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*Strategies and Failures of a Renaissance Publishing Venture: The Accademia Veneziana and the Myth of Aldus*¹

The divine providence has inspired the great Federico Badoer, a gentleman of great virtue, and honourable conduct, ... to constitute a society, and to entrust some among relatives and friends with the edition of previously unpublished texts, and other works accompanied by excellent annotations and improved through accurate corrections, and to offer them with great benefit of the whole world [...].²

Federico Badoer was born into a patrician family of old lineage, and had been involved as a diplomat at the service of the Venetian Republic in various capacities.³ In 1557, when this document was drawn, he had just returned from a three-year mission as an ambassador to the Habsburg courts. During his youth he was a close friend with prominent Venetians Daniele Barbaro and Domenico Venier, engaged with the Accademia degli Infiammati in Padua and – the latter – host to the Accademia Veniera in Venice. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that such a thriving environment should generate even grander ambitions. In November 1557 Badoer founded the Accademia Veneziana with a few of his friends. As outlined in its written constitution, quoted above, the Academy was conceived primarily as a publishing venture, a rather peculiar characteristic in comparison to other contemporary academies.⁴ This

¹ I would like to thank Professor Lodovica Braida and Drew Thomas for reading through this piece and offering useful insights, as well as encouragement for the continuation of my work on the Accademia Veneziana. The staff at the Trivulziana Library in Milan have also been particularly generous in allowing reproductions of all the pictures that appear in this essay.

² *Instrumento tra alcuni accademici, et ministri interessali* [sic!], Venice, 14 November 1557. Copy used: Manchester, John Rylands University Library (henceforth: JRUL), 20968, ff. [1-2]. The original text reads: 'Adunque havendo la divina providenza posto in cuore al Clariss. S. Federigo Badoaro, gentilhuomo di chiara uirtù, e d'intiera, e santa vita, [...] di legare con salda unione, e disporre alcuni suoi parenti, et amici de' libri non impressi per l'adietro, e con altri assai con maravigliose annotationi, e correttioni illustrati portar debba al mondo grandissima utilità'. All texts in the Italian vernacular are transcribed following the original spelling; normalisation has only been carried out to facilitate reading, so 'u' has been changed into 'v' and 'j' into 'i', as applicable. All translations, unless otherwise stated, are the author's own.

³ All information about Badoer's biography comes from the article 'Badoer, Federico' by A. Stella in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Treccani, 1960-) (henceforth: *DBI*), 5 (1963), pp. 106–108.

⁴ This was unusual for Italian academies in the Renaissance. Data for other sixteenth-century Italian academies provide us with these figures: Accademia della Crusca: founded in 1582, one edition (1585); Accademia Bocchiana: one edition. Founded in Bologna in 1555, it is not clear if it had its own press. Accademia dei Pellegrini, founded in 1549 by Anton Francesco Doni. Active between 1552 and 1554, it did not have its own press and used that of Francesco Marcolini. All of their four editions are works by Doni himself. The Accademia

publishing programme was not intended to consist of a few isolated editions, but rather it was going to be a comprehensive, universal cultural programme.

In order to accomplish such ambitious plans, Badoer and his associates selected the Aldine firm as their partner. This choice was in itself a mission statement, making it clear that the Academy meant to occupy a high-end section in the marketplace of print and to achieve a high scholarly status. The more minute aspects of the material organisation conformed to the same ideal, thus creating a coherent programme. Yet despite all the efforts put into its creation and development, the Venetian Academy was extremely short lived. In 1561, not even four years after it was launched, it was shut down and the Badoer family prosecuted for bankruptcy. Using the name ‘Accademia Veneziana’ was forbidden, a prohibition only withdrawn at the end of the sixteenth century, after the death of Federico Badoer.

In examining the unfolding of events related to the Academy, the essay draws upon a series of anonymously-printed documents that relate a vast array of practical details about its day-to-day activities. These range from the constitution of the Academy, to a number of letters inviting scholars to participate in its activities, or asking patrons for financial support; mandates and proxies for Badoer’s nephews; as well as the detailed accounts of the printing operations. Most of the documents are likely to have been printed as evidence for the proceedings of Badoer’s trial, although this remains purely conjectural. They are described in Renouard’s *Annales de l’imprimerie des Alde*.⁵ These are preserved today in four main groups of holdings in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek), Manchester (John Rylands University Library), Milan (Biblioteca Trivulziana) and New York (Pierpont Morgan Library). A full list is presented as an appendix at the end of this essay.⁶

The interest and importance of the Academy’s proceedings from a cultural perspective has long been the object of scholarship. The documents, however, also provide detailed information about contemporary printing shop practices, including details of the

Italiana in Cologne, active in 1589-1598, published four editions. Data from Edit16 online, last checked December 2015.

⁵ The items were listed in the supplement to the first edition (1812). The second edition contains better descriptions and numbering for each item: A.A. Renouard, *Annales de l’imprimerie des Alde ou histoire des trois Manuce et de leurs éditions*, Paris, 1824, pp. 267–281 (pp. 277–280, nos. 29–52).

⁶ A manuscript preserved at the Trivulziana Library in Milan (Cod. 109) also contains copies of many of the documents. The copy was commissioned by Renouard himself, who saw the original volume at the Dominican convent *alle Zattere* in Venice, but was unable to buy it. The copy was later acquired by Marquis Giorgio Trivulzio, whereas Count Étienne Méjan succeeded in acquiring the Venetian volume, which went to the Prussian State Library with the rest of his collection. See S. Graheli, ‘Reading the History of the Academia Venetiana through its Booklists’ in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World. Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*, ed. M. Walsby and N. Constantinidou, Leiden, 2013, pp. 283-319: 286.

printruns, and up to quite recently this aspect has received less attention. The neglect was first remedied by Conor Fahy, who in his last years undertook a study of their content and travelled to see the copies held in Manchester and New York. After his death, his research archive was donated to Cambridge University Library (Mss. Add. 9849), but some items, comprising unfinished research, were temporarily entrusted to Neil Harris (University of Udine), with a view to completing the work along the lines set out by Fahy himself.⁷

Among these documents is the Accademia Veneziana file, on which prof. Harris asked me to work freely, but keeping in mind the method and the approach of this great bibliographer. The file contains material relating to practical issues, such as letters to libraries or other scholars requesting information, annotated photocopies of articles or excerpts of texts dealing with the Academy, and also a grant application to the Bibliographical Society of America to view material at the Pierpont Morgan Library (1997), together with a report detailing the results of that research. The folder also contains the unfinished manuscript draft of an essay by Fahy on this topic, with the title: ‘Paolo Manuzio, l’Accademia Veneziana e le anguille’; together with ‘A work flow chart for Paolo Manuzio’s editions for the Accademia Veneziana’, distributed as a handout for a paper with the same title given at the Seminar for Textual Bibliography in the Modern Foreign Languages at the British Library, in May 2004. Fahy’s research was therefore an invaluable starting point for the present author’s work on the Venetian Academy, and part of my own project is to publish his draft in a comprehensible form.⁸

This essay examines the plans and strategies adopted by the Academy during its lifetime, from its early days until its end. It takes into account the material components of printing, such as the printer’s device and the appearance of the books – in a word, the Academy’s brand – as well as its underlying founding concept and its contacts with the outside world. The importance of the early Aldine firm as a model and an inspiration, as well as the substantial differences between the two ventures, will be significant to this investigation in attempting to trace the Academy’s successes and ultimate failure.

