

## **An analysis of the 1546 Venetian edition of Andrea Alciato's Emblemata Libellus**

Item Type	Thesis
Authors	Robohn, Melissa Ann
Citation	Robohn, Melissa Ann. "An analysis of the 1546 Venetian edition of Andrea Alciato's Emblemata Libellus". Master's Thesis, John Cabot University, Rome, Italy. 2021.
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## John Cabot University

The Graduate School  
Department of Art History and Studio Art

Master of Arts in Art History

An analysis of the 1546 Venetian edition of Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum  
Libellus*

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May 2021

## Abstract

The subject for this thesis is an analysis of the 1546 Venetian edition of Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum Libellus*. The *Emblematum Libellus* is an early example of a popular genre of published materials known as emblem books. Andrea Alciato (1492-1550), an Italian jurist and humanist working in Northern Italy and France, is widely considered the father of this genre as it was his set of epigrams, printed with accompanying illustrations, that were first published in 1531.

About forty editions of his emblem books were published during the author's lifetime but this specific edition is interesting for several reasons. First, the emblems in this edition are new; the previous twenty-seven editions or printings were all based on a different set of epigrams, the now lost 1521 or 1522 set. Second, it is the only confirmed edition published in Italy during this Italian author's lifetime. There are references to a possible Milan edition from 1521 or 1522, but no copy has ever been found nor evidence for its production. After this 1546 edition, Alciato's emblem books were not printed in Italy again until a posthumous edition was published in Padua in 1621. The third reason is the collection of circumstances around its publication and source. The how and why behind this publication by Paolo Manuzio and how the publisher obtained the material is still quite mysterious. After this one Italian printing, Alciato resumed working almost exclusively with French printers until his death.

By analyzing the evidence in extant copies of the 1546 edition of the *Emblematum Libellus* and other editions of Alciato's emblems published shortly before and after the 1546 Venetian edition, this work will be placed in the context of the author's biography, the publisher's biography, and the development of the new set of illustrated emblems. Close analysis of the image portion of the emblems in this volume as well as a brief analysis of the epigrams themselves provide additional evidence about the development of this work.

### Acknowledgments

Any research project will rely on the assistance of library and institutional staff and this was even more necessary in 2020 when most of the research for this paper was conducted. This paper would not have been possible without the kind assistance of the staff at the Biblioteca Angelica, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Arthur and Janet C. Ross Library at the American Academy in Rome, Biblioteca Hertziana, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, and of most especially the staff and librarians in the Frohring Library at John Cabot University.

An additional acknowledgement is owed to the staff and curators of the Biblioteca Primola, Biblioteca Corsiniana, and University of Glasgow Special Collections for allowing me access to their copies of the 1546 Venetian edition of the *Emblematum Libellus*. The University of Miami Special Collections graciously photographed and shared relevant images from the 1549 Wechel edition for me as well.

Last (but not least) a heartfelt thank you to my fellow students whose input was very helpful when initially framing the paper and to the readers, Professor Carolyn Smyth and Professor Lila Yawn for their invaluable insight and guidance. Thank you all for sharing your time and expertise.



## Table of Contents

1	Introduction	10
	What is an emblem book?	10
	Description of the object at hand	14
	State of the literature	18
2	Andrea Alciato	24
	Literature review	24
	Biography	26
	Alciato and the emblem book	29
	Alciato in 1546	31
3	Paolo Manuzio	34
	Literature review	34
	History of Venetian printing and the Aldine Press	36
	Paolo Manuzio and his management of the Aldine Press	37
	Paolo Manuzio in 1546	43
4	The Emblems	47
	Introduction	47
	The contents of the book	53
	Literary and visual precedents	57
	Analysis of the woodcut illustrations	62
	Comparison with other illustrations	69

Conclusions	74
5 Conclusions	77
Bibliography	81
Figures	88
Census of Alciato emblems	120

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Emblem example mapping the Getty definition to an Alciato example.	83
Figure 2: Title page from Andrea Alciato's <i>Emblematum Libellus</i> . Venetiis: Apud Aldi filios, 1546.	84
Figure 3: List of all known editions of Alciato emblem books published during his lifetime.	85
Figure 4: Census of known copies of the 1546 Venetian edition in public or semi-public collections.	86
Figure 5: Portrait of Paolo Manuzio.	87
Figure 6: Portrait of Andrea Alciato.	87
Figure 7: Timeline for Alciato, Manuzio, and assorted impactful events.	92
Figure 8: List of Paolo Manuzio's known 1546 publications in random order. The subject of this paper is highlighted in red.	93
Figure 9: Contents of the 1546 <i>Emblematum Libellus</i> .	99
Figure 10: Examples of the "short parallel lines style."	100
Figure 11: Examples of the "sketching style."	101
Figure 12: Examples of the "gray modeling style."	102
Figure 13: Examples of the "feathered style."	103
Figure 14: <i>Amuletum Veneris</i> (A charm against love).	104
Figure 15: Later illustrations of <i>Amuletum Veneris</i> .	104



Figure 16: <i>Littera occidit, spiritus vivificat</i> (The letter kills but the spirit gives life).	105
Figure 17: The <i>Gratiae</i> emblem and its precedents.	105
Figure 18: The <i>Respublica liberata</i> emblem and its precedent.	106
Figure 19: The <i>Sirenes</i> emblem and its precedents.	106
Figure 20: Two illustrations from <i>Pretiosa Margarita Novella De Thesauro, Ac Pretiosissimo Philosophorum Lapide: Artis Huius Divinae Typus [Et] Methodus ....</i>	107
Figure 21: Comparison of an illustration from <i>Ac Pretiosissimo Philosophorum Lapide...</i> and an illustration from the “short parallel lines” artist of the <i>Emblematum Libellus</i> .	107
Figure 22: Examples of the work from different artists from Vannoccio Biringucci’s <i>De La Pirotechnia</i> published in Venice 1540.	108
Figure 23: Comparison of a 1540 Venetian illustration and the “feathered style” work	108
Figure 24: Comparison of a 1544 Venetian illustration and <i>Inanis impetus</i> in the 1546 <i>Emblematum Libellus</i> .	109
Figure 25: <i>The Virgin and Child between St John the Baptist and St Gregory the Great</i> by Lucantonio degli Uberti.	110
Figure 26: Playing card, <i>Due di Timore</i> (Two of Fear), dated 1500-1525.	111
Figure 27: Playing card, <i>Proserpina</i> , dated 1525-1550.	111
Figure 28: Selected illustrations from the 1542 Wechel editions of the Alciato’s emblems.	112
Figure 29: Title page of the single known copy of Wechel’s 1549 edition of Alciato’s emblems.	113
Figure 30: Comparison of the illustrations for the “new” epigrams from the 1542 and 1549 Wechel editions and their corresponding images from 1546 Venetian edition.	114



# 1 Introduction

In 1546 noted jurist and humanist Andrea Alciato was about to be sent from Ferrara to the university in Pavia. He yearned, instead, for a different position with greater repute, higher pay, and better-behaved students.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, another man, Paolo Manuzio, was also trying to move away from his printing press and his other obligations in Venice to an academic position in Rome.<sup>2</sup> Together they published a fresh edition of Alciato's collection of illustrated emblems, *Emblematum Libellus*. The 1546 publication of this book was unusual for several reasons and the circumstances around its development and its purpose remain mysterious to this day.

## What is an emblem book?

The *Emblematum Libellus* is an early example of an emblem book. Emblem books are a genre of publication that rose in popularity in the mid-sixteenth century. They are typically printed works with pages composed of a combination of written text, in the form of mottos and epigrams, and highly symbolic images (see Figure 1). In their most popular form, emblem books have been defined as:<sup>3</sup>

[an] artistic genre that flourished in Europe particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries, focusing on a motto and an image representing that motto. Each emblem generally consists of three parts: a short, often Classical, motto (*lemma*, *inscriptio*), a pictorial representation

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<sup>1</sup> Paul-Émile Viard, *André Alciat, 1492-1550* (Paris: Société anonyme du Recueil Sirey, 1926), 106-107.

<sup>2</sup> Paolo Sachet, *Publishing for the Popes: The Cultural Policy of the Catholic Church towards Printing in Sixteenth century Rome [Dissertation]* (London: The University of London, Warburg Institute, 2015), 194.

<sup>3</sup> "Emblem Books," Art and Architecture Thesaurus Online, Getty Research Institute, accessed August 2, 2020, <https://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/>.

or icon (*pictura*), and the explanation of the link between them in an epigram (*subscriptio*).... the emblem itself remained an ambiguous concept that covered a variety of connections between word and image.

Emblem books thus became very popular publications in Europe from the middle of the sixteenth century onward. Early examples were developed in humanist circles, but various later communities and groups from the Jesuits<sup>4</sup> to various political coalitions have produced their own versions of this popular genre.<sup>5</sup> As many as two-thousand separate printings of emblem books from various authors and in various languages and translations were produced in the sixteenth century and seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup>

The format of the Early Modern emblem book as it is recognized today was developed in stages, starting with a collection of unillustrated epigrams<sup>7</sup> written by Andrea Alciato.<sup>8</sup> Epigrams, which are “short satiric poems or any similar pointed saying”<sup>9</sup> were a literary art found in both the ancient Greek and ancient Latin texts that fifteenth and sixteenth century humanists studied and emulated. Alciato had been collecting epigrams written by others since his school days in Milan and around 1522 he

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<sup>4</sup> G. Richard Dimler has made Jesuit emblems a focus of his scholarship, see Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler, *The Jesuit Series. Corpus Librorum Emblematum* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> Various emblem books often defy categorization and the challenges and drawbacks of trying to assign a category to the humanist writers in particular has been covered in detail by Arnoud Visser, “Neither Protestant nor Catholic: Augustine and Confessional Neutrality in Humanist Emblem Books,” *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 16 (2008): 283-298.

<sup>6</sup> Alvan Bregman, *Emblemata: the emblem books of Andrea Alciato* (Newtown: Bird & Bull Press, 2007), 8.

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed study of Alciato’s epigrams and the appropriateness or not of their illustrations, see Robert Cummings, “Alciato’s Illustrated Epigrams,” *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 15 (2007): 193-228.

<sup>8</sup> John Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion Books, Ltd, 2002), 41-42.

<sup>9</sup> “Epigrams,” Art and Architecture Thesaurus Online, Getty Research Institute, Accessed November 9, 2020, <https://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/>. For a longer discussion on the epigrams in Alciato’s emblems see Mason Tung, “Alciato’s Practices of Imitation: A New Approach to Studying His Emblems,” *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 19, (2012): 153-257.

wrote a set of Latin epigrams as a gift for his friends.<sup>10</sup> By doing so, he was participating in a popular pastime in the learned circles in which he moved<sup>11</sup> and helped revive the ancient tradition of composing epigrams.<sup>12</sup> When these verses were eventually published starting in 1531, illustrations were usually created by the printers to go with the text.<sup>13</sup>

During Alciato's lifetime about forty printings and editions of his emblems were published with and without his permission or cooperation (see Figure 3).<sup>14</sup> During this time, however, other writers in France and on the Italian peninsula also collected ancient examples or composed and published their own collections in imitation of ancient authors. Between 1534 and 1545 about twenty-one editions of Alciato's emblems were published in Paris and Lyon. These editions were probably based on his now lost 1521 or 1522 epigrams.<sup>15</sup> To this original set, Alciato had occasionally supplemented a few new verses for various printings.

In 1546, just four years before Andrea Alciato's death, an unusual edition was published (see Figure 2). Instead of the familiar epigrams continuously reprinted in previous publications, this edition of Alciato's *Emblematum Libellus* was printed with new content. In the 1546 edition, the original verses and illustrations were for the most

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<sup>10</sup> Peter M. Daly, Virginia W Callahan, and S. H. Cuttler, *Andreas Alciatus: The Latin Emblems* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 24.

<sup>11</sup> Hessel Miedema, "The Term Emblema in Alciati," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1968), 237.

<sup>12</sup> Manning, *The Emblem*, 38.

<sup>13</sup> For more detail on the development of illustrated epigrams and Alciato's participation (or not) in this process, see Charles W. M. Henebry, "Writing with Dumb Signs: Memory, Rhetoric, and Alciato's *Emblemat*," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 10, no. 2, (1996): 211-244.

<sup>14</sup> Manning, *The Emblem*, 42-43.

<sup>15</sup> Manning, *The Emblem*, 38.

part set aside<sup>16</sup> and a new set of epigrams and illustrations were made (see Appendix: Census of Alciato Emblems).<sup>17</sup>

Another unusual feature of the 1546 edition is the place of publication: Venice. This publication is the only confirmed edition printed on the Italian peninsula during the author's lifetime. There are references to a possible Milan edition from 1521 or 1522<sup>18</sup> but no extant copy has been found nor evidence for its production.<sup>19</sup> After the single 1546 printing in Venice, most of the Alciato editions until his death in 1550 were again printed in Lyon, but with different publishers (see Figure 3). None of Alciato's emblem books were printed on the Italian peninsula again until 1621 with a publication in Padua. The Padua printer, as well as several others after 1546, printed a large "combined set" of emblems based on the Venice publication and the earlier editions combined.

In one of his early works, noted emblems scholar, Peter Daly, listed four questions that would need to be addressed when trying to create a systematic theory of the emblem: 1) What are the content and origin of the *pictura* ...?, 2) What are the content, origin, and purpose of the *inscriptio* and *subscriptio*?, 3) What functional relationship exists between *pictura* and *scriptura* ...?, and 4) What is the overriding purpose of the emblem-book?<sup>20</sup> These questions have been focused and adapted into three questions to describe and contextualize the 1546 edition of Alciato's emblems: 1) How did this publication fit into

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<sup>16</sup> Two of the emblems, *Vino prudentiam augeri* and *Antiquissima quaeque commentitia*. *Apologesis* had also appeared in the Wechel 1542 editions printed in Paris. See Monika Grünberg-Dröge, "The 1546 Venice Edition of Andrea Alciato's Emblemata," in *Emblems from Alciato to the Tattoo*, ed. Peter M. Daly and John Manning (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 9.

<sup>17</sup> Henry Green, *Andreae Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quatuor* ... (Manchester: Published for the Holbein Society by A Bros, 1870), 31-38.

<sup>18</sup> Green, *Fontes Quatuor*, 8.

<sup>19</sup> Manning, *The Emblem*, 39.

<sup>20</sup> Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem: Structural Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 7.

Andrea Alciato's biography and how much did he participate in its production? 2) How does this publication fit into the corpus of works produced by the Aldine Press, specifically Paolo Manuzio, and the world of Venetian printing? and 3) What distinctive characteristics can be discerned in the epigrams and illustrations in this edition?

### **Description of the object at hand**

Several copies of the Venetian 1546 edition of Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum Libellus* have been reviewed.<sup>21</sup> The volumes appear to be identical printings with normal minor variations in binding and markings around the title page based on differing chains of ownership.<sup>22</sup> Some of the copies were altered after publication,<sup>23</sup> but apart from these modifications, the volumes match the description provided by the British emblem enthusiast, Henry Green, in 1870 and 1872 and identified as Green 28. The volume is an octavo with signatures A-F folded into forty-eight numbered leaves measuring approximately fourteen by nine centimeters. The volume contains a total of eighty-six emblems: eighty-four illustrated emblems and two unillustrated, or "naked," epigrams, all in Latin with occasional Greek phrases. A running title and header, with Alciato's name on the verso and a short title of the work on the recto, is present throughout.<sup>24</sup> As Green noted, the 1546 edition is rare but a census of approximately thirty known (and

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<sup>21</sup> Copies viewed online or in person are indicated in bold text in Figure 4.

<sup>22</sup> This includes bookplates from former or current owners, library/ownership stamps, and manuscript inscriptions as well as varying bindings or re-bindings.

<sup>23</sup> Leaves C4, C5, C7, F8 are lacking in one of the copies at the Biblioteca Primola and the other copy at the Biblioteca Primola has ink-drawn additions to the illustrations to obscure genitalia on several leaves.

<sup>24</sup> A typo in the running header appears on recto of leaves numbered 5, 14, and 37.

recently known) extant volumes in public or semi-public collections has been assembled for reference (see Figure 4).<sup>25</sup>

The title page of the work (see Figure 2) provides some initial pieces of evidence about the work's production. The title page bears the printer's device of the dolphin and anchor of the Aldine Press with the founder's name (latinized as Aldus) as well as the city and year of printing. The dolphin and anchor image was very important to the Manuzio family as they had intentionally promoted an early version of brand recognition through its use. They were also able to file legal complaints against rival publishers who were printing counterfeits of their work and abusing their printer's mark.<sup>26</sup>

Under these features, however, there is another set of data. Printing privileges were applied for and granted from both Pope Paul III and a ten-year privilege from the Senate in Venice.<sup>27</sup> This is interesting in itself as the average length of time for a book privilege in Venice at this time was four years<sup>28</sup> up to ten years.<sup>29</sup> The granting of a printing privilege by the Venetian Senate also indicates a minimal size for the press run. During the 1540s, the Senate would not issue a protective printing privilege for print runs of less than four-hundred copies so there would have been at least that many copies of

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<sup>25</sup> Henry Green, *Andrea Alciati and his Books of Emblems: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study* (London: Trübner & Co., 1872), 146.

<sup>26</sup> Angela Nuovo, *Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 149-153.

<sup>27</sup> Printing privileges during this time were primarily used to protect the investment time, money, and other resources that went into the production of the printed works. Their uses to indicate sponsorship, censor approval, or intellectual property documentation were concerns that developed later though intellectual property issues and piracy were concerns that the Aldine Press had to address throughout the press's history. See David Landau, "Printmaking in Venice at the Time of Manutius," in *Aldo Manuzio: Renaissance in Venice*, ed. Guido Beltramini and Davide Gasparotto (Venezia: Marsilio, 2016), 109 and Angela Nuovo, *Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 195-257 for a description of the privilege and licensing policies.

<sup>28</sup> David Landau, "Printmaking in Venice at the Time of Manutius" in *Aldo Manuzio: Renaissance in Venice*, ed. by Guido Beltramini and Davide Gasparotto (Venezia: Marsilio, 2016) 110.

<sup>29</sup> Nuovo, *Book Trade*, 221.



this book printed in 1546.<sup>30</sup> Based on the size of the print runs for Paolo Manuzio's books published for the Accademia Veneziana in the 1550s, with an average print run of 825 copies,<sup>31</sup> and advice on the size of print runs that Paolo recommended in a letter he wrote to his son, Aldo the Younger, in 1567, there were probably between five-hundred and one-thousand copies printed of the 1546 edition.

The presence of a printing privilege at this time also meant that the author of the work had authorized the publication of the book. In 1545 a new policy had been adopted in Venice that required authenticated written permission from authors (or their heirs) to be deposited at the Riformatori dello Studio di Padova before a book could be printed or sold.<sup>32</sup> This meant that the business of delivering this text could not be handled exclusively through intermediaries; Alciato would have had direct involvement in the process to the extent of providing a letter at the very least. The book could probably not have been published without his explicit permission, knowledge, and support.

The Roman printing privilege, this one granted by Paul III, was applied for and granted separately. During this time Roman privileges were granted by the current pope through a document signed by him and typically lasted for ten years.<sup>33</sup> While a Venetian printing privilege was only viable in Venetian territories, the papal printing privileges

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<sup>30</sup> Nuovo, 110.

<sup>31</sup> Nuovo, 111. For more information on Manuzio's time with the Accademia Veneziana and the reason that copies of the publication records have survived, see Shanti Graheli, "Strategies and Failures of a Renaissance Publishing Venture: The Accademia Veneziana and the Myth of Aldus" in *The Afterlife of Aldus: Posthumous Fame, Collectors and the Book Trade*, ed. Jill Kraye and Paolo Sacht (London: The Warburg Institute, 2018).

<sup>32</sup> Horatio Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press: An Historical Study Based Upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1891), 79, and Angela Nuovo, *Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 216.

<sup>33</sup> Nuovo, *Book Trade*, 244-246.

originated in the Papal States but could (in theory) extend throughout Christendom.<sup>34</sup> Papal printing privileges did have a cost; they could delay a publication and the application usually required an additional fee.<sup>35</sup> Violation of a papal privilege could, however, result in an array of penalties up to and including excommunication which was a repercussion that other principalities in Europe could not demand for violations to their privileges.<sup>36</sup> The most common arguments or rationale for applying for papal printing privileges often mirrored those cited for Venetian privileges. Protection from unfair competition, public benefit of the work, insuring labor and expense, ensuring accuracy of the publication, supporting the creation of new works, and recognition of the skill or merit of the work were the most common arguments documented in extant applications from the sixteenth century.<sup>37</sup>

The preface of the volume, comprised of just over one page of printed text written in Latin with a few Greek phrases, is dated from Venice in June 1546. It was written by Pietro Rosetini (writing as Petrus Rhosithinus) who had just moved to the Manuzio firm from a rival publisher that year.<sup>38</sup> The work was dedicated to Girolamo Bernardo (Hieronymus Bernardus), a Venetian patrician with little known connection to Manuzio or Alciato.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Nuovo, 246.

<sup>35</sup> Jane C. Ginsburg, *Proto-Property in Literary and Artistic Works: Sixteenth century Papal Printing Privileges* (New York: Columbia Law School, 2015), 8.

<sup>36</sup> Ginsburg, *Proto-Property*, 11, 19.

<sup>37</sup> Ginsburg, *Proto-Property*, 22.

<sup>38</sup> Monika Grünberg-Dröge, “The 1546 Venice Edition of Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*,” in *Emblems from Alciato to the Tattoo*, ed. Peter M. Daly and John Manning (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 4.

<sup>39</sup> Grünberg-Dröge, “The 1546 Venice Edition,” 4.

## State of the literature

Very little has been published about this edition of *Emblematum Libellus*. In 1870, Henry Green published a study of four early versions of Alciato's emblems, *Andreae Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quatuor*. The publication from Venice is one of the four "sources" that Green covers in the book. Until the twenty-first century, the reproductions of the leaves of the Aldine work in Green's 1870 monograph were the only way most scholars could view this edition, as it was never microfilmed, and no facsimile editions were ever printed.<sup>40</sup> Green also published a bibliography of Alciato's emblem books with a brief biography of the author in 1872. For this further study, Green extended his research to catalogs, libraries, and archives across Europe to gather information for this work. Some information did not get to Green until the biographical portion had gone to press; for these items, an appendix was added to the book to keep it as comprehensive as possible.

Green's work, for all its shortcomings, is still one of the standards for distinguishing between separate editions, translations, and printings of Alciato emblem books.<sup>41</sup> Although updated, expanded, and corrected bibliographies, including, but not limited to Alciato, have been published for French and German emblem books, this nineteenth century monograph remains the best source dedicated solely to books of Alciato's emblems.

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<sup>40</sup> Grünberg-Dröge, "The 1546 Venice Edition," 3.

<sup>41</sup> In 1986, Mason Tung lamented that the Green reference numbers were not used more often in Mason Tung, "A Concordance to the Fifteen Principal Editions of Alciati," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 1, no. 2 (1986): 319 but he eventually found additional editions unknown to Green and published his own bibliography Alciato's emblem books in the 1989 complete with "Tung numbers," see Mason Tung, "Towards a New Census of Alciati's Editions: A Research Report that Solicits Help from the Scholarly Community and Curators of Rare Books and Special Collections," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 4, no. 1 (1989): 135-176.

Shortly after Green published his three books on Alciato's emblems, Georges Duplessis, Conservator in the Département des Estampes at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, published *Les emblèmes d'Alciat*.<sup>42</sup> This 1884 booklet briefly surveys the early Alciato emblem books and their illustrators. Duplessis helpfully identifies several early emblem illustrators and their marks but very little attention is given to the Venetian edition.

In 2001 Monica Grünberg-Dröge published "The 1546 Venice Edition of Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*" in the proceedings from the Fourth International Emblem Conference in Leuven in 1994. This paper may be the only publication dedicated solely to the Venice edition of the Alciato emblem book. Grünberg-Dröge briefly explores the questions of why this edition was published in Venice and how Paolo Manuzio obtained the material to print.

To answer those questions, Grünberg-Dröge looked at Alciato's biography, specifically to his professional aspirations. She also studied the activities of his circle of humanist friends on the Italian peninsula on his behalf. Alciato had been teaching and working in France until 1533 (see Figure 7) and all the authorized versions of Alciato's emblem publications to date were printed in France. Based on the evidence she found, Grünberg-Dröge proposed that Alciato wanted to leave his current position and gain an appointment to another university on the Italian peninsula, probably the Venetian University at Padua. Alciato had many well-connected friends in place who were advocating for his transfer to several universities in the Italian peninsula. Grünberg-Dröge believes these friends may have sponsored the production of this "Italian-version"

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<sup>42</sup> Georges Duplessis, *Les emblèmes d'Alciat* (Paris:J. Rouam, Impimeur-Éditeur 1884).

of his emblems to function as a business card or reference to make his application to other Italian universities, especially the school in Padua, more attractive.

The second question explored by Grünberg-Dröge was how Paolo Manuzio obtained the material to print. Records of these transactions have not yet been found but based on the introductory materials to this edition as well as the introductory material of the 1542 Chrétien Wechel edition from Paris,<sup>43</sup> Grünberg-Dröge proposed two theories. The first possibility was that the epigrams for the 1546 Venetian edition, or more likely the blocks for their illustrations, were stolen from the French publisher, Wechel, who was supposed to print them. This hypothesis was based on information in the introduction to Wechel's 1542 edition of Alciato's emblems (Green 20). Wechel blames the lack of promised new content on the theft of certain plates<sup>44</sup> by an artisan in his shop. Grünberg-Dröge, like Green and others before her, surmised that the stolen plates could have then been brought to Venice where they were then printed by Paolo Manuzio.

