficino's platonized Christianity was the major vehicle for the dissemination of Platonism throughout western Europe.

References: Paul Oskar Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. V. Conant (New York, 1943).

- 21 LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI  
*De re aedificatoria*, preface by Angelo Poliziano  
Florence, Nicolò di Lorenzo Alemanno, 29 December 1485

Folio, 204 leaves.

H 419; BMC VI, 630; GKW 579; Goff A-215; IGI 155.

The Houghton Library. Inc 6131. Library of Charles Eliot Norton, the gift of friends

**A**LBERTI WAS the individual most responsible for creating a visual equivalent of humanism's rhetorical syntax and vocabulary. His professional career was symmetrically divided between service as *scriptor* in the papal curia (see entry 2) and commissions as architect and city planner for sundry popes, tyrants, and members of the Florentine patriciate. *De re aedificatoria* was written for the first humanist pope, Nicholas V (1447-1455), who harbored the ambition of rebuilding Rome according to the precepts of cosmic harmony. Alberti had similar designs for the science of architecture. *De re aedificatoria* is essentially a reworking of Vitruvius (ca. 25 B.C.), with reference to surviving Roman buildings and to Alberti's own notion of the underlying principles of classical civilization. Vitruvius's craft approach to Roman building practices and his hybrid Greco-Latin terminology were reformulated by Alberti in accordance with the criteria of "firmness, commodiousness, and delight."

References: Richard Krautheimer, "Alberti and Vitruvius," in his *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), pp. 323-332; Carroll William Westfall, *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V, and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447-55* (University Park, Pa., 1974).

22 ANGELUS POLITIANUS

*Miscellaneorum centuria prima*

Florence, Antonio Miscomini, 19 September 1489

Folio, 94 leaves.

D 13221; BMC VI, 638; Goff P-890; IGI 7959.

The Houghton Library. Inc 6149(A). Bequest of Charles Sumner, class of 1830

**I**N *CENTURIA PRIMA* the literary remains of Greece and Rome were read as interrelated fragments of an all-encompassing intellectual and syntactical cosmos, an approach similar to that of Aulus Gellius and of Niccolò Perotti. Poliziano (1454–1494), however, elaborated the Lactantian principle of authenticity through time into a method. He imposed a hierarchy of age on his materials. Greek as the senior member became the key to the emendation and exposition of Latin literature. The earliest authors and the most ancient manuscripts were his critical authorities. With his stress on the objective nature of time and history, Poliziano made the study of classical literature a scientific pursuit and, at the same time, divorced it from professional and civic concerns.

References: Vittore Branca, *Poliziano e l'umanesimo della parole* (Turin, 1983); Anthony Grafton, "On the Scholarship of Politian and Its Context," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 40 (1977), 150-188.

23 MICHAELIS MARULLUS

*Hymni et epigrammata*

Florence, Societas Colubris, 26 November 1497

Quarto, 96 leaves.

H 10880; BMC VI, 691; Goff M-342; IGI 6263.

The Houghton Library. Inc 6415. Gift of Mary Bryant Brandegee in memory of William Fletcher Weld

**M**ICHAEL MARULLUS TARCHANIOTA (d. 1500), a member of the Byzantine diaspora, was by circumstances a soldier, and by vocation a poet and classical scholar. Marullus was the only Renaissance poet whose paganism was dogmatic and undisguised. His polytheistic theology was neo-Platonic and had as its source Plato's *Timaeus*. Marullus sang the harmony of the timeless and unchanging cosmos whose rhythm was revealed to humanity by the seasons and cycles of the earth, and was sustained by the Olympian pantheon.

*Hymni naturales*, first printed in this edition of Marullus's collected poetry, is addressed to the Greek gods. The ritual of their worship is celebrated as the fundamental law of every human pursuit. He revived the concept of the Orphic, daemonic poet, the elected voice of the immortal spirits and the legislator of mankind.

References: Benedetto Croce, "Michele Marullo Tarchaniota," in his *Poeti e scrittori del pieno e del tardo Rinascimento*, 3 vols. (Bari, 1945-1952), II, 269-380; Francesco Tateo, "La poesia religiosa di Michele Marullo," in his *Tradizione e realtà nell'umanesimo italiano*, (Bari, 1967), pp. 129-219.

AD ANTONELLVM SANCTO  
SEVERINVM PRINCIPEM  
SALERNITANVM

Si rursus est uates, si cuncta uolumina uatis  
Quaeris praecipue cur tuus iste liber.  
Sol quoque cuncta regit, solis tamen unica sedes.  
Haec eadem regum est quae superum est ratio.

*In nomine Marulli Tarchaniorum*

Cur adeo fluctus conno conaris? in undis  
Opposita horum cur Heliconis setis?  
Igneus ut gelida rigor extinguatur in amne  
Forsitanus? ac qui sepe fit ignis, aqua  
Non hoc, inquit, habet male me; quod miles, et acies  
Sic dotes: sub aquis militem obire pudet.  
At ne indignus, miles licet impiger, astus  
Hac peruulgata fortibus inas via.  
Hac Pius Enneas, et bello magnus, et armis,  
Hac Romulus ferens Romulusque pater.  
Debetur caelo fortis: celo ignis, et aer,  
Undeque supposita est: infima terra tenet.  
Scendenti a terra ad caelum stat limen in undis  
Primum: a quo haec caelum scande Marulli uia.

*Picij*

The Houghton Library

Michaelis Marullus, *Hymni et epigrammata*,  
Florence, Societas Colubris, 26 November 1497. F. 55v

MICHAELIS TARCHANIOTAE  
MARULLI CONSTANTINO  
POLITANI HYMNORVM  
NATVRALIVM LIBER  
PRIMVS.

IOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO

**A**B IOVE PRINCIPIVM, IOVIS  
est quodcunq; mouemus.  
PRIMA MIHI GRAVIORÉ SO  
no dicenda potestas

Est Iouis thinc magni diuum tot numina mūdē  
Hinc rerū natura parens thinc lucidus aether  
Quaeq; sub incutuo uariātur plurima celo.  
Sed neq; Pieridum praesentia uatibus antra  
Nec tu care satis nostris Pimplae camēnis  
Parnassusq; biceps / facundaq; flumina largae  
Phocidos. ipse animū uariamentem ipse ministra  
Sanctē pater / siue aethero delapsus olympo  
Enthea dūno praecordia concutis estro  
Ignorasq; uias aperis / teq; ipse recludis:

h i

*The Houghton Library*

Michaelis Marullus, *Hymni et epigrammata*,  
Florence, Societas Colubris, 26 November 1497. F. 56r



24 FRANCISCUS COLUMNA

*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*

Venice, Aldus Manutius, December 1499

Folio, 234 leaves, illustrated.

HC 5501; BMC V, 561; GW 7223; Goff G-767; IGI 3062.

The Houghton Library. WKR 3.5.4. Bequest of William King Richardson, class of 1880