Designing the Venture

⁷ About the published and unpublished work by Conor Fahy, see N. Harris, ‘Bibliografia delle pubblicazioni di Conor Fahy, 1999–2008’, *La Bibliofilia*, CXI/1 (2009), special issue ‘In ricordo di Conor Fahy’, pp. 51-89.

⁸ This will include the two main texts, as well as a full inventory of all the materials included in the folder.

The Venetian Academy was officially constituted in November 1557, even though the earliest known document, a printed letter addressed to Camillo Vezzato in Antwerp, is dated September of that year.⁹ This letter, which looks like a template rather than a customised invitation, is possibly the trace of a much larger recruitment action undertaken by Badoer and his associates; though it should not go unnoticed that the addressee resided in Antwerp, where the Academy had much business.¹⁰ Nothing in this text suggests a personal message, except for the heading at the start, separate from the body of the letter. The line displaying the date contains a blank for the day of the month. It is very likely that more copies of the exact same letter were disseminated across Europe at this time, in manuscript form.¹¹

It was certainly clear from the start that the main activity of the Academy would be printing, even when Badoer was still busy recruiting members. Between November 1557 and the following summer, the academicians were collaborating to create their publication programme. These efforts led to the compilation of a comprehensive list, including over 600 titles, seventeen categories, and authors from Classical Antiquity, to Scholasticism, to the modern age.¹² This work was published as the very first edition of the Venetian Academy, under the title *Somma delle opere*.¹³ Such a clear manifesto is essential in explaining the critical role played by Paolo Manuzio in the planning and developing of the venture, as the sole member of the Academy with a professional expertise in the publishing world. A series of general accounts shows that, as early as 18 January 1558, Paolo had started to acquire texts to be printed by the Academy.¹⁴ In June he was overseeing the preparation of the bookshop, and in August he was supervising translations. Paolo was naturally responsible for the printing, which by August had commenced. The *Somma delle opere* was followed by Paolo's *Epistole*, the *Ordine dei cavalieri del Tosone* and the *Officio del legato*.¹⁵

⁹ *Al molto magnifico messer Camillo Vezzato amico nostro carissimo et honoratissimo*, Venice, September 1557. Copy used: Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana (henceforth: Triv.), F.29/1.

¹⁰ See *infra*.

¹¹ We can be quite certain that most of these documents, possibly all of them, were not printed for distribution when the texts are dated. The hypothesis that they were produced as evidence in a later trial seems to be the most likely, and is supported by material evidence. See this essay, *infra*.

¹² The content of the programme is discussed in P.L. Rose, 'The Accademia Veneziana: Science and Culture in Renaissance Venice', *Studi veneziani*, XI (1969), pp. 191–242, but with some mistakes. It is fully described in Graheli, 'Reading the History', pp. 288–293, also followed by a description of which books were actually printed by the Academy.

¹³ *Somma delle opere che in tutte le scienze et arti più nobili, et in varie lingue ha da mandare in luce l'Academia Venetiana*, [Venice], 1558. A Latin version was published in 1559.

¹⁴ The year is expressed in the Venetian fashion. The first line of the accounts, 'Adi 18. zenaro 1557. in Venetia', also serves as a title. This is part of the *Conti di M. Paolo Manutio con l'Academia intorno le stampe*, f. [5]^r.

¹⁵ The precise schedule followed for the printing operations is reported in Graheli, 'Reading the History', p. 308.

Yet an even more important aspect was perhaps his role in designing the Academy's brand. Although he constantly communicated with his associates, it is obvious in his correspondence that his input was decisive on all printing matters. Much time and financial resources were devoted to the creation of the publisher's device, a personification of Fame.¹⁶ Although perhaps not as powerful an icon as other printer's devices, this design was an ideal choice. It was representative of the Academy's objective to attain long-lasting fame through its universal cultural programme. The motto, 'I fly to heaven to rest in God', complemented and enhanced the same message. The device was such a strong symbol that the Academy also went by the name of *Accademia della Fama*, 'Academy of Fame'.

The physical appearance of the books was in itself a marketing statement. Achieving a series of handsome, refined, consistently looking texts was one of the Academy's objectives since the very beginning, and Paolo himself seems to have been particularly committed to this principle. All aspects were carefully considered. The *Polizze*, one the printed documents that describe the Academy's activities, lends insights into the selection process establishing what typefaces were to appear in the Academy's publications. Paolo selected a typeface for every bibliographical format, and offered advice on these matters, though all decisions had to be approved by the Academy as a whole. On 21 July 1558 Paolo wrote to the Academicians:

As we are to begin the printing operations, I am sending three *specimina* of types, one for folio format, one for quarto, and the third for octavo, so that nothing should commence without your agreement and counsel. The large character is the one that greatly honoured my father's impressions. That for octavo I had cut about a year ago; the mid-sized one I had sent from France, and they are all the best in their kind.¹⁷

¹⁶ Undated expenses within the printed documents mentioned above include, among the *Spese diverse fatte in servizio dell'Accademia, et prima*, 'Per haver fatto designar due volte l'insegna della Fama', expenses for one *scudo*, one *lira* and six *soldi*. A further two *lire* was required 'Per il disegno, et intaglio della Fama'. Triv. F.29/14, ff. [8]^{r-v}.

¹⁷ The original reads: 'dovendosi dar principio allo stampare l'indice, mando prima a V. Eccellentiss. tre mostre di caratteri, l'una per foglio, l'altra per quarto, la terza per ottavo: acciò che a niuna cosa si dia principio senza il consentimento, e giudizio loro. Il carattere maggiore è quello, che honorò molto le stampe di mio padre. Quel di ottavo ho fatto intagliar io da un anno in qua. Il mezzano ho fatto venir di Franza, e sono tutti i più eccellenti nel suo genere'. *Polizze di M. Paolo Manutio alli Nob. et Ecc. SS. Academici compagni, e SS. miei Oss.*, f. [1]^v. Copy used: Triv. F.29/15. A recent publication: S. Testa, *Italian Academies and Their Networks, 1525-1700*, Basingstoke, 2015, p. 119 and note 176 p. 220 has failed to understand the meaning of this document, reported by Renouard in the third edition of his *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*, Paris, 1834, p. 270. It is not clear whether the misunderstanding comes from Paolo's letter or from Antoine-Augustin Renouard's reporting of it, but the interpretation that the French type had been imported specifically for the *Summa librorum* (for this edition, see *infra*) is incorrect. The letter is clearly discussing types of different sizes to be used in each

The necessity, expressed by Paolo, that the types for all formats should be chosen before print started, shows a desire to make the printed items as consistent as possible throughout. The academicians were angling for a coherent collection of texts, from which every single item should be visually identifiable. How the editions looked was of primary importance. Furthermore, Paolo explicitly mentioned that the largest typeface, the one to be used in the folio format, was one of the famous types used by Aldus himself. This shows that the connection with the Aldine firm was meant to be visually noticeable. And it was indeed obvious to the observer: for instance, the Trivulziana Library holds a copy of Paolo's own *Epistles* published for the Academy, on which a later reader wrote 'This book was printed by Aldus, although his name does not appear in print'.¹⁸ The importance of the typefaces becomes apparent as we look at the surviving texts (Fig. 1). All of the Academy's editions conformed to the same design, with variations according to the format. They were elegant and simple, mostly unadorned. Only one, the *De fluxu et refluxu maris*, contains a series of illustrated plates, which are an integral part to the text. Very few editions use woodcut initial letters.¹⁹ There was an obvious intention that the books should look as academic as possible, and devoid of any unnecessary decoration. This would draw even more attention to the layout of the text.

