

Henri Estienne

On Books

edited & translated by

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Preface

Two considerations, converging by chance, led to the production of this volume. The first is the importance of Henri Estienne both as scholar and printer, yet the almost total lack of any way of easily approaching his multifarious Latin writings for those whose knowledge of the language is not already very good or who know English, but have little or no Latin. The second was the arrival of a new publisher with an interest in a text series which would attempt to fill such egregious gaps. Once the two circumstances met up, it was only a matter of choosing what we considered a representative selection from the Stephanic treasure-store.

We have chosen to present here a sample from Henri Estienne's writings across his career and from different genres. These range from letters, to poetry, to essays, to his *Encomium of the Frankfurt Fair*. Only the last has been translated into English before. We might have avoided adding yet another version, given the neglect suffered by the rest of his Latin writings. Its inclusion here, nevertheless, is justified on two grounds. First, situating it within a broader collection of his writings better contextualises the piece and shows how it builds on the themes Estienne had already explored in, for example, *On Combining the Muses with Mars*. Secondly, while the existing modern editions reprinted and translated just the encomium, we have included a broader sample of the material, especially the poetry, found in the original volume, and obviously regarded by Estienne as crucial to the fare offered by his *Fair*. As to the other pieces we have chosen, *On Combining the Muses with Mars* is available in an Italian translation and the *Defence of Herodotus* in German and French, but the remainder, to the best of our knowledge, is not accessible to those who do not possess a knowledge of Latin.

The volume as a whole has been in the care and under the scrutiny of all three editors, who have read and commented upon everything, whether it was or was not their primary responsibility, and all have made improvements – what Estienne's critics might call *supervacanea in alienis laboribus curiositas* (“needless meddling in other people's labours”). Nevertheless, responsibility for individual sections was basically divided as follows: the Latin text and *apparatus fontium*, together with the indices were overseen by Jeroen De Keyser; the translation of *On*

Combining the Muses with Mars was made by Noreen Humble and those of the other pieces by Keith Sidwell. The *Introduction* was written by Noreen Humble and Keith Sidwell. Everyone contributed to the annotations; in addition to the *apparatus fontium*, explanatory notes are included on key figures in the text only for the purposes of brief contextualisation – primarily to locate the numerous people named in space and time, as Estienne was extremely widely read.

In every case the Latin text has been taken from the original edition. References both to those first editions and to the existing modern reissues and the few available translations are given in the *Bibliography* section. Estienne's publications are not only a dazzling demonstration of profound erudition, they also display great formal accuracy and technical command. His texts are admirably flawless, and they are so to such an extent that adding an *apparatus criticus* to our Latin text proved to be pointless: the exiguous number of obvious misprints have thus been tacitly corrected. While Estienne's orthographic preferences and punctuation practice are strikingly close to current-day standards, here too a few anomalies have been edited out for the sake of clarity.

We hope that this edition has come somewhere close to being worthy of its subject, a man whose energy, commitment to scholarship and brilliance of insight we have come to respect more and more as we have worked on it. Henri's *oeuvre* is astonishingly large and extremely broad. And, of course, it encompasses important writings in French as well as in Latin. Yet too often, as also in other bilingual authors of the period, a focus by scholars on the vernacular serves to obfuscate the contribution of the Latin works – which are in Estienne's case the vast majority. We have done the opposite, in order to redress the balance, especially for the English-speaking world, where French is still well-known enough for direct access to these vernacular writings to be possible, but Latin is increasingly threatened even in the core area of classical studies. Henri Estienne's relevance for anyone interested in either book history or the classical tradition can hardly be overestimated. It is our wish that the present edition may contribute to doing him justice.