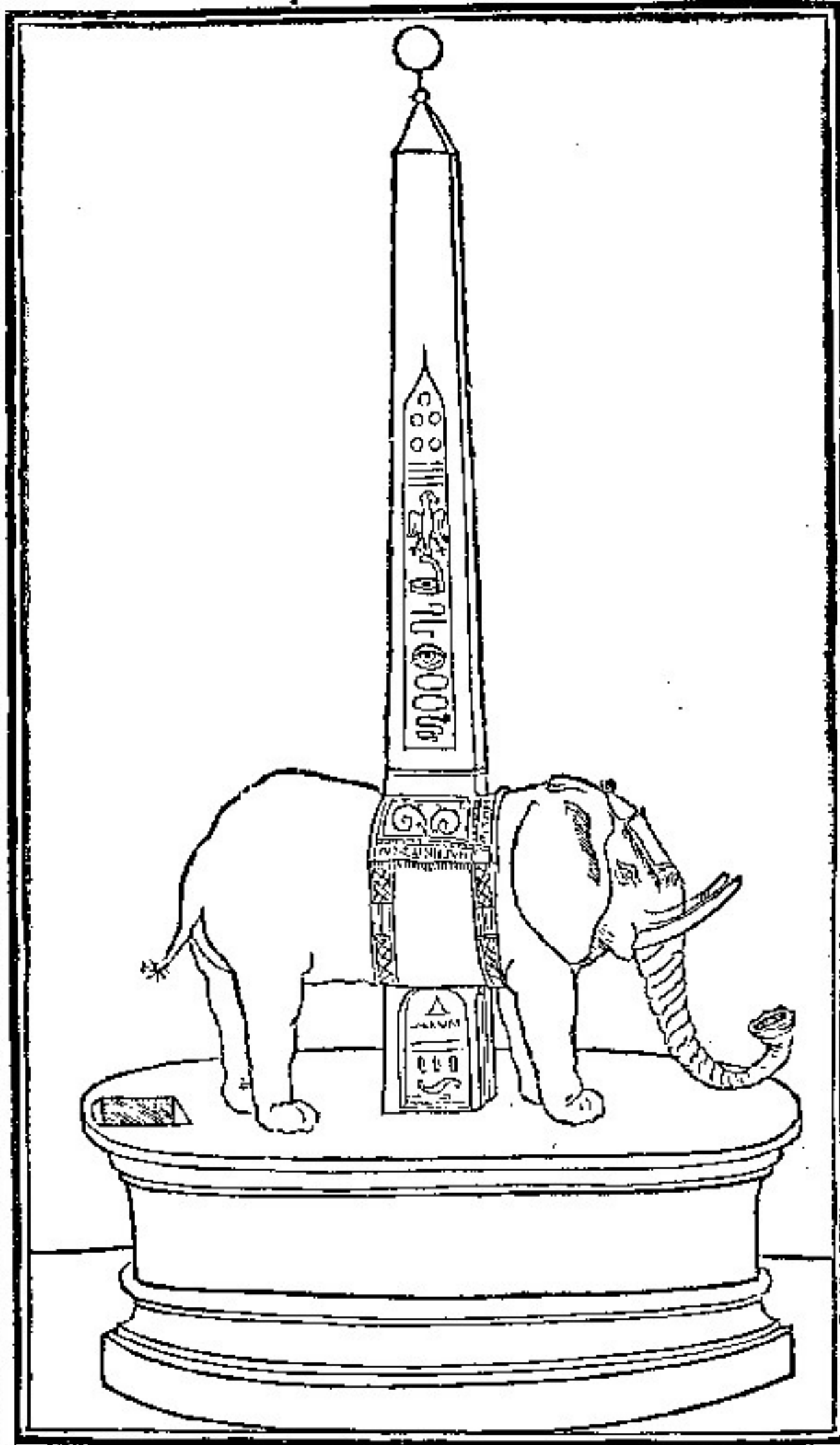
**HYPNEROTOMACHIA** is the climactic humanist incunabulum. A romance with esoteric overtones, somewhat analagous to Mozart's *Magic Flute*, *Hypnerotomachia* was printed at the very end of the fifteenth century. It is the sole contribution to "popular" vernacular literature of Aldus Manutius (1450–1515), the editor-publisher otherwise celebrated for his role in establishing the Greek and Latin classics as the substance of upper-class education. As its very title indicates, *Hypnerotomachia* celebrates the acceptance of Greek as an integral component of the culture of the educated Italian, an acceptance that went hand-in-hand with the notion that age was wisdom's salient characteristic.

Standard features of the hermetic visual repertory such as pyramids, obelisks, hieroglyphs, and elephants are a recurrent presence in *Hypnerotomachia*'s 170 woodblock illustrations. Pyramids, obelisks, hieroglyphs, and elephants were symbolic of the prehistoric Egyptian wisdom, transmitted in the Greek of *prisca theologia*. The antiquarian lore of *Hypnerotomachia* was, in large part, directly derived from Perotti's *Cornucopiae*, an edition of which was published by Aldus in the same year.

Francesco Columna (1432?–1527?) is a shadowy, unsatisfactorily identified figure. We have compelling evidence, however, that *Hypnerotomachia* was of Roman provenance and that its inspiration came from the humanist circles associated with Sweynheym & Pannartz.

References: Maurizio Calvesi, *Il sogno di Polifilo prenestino* (Rome, 1980).

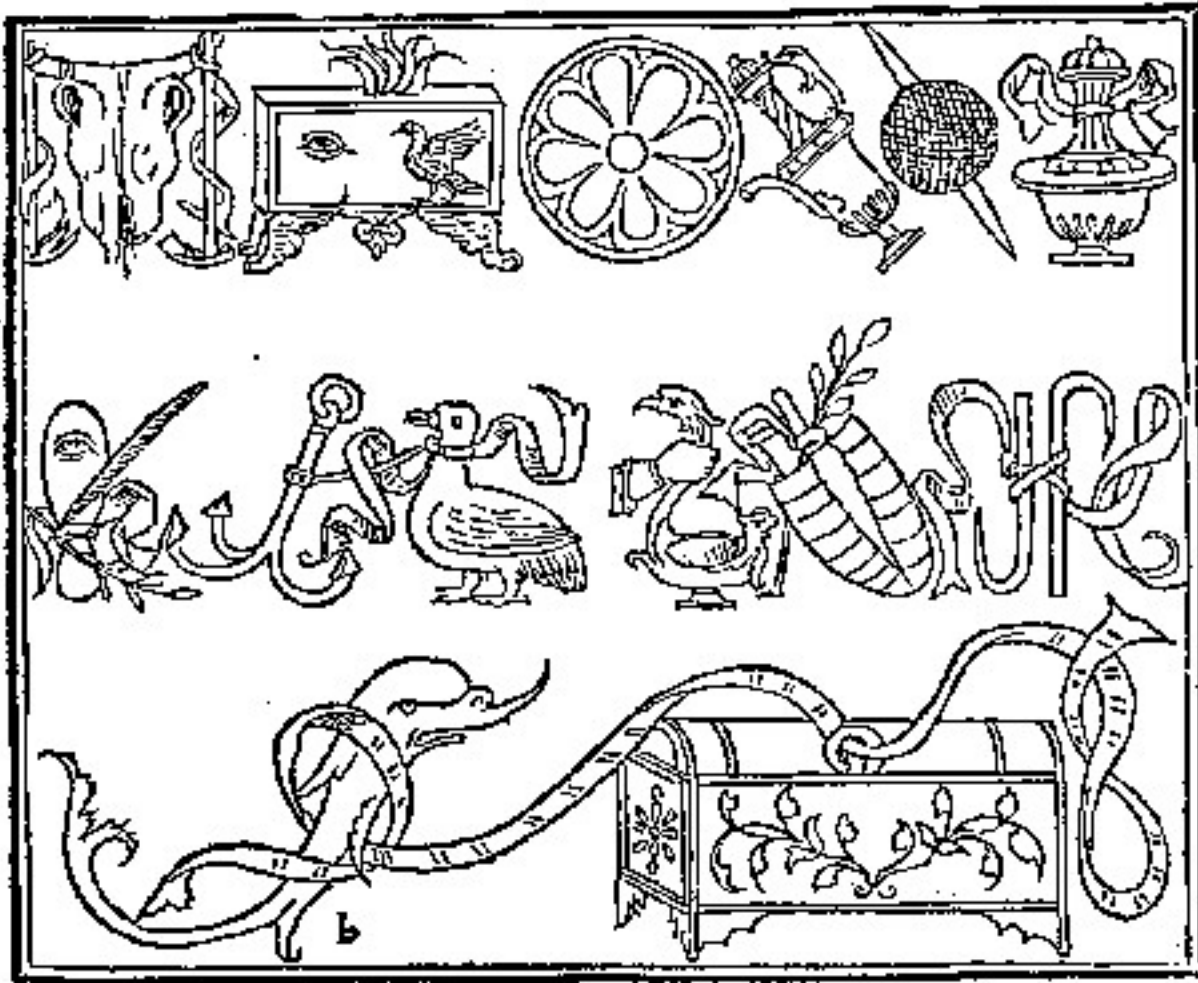
deu ad intrare nella Elephantina machina exuiscerata.