The theft or transfer of the materials could have been carried out by an agent (or agents) of the international publishing coalition of Écu de Bâle. Wechel, the previous authorized publishing house, was a Parisian branch of the Écu de Bâle but the Venetian branch of the Écu de Bâle group was not Manuzio's publishing firm. The Écu de Bâle branch in Venice was one of the rival printing houses, the Vaugris printing house (which had actually published other works of Alciato's in the past).

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<sup>43</sup> Henry Green, *Andrea Alciati and his Books of Emblems: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study* (London: Trübner & Co., 1872), 139.

<sup>44</sup> Wechel wrote about the stolen materials in French but both Henry Green and Monika Grünberg-Dröge refer to them as "plates" when writing in English. In this paper, the word "plates" is used when referring to the writing of Green or Grünberg-Dröge. When discussing the matrices in other contexts, however, the more accurate term "block" is used.

The second theory proposed by Grünberg-Dröge was that the new epigrams were sent by Alciato or one of his friends to Manuzio for publication in Venice. Venetian artisans would probably have added any missing content, in this case, the illustrations. This theory is supported by the reference to true, honest, or original materials found in the preface to the edition and the need for a certification from Alciato for the publication privilege.

Unfortunately, not enough evidence has been found to confirm either of these possibilities and nothing has been published yet to add to these lines of inquiry. A single known copy of a 1549 Wechel edition of Alciato's work, however, has been identified. It is a heavily damaged and possibly incomplete copy, but it contains at least five of the "new" epigrams found in the Venetian edition printed with differing illustrations.<sup>45</sup>

Other scholars have studied selected emblems from the 1546 edition without addressing the circumstances around their initial publication. In 2013 Mason Tung compared the woodcut illustrations of early editions of Alciato emblem books to the illustrations made for later editions to discern whether the images from the Venetian edition were emulated in subsequent publications.<sup>46</sup> When the emblems from the 1546 edition were republished by other printers, very few of the designs for the illustrations were copied for future use.<sup>47</sup> Tung notes that the reason for the lack of copying may be

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<sup>45</sup> In 1995, Stephen Rawles identified and analyzed the only known copy of a 1549 Wechel edition of Alciato's emblems in French that includes five of the "Venetian" emblems. See Stephen Rawles, "An Unrecorded Edition of Jean Lefevre's Translation of Alciato, with New Translations of Emblems from the 'Venice' Collection," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 9, no. 1, (1995): 209-216.

<sup>46</sup> Mason Tung, "'Seeing is Believing': A Note on the Forgettable History of Illustrating Alciato's Emblems," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 20, (2013): 379-404.

<sup>47</sup> This is in itself rather unusual as woodcut designers tended to copy the illustrations of prior editions when creating images for subsequent publishers. See Alison Adams, "The Woodcuts of Alciati's Death Emblems," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 6, no. 2, (1992): 396.

because either the images were found unsatisfactory or the images were not available to copy.

In the latter case, lack of emulation can be attributed to the book's rarity; future printers could not copy or reject what they were never able to see. One of the policies of the Aldine press carried forward from its founder's time was to limit most publications to single printings.<sup>48</sup> While the specific purpose for this policy is debated it was a practice continued at least in part by Paolo Manuzio during his time running the press. Because of this, true Aldines, including the *Emblematum Libellus*, have been relatively rare from the dates of their first publication.

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<sup>48</sup> Paolo Sachet, "Aldine Books for Collectors," in *Aldo Manuzio Renaissance in Venice*, ed. Guido Beltramini and Davide Gasparotto (Venezia: Marsilio, 2016), 89.





## 2 Andrea Alciato

### Literature review

As a famous and influential legal figure, educator, and writer of popular emblems, large collections of Andrea Alciato's<sup>49</sup> writings, personal and professional, are available in archival collections, primarily in France and northern Italy. Starting in the sixteenth century, monographs have been printed reproducing correspondence to, from, and about Alciato with varying degrees of biographical context.<sup>50</sup> Gian Luigi Barni's *Le Lettere Di Andrea Alciato, Giureconsulto*, published in 1953,<sup>51</sup> has been particularly influential. He indexed Alciato's letters and assigned them numbers, referred to as "Barni numbers," which are still used when citing pieces of Alciato correspondence. Full-length English language monographs about Alciato's life are lacking but short surveys and brief biographies accompany works about his writing and are available in publications such as Green,<sup>52</sup> Bregman,<sup>53</sup> and Daly, Callahan, and Cuttler.<sup>54</sup> Excerpts from the funerary oration and writings commemorating the life of Andrea Alciato were reproduced by Henry Green in the nineteenth century as he wrote his own brief biographical sketch of

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<sup>49</sup> In documents and literature there are many variations of Andrea Alciato's last name: Alciato and Alciati as well as the Latin Alciatus or the French Alciat. I have chosen to use "Alciato" to refer to him for consistency throughout this paper because that is the variant preferred in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*.

<sup>50</sup> See Gian Luigi Barni, *Le Lettere Di Andrea Alciato, Giureconsulto* (Firenze: F. LeMonnier, 1953) and Roberto Abbondanza, *A Proposito dell' epistolario dell' Alciato* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1957).

<sup>51</sup> Barni, *Le Lettere Di Andrea Alciato*.

<sup>52</sup> Henry Green, *Andrea Alciati and his Books of Emblems: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study* (London: Trübner & Co., 1872).

<sup>53</sup> Alvan Bregman, *Emblemata: the emblem books of Andrea Alciato*. (Newtown (PA): Bird & Bull Press, 2007).

<sup>54</sup> Peter M. Daly, Virginia W Callahan, and S. H Cuttler, *Andreas Alciatus: The Latin Emblems* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

Alciato.<sup>55</sup> In 1871 Green also edited a facsimile publication of the funeral oration delivered in Pavia shortly after Alciato's death.<sup>56</sup> In 1960, Roberto Abbondanza wrote a lengthy summary of Alciato's life and career for the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*.<sup>57</sup> He also edited collections of Alciato's correspondence as well as publishing other brief biographical sketches about him. In his own summary of Alciato's life in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Abbondanza cites Paul-Émile Viard's 1926 biography as the most comprehensive biographical resource on Alciato.<sup>58</sup>

Paul-Émile Viard wrote a very detailed biography of Alciato by consulting the extensive published and unpublished documentation and correspondence to, from, and about Alciato. The result is a biography rich in subjective narrative but also personal insights about Alciato from his students, colleagues, friends, and competitors. While Viard's biography does romanticize Alciato to some degree, it also abounds in contemporary voices through direct quotation of correspondence.

In 2013, a long overdue collection of essays addressing the life and work of Alciato was published, *André Alciat (1492-1550) Un humaniste au confluent des savoirs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*.<sup>59</sup> This collection of largely biographical essays edited by Anne and Stéphane Rolet helps bridge the nearly one-hundred-year gap between Viard's biography and current scholarship. As a collection of chapter-essays by various

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<sup>55</sup> These include writings of contemporaries such as Pietro Varondel as well as commentaries by later writers such as Guido Panziroli in Henry Green, *Andrea Alciati and his Books of Emblems: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study* (London: Trübner & Co., 1872).

<sup>56</sup> Alessandro Grimaldi and Henry Green, *Grimaldi's funeral oration January 19, 1550, for Andrea Alciati: in photo-lith. fac-simile* (Manchester, Pub. for the Holbein society by A. Brothers, 1871).

<sup>57</sup> Roberto Abbondanza, "Andrea Alciato," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* - Volume 2, Treccani, 1960, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-alciato\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-alciato_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

<sup>58</sup> Paul-Émile Viard, *André Alciat, 1492-1550* (Paris: Société anonyme du Recueil Sirey, 1926).

<sup>59</sup> Anne Rolet and Stéphane Rolet, *André Alciat (1492-1550): Un Humaniste Au Confluent Des Savoirs Dans L'europe De La Renaissance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

authors, it does not provide a cohesive biography but rather looks at aspects of Alciato's life and work from varying perspectives and varying disciplines.

## Biography

Andrea Alciato (1492-1550) was a jurist, educator, and humanist and is often considered the figure who popularized emblem books as a genre in the sixteenth century (see Figure 6).<sup>60</sup> He was born in or around Milan in 1492, raised in Milan, and trained in legal studies primarily in Pavia and Bologna. He taught in France and the northern regions of the Italian peninsula and his works on the interpretation of Roman law are very influential to this day. He also participated in the writing and correspondence of the international humanist circles of his time. Counted among his friends and correspondents were Erasmus of Rotterdam, Paolo Giovio, Pietro Bembo, Giorgio Vasari, and Paolo Manuzio.<sup>61</sup>

Although Milanese by birth, his most influential academic positions and the bulk of his scholarly output coincide with the time he spent in France<sup>62</sup> and most of his scholarly works are dedicated to French patrons.<sup>63</sup> He had an unusually peripatetic career

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<sup>60</sup> Although this was not the first appearance of epigrams paired with images, his were the epigrams that Steyner printed and sold so successfully. See Roberto Abbondanza, "Andrea Alciato," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani - Volume 2*, Treccani, 1960, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-alcियो\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-alcियो_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

<sup>61</sup> Abbondanza, "Andrea Alciato."

<sup>62</sup> Viard noted a distinct drop in the quality and quantity of his publications upon his return to Italy in 1533 until his death in 1550. Since he was becoming increasingly ill with gout and nearing the end of his life, this trend would not be unexpected, regardless of where Alciato happened to be residing. See Paul-Émile Viard, *André Alciat, 1492-1550* (Paris: Société anonyme du Recueil Sirey, 1926), 91. Daly also identifies the years 1529-1933 as the height of his reputation and professional esteem based on his relatively high salary and stipends as well as social honors bestowed upon him during this time. See Daly, *Andreas Alciatus*, 24.

<sup>63</sup> Richard Cooper, "Alciat entre l'Italie et la France," in *André Alciat (1492-1550) Un humaniste au confluent des savoirs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, ed by Anne and Stéphane Rolet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 242.

(see Figure 7), never staying in a post for more than five years.<sup>64</sup> The height of his reputation, his salary, and his publishing output coincided with his time at Avignon (1518-1522)<sup>65</sup> and Bourges (1529-1533).<sup>66</sup>

During Alciato's lifetime, Milan was caught in a three-way territorial fight<sup>67</sup> between the French, primarily under Francis I, the Spanish (and Holy Roman Empire) primarily under Charles V, and various interested parties from the Italian peninsula such as the Sforza family (from whom the territory was being seized) and the papacy.<sup>68</sup> Until Pope Paul III brokered a peace agreement, the Truce of Nice, in June 1538,<sup>69</sup> Milan and the surrounding towns, including Pavia, were disrupted by frequent bouts of warfare and violence. A villa of Alciato's was burned to the ground in 1523 and in 1526 Spanish troops were billeted in his home in Milan.<sup>70</sup> To add to these misfortunes, from 1522-1524, the region suffered from a plague epidemic (one of several during Alciato's lifetime) and a year-long famine.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> George Hugo Tucker, "De Milan à Bourges: André Alciat, professeur de droit et *homo viator*, d'après les éloges posthumes de Giovanni Matteo Toscano (1578) et François le Douaren (1551)," in *André Alciat (1492-1550) Un humaniste au confluent des savoirs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, ed. Anne and Stéphane Rolet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 307.

<sup>65</sup> Cooper, "Alciat entre l'Italie et la France," 245.

<sup>66</sup> Cooper, 250-251.

<sup>67</sup> Cooper, 241.

<sup>68</sup> While Alciato was apparently an open French partisan in his early career, later in his life, as Charles V brought additional troops and more warfare to Milan, Alciato's allusions to the political situation and his commentaries on Francis I and Charles V, often expressed through new emblems, became more circumspect. See Cooper, "Alciat entre l'Italie et la France," 256.

<sup>69</sup> Paul-Émile Viard, *André Alciat, 1492-1550* (Paris: Société anonyme du Recueil Sirey, 1926), 98.

<sup>70</sup> Peter M. Daly, Virginia W Callahan, and S. H Cuttler. *Andreas Alciatus: The Latin Emblems* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 24.

<sup>71</sup> Peter M. Daly, "Alciato's '*Spes Proxima*' Emblem: General Allegory or Local Specificity?" *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 9, no. 2 (1995): 261.

From 1533 until his death in 1550, Alciato taught in several universities in the northern Italian peninsula, teaching in Pavia from 1533-1537,<sup>72</sup> Bologna from 1537-1542, Ferrara from 1542-1546, and Pavia again from 1546-1550. He also served as a Senator in Milan after being appointed to the position by Francesco II, Sforza.<sup>73</sup>

During the last decade of his life Alciato was unwell; he was suffering from gout and often needed assistance going to and from the podium when delivering lectures.<sup>74</sup> He would eventually pass away in Pavia on the night of January 11 or 12, 1550, a little over three years after his final return to that city. Alciato's move back to Pavia seems to have attracted new students to that university<sup>75</sup> but during the final few years he was teaching, the behavior of the students became less attentive and more belligerent.<sup>76</sup>

Alciato also wrote to friends complaining of the forced reduction in pay that he had to take by returning to Pavia and the inconsistent delivery of his stipend.<sup>77</sup> With a reduced income and declining health, he appealed constantly to friends and patrons for a change in appointment to another university.<sup>78</sup> This was a sad outcome and tragic relationship to have with the university where he had himself been a young legal student (studying under Giason del Maino, Filippo Decio, and Paolo Pico da

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<sup>72</sup> Charles V ordered the University of Pavia closed in November of 1537 because of the impending thread of war. Although this seems to have allowed Alciato to remove to Bologna for a few years, the school in Pavia did continue to take students and maintain an active faculty role. See Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 9.

<sup>73</sup> Cooper, "Alciat entre l'Italie et la France," 254.

<sup>74</sup> Paul-Émile Viard, *André Alciat, 1492-1550*, (Paris: Société anonyme du Recueil Sirey, 1926), 107.

<sup>75</sup> Viard. *André Alciat*, 105.

<sup>76</sup> Viard, 107.

<sup>77</sup> Viard, 106.

<sup>78</sup> Viard, 107.

Montepico) from around 1507-1511.<sup>79</sup> He was still remembered with honors in the cathedral church of Pavia, however, as Alexander Grimaldi's funeral oration attests: "...Milan mourns, Pavia grieves, Italy sits in the dust, France is afflicted; finally, all provinces complain that so divine a Jurisconsult has been deprived of life...."<sup>80</sup>

### **Alciato and the emblem book**

The format of the Early Modern emblem book as it is recognized today was developed in stages starting with a collection of unillustrated epigrams written by Andrea Alciato and based on prior medieval and classical traditions. In December 1522 Alciato wrote in a letter to his friend Francesco Calvo in Milan that he had composed a set of epigrams to distribute to friends for Saturnalia.<sup>81</sup> This work, as he intended it, was a text-only collection that was meant to be decoded and enjoyed only by his close circle of classically educated friends.<sup>82</sup>

While maintaining his network of scholarly humanist colleagues, he also composed epigrams and collected those written by others as a pastime.<sup>83</sup> Many of his epigrams were reworked versions of writings he collected from his readings of classical

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<sup>79</sup> Abbondanza, "Andrea Alciato."

<sup>80</sup> From the English translation of the funeral oration in Henry Green, *Grimaldi's funeral oration January 19, 1550, for Andrea Alciati* (Manchester: Pub. for the Holbein society by A. Brothers, [etc., etc.], 1871), 7.

<sup>81</sup> Saturnalia is an ancient Roman festival celebrated in December, see John Scheid, "Saturnus," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) <https://www-oxfordreference-com.jcu.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-5721>. As a humanist and enthusiast for the classical world, this would be an occasion that Alciato would find appropriate for giving a gift to humanist friends and acquaintances.

<sup>82</sup> Manning, *The Emblem*, 38.

<sup>83</sup> Mino Gabriele, *Il Libro degli Emblemi: Secondo le edizioni del 1531 e del 1534* (Milano: Adelphi Edizioni, 2009), xxiii and Peter M. Daly, Virginia W Callahan, and S. H Cuttler, *Andreas Alciatus: The Latin Emblems* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 23.

authors,<sup>84</sup> more recent compositions found around Milan<sup>85</sup>, and sometimes responses to the writings of other, contemporary authors such as various adages devised by Erasmus of Rotterdam.<sup>86</sup> Alciato contributed some classical epigrams, without mottos or illustrations, to the publication of *Selecta epigrammata Graeca Latine versa*,<sup>87</sup> which he co-edited and printed in 1529.

In 1531 the Augsburg publisher and printer, Heinrich Steyner, started printing *illustrated* editions of Alciato's epigrams. These are the oldest known extant publications of Alciato's emblems, but they were printed without his knowledge or permission. Production standards were very low and Alciato tried to have their publication suppressed. He did not want the printer's grammatical errors in the text and illustration oddities that betrayed a lack of understanding of the meaning of the epigrams to be taken as errors of his own making.<sup>88</sup>

From this flawed start, however, the genre of the illustrated emblem book was born and immediately became very popular. There are over one hundred extant printings

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<sup>84</sup> During this time, scholars were translating into Latin the ancient epigrams and other writings in Greek from the collections of works that became known as the *Greek (or Palatine) Anthology* and the *Planudean Anthology*. Many of these disparate works had primarily been brought to the Italian peninsula after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The change to Ottoman rule prompted many Eastern Orthodox and Western Catholic clergy and scholars to flee to the Italian peninsula. A few of the most notable of these clergymen and scholars were Manuel Chrysoloras who worked in Florence and Cardinal Bessarion in Rome. See Han Lamers, *Greece Reinvented: Transformations of Byzantine Hellenism in Renaissance Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 3-10.

<sup>85</sup> Bregman. *Emblemata*, 39.

<sup>86</sup> The pervasive impact of Erasmus's *Adages*, themselves often based on epigrams from antiquity, on contemporary humanist scholars is briefly outlined in Alvan Bregman. *Emblemata: the emblem books of Andrea Alciato* (Newtown (PA): Bird & Bull Press, 2007), 44-47. Erasmus was a friend of Paolo Manuzio's father, Aldo, and was acquainted with the work of Alciato and probably the early work Paolo before he died in 1536.

<sup>87</sup> Andrea Alciato, Ottmar Luscinius, Janus Coarnarius, et al. *Selecta Epigrammata Graeca Latine versa, ex septem Epigrammatum Graecorum libris. Accesserunt omnibus omnium prioribus editionibus ac versionibus plus quam quingenta Epigrammata* (Basileae: ex aedibus Io. Bebelii, 1529).

<sup>88</sup> Barni, Letter 93 as cited in Peter M. Daly, Virginia W Callahan, and S. H Cuttler, *Andreas Alciatus: The Latin Emblems* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 25.

for Andrea Alciato's work alone from 1522 – 1600 with references to a few others and strong evidence for the original 1522 version.<sup>89</sup> While the emblems continued to be published in their original Latin, interest in these works was international with various vernacular translations into French, Spanish, German, and Italian. Once Alciato became involved in the printing of the emblem books, most editions were published in Paris, with his cooperation, and Lyon. There were, however, two outlier editions of his work printed during Alciato's lifetime: one printed by the Isingrinium press in Basel in 1549 and the other printed in 1546 by the Aldine Press in Venice under the supervision of Paolo Manuzio.

### **Alciato in 1546**

The year 1546 was a transitional time for Andrea Alciato (see Figure 7). During the 1545-1546 academic year, he had finished a fourth year teaching at the University in Ferrara under the patronage of Duke Ercole d'Este. He had received several competing offers for positions on the Italian peninsula during this time. Cosimo I (Medici) had offered him a position at the University in Pisa, he received an invitation from the University of Padua, and in March of 1546 he was made a protonotary and called by Pope Paul III to take up a position in Rome.<sup>90</sup> Instead of accepting any of these positions, he left Ferrara to spend the summer holiday in Milan (as he usually did) and then returned

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<sup>89</sup> Most have been identified, numbered, and described in Henry Green, *Andrea Alciati and his Books of Emblems: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study* (London: Trübner & Co., 1872) but additional editions have since come to light and some editions for which Green found evidence have never been found so there is another set of identification numbers assigned in Mason Tung, "Towards a New Census of Alciati's Editions: A Research Report that Solicits Help from the Scholarly Community and Curators of Rare Books and Special Collections," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 4, no.1 (1989): 135-176.

<sup>90</sup> Abbondanza, "Andrea Alciato."



to Pavia in the autumn to take up teaching duties at the university there on November 15, 1546.<sup>91</sup>

Alciato did not seem to like teaching at the University of Pavia. He had attended the university himself while still a young legal student<sup>92</sup> and he taught there before from 1533-1537. While previously teaching in Pavia, he had complained to his friend and correspondent, Pietro Bembo, that the amphitheater where he taught was not as full of students as he expected (he had overfilled his teaching venues in Bourges where he taught from 1529-1533) and the students who were in attendance were often rude and disrespectful.<sup>93</sup> Some of his colleagues at the university, moreover, were showing animosity and a lack of collegiality that Alciato found distressing.<sup>94</sup> He also felt isolated and disconnected from his friends and supporters while he was in Pavia.<sup>95</sup> Much of this may have been the result of warfare and the current political situation; many students and faculty had fled the area because of the battles being fought in and near Pavia and Milan.<sup>96</sup>

Alciato was able to leave the post at Pavia to start teaching in Bologna in autumn 1537 but there was apparently a struggle as the political leadership of Milan was continually trying to force him back to Pavia.<sup>97</sup> His ability to temporarily break from a post that he clearly disliked may very well have been enabled by changes in the broader political situation of the region. There is evidence that he was contractually bound to a

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<sup>91</sup> Abbondanza, "Andrea Alciato."

<sup>92</sup> Abbondanza, "Andrea Alciato."

<sup>93</sup> Viard, *André Alciat*, 93-94.

<sup>94</sup> Viard, 94-95.

<sup>95</sup> Pietro Vaccari, *De Consolatione: gli ultimi anni pavesi di Andrea Alciato* (Pavia: Saggi di umanesimo cristiano, 1951), 5.

<sup>96</sup> Viard, *André Alciat*, 94.

<sup>97</sup> Viard, 98.

commitment in Pavia<sup>98</sup> and that the duke of Milan had threatened to confiscate Alciato's Milanese assets if he did not return to his work in Milan and Pavia.<sup>99</sup> These may be reasons that offers from Rome, Pisa/Florence, and Padua as well as an extension in Ferrara all fell through. After having escaped Pavia to teach in Bologna (1537-1542) and then Ferrara (1542-1546), the governor of Milan, the Marquis del Vasto, worked perennially to force Alciato back to Pavia.<sup>100</sup> The Emperor Charles V eventually weighed in and personally ordered Alciato back to University of Pavia in March 1541. The fact that Alciato was able to delay his return by five years seems to be due to the constant appeals of the Bolognese, and later Ferrarese, authorities.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Viard, 107.

<sup>99</sup> Vaccari, *De Consolatione*, 1.

<sup>100</sup> Viard, *André Alciat*, 98-99.

<sup>101</sup> Viard, 100.

### 3 Paolo Manuzio

#### Literature review

Paolo Manuzio (1512-1574)<sup>102</sup> was the third son and youngest child of the humanist scholar and innovative founder of the Aldine Press, Aldo Manuzio (see Figure 5). He is also well-known in his own right as a humanist scholar and as the first official publisher for the papacy. His life was spent primarily in Venice and Rome and his work alternated between printing and scholarship.

As noted by Paolo Sachet, there are no full biographies of Paolo Manuzio, but specific portions or aspects of his life are discussed in many book chapters and articles.<sup>103</sup> Paolo Manuzio's entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, as written by Tiziana Sterza, is also quite substantive with a long bibliography.<sup>104</sup> There are many books and articles written about Aldo Manuzio and the founding of the business, but fewer about the Aldine Press after Aldo's death. While books or articles about Paolo Manuzio's time as head of the Aldine Press in Venice are less common, Paolo Sachet's 2015 dissertation and subsequent 2019 monograph, *Publishing for the Popes*, as well as several other

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<sup>102</sup> Like Alciato, Manuzio also wrote under various Latin versions of his family name, Manutius or Manuzius but I have chosen to refer to him as Manuzio for consistency and clarity as that is the vernacular (Italian) version of his family name and the spelling preferred in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*.

<sup>103</sup> Paolo Sachet, *Publishing for the Popes: The Cultural Policy of the Catholic Church towards Printing in Sixteenth century Rome [Dissertation]* (London: The University of London, Warburg Institute, 2015), 176.

<sup>104</sup> Tiziana Sterza, "Manuzio, Paolo," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Volume 69, Treccani, 2007, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-manuzio\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-manuzio_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

monographs and articles addressing Manuzio's work with the press in Rome and his later life do provide some biographical information about Paolo Manuzio's time in Venice.