Keith Sidwell
Noreen Humble
Jeroen De Keyser

Introduction

1. Henri Estienne: His Life and Work

a. Family

Henri II Estienne (1531-98) is the most outstanding member of the distinguished Estienne publishing dynasty, which begun with his grandfather Henri I (1460-1520) in the Rue Jean-de-Beauvais in Paris, around 1502, and lasted for five generations through to the death in Paris of Henri II's grandson, Antoine (1592-1674). For a while two Estienne presses existed, the one in Paris, the other in Geneva, to where Robert I fled in 1550 after years of battling the clergy and Sorbonne over, among other things, his printing of the Greek New Testament and his clear reforming tendencies. Our Henri and his son Paul kept the business in Geneva going while the Catholic branch of the family carried on in Paris. The dynasty is absolutely front and centre in the history of the book, in the history of the publishing industry in Paris and Geneva, and in the history of scholarship. It had deep connections to other prominent publishers and scholars, and enjoyed for much of its existence, despite the Calvinist faith of Robert I, Henri II and Paul, the patronage of the French monarchy in one way or another.

As is so often the case at this time, we find strategic marriages being made between publishing families, to improve and shore up business prospects. Henri I ensured himself a decent start by marrying Guyonne Viart, the widow of the printer Jean Higman, enabling him to establish himself as the printer and bookseller for the University of Paris.¹ The union also provided access to a considerable network of scholars, in particular the influential humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1460-1533). Upon Henri I's death, his widow Guyonne married Simon de Colines who ran the Estienne press until Robert I (1503-59), our Henri's father, took over in 1526. Robert I married, in that same year, Perrette Bade, the daughter of the very prominent scholar and printer

¹ On the origins of the Estienne press, see Armstrong 1954, 3-10. Schreiber 1982 provides a good, succinct overview of the whole dynasty.

Josse Bade (1462-1535), and was able to merge, with profit, his printing house with that of Bade upon the latter's death.²

Henri II's versatility and range of activities – publisher, scholar, *corrector*, lexicographer – was prefigured in his father, who, over thirty-three years at the helm of the Estienne press, published a huge number of books ranging from pamphlets and school texts to his monumental *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (1543) and the *editio princeps* of seven ancient Greek authors. Despite his troubles with the French religious establishment, his 1550 edition of the New Testament became the *textus receptus* for centuries to come. After his arrival in Geneva, we can see a sharp increase in the publication of the works of Calvin, Théodore de Bèze and the like, as well as numerous lexical and pedagogical texts, and in 1557 an updated version of his 1545 Bible.³

The press had benefited greatly from Robert I's appointment by Francis I in 1539 as *typographus regius* ("printer to the King") in Latin and Hebrew, and to this Greek was added one year later.⁴ Around the same time Francis I also appointed as "expert writer in Greek letters" the Cretan scribe Angelos Vergikios (d. 1569) and as "royal punchcutter" Claude Garamond (d. 1561). The Greek font which emerged from this melting pot of appointments is of surpassing elegance, and Robert I, as "printer to the king", was the prime beneficiary of this arrangement until he fled to Geneva in 1550.⁵ That he continued to print with these matrices in Geneva is generally thought to imply that his departure from Paris was less a hasty flight than one which had been long-planned.⁶ At that point, Robert's brother Charles I (1504-64), who had studied medicine, becoming in 1542 Regius Professor of Medicine, took over the family press in Paris. The departure of Robert I to Geneva did not have any obviously detrimental effect on the business in Paris. Charles I had a distinguished printing career for the next decade, carrying on Robert I's legacy in part but introducing more scientific imprints as well.⁷ He was succeeded in the business by Robert II, Robert I's

² Armstrong 1954 is still the definitive work on the life of Robert Estienne and the main source of the overview here presented on his life; see Furno 2009 for a succinct account. Considine 2008, 56-100, is the best recent English examination of Henri II.

³ For his publications in the Genevan years, see Armstrong 1954, 228-35.

⁴ Vervliet 2008, 384-85, and in greater detail Armstrong 1954, 35-57.

⁵ Vervliet 2008, especially 384-87. ⁶ Armstrong 1954, 226-27.