*The Houghton Library*

Franciscus Columna, *Hyperotomachia Poliphili*,  
Venice, Aldus Manutius, December, 1499. F. 14v

retico basamento in circuito in scalpto dignissimamente tali hieraglyphi. Primo uno capitale osso cornato di boue, cum dui instrumenti agricultorii, alle corne innodati, & una Ara fundata sopra dui pedi hircini, cum una ardente fiammula, Nella faccia della quale era uno ochio, & uno uulture. Da poscia uno Malluio, & uno uaso Gutturio, sequedo uno Globo di filo, ifixo i uno Pyrono, & uno Antiquario uaso cū lorificio obturato. Vna Solca cum uno ochio, cum due fronde intransuersate, l'una di oliua & l'altra di palma politamente lorate. Vna ancora, & uno anse. Vna Antiquaria lucerna, cum una mano tenente, Vno Temone antico, cum uno ramo di fruttigera Olea circumfasciato. poscia dui Harpaguli. Vno Delphino, & ultimo una Arca reclusa, Erano questi hieraglyphi optima Scalptura in questi graphiamenti.



Lequale uetustissime & sacre scripture pensiculante, cū sio le interpretai.

EX LABORE DEO NATVRAE SACRIFICA LIBER  
LITER, PAVLATIM REDVCES ANIMVM DEO SVBIE-  
CTVM. FIRMAM CVSTODIAM VITAE TVAE MISERI  
CORDITER GVBERNANDO TENEBIT, INCOLVMEM  
QVESER VABIT.

c

The Houghton Library

Franciscus Columna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*,  
Venice, Aldus Manutius, December 1499. F. 16r

25a QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS

[*Opera*]

Venice, Aldus Manutius, May 1501

Octavo, 286 pages.

The Houghton Library. \*OLC.H780.501(A). Gift of William Cross Williamson, class of 1852

25b FRANCESCO PETRARCA

*Le cose volgari*

Venice, Aldus Manutius, July 1501

Octavo, 379 pages.

The Houghton Library. \*IC.P447C.1501a. Gift of Ward M. Canaday '07 and Mrs. Canaday.

25c SOPHOCLES

*Tragediae septem cum commentariis*

Venice, Aldus Manutius, August 1502

Octavo, 370 pages.

The Houghton Library. \*OGC.S066.502. From the library of Herbert Weir Smyth, class of 1878, given in his memory by his family

**A**T THE BEGINNING of the sixteenth century, Aldus Manutius put into execution his long-nourished project of publishing, in uniform editions and in their original languages, the major Latin, Italian, and Greek authors. The Aldine classics were pocket-size, with wide margins and uncluttered texts. They were patently designed for the cultivated and actively employed gentleman. The unqualified success of this venture and its widespread imitation marks the enshrinement of literacy as the essential attribute of European gentlemen and of humanism as their common culture.

References: Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Ithaca, 1979).

26 LUCA PACIOLI

*De divina proportione*, ed. A. Capella

Venice, Alessandro and Paganino de' Paganini, June 1509

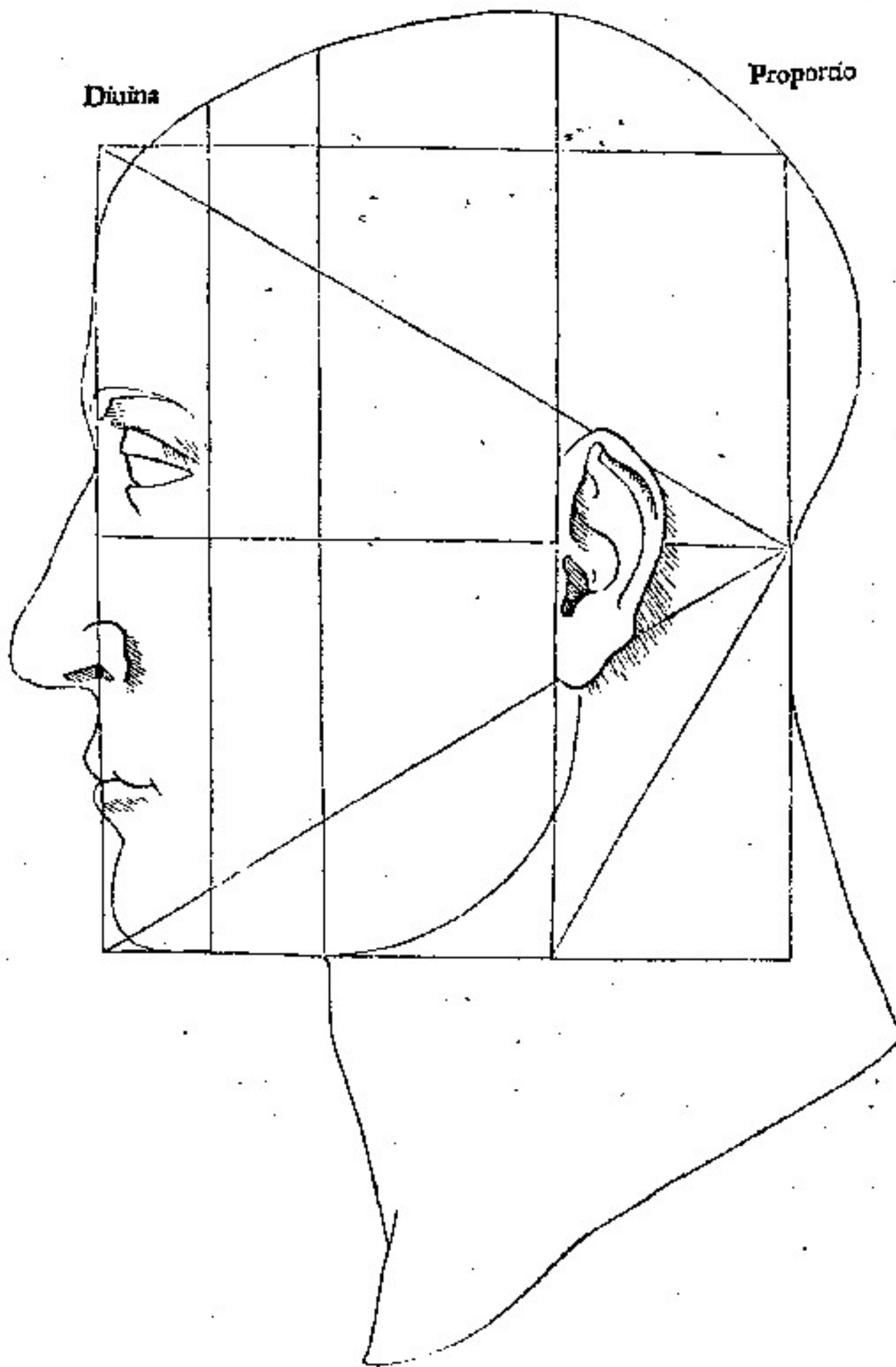
Quarto, 66 leaves and 87 plates.

Mortimer, *Italian 16th Century Books*, II, 346.

The Houghton Library. Typ 525.09.669F. From the Library of Charles Eliot Norton, the gift of friends, 1905

**F**RA LUCA PACIOLI of Borgo San Sepolcro (ca. 1445–ca. 1509) was the pupil of Piero della Francesca, amanuensis to Leon Battista Alberti and colleague of Leonardo da Vinci. The proportions he terms “divine” make man the microcosm of a geometrically ordered universe. The ratios derived by Pacioli from the measurement of an idealized human face and profile are here demonstrated to be at the foundation of literature, learning, and civic life. In two-dimensional aspect, they determined the form of the letters of the Roman alphabet. In three-dimensional projection, they governed the construction of the temples of classical antiquity.

References: Stanley Morison, *Fra Luca de Pacioli* (New York, 1933).



*The Houghton Library*

Luca Pacioli, *De divina proportione*,  
Venice, Alessandro and Paganino de' Paganini, June 1509. Plate 1

## 27a DESIDERIUS ERASMUS

*De duplici copia rerum ac verborum commentarii duo*  
Paris, Badius Ascensius, July 1512

Octavo, 88 leaves.

The Houghton Library. NC5.Er153D.1512. Gift of Imrie de Vegh

## 27b DESIDERIUS ERASMUS, ed.

*Laurentii Vallensis viri grece quam latina linguae peritissimi in latinam  
Novi Testamenti interpretationem ex collatione graecorum exemplarium  
adnotationes apprime utiles*

Paris, Badius Ascensius and Jean Petit, 13 April 1505

Folio, 54 leaves.

The Houghton Library. \*fNC5.Er153.505v. Purchased with the Susan A. E. Morse Fund

## 27c DESIDERIUS ERASMUS, ed.

*Novum instrumentum omne, diligenter ab Erasmo recognitum & emen-  
datum*

Basel, Johannes Frobenius, February 1516

Folio, xiv leaves, 676 pages.