There are also published collections of Paolo Manuzio's correspondence.<sup>105</sup> The three-volume *Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini et eccellectissimi ingegni scritte in diverse materie* printed by his press from 1542-1545 is an example of the very popular genre of open letters published by Italian scholars in the sixteenth century.<sup>106</sup> Manuzio carried this a step further and published collections of his own letters from 1556-1560, *Tre libr di lettere volgari*. Surveys of his published and unpublished correspondence and business records from various archival collections were quoted and reproduced by A. A. Renouard as a biographical narrative in his *Annales de L'Imprimerie des Alde, ou Histoire des Trois Manuce, Troisième Édition*, printed in 1834.<sup>107</sup> While much of Renouard's commentary accompanying the information he gathered must be read with some skepticism, the evidence for Manuzio's activity based on contemporary sources is very thoroughly researched and clearly presented.

Relevant publications that address various aspects of Paolo Manuzio's life and the environment in which he lived and worked include Martin Lowry's *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* printed in Oxford in 1979 and *Aldo Manuzio: Renaissance in Venice*, edited by Guido Beltramini and Davide

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<sup>105</sup> Many Manuzio's letters were self-published in the 1550s and additional correspondence from the Biblioteca Ambrosiana has been assembled and published in the Nineteenth-Twentieth Centuries, see Lodovica Braida, "From the Printer's Mind to the Author's Hand: Paolo Mauzio and his *Tre libri di lettere volgari* (1556-1560)," in *The Afterlife of Aldus: Posthumous Fame, Collectors and the Book Trade*, ed. Jill Kraye and Paolo Sachet (London: Warburg Institute Colloquia 31, 2018).

<sup>106</sup> Lodovica Braida, "From the Printer's Mind to the Author's Hand: Paolo Mauzio and his *Tre libri di lettere volgari* (1556-1560)," in *The Afterlife of Aldus: Posthumous Fame, Collectors and the Book Trade*, ed. Jill Kraye and Paolo Sachet (London: Warburg Institute Colloquia 31, 2018), 6.

<sup>107</sup> Antoine-Augustin Renouard, Paul Renouard, and Jules Renouard. *Annales De L'imprimerie des Alde Ou Histoire Des Trois Manuce Et De Leurs éditions. 3e éd.* (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1834), 425-460.

Gasparotto and published in Venice in 2016. Specific chapters from other publications such as Lodovica Braida's chapter, "From the Printer's Mind to the Author's Hand: Paolo Manuzio and his *Tre libri di lettere volgari* (1556-1560)" in *The Afterlife of Aldus: Posthumous Fame, Collectors and the Book Trade*, published in 2018 and H. George Fletcher's chapter, "Paulus Manutius *In Aedibus Populi Romani*: The Campaign for Rome" as published in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy*, published in 1998, place Paolo Manuzio in the broader context of the Venetian presses, the humanist networks of the time, and the current business and academic environments of Venice and Rome.

### **History of Venetian printing and the Aldine Press**

The printshops of Venice were powerhouses of international print production in the sixteenth century.<sup>108</sup> Aldo Manuzio, the founder of the family press, was, like Andrea Alciato, a humanist scholar. He turned away from teaching at the courts of noble families to establish his press in Venice in 1494, specializing in ancient Greek and Latin texts. Aside from inventing several printing innovations, he is credited with saving many ancient Greek works from oblivion by printing Greek grammars for aspiring humanist scholars and publishing editions of ancient Greek texts from rare and unique manuscripts. The books produced by the Aldine Press through all of its iterations were typically (but not always) printed in single editions. They were largely marketed to and purchased by

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<sup>108</sup> Lowry conservatively estimates one-eighth to one-seventh of the total book production of Europe during this time was printed in Venice. Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: business and scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Cornell, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), 8.

students, scholars, and book collectors.<sup>109</sup> Extensive private libraries were a developing phenomenon during the sixteenth century.<sup>110</sup> Emblem books, which spanned many disciplines such as philosophy, history, theology, natural history, ethics, and politics,<sup>111</sup> would have appealed to collectors.

Aldo Manuzio died in 1515, but his descendants and in-laws were still running the printing business in Venice in 1546 under the direction of his son, Paolo. After Aldo's death, the press was identified by several names on the title pages and in the colophons of the books they printed.<sup>112</sup> Today the publications produced under the direction of Aldo Manuzio (printed from 1494-1515), Andrea Asolano (1515-1529), Paolo Manuzio (printed from 1533-1574), and Aldo Manuzio, the Younger (printed from 1574-1597) are referred to collectively as Aldines and the print-shop is called the Aldine Press to cover all its various iterations.<sup>113</sup>

### **Paolo Manuzio and his management of the Aldine Press**

Unlike his father who pioneered the production of letterpress publications in Greek, Paolo Manuzio favored publishing ancient Latin works (principally Cicero),

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<sup>109</sup> Paolo Sachet, "Aldus Manutius and the Book as Artifact," *Aldo Manuzio: Renaissance in Venice*, ed. Guido Beltramini and Davide Gasparotto (Venezia: Marsilio, 2016), 86.

<sup>110</sup> Angela Nuovo, "Private Libraries in Sixteenth century Italy," in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects: Proceedings of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section, Munich, 19-21 August 2009*, ed. Bettina Wagner and Marcia Reed (Berlin: De Gruyter Saur, 2010), 229-240.

<sup>111</sup> Karl A. E. Enenkel, *The Invention of the Emblem Book and the Transmission of Knowledge, ca. 1510-1610* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), XIII.

<sup>112</sup> This includes a series of publications with the Accademia Veneziana from 1558-1561. See "Aldine edizioni," Treccani, accessed August 2, 2020, <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/edizioni-aldine/>.

<sup>113</sup> "Aldine edizioni," Treccani, accessed August 2, 2020, <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/edizioni-aldine/>.

contemporary works in the vernacular, and macaronic texts.<sup>114</sup> Paolo also wanted the opportunity to pursue an intellectual life as a scholar, so he did also apply for and consider academic appointments.<sup>115</sup> Paolo also maintained a network (started by his father) of scholarly connections and international correspondence with humanist luminaries.

Paolo Manuzio was born on June 12, 1512, but Aldo Manuzio died in 1515 when Paolo was two years old. The management of the press passed to Paolo's maternal grandfather, Andrea Torresano<sup>116</sup> at this time (see Figure 7). Paolo and his siblings were raised primarily in Asola but he was a frequent visitor to Venice during his childhood. Torresano ran the press until his own death in 1528 when Paolo was in his mid-teens. At this point the press was probably closed temporarily and re-opened around 1533 by Paolo and the Torresani family.<sup>117</sup>

After the passing of his grandfather, Paolo Manuzio does not seem to have been initially focused on his father's printing business. In 1529 he applied to the Chancery of the Republic for a position in the city government but was rejected because Aldo, Sr. was not Venetian by birth.<sup>118</sup> The first known evidence of his activity with the press is dated to 1533 with the re-opening of the press.<sup>119</sup> His Torresani uncles were running the press

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<sup>114</sup> Sterza, "Paolo Manuzio."

<sup>115</sup> Paolo Sachet, *Publishing for the Popes: the Cultural Policy of the Catholic Church towards Printing in Sixteenth century Rome [Dissertation]* (London: The University of London, Warburg Institute, 2015), 197.

<sup>116</sup> The family is referred to with the surname Torresano or Torresani interchangeably in the literature and sometimes also referred to by the name of the town from which they came, Asola. In this paper, Torresano will be used when discussing a single individual and Torresani will be used when discussing multiple family members or the family collectively.

<sup>117</sup> Sterza, "Paolo Manuzio."

<sup>118</sup> Sterza, "Paolo Manuzio."

<sup>119</sup> H. George Fletcher, "Paulus Manutius *In Aedibus Populi Romani*: The Campaign for Rome" in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy*, ed. David S. Zeidberg and Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi (Firenze: Olschki, 1998), 288.

jointly with Manuzio but they did not seem to work well with him (though Manuzio's mother, Maria, may have been negotiating the relations between them).

During the 1530s, Manuzio traveled widely to other cities such as Parma, Ravenna, and Rome and started developing a network of friendship, patronage, and scholarship that included Battista Egnazio, Pietro Bembo, Jacopo Sadoletto, Reginald Pole and Gasparo Contarini.<sup>120</sup> In 1535 Manuzio went on a longer trip to Rome and, with the aid of his friends, extended his network of friends and patrons to include Bernadino Maffei and Marcello Cervini.<sup>121</sup> Manuzio stayed in Rome until 1536 or 1537, around the time of his mother's death. During this time, he received an invitation to move the press to Ferrara under the patronage of the Duke Ercole II d'Este, but he declined the offer.<sup>122</sup>

Paolo's mother, Maria Torresano, died in 1536 which was also the year that Paolo filed a lawsuit against his uncles to gain sole use of the italic font, Aldo's typeset, and the anchor and dolphin trademark as well as moving into a different household. In 1537 he also started working as a tutor for patrician families in Venice; a vocation that he maintained until 1540, about the time the court case with his mother's family was settled (1539) and the Manuzio-Torresano partnership was officially disbanded (1540). The Manuzio-Torresano partnership had been struggling during the years that the court case lingered, publishing only three books between 1538-1540.<sup>123</sup>

Manuzio started developing his own catalog of publications in the 1540s through mid-1550s. He also continued to extend his network of scholarship and patronage with a

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<sup>120</sup> Sterza, "Paolo Manuzio."

<sup>121</sup> Fletcher, "Paulus Manutius *In Aedibus Populi Romani*," 304.

<sup>122</sup> Sterza, "Paolo Manuzio."

<sup>123</sup> Sterza, "Paolo Manuzio."



1541 trip to Rome when he met with Maffei and Cervini who introduced him to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. At this time he also received several offers (some very tentative) for scholastic positions in Milan, Padua, Venice, and Rome, but they were all rejected or fell through and Manuzio stayed in Venice with his press.<sup>124</sup> This is also the time when he married and his oldest son, Aldo “The Younger” was born.

The mid to late 1550s were a difficult time for Manuzio. Around 1554 or 1555, his brother, Antonio, was bankrupted and exiled from Venice due to some unspecified bad behavior. Paolo tried to set his brother up with another press in Bologna, but Antonio rather quickly had to declare bankruptcy again and the Bologna press closed.<sup>125</sup> On May 31, 1555, Manuzio wrote a letter to Cardinal Rodolfo Pio expressing a long-standing desire to move to Rome.<sup>126</sup>

After this unsuccessful venture with his brother, Manuzio tried another business venture; academic publishing with the Accademia Veneziana, also known as the Accademia della Fama (1557-1560).<sup>127</sup> Under the general direction of Senator Federico Badoer and with the assistance of Domenico and Cornelio Nicolini da Sabbio and Nicolò Bevilacqua, Manuzio attempted to produce a comprehensive, multi-year catalog of publications for the Accademia. A master list of works that they wished to publish, the *Somma delle opera*, was assembled by Manuzio and his colleagues and included over six-hundred titles.<sup>128</sup> In 1558 Manuzio was engaged in several tasks for the Accademia:

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<sup>124</sup> Sterza, “Paolo Manuzio.”

<sup>125</sup> Sterza, “Paolo Manuzio.”

<sup>126</sup> Fletcher, “Paulus Manutius, *In Aedibus Populi Romani*,” 298.

<sup>127</sup> Shanti Graheli, “Strategies and Failures of a Renaissance Publishing Venture: The Accademia Veneziana and the Myth of Aldus,” in *The Afterlife of Aldus: Posthumous Fame, Collectors and the Book Trade*, ed. Jill Kraye and Paolo Sachet (London: Warburg Institute, 2018), 21-22.

<sup>128</sup> Graheli, “Strategies and Failures,” 24.

acquiring texts, finding translators, setting up the bookshop, and printing the inaugural works (which included the *Somma delle opera* and its subsequent Latin version, *Summa Librorum*).<sup>129</sup> In 1558 Manuzio was invited to Rome by Cardinal Antonio Trivulzio to set up a papal press for Paul IV, but Manuzio had to decline because of his obligations to the Accademia.<sup>130</sup> The *Somma*, the lists of works printed to date, and the initial publications from it, however, failed to appeal to potential customers in the Holy Roman Empire where the Accademia was hoping to develop a strong customer base.<sup>131</sup>

Manuzio left the Accademia in February 1559 but the other printers stayed on to continue the publishing efforts. In 1560 the director of the Accademia tried to expand its activities to directing the Biblioteca Marciana, conducting a school for young Venetian patricians, and printing official documents for the Republic of Venice. During this time, the printing quality decreased dramatically, and members of the Badoer family were engaging in highly questionable business and financial transactions. Bankruptcy and other legal proceedings were initiated and the Accademia as a legal entity was officially dissolved in August of 1561. Although he was no longer working with the Accademia, Manuzio included a dedication to Badoer and another Accademia administrator, Domenico Venier, in one of his 1560 Aldine publications.<sup>132</sup>

During these business difficulties, Manuzio was also plagued by illness and by the fallout of a failed business venture of his own. He had tried to diversify his business dealings with the acquisition of a fishery or eelery. The contract for the business was

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<sup>129</sup> Graheli, 24.

<sup>130</sup> Sachet, *Publishing for the Popes*, 196.

<sup>131</sup> Shanti Graheli, "Strategies and Failures," 30.

<sup>132</sup> Graheli, 34.

eventually cancelled as it appeared to have created an illegal monopoly.<sup>133</sup> Punishments for Manuzio and his two business partners in the venture included a five-hundred ducat fine, six months in prison, and/or a ten-year banishment from Venice. Manuzio's partners went to prison but Manuzio ended up in Padua. How the legal repercussions affected him directly is not known but in a letter from August 15, 1561, he does mention that his stay in Padua was a result of the dissolution of that failed business.<sup>134</sup>

In 1561 Manuzio accepted an invitation by Pope Pius IV to move to Rome where he was tasked with overseeing the new or updated publications that resulted from the second session of the Council of Trent (which would be convened from 1562-1563), other papal or curial initiatives, and works of his own choosing.<sup>135</sup> Printing priority was initially given to classics and accurate editions of works from antiquity.<sup>136</sup> Unfortunately, the press was plagued with financial problems within two years, partially due to the avalanche of specialized printing demands emanating from the provisions of the Council of Trent and the conflicting priorities of the responsible parties. The Commune of Rome eventually had to step in to manage the finances. With its participation, the Commune brought its own printing and funding priorities which often conflicted with those of the constantly changing papacy, the constantly changing curia, and Manuzio himself.<sup>137</sup> During these struggles with the press, Manuzio was not able to engage in the academic

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<sup>133</sup> Antoine-Augustin Renouard, Paul Renouard, and Jules Renouard, *Annales De L'imprimerie Des Alde Ou Histoire Des Trois Manuce Et De Leurs éditions*. 3e éd. (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1834), 441.

<sup>134</sup> Renouard, *Annales De L'imprimerie*, 442.

<sup>135</sup> Paolo Sachet, "Il contratto tra Paolo Manuzio e la Camera apostolica (2 maggio 1561): la creazione della prima stamperia vaticana privilegiata," *La Bibliofilia* 115, no. 2 (maggio-agosto 2013): 245-262.

<sup>136</sup> Martin Lowry, *Facing the Responsibility of Paulus Manutius* (Los Angeles: UCLA University Research Library Department of Special Collections, 1995), 6-7.

<sup>137</sup> Lowry, *Facing the Responsibility*, 58-59.

studies or the publication of works of personal interest which were part of the lure of his move to Rome. In 1570, Manuzio resigned from the position and returned to Venice.<sup>138</sup>

Freed from the day-to-day tasks of managing a press, which had been taken up in Venice by his son, Aldo “the Younger”, Manuzio was able to focus on his scholarly interests and resided primarily in Venice from 1570-1572. During this time Aldo the Younger engaged in his own publishing initiatives around the Italian peninsula, not always in accord with his father.<sup>139</sup> From 1572-1573 Paolo Manuzio traveled through Pieve di Sacco and Milan under the patronage of Bartolomeo Capra before returning to Rome to prepare for his daughter, Maria’s, marriage.<sup>140</sup> He had planned to travel back to Venice to check on the press under the direction of Aldo the Younger and Domanica Basa but he became ill and died in Rome on April 6, 1574.

### **Paolo Manuzio in 1546**

On January 14, 1546, Manuzio married Caterina Odoni. He probably did not know it, but when he was arranging for the printing of the *Emblematum Libellus*, she was expecting their son and heir to the publishing business, Aldo “the Younger” (he was born on February 13, 1547).<sup>141142</sup> At this time, Manuzio was trying to get to Rome through a scholarly appointment from Pope Paul III (Alessandro Farnese) through the

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<sup>138</sup> Sachet, *Publishing for the Popes*, 197.

<sup>139</sup> Emilio Russo, “Manuzio, Aldo, il Giovane,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Volume 69, Treccani, 2007, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/manuzio-aldo-il-giovane\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/manuzio-aldo-il-giovane_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/).

<sup>140</sup> Sterza, “Paolo Manuzio.”

<sup>141</sup> Russo, “Manuzio, Aldo, il Giovane.”

<sup>142</sup> Paolo and Caterina had four children, three boys: Aldo, Girolamo, and Ottavio, and a daughter, Maria. Girolamo died in childhood and Ottavio died in infancy. See Antoine-Augustin Renouard, Paul Renouard, and Jules Renouard, *Annales De L'imprimerie Des Alde Ou Histoire Des Trois Manuce Et De Leurs éditions*. 3e éd. (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1834), 431.

recommendation of his nephew, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, as the chair of rhetoric at the University of Rome.<sup>143</sup> Part of Manuzio's motivation to go to Rome may have been the prospect of setting up a Roman press. The establishment of a Roman press<sup>144</sup> or a scholarly position in Rome<sup>145</sup> had been an aspiration of Paolo's father, Aldo "the Elder." Paolo had briefly lived in Rome a decade earlier, visited again briefly in 1541, and apparently wanted to return to the city with a profession. In a letter written a decade later, dated May 23, 1556, however, he specifically mentions turning down a position in Rome though he does not clarify his reasons.<sup>146</sup> The original 1546 offer to go to Rome as a scholar under the patronage of Cardinal Farnese eventually disappeared with the death of Farnese's uncle, Paul III in 1549<sup>147</sup> and Manuzio stayed in Venice.

The Aldine Press, under Paolo Manuzio, printed almost thirty known publications in 1546<sup>148</sup> that included works by Cicero, Machiavelli, and Petrarch among others (see Figure 8).<sup>149</sup> In June of 1546 Alciato's book was also printed. There is no known surviving correspondence between Alciato and Manuzio, but this was a time when Manuzio was actively strengthening his scholarly and patronage networks. Alciato was twenty years older than Paolo Manuzio, but he was a great admirer of Paolo's father Aldo

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<sup>143</sup> Sachet, *Publishing for the Popes*, 194.

<sup>144</sup> Fletcher, "Paulus Manutius *In Aedibus Populi Romani*," 304.

<sup>145</sup> Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), 203-207.

<sup>146</sup> Fletcher, "Paulus Manutius *In Aedibus Populi Romani*," 298.

<sup>147</sup> Renouard, *Annales De L'imprimerie*, 432-433.

<sup>148</sup> Sterza, "Paolo Manuzio."

<sup>149</sup> Luigi Raffaelli, *Serie dell'edizioni Aldine: per ordine cronologico ed alfabetico* (Pisa: Luigi Raffaelli, 1790), <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/ucm.5326754444>.

and the work of the Aldine press, specifically mentioning the Aldine press in his writing about emblems and their purpose.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Alciato explicitly mentions the Aldine “anchor and dolphin” printer’s mark as an example of the visual counterpart of an emblem in the much-quoted letter to his friend, the Milanese publisher Francesco Calvo, (Barni, Letter 24) as quoted in Peter M. Daly, Virginia W Callahan, and S. H Cuttler, *Andreas Alciatus: The Latin Emblems* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 24.



## 4 The Emblems

### Introduction

The mottos and the epigrams for the emblems in Andrea Alciato's books are securely attributed to him as either the author, compiler, or translator.<sup>151</sup> The images that go with these textual elements to make three-part emblems, however, have a more complicated history. Alciato's 1522 letter to his friend, Milanese publisher Francesco Calvo, describing his composition of the initial set of epigrams includes a comment about their ability to inspire the work of artisans such as painters and goldsmiths<sup>152</sup> but no indication that he has prescribed any specific visual components for their illustration.<sup>153</sup> There are also letters from Alciato commenting or advising on alterations to images previously developed by printers and artists to go with his writing.<sup>154</sup>

The innovation of adding illustrations to the presentation of the Alciato's epigrams when they were printed appears to have been the publisher Heinrich Steyner's idea as described in his own introduction to the Augsburg editions printed in 1531.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> About a quarter of the epigrams published in Alciato's original emblem book were his translations from the Greek of passages from the *Planudean Anthology*, not original compositions by him. See Virginia W. Callahan, "An Interpretation of Four of Alciato's Latin Emblems," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 5, no. 2 (1991): 256.

<sup>152</sup> See note 131 above.

<sup>153</sup> Virginia W. Callahan, "A Comment on the 1531 Edition of Alciato's Emblems" *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 6, no. 1 (1992): 203-204.

<sup>154</sup> Denis L. Drysdall, "The Emblems in Two Unnoticed Items of Alciato's Correspondence," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 11 (2001): 383, 385.

<sup>155</sup> See Andrea Alciati, *Viri Clarissimi D. Andreae Alciati Jurisconsulti. Mediola. Ad D. Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum, Jurisconsultum Emblematum Liber* (Augustae Vindelicorum: Excusum ... per Heynricum Steynerum, 1531), and a review of the scholarship for the 1531 Steyner editions by Bernhard F. Scholz, "The 1531 Augsburg Edition of Alciato's *Emblemata*: A Survey of Research," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 5, no. 2 (1991): 213-254.



This in itself was a revolutionary innovation as it is estimated that only 20% of books printed from 1530-1570 were illustrated.<sup>156</sup> Mino Gabrieli explored the feasibility of three hypotheses regarding the relationship of Alciato to the illustration of his emblems:<sup>157</sup> 1) Alciato created drawings to go with his initial collections of epigrams from 1522 (this theory is dismissed as there is no evidence to support it), 2) Alciato always intended the epigrams to have matching illustrations but left the devising of those illustrations to the publishers (while this was the case in later authorized editions, it was not so for the initial 1531 Augsburg publication), and 3) Alciato had no specific plans to illustrate the epigrams and the visual elements were an elaboration instigated by the publisher (this appears to have been the case for the initial 1531 Augsburg edition). Steyner had, in fact, published another work earlier in 1531 with an identical three-part format: *The Memorial der Tugent* (Mirror of Religious Virtue).<sup>158</sup>

In his letter from Bourges in March of 1532 to his colleague, Emilio Ferretti, Alciato specifically refers to the poor illustrations and transcriptions of his epigrams in the initial publications from Augsburg in 1531.<sup>159</sup> Again there is no indication that the images fell short of any instructions or defied any desire on his part to keep them naked (unillustrated). Alciato seems to have encouraged visual expressions of his epigrams as noted by Denis Drysdale and Pierre Laurens while analyzing some of Alciato's later letters.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Bregman, *Emblemata*, 49.

<sup>157</sup> Gabriele, *Il Libro degli Emblemata*, xxvi-xxxi.

<sup>158</sup> Several isolated publications and manuscripts resemble emblem books in their appearance and/or function. These are discussed at length in the second and third chapters of Karl A. E. Enenkel, *The Invention of the Emblem Book and the Transmission of Knowledge, ca. 1510-1610* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

<sup>159</sup> Denis L. Drysdale, "The Emblems in Two Unnoticed Items of Alciato's Correspondence," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 11 (2001): 383, 385.

<sup>160</sup> Drysdale, "Two Unnoticed Items," 382.

[Alciato] does not condemn the pictures in principle, but only the errors in them. Alciato himself said that the epigrams *describe* objects or scenes and are intended as a resource for the designers of *imprese* and badges; they therefore *suggest* pictures, and as *imprese* and badges would actually *be* pictures.

Alciato appears to have supported illustrations in the authorized published editions of his epigrams but he did not prescribe images for them. As John Manning notes, the initial inconsistencies between the epigrams and the illustrations which were corrected over time (even posthumously) would not have occurred if Alciato had initially provided directions for illustrations.<sup>161</sup>

The creation of miniature visual compositions that carry elements laden with extra meaning is, in its own way, another means of reviving art forms from antiquity. Just as the collection and creation of epigrams was a celebration of an ancient *literary* art form, the *imprese* of badges and illustrations of emblems can also be considered a revival of ancient *visual* arts so revered by scholars and humanists of the sixteenth century.<sup>162</sup> Ancient examples of fresco vignettes from the recently rediscovered Domus Aurea in Rome were inspiring contemporary artists and stone intaglio as well as ancient coins were popular collectables at this time.<sup>163</sup> The frescoes, carved gemstones, metal coins, and even *opus sectile* (carved stone mosaics) from antiquity were used to communicate concepts with abbreviated miniature illustrations. Several of the illustrations for Alciato's emblems were based on ancient tropes.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> John Manning, "A Bibliographical Approach to the Illustrations in Sixteenth century Editions of Alciato's *Emblemata*," in *Andrea Alciato and the Emblem Tradition: Essays in Honor of Virginia Woods Callahan*, ed. Peter M. Daly (New York: AMS Press, 1989), 145.

<sup>162</sup> Robert Cummings, "Alciato's *Emblemata* as an Imaginary Museum," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 10, no. 2 (1996): 268-926.

<sup>163</sup> Gabriele, *Il Libro degli Emblemi*, xvii, xxxi, xxxvi.