⁷ *Ibidem*, 140, 221-27. Also on Charles, see the overview of Boudou 2009. The third brother, François I (1502-53), was also connected with the book trade as a bookseller.

eldest son and Charles' nephew, who had not, as his father and brother Henri had, departed from the Catholic faith and so had remained in Paris (though he would convert near the end of his life). He, too, was accorded the position of Royal Printer, in 1561 under Charles IX.

b. Education

Henri II's remarks about Latin being the *lingua franca* at home while he was growing up (*Letter to his Son, Paul Estienne* §18-20) are often highlighted, with good reason. Not only do they provide a rare glimpse into the personal household of a scholar/publisher, but they also reveal that his father's multinational group of *correctores*, his "literary decemvirate", lived with his family. Because Latin was the one language they shared, it became the *lingua franca* of the household, with the result that everyone, from Henri's mother to the male and female servants, thus likewise had a knowledge of Latin.⁸ But as he reports in the preface to his 1566 *Poetae Graeci principes heroici carminis* (*The Most Important Greek Epic Poets*), this immersion method had its downside and for all the natural advantages that such a home situation provided, he considered that he had really, in fact, learned Greek first and that Greek was his true passion:⁹

In my early boyhood I had been handed over to a tutor who was translating Euripides' *Medea* for his other pupils. Whenever I watched them acting out this play (for this method of training the boys was a special favourite of that tutor of mine), the melody of the Greek words tickled my ears with such sweetness and pleasure (though beyond their sound I had no understanding of them), that from that moment on my one goal, which I contemplated night and day, and upon which alone I thought I should concentrate all my intellectual sinews, was to turn out myself in the end to be an actor in that play of which I had so often been a spectator. But since without a knowledge of Greek I could not gain my wish, I then began to die from desire for that knowledge, as no lover ever did more vehemently for his mistress. Behold, however: just as I was ready to start the race, I was shown an obstacle readied against me, to wit my ignorance of Latin, which was the medium used for learning Greek. Then I began to object, fiercely denying that I was ignorant of Latin. My boyish ears rang with the Latin

⁸ See Armstrong 1954, 59-60, for a poetic account by Jean Dorat of the workings of Robert I's household.

⁹ See Cazes 2003, XXXVII-IX, on Estienne's self-presentation of his love of Greek.

Lectori salutem

Henricus Stephanus lectori salutem dicit.

1. Quantum in utranque partem momenti in exemplo domestico ac paterno positum sit, si nunquam antea considerasti, lector, nunc saltem mecum, obsecro, considera. Dum mihi quotidie patris mei Roberti
5 Stephani labores et vigiliae ob oculos versantur,¹ fit nescio quomodo ut ego omnium hominum alioqui maxime *μισόπνοος* (non aliter quam tuba miles ad praelium aut generosus equus) ad laborem accendar. Ac si mihi “parva componere magnis” conceditur, nihilo magis me tam praeclara patris mei opera quam olim Themistoclem Miltiadis trophaeum
10 sinunt requiescere.² 2. Quinetiam mihi aliquando tale quid, quale verebatur Alexander, subvereri in mentem venit.³ Nam ut ille, quum adhuc puer patris sui Philippi novas quotidie victorias audiret, pueris quibus colludebat fertur dicere solitus timere se ne sibi omnes a patre victoriae praeeriperentur, sic ego, quum tot tantaque in omni genere, non solum
15 quae iam olim, quae non ita pridem, quae nuper, quae nuperrime edidit, sed etiam quae in manibus nunc habet volumina ob oculos pono, quaenam spes quaerendi insigni aliquo opere nominis superesse possit, non video, ac mihi praeclusum esse ad typographicam gloriam omnem plane aditum existimo. 3. Duo tamen in officio me continent et
20 ut a labore non desistam faciunt: unum est, quod, quoad eius facere possum, ne degener videar, operam dare volo; alterum vero, quod, quum multorum in otio actam iuventutem effoetum reddidisse corpus senectuti non ignorem, contra ex tot tantisque curis, tantisque vigiliis ac sudoribus iuvenilem quandam senectutem patrem meum adeptum
25 esse videam. Hinc fit igitur ut nullum a labore mihi remittendum esse tempus existimem. Et conatus quidem eius fortasse nihilo meis maiores, sed ut viribus, ita etiam effectu longe profecto sum inferior.