Most of the planned printing took place between August 1558 and February 1559, a phase in which the presses were quite active, producing a respectable number of editions. Conor Fahy calculated that as many as three presses were being used at one time to produce such output.²⁰ Until early December 1558 Paolo Manuzio was the only printer involved with the Academy's publications; he was then joined by Domenico and Cornelio Nicolini da Sabbio and Niccolò Bevilacqua. An examination of the output based on sheet totals shows that production increased during this phase, suggesting that the printing was going well and that there were plans to expand.²¹ But the quality and design of the books still retained a certain importance. Even when the Academy used printers other than Paolo, which resulted in

bibliographical format, as it is indicated by the sequence: 'il carattere maggiore [...] quello di ottavo [...] il mezzano'.

¹⁸ Triv. H L142. The note, written on the upper paste-down in eighteenth-century hand, reads: 'Questo libro è stampato da Aldo quantunque non sia espresso il di lui nome'.

¹⁹ Material examination of these items indicates that they were not printed by Paolo Manuzio, but by Niccolò Bevilacqua. The woodcut initials are what allows the identification. Bevilacqua used to print for Manuzio, Valgrisi and the Giunta family, among others, which means that his materials are used in editions signed by all of these publishers. Some printing materials remain of certain identification, also thanks to the fact that they appear quite indiscriminately in the editions of all of these publishers. That is the case with one initial 'C', which is damaged in the upper right-hand corner (Fig. 2).

²⁰ C. Fahy, 'A work flow chart for Paolo Manuzio's editions for the Accademia Veneziana', p. 3bis^v.

²¹ Graheli, 'Reading the History', pp. 303-304.

some alterations in layout and taste, the title page and dedication continued to be printed following the original template, with the distinctive Roman type. This indicates that there was, or the Academy thought there would be, a certain awareness by the reading public of the material look of the publications. This also confirms the importance of the dedications, which obviously would fall within the first quire, just after the title page.²² The serial design had to be preserved, at least in the most visible part of the book.

The Marketing Strategy

The physical appearance of the books was the most tangible connection between the Academy and the Aldine firm; one of the typefaces employed in the printed editions had even been used by Aldus himself, and had been selected for that very reason. The Academy's editions recalled the lack of decoration characteristic of many Aldine imprints, often embellished by nothing but type itself. But the link between the two ventures appears even stronger if one examines their underlying founding concept. Aldus Manutius had striven to offer a series of yet unpublished classical texts, difficult to find, in amended versions, accompanied by new commentaries. Similarly, the Academy wanted to offer texts that were not easily found, with a new editorial apparatus, sometimes in a new translation. It appears that the inspiration of the Aldine firm must have been a strong factor in the Academy's publishing plans, although these were adapted to an evolved marketplace of print.

Despite the great initial ambitions, however, the Academy only managed to produce very few editions. Just about twenty volumes appeared in print, with the addition of a few shorter items that were commissioned by the Venetian Republic. The reason why we have a full picture of what they intended to print is that the publishing programme itself was printed, first among all the texts planned by the Academy. The *Somma delle opere* presented a detailed list of all the editions envisaged by the Academy. The level of care and precision devoted to the preparation of this text is a testimony of its strategic importance to all the other

²² The importance and role of the dedications as part of the Academy's campaign has been discussed before in A. L. Puliafito, 'Gli "Splendori dell'aurora". Fasti editoriali dell'Accademia della Fama nei testi di dedica (1558-1559)' in *L'Europa del Libro nell'Età dell'Umanesimo*, ed. L. Secchi Tarugi, Florence, 2004, pp. 489-504.

endeavours of the Academy.²³ This was the manifesto for the whole venture, addressed to the Doge and to the Venetian Patriciate, no doubt as a first, bold attempt to seek local patronage.

The *Somma* had a second purpose. As well as a way of seeking patronage, it was also an integral part to the marketing strategy. Its publication as the first edition of the programme elevated all the listed titles to the rank of collectible items; it aimed at creating a canon of texts. This not only promoted the ambitious project, but it also created a checklist of essential titles for any reader or book collector who wished to assemble a *Bibliotheca Universalis*. This must have been a rather successful concept, as Conrad Gessner himself had a copy of the *Somma* in his personal library.²⁴ Lina Bolzoni has already noted the similarity of the *Somma delle opere* with the Aldine output.²⁵ This similarity is, however, a matter of quality and not quantity, of impression over substance, as only a small portion of the titles listed in the *Somma* are comparable with those printed by Aldus. The largest group of editions envisaged by the Academy were legal texts, which never constituted an interest to Aldus himself. Nevertheless, the Aldine inspiration is obvious in the programme. The poetry section, more than any other part of the *Somma*, has strong similarities with the Aldine catalogue – in particular those authors who were issued in the octavo format.²⁶ Lucretius and Catullus, Homer and Vergil, Dante and Petrarch are among these. The editions of Plato and related commentaries were important, though not as paramount as Bolzoni seems to suggest.²⁷ Although it is undoubtedly true that the Academy had an interest in neo-Platonic philosophy, the one ancient author who really stands out from the *Somma* is Aristotle. His name appears twice as often as Plato's – at times in a controversial discussion, but always remaining the most prominent cultural reference.

Various other editions of the Greek classics were also planned by the Academy, including poets, philosophers and astronomers; as opposed to earlier Aldine editions, these were not meant to appear in their original language, but in Latin or Italian translation. In only three instances is there a mention of texts to be published in Greek, and never in Greek alone: notably in the case of the concordance of Aristotle's works, to be printed as a tri-lingual text,

²³ Polizze, f. [2]^v, Paolo Manuzio to the Academy, 22 and 30 July 1558. These letters account for the purchase of special paper to be used in the *Somma*, and also for the selection of printing types and format. See Graheli, 'Reading the History', p. 299, for a wider discussion of this point.

²⁴ U. Leu, R. Keller and S. Weidmann, *Conrad Gessner's Private Library*, Leiden, 2008, p. 41. Copy cited in the catalogue: Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, 14.42.6.

²⁵ L. Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria. Modelli letterari e iconografici nell'età della stampa*, Turin, 1995, p. 6.

²⁶ *Somma*, O2^r-P1^v.

²⁷ Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria*, p. 8.

in Greek, Latin and Italian vernacular.²⁸ In other words, the language that had been paramount to knowledge exchange in Aldus's network had now receded to the status of source language. This is one important instance in which the Academy was consciously taking inspiration from the Aldine venture, but also re-adapting it into a more suitable form.

Although the Academy's approach to Greek texts was clear, it is difficult to establish what language the Academy's publications were meant to be printed in. According to Lina Bolzoni, the Academy had a strong programme of translations into the Italian vernacular. However, evidence of such an intellectual agenda does not appear strong enough. Circumstantial evidence may have tempted such an interpretation; indeed, Badoer and his friends, in particular Domenico Venier and Daniele Barbaro, had taken a strong interest in the promotion of the vernacular.²⁹ A letter from Barbaro to Badoer himself is a clear testimony to this:

[...] you know well, that I do not write, or think in other words than those I learnt from my mother, and improved through the use of the tongue with which I was born: as I do not enjoy using somebody else's tongue, like an exotic bird, and especially in familiar communication, where no words are as good as the common ones.³⁰

In addition, it is also known that Badoer had no interest in promoting the study of Greek, and this confirms that the Academy's editions were never meant to offer a Greek text on its own.³¹ Yet despite all this, nothing in the Academy's programme indicates that a translation in the Italian vernacular was to be preferred over the Latin, except in a handful of cases. The source and target language of a translation are known for only twenty-six titles listed in the *Somma*.³² Sixteen of these are from Greek or Latin into Italian; nine of these are from Greek

²⁸ Graheli, 'Reading the History', p. 292.