The Houghton Library. \*fNC5.Er153B.1516(A). From the library of Herbert Weir Smyth, class of 1878, given in his memory by his family

ERASMUS (1466?–1536) was the first humanist of truly European stature. At various phases of his career he took up residence in the Netherlands, France, England, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy. His world was the world of the Aldine enterprise (entries 25a, b, c), a literate society that cut across national and political boundaries, whose culture was based on the study of Greek literature, and whose preferred language was the Latin of pagan Rome. The inspiration of Erasmus came directly from the publications of the Bessarion-Valla-Perotti school. *De copia* is in a direct line of descent from *Rudimenta grammatices* (entry 13). Between Perotti in 1473 and Erasmus in 1512, the relative weights attached respectively to grammar and rhetoric were reversed. *Rudimenta* is essentially a grammatical text with an extended postscript on rhetorical applications. *De copia* is a handbook of rhetorical practice with a cursory, introductory survey of syntax and morphology.

What was perhaps the decisive encounter in the intellectual evolution of Erasmus occurred in the summer of 1504 when he came across a manuscript of Lorenzo Valla's *Collatio Novi Testamenti* in the Praemonstratensian abbey

of Parc outside Louvain. *Collatio*, written in the early 1440s, outlines Valla's proposal for a critical edition of the New Testament. Erasmus immediately prepared the *editio princeps* for publication. In his dedicatory epistle, Erasmus praised Valla for asserting and putting into practice the principle of reading the New Testament as if it were the work of a classical Latin author, i.e., emending and annotating the Vulgate on the authority of its Greek manuscript sources. *Novum instrumentum*, published ten years later, implemented this principle in systematic detail. As its heraldic invocation of Lactantius gives us to understand, Erasmus entertained the ideal of a Christianity purged of Hebraic accretions.

References: Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1983); *Collected Works of Erasmus, Literary and Educational Writings. 2: De Copia/De Ratione Studii*, ed. Craig R. Thompson, (Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1978).





28 NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI

*Libro della arte della guerra di Niccolò Machiavelli, cittadino et segretario fiorentino*

Florence, I heredi di' Philippo di Giunta, 16 August 1521

Octavo, 124 leaves.

The Houghton Library. \*IC5.M1843.5211. Gift of Imrie de Vegh

**L**'*ARTE DELLA GUERRA* is the only one of Machiavelli's (1469–1527) political-historical works published during his lifetime. The text presents in detail his project for restoring Florentine liberty through the creation of a civic militia. Here, as everywhere else in Machiavelli, the history and tradition of republican Rome is the source. The conversations recorded in *L'Arte* purportedly take place in the Orti Oricellari, the garden estate of the Rucellai family and the meeting place of Florentine intellectuals during the early years of the sixteenth century. One of the participants in these meetings was Janus Lascaris (1445–1535), a Byzantine exile, the last surviving member of the Bessarion circle and the first translator of Book VI of Polybius, until then presumed lost. *L'Arte* is, among other things, notable for the first direct citations — albeit unacknowledged — from this as yet unpublished translation. Machiavelli drew on Polybius for his explicit and detailed celebration of military discipline as the fundamental civic ritual, the mainspring, therefore, of the Roman imperium and every other notable republic as well.

References: M. D. Feld, "Machiavelli's Militia and Machiavelli's Mercenaries," in M. J. Martin and E. S. McCrate, eds., *The Military, Militarism, and the Polity: Essays in Honor of Morris Janowitz* (New York, 1984), pp. 79-92; Felix Gilbert, "Bernardo Rucellai and the Orti Oricellari: a Study on the Origin of Modern Political Thought," in his *History: Choice and Commitment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), pp. 215-246.

29 GEOFFROY TORY

*Champ fleury*

Paris, For the author and Gilles de Gournmont, 29 April 1529

Small folio, 88 leaves, including 10 plates on 5 leaves.

Mortimer, *French 16th Century Books*, II, 524.

The Houghton Library. Typ 515.29.844. Added to the library of Charles Eliot Norton, class of 1846, the gift of friends, 1910

UNTIL *CHAMP FLEURY*, the study in France of classical literature had been an antiquarian addiction. With Tory (1485?-1536), it became a creative pursuit. Tory's text was inspired by Alberti and Pacioli; the human form and the capital letters of the Latin alphabet were modelled on a latticework of harmonious proportion. Tory, like Alberti, believed that his native language, given grammatical guidance, had the imperial potential of Greek and Latin. Along with this, he realized that printing in Roman type was the indispensable medium for expounding and illustrating such themes.

References: Auguste Joseph Bernard, *Geofroy Tory, peintre et graveur, premier imprimeur royal, réformateur de l'orthographe et de la typographie sous François Ier* (Paris, 1865).

LE SECOND LIVRE.

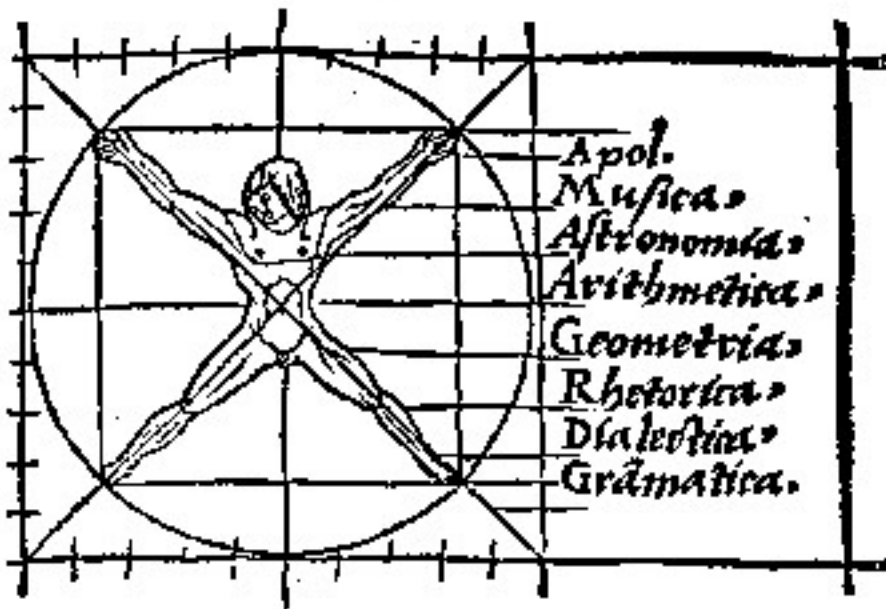
Notable  
singulier  
pour le  
nombre  
Per &  
Imper.

uant allegue pour reuenir a nostre propos & disons. Confestū est numeris quic-  
quid natura creauit. Toute chose naturelle est, & consiste en nombre, & ce nō-  
bre est Per & Imper. comme nous pouuons cognoistre manifestement en la fa-  
ce de L'homme humain, & en ses membres, car il en ya aucuns en nombre Im-  
per, comme est La teste, le nez, la bouche, le menton, le nombryl, le membre  
genital, & autres plusieurs que ie laisse pour breuete. Il en ya cōme iay dit, qui  
sont en nombre Per, comme les deux yeulx, les oreilles, les bras, les mains, es-  
quelles mains ya encores nombre Per & Imper, comme sont les cinq doigts de  
lune, & les dix des deux. Toutes ces choses seroiet longues a nōbrer lune apres  
l'autre, parquoy en reuenant a mon propos ie dis que nos dites lettres sont fina-  
turellement bien proportiōnees que a la semblance du corps humain sont com-  
posees de membres, cest a dire, de nombre, de points, & de lignes consistans en  
esgalle partition & inesgalle, comme iay cy deuant ia monstre, & quil en ya de.  
XIII. corps de largeur, de X. de, VIII. de VII. de VI. & de III. & ce nous le  
verrons par figure cy apres aidant nostre seigneur.