<sup>164</sup> Examples of the use of ancient tropes and designs for the 1546 edition of the *Emblematum Libellus* will be covered below in the section analyzing the woodcut illustrations.

Another humanist interest that may have inspired the addition of images to the epigrams was the revived interest in various pictographic writing systems,<sup>165</sup> specifically Egyptian hieroglyphics. References to hieroglyphics and a “revival” of pictorial writing was explicitly invoked by other scholars throughout the late fifteenth century<sup>166</sup> and the sixteenth century.<sup>167</sup> Scholars based primarily in Florence and Venice were taking a fresh look at obelisks and other examples of Egyptian antiquities that contained examples of hieroglyphs<sup>168</sup> and the works of Horapollon and other ancient writers were “rediscovered” in Greece and brought to the Italian peninsula.<sup>169</sup>

While visiting the Greek island of Andros in 1419, the Florentine priest Cristoforo Buondelmonti purchased a manuscript containing the work of several ancient writers.<sup>170</sup> One of the works in the manuscript was the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollon. This fifth century treatise on Egyptian hieroglyphs was brought back to Florence in 1422 where it immediately became very influential in humanist circles.<sup>171</sup> It was translated from Greek to Latin by Giorgio Valla in the mid-fifteenth century and a publication of the original Greek was printed by Paolo Manuzio’s father, Aldo, in 1505.<sup>172</sup> Part of the appeal of

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<sup>165</sup> While the “original set” of Alciato emblems from 1531 has also been studied through the interpretive lens of alchemical processes and symbols, there does not appear to be any similar scholarship applied to the “second wave” of emblems that appear in the 1546 Venice edition. See Mino Gabriele, *Il Libro degli Emblemi: Secondo le edizioni del 1531 e del 1534* (Milano: Adelphi Edizioni, 2009), lxiv-lxxii.

<sup>166</sup> The most famous example of this influence is the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* published by Paolo Manuzio’s father, Aldo, in December 1499. The full text of the *Hypnerotomachia* can be viewed online: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/365313>.

<sup>167</sup> The humanist scholars studying the hieroglyphs did not realize that it was a phonetic sign system and built up an elaborate system of ideogrammatic significance around the images. See Daniel Russell, “Emblems and Hieroglyphics: Some Observations on the Beginnings and the Nature of Emblematic Forms,” *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 1, no. 2 (1986): 227.

<sup>168</sup> Russell, “Emblems and Hieroglyphics,” 228-230.

<sup>169</sup> Other writers include Plotinus and Apuleius. See Gabriele, *Il Libro degli Emblemi*, l-lii. See also note 83 above.

<sup>170</sup> Gabriele, *Il Libro degli Emblemi*, xxxiii.

<sup>171</sup> The manuscript is in Florence: Biblioteca Laurenziana, shelfmark Plut. 69,27.

<sup>172</sup> Gabriele, *Il Libro degli Emblemi*, xlvi-xlvii.

hieroglyphs to scholars at the time was the belief that the pictographs alluded not to mundane things of the everyday world but to the sacred and the intangible.<sup>173</sup> This (mis)identification of pictorial writing as an older and purer form of communication made it an ideal vehicle for conveying the concepts behind the mottos and epigrams of Alciato's emblems.

As noted by Gabrieli and others, the process of their design and approval as well as Alciato's participation (or not) in the design process of the *Emblematum Libellus* often remains unclear. Who designed the illustrated component provided by the printers' artists? The original publisher of the illustrated emblems, Heinrich Steyner, hired artisans to create the images. Duplessis and others thought the designer may have been Hans Schaufelein<sup>174</sup> (though Duplessis expressed reservations on this point) or Hans Weidetz,<sup>175</sup> but more recent scholarship has securely credited Jörg Breu as the primary creator of the designs for the 1531 Augsburg editions of the *Emblematum Libellus*.<sup>176</sup> The resulting illustrations, while most likely contributing to the popularity of the publication, did not necessarily harmonize with the messages in the epigrams and the illustrations were updated for later editions.<sup>177</sup>

Parisian printer Chrétien Wechel was the primary publisher of authorized versions of the *Emblematum Libellus* until 1549. He hired Jean Mercure Jollat to design the illustrations to accompany the text and funded the payment of the artist himself.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Gabriele, xlviii, and Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem: Structural Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 20-21.

<sup>174</sup> Georges Duplessis, *Les- emblèmes d'Alciat* (Paris: J. Rouam, Impimeur-Éditeur, 1884), 2.

<sup>175</sup> Gilbert R. Redgrave, "Emblems and Impresas," *The Bibliophile* 3, no. 14 (April 1909): 66.

<sup>176</sup> Manning, *The Emblem*, 43.

<sup>177</sup> Gabriele, *Il Libro degli Emblemi*, xxxiii-xxxiv.

<sup>178</sup> Manning, *The Emblem*, 43.

There may have been a team of artisans involved and some scholars have discerned the work of up to three different artisans in Wechel's early editions.<sup>179</sup> Very few of the plates bear Jollat's mark (based on the astrological or alchemical symbol for Mercury) and Duplessis discerns variations in the quality of the execution of the designs and the plates.<sup>180</sup> The designs for the Wechel editions were often copied from the images of the 1531 Augsburg editions with minor variations.<sup>181</sup> Several of the designs needed corrections, however, and Alciato was also periodically contributing new content that needed illustration. In his introduction to the 1542 Wechel German language edition, Wolfgang Hunger, who was acting as the German translator for that edition as well as author of the introduction, briefly describes part of the process of designing the illustrations by complaining about it.<sup>182</sup>

For the 1542 German edition, a workflow had been established where Alciato sent new epigrams to Wechel and Wechel asked Hunger not only to translate the epigrams, but also to describe them for the artists so they could design appropriate illustrations. Hunger lamented this process because he believed he would be blamed if the illustrations were found lacking even though the final designs were out of his purview. Alternatively, if they were praised, he worried that he would receive no congratulations or acknowledgment because his part in their development would be

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<sup>179</sup> Redgrave, "Emblems and Impresas," 66.

<sup>180</sup> Duplessis, *Les emblèmes d'Alciat*, 3.

<sup>181</sup> Manning, *The Emblem*, 43.

<sup>182</sup> The introduction letters written by Chrétien Wechel and Wolfgang Hunger have both been helpfully translated out of their original Latin into English by Denis L. Drysdall, "Defence and Illustration of the German Language: Wolfgang Hunger's Preface to Alciati's *Emblems*," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 3, n. 1 (1988): 143-157.

undetectable to the readers.<sup>183</sup> Hunger's preface, written for an edition of the emblems authorized by Alciato and assembled with his approval, indicates Alciato's expectation at that point that his new epigrams would be provided with illustrations designed by artists and working with the publisher. The people guiding this design process would be the printer, editor, or in this case, the translator, not Alciato himself.

Regarding the illustrations for the 1546 Venice edition, there is widespread belief from Henry Green<sup>184</sup> to the present day<sup>185</sup> that some, if not all, of the blocks used to illustrate the Venetian edition may have been the missing or stolen blocks from Wechel's press in Paris. In his own introductory notice to his 1542 edition, Chrétien Wechel writes a brief note mentioning the theft to explain the lack of promised additional content in that edition. So far this has not been proven but Wechel did print another Latin edition of the *Embelatum Libellus* in 1544 and a 1549 edition of Alciato's emblems in French. The 1549 French edition, which was identified in 1995, includes at least five emblems from the Venetian edition and can provide some additional material for comparison.<sup>186</sup>

### **The contents of the book**

After the brief introductory material, the 1546 edition of the *Emblematum Libellus* largely follows the established convention of placing a single emblem, consisting of a motto, image, and epigram, on each page (see listing of contents with

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<sup>183</sup> See Andreae Alciati, *Larissimi viri D. Andreae Alciati Emblematum libellus, vigilanter recognitus, & iam recens per Wolphgangum Hungerum Bavarum, rhythmis Germanicis versus* (Parisiis: Apud Christianum Wechelum ..., MD.XLII [1542]).

<sup>184</sup> Henry Green, *Fontes Quatuor*, 26.

<sup>185</sup> Denis L. Drysdall, "The Emblems in Two Unnoticed Items of Alciato's Correspondence," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 11 (2001): 386

<sup>186</sup> Stephen Rawles, "An Unrecorded Edition of Jean Lefevre's Translation of Alciato, with New Translations of Emblems from the 'Venice' Collection," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 9, no. 1 (1995): 209-216.

notes in Figure 9). The first twenty-nine emblems (from f3r-f17r) are an assortment with various mottos that consist largely of warnings about undesirable situations, characteristics, or behaviors.<sup>187</sup> Even emblems with epigrams that start with a positive theme, such as *Gratiae*, (which is illustrated by the three graces as popularly depicted as a group of three nude women standing or dancing together) end with bitter reflections on the subversion of each of the graces in turn.

The next fourteen emblems (from f17v-f24v) consist of representations of various trees and plants with a description of their characteristics. Many of the epigrams in this group consist of two lines and are among the shortest entries in the book. The characteristics of a tree may be virtuous such as the quince tree (*Cotonea*, f20v) which makes the breath and speech sweet for those who eat the fruit. The tree may also signify a flaw or defect of character or behavior such as the almond tree (*Amygdalus*, f24r) which is compared to overly precocious pupils because it blooms flowers before sprouting leaves.

Like the initial grouping, the sixteen emblems which follow the group of tree emblems (f25r-f33v) are a mixed collection that contains warnings as well as examples of desirable characteristics. Several of these emblems, however, have mottos in Greek instead of the usual Latin that characterizes the rest of the book (f28v-f29v). Two of the epigrams in this section, *In Colores* (f30v-f31r) and *Dicta Septem Sapientum* (f32r-f32v), are also long enough to flow onto a second page.

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<sup>187</sup> Many of Alciato's epigrams and their illustrations have a misogynistic character as has been noted by Mason Tung and others. See Mason Tung, "A Note on the Influence of Alciato on Aneau's *Picta Poesis*," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 12 (2002): 420-422.

The following section (f34r-f38r) consists primarily of emblems based on the seven deadly sins: *Luxuria* (Lust or Extravagance, f34r), *Superbia* (Pride, f34v), *Desidia* (Sloth or Idleness, more often seen in Latin as *acedia*, f35r), *Invidia* (Envy, f35v), *Avaritia* (Greed, f36r), *Gula* (Gluttony, f36v), and *Ira* (Anger, f38r). This section seems to be an exercise in syncretism.<sup>188</sup> Although the “seven deadly sins” as defined in the Roman Catholic tradition are all presented in this section, the literary allusions to which Alciato chooses to refer are all sources from antiquity (see Figure 9).

Mixed into these emblems, between *Gula* and *Ira*, are two leaves that do not fit as well into this grouping. The only two naked or nude emblems (mottos and epigrams with no illustration) in this volume appear in this section (f37r). *Maledicentia* (Evil-speaking) and *Contra* (Contrariness) are both very short epigrams that share a page as well as sharing the theme of wasps in the verses themselves. On the verso of that leaf, an illustrated emblem, *Aemulatio impar* (Competing on unequal terms, f37v), is depicted. It is possible that these two emblems were accidentally placed in the wrong locations when the sheets were printed.

The next thirteen emblems (f38v-f45r) are, as seen in earlier sections, a combination of warnings and lessons with examples drawn from nature, mythology, and history. Examples include the pelican in the image and verse of *In garrulum & gulosum* (The talkative and greedy, f44v) as well as the figure of Narcissus in the image and verses of *Philautia* (Self-satisfaction, f38v). Although there are exceptions, most of these emblems identify undesirable characteristics and behaviors.

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<sup>188</sup> Alvan Bregman does briefly note the attempts at syncretism in Alciato’s work in general but does not address the Venice 1546 publication in Bregman, *Emblemata*, 42.



The last two emblems in this book serve as a declaration of the author's civic or patriotic identity and his family identity.<sup>189</sup> *Mediolanum* (Milan, f45v-f46r) is an epigram with an illustration that could fit onto a single page but is stretched out to occupy both sides of an opening with the illustration on the verso and the epigram on the recto. The image created for this emblem is that of a boar very reminiscent of the Roman she-wolf. The boar of Milan is mentioned in the verse but the artist has chosen to depict the animal as a female of the species ready to nurse its offspring or the people of Milan. In the verse, Alciato specifically refers to Milan as *origo meae*, or "my native place/source/home" thus explicitly identifying himself as a Milanese native of the Italian peninsula. The last emblem, also stretched out to cover two pages, is comprised of the Alciato family arms as its image with verses re-iterating the family's motto, *Nunquam procrastinandum* (Never Procrastinate) and its significance as written into an epigram.

The relative concentration in this volume of plants, primarily trees, and animals, usually birds, in the epigrams and their illustrations is reminiscent of medieval bestiaries and illustrated scientific works, especially herbals. It has been noted that fifty-one of the eighty-six emblems refer to the natural world: eighteen to plants (especially trees), seventeen to birds, eleven to mammals, and five for fish and insects.<sup>190</sup> While the physical layout appears identical to bestiaries, the purpose of the text and illustrations as well as the messages that the books are meant to communicate are very different. The scientific publications were a primarily secular attempt to illustrate and explain the natural,

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<sup>189</sup> This was also noted by Monika Grünberg-Dröge, "The 1546 Venice Edition of Andrea Alciato's Emblemata," in *Emblems from Alciato to the Tattoo*, ed. Peter M. Daly and John Manning (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 10.

<sup>190</sup> Isabelle Charmantier, "Emblematics in Ornithology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 18 (2010): 81.

physical, or observable world.<sup>191</sup> Emblems in this volume, on the other hand, were intended to allude to intangible concepts<sup>192</sup> and examples from nature are part of a moralizing message meant to point to the intangible concept, not necessarily to illustrate the natural world.<sup>193</sup>

## Literary and visual precedents

The creation and use of *imprese*, especially strong in the Northern regions of the Italian peninsula, is another pre-existing tradition that contributed to the development of the illustrated emblem book as a genre.<sup>194</sup> *Imprese* are images comprised of symbolic elements developed and used as personal statements. Histories and writings about *imprese* and their uses date back to Paolo Giovio's treatise on the subject, *Dialogo delle imprese militari e amorose*.<sup>195</sup> Giovio traces the resurgent popularity of *imprese* to the influence of French regalia and he and other writers trace their development and use back in time through medieval heraldry to antiquity.<sup>196</sup> *Imprese* were the product of both courtly and academic cultures with the similar desire to record or advertise great deeds

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<sup>191</sup> Daniel Russell, *Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 24.

<sup>192</sup> See genre definition from the Getty vocabularies, "Emblem Books," Art and Architecture Thesaurus Online, Getty Research Institute, accessed August 2, 2020, <https://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/>.

<sup>193</sup> Isabelle Charmantier notes a parallel between the description of nature, specifically birds, and the overlap in scientific literature and emblem books in Isabelle Charmantier, "Emblematics in Ornithology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 18 (2010): 79-109.

<sup>194</sup> See Dorigen Caldwell, "Studies in Sixteenth century Italian *Imprese*," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 11 (2001): 2-257.

<sup>195</sup> Caldwell, "Italian *Imprese*," 5.

<sup>196</sup> Caldwell, "Italian *Imprese*," 5-6.

or aspirations.<sup>197</sup> Creation of new *imprese* as a parallel practice next to the emblem tradition and writings about them continued throughout the sixteenth century.<sup>198</sup>

The medieval genre of the bestiary, alternatively, developed over time into a moralizing tool for communicating theology and Christian doctrine.<sup>199</sup> While emblem books were eventually adopted as a means of sharing Christian theology by both Protestant Reformation and Catholic Reformation writers,<sup>200</sup> in their initial development by Alciato and the writers who emulated him, they represented a genre born in humanist circles. The concepts that Alciato and the artists who worked with his publishers addressed were primarily described through literary examples drawn from antiquity. Even when church concepts, such as the seven deadly sins, were presented in the 1546 Venetian edition, the literary or historical examples and illustrations were typically drawn from the works of Ovid, Homer, or Pliny instead of the gospels, church fathers, or hagiographies of the church.<sup>201</sup>

Various adages written by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam served as a source for the epigrams and the mottos in the 1546 Venetian edition as they were for Alciato's initial set of epigrams.<sup>202</sup> At least twenty-seven of the eighty-six emblems in the Venetian edition contain references to writings of Erasmus, primarily the *Adages* (see Figure 9).

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<sup>197</sup> Caldwell, "Italian *Imprese*," 16, 156.

<sup>198</sup> Caldwell, "Italian *Imprese*," 13-50.

<sup>199</sup> Daniel Russell, *Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 24-25.

<sup>200</sup> Manning, *The Emblem*, 16.

<sup>201</sup> Alciato seems to have had a fraught relationship with the Roman Catholic church and an ambiguous stance towards church doctrine. See Karl A. E. Enenkel, "Alciato's Ideas on the Religious: The Letter to Bernardus Matthius," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 9, no. 2 (1995): 293-313.

<sup>202</sup> Virginia W. Callahan, "Erasmus's *Adages* – A Pervasive Element in the *Emblems* of Alciato," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 9, no. 2 (1995): 241.

Like Alciato with his epigrams, Erasmus drew inspiration for many of his adages from passages in the *Greek Anthology* or the *Planudean Anthology* so many of the allusions in Alciato's epigrams may refer back to the anthologies and the writings of Erasmus simultaneously.<sup>203</sup>

Erasmus and Alciato did know of each other and each commented on the work of the other.<sup>204</sup> They had a mutual friend and correspondent in Boniface Amerbach through whom Alciato frequently expressed his gratitude to Erasmus for the inspiration of his writing and the high regard with which Erasmus had mentioned Alciato in his own writing.<sup>205</sup> Although Erasmus died in 1536, before the publication of the Alciato's 1546 Venetian edition, his *Adages* were still heavily influential in the devising of the "second set" of Alciato epigrams.

As noted above<sup>206</sup>, the *Greek Anthology* (also called the *Palatine Anthology*) and the *Planudean Anthology* were important sources for Alciato's epigrams as well as the work of other humanist writers such as Erasmus.<sup>207</sup> In 2006 Mason Tung created a collated list of references to the *Greek Anthology* identified by previous researchers. He listed ten of the twelve identified allusions to the *Anthologies* out of the forty-eight new

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<sup>203</sup> Callahan, "Erasmus's *Adages*," 247.

<sup>204</sup> For an in-depth study of this relationship, see Jean-Claude Margolin, "Alciato, A Champion of Humanism in the Eyes of Erasmus," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 9, no. 2 (1995): 369-389, and Virginia W. Callahan, "Erasmus's *Adages* – A Pervasive Element in the *Emblems* of Alciato," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 9, no. 2 (1995): 241-256.

<sup>205</sup> Callahan, "Erasmus's *Adages*," 242-243.

<sup>206</sup> About a quarter of the epigrams published in Alciato's original emblem book were his translations from the Greek of passages from the *Planudean Anthology* and *Greek Anthology*, not original compositions by him. See Virginia W. Callahan, "An Interpretation of Four of Alciato's Latin Emblems," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 5, no. 2 (1991): 256.

<sup>207</sup> This is discussed in greater detail in Mason Tung, "Alciato's Practices of Imitation: A New Approach to Studying His Emblems," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 19 (2012): 153-257.

epigrams in the 1546 Venetian edition.<sup>208</sup> They are not concentrated in a specific section of the text, but rather distributed throughout the work and intertwined with allusions to other texts (see Figure 9).

Another influential ancient resource utilized by Alciato when composing the epigrams was Pliny's *Natural History* (see Figure 9).<sup>209</sup> At least twenty-two allusions or quotations from Pliny have been identified in the 1546 Venetian edition of Alciato's emblems.<sup>210</sup> Not surprisingly, almost half of these allusions appear in the "tree" section of the text. One of the Pliny allusions is present in the naked *Contra* emblem but most of the rest discuss the characteristics of birds which also explains the prevalence of birds in the illustrations. Although presented as "natural history" or scientific observations, the characteristics that Pliny and other ancient observers of nature (such as Aristotle) ascribe to flora and fauna do not always correlate with the actual behavior of the plants and animals named. Fifteenth and sixteenth century writers, especially humanists, carried forward these semi-mythical attributes in their own writing.<sup>211</sup>

Other assorted writings from which Alciato drew inspiration for his epigrams include Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (at least fifteen references),<sup>212</sup> Homer's *Illiad* and *Odyssey* (at least nine references), and Vergil's *Aeneid* (see Figure 9). The legend of

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<sup>208</sup> Mason Tung, "Revisiting Alciato and *The Greek Anthology*: A Documentary Note," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 14 (2006): 335-347.

<sup>209</sup> The use and depiction of flora and fauna in emblem books is covered exhaustively in the first section of Karl A. E. Enenkel, *The Invention of the Emblem Book and the Transmission of Knowledge, ca. 1510-1610* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

<sup>210</sup> These are listed in detail and discussed at length in Mason Tung, "Alciato's Practices of Imitation: A New Approach to Studying His Emblems," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 19 (2012): 215-237.

<sup>211</sup> Enenkel, *The Invention of the Emblem*, 12-14.

<sup>212</sup> The references to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and their adaptation by Alciato is discussed in greater depth in Mason Tung, "Alciato's Practices of Imitation: A New Approach to Studying His Emblems," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 19 (2012): 202-215.

Hercules is also referred to in several of the epigrams and illustrations. The figure of Hercules was often alluded to in Alciato's previous set of epigrams as well and after his death; Alciato himself was compared to Hercules by other writers commemorating his life and work.<sup>213</sup>

Some recent scholars, such as Andreas Bässler<sup>214</sup> and Robert Cummings,<sup>215</sup> have proposed an ekphrastic purpose or source for Alciato's epigrams.<sup>216</sup> Ekphrasis is a "literary device in which a painting, sculpture, or other work of visual art is described in detail; the work may be real or imaginary. In [its] original usage, [it] was undertaken as a rhetorical exercise."<sup>217</sup> A few of the epigrams such as *Respublica liberate* (f26r) and possibly *Gratiae* (f5v) can be understood as relating to an actual work or object, real or imaginary. Many of the epigrams written by Alciato, including those of the 1546 Venetian edition, however, have too many conflicting allusions, inconsistent visual references, or no specific visual references at all. While Alciato may refer to the ekphrastic writing of ancient authors or other humanists in his epigrams,<sup>218</sup> this precludes any ekphrastic purpose or source for many of the epigrams that he composed and their resulting emblems.

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<sup>213</sup> See George Hugo Tucker, "De Milan à Bourges: André Alciat, professeur de droit et homo viator, d'après les éloges posthumes de Giovanni Matteo Toscano (1578) et François le Douaren (1551)," in *André Alciat (1492-1550) Un humaniste au confluent des savoirs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, ed. Anne and Stéphane Rolet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 307-318.

<sup>214</sup> See Andreas Bässler, *Die Umkehrung der Ekphrasis. Zur Entstehung von Alciatos 'Emblematum liber' (1531)* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2012).

<sup>215</sup> Robert Cummings, "Alciato's Emblematas as an Imaginary Museum," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 10, no. 2 (1996): 268-926.

<sup>216</sup> Enenkel, *The Invention of the Emblem Book*, 49.

<sup>217</sup> "Ekphrasis," Art & Architecture Thesaurus Online, Getty Research Institute, 2004, <https://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/>.

<sup>218</sup> Findings of Andreas Bässler as cited in Enenkel, *The Invention of the Emblem Book*, 49.

## Analysis of the woodcut illustrations

The relatively stark and less ornate images created for Wechel and Steyner in the 1530s and 1540s as well as some of the images in the 1546 edition have been considered inadequate or wanting by some scholars.<sup>219</sup> Others, however, believe that some of the images in the Venice edition and other French editions, especially those depicting narrative scenes from history or legend, have failed to function as emblems and are merely illustrations of a story.<sup>220</sup> In the latter case, they stop short of serving as visual indicators for the concept *beyond* the motto and merely illustrate part of the epigram. Just as some epigrams are more cleverly written than others, the illustrations also vary in style and effectiveness.

While the introduction to the 1546 edition does not give any details about the process of developing the illustrations as Hunger's letter did for Wechel in 1542, the illustrations for the emblems provide an abundance of evidence about the process of illustrating the new epigrams. A crucial observation apparent in the illustrations is that the work was not completed by a single artist or artisan. Unlike the Wechel and Steyner publications which illustrate the design, or at least guidance, of a primary artist such as Breu or Jollat throughout most of the publications, the work of several artistic hands or designers is visible in the 1546 Venetian edition. While bemoaning the perceived

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<sup>219</sup> See Henry Green, *Fontes Quatuor*, p.26 and Mason Tung, "'Seeing is Believing': A Note on the Forgettable History of Illustrating Alciato's Emblems," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 20 (2013): 379-404.

<sup>220</sup> Robert Cummings, "Alciato's *Emblemata* as an Imaginary Museum," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 10, no. 2 (1996): 268-926.

inferiority of the illustrations of the Venice edition, Henry Green *almost* notices that they are not the work of a single designer:<sup>221</sup>

From the famous city and the famous printers whence the edition of 1546 proceeded, we might have expected devices of a superior kind; but several of the woodcuts have a coarseness of execution which greatly lessens their value, and there is occasionally a grossness which a refined taste cannot endure, and for which there can be no excuse. It is scarcely worth while to seek who the designer may have been, for his work would add nothing to his fame.