²⁹ M. T. Girardi and L. Signori, 'Daniele Barbaro letterato e il *Della Eloquenza*', *Aevum* 71, no. 3 (1997), pp. 651-689: 660-661.

³⁰ *Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini* (Venezia: haer. Aldo Manuzio, 1542), f. 25^r-27^r. The original text reads: '[...] voi medesimo sapete, che io non scrivo, o ragiono con altri vocaboli di quelli, che io ho imparati dalla madre, et corretti dall'uso migliore di quella favella, nella quale io son nato: sì perche a me non piace, come uccello Indiano, usar l'altrui lingua, specialmente nello scrivere domestico, dove altre parole non vagliono, che le comuni'.

³¹ Rose, 'The Accademia Veneziana', pp. 236-240.

³² Forty-seven translations are mentioned; however, in twenty-one cases the reader is not told whether the translation from Greek or Hebrew is going to be in Latin or Italian.

or Arabic into Latin; and in one case, there is a translation from Italian into Latin: Niccolò Tartaglia's *Aritmetica*.³³

The overwhelming majority of items listed in the *Somma* have no linguistic indication. This is particularly the case for the two major categories, canon law and civil law. However, there is little doubt that these texts were to be published in Latin. The great tradition of the *Consilia*, the commentaries on Justinian's *Codex*, the *Repetitiones*, the *Clementinae* – texts that circulated throughout Europe thanks to large distribution networks – were simply not a viable business venture in the vernacular.³⁴ The programme openly expressed that these items were intended for international circulation, as imprints from Venice and Lyon were cited as models and points of reference to communicate the novelty of the prospected editions.³⁵ Of other sections – theology, metaphysics, or rhetoric – it is not possible to estimate the intended language of publication. But the role of the Venetian Academy as a pioneer in the process of translation into the vernacular does not seem to be entirely justified by existing evidence, and certainly not by their publishing programme.

While the statistical predominance of the vernacular is difficult to prove, the importance of Latin to the Academy finds confirmation in their distinct projection towards the wider European book market. Numerous dedications to foreign princes, such as Henry II of France, Philip II of Spain, or the bishop Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, indicate an attempt to attract the sympathies of foreign patrons. The booklists themselves were, yet again, paramount to the Academy's strategies. Whilst the Italian *Somma* had been produced in a print run of only 400 copies, the following year a Latin version, in quarto, was published in almost three times as many copies.³⁶ Twelve of these were printed on large paper, undoubtedly intended as presentation copies. The *Summa librorum* was followed by the publication of two lists for the Frankfurt fair, one in Italian and one in Latin: the first real

³³ *Somma*, G1^r. The original text reads: 'L'arithmetica del Tartaglia, fatta latina, con molti avvertimenti, et annotationi'.

³⁴ No editions in vernacular are known for the legal texts by authors such as Bartolus a Saxoferrato, Baldo degli Ubaldi, Filippo Decio or Niccolò Tedeschi for the whole sixteenth century.

³⁵ *Somma*, K2^v. The original text reads: 'Et in questo corpo saranno posti secondo le materie altri trattati infino al numero di CCCCC. i quali altre volte furono impressi, ma non inserti ne' XVIII. volumi di Venetia, e di Lione' (*Trattati* section); 'Quanto alle repetitioni, darassi in luce una gran giunta cosi di quelle non piu impresse, come delle stampate ne gli otto volumi mandati fuori ultimamente a Lione, in modo tale, che havranno da esser XVI. volumi co' loro sommari, e repertori' (*Repetitioni* section).

³⁶ *Summa librorum, quos in omnibus scientiis, ac nobilioribus artibus, variis linguis conscriptos, vel antea numquam divulgatos, vel utilissimis, et pulcherrimis scholiis, correctionibusque illustratos, in lucem emittet Academia Veneta*, [Venice], 1559.

catalogues produced by the Academy.³⁷ These lists only included the items that had actually been published by then, and represented a true marketing operation, advertising the Academy's imprints in both Latin and Italian (Fig. 3).

However, despite the Academy's efforts, the editions and the lists sent to the Holy Roman Empire did not find much praise, indeed quite the opposite. The impossibility of conciliation between the two worlds appears striking in the exchange of formal communications between the academicians on the one hand, and a group of 'German literati' – unfortunately, not better defined – on the other. After having received the *Summa librorum* and the books sent to Frankfurt, a public response was issued by these scholars to the Academy.³⁸ The German scholars refused to receive any theological work which had been approved by the Roman Church and Inquisition. They insisted on the value of their Protestant faith and suggested the academicians take it into account for their programme.

Persuaded that the basis of Badoer's thought was the desire for a general Christian council, they rejected the Academy's programme. If there was ever to be a universal council, the German scholars wrote, no doubt it would be just like the Council of Trent, which was ruled by their great enemy, the pope.³⁹ Even more gravely, they expressed their concern for the Academy's activities: in their opinion they showed far too much attention to secular issues, which implied, they felt, a poor commitment towards religious matters. This cultural choice was such a mistake, that the programme might well have been abandoned altogether.⁴⁰ This may appear somewhat ironic, if one considers that the lack of religious commitment was possibly part of the Academy's strategy to make its editions suitable throughout Christendom, notwithstanding religious divisions. It was certainly a way to avoid accusations

³⁷ *Libri quos varii in scientiis et artibus conscriptos nuper edidit, & ad nundinas Francfordianas misit Academia Veneta*, [Venice], 1559; *Libri che in varie scienze, et arti nella latina lingua, e nella volgare ha nuovamente mandato l'Accademia Venetiana alla fiera di Francfort*, [Venice], 1559.

³⁸ P. Pagan, 'Sulla Accademia "Venetiana" o della "Fama"', *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 132 (1974), pp. 359-392: 369-372, also with further references. Pagan reproduces the whole reply from the German scholars as an appendix to his essay (pp. 386-392).

³⁹ Pagan, 'Sulla Accademia "Venetiana"', p. 390. The original text reads: 'Forse risponderete di fondarla in un concilio universale, il quale puossi (secondo voi) ragunar in un tratto; ovvero il concilio sarà libero e cristiano, e allora non dubitiamo, che le nostre chiese non habbiano a restar sulla vittoria e sull'honore, ovvero egli sarà quale è stato il Tridentino, cioè governato dalla tirannide d'un nostro capital nemico, che solo v'è stato giudice, in causa propria, ardendo una crudelissima guerra [...]'.
⁴⁰ Pagan, 'Sulla Accademia "Venetiana"', p. 387-388. The original text reads: 'temiamo adunque, che voi, con coteste vostre, le quali chiamate honorate fatiche, non siete per mirar al medesimo segno, che noi miriamo, ma ovvero attender a porre innanzi solamente gli studi profani, senza tener conto de' divini [...] non dovendo voi poter dare alle stampe altra sorte di libri, che quei, che, per questa vostra letera, s'accorgiamo, che siete per dare, haremmo giudicato, che molto meglio dovesse esser, che haveste lasciato stare una tale impresa, e non porvi a danneggiare, se non volete aitare la causa del nostro signor Giesù Cristo'.

of Lutheran sympathies from the Catholic world; but as it appears, other matters were sufficient to raise questions within Venice itself.