**A**V Quarre estat de la grādeur de nos dites lettres Attiques ay designe L'hō  
me ayant les bras estandus iusques aux deux lignes extremes dudit Quar-  
re, & les pieds ioints & estandus iusques a la ligne & extremite du bas dudit  
Quarre, & en la proportiō diuisee dicelluy iay applique & situe Apollo & les  
neuf Muses, Il me semble en cest endroit cy estre bon, & non sans cause, que ie  
figure le dit corps humain accordāt avec le dit Apollo & les sept Ars liberaulx  
pour tousiours myeux monstre la perfection tant dudit corps humain que de  
noz diuines lettres Attiques. La figure est telle quil sensuyt.

Ordon-  
nance du  
corps hu-  
main aux  
sept Ars  
Libe-  
raulx,

**E**N ceste figu-  
re voyez l'hō  
me estandu en p  
portio esgalle de  
pieds & mais tou-  
chans aux quatre  
angles du Quar-  
re racourcy, pour  
la cause & raison  
de son estandue  
accordāt en rōd  
& quare. Le cē-  
tre dudit homme  
ainsi figure est le  
nombryl, mais le



Notable  
tres sin-  
gulier.  
Notezcy  
& enten-  
dez la bel-  
le diferen-  
ce entre  
Pallas &  
Minerua

centre de l'autre homme estandu seulement des bras, & ayant les pieds ioints,  
est au mylieu du peny droit sus le mēbre genital. La cause pour quoy iay plu-  
stost applique les sept Ars liberaulx a L'homme equidistantment pieds & mains  
estandu, que les neuf Muses, est q̄ lesdits sept Ars liberaulx sont en plus grāde  
exercice de corps que ne sont les neuf Muses qui sont choses celestes & diuines  
esquelles choses lesperit trauaille plus que le corps. Et pour ceste cause ie treuue  
que les estudiens, & ceulx qui prenent garde plus au neēt a la vertus & nature  
des choses, mettent differēce entre la Deesse Pallas & Minerua, disans que Pal-  
las est la Deesse & Royne des Sciēces, & Minerua des Ars seulement, esquelz  
selon lethimologie, cest a dire la droite exposition, de Minerua, Quae dicitur a

The Houghton Library

Geoffroy Tory, *Champ fleury*,  
Paris, For the author and Gilles de Gourmont, 29 April 1529. F. 17v

## 30a GIANGIORGIO TRISSINO

*Dialogo de Trissino intitulato Il castellano nel quale si tratta de la lingua italiana*

Vicenza, Tolomeo Ianiculo, February 1529

Quarto, 20 leaves.

The Houghton Library. \*HC5.T7388.529d. Given by Charles Eliot Norton, class of 1846, 29 June 1885

## 30b GIANGIORGIO TRISSINO

*La Italia liberata da Gotthi*

Roma, Valerio e Luigi Dorici, 1547, Venezia, Tolomeo Ianiculo, 1548

Octavo, 3 vols. in one: (71), 175 p.; 181, (51) p.; 184, (31) p.; plates in vols. I and II.

The Houghton Library. \*IC5.T7388.547i(A). From the bequest of Mary P. C. Nash in memory of her husband, Bennett Hubbard Nash

**I**L CASTELLANO is the earliest printed Italian grammar. Political exile, papal and Hapsburg diplomat, man of letters, amateur architect, Trissino (1478–1550) was both the mentor and first patron of Palladio. He was also a fervent admirer of Dante, whose Ghibelline ideology he shared and whose life he regarded as parallel with his own. *Il castellano* was inspired by and published simultaneously with Trissino's vernacular translation of Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*. Like Dante's tract, it aspired to endow Italy with a native language equal to its historic role: the harmonization of Rome's universal empire with Christianity's universal truths. Trissino's idiosyncratic orthography was a hybrid of Greek (viz. Byzantine) and Roman elements. Trissino, like the humanists of the Bessarion circle, used Greek as a supernatural vehicle. His major literary work is an epic poem, *La Italia liberata da Gotthi* (1547), celebrating the exploits of the Byzantine emperor, Justinian. *La Italia liberata* was dedicated to the Hapsburg monarch and Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, and is the first attempt to write an Italian epic in blank verse. In the dedication, Charles is compared to his Byzantine precursor, having like Justinian expelled the barbarians from Italy and reformed a contumacious papacy. The name Palladio, bestowed on Trissino's protégé, Andrea di Pietro, represents the union of Trissino's aesthetic and political ideals. It is also to be found in *La Italia liberata*, where Palladio was the guardian angel (viz. daemon) of Belisarius, the commander of Justinian's Italian expedition.

References: Franco Barbieri, "Giangiorgio Trissino e Andrea Palladio," *Convegno di studi su Giangiorgio Trissino*, ed. N. Pozza (Vicenza, 1980), pp. 191–211.

31a CAMILLO AGRIPPA

*Trattato di scientia d'arme, con un dialogo di filosofia*  
Rome, Antonio Blado, 1553

Quarto, 76 leaves. Illustrated.

Mortimer, *Italian 16th Century Books*, I, 6.

The Houghton Library. Typ 525.53.126. Gift of Philip Hofer '21

31b CAMILLO AGRIPPA

*Trattato di trasportar la guglia in su la piazza di San Pietro*  
Rome, Francesco Zanetti, 1583

Quarto, 24 leaves and plate.

Mortimer, *Italian 16th Century Books*, I, 7.

The Houghton Library. Typ 525.83.127. Gift of Philip Hofer '21

**T**RATTATO DI SCIENTIA D'ARME was the first printed duelling manual. Agrippa (1535–1595), an engineer by profession, approached the behavior of both men and inanimate objects as problems in applied mathematics. He analyzed the postures and movements of the duelist in a manner analogous to that of Pacioli and Tory and depicted them on the geometric scale of the idealized human head and figure.

As with Tory and Pacioli, Agrippa's mathematics has a higher end. His idealized man was a political animal. The dedicatory letter to Cosimo de' Medici, duke of Florence, commends duelling as a means of reviving the habits of justice and honor, now in a state of decay. In his appended philosophical dialogue, Agrippa defends his geometrical method of exposition on the grounds that it is an extension of the cosmic order revealed to us by the ancient philosophers and mathematicians.

Mathematical analysis was also applied by Agrippa to the elevation of massive objects. *Trattato di trasportar la guglia* (Treatise on Raising the Obelisk) contains the original plan for the celebrated raising of the obelisk now in the Piazza di San Pietro. Obelisks were the symbol of Rome's imperial past, the source of western familiarity with hieroglyphics, and evidence of Egypt's presumed role as the wellspring of arcane and scientific lore.

References: Bern Dibner, *Moving the Obelisks, a Chapter in Engineering History in Which the Vatican Obelisk in Rome in 1586 Was Moved by Muscle Power, and a Study of More Recent Similar Moves* (Cambridge, 1970).



The Houghton Library

Camillo Agrippa, *Trattato di scientia d'arme, con un dialogo di filosofia*,  
Rome, Antonio Blado, 1553. F. 63r

32a PIERRE DE RONSARD

*Les Hymnes*

Paris, André Wechel, 1555

Octavo, [4 leaves], 185 pages.

The Houghton Library. \*FC5.R6697.555h. Purchased with the Amy Lowell fund

32b PIERRE DE RONSARD

*Les quatre premiers livre[!] de la Franciade. Au roy, tres-cbrestien,  
Charles neuvieme de ce nom*

Paris, Gabriel Buon, 1572

Quarto, [14 leaves], 230 pages.

The Houghton Library. \*FC5.R6697.572f. Gift of Curt H. Reisinger '12

THE INSPIRATION for *Les Hymnes* came directly from *Hymni naturales* of Marullus. Ronsard (1524–1585), however, made the king and stellar nobility of France the equivalents of the Olympian gods. His royal and aristocratic heroes were the mediating agents between the timeless and unchanging celestial order and the seasons and cycles of the earth below. Ronsard, like Marullus, allotted to himself the role of the inspired voice.

This inspiration was, however, an essential component of the supernatural powers inherent in his patrons. The recording poet was the servant of divinely anointed monarchy. "You, Ronsard, did not compose this work, it was forged by a royal hand, CHARLES, learned, victorious and wise is its author, you are only the scribe." Ronsard, having defined his vocation, moved on to its logical culmination, a national epic. The theme of *La Franciade* is symbolic of the change from the quattrocento city-state to the sixteenth-century absolute monarchy. The hero of the epic and the ancestor of the French royal house, Francion, was originally Astyanax, son of Hector, heir apparent to the Trojan throne, and a direct descendant of Jupiter. Only four of the projected twenty-four books were actually written.