Even George Duplessis, who was a conservator in the prints department at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, failed to make a note of the presence of different designers creating the illustrations for the Venetian edition, writing them all off together as clumsy and without character:<sup>222</sup>

En 1546, les fils d'Alde Manuce tentèrent de répandre en Italie les emblèmes de leur compatriote Alciat; ils mirent au jour une édition de cet ouvrage accompagnée de figures sans grand caractère, gravées d'une façon assez maladroite. On ne retrouve dans cette suite d'estampes, éditée par une maison qui avait jadis donné tant de témoignages du goût et de l'intelligence de ses chefs, aucun des mérites qui avaient assuré au nom des Aldes une légitime renommée. A la place de cette sobriété dans l'exécution des gravures qui avait valu jadis à *l'Hypnérotomachie de Polyphile* un succès sans précédent, l'insuffisance du dessinateur cherche ici à se dissimuler sous une infinité de tailles superflues. Les fils d'Alde semblent avoir confié à un apprenti le soin d'*illustrer* les *Emblèmes d'Alciat* et ne s'être souvenus des mérites de leur ancêtre que pour le tirage qui est excellent et sans défaut.

Despite Henry Green's and George Duplessis's low opinions of the illustrations, they are worthy of study and analysis. From the many varieties of illustration visible in the emblem images, four styles are picked out here for further description with names

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<sup>221</sup> Henry Green, *Fontes Quatuor*, 26.

<sup>222</sup> Duplessis, *Les emblèmes d'Alciat*, 3-4.



based on the shading techniques:<sup>223</sup> 1) the short parallel lines style, 2) the sketching style, 3) the gray modeling style, and 4) the feathered style.

The first style with “short parallel lines” (see Figure 10) appears in several emblems including *Resp. liberate* (f26r), *Furor & rabies* (f27r), and *Salus publica* (f25v). In execution, these illustrations are characterized by short parallel lines for shading, little variation in line thickness, simple backgrounds, and large central subjects that loom in the foreground. In their design, the elements are highly symbolic and do not carry a narrative theme. While there are simple landscapes behind the subjects of the illustrations, there is normally no attempt to depict the sky. The subjects appear as still-lives and are often characterized by the use of symmetry in the central elements.

The second or “sketching style” (see Figure 11) appears in several emblems including *Facundia difficilis* (f13v), *Cupressus* (f18r), and *In sordidos* (f30r). In execution, these illustrations are characterized by longer thick lines that often cross and overlap each other. The background is more detailed than that of the first style of “short parallel lines.” There is a little more foliage around the foreground and the sky is often depicted with long, parallel lines. There is also more likely to be cross-hatching in the depictions of shadows. Subjects tend to be flora or fauna, usually birds.

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<sup>223</sup> By the mid-Sixteenth century, the work of designing a woodcut illustration and the task of cutting the illustration into a block of wood were most often completed by different people. These people may have worked together in a workshop, but the work of the designer could be much altered by the skill (or lack of skill) of the cutter. See Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut with a detailed survey of work done in the Fifteenth Century* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935), 79-84. Other variables that affect the final presentation of a woodcut illustration are the type of wood used (the best woods are from fruit trees and boxwood) and the cut of the wood (cross-sections are preferred to plank cuts). See Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, 8-10. The design of an artist could consequently be compromised by an unskilled cutter, the wrong type of wood, a bad cut of wood, and dull, worn, or damaged tools.

The third, “gray modeling style” (see Figure 12) appears in several emblems including *Sirenes* (f4v), *Superbia* (f34v), and *Ars naturam adiuuans* (f42r). In execution, these illustrations have more varied elements; both thick, black and thin, gray-looking lines make up the compositions. The lines can be parallel or criss-cross in a sketching style when depicting fauna, water, and other natural features but parallel lines are also used for architectural details and shading. Subjects tend to be human figures or statues and creatures with human features. They do not figure as largely in the foreground and tend to have a more detailed setting.

The fourth, “feathered” style (see Figure 13) appears in the illustrations of *In Pudoris statuam* (f4r), *Gratiae* (f5v), and *Inanis impetus* (f44r). In execution, these illustrations feature both thick and thin lines, gentle shading achieved with longer, thinner, curved parallel lines, and the lines for shading are much closer together. The subjects of the illustrations tend to be animals or human figures that are rendered with more elasticity and grace than the other styles and are situated in front of a minimal background.

Each of these “styles” appear to be variations of the “shaded style” that developed in Venice in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>224</sup> The shading, as opposed to drawing only the outlines of figures (as was common in the earlier Venetian “popular style”), enabled designers to model three-dimensional figures and portray depth in the images they created. The use of parallel lines for shading (parallel hatching), as especially noted in the “feathered” style and the “short parallel lines” style, is an innovation largely

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<sup>224</sup> Lilian Armstrong, “Venetian and Florentine Renaissance Woodcuts for Bibles, Liturgical Books, and Devotional Books” in *A Heavenly Craft: The Woodcut in Early Printed Books*, ed. Daniel De Simone (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 2004), 35.

credited to the influence of Andrea Mantegna.<sup>225</sup> Cross-hatching, as used by the artist with the “sketching” style, was a shading technique more often used in Florence and Ferrara.<sup>226</sup> The different methods of shading the figures in the woodcuts, however, are not the only distinctive characteristics of each of these artistic styles.

The several different styles of execution in the woodcuts parallel the use of different themes or preferences in design. Because they appear together in emblems throughout the book, they are evidence that the artists had some agency in designing the illustrations for these epigrams. While the motto and epigram are provided as the foundation of the emblem, the visual elements chosen to go with the text are left largely in the artists’ hands for this edition.

An example of how the artists’ design decisions shape the presentation of the emblem can be seen in the illustration of the emblem, *Amuletum Veneris* (A charm against love, f17v). The epigram alludes to Greek writings about the death of Adonis.<sup>227</sup> In some versions of the tale, the goddess Aphrodite wrapped his body in lettuce leaves after he was gored by a wild boar and died of the wound.<sup>228</sup> The artist who illustrated this epigram, the first style using short parallel lines, also prefers to portray the emblems through objects or combinations of objects. These objects are rendered starkly and largely against simple backgrounds. The depiction of a simple head of lettuce (see Figure 14) as

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<sup>225</sup> David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 38.

<sup>226</sup> Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 71.

<sup>227</sup> “*Inguina dente fero suffosum Cypris Adonim / Lactucae foliis condidit exanimem. / Hinc genitali arvo tantum lactuca resistit, / Quantum eruca salax vix stimulare potest.*” From f17v of the 1546 Venetian edition.

<sup>228</sup> Because of this incident, or a similar version of the tale in which Adonis died in a lettuce field, lettuce is cursed with the property of deadening the libido. For a thorough study of the Adonis stories and the function of lettuce as an anaphrodisiac, see Joseph D. Reed, “The Sexuality of Adonis,” *Classical Antiquity* 14, no. 2 (Oct., 1995): 317-347.

the illustration that accompanies this epigram is identical to the other design or composition decisions that this artist makes throughout the book.

If the “gray modeling” designer had created the illustration, it would probably have depicted the figure of Aphrodite wrapping the figure of Adonis in leaves as described in the tales. This narrative treatment of the image for the epigram was, in fact, a common way to illustrate the epigram in later editions by other publishers (see Figure 15). These versions featured the more elaborately drawn and narrative scenes in a style similar to the gray-modelling style of the Venetian edition.

Conversely, *Littera occidit, spiritus vivificat* (The letter kills but the spirit gives life, f25r) is illustrated by the “gray modelling” designer with a scene of men fighting amongst each other as they emerge from ground sewn with dragon’s teeth (see Figure 16). This scene refers to the legend of Cadmus from Greek mythology as mentioned in the epigram as well. If the artist of the “short parallel lines” style had created the image for this page, it is possible that it would have featured a single dragon’s tooth looming largely in the center foreground, perhaps with hints of a furrowed field in the background.

The designs developed by the artisans for the new emblems of the 1546 edition were not always unique to that publication. Some of the images used for illustrating several of the emblems were based on pre-existing designs borrowed from various sources. As noted above, ancient tropes were visible in coins, intaglio cut stones, frescoes, *opus sectile*, and sculpture and were very popular and influential in the art and

decoration of the time.<sup>229</sup> Examples of medieval imagery were also visible in the architecture, publications, and artwork already present in the artists' environment.

An example of a popular ancient image from antiquity includes the "Three Graces" which are used for the *Gratiae* emblem. This extremely popular image had been copied by other artists before the publication of the 1546 Venice edition of emblems (see Figure 17). This composition had been adapted into sculpture, painting, drawing, and relief carving large and small. Work based on the "Three Graces" inspired the design of the feathered style artist.

Ancient coins and seals were also an inspiration for creating images for emblems. The *Respublica liberata* emblem illustration (f26r) is based on the description of an actual coin which is also the subject of the epigram. Alciato had written a treatise on weights and measures, *Libellus de ponderibus et mensuris*,<sup>230</sup> which included a section on ancient coins and was published (possibly as a pirate edition) in 1530.<sup>231</sup> Alciato also referred to his emblems as *pretiosa nomismata* or his "precious coins" when dedicating the set that was used for the Augsburg editions.<sup>232</sup> It is unclear whether Alciato was a collector of coins, but he did include a description of the reverse of the "Ides of March" denarius in the *Respublica liberata* epigram:

"Caesaris exitio ceu libertate recepta, / Haec ducibus Brutis cusa moneta fuit, / Ensiculi

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<sup>229</sup> Gabriele, *Il Libro degli Emblemi*, xvii.

<sup>230</sup> Andrea Alciati, *Libellus De Ponderibus Et Mensuris* (Haganoë: Secer, 1530), <https://books.google.com/books?id=2l2jWxypN8C&pg=PR1#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

<sup>231</sup> See Roberto Abbondanza, "Andrea Alciato," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani - Volume 2*, Treccani, 1960, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-alciato\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-alciato_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

<sup>232</sup> See Andrea Alciato, *Viri Clarissimi D. Andree Alciati Iurisconsultiss. Mediol. ad D. Chonradum Peutingeru[m] Augustanum, Iurisconsultum ...* (Excusum Augustae Vindellicorum : Per Heynricum Steynerum, Die 28. Februarij, Anno M.D. XXXI. [1531]), <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/bib-desc.php?id=A31a&o=>.

in primis, queis pileus insuper adstat, / Qualem missa manu servitia accipiunt.”<sup>233</sup>

While the emblem illustration by the “short parallel lines” artist does not match the coin exactly, it does reflect the description in the epigram (see Figure 18).

Some of the images used for illustrations were already present in the artists’ environment from more recent times. The split-tailed mermaids used by the “gray modelling” artist to illustrate the *Sirenes* emblem are visible on column capitals, medieval bestiaries, and illustrated Melusina tales. Split-tailed or two tailed mermaids were also ubiquitous in Venice as architectural decoration.<sup>234</sup> These clearly inspired the gray modelling artist when illustrating the *Sirenes* emblem (see Figure 19).

## Comparison with other illustrations<sup>235</sup>

With the noted exception of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, published by Paolo’s father, Aldo, in 1499, Aldine publications are generally known for their purity of text without needless illustrations or excess commentary. Nevertheless, there are other examples of woodcut illustrations from Paolo Manuzio’s publications. The alchemical text, *Pretiosa Margarita Novella De Thesauro, Ac Pretiosissimo Philosophorum Lapide*:

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<sup>233</sup> In translation the text reads: “When Caesar had been destroyed, as a sign of liberty regained, this coin was struck by the leaders, Brutus and his brother. In chief are daggers, beside which there also stands a cap, such as slaves receive when set free.” The transcription and translation are provided courtesy of University of Glasgow Library Special Collections, <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A46a047>.

<sup>234</sup> See Alison Luchs, *The Mermaids of Venice: Fantastic Sea Creatures in Venetian Renaissance Art* (London: Harvey Miller, 2010).

<sup>235</sup> The search for comparanda could not be as comprehensive as one would wish due to lack of access to hardcopy collections. A thorough search through digitized collections and some requests to libraries, such as the University of Miami, have been utilized to find the images used for this section. As noted earlier, only an estimated 20% of publications printed during this time were illustrated but an attempt was made to find book illustrations in their texts before moving to other xylographic works printed separately from texts (such as playing cards). Decorated capital letters carved from woodblocks were not considered as they were so often re-used and may have originated in another location or may have been carved decades earlier.

*Artis Huius Divinae Typus [Et] Methodus*,<sup>236</sup> also published by Paolo Manuzio in 1546, has illustrations that can be compared to those of the *Emblematum Libellus*. The illustrations for the alchemical text, numbering twenty-two blocks, all appear in the preface to the text and appear to be the work of a single artist.

While the subject matter is very different, alchemical processes as opposed to emblem illustration, the technical and design style of the “short parallel lines” artist is still clearly visible (see Figure 20). The consistent line width and short, widely spaced parallel lines used for shading as well as the simplified subjects and lack of background are apparent in the alchemical illustrations (see Figure 21). The ongoing work indicates not only that the short parallel lines artist had an existing or continuing relationship with the Aldine press but also that the blocks in this style would probably not have been those stolen from Wechel in Paris.

Other Venetian printers occasionally used woodcut illustrations to supplement the text in their publications. A few publications printed in Venice between 1540 and 1550 have been found to compare with the *Emblematum Libellus* images. These include Vannoccio Biringucci’s *De la pirotechnia* published by Venturino Rossinello in 1540 and a book on writing and text decoration published by Giovanni Antonio and the Pietro brothers de Nicolini da Sabio in 1544.

The Venturino Rossinello and Curtio Navo edition of *De la pirotechnia* was originally published in Venice in 1540. The woodblocks were then re-used by another publisher, Giouan Padoano, for later editions of the same work printed in 1550 and 1558-

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<sup>236</sup> Raimundus Lullus Arnoldus, Rāzī Muḥammad Ibn-Zakarīyā ar-, Michael, and Ianus T Lacinius. Pretiosa, Margarita Novella *De Thesauro, Ac Pretiosissimo Philosophorum Lapide: Artis Huius Divinae Typus [Et] Methodus ; Collectanea Ex Arnaldo, Rhaymundo, Rhasi [Et] Mich. Scoto, Per Janum Lacinium Nunc Primum ... in Lucem Edita* (Venetiis: Aldus, 1546).

1559. The illustrations for this work appear to have been the work of two separate designers (see Figure 22) and one of them may be the artist of the “feathered style” (see Figure 23). The illustrations used in the later chapters of *De la pirotechnia* feature the same long, close, curved, parallel lines for shading, the thick and thin lines for rendering the subjects, and the elastic or curved musculature of the human forms and their clothing. The more skilled rendering of human forms is also reminiscent of the artist of the “feathered style” in the 1546 *Emblematum Libellus*.

Another Venetian publication from 1544 also features illustrations similar in style and execution to the “feathered style” of the *Emblematum Libellus*. *Lo Presente Libro Insegna La Vera Arte Delo Excelle[n]te Scriuere De Diuerse Varie Sorti De Litere* was published in Venice in 1544 by Giovanni Antonio and the Pietro brothers de Nicolini da Sabio. The subjects of the illustrations are, again, quite different from those of the *Emblematum Libellus* but the same closely grouped, long parallel lines and variations in line width are employed to create strong contrasts between shadows and highlights (see Figure 24). The human figure and his clothing also have the more nuanced modeling indicated with the curved parallel lines.

Together, the illustrations of *De la pirotechnia* and *Lo Presente Libro Insegna La Vera Arte Delo Excelle[n]te Scriuere De Diuerse Varie Sorti De Litere* demonstrate the presence of an artist of the “feathered style” working in Venice prior to 1546. The “feathered style” is also reminiscent of the work of Lucantonio degli Uberti, who was a woodcutter working in Venice and Florence from 1503-1557 (see Figure 25).<sup>237</sup> Like the blocks designed by the artist of the “short parallel lines” style, the blocks stolen from

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<sup>237</sup> “Lucantonio degli Uberti,” The British Museum, accessed February 15, 2021, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG49089>.



Wechel in Paris would not have been those of the “feathered style” either. This artist or artistic trend was consistently present in Venice in, 1540, 1544, and then in 1546.

Other useful sources of comparanda are extant examples of *carte da gioco* or playing cards printed in or around Venice during this time.<sup>238</sup> Like the illustrations for emblems, the illustrations for playing cards could be very stylized, heavily symbolic, and rendered in a relatively small format. Playing cards dated from 1500-1525 from the northern region of the Italian peninsula share many features of the “short parallel lines” style (see Figure 26) and playing cards dated from 1525-1550 share many of the features of the “feathered style” (see Figure 27). These could be indications of the work of single artists or workshops, or, more likely, examples of general trends and developments in decorating designs and techniques emanating from several different workshops. In either case, they do illustrate Venetian or Northern Italian styles of design and technique for rendering woodblock images instead of the work from a Paris workshop.

Chrétien Wechel, Alciato’s authorized emblem publisher started printing editions of Alciato’s emblems in 1534.<sup>239</sup> He continued printing new editions, often in various translations to vernacular languages, until 1549 (see Figure 3). Most of the illustrations used for these publications were the original blocks designed by Jean Mercure Jollat (and possibly others) from 1534. Some of the emblems were updated with new images, however, and new blocks were designed and cut to illustrate fresh emblems that Alciato

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<sup>238</sup> For the images of the cards and their description by scholars expert in the field, see *L'Atlante delle Xilografie italiane del Rinascimento*, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, accessed December 28, 2020, <https://archivi.cini.it/storiaarte/archive/IT-SDA-GUI001-000038/atlane-xilografie-italiane-del-rinascimento.html/>.

<sup>239</sup> During the 1540s the Lyonese printer Jacques Moderne was also issuing editions of Alciato’s emblems (see Figure 3). These are believed to be pirate copies because there is no evidence of collaboration between this publishing house and Alciato and the illustrations and text are all rough copies of the Wechel editions. See Bregman, *Emblemata*, 91, and Duplessis, *Les emblèmes d’Alciat*, 3.

provided to Wechel in the 1540s. The more recent illustrations have been selected for comparison with the images from the 1546 Venetian edition as they are more likely than the original 1534 set to have been designed by the same artist who designed the “stolen plates” (see Figure 28). Close inspection of these woodcuts shows that while there is some variety in the design and cutting of these blocks, they do not match any of the four identified styles from the 1546 Venetian edition.

In 1549, Wechel appears to have printed one last edition of Alciato’s emblems. A single known copy of this French translation of the emblems survives (see Figure 29). It was identified by Stephen Rawles in 1995 and contains several of the “new” emblems from the Venetian edition.<sup>240</sup> The epigrams and mottos are identical to the first five from the 1546 Venetian edition and they are presented in the same order. The copy, now at the University of Miami, is incomplete and in poor condition but the prefatory material is intact. Unfortunately, the preface to the 1549 Wechel edition includes no useful information about the fate of the stolen blocks or an explanation of the new emblems. As noted by Rawles, the illustrations for this edition appear to have been developed completely separately from those of the identical epigrams in the Venetian edition (see Figure 30) and other intervening publications with the “new” emblems.<sup>241</sup>

The 1549 Wechel illustrations appear to be the work of a single designer who prefers to depict the figures for the epigrams in indoor or semi-indoor settings when possible, with columns framing the central subject of the composition. When depicting the sea, the waters in the foreground are depicted with waves and whitecaps that resemble

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<sup>240</sup> Stephen Rawles, “An Unrecorded Edition of Jean Lefevre’s Translation of Alciato, with New Translations of Emblems from the “Venice” Collection,” *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 9, no. 1 (1995): 209-216.

<sup>241</sup> Rawles, “An Unrecorded Edition,” 212.

clouds while the water in the background is drawn with smooth, straight lines. A ship on the sea is depicted with a squared stern and deeply arched decks as viewed from the side. Several of these design decisions are identical to those of the most recent additions to the Wechel 1542 edition which were also re-created in the 1546 Venetian edition, *Vino prudentiam augeri* (Wisdom increased by wine) and *Antiquissima quaeque commentitia* (The oldest things are all invented) (see Figure 30).

These five new illustrations could be the “missing plates” from the 1542 edition, copies of the missing plates from the 1542 edition, or entirely new compositions. Regardless of when they were designed and cut, they appear to be the product of the same workshop that had been providing Chrétien Wechel with woodcuts throughout the 1540s. As noted above, the design and technique for illustrations in the Wechel editions do not match any of the four styles identified in the 1546 Venetian edition. In addition, the 1549 illustrations retain the square proportions of the 1542 and earlier Wechel editions, unlike the 1546 Venetian illustrations which have rectangular proportions. Wechel himself died in 1554, just four years after Alciato. His 1549 printing of the emblems was the last known edition from his press and no other new emblems appear to have been published by him.<sup>242</sup>

## Conclusions

Most of the illustrations for the 1546 Venetian edition of the *Emblematum Libellus* can be attributed to one of the four styles: the “short parallel lines” style, the “sketching”

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<sup>242</sup> The years of Chrétien Wechel’s birth and death, 1495-1554, are listed in his authority record in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Gallica online*, Available online: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8400322p.r=Chretien%20Wechel?rk=42918;4#>.

style, the “gray modeling” style, and the “feathered” style. The presence of two of these, the “feathered” style and the “short parallel lines” style, in works published by the Aldine press and other printers in and around Venice during the same period would indicate a Venetian, or at least Northern Italian, origin for those illustrations. The origin of illustrations in the other two styles, “sketching” and “gray modeling,” remains undetermined.

Meanwhile in Paris, the Wechel publishing house was printing illustrated editions of Alciato’s emblems with fresh editions coming out in 1542, 1544, and 1549. This was the publisher complaining of stolen blocks, but there is no evidence that the blocks ever surfaced in Venice. On the contrary, illustrations from these later Wechel editions show the consistent use of a Parisian designer producing new and updated images for these works; while the style of the most recent designs was consistent, it does not correlate with any of the four identified styles of the Venetian edition. It is possible (though unproven) that the stolen illustrations from the 1542 Wechel edition were recovered for the 1549 edition or the designer drew out a fresh set of illustrations to replace those which were stolen, and new woodcuts were made.

This would indicate that the second theory about the source of the materials for publication as proposed by Monica Grünberg-Dröge in her 2001 article on the 1546 Venetian edition of Alciato’s emblems is more likely.<sup>243</sup> This proposal, that Alciato or one of his colleagues provided the material to Manuzio and the printer then had the rest of the elements, such as the illustrations, fabricated in Venice, seems to be the most likely course of events. This is also supported by the need for an author’s certification required for the

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<sup>243</sup> Monika Grünberg-Dröge, “The 1546 Venice Edition of Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*,” in *Emblems from Alciato to the Tattoo*, ed. Peter M. Daly and John Manning (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 6.

Venetian printing privilege. Alciato had to have some degree of direct involvement in the authorization for the publication.

## 5 Conclusions

When describing the problem of defining and identifying the concept of the emblem, John Manning wrote:<sup>244</sup>

The implications for Alciato's 'emblems' are many. This imagery is decorative and designed to impress. It is not for the everyday. There may be, further, a hint of deception, dishonesty, even pretentiousness. In the re-application of these *emblemata*, something plain and ordinary could speciously acquire an appearance of greater worth than it normally had. The decoration disguises the object. It is deliberately made to seem other than it is. Metaphorically, then, *emblemata* are veiled utterances. The rich design appropriated from somewhere else might merely clothe a simple idea with a portentousness it does not deserve. Or, the applied ornament might reveal a hitherto unsuspected significance. Meaning is generated by dislocation: the familiar, everyday or commonplace is changed by virtue of being placed in another context: it has become the bearer of unsuspected meaning, a metonym for a previously hidden reality.

Approaching the 1546 publication of the *Emblematum Libellus* requires an inquisitiveness similar to that needed to address one of its emblems. The various elements of this publication have been crafted and assembled in an intentional way; but while the sources of some of the elements, such as the author and the publisher are known, other elements remain elusive. Evidence for other contributors to the publication, such as the artists, remain vexingly as “veiled utterances” which are not invisible but are obscured just enough to be difficult to completely identify.

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<sup>244</sup> Manning, *The Emblem*, 47.

Correspondence or documentation has yet to be found to explain why Andrea Alciato would decide to change printers for his new set of emblems, but some hypotheses can be developed based on his biography and works. Early in Alciato's career, while the territory in and around Milan was in contention between the French Valois and the Italian Sforza factions, Alciato had probably been a French partisan.<sup>245</sup> His early publications are dedicated almost exclusively to French officials and sponsors and his earliest acceptance of patronage and academic positions are mostly French. Both Barni and Cooper believe that he supported the French during this time, viewing Milan as a traditionally Gallic region as opposed to a territory answerable primarily to families of the Italian peninsula.<sup>246</sup> French scholars, publishers, and sponsors, moreover, had been early and enthusiastic supporters and consumers of the illustrated emblem publications. It was a Parisian publisher, Wechel, who approached Alciato to propose authorized editions of his emblem publications and the epigrams were translated and printed in French years before any other vernacular version was published.<sup>247</sup>

During the last few decades of his life, however, Alciato worked in Italy. From 1533 until his death in early 1550, he moved between several positions at schools located in the northern regions of the Italian peninsula. While in Pavia, he complained to his friend and correspondent, Viglius, that his legal consultation was less sought after

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<sup>245</sup> Richard Cooper, "Alciat entre l'Italie et la France," in *André Alciat (1492-1550) Un humaniste au confluent des savoirs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, ed. Anne and Stéphane Rolet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 242.