The *Accademia Venetiana* and the Most Serene Republic

In addition to the publishing programme, the Academy's other goal was to acquire institutional status with the Venetian Republic. In the *Supplica dell'Accademia alla Serenissima Signoria*, Badoer officially pitched the Academy to the Republic.⁴¹ This occasion led him to propose the Academy for a series of institutional duties of primary importance, such as re-editing and republishing the city's statutes and ordinances, providing formal education for future public servants, or introducing Venice to foreign visitors by offering them a tour of the city's landmarks. The Academy was offering itself as a connection between Venice and the outer world, as a manager of officialdom for the Republic; a role far too delicate to be assigned to someone who did not have a public position. As a result of the *Supplica*, the Academy was indeed commended as worthy of a special consideration, yet Badoer's expectations were disappointed. All he obtained was a fifteen-year privilege for the works listed in the *Somma delle opere*, within the territory of the Republic. In a second speech held in 1560, Badoer asked once again that the Academy be involved with the administration and organisation of the Marciana library and with the education of young patricians.⁴² In addition, he requested that the Academy's meetings be transferred from his private residence to a public place. The last request was the easiest to grant, and so he was allowed to hold meetings at the new vestibule in the Marciana. On the same occasion, the Academy was also named official printer for the Republic's ordinances. For a few months, the Academy's printing device, depicting Fame, appeared alongside the device of Venice, depicting the Lion of St Mark. Five editions survive to-date as proof of this cooperation (Fig. 4).⁴³

⁴¹ This document was printed before the privilege of 1558, but is no longer preserved in its original form. See Rose, 'The Accademia Veneziana', p. 229, note 1, for further reference.

⁴² Rose, 'The Accademia Veneziana', doc. 6, pp. 228-233.

⁴³ All but one of these very rare editions survive as unique copies: *Parte presa nell'eccelso Consiglio di X et Giunta, sotto li XXVIII di Giugno MDLX*, var. A, Venice, Marciana, Misc. 250 (10); *Parte presa nell'eccelso Consiglio di X et Giunta, sotto li XXVIII di Giugno MDLX*, var. B, Venice, Marciana, Misc. 250 (11) and Triv. F 33/3; *Parte presa nell'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo Maggior Consiglio sopra la bestemmia, et altri detti et fatti dishonesti*, Triv. F 33/1; *Parte presa nell'eccelso Consiglio di X et Giunta, a di XXIII Ottobre MDLX*, Triv. F 33/2; *Parte presa nuovamente nell'eccelso Consiglio di X con la giunta, in materia de' banditi. A XVI di Dicembre MDLX*, Venice, Marciana, Misc. 250 (9). Only three of these had been identified by Renouard, who did not know the *Sammelband* preserved at the Marciana: Renouard, *Annales*, pp. 280-281.

Although it may seem that, after repeated attempts, the Academy was finally successful in Venice, evidence suggests that the situation was deteriorating. The quality of the printed items is a clear indication of this. Cheap paper, cramped text, worn types and a new woodcut device made the academy's publications almost unrecognisable, if it were not for the imprint stating its name. It is obviously difficult to consider the quality of officialdom as a symptom of decline, as such publications were often financed by who had commissioned them, and not by the printer. Yet the style of printing adopted in these items was not the Academy's, but a much more modest style. This is particularly ironic, considering that it had been precisely because of the Academy's high standards that the Republic had appointed them as printers for its official publications:

As we have learnt from past experiences, that [...] all the *Parti prese* that we commissioned [...] were printed not only in ugly types, on cheap paper and in a bad layout, but with many and different mistakes, [...] and because our laws, that circulate widely through the world, should be seen in handsome, and worthy appearance, and properly corrected, [...] it is therefore decided that the Venetian Academy will be given in future the privilege to print the *Parti*, ordinances, of this and other councils and of our magistrates.⁴⁴

But the decline in the quality of printing had started well before this privilege was granted. A material examination of the printed items pre-dates the plunge in quality by at least a year. As early as 1559, the high standards advocated by Paolo Manuzio for the Venetian Academy had been abandoned. It is possible that this had something to do with Paolo's own departure in February 1559.⁴⁵ But it seems more likely that quite simply, concurrently with his absence, the Academy's funds had started to run low. This would also explain why, despite having at their disposal apt printers like Bevilacqua and the Nicolini brothers, the Academy's publication programme stopped altogether except for the small pamphlets printed for the Republic.

⁴⁴ Renouard, *Annales*, p. 279. The original text is reported here in full.

⁴⁵ In February 1559 Paolo Manuzio was forced to leave Venice, due to a mis-managed eel business. This was being investigated by Conor Fahy in his later years. He had started to write a piece entitled 'Paolo Manuzio, l'Accademia Veneziana e le Anguille', yet unpublished, and unfortunately incomplete, which discusses the eel affair at some length. About the eel business, also see the essay by Lodovica Braida in this volume, pp. ???.

Financial commitments and foreign contacts

The importance of financial matters to the Academy's decline and ultimately to its failure is confirmed by additional evidence. The financial commitment of Badoer and his family to the publishing venture had certainly been overly ambitious. In order to recover at least part of the family assets, Badoer's nephews went as far as attempting to sell the privilege obtained by the Republic for the publication of edicts and ordinances to foreign creditors.⁴⁶ If the Most Serene Republic had been willing to delegate its official publications to the Academy, it seems highly unlikely that it would have tolerated the Academy's disposal of it as one of its private assets.

Even more so, the documents known as *Lettere di Cambio*, preserved at the John Rylands University Library in Manchester and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, give an insight into some of the Academy's activities.⁴⁷ The *Lettere di Cambio*, discussed by Renouard and later more substantially by Pietro Pagan, have attracted little scholarly interest.⁴⁸ Can this possibly be because the evidence they provide is not as glamorous as the booklists or the dedications? If it is true that Badoer and his associates had aimed at creating such an ambitious programme, it also appears that they were extremely vigorous at garnering the necessary funding.

Operating in the greatest European financial centres – Frankfurt, Lyon and most of all, Antwerp – at the beginning of year 1560 Badoer's nephews moved a staggering amount of money through bills of exchange. These were all countersigned by some of the most powerful Genoese bankers at the time, specifically Tommaso Fiesco and Pier Francesco Spinola. This was not unusual, as sixteenth-century Antwerp was a highly experimental centre, where the transfer of financial obligations was a common transaction.⁴⁹ Yet the sheer size of the exchanges raises serious questions about the Venetian Academy and its objectives. All the expenses billed by the printers serving the Academy amount to just over 2,000 ducats;

⁴⁶ Pagan, 'Sulla Accademia "Venetiana"', p. 381.

⁴⁷ I wish to thank Julianne Simpson and Thomas Gordon from the John Rylands Library for their generous assistance in providing access to these items, as I would have not otherwise been able to consult them for this essay. The documents are: JRUL, 20982 and 20983. The letters are also preserved in the Renouard manuscript (Codice 109) at the Trivulziana library, where they appear as document 23 and 24.

⁴⁸ Renouard, *Annales*, 279-280; Pagan, 'Sulla Accademia "Venetiana"', p. 373 and 380. Pagan used the copies contained in the Codice Trivulziano 109 in his investigation; these are exact copies of the printed version, reproducing not only the text but its layout as well.

⁴⁹ J. Puttevils, *Merchants and Trading in the Sixteenth Century: The Golden Age of Antwerp*, London and New York, 2015, pp. 116-119.

the Antwerp traffic recorded over fifty times that value in bills of exchange.⁵⁰ In these documents Badoer's nephews are always cited as 'Ditta dell'Academia Venetiana', thus explicitly linking such monetary traffic to the Academy; but these financial operations went well beyond any expenses sustained in order to fulfil the Academy's objectives.