References: Germaine Lafeuille, *Cinq Hymnes de Ronsard* (Geneva, 1973).





*Tu n'as, Ronsard, composé cet ouvrage,  
 Il est forgé d'une royalle main,  
 CHARLES scauant victorieux & sage  
 En est l'auteur, tu n'es que l'escriuain.*

*A. I.*

*The Houghton Library*

Pierre de Ronsard, *Les Hymnes*, Paris, André Wechel, 1555. F. 14v

33a MARCUS POLLIO VITRUVIUS

*De architectura libri decem*, Commentary by Daniele Barbaro  
Venice, Francesco de' Franceschi and Giovanni Chrieger, 1567

Folio, 198 leaves.

Mortimer, *Italian 16th Century Books*, II, 550.

The Houghton Library. Typ 525.67.872F. Gift of Philip Hofer '21

33b ANDREA PALLADIO

*I quattro libri dell'architettura*  
Venice, Domenico de' Franceschi, 1570

Folio, 68 leaves, including 66 plates on 33 leaves.

Mortimer, *Italian 16th Century Books*, II, 352.

The Houghton Library. \*f1C5.P1772.570a. Ex libris Henry Hobson Richardson, given by his grandson Henry Richardson Shepley

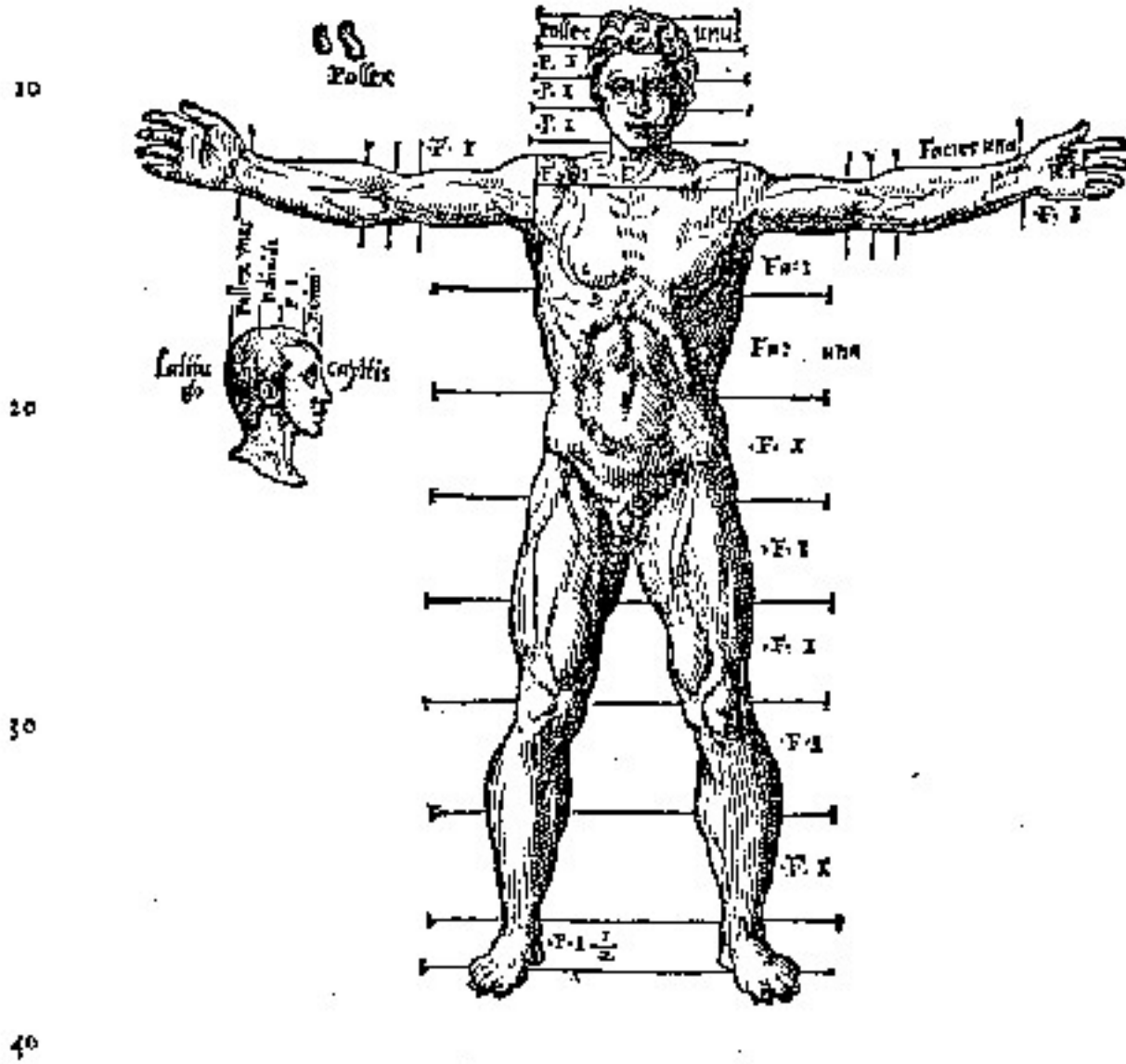
IN THE VENETIAN PATRICIATE, the Barbaro family was distinguished for its humanist interests. Daniele Barbaro (1514–1570), patriarch of Aquileia, was the patron for whom Palladio (1518–1580) built the villa at Maser, the most Hellenistic of his designs, complete with Veronese's frescoes of the Olympian gods. At the beginning of his commentary, Barbaro identifies Vitruvius as a Roman, active during the universal peace of the Augustan age "in which our lord Jesus Christ was born," the contemporary, therefore, of the prophetic poet, Virgil, and the astronomical versifier, Manilius. Barbaro submitted Vitruvian rule of thumb precepts to laws of harmonious proportion, derived from his study of Greek mathematics. He laid out the principles of an architecture suitable to the life-style of a Christian gentleman. Like that other mathematician-priest, Luca Pacioli, the proportions of mathematics were, for Barbaro, of Greek origin and therefore "divine."

The architectural code drawn up by Daniele Barbaro was a projection of the architectural practice of Andrea Palladio. In the design of the cinquecento villas of the Veneto, numerical ratio played a role analagous to that of the *prisca theologia* in the quattrocento humanist interpretation of classical Latin literature. An ancient and divinely inspired Greek medium had, in each case, the function of reconciling a legacy of pagan wisdom with the demands of the Christian life.

References: James S. Ackerman, *Palladio* (London, 1966); Rudolph Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (New York, 1971);

Sores, & flammarij nobiles usi, magnas & infinitas laudes sunt assecuti.

Vtinam non desideraremus antiquorum scripta, de quibus latissime Plinius. Sed nos aliquid ex nostris addemus, ut totius corporis commensurum habeamus. Hieronymus Cardanus Medicus libro duodecimo De subtilitate in modum scribit.