8 Verg. *Georg.* 4.176 9 Plut. *Them.* 3.3 11 Plut. *Alex.* 5.2

¹ For Robert Estienne, see the *Introduction*.

² Miltiades was the Athenian general credited with the Greek victory over the Persians at Marathon (490 BCE), and Themistocles the one who achieved the naval success against the same enemy at the battle of Salamis (480 BCE).

³ Alexander III, commonly known as “Alexander the Great” (356-323 BCE), the son of Philip II, King of Macedon and conqueror of huge swathes of territory in Asia.

To the Reader

Henri Estienne sends greetings to the reader.

1. If you have never before considered, reader, the critical importance, be it for good or ill, of the example set by a person's family or father, I beg you at least now to consider it with me. Whilst the labours and the vigils of my father Robert Estienne are every day before my eyes,¹ somehow or other it happens that I, otherwise the most "labour-hating" of all men, am sparked to labour (no differently from the way a soldier or a noble horse are called to battle by the trumpet). And, if I am allowed "to make comparison of small with great", my father's outstanding works allow me to rest no more than did the trophy of Miltiades allow Themistocles to do so.² 2. Moreover, the sort of worry that bothered Alexander sometimes comes into my mind.³ For, when he would hear each day of the fresh victories won by his father Philip, he is reported to have been accustomed to say to the boys with whom he was playing that he was afraid that all victories would have been snatched from him beforehand by his father. Just so, when I set before my eyes all the volumes he has published, so many of them and so large in every genre, and not merely those which appeared long ago, those not so long ago, and those recently, but also the ones he currently has in hand, I cannot see what hope there could remain of my seeking a name for myself by any outstanding work, and I consider that every avenue to printing glory has been closed to me in advance. 3. Nonetheless, there are two factors which hold me to my duty and prevent me from ceasing from my labours. The first is that I wish to make every effort, insofar as it is in my power to do so, to avoid appearing as a degenerate child. The second is this, that while I am aware that a youth lived at leisure has for many rendered their bodies effete in old age, I can see that the opposite has happened to my father: in his case the vigils and sweated labours, great as they have been, have won for him an old age that is youthful. For these reasons, then, I consider that I should spare no time from my labours. Indeed his strivings are perhaps no greater than mine. But I am far inferior to him not only in strength but also in performance.

4. Ecce enim, ille tibi non lexicon Graecolatinum nescio quod ex ineptissimarum adnotationum quadam velut colluvie conflatum, tanquam vestimentum aliquod ex vilibus scrutis consarcinatum, sed ingentem et immensum *Linguae Graecae thesaurum*, iam a multis annis, sumptibus prope infinitis ex praestantissimis linguae Graecae auctoribus tibi congerit atque coacervat. Qui certe illo *Latinae linguae thesauro* (quem etiam ipse cumulaverat) tanto erit opulentior tantoque pretiosior, quanto maiores sunt illius quam huius, ut omnes fatentur, divitiae.

5. Quod si non minor esse debet inter Musarum cultores typographica quam inter armorum amatores militaris gloria, et si ex operibus ad publica pertinentibus commoda aestimari utranque par est, ut maiora dicatur Alexander in patriam suam armis suis quam Robertus Stephanus in suam prelis suis beneficia contulisse, hoc ego certe nemini concedam. Ille enim civitatum Asiae gazas, hic totius Latii totiusque Graeciae, vel potius (si barbaras gentes excipias) totius orbis thesauros in patriam reportavit. Ille thesauros suos, licet in patria, tamen aut totos sibi habebat, aut, si partem aliquam, certe minimam amicis suis largiebatur. At hic cum omnibus literarum bonarum studiosis tam benigne suas illas opes communicavit, ut, quum thesauris Latii tota prope modum eius domus plena esset, nunc in ea ne minima quidem illorum portio remanserit et, ut spero, intra annos aliquot ex magno itidem thesaurorum Graeciae acervo nihil superesse sibi videbit.