This drew scrutiny over who was commissioning the publication of these documents and raised suspicions that the Academy was being used for Badoer's private dealings. Not only had the Academy not been accepted as an institutional body within Venice, but its motives were being closely examined and questioned. As pointed out at the start of this essay, even the letter to Camillo Vezzato may have been selected to print because of its address, Antwerp. Renouard himself suggested that the recovery of documents relative to the Academy must have had something to do with the trials to which Badoer and his associates were subject between 1561 and 1567-68. The material appearance of these printed documents, however, places them quite decisively around 1567-68 and not in 1561, which was soon after the Academy was closed and when Renouard believed them to have been printed.⁵¹ So it appears that initially the bankruptcy proceedings may not have been condemned as harshly, but complications had later arisen.

It was notoriously forbidden for Venetian patricians to engage in any private activity with foreign nobles resident in Venice; and yet it appears that Badoer might have defied such prohibitions by helping the Duke of Braunschweig find a home and a secretary. This is what Aldo Stella investigated at some length, exploring the State Archive in Venice.⁵² And it was at this point that the financial statements received a much higher degree of attention. The documents, which are so marvellously useful to understand the history of the Venetian Academy, appear under a very different light as soon as it becomes clear when they were

⁵⁰ All the sums recorded in the *Lettere di cambio* are expressed in ducats, with rare mention of *soldi* and *denari*, which are negligible to the overall calculation. The Lyon bills are expressed in *marchi*, but the exchange rate of 68 1/4 ducats for each mark, applied to the exchange, is given in the document itself. More complicated are the calculations for the printing bills, which are sometimes expressed in ducats, *lire* and *soldi*, and sometimes in *scudi*, *lire* and *soldi*, or just in *lire* and *soldi*. The exchange has been applied of 7 *lire*=1 ducat, and 6 *lire*=1 *scudo*; 20 *soldi*=1 *lira*.

⁵¹ The only woodcut initial used in these items, an 'I' that appears in the text known as *Instrumento di deputatione*, (JRUL, 20989, f. [1]'), seems to have been in use in the workshop of Niccolò Bevilacqua in the years 1567-1568, precisely when we know that Badoer was under trial (see *Constitutiones et decreta provincialis synodi Sipontinae* (Venice, Giunta, 1567), f. A4^r; *Tractatus quam plures criminales, nonnullorum illustrium iurisconsultorum* (Venice, Giunta, 1567), f. a2^r; although Bevilacqua's name does not appear on these editions, the materials indicate that he was certainly the printer). These items are all printed in similar fashion, which confirms that the different dates appearing on different letters and documents are not representative of a date of print, but simply of the date in which a specific text had been redacted. For a list of the documents, see Renouard, *Annales*, 277-280.

⁵² Stella, 'Badoer, Federico'.

printed and why. The letters by princes, cardinals and bishops in response to requests of patronage indicate how no external funding was made available to finance the Academy's programme. The printing accounts show quite precisely how much and when the Academy was billed for its publications, which stopped altogether after March 1559. It does not appear that Paolo's short absence in 1559 was the real cause for this. Other printers were at hand if necessary; and although Paolo no longer printed for the Academy after his return, he did not rescind contacts with his associates. His edition of vernacular letters published in 1560, still dedicated to his good friends Federico Badoer and Domenico Venier, stands as proof.⁵³ But Badoer's name disappeared from the 1564 edition, leaving Venier as the sole recipient of the dedication.⁵⁴

Conclusion

The abrupt departure of Luca Contile and Bernardo Tasso from the Academy in March 1561 suggests a sudden change in the Academy's situation; this was in all likelihood bankruptcy. The letters written by both at that time indicate that the association with Badoer was no longer a sign of distinction among the intellectual milieu, but potentially dangerous and certainly undesirable. Is it possible that Badoer's associates had become aware, before the Venetian oligarchy, of a number of illicit financial operations? Were they simply disappointed by the deceitful enthusiasm, soon extinguished by the lack of funds, for a publishing programme that turned out to be more imaginary than concrete? Or were they eager on distancing themselves from Badoer and his actions? The answer is, possibly all of the above. Bernardo Tasso's letter to Sperone Speroni, written on 3 March 1561, is rather eloquent:

I quit the Academy, and I want to quit this home too, as proximity means that the *Clarissimo* (i.e., Badoer) often annoys me more than I would like.⁵⁵

⁵³ *Delle lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini, libro primo* (Venice, Manutius, 1560), f. A2^{r-v}.

⁵⁴ *Delle lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini, libro primo* (Venice, Manutius, 1564), f. A2^{r-v}.

⁵⁵ B. Tasso, *Delle lettere di M. Bernardo Tasso, accresciute, corrette, e illustrate* (Padua, Comino, 1733), vol. III, letter 45, pp. 148-149. The original reads: 'Io mi sono licenziato dall'Accademia, e mi voglio licenziare ancora da questa casa, perchè la vicinità causa che 'l Clariss. mi dà alcuna volta più fastidio, ch'io non vorrei'.

Five days later, when Tasso wrote to Speroni again, he had left Badoer's home and moved to a new house towards Murano, which he rented for six months while waiting to leave Venice.⁵⁶ So quickly had the Academy acquired fame, and just as quickly it had fallen.

The Venetian Academy as a venture is difficult to evaluate in terms of success. It was greeted by the intellectual community with great admiration and respect, and it was praised by patrons, whenever it could not be supported. Part of its programme was cleverly designed, such as the dedications and the booklists. The example of Aldus was highly influential in the idea behind the project and its definition. The Academy aimed at the creation of a canon; however, it was to be modern, and not classical. The new canon aimed for wide-spread European circulation by publishing in Latin. The Academy was not promoting a hermetic, elite culture, but aimed at a far broader public.

It must have been clear from the outline of the *Somma* in 1558 that very few of the planned texts were likely to become best-sellers. Yet part of the Academy's strategy relied on the rather stern serial design of these editions, which made them only adequate for scholarly collections, and therefore far from universally appealing. Badoer must have held high hopes in external patronage, if his private funds were as limited as we know them to be, and as he must have known, too; but these hopes were much too optimistic. He was possibly thinking of the early Aldine enterprise as a model; but Aldus had three great points of strength that the Academy did not have: the great capital provided by Federico Torresani, an impeccable scholarly reputation, and a powerful network. But the main networks that Badoer managed to create abroad were those of his financial operations; his pockets lacked depth; and despite the involvement of great intellectuals of the time, the scholarly profile was not as enticing, not least because by then many others had learnt the trick.

Aldus's success was admired, but only partially understood by Badoer. The European continent was quite simply a different entity during Aldus's time. The same experience could not be replicated. It was a transformed Europe, a much divided Christendom, in which the Academy was hoping to market their works. If the Reformation proved a significant hindrance for the diffusion of the Academy's editions in central Europe, the end of the French campaigns in Italy with the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559 somewhat reduced the interest of France in matters Italian. Certainly the king's pockets had now little to offer to those seeking patronage; and the Academy unwisely neglected

⁵⁶ Tasso, *Delle lettere*, vol. III, letter 46, pp. 149-151: 151.

altogether one branch of knowledge that was then extremely fashionable in the French high milieus: architecture. Perhaps this time of irreversible conflict, dominated by the need to define religion and spirituality, could simply not warm up to a cultural programme that claimed to be universal but then presented itself as secular and uncommitted. Even in Venice the Academy lacked the understanding of its position within the established order, and it ended up banished and brought to trial. To conclude, we may wonder if the failure of this venture was essentially due to a lack of understanding, on the part of its founding members, of the great changes their world was undergoing.