<sup>246</sup> Cooper, "Alciat entre l'Italie et la France," 242.

<sup>247</sup> Daniel Russell, "Alciato's Emblems in Renaissance France," *Renaissance Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (Winter, 1981): 535-536.

and he felt a loss of money and prestige.<sup>248</sup> Prestige was paramount for university faculty at the time and if Alciato felt that his was sinking, he would have needed to revive his reputation to stay competitive as a practicing jurist and instructor.<sup>249</sup> The publication of the *Emblematum Libellus* in northern Italy, dedicated to an Italian patron, and published by a renowned Venetian printing firm, may have been an attempt to reinforce his credentials and reputation in northern Italy.

Correspondence or documentation to or from Paolo Manuzio explaining how and why his press was selected for the 1546 publication of Alciato's new emblems is also lacking. The Aldine business model, however, may provide a clue.<sup>250</sup> The Aldine press was based around the publishers identifying themselves as scholars first and printers second.<sup>251</sup> For all three Manuzio publishers, Aldo, Paolo, and Aldo the Younger, participation in scholastic networks was crucial for many of their business functions. They needed to build and maintain their network to obtain fresh materials to print, get editorial assistance for producing editions, find translators for the texts, and promote their publications to investors and buyers. The 1540s were the most productive years of the Aldine press under Paolo Manuzio. This productivity was the result of tireless work in printing materials written by living authors, edited by current scholars, and sponsored by interested patrons. Printing a humanist publication from a renowned scholar who had been an admirer of his father would probably have been a proposition to which it was easy to agree.

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<sup>248</sup> Vaccari, *De Consolatione*, 7.

<sup>249</sup> Grendler, *Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, 16.

<sup>250</sup> Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, 38, 180.

<sup>251</sup> Paul F. Grendler, *Aldus Manutius: Humanist, Teacher, and Printer* (Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 1984), 24, and Angela Nuovo, *Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 5.



The illustrations for the 1546 Venetian edition of the *Emblematum Libellus* remain the most enigmatic elements of the publication. As noted above, the acquisition of the illustrations was probably not the result of a theft in Paris, but rather the work of various Venetian designers and craftsmen. Of the four different styles identified in the text, two of them have been found in other Venetian and Northern Italian publications. The woodcut illustrations for emblems printed by Wechel in Paris after the 1546 Venetian edition are consistent with illustrations created for Wechel in the past, but they do not resemble any of the four styles of the 1546 edition.

This paper has been an attempt to continue the inquiry into this edition with the foundation built by Monika Grünberg-Dröge. More research needs to be conducted to find additional woodcuts designed by the “sketching style” and the “grey modeling style” designers for the 1546 Venetian edition of the *Emblematum Libellus*. Names and active dates still need to be found for all four of the artistic “hands” that contributed woodcuts. This analysis of the publication, with an intense focus on the illustrations, however, does open the door to these further inquiries.

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## Figures

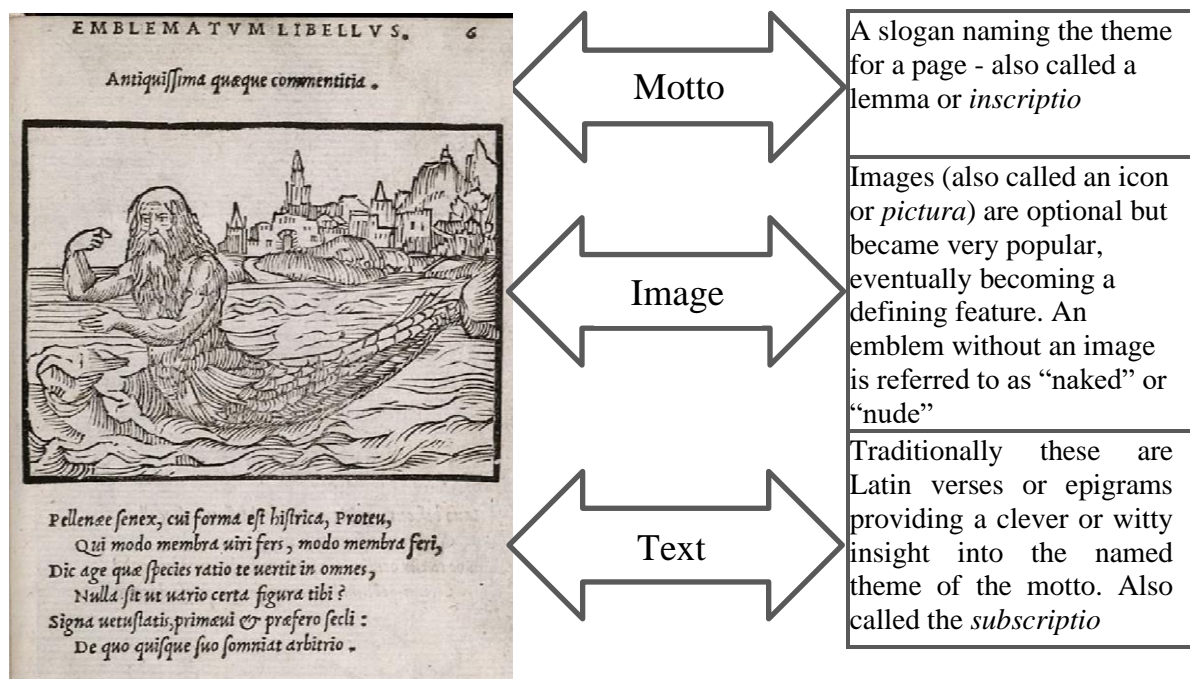


Figure 1: Emblem example mapping the Getty definition to an Alciato example.<sup>252</sup>

<sup>252</sup> Image Source: Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, GUL SM 29, title page, f6r.

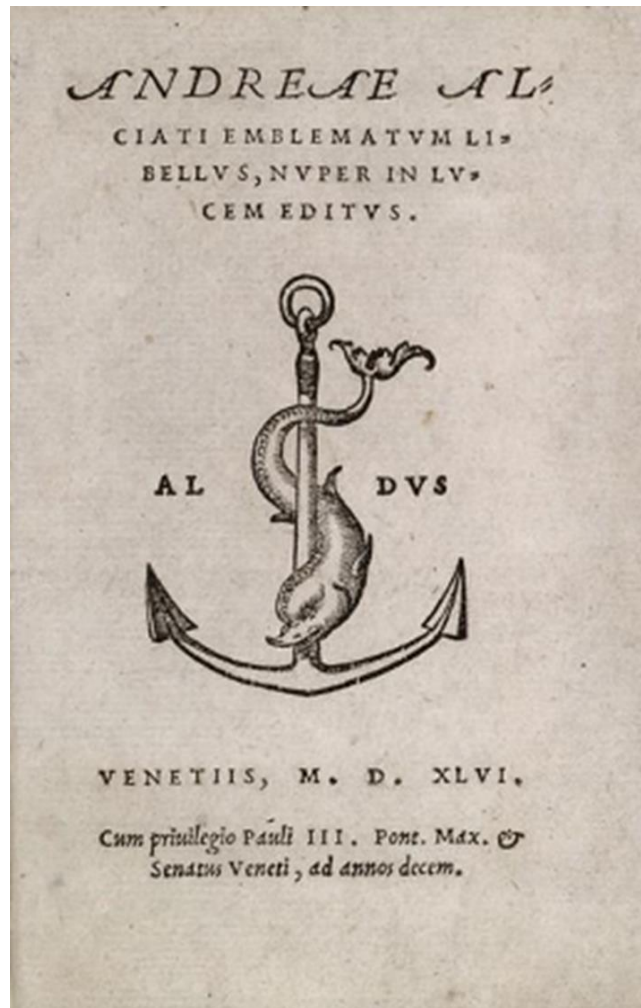


Figure 2: Title page from Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum Libellus*. Venetiis: Apud Aldi filios, 1546.<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> Image courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, GUL SM 29, title page, fA1r.

### Printings and editions of Alciato's work during his lifetime<sup>254</sup>

- 1522 – Milan – no extant copies – may not have been printed – Latin  
1531 – 1534 Augsburg (Steyner) five known printings in Latin: 28 Feb 1531, 6 April 1531, 1532, 1533, 1534 [Green 2-6]  
1534, 1535, 1536 – Paris (Wechel) in Latin [Green 7-9]  
1536 – Paris (Wechel) in French [Green 10]  
1538 – Paris (Wechel) in Latin [Green 11]  
1539 – Paris (Wechel) in French [Green 12]  
1540 – Paris (LeFevre) in French [Green 13]  
1540 – Paris (Wechel) in Latin [Green 14]  
1540 – Paris (Brunet) in French [Green 15]  
1540 – Lyon (Roville) in Spanish [Green 16]  
1540 – Paris (Wechel) in French [Green 17]  
1542 – Paris (Wechel) in French [Green 18]  
1542 – Paris (Wechel) in Latin [Green 19]  
1542 – Paris (Wechel) in German [Green 20]  
1542 – Lyon in Spanish [Green 21]  
1543 – Paris in French [Green 22]  
1544 – Paris (Wechel) in Latin [Green 23]  
1544 – Lyon (Moderne) in French [Green 24]  
1544 – Lyon (Moderne) in Latin [Green 25]  
1545 – Lyon (Moderne) in Latin [Green 26]  
1545 – Lyon (Moderne/Giunta) in Latin [Green 27]  
**1546 – Venice (Aldus) in Latin [Green 28]**  
1547 – Lyon (Tournes, & Gazeium) in Latin [Green 29]  
1548 – Lyon (Sebastia & Gryphius) in Latin [Green 30]  
1548 – Lyon (Roville) in Italian? [Green 31]  
1548 – Lyon (Bonhomme) in Latin [Green 32]  
1548 – Lyon (Tournes) in French [Green 33]  
1548 – Lyon – in Spanish [Green 34]  
1549 – Paris (Wechel) in French [no Green number]  
1549 – Basel (Isingrinium) in Latin [Green 35]  
1549 – Lyon (Roville) in Spanish [Green 36]  
1549 – Lyon (Bonhomme) in Spanish [Green 37]  
1549 – Lyon (Bonhomme) in French [Green 38]  
1549 – Lyon (Roville) in French [Green 39]  
1549 – Lyon (Tournes) in Latin [Green 40]  
1549 – Lyon (Roville) in Italian [Green 41]  
1549 – Lyon (Bonhomme) in Italian [Green 42]  
1549 – Lyon (Bonhomme) in Latin [Green 43]  
1550 – Lyon (Roville) in Latin [Green 44]  
1550 – Lyon (Bonhomme) in Latin [Green 45]  
1550 – by LeFevre in French? [Green 46]

**Figure 3: List of all known editions of Alciato emblem books published during his lifetime.**

<sup>254</sup> Principally drawn from Henry Green, *Andrea Alciati and his Books of Emblems: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study* (London: Trübner & Co., 1872), 103–169.

<b>Census of known copies of 1546 Aldine editions of <i>Emblematum Libellus</i></b>		
<b>Source</b>	<b>Locations (bolded entries have been viewed in person or online)</b>	<b>Total</b>
Green <sup>187</sup> <sup>255</sup>	Thingwall, Althorpe, Berlin (Imperial), Bodleian, British Museum, Keir, Milan (Ambrosian), Venice (National, S. Mark's), Mr. Huth	9
SBN <sup>256</sup>	Biblioteca nazionale Marciana – Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria – Torino, <b>Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana – Roma</b> , <b>Biblioteca della Fondazione Primoli (2 copies) – Roma</b> , Biblioteca nazionale Braidense – Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – Milano, Biblioteca della Società Ligure di Storia Patria – Genova, Biblioteca Statale – Lucca (fragments), <b>Biblioteca nazionale centrale – Firenze</b> , Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna - Bologna	11
WorldCat <sup>257</sup>	UCLA, <b>US Air Force Academy</b> , Univ of Victoria, Newberry Library (Chicago), Univ of Chicago, North Carolina A&T, Univ. of No. Carolina, Greensboro, Virginia Tech, Folger, Univ. of Ottawa, Morgan Library, Princeton Library, Yale Univ., <b>Univ of Glasgow</b> , Univ of Liverpool, Univ of Manchester, Victoria & Albert, Univ of London, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire Sainte-Geneviève, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Institut national d'histoire de l'art. Collections Jacques Doucet, Utrecht University Library, Stadtbibliothek Braunschweig, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt / Zentrale, BM Lyon, Universitätsbibliothek der Eberhard Karls Universität, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Biblioteca Pública Episcopal de Barcelona, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Bibliothek, European University Institute, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, University of Auckland, General Library	40+
Alciato at Glasgow <sup>258</sup>	FRG BSB, Ita BoU, Ita FIBNC, Ita GeBD, Ita MiBA, Ita RBANLC, Ita TBNU, Ita VBNM, UKi BL, UKi GU, UKi LU, UKi OB (2 copies), USA CLU, USA CtY, USA DFo, USA ICN, USA ICU, USA MH, USA NjP	20

**Figure 4: Census of known copies of the 1546 Venetian edition in public or semi-public collections.**

<sup>255</sup> Henry Green, *Andrea Alciati and his Books of Emblems: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study* (London: Trübner & Co., 1872), 145.

<sup>256</sup> Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane e per le Informazioni Bibliografiche, Catalogo del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale [website], <https://opac.sbn.it/>

<sup>257</sup> Online Computer Library Center (OCLC), WorldCat [website], <https://www.worldcat.org/.&qt=advanced&dblist=638#%2528x0%253Abook%2Bx4%253Aprintbook%2529format>.

<sup>258</sup> University of Glasgow, Alciato at Glasgow [website], <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/bib-desc.php?id=A46a>.



Figure 5: Portrait of Paolo Manuzio.<sup>259</sup>



Figure 6: Portrait of Andrea Alciato.<sup>260</sup>

<sup>259</sup> Portrait of Paolo Manuzio. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, New Hollstein Dutch 647 (Print number: RP-P-1909-1070).

<sup>260</sup> Portrait of Andrea Alciato from Boissard, *Icones virorum illustrium* (Frankfurt, 1597-9) vol. ii, R3v.

<b>Biographical Timeline for Alciato and Manuzio</b>			
<b>Year</b>	<b>Alciato<sup>261</sup></b>	<b>Manuzio<sup>262</sup></b>	<b>Other<sup>263</sup></b>
<1500	1492-Alciato born on May 8th		
1500-1510	1504-1506 – basic education in Milan 1507-1510-law studies in Pavia		1506-Charles V succeeds to the kingdom of Castile
1511-1520	1511-1514 - law studies in Bologna 1516 - laurea in civil and canon law 1516-1518 - practiced law in Milan 1518 – moves to Avignon to take up an academic post	1512- Manuzio born in Venice 1515 – Aldo Manuzio dies and Paolo’s upbringing is transferred to his maternal grandfather, Andrea Torresani <sup>264</sup>	1511-Erasmus publishes <i>Praise of Folly</i> 1512- Fifth Lateran Council <sup>265</sup> 1513 – Death of Pope Julius II (della Rovere) and election of Leo X (Medici) 1514-Francis I succeeds to the kingdom of France 1516-Charles V succeeds to the kingdom of Aragon 1517- Martin Luther’s call for reform and debate in Wittenberg
1521-1530	1521 – made Palatine Count by Pope Leo X (Medici) 1521 – briefly moves back to Milan in February to avoid plague in Avignon but returns to Avignon in the fall to resume teaching post	1528 – Andrea Torresani dies 1529 – Applies to the Chancery of the Republic but was rejected (because Aldo, Sr. was not Venetian by birth)	1521-fall of Belgrade to the Ottoman Empire 1521 – election of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor of the German Nation 1521-1522 – death of Pope Leo X and election of Hadrian VI (Boeyens)

<sup>261</sup> Unless other notes, dates and events are drawn from Peter M. Daly, Virginia Callahan, and Simon Cuttler, eds. *Andreas Alciatus: the latin emblems indexes and lists, Volume 1* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1985), 21-23, and Roberto Abbondanza, “Andrea Alciato,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* - Volume 2, Treccani, 1960, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-alciato\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-alciato_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

<sup>262</sup> Unless otherwise noted, dates and events are drawn from Tiziana Sterza, “Paolo Manuzio,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Volume 69, Treccani, 2007, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-manuzio\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-manuzio_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

<sup>263</sup> Unless otherwise noted, dates and events are drawn from Roger Collins, *Keepers of the Keys of Heaven: A History of the Papacy* (New York: Basic Books, 2009).

<sup>264</sup> H. George Fletcher, “Paulus Manutius *In Aedibus Populi Romani*: The Campaign for Rome” in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy*, ed. David S. Zeidberg (Firenze: Olschki, 1998), 288.

<sup>265</sup> Pamela M. Jones, Barbara Wisch and Simon Ditchfield, *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 5.

	<p>1522 – moved to Milan in the Autumn to take up a teaching post, writes letter to Francesco Calvo mentioning his epigrams and the emblems of Aldus Manuzio and other publishers</p> <p>1522-1527 – Charles V (Spain, Holy Roman Empire) and Francis I (France) at war over Milan – causes personal hardship for Alciato (villa burned and Spanish mercenaries billeted in his home)</p> <p>1527 – moves back to Avignon in the fall to take up a teaching post</p> <p>1529 – moves to Bourges in the Spring</p> <p>1529 – gains sponsorship of Francis I and public praise in Erasmus's new editions of <i>Adagia</i></p>		<p>1523 – Death of Pope Hadrian VI and election of Clement VII (Medici)</p> <p>1524 -Theatine religious order founded</p> <p>1525- Battle of Pavia where Francis I is taken prisoner by Charles V</p> <p>1526- Ottoman victory in Hungary at the Battle of Mohács</p> <p>1527 – Sack of Rome</p> <p>1528-Capuchin religious order founded</p> <p>1529 – first Ottoman siege of Vienna (marks the westward limit of Ottoman expansion)</p> <p>1530-Barnabite religious order founded</p>
1531-1540	<p>1531 – Steyner publishes the unauthorized emblem books in Augsburg</p> <p>1533 – Alciato recalled to Milan by Duke Francesco Sforza to serve his appointment as senator</p> <p>1533 – tries unsuccessfully to get a position at the University of Padua with the help of Pietro Bembo</p> <p>1533– leaves Bourges to start teaching in Pavia but is unhappy</p> <p>1534 – works with Parisian printer Chrétien Wechel to publish new</p>	<p>1533 -first evidence of Paolo's engagement with the Aldine Press<sup>266</sup></p> <p>1535-1537 – spends some time in Rome, probably with Maffei and Cervini<sup>267</sup></p> <p>1536 – his mother, Maria Torresano dies and Paolo leaves his home as he does not get along with the uncles from his mother's family</p> <p>1537-1540 – works as a tutor for young patricians in Venice – during this time he receives an offer</p>	<p>1534 – death of Pope Clement VII and election of Paul III (Farnese)</p> <p>1535-Ursulilne religious order founded</p> <p>1535-Turkish fleet sailed into the mouth of the Tiber</p> <p>1539-Jesuit order founded</p>

<sup>266</sup> Fletcher, "Paulus Manutius," 289.

<sup>267</sup> Fletcher, "Paulus Manutius," 303.



	<p>editions of his illustrated emblems</p> <p>August 1537 – moves to Bologna where he is happy and develops friendship with Vasari</p> <p>1541- returns to Pavia unwillingly by order of Charles V</p>	<p>from the Duke of Ferrara to move there with his press (he declines)</p> <p>1539 – Settlement of the courtcase against the Torresani uncle’s for possession and ownership of the italic font, its type, and use of the dolphin and anchor trademark</p> <p>1540 – end of the failed Manuzio-Torresano partnership</p>	
1541-1550	<p>1542 – Wechel edition published with introduction complaining of stolen plates</p> <p>1542-1546 – teaches in Ferrara by invitation of Duke Ercole d’Este</p> <p>1545-6 – Cosimo I de Medici offers several opportunities to Alciato to teach in Pisa (he does not go)</p> <p>1545-6 – receives offers to go to Padua (he does not go)</p> <p>1546 – March, was made an apostolic protonotary and called to Rome (he does not go)</p> <p><b>1546 - June, Aldine edition of emblems published</b></p> <p>1546 – Spanish order Alciato back to Pavia and he moves from Ferrara to Pavia in mid-1546 to take up teaching in Pavia on November 15</p>	<p>1541 – trip to Rome where he meets with Cervini</p> <p>1546 – marries Caterina Odoni on January 14</p> <p>1546 – asked by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to take up an academic position in Rome (this offer disappeared with the death of Paul III in 1549)<sup>268</sup></p> <p><b>1546 - June, Aldine edition of emblems published</b></p> <p>1546-1547 – receives a job offer as tutor to the French Dauphin (he declines)<sup>269</sup></p> <p>1549 – declines an offer for an academic position at the Scuola di San Marco (Venice), Milan, and Padua</p>	<p>1542-revival of the Inquisition under Cardinal Carafa</p> <p>December 1545 – first session of the Council of Trent (1545-1547) convened under Paul III (Farnese)</p> <p>1547 – death of Francis I of France and succession of his son, Henry II</p> <p>1549-1550 – death of Pope Paul III and election of Julius III (Ciocchi del Monte)</p>

<sup>268</sup> Sachet, *Publishing for the Popes*, 194.

<sup>269</sup> Fletcher, “Paulus Manutius,” 310.



	1550 – January 11-12, Alciato dies in Pavia		
1551- 1560		<p>May 31, 1555 – Paolo writes a letter to Cardinal Rodolfo Pio expressing a long-standing desire to work in Rome, the birthplace of his father (Aldo) with the support of the Farnese family<sup>270</sup></p> <p>1557-1561 – works with the short-lived Accademia Veneziana<sup>271</sup></p>	<p>1551-1552 - second session of the Council of Trent (convened under Julius III)<sup>272</sup></p> <p>1553-Mary I succeeds to the throne of England</p> <p>1555-death of Pope Julius III and election of Marcellus II (dies less than a month after election)</p> <p>May 1555 – election of Paul IV (Carafa)</p> <p>1556-Peace of Augsburg which results in Charles V abdicating from various kingdoms</p> <p>1556 – Philip II succeeds Charles V as King of Spain</p> <p>1557-Paul IV authorizes the first Index of Prohibited Books</p> <p>1558 – death of Mary I of England</p> <p>1559 – Death of Pope Paul IV and election of Pius IV (Medici)</p> <p>1559-Death of Henry II of France and succession of his son Francis II</p>
>156 0		<p>1560/1561 – Pius IV offers Manuzio the management of the papal printing press in Rome<sup>273</sup></p> <p>1570-1572 – resigns from the papal press</p>	<p>1562-1563 – third session of the Council of Trent (convened under Pius IV)</p> <p>1564 – Maximilian II becomes Holy Roman Emperor after Ferdinand I</p>

<sup>270</sup> Fletcher, “Paulus Manutius,” 298.

<sup>271</sup> Shanti Graheli, “Strategies and Failures of a Renaissance Publishing Venture: The Accademia Veneziana and the Myth of Aldus,” in *The Afterlife of Aldus: Posthumous Fame, Collectors and the Book Trade*, ed. Jill Kraye and Paolo Sachet (London Warburg Institute 2018), 21-22.

<sup>272</sup> Fletcher, “Paulus Manutius,” 293.

<sup>273</sup> Sachet, *Publishing for the Popes*, 197.

		<p>and leaves Rome and goes to Venice<sup>274</sup></p> <p>1571 – P. Manuzio is knighted by the Holy Roman Emperor<sup>275</sup></p> <p>1572-1573 – Manuzio travels through Pieve di Sacco and Milan before returning to Rome<sup>276</sup></p> <p>1574 – dies on April 6 in Rome</p>	<p>1565-1566-Death of Pope Pius IV and election of Pius V (Ghislieri)</p> <p>1570-Queen Elizabeth I of England is excommunicated</p> <p>1571 – Holy League formed between the papacy, Spain, and Venice and the Turks are defeated at the Battle of Lepanto</p>
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**Figure 7: Timeline for Alciato, Manuzio, and assorted impactful events.**

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<sup>274</sup> Sachet, *Publishing for the Popes*, 197.

<sup>275</sup> Fletcher, “Paulus Manutius,” 289.

<sup>276</sup> Fletcher, “Paulus Manutius,” 289.

### 1546 Publications by Paolo Manuzio<sup>277</sup>

1. Commentaria in primam D. Joannis Epistolam Jo. Baptista Folengio Monacho Mantuano Auctore ...
2. Ammonii Hermaea in Quinque voces Porphyrii Commentarius, Graece
3. Ammonii Hermaea in Praedicamenta Aristotelis commentaries, & Aristotelis Vita, graece
4. Ammonii Hermaea & Margentini in librum Aristotelis de Interpretatione Commentarius, Graece
5. Niccolò Liburno le Occorrenze Umane ...
6. Rime del Petrarca
7. Rhetoricum ad C. Herennium: In omnes de arte Rhetorica M. Tullii Ciceronis libros ..., Vol. III
8. M. Tullii Ciceronis omnia rhetoricorum opera
9. M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes
10. M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolae familiares
11. M.T. Ciceronis de Philosophia prima pars ...
12. M.T. Ciceronis de Philosophia secunda pars ...
13. Ciceronis Defensiones contra Coelii Calcagnini Disquisitiones in ejus Officia ...
14. Ferdinandi Abduensis ... ad omnes iuris ciuilis interpretes ...
15. Il Settimo di Vergilio fedelmente dal vero senso ...
16. Philippi Pendemontii Commentarius in Horatium de Arte Poetica ...
17. Le comedie di Terentio uolgari, di nuouo ricorrette, et a miglior tradottione ridotte
18. Scipionis. Capicii de Principiis rerum libri duo ...
19. Il Petrarca. In Venetia ...
- 20. Andrea Alciati emblemata cum figuris**
21. Niccolò Machiavelli. Il Principe
22. Niccolò Machiavelli. Libro dell' arte della guerra
23. Niccolò Machiavelli. Discorso di
24. Niccolò Machiavelli. Historie
25. Dialoghi di m. Speron Speroni
26. Lettere Volgari ...v.1 ...
27. Lettere Volgari ...v.2 ...
28. Vita ... di Marc' Aurelio
29. Pretiosa Margarita novella de thesavro ac pretiosissimo philosophorum lapide ...