6. Ego autem interea dum (illud vero meum iuvenile σεμνολόγημα, lector, in bonam partem interpretare, et laudem patris in ore filii scito nequaquam posse sordescere) pro eo ac debeo, meam ei operam una cum aliis multis in heroico illo ac plane Herculeo opere navo, libellum hunc paucis horis, quas ex penso meo, plerunque etiam ex somno suffurabar, properanter et tumultuarie, sed utiliter tamen, ni fallor, Ciceronianorum nationi concinnavi.⁴ Libellus est, fateor, non liber, et mihi quasi peculiolum, non peculium. Sed quid facere? Αἰεὶ τοῖς μικροῖς μικρὰ διδοῦσι θεοί. Verum hac me solor spe, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἠβήσω καὶ ἐς ἠβῆς μέτρον ἴκωμαι, ipse quoque μέγα ῥέξω τὶ καὶ ἔσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

57 Mich. Apost. *Prov.* c1.40a 58 cf. Hom. *Od.* 18.217, 19.532 59 Hom. *Il.* 22.305

⁴ Cicero was widely regarded as the best model for Latin style, but some writers were fanatical about restricting their Latin to words and expressions used in his works. They were lumped together as “Ciceronians” and had been roundly criticised in Erasmus’ dialogue *Ciceronianus* (1528).

4. For behold! He has been gathering together and heaping up for you for many years now not some Greco-Latin dictionary conflated from the scourings, so to speak, of the most inept annotations, like some garment patched together from cheap trash, but, at almost boundless expense, a massive, immense *Thesaurus of the Greek Language*, compiled from the most outstanding authors of Greek. Without doubt this lexicon will be as much richer and more precious than the *Thesaurus of the Latin Language*, which he had also compiled, as the riches of Greek are, as everyone admits, greater than those of Latin. 5. But if the glory which comes from print ought to be no smaller among the worshippers of the Muses than military glory is among the lovers of war, and if it is fair to evaluate each of these glories on the basis of works which pertain to the public good, then I shall never concede to anyone that Alexander conferred greater benefits upon his fatherland through his wars than Robert Estienne has done upon his through his printing-presses. Alexander may have brought back to his fatherland the wealth of the cities of Asia, but Robert carried home the treasure-stores of all Latium and all of Greece, or rather (if you except the barbarian nations) of the whole world. Alexander kept his treasures, albeit in his fatherland, nevertheless still completely for himself, or if he did lavish them on friends, it was certainly only the smallest share. Robert, on the other hand, shared his wealth with all enthusiasts for the liberal arts so benignantly, that although his whole house had been almost filled with the treasures of Latium, now not even the smallest portion of them remains there. My hope is that within a few years from that great heap of the treasures of Greece likewise he will see nothing left for himself.

6. Please take this youthful boasting of mine in good part, reader, and be assured that praise of a father on the lips of a son can never grow cheap. Meanwhile, however, while, in accordance with my obligations, I have been performing my tasks for him, along with many others, upon that heroic and obviously Herculean work, I have put together this booklet for the tribe of Ciceronians,⁴ using the few hours which I was able to steal from my set duties, and mostly even from sleep. I have done so hastily and in a bustle, but, if I am not mistaken, usefully. It is a booklet and not a book, and like a bit of pocket-money for me, rather than a full allowance. What can one do, however? “Always the gods give little to the small.” But I console myself with this hope: “When I grow up and reach a man’s estate,” I too “shall do great deeds that those to come

Apologia pro Herodoto
sive Herodoti Historia fabulositatis accusata

1. Ut antiquitatem nonnulli nimium religiose atque adeo superstitiose colunt, ita non desunt qui eandem merito honore meritaque observantia fraudare videantur. Horum autem vitiorum utrumque non peculiare saeculo nostro, sed illi cum superioribus esse commune, multa nobis
5 argumento esse possunt. Posterioris quidem certe fidem nobis vel ipsa Graeci sermonis consuetudo facit, in quo ἀρχαῖος et ἀρχαϊκός de homine nimia simplicitate praedito, interdum vero et de plane stolido bardoque dicuntur, et ἀρχαῖον ἔργον itidem. Atque hinc, id est ex hoc
10 priscorum morum et institutorum (utpote quibus nimium rudis simplicitas inesset) contemptu, manarunt et illa, κρόνος, κρόνιος, κρονόληρος, βεκκεσέληνος.¹ Hinc et illi versus:

Prisca iuvent alios: ego nunc me denique natum
gratulor, haec aetas moribus apta meis.