Appendix

Printed documents related to the history of the Academy⁵⁷:

Document	SBB ⁵⁸	JRUL	Triv	PML	Other loc.
<i>1557 a' 13 di nouembre. Nella casa dell'infrascritto clarissimo m. Domenico Venier del confin di Santa Maria Formosa</i>					VeCor OP.PD. GR 0000 0107
<i>1560. 30. Decembre. In Venetia in contrada di San Cantian nella casa dell'habitatione del clarissimo m. Ferigo Badoer</i>	35		I 37		Ambr S.Q#.D.VI.41/2; Aug ANT I.I 663 (4); BAV R.I.IV.627(int.1); UdCiv BARTOLINI O.I.44; VeNM MISC 250.1
<i>Accordo della ditta, e Fratelli co'l Tasso</i>	26	20978	F 29/5	40665	
<i>Affittatione della Volta</i>		20980	F 29/7	40668	
<i>Al molto magnifico m. Camillo Vezzato</i>	8	20965	F 29/1	40659	
<i>Concessione dell'eccelso Consiglio di Dieci all'Accademia</i>	22	20981			
<i>Conti di M. Paolo Manutio con l'Academia intorno le stampe</i>		20975.1			
<i>Conto di mistro Domenico, e Cornelio de Nicolini stampatori</i>	18	20975.3		40661	
<i>Conto di Nicolo Bevilaqua, detto il Trentino</i>	19	20976	F 29/18	40662	

⁵⁷ Julianne Simpson (John Rylands University Library, Manchester) kindly informed me that in my earlier essay Graheli, 'Reading the History', I have used the inventory numbers of the Rylands copies of the documents instead of their pressmark. I am happy to be able to rectify that mistake here. The abbreviations used for libraries are: SBB (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek); JRUL (Manchester, John Rylands University Library); Ambr (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana); Triv (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana); PML (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library); Aug (Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta); BAV (Rome, Vatican Library); UdCiv (Udine, Biblioteca Comunale Vincenzo Joppi); VeCor (Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr); VeNM (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana).

⁵⁸ All items held at the Staatsbibliothek Berlin are contained in the volume Ald. Ren. 267; for the sake of brevity, this has been omitted from the pressmark, and only the relative position in the volume has here been provided for each item.

<i>Conto generale di tutte l'opere fatte nella stamparia, governata da M. Paola [sic!] Manutio a nome dell'Academia Venetiana, infino al finir del Buttigelle, che fu la vigilia di Natale dell'anno presente 1558</i>		20975.2			
<i>Elettione et obbligo dei quattro nodari dell'Academia</i>	9	20966	F 29/11	40669	
<i>Instrumento tra alcuni Academici, et ministri interresali</i>		20968			
<i>Instrumento tra alcuni de gli Academici accettato ne' Banchi</i>	11	20986	F 29/2	40667	
<i>Lettera del card. Alessandrino</i>	27	20985.4	F 29/8	40664	
<i>Lettera del card. di Ferrara</i>	29	20985.6	F 29/10	40664	
<i>Lettera del card. di Mantova</i>	28	20985.2	F 29/9	40664	
<i>Lettera del card. di Trento</i>	31	20985.5	F 29/4	40664	
<i>Lettera del cardinal di Napoli</i>	30	20985.1	F 29/3	40664	
<i>Lettera del duca di Savoia</i>	32	20985.3	F 29/17	40664	
<i>Lettera del vesc. di Feltre</i>	33	20985.7	F 29/12	40664	
<i>Lettere di cambio di diuerse rimesse</i>	23	20982			
<i>Lettere di cambio</i>	24	20983			
<i>Mandati</i>	17	20974			
<i>Mandatum Academiae Venetae ab. Morlupino</i>	12	20969			
<i>Obligo de' Reggenti</i>	16	20973			
<i>Obligo particolare d'alcuni academici in materia di danari</i>	25	20967			
<i>Obligo particolare d'alcuni Academici in materia di danari</i>	10	20984			
<i>Polizze di m. Paolo Manutio alli nob. et ecc. ss. academici compagni</i>	20	20977	F 29/14-15	40660	
<i>Priuilegio dell'illustriss. Senato all'Academia</i>	14	20971			
<i>Procura D. Joannis Baduarii in D. Justinianum Baduarium</i>	21	20979	F 29/13	40666	
<i>Procura del Mag. M. Giovanni Badoaro all'Abate Morlupino, et a Vincentio Alessandri</i>	15	20972	F 29/6	40663	
<i>Supplica dell'Academia alla Sereniss. Signoria</i>	13	20970			

DELL'ACADEMIA VENETIANA.

P H I S I C A.

DIALOGO non piu stampato dell' origine de' monti.

IL TIMEO, il Parmenide, il Phedone, & il Phedro, tradotti dalla lingua greca nella italiana, con una dotta ispositione dichiarati.

DISCORSO de i mouimenti naturali, diuiso in cinque libri: Nel primo de' quali si ragiona del moto, & della mutatione in comune: Nel secondo dell' alteratione: Nel terzo della generatione, & corrottione: Nel quarto del crescere, & del diminuire: Nel quinto del moto locale. Nell' ultimo chiaramente appare, quanto à torto nel primo dell' anima Aristotele ha ripreso Platone.

DISCORSO dintorno le opinioni de gli antichi philosophi naturali, che Aristotele danna, diuiso in tre libri: Nel primo de' quali si fanno chiare le opinioni di Parmenide, Melisso, Heraclito, & Democrito nelle cose naturali: Nel secondo si tratta delle considerationi loro sopra le cose diuine: Nel terzo si dimostra apertamente, come Aristotele forse contra ragion riprese in alcuni luoghi le parole, & in altri i sensi loro; et insieme si risponde a suoi argomenti.

LA PHISICA d' Aristotele tradotta dal greco nel latino, & dottamente commentata: nella qual sono rinchiusse quasi tutte le approuate opinioni de i piu famosi commentatori Arabi, Greci, & Latini.

DIALOGO sopra gli otto libri della phisica d' Aristotele.

PARAPHRASE sopra gli otto libri della phisica d' Aristotele: nella quale l' autore seguendo per lo piu Themistio, et in alcune interpretationi da quello discostandosi, et belle digressioni aggiugnendo, chiaramente discuopre gli occulti sensi del philosopho.

PARAPHRASE sopra i quattro libri del cielo d' Aristotele: nella quale l' autore seguendo per lo piu i uestigi di Simplicio, & in alcune interpretationi lasciandoli a dietro, con aggionger giudiciose, & dotte digressioni, rende assai facile l' intentione del philosopho.

DIALOGO sopra i quattro libri del cielo d' Aristotele, diuiso parimente in quattro libri.

PARAPHRASE sopra i due libri d' Aristotele della generatione, &

Figure 1: Sample of mise-en-page. *Somma delle Opere*, f. F1^r. Milan, Archivio Storico Civico Biblioteca Trivulziana, B 529. Copyright © Comune di Milano – tutti i diritti di legge riservati.



Figure 2: Woodcut initial 'C'. *Sacra ac recens psalmodum interpretatio*, *I^r. Milan, Archivio Storico Civico Biblioteca Trivulziana, H 632. Copyright © Comune di Milano – tutti i diritti di legge riservati.