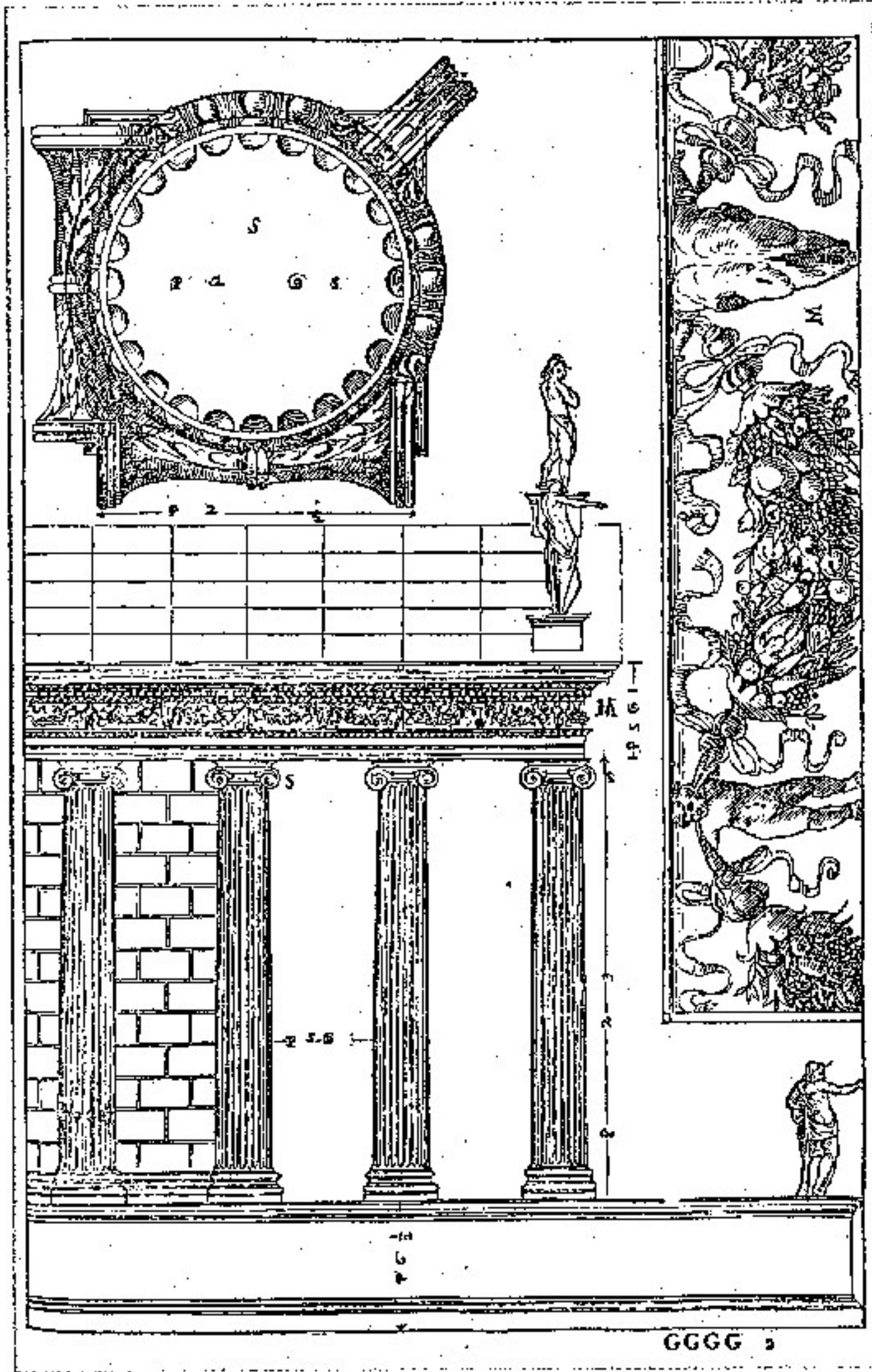
Totum corpus partibus centum, & octuaginta constare, rationem huius summe eam esse puto, ut reliquas partes ex hac summa eliciamus.

Facies.	partium.	18.	Quae est pars decima ex 180.
Ab hircio ad hircum	part.	12.	Quae est pars quintadecima.
Nasi longitudo	part.	6.	Quae est pars trigesima.
Nasi ambitus in imo.	part.	6.	
Auris longitudo.	part.	6.	
A capillorum radice ad nasum.	part.	6.	
Nasi inum a mento.	part.	6.	
Oris longitudo.	part.	4.	Quae est pars quadragesima quinta.
Oris ambitus.	part.	12.	
A vertice ad imas cervicis.	part.	24.	Quae est 7. & duodecima 180.
A summo pectore ad capillorum summas radices.	part.	30.	Quae est pars sexta.
A summo pectore ad capillorum summas radices.	part.	36.	Quae est pars quinta.
Auris ambitus.	part.	12.	
Oculi longitudo.	part.	4.	
Oculorum distantia.	part.	4.	

H 3 Anst

The Houghton Library

Vitruvius, *De architectura libri decem*, commentary by Daniele Barbaro, Venice, Francesco de' Franceschi and Giovanni Chrieger, 1567. p. 89



The Houghton Library

Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura*,  
Venice, Domenico de' Franceschi, 1570. P. 36

34 MARCUS MANILIUS

*Astronomicon*, ed. and with commentary by Joseph Scaliger  
Paris, Mamertus Patisson, 1579

Octavo, 2 vols.: 6 p.l., 136, [7] p.; 292, [12] p. Illustrations.

The Houghton Library. \*NC5.Sca45.579m. Gift of David Pingree Wheatland '22

**T**HE MANILIUS OF SCALIGER (1540–1609) is the ultimate humanist critical edition. Text and commentary are treated as autonomous yet complementary systems, microcosm and macrocosm, so to speak. They were published simultaneously in two distinct volumes, each with its own title page. Manilius's metrical representation of the harmonious order of celestial phenomena served as the pattern for Scaliger's own reconstruction of the Hellenic-Latin linguistic and intellectual cosmos.

This edition of Manilius was a paradigm. Greek and Latin literature were interpreted as elements of a unified, coherent system, with Greek as the foundation and Latin as the visible remains. The perfection of this system was confirmed by the autonomy and internal consistency of its literary masterpieces. With the publication of this edition, Scaliger became the arbiter of all literature. Subsequent aspirants to this role, e.g., Bentley and Housman, tried their hand on Manilius.

References: M. D. Feld, "The Early Evolution of the Authoritative Text," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 26 (1978), 81-111; Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger, a Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. I (Oxford, 1983- ).

35 JACOB DE GHEYN

*Maniement d'armes d'arquebuses, mousquetz, et piques*

Le Haye, R. de Baudous, 1607 (N.B. The original date is changed by hand to 1608.)

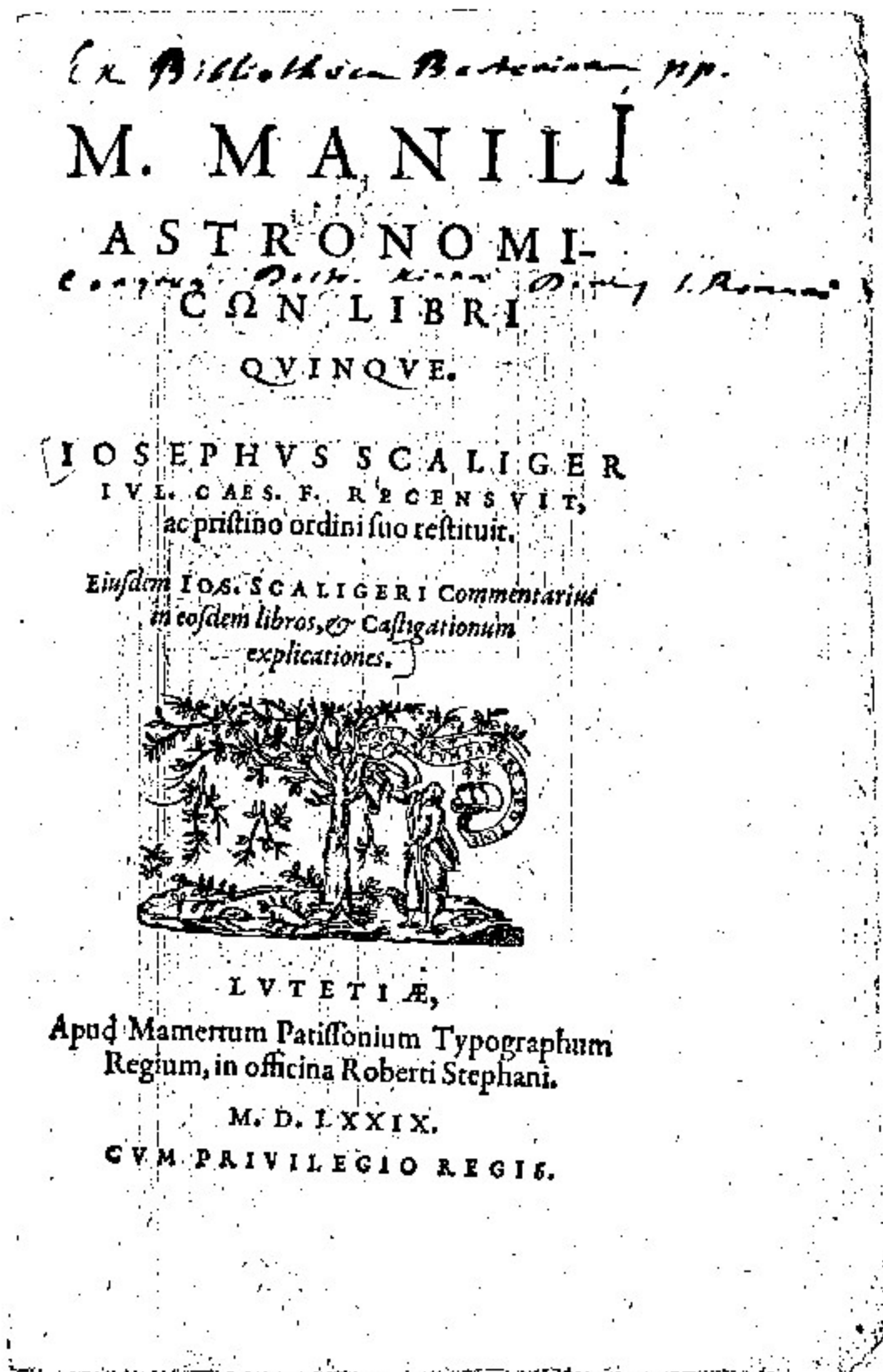
Folio, 126 leaves, of which 117 plates on 117 leaves, engraved by the author.