2. At illi priori vitio eorum qui superstitiose antiquitatem colunt, qui
15 ansam praebuerit, assequi coniectura nequaquam facile est. Non iam de illa alte repetita antiquitate nec de iis loquor qui, mores sui saeculi exosi, vota contraria votis Nasonis fecerunt, ut quum dicit Tibullus:

Tunc mihi vita foret, vulgi nec tristia nossem
arma, nec audissem corde micante tubam.

20 Quae verba eruperunt huic poëtae postquam aurei saeculi felicitatem commemoravit. Atque hunc, dum eo respiceret, pertaesum vitae suae fuisse, mirum videri non debet, quum ipse Hesiodus multis ante aetatibus haec protulerit:

25 Μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' ὄφειλον ἐγὼ πέμπτοισι μετεῖναι
ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ πρόσθε θανεῖν, ἢ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι.

12 Ov. *Ars* 3.121-22 18 Tib. *Eleg.* 1.10.11-12 24 Hes. *Op.* 175-76

¹ Estienne appears to have the vocabulary of comedy, especially that of Aristophanes, in mind here: for κρόνος see, e.g., Aristoph. *Nub.* 929; for κρόνιος *Nub.* 398; for κρονόληρος *Com. Adespot.* 1052 (a comic fragment by an unnamed author); for βεκκεσέληνος *Nub.* 398.

Defence of Herodotus
or The Accusation that Herodotus' History is Rife with Fiction

1. Just as there are some who worship antiquity too religiously and pretty superstitiously, so there are not wanting those who appear to deprive it of its deserved honour and its deserved regard. Neither of these two faults is peculiar to our age, but there are many factors that can prove to us that we have the former in common with earlier periods. A demonstration of the latter fault, indeed, is provided for us even by the habit of the Greek language of using the words ἀρχαῖος (“ancient”) and ἀρχαῖκός (“old-fashioned”) of a man who is too ingenuous, sometimes indeed also of a man who is plainly a stupid dunce; and likewise the phrase ἀρχαῖον ἔργον (“an old-fashioned product”). And hence, that is from this contempt for old customs and practices (inasmuch as there was too rough and ready an ingenuousness in them) there derived also the terms κρόνος (“old fool”), κρόνιος (“old-fashioned”), κρονόληρος (“old chatterbox”), and βεκκεσέληνος (“dotard”).¹ This is also the root of the following verses:

Let others joy in ancient things: but I
Congratulate myself that I was born
At this late date: this age just suits my ways.

2. What provided the impulse for the first fault, however, of those who worship antiquity superstitiously, it is by no means easy to guess. I am not talking now about that remote antiquity nor about those who hate the ways of their own age and have made wishes contrary to those of Ovid, as when Tibullus says:

I would my life had happened then: I'd not
Have known the mob's grim arms, nor would have heard
With quivering heart the trumpet-blast of war.

These words burst forth from this poet after he had mentioned the happiness of the golden age. And that he grew weary of his own life, while looking back to that time, ought not to seem surprising, given that Hesiod himself many centuries earlier had voiced these sentiments:

I would that I had not then come to life
In that fifth age, but had died long before,
Or had been born at some much later time.

Sed et ille ipse Naso, qui in versibus quos modo citavi antiquitatem ludibrio habet, illam laudari solitam alibi fatetur, quum dicit:

Laudamus veteres, sed nostris utimur annis.

3. Et qui (obsecro) prisca saeculi laus dissimulari posset, cuius ut rudis
 30 simplicitas iis quae dixi verbis apud Graecos notata, ita vicissim probitas et fides consuetudine Latini sermonis celebrata fuit? “Ille demum antiquis est adolescens moribus,” inquit Plautus. “Homo antiqua virtute ac