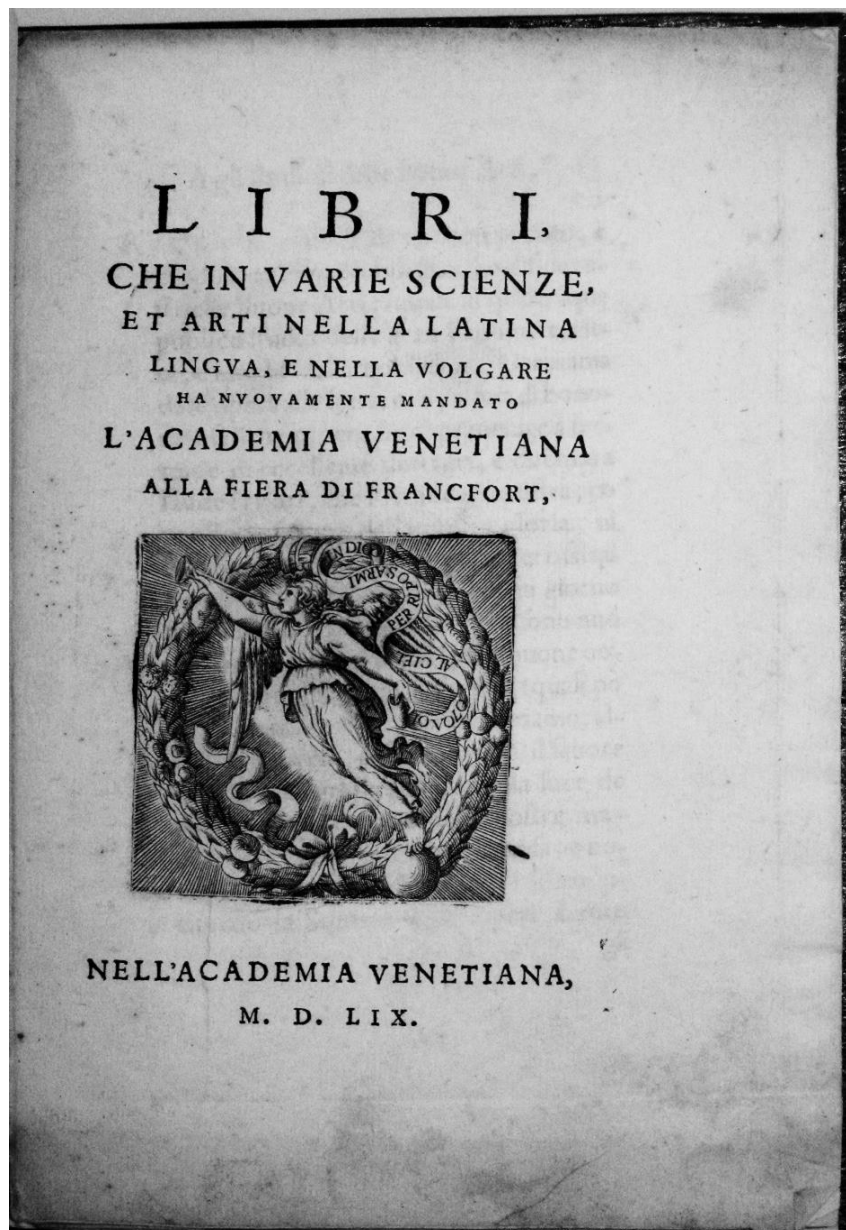


Figure 3: *Libri mandati a Francfort*, title page. Milan, Archivio Storico Civico Biblioteca Trivulziana, F 40. One of four known copies, and the only one to be found in Italian libraries. Copyright © Comune di Milano – tutti i diritti di legge riservati.

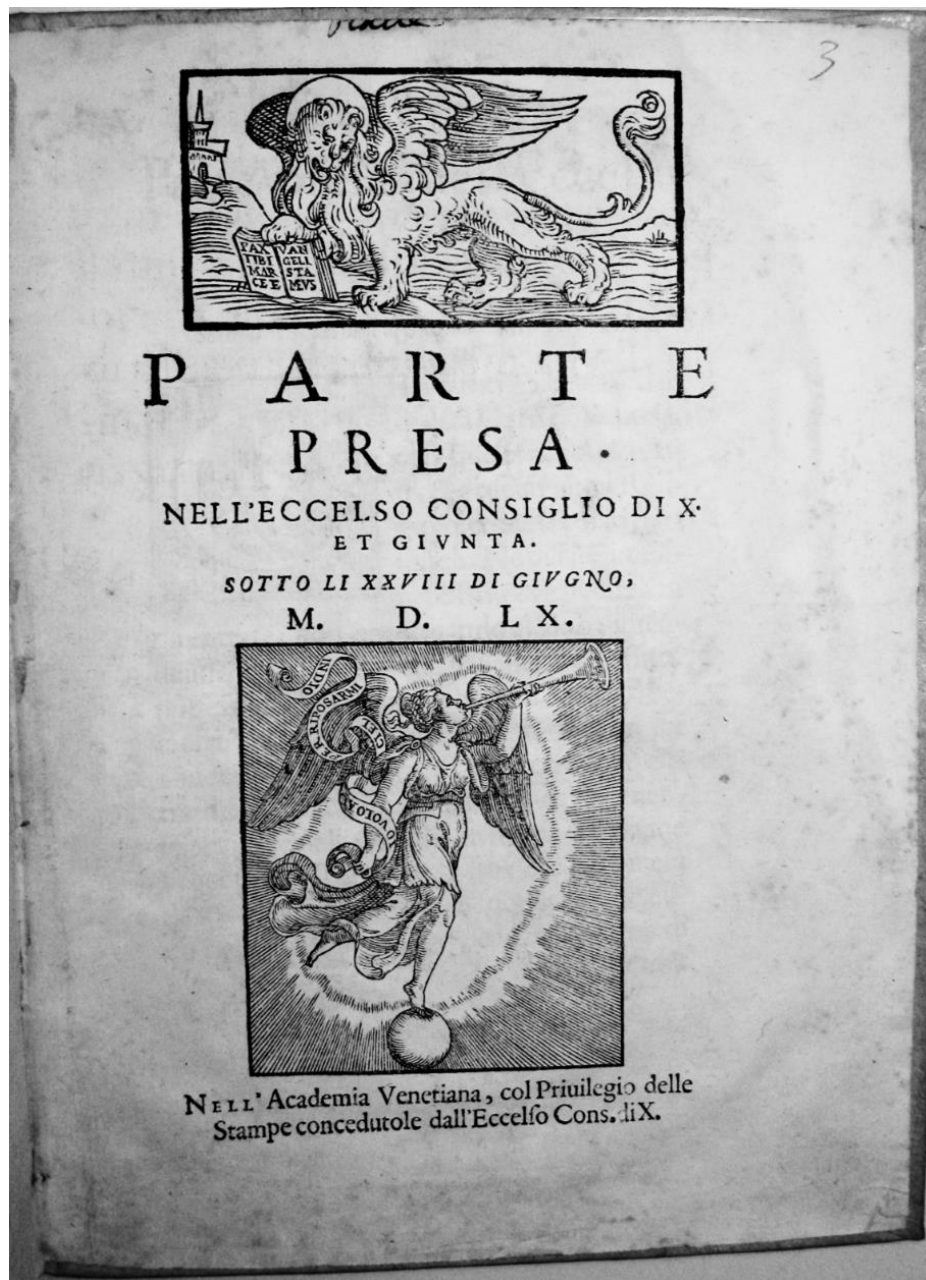


Figure 4: *Parte presa*, XXVIII Giugno 1560, title page. Milan, Archivio Storico Civico Biblioteca Trivulziana, F 33/3.
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