The Houghton Library. \*53-4561F. Purchased with the P. P. F. Degrand Fund

*MANIEMENT D'ARMES* is a simultaneous version, with French text, of the *Wapenbandelinghe*, the first illustrated manual of arms. *Wapenbandelinghe* expounded the military reforms instituted by Maurice of Nassau (1567–1625), commander of the Dutch armed forces in their war of independence against Spain. The book was designed for practical use in the army of the United Provinces. Its artist-author, Jacob de Gheyn II (1565–1628), was a member of the court circle of Orange-Nassau. His work went through several editions, was translated into French, German, Danish, and English, and was imitated in a plethora of acknowledged and unacknowledged seventeenth-century adaptations.

Maurice claimed to have found the particulars of his reforms in accounts of Roman military practice. His classical inspiration was, if anything, even more fundamental: the underlying principle of the *Wapenbandelinghe* represents the fruition of humanist linguistic and cosmological theory. The society depicted is one in which language and behavior are, as Lorenzo Valla had assumed they should be, isomorphous: for every appropriate gesture, there is an authoritative command and for every authoritative command, its appropriate gesture. Language and behavior approximate, in addition, another Renaissance ideal, an earthly ritual that mimics the harmony of the spheres. The succession of commands and responses constitutes a complete cycle and, once set in motion, can be presumed to go on indefinitely.

References: Jacob de Gheyn, *The Exercise of Armes, a Commentary by J. B. Kist* (New York, 1971); M. D. Feld, "Middle-Class Society and the Rise of Military Professionalism: The Dutch Army, 1589–1609," in his *The Structure of Violence: Armed Forces as Social Systems* (Beverly Hills/London, 1977).



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Marcus Manilius, *Astronomicon*, ed. and with commentary by Joseph Scaliger,  
Paris, Mamertus Pattison, 1579. Title page of text volume

IOSEPHI SCALIGERI  
I. V. L. CÆSARIS F.  
IN  
MANILIQVINQVE LI-  
BROS ASTRONOMICON  
COMMENTARIIS ET  
CASTIGATIONES.



LVTEIÆ,  
Apud Mamertum Patissonium Typographum  
Regium, in officina Rob. Stephani.  
M. D. LXXIX.  
CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

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Marcus Manilius, *Astronomicon*, ed. and with commentary by Joseph Scaliger,  
Paris, Mamertus Patisson, 1579. Title page of commentary volume



- Comme ayant l'Harquebuse sur l'espaule, il la tiendra & portera en conforme de ce qui est dit en la premiere figure.
34. Comme étant en sentinelle, & se voulant aposter, il prendra l'Harquebuse d'une main de dessus l'espaule comme il est dit.
  35. Comme en sentinelle ayant prins l'Harquebuse de dessus l'espaule il la recevra en la main gauche.
  36. Comme en sentinelle ayant l'Harquebuse en la main gauche il tiendra le bras droit esloigné, la main au ressort, ou a la clef & l'affut contre la hauche droite, comme le monstre ce portait.
  37. Comme en sentinelle il tiendra bien l'Harquebuse en la main gauche en contrepoix, & la regira, ayant la main droite libre.
  38. Comme en sentinelle, il prendra bien & avec avantage, la mesche hors de la main gauche, avec le pouce & le deuxieme doigt.
  39. Comme encor en sentinelle, il portera la mesche avec le pouce & le deuxieme doigt vers la bouche, la soufflera sous la main, tenant ce pendant de la seule main gauche l'Harquebuse en contrepoix.
  40. Comme étant en sentinelle, il pressera la mesche sur le serpentín, avec le pouce, & le deuxieme doigt, sans la fermer avec le venin comme il a esté dit.
  41. Comme étant en sentinelle, il compassera la mesche & la conduira avec le pouce & le deuxieme doigt a son avantage.
  42. Comme étant en sentinelle, pour estre prest au besoing, ayant posé la mesche au serpentín, il tiendra le bacinet couvert, de crainte des estincelles.

### Motz de Commandement.

*Desquels les Capitaines doivent user, pour montrer de sçyte à leurs Soldatz tout ce qui depend du maniemens de l'Harquebuse, & ces motz d'usage s'employent en abrégé sur chacune figure.*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tenez bien l'Harquebuse sur l'espaule, &amp; marchez</li> <li>2. Prenez l'Harquebuse de dessus l'espaule.</li> <li>3. Et la tenez en la main droite vers hault.</li> <li>4. Prenez l'Harquebuse en la main gauche.</li> <li>5. Prenez la mesche en la main droite.</li> <li>6. Soufflez la mesche &amp; la tenez bien.</li> <li>7. Serrez la mesche au serpentín.</li> <li>8. Adressez ou compasser la mesche.</li> <li>9. Soufflez la mesche &amp; ouurez le bacinet.</li> <li>10. En-jouez.</li> <li>11. Tirez.</li> <li>12. Otez l'Harquebuse, &amp; la tenez bien de la main gauche.</li> <li>13. Otez la mesche.</li> <li>14. Et la remettez entre les doigts.</li> <li>15. Soufflez le bacinet.</li> <li>16. Amorcez.</li> <li>17. Serrez le bacinet.</li> <li>18. Secouez le bacinet.</li> <li>19. Soufflez le bacinet.</li> <li>20. Tournez l'Harquebuse.</li> <li>21. Et la laissez couler soignant le coste gauche.</li> <li>22. Ouvrez la charge.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>23. Chargez l'Harquebuse.</li> <li>24. Tirez la baguette.</li> <li>25. Prenez la baguette courte.</li> <li>26. Pressez ou bourez la pouldre.</li> <li>27. Retirez la baguette hors de l'Harquebuse.</li> <li>28. Et la tenez court.</li> <li>29. Remettez la baguette.</li> <li>30. Amenez l'Harquebuse en auant de la main gauche.</li> <li>31. Et la tenez droite ou vers le hault de la main droite.</li> <li>32. Mettez l'Harquebuse sur le paule.</li> <li>33. Tenez bien l'Harquebuse sur l'espaule, &amp; marchez vers la sentinelle.</li> <li>34. Prenez l'Harquebuse de dessus l'espaule.</li> <li>35. Et la laissez couler ou descendre en la main gauche.</li> <li>36. Tenez bien l'Harquebuse.</li> <li>37. Tenez l'Harquebuse en la main gauche seulement.</li> <li>38. Prenez la mesche en la main droite.</li> <li>39. Soufflez la mesche.</li> <li>40. Pressez la mesche au serpentín.</li> <li>41. Compasser la mesche.</li> <li>42. Couvrez le bacinet, &amp; vous tenez prest.</li> </ol> |
|---|---|

### Commandement general.

*Tenez le Canon hault.*

Il est besoing voire tres necessaire que les Capitaines prennent soigneux regard, d'accoustumer leurs Soldats, à tenir tout fier canon de l'Harquebuse hault, pour eviter tous inconveniens.

*The Houghton Library*

Jacob de Gheyn, *Maniemens d'armes d'arquebuses, mousquetz, et piques,*  
Le Haye, 1608. F. 3r



*The Houghton Library*

Jacob de Gheyn, *Maniement d'armes d'arquebuses, mousquetz, et piques*,  
Le Haye, 1608. F. 14r