**Figure 8: List of Paolo Manuzio's known 1546 publications in random order. The subject of this paper is highlighted in red.**

<sup>277</sup> Luigi Raffaelli, *Serie dell'edizioni Aldine: per ordine cronologico ed alfabetico* (In Pisa: presso Luigi Raffaelli, 1790), Antoine-Augustin Renouard, Paul Renouard, and Jules Renouard, *Annales De L'imprimerie Des Alde Ou Histoire Des Trois Manuce Et De Leurs éditions*, 3e éd. (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1834), 135-139, and an online search of the Catalogo del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale (SBN), <https://opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opaclib>.

Motto	lf/ pg	Artist/ Style	Visual Elements	References <sup>278</sup>
1r title page, 1v blank, 2r-2v introductory/prefatory material				
In divites publico malo (In the rich state)	3r		Human	Erasmus Adagia 2579
In Iuventam (Youth)	3v		human/ statues	Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i> , 3.421; 4.18; Epistulae (Heroides), 1.14.31, <i>Greek Anthology</i> 16.185
In pudoris statuum (The statue of modesty)	4r	light feathery	Human	Pausanias, <i>Periegesis</i> , 3.20.10
Sirenes (Sirens)	4v	gray modelling	Human	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> , 3.427, <i>Odyssey</i> , 12.39ff. and 165ff, <i>Periegesis</i> , 9.34.2.
Ficta religio (False religion)	5r	gray modelling	Human Typo in running title	Revelation 17:3
Gratiae (Graces)	5v	light feathery	Human	Erasmus, <i>Adagia</i> , 1812, 791, 1650
Antiquissima quaeque commentitia (The oldest things are all invented)	6r		Human	<i>Odyssey</i> , 4.400, Vergil, <i>Georgics</i> , 4.391, 4.405-10, 440-2, Erasmus, <i>Adagia</i> , 1174
Prudentes (The Wise)	6v	gray modelling	Human	Persius, <i>Satirae</i> , 1.58-62
In fraudulentos (Deceivers)	7r	sketching	Animal	Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i> , 5.461, Pliny, <i>Natural History</i> , 29.22.73
Luxuriosorum opes (Wealth of the dissipated)	7v	simple solid	tree, birds	<i>Anthologia Graeca</i> , 12.185
In desciscentes (On those who turn traitor)	8r	sketching	Human	Erasmus, <i>Adagia</i> , 920
Ex damno alterius, alterius utilitas (One man's loss is another man's gain)	8v	light feathery	Animal	Aesop 200 and 203
End of gathering/signature A – Start of gathering/signature B				
Mal parta, mal dilabuntur (Ill gotten, ill spent)	9r	sketching	Bird	Cicero, <i>Philippics</i> , 2.65
Scyphus Nestoris (Nestor's cup)	9v		still life	Homer, <i>Iliad</i> , 11.632-7, Athenaeus, <i>Deipnosophistae</i> , 11.487

<sup>278</sup> Unless otherwise noted, literary references have been documented by the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections Alciato at Glasgow project, available online, <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/books.php?id=A46a&o=> and references to the *Anthologies* were compiled from previous research by Mason Tung, "Revisiting Alciato and The Greek Anthology: A Documentary Note," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 14, (2006): 335-347.

Senex puellam amans (An old man in love with a girl)	10r	simple solid	bird, human	Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae, 13.592b
Cavendum meretricibus (Beware of whores)	10v	gray modelling	Human	Metamorphoses, 14.320, Ovid, Metamorphoses, 14.51, Homer, Odyssey, 10.229, Anthologia Graeca, 10.50
Strenuorum immortale nomen (Achievers have an immortal name)	11r		still life	Pliny, Natural History, 21.23.47, Iliad, 3.229, <i>Greek Anthology</i> , 7.225
Concordia insuperabilis (Concord is insuperable)	11v	gray modelling	Human	Hercules
Cuculi (Cuckoos)	12r		bird, tree	Pliny, Natural History, 18.66.249, Horace, Satires, 1.7.31
Nobiles & generosi (High born and noble)	12v	gray modelling	Human	Ovid, Fastii, 2.290, Vergil, Aeneid, 8.; Plutarch, Quaestiones Romanae, 76, Isidore, Etymologiae (Origines), 19.34.4 and 10
Ignavi (Good for nothing)	13r		Bird	Pausanias, 10.29.2; Aelian, De natura animalium 5.36; Aristotle, Historia animalium, 9.18.617, Martial, Epigrams, 2.7.7.; 4.78.9: Phaedrus, Fables, 2.5.1. Cf. Erasmus, Adagia, 543
Facundia difficilis (Eloquence is hard)	13v	sketching	still life, flower	Odyssey, 10.270, Erasmus, De Copia (Loeb edition, 1.91 D
Insani gladius (The madman's sword)	14r	gray modelling	Human Typo in running title	Zenobius, Proverbs, 1.43; Horace, Satires, 2.3.197-8; Erasmus, Adagia, 646, Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae, 4.6.5
Bonis auspiciis incipiendum (Begin with good auspices)	14v		Animal	Erasmus, Adagia, 173
Duodecim certamina Herculis (The twelve labours of Hercules)	15r	gray modelling	Human	Hercules, Anthologia Graeca, 16.92, Ennius (Epigrams, Loeb edition, p. 402
In nothos (Bastards)	15v	gray modelling	Human	Hercules, Ovid, Metamorphoses, 9.156ff; Cicero, De officiis, 3.25, Pausanias, 9.25.2, Erasmus, Adagia, 2070
Sapientia humana, stultitia est Apud Deum (The Wisdom of Man is folly to God)	16r	gray modelling	human	identical to 34r, Anthologia Graeca, 16.115-6, Macrobius, Saturnalia, 1.20.9
In detractores (Against his detractors)	16v	sketching	still life, insect, hand	Erasmus, Adagia, 828 and 2660, Alciato's life experience

End of gathering/signature B – Start of gathering/signature C				
Imparitas (Inferiority)	17r	sketching	Bird	Pindar, Nemean Odes, 3.139-144, Erasmus, Adagia, 820 and 1988
Amuletum Veneris (A charm against love)	17v	simple solid	still life, plant	Ovid, Metamorphoses, 10.529 and 705, Pliny, Natural History, 19.44.154
Cupressus (Cypress)	18r	sketching	Tree	Pliny, Natural History, 20.44.113, Erasmus, Adagia, 4210
Quercus (Oak)	18v	sketching	Tree	Pliny, Natural History, 16.3.7, Lucretius, De Rerum natura, 5.939; Vergil, Georgics, 1.7; Ovid, Metamorphoses, 1.106
Laurus (Laurel)	19r	sketching	Tree	historical event from Alciato's lifetime, Emperor Charles V took Tunis in North Africa in 1535
Abies (Fir)	19v	sketching	Tree	Anthologia Graeca, 9.30ff, 105
Picea (Pine)	20r	sketching	Tree	seems to be a continuation of the previous
Cotonea (Quince)	20v		Tree	Plutarch, Coniugalia praecepta, Moralia 138 D
Ilex (Holm-oak)	21r	simple solid	Tree	Pliny, Natural History, 16.73.186
Hedera (Oak)	21v	simple solid	Tree	Dionysiaca, 12.188, Pliny, Natural History, 16.62.147
Buxus (Boxwood)	22r		Tree	Ovid, Metamorphoses, 4.30, Ovid, Ars Amatoria, 1.729
Malus medica (Citron)	22v	simple solid	Tree	'bitter-sweet', a concept often applied to Love in Hellenistic epigrams
Populus alba (White poplar)	23r	simple solid	Tree	Hercules, Pausanias, Periegesis, 5.14.2, Pliny, Natural History, 16.36.87, Macrobius, Saturnalia, 1.20.6 and 10
Salix (Willow)	23v		Tree	Homer, Odyssey, 10.510, Pliny, Natural History, 16.46.110, Pliny, Natural History, 31.13.16; Ovid, Metamorphoses, 15.322, Erasmus, Parabolae, p. 268 and p. 230
Amygdalus (Almond)	24r	sketching	Tree	Institutio oratoria, 1.3.3, Alciato's personal experience
Morus (Mulberry)	24v		Tree	Natural History, 16.25.102, contrast/continuation of previous emblem
End of gathering/signature C – Start of gathering/signature D				
Litera occidit, spiritus vivificat (The letter kills but the spirit gives life)	25r	gray modelling	Human	II Corinthians 3:6, Ovid, Metamorphoses, 3.99

Salus publica (The nation's health)	25v	simple solid	still life, animals	Ovid, Metamorphoses, 15.626
Respublica liberate (The republic restored to freedom)	26r	simple solid	still life	based on Alciato life experience or direct observation
Adversus naturam peccantes (Those sinning against nature)	26v	gray modelling	Human	often censored
Furor, & rabies (Fury and madness)	27r	simple solid	still life, animal	Pausanias, Periegesis, 5.19.4 and Homer, Iliad, 1.103-4
Nupta contagioso (A woman married to a diseased man)	27v	sketching	Human	Vergil, Georgics, 3.513, Vergil, Aeneid, 8.483-88, and Alciato lifetime observations (syphilis)
Consilarii Principum (Counsellors of princes)	28r	gray modelling	Human	unspecified ancient
Greek [Νῆφε, καὶ μέμνησ' ἄπιστεῖν. ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.] (Be sober and remember to withhold belief. These are the sinews of the mind)	28v	simple solid	still life, hand	Erasmus, Adagia, 73 (Oculatae manus), Polybius, The Histories, 18.40, Plautus, Asinaria, 202, Plutarch, De garrulitate, 511C
Greek [Πῇ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξας; τί μοι δέον, οὐκ ἐτελέσθαι] (Where have I transgressed? What have I committed? What thing incumbent on me has been left undone?)	29r	simple solid	Bird	Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers, 8.20, the Suda
Greek [Ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου] (Hold on and hold off)	29v	gray modelling	Animal	Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae, 17.19.5-6 and folk practice?
In sordidos (Disgusting people)	30r	sketching	Bird	Aelian, De natura animalium, 2.35; Cicero, De natura deorum, 2.126; Pliny, Natural History, 8.41.97, Ovid, Ibis, 53
In colores (On colors) (epigram spans both pages)	30v - 31r	sketching	Plants	Ovid, Ex Ponto, 16.263, Erasmus, Adagia, 115
Vigilantia, & custodia (Vigilance and protection)	31v	simple solid	animal, building	Isidore, Etymologiae, 12.2.5, Aelian, De natura animalium, 5.39
Dicta septem sapientum (Sayings of the Seven Sages)	32r - 32v	light feathery	Human	Anthologia Graeca, 9.366, Pliny, Natural History, 20.71.182, Plutarch, Solon, 27-8, Erasmus, Adagia, 505 and 597

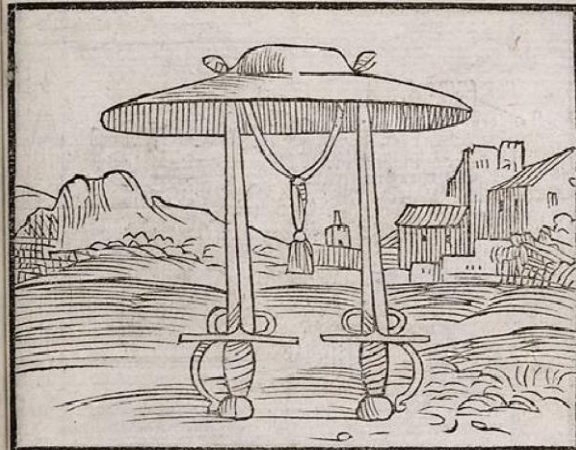
(epigram spans both pages)				
End of gathering/signature D – Start of gathering/signature E				
Terminus (Terminus)	33r	gray modelling	human, statue	Erasmus, Epistulae, 1092
In dies Meliora (Getting better every day)	33v	light feathery	still life, animal	Martial, Epigrams, 14.71, personal experience
Luxuria (Licentiousness)	34r	gray modelling	Human identical to 16r	(7 deadly sins) Ovid, Ars amatoria, 4.22. Pliny, Natural History, 10.83.182 and 19.44.154, Horace, Odes, 3.18.1
Superbia (Pride)	34v	gray modelling	Human	(7 deadly sins), Ausonius, Epigrams, 63.2 and Anthologia Graeca, 16.130, Metamorphoses, 6.165, Erasmus, Adagia, 2233
Desidia (Idleness)	35r	gray modelling	Human	(7 deadly sins), Erasmus, Adagia, 1452, Matthew 5:15
Invidia (Envy)	35v	gray modelling	human, animal	(7 deadly sins), Ovid, Metamorphoses, 2.760
Avaritia (Avarice)	36r	gray modelling	Human	(7 deadly sins), Quintilian, Institutio oratoria, 8.5.5, Erasmus, Adagia, 1514
Gula (Gluttony)	36v	gray modelling	human, bird	(7 deadly sins), Pliny, Natural History, 10.66.131, Erasmus, Adagia, 1133, Seneca, De consolatione, 10.8-9, Martial, Epigrams, 3.22
Maledicentia [naked] (Evil speaking)	37r		Typo in running title	Horace, Ars Poetica, 79, Erasmus, Adagia, 60, Anthologia Graeca, 7.71
Contra [naked] (A contrary view)	37r			Pliny, Natural History, 11.21.74 and 17.52, Aelian, De natura animalium, 5.10, Seneca, De Clementia, 1.19; Erasmus, Adagia, 2601
Aemulatio impar (Competing on unequal terms)	37v	sketching	Birds	Aristotle, Historia animalium, 9.1.609, Pliny, Natural History, 9.30.65, Erasmus, Parabolae, p. 253, Erasmus, Adagia, 4100, <i>Greek Anthology</i> , 7.71
Ira (Rage)	38r	light feathery	still life, hand	(7 deadly sins), Pliny, Natural History, 8.16.49, Aelian, De natura animalium, 5.39
Filautia (Self-satisfaction)	38v	gray modelling	Human	Ovid, Metamorphoses, 3.344, Pliny, Natural History, 21.75.128
Lascivia (Wantonness)	39r		Animal	Suda, Apostolius, Proverbs, 11,87
Temeritas (Rashness)	39v	light feathery	Human	Plato, Phaedrus, 246



Garrulitas (Garrulity)	40r	sketching	Bird	Aelian, De natura animalium, 9.17, Ovid, Metamorphoses, 6.424, <i>Greek Anthology</i> , 5.273
Vino prudentiam augeri (Wisdom increased by wine)	40v	light feathery	human, statue	Anthologia Graeca, 16.183 and general ancient sources
End of gathering/signature E – Start of gathering/signature F				
Prudens, sed insacundus (Wise, but lacking eloquence)	41r	sketching	Bird	Ovid, Metamorphoses, 2.562-5
Vis naturae (The power of nature)	41v	gray modelling	Human	general ancient
Ars Naturam adiuuans (Art assisting nature)	42r		human, statue,	general ancient and Fortune
Fatuitas (Stupidity)	42v	sketching	Bird	Pliny, Natural History, 11.50.137 and, Plutarch, Moralia, Bruta animalia ratione uti, 951E
Dolus in suos (Treachery against one's own kind)	43r		Bird	Aesop, Fables, 282
Nil reliqui (Nothing left)	43v	light feathery	Insect	personal experience (plague of locusts in Northern Italy in 1541-2)
Inanis impetus (Antagonism that achieves nothing)	44r	light feathery	Animal	Plutarch, De facie in orbe lunae, Moralia, 920
In garrulum & gulosum (Against a noisy and gluttonous fellow)	44v	sketching	Bird	Pliny, Natural History, 10.66.131, Erasmus, Adagia, 1133, Seneca, De consolatione, 10.8-9, Martial, Epigrams, 3.22
Opulenti haereditas (The rich man's legacy)	45r	gray modelling	Human	Homer, Iliad, 16.784, Erasmus, Adagia, 614
Mediolanum (Milan) [image on 45v]	46r		Animal	personal experience, Claudian, Epithalamium, 180ff; Sidonius Apollinaris, Epistulae 7.17.2; Isidore, Etymologiae, 15.1
Numquam procrastinandum (Never procrastinate) [image on 46v]	47r	gray modelling	still life, animal	personal experience, Erasmus, Adagia, 3400, Pliny, Natural History, 8.16.39
47v register, 48r Aldine emblem (dolphin and anchor), 48v blank				

**Figure 9: Contents of the 1546 *Emblematum Libellus*.**

## “short parallel lines” style examples<sup>279</sup>



*Resp. liberate*  
(26r)



*Furor &  
rabies*  
(27r)



*Salus publica*  
(25v)

### Technique:

- short parallel lines for shading
- little variation in line thickness

### Design:

- large central subjects that loom in the foreground.
- elements are highly symbolic and do not carry a narrative theme
- simple landscapes behind the subjects of the illustrations
- little or no attempt to depict the sky
- subjects appear as still-lives
- often characterized by the use of symmetry in the central elements

Figure 10: Examples of the “short parallel lines style.”

<sup>279</sup> Images courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections.

**“sketching” style examples<sup>280</sup>**



*Facundia  
difficilis*  
(13v)

**Technique:**

- longer thick lines
- often cross and overlap each other
- more likely to be cross-hatching in the depictions of shadows



*Cupressus*  
(18r)

**Design:**

- background is more detailed
- little more foliage around the foreground
- the sky is often depicted with long, parallel lines
- Subjects tend to be flora or fauna, usually birds



*In sordidos*  
(30r)

**Figure 11: Examples of the “sketching style.”**

<sup>280</sup> Images courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections.



**“gray modeling style”<sup>281</sup>**



*Sirenes*  
(4v)



*Superbia*  
(34v)



*Ars naturam  
adiuuans*  
(42r)

**Technique:**

- more varied line width - both thick/black and thin/gray lines
- lines can be parallel or criss-cross, but not often
- sketching style when depicting fauna, water, and other natural features
- parallel lines are also used for architectural details and shading

**Design:**

- subjects tend to be human figures or statues and creatures with human features
- they do not figure as largely in the foreground
- tend to have a more detailed setting

**Figure 12: Examples of the “gray modeling style.”**

<sup>281</sup> Images courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections.

**“feathered style”<sup>282</sup>**



*In Pudoris statuam*  
(f4r)



*Gratie* (f5v)



*Inanis impetus*  
(f44r)

**Technique:**

- Thick and thin lines
- Gentle shading with, longer, parallel, curved lines
- Smoother lines
- Lines for shading are much closer together

**Design:**

- Minimal background
- Figures are more elastic and gracefully drawn
- Animals or human figures are preferred

**Figure 13: Examples of the “feathered style.”**

<sup>282</sup> Images courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections.





**Figure 14: *Amuleti Veneris* (A charm against love).<sup>283</sup>**



*Los Emblemas* (1549), Lyon, pg 185 (fM5r) *Emblemata* (1621), Padua, pg 340 (fY2v)

**Figure 15: Later illustrations of *Amuleti Veneris*.<sup>284</sup>**

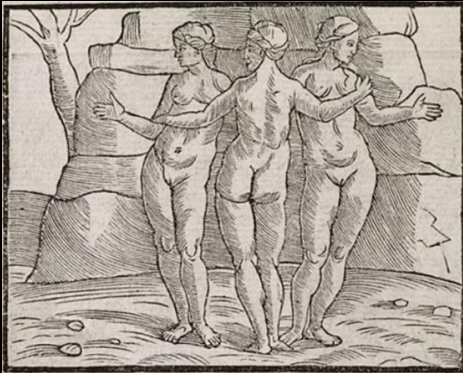
<sup>283</sup> Image Source: Glasgow: University of Glasgow, GUL SM 29, f17v, Courtesy of University of Glasgow Library Special Collections.

<sup>284</sup> Images courtesy of University of Glasgow Library Special Collections.



Figure 16: *Littera occidit, spiritus vivificat* (The letter kills but the spirit gives life).<sup>285</sup>

### The Three Graces



Andrea Alciati, *Emblematum Libellus*. Venetiis: Apud Aldi filios, 1546. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, GUL SM 29, f5r. Image courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections



*Tre Grazie* by Raphael, 1504-1505. Now at the Musée Condé, Chantilly, France.



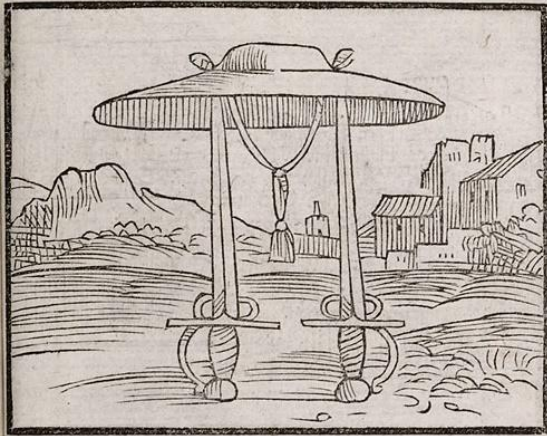
Statue of the Three Graces in the Piccolomini Library, Siena Cathedral. Image from Alamy (Inv: IY01674792)

Figure 17: The *Gratiae* emblem and its precedents.

<sup>285</sup> Image Source: Glasgow: University of Glasgow, GUL SM 29, f25r, courtesy of University of Glasgow Library Special Collections.



## *Respublica liberata*



Andrea Alciati, *Emblematum Libellus*. Venetiis: Apud Aldi filios, 1546. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, GUL SM 29, f26r. Image courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections



Reverse of the "Ides of March" denarius, struck by Marcus Junius Brutus in 43-2 BC; the reverse refers to Julius Caesar's assassination on March 15, 44 BC. Image Source: Encyclopedia Britannica Online

**Figure 18: The *Respublica liberata* emblem and its precedent.**

## *The Sirenes*



Andrea Alciati, *Emblematum Libellus*. Venetiis: Apud Aldi filios, 1546. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, GUL SM 29, f4v. Image courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections.



Detail from a balcony decoration of the Andrea Odoni house in Venice, c. 1520s from Alison Luchs, *The Mermaids of Venice: Fantastic Sea Creatures in Venetian Renaissance Art.* London: Harvey Miller, 2010.



Twelfth Century column capital from the cathedral in Parma. Image source: *Terre e Storie*, (Image source: [http://www.terrestorie.com/posti/parma/parma\\_uk.htm](http://www.terrestorie.com/posti/parma/parma_uk.htm)).

**Figure 19: The *Sirenes* emblem and its precedents.**





Figure 20: Two illustrations from *Pretiosa Margarita Novella De Thesauro, Ac Pretiosissimo Philosophorum Lapide: Artis Huius Divinae Typus [Et] Methodus ....*<sup>286</sup>



Illustration from the preface of *Ac Pretiosissimo Philosophorum Lapide*, 1546. Image in the public domain, courtesy of the Getty Research Institute.<sup>287</sup>



*Salus publica* from *Emblematum Libellus*, 1546, f25v  
Image courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections.

Figure 21: Comparison of an illustration from *Ac Pretiosissimo Philosophorum Lapide...* and an illustration from the “short parallel lines” artist of the *Emblematum Libellus*.

<sup>286</sup> Raimundus Lullus Arnoldus, Rāzī Muḥammad Ibn-Zakārīyā ar-, Michael, and Ianus T Lacinius. *Pretiosa Margarita Novella De Thesauro, Ac Pretiosissimo Philosophorum Lapide: Artis Huius Divinae Typus [Et] Methodus ; Collectanea Ex Arnaldo, Rhaymundo, Rhasi [Et] Mich. Scoto, Per Janum Lacinium Nunc Primum ... in Lucem Edita* (Venetiis: Aldus, 1546), <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/gri.ark:/13960/t1kh19z1n>, Image courtesy of the Getty Research Institute.

<sup>287</sup> Arnoldus, *Philosophorum Lapide*, 1546.



Illustration from the prefatory section, appears to be the work of a less skilled artist.

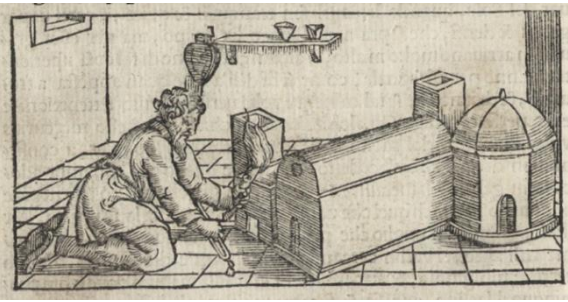


Illustration from f24v, shows the long parallel lines of the feathered style.

**Figure 22: Examples of the work from different artists from Vannoccio Biringucci's *De La Pirotechnia* published in Venice 1540.**



Image from f46r of *De La Pirotechnia*, 1540.  
Image courtesy of the Getty Institute.<sup>289</sup>



Gratie image from f5v of the *Emblematum Libellus*, 1546.  
Image courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections.

**Figure 23: Comparison of a 1540 Venetian illustration and the “feathered style” work**

<sup>288</sup> Vannoccio Biringucci, *De La Pirotechnia Libri X.: Dove Ampiamente Si Tratta Non Solo Di Ogni Sorte & Diuersita Di Miniere, Ma Anchora Quanto Si Ricerca Intorno À La Prattica Di Quelle Cose, Di Quel Che Si Appartiene À L'arte De La Fusione,ouer Gitto De Metalli, Come D'ogni Altra Cosa Simile À Questa* (Stampata in Venetia: Per Venturino Rossinello, ad instantia di Curtio Nauo & fratelli, 1540), <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/gri.ark:/13960/t2896gw6j>. Images courtesy the Getty Research Institute.

<sup>289</sup> Biringucci, *De La Pirotechnia*, f46r.





Figure from an unnumbered leaf in *Lo Presente Libro Insegna La Vera Arte Delo Excelle[n]te Scriuere De Diuerse Varie Sorti De Litere...*, 1544. Image courtesy of the Getty Research Institute.<sup>290</sup>



Image from *Inanis impetus*, f44r, in the 1546 *Emblemata Libellus*. Image courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections.

**Figure 24: Comparison of a 1544 Venetian illustration and *Inanis impetus* in the 1546 *Emblemata Libellus*.**

<sup>290</sup> Giovanni Antonio Tagliente and Eustachio Celebrino, *Lo Presente Libro Insegna La Vera Arte Delo Excelle[n]te Scriuere De Diuerse Varie Sorti De Litere...* (In Vinegia: Per Giouann'Antonio e Pietro fratelli de Nicolini da Sabio, 1544), <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/gri.ark:/13960/t19k99t0m>.



**Figure 25: *The Virgin and Child between St John the Baptist and St Gregory the Great* by Lucantonio degli Uberti.<sup>291</sup>**

<sup>291</sup> “The Virgin and Child between St John the Baptist and St Gregory the Great,” London: British Museum: 1927,0614.176, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1927-0614-176](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1927-0614-176). Interestingly, this work has been identified as a “Florentine style” by the specialists at the British Museum.

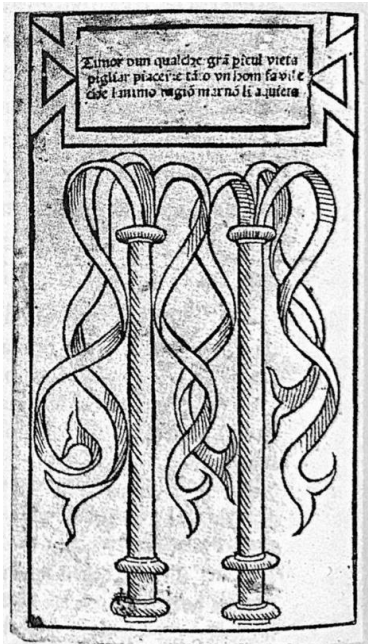


Figure 26: Playing card, *Due di Timore* (Two of Fear), dated 1500-1525.<sup>292</sup>



Figure 27: Playing card, *Proserpina*, dated 1525-1550.<sup>293</sup>

<sup>292</sup> Image available through the “L’Atlante delle xilografie italiane del Rinascimento,” Fondazione Giorgio Cini online: item ALU.0596, <https://archivi.cini.it/storiaarte/detail/31937/carta-gioco-31937>.

<sup>293</sup> Image available through “L’Atlante delle xilografie italiane del Rinascimento,” Fondazione Giorgio Cini online: item ALU.0777.1, <https://archivi.cini.it/storiaarte/detail/29486/carta-gioco-29486.html>.



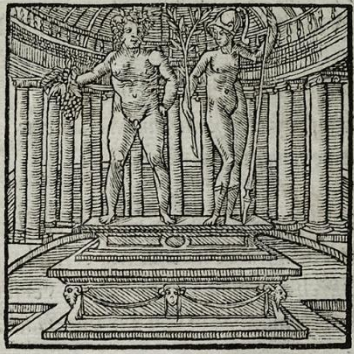
## 1542 Wechel illustrations<sup>294</sup>



*In  
adulatores  
(Flatterers)  
fN2v*



*Iusta vindicta  
(Just  
recompense)  
fF5v*



*Vino  
prudentiam  
augeri  
(Wisdom  
increased  
by wine)  
fQ5v*



*Antiquissima  
quaeque  
commentitia  
(The oldest  
things are all  
invented)  
fQ6v*



*In avaros, vel quibus melior condi-  
tio ab extraneis offertur.  
(On the avaricious; or being treated better  
by strangers)  
fC3v*

Figure 28: Selected illustrations from the 1542 Wechel editions of the Alciato's emblems.

<sup>294</sup> All images and translations courtesy of University of Glasgow Library Special Collections.

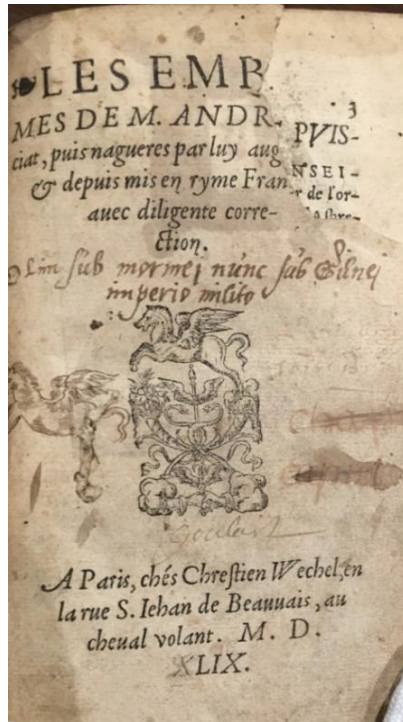



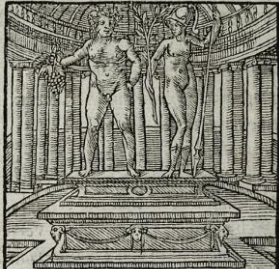


Figure 29: Title page of the single known copy of Wechel's 1549 edition of Alciato's emblems.<sup>295</sup>

Venice 1546 <sup>296</sup>	Wechel 1542 <sup>297</sup> and 1549 <sup>298</sup>
	<p><i>Antiquissima quaeque commentitia</i> (The oldest things are all invented)</p> <p>left: f6r, right: p. 252 (1542)</p> 
	<p><i>Vino prudentiam augeri</i> (Wisdom increased by wine)</p> <p>left: f40v, right: p. 250 (1542)</p> 

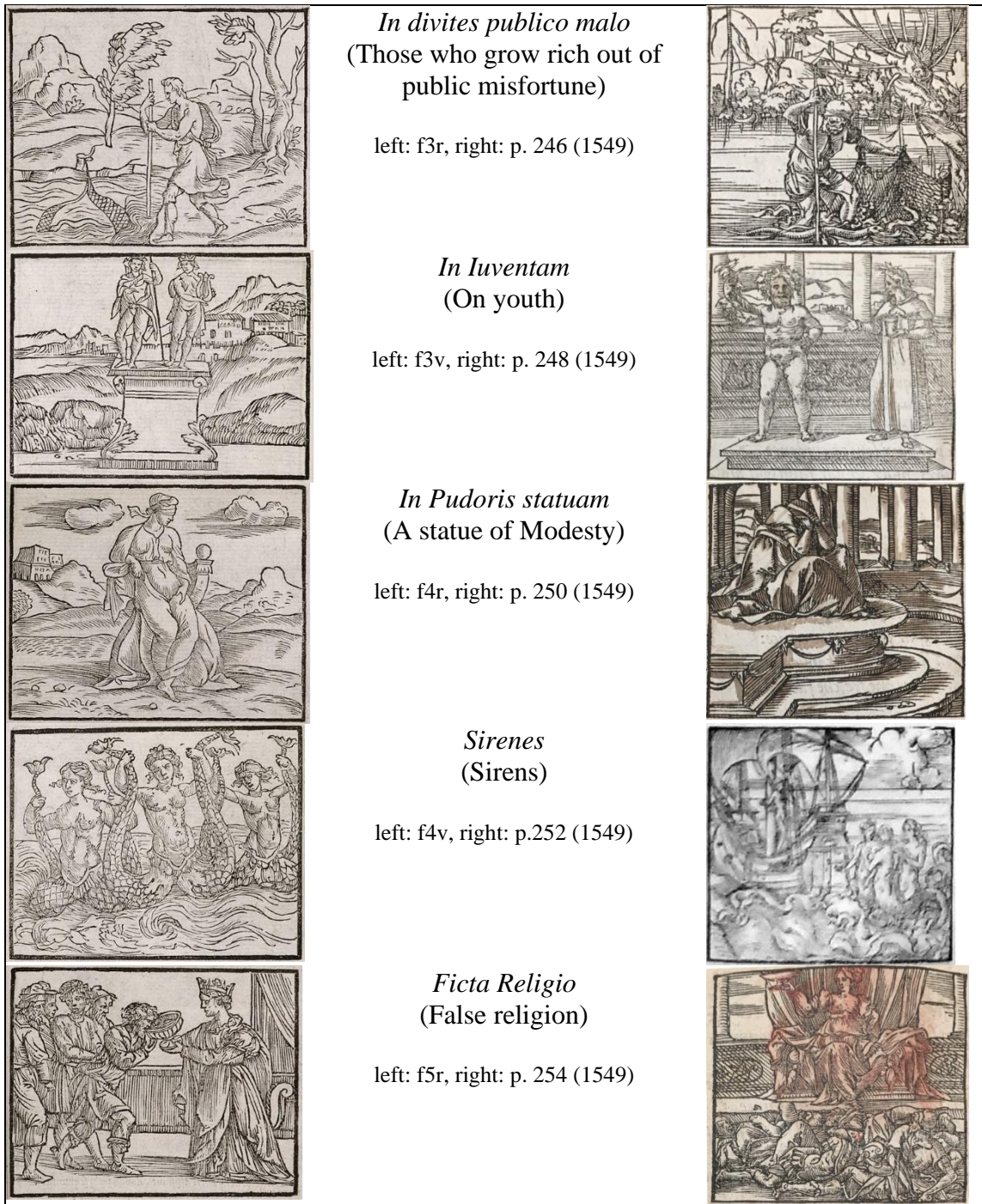
<sup>295</sup> Images courtesy of the University of Miami Special Collections.

<sup>296</sup> Images and translations courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections, <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/index.php>.

<sup>297</sup> Images and translations courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections, <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/index.php>.

<sup>298</sup> Images courtesy of the University of Miami Library Special Collections. Miami: University of Miami, PN6349 .A414 1549.





**Figure 30: Comparison of the illustrations for the “new” epigrams from the 1542 and 1549 Wechel editions and their corresponding images from 1546 Venetian edition.**



## Census of Alciato emblems

Comprehensive list of Alciato's emblems.<sup>299</sup>

The editions used in the table are:

1531 *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg, H.Steyner, 6 April 1531)

1534 *Emblematum Libellus* (Paris, C.Wechel, 1534)

**1546 *Emblematum Libellus* (Venice, Aldus, 1546)**

1547 *Emblematum libri duo* (Lyon, J.de Tournes, 1547)

1548 *Emblemata* (Lyon, G.Rouille, 1548)

1549 *Los Emblemas de Alciato ...* (Lyon, G.Rouille, 1549)

1550 *Emblemata* (Lyon, G.Rouille, 1550)

Motto	1531	1534	1546	1547	1548	1549	1550
Ad illustrissimum Maximilianum ducem	A2r	5		I.1	160	17	7
...							
Mediolanum [image on 45v]			46r	II.84	161	241	8
Numquam procrastinandum [image on 46v]			47r	II.85	161	242	9
In Deo laetandum	B6r/v	36		I.32	7	53	10
Sapientia humana, stultitia est apud Deum			16r	II.27	8	181	11
Ficta religio			5r	II.5	9	158	12
Non tibi, sed religioni	B7r	39		I.35	10	57	13
Quod Dii vocant eundem	D8v	81		I.77	11	104	14
Fidei symbolum	E6v	100		I.95	12	127	15
Foedera	A2v	6		I.2	13	19	16
In silentium	A3r	7		I.3	14	21	17
Non vulganda consilia	A4v	12		I.8	15	27	18
Nec quaestioni quidem cedendum	D3r	67		I.63	16	87	19
Consilio, virtute Chimaera superari ...	F2v	108		I.102	17	137	20
Vigilantia, & custodia			31v	II.57	18	212	21
Greek (Sobri vivendum: & non temere credendum (1550))			28v	II.52	19	206	22
Greek (Quid excessi? Quid admisi? Quid omisi? (1548: Gk +))			29r	II.53	20	207	23
Prudentes			6v	II.8	21	161	24
Prudens, sed insacundus			41r	II.75	22	231	25
Maturandum	C6v	56		I.52	23	75	26

<sup>299</sup> Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections, Alciato at Glasgow, <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciatoeditions.html>

In depraehensum	D1v	64		I.60	24	84	27
Custodiendas virgines	C2r	46		I.42	25	64	28
Vino prudentiam augeri		1542 246 xiv	40v	II.74	26	149	29
Prudentes vino abstinent	C5v	54		I.50	27	73	30
In statuam Bacchi	D4r	71		I.67	28	92	31
Gramen						249	33
Nec verbo, nec facto quenquam laedendum	A7r	17		I.13	30	32	34
Tandem, tandem Iustitia obtinet	B8r	42		I.38	31	60	35
Etiam ferocissimos domari	A3r	8		I.4	32	22	36
Gratiam referendam	A3v	9		I.5	33	23	37
Abstinentia					34	243	38
Bonis divitibus, nihil timendum	F2r	107		I.101	35	136	39
Signa fortium	E2r	87		I.82	36	112	40
Greek (Sustine, & abstine)			29v	II.54	37	208	41
In adulari nescientem	F2v	112		I.106	35	141	42
Obdurandum adversus urgentia	B3r	28		I.24	39	45	43
Omnia mea mecum porto						251	44
Concordiae symbolum	A4r	10		I.6	40	24	45
Concordia	B4r	31		I.27	41	48	46
Concordia insuperabilis			11v	II.18	42	172	47
Unum nihil, duos plurim posse		116		43	145	48	
Firmissima convelli non posse	C8r	60		I.56	44	79	49
Spes proxima	B6v	38		I.34	45	56	50
In simulacrum Spei	D8v/ vii	83		I.78	46	105	51
In dies meliora			33v	II.60	47	216	53
Illicitum non sperandum	A6v	84		I.79	48	108	54
Pudicitia						246	55
In victoriam dolo partam	A5r	13		I.9	49	28	56
In fraudulentos			7r	II.9	50	161	57
Dolus in suos			43r	II.79	50	236	58
Maledicentia [naked]			37r	II.67	50	223	59
In receptatores siccariorum	E6v	99		I.94	51	126	60
In adultores	E4r	93		I.88	52	118	61
Ei qui semel sua prodegerit, aliena credi non oportere	E8v	104		I.98	53	132	62
Temeritas			39v	II.72	54	229	63
Furor, & rabies			27r	II.49	54	203	64
In temerarios	D3r	68		I.64	55	88	65
In eos qui supra vires quicquam audent	B1v	24		I.20	56	41	66

Impossibile	E3r	89		I.88	57	114	67
Cuculi			12r	II.19	58	173	68
Vespertilio						247	69
Vespertilio. Aliud						248	70
Ira			38r	II.69	58	227	71
In eum qui sibi ipsi damnum apparat	E5v	96		I.9	59	122	72
Fatuitas			42v	II.78	60	235	73
Oblivio paupertatis parens						254	74
Superbia			34v	I.62	60	218	75
Impudentia					60	244	76
Filautia			38v	II.70	60	228	77
Garrulitas			40r	II.73	61	230	78
Invidia			35v	II.64	61	220	79
Luxuria			34r	I.61	61	217	80
Luxoriosorum opes			7v	II.10	61	163	81
Tumulus meretricis	B3v	29		I.25	62	46	82
In amatores meretricum	B4v	33		I.29	63	50	83
Cavendum meretricibus			10v	II.16	64	170	84
Amuletum Veneris			17v	II.30	64	185	85
Inviolabiles telo Cupidinis	B6r	37		I.33	65	54	86
Lascivia			39r	II.71	66	229	87
Desidia			35r	II.63	66	219	88
Desidiam abiciendam	A7v	18		I.14	67	33	89
In facil virtute desciscentes	C5r	53		I.49	68	72	90
Ignavi			13r	II.21	69	174	91
Avaritia			36r	II.65	69	221	92
In avaros	C6r	55		I.51	70	74	93
In aulicos		117		I.111	71	146	94
In sordidos			30r	II.55	72	209	95
In divites publico malo			3r	II.1	72	151	96
In avaros, vel quibus melior conditio ab extraneis offertur	A6r	15		I.11	73	30	97
Gula			36v	II.66	74	222	98
Oeni effigies. De his qui meretricibus donant ...	A8v	21		I.17	75	38	99
In parasitos	B3v	30		I.26	76	47	100
Parvam culinam, duobus ganeonibus non sufficere	B5v/ viii	35		I.31	77	52	101
Parvam culinam, duobus ganeonibus non sufficere Aliud	B5v 5	35		I.31	77	[52]	101
Captivus ob gulam	E3v	91		I.86	78	116	102
In garrulum & gulosum			44v	II.82	79	239	103
Doctorum agnomina							104

Vis naturae			41v	II.76	79	232	106
Ars Naturam adiuvans			42r	II.77	79	234	107
In iuventam			3v	II.2	80	153	108
In quatuor tempora anni						245	109
Scyphus Nestoris			9v	II.14	80	167	110
Quae supra nos, nihil ad nos	B4r	32		I.28	81	49	112
In astrologos	C7r	57		I.53	82	76	113
Qui alta contemplantur cadere	E2v	88		I.83	83	115	114
Potentissimus affectus amor	A4v	11		I.7	84	25	115
Potentia amoris	D8r	80		I.76	85	103	116
Senex puellam amans			10r	II.15	95	100	117
Vis amoris	D7r	77		I.73	86	100	117
In studiosum captum Amore	D6r	75		I.71	87	98	118
Anteros, id est amor virtutis	E1v	86		I.81	88	110	119
Anteros, Amor virtutis, alium Cupidinem superans	D6v	76		I.72	89	99	120
Dulcia quandoque amara fieri	E4v	95		I.89	90	119	121
Dulcia quandoque amara fieri. Fer simile ex Theocrito	E4v	95		I.90	91	120	122
In statuam Amoris	E7v	102		I.97	92	129	123
In oblivionem patriae		115		I.109	94	144	125
Sirenes			4v	II.4	95	156	126
In colores			30v	II.56	96	210	128
Virtuti, Fortunae comes	B1r	22		I.18	97	39	130
Fortuna, Virtutem superans	C1r	44		I.40	98	62	131
Paupertatem summis ingeniis obesse, ne provehantur	A7v	19		I.15	99	35	132
In occasionem	A8r	20		I.16	100	36	133
In subitum terrorem		111		I.105	101	140	134
In illaudata laudantes	B7r	40		I.36	102	58	135
In momentaneam felicitatem	D5r	72		I.68	103	95	136
Ex damno alterius, alterius utilitas			8v	II.12	104	165	137
Bonis auspiciis incipiendum			14v	II.24	104	177	138
Nil reliqui			43v	II.80	104	237	139
Mal parta, mal dilabuntur			9r	II.13	104	166	140
Semper praesto esse infortunia	C4v	51		I.47	105	70	141
Remedia in arduo, mala in prono esse	E5v	97		I.92	106	123	142
Ex arduis perpetuum nomen	B2v	27		I.23	107	44	143
Ex literarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri	C1v	45		I.41	108	63	144
Tumulus Ioannis Galeacii Vicecomitis ...	F3r	109		I.103	109	138	145
Optimus civis	F3r	110		I.104	110	139	146
Strenuorum immortale nomen			11r	II.17	111	171	147

Nobiles & generosi			<b>12v</b>	II.20	111	174	148
Duodecim certamina Herculis			<b>15r</b>	II.25	112	178	149
In nothos			<b>15v</b>	II.26	112	180	151
Imparilitas			<b>17r</b>	II.29	112	184	152
In desciscentes			<b>8r</b>	II.11	113	164	153
Aemulatio impar			<b>37v</b>	II.68	113	226	154
Albutii ad Alciatum suadentis ...	B5r	34		I.30	114	51	155
Princeps subditorum incolumitatem procurans	B2r	25		I.21	115	42	156
In Senatum boni principis	D1r	63		I.59	116	882	157
Quod non apit Christus, rapit fiscus	D2v	66		I.62	117	86	158
Opulentia tyranni paupertas subiectorum						252	159
Consilarii Principum			<b>28r</b>	II.51	118	205	160
Contra [naked]			<b>37r</b>	[x]	118	224	161
Salus publica			<b>25v</b>	II.46	118	201	162
Respublica liberata			<b>26r</b>	II.47	118	202	163
In vitam humanam	E7r	101		I.96	119	128	164
Are quandoque salutem redimendam	E3r	90		I.85	120	115	165
Cum larvis non luctandum	C8v	61		I.38	121	80	166
De Morte, & Amore	D3v	69		I.65	122	89	167
In formosam fato praereptam		70		I.66	123	91	168
In mortem praeproperam		118		I.112	124	147	169
Terminus			<b>33r</b>	II.59	125	215	170
Opulenti haereditas			<b>45r</b>	II.83	125	240	171
Amicitia etiam post mortem durans	A6r	16		I.12	126	31	172
Mutuuum auxilium	B2r	26		I.22	127	43	173
Auxilium numquam deficiens	C2v	47		I.43	128	65	174
Gratiae			<b>5v</b>	II.6	129	159	175
In detractores			<b>16v</b>	II.28	130	183	177
Inanis impetus			<b>44r</b>	II.81	130	238	178
Aliquid mali, propter vicinum malum	D1r	62		I.38	131	81	179
In eum qui truculentia suorum perierit	D7v	79		I.75	132	102	180
In dona hostium		119		I.113	133	148	181
A minimis quoque timendum	C7v	58		I.54	134	77	182
Obnoxia infirmitas						250	183
Vel post mortem formidolosi						253	184
Iusta vindicta	B7v	41		I.37	135	59	185
Iusta ultio	D7r	78		I.74	136	101	186
Parem delinquentis, & suasoris culpam esse	C7v	59		I.55	137	78	187
Alius peccat, alius plectitur	D5v	74		I.70	138	97	188
Insani gladius			<b>14r</b>	II.23	139	176	189

Pax	E1r	85		I.80	140	109	190
Ex bello pax	C3v	49		I.45	141	67	191
Ex pace ubertas	B1v	23		I.19	142	40	192
Doctos doctis obloqui nefas esse	E8v	105		I.99	143	133	193
Eloquentia Fortitudine praestantior	E6r	98		I.93	144	124	194
Facundia difficilis			<b>13v</b>	II.22	145	175	195
Antiquissima quaeque commentitia		1542 :248	<b>6r</b>	II.7	145	150	196
Insignia poetarum		113		I.107	146	142	197
Musicam Diis curae esse		114		I.108	147	143	198
Litera occidit, spiritus vivificat			<b>25r</b>	II.45	148	200	199
Dicta septem sapientum			<b>32r</b>	II.58	149	213	200
Submovendam ignorantiam	C3v	50		I.46	150	68	202
Mentem, non formam plus pollere	C5r	52		I.48	151	71	203
Dives indoctus	E4r	92		I.87	152	117	204
In fidem uxoriam	D2r	65		I.61	153	85	205
Reverentiam in matrimonio requiri	A5v	14		I.10	154	29	206
In foecunditatem sibi ipsi damnosam	B8v	43/vi		I.39	155	61	207
Amor filiorum	C3r	48		I.44	156	66	208
Pietas filiorum in parentes	D5r	73		I.69	157	96	209
Mulieris famam, non formam, vulgatam esse oportere	F1v	106		I.100	158	135	210
In pudoris statuam			<b>4r</b>	II.3	159	154	211
Nupta contagioso			<b>27v</b>	II.50	159	204	212
Cupressus			<b>18r</b>	II.31	162	186	213
Quercus			<b>18v</b>	II.32	162	187	214
Salix			<b>23v</b>	II.42	164	197	215
Abies			<b>19v</b>	II.34	163	189	216
Picea			<b>20r</b>	II.35	163	190	217
Cotonea			<b>20v</b>	II.36	163	191	218
Hedera			<b>21v</b>	II.38	163	193	219
Ilex			<b>21r</b>	II.37	163	192	220
Malus medica			<b>22v</b>	II.40	164	195	221
Buxus			<b>22r</b>	II.39	164	194	222
Morus			<b>24v</b>	II.44	164	199	223
Amygdalus			<b>24r</b>	II.43	164	198	224
Laurus			<b>19r</b>	II.33	162	188	225
Laurus. Aliud			<b>19r</b>	II.33	163	188	225
Populus alba			<b>23r</b>	II.41	164	196	226
Adversus naturam peccantes			<b>26v</b>	II.48	66	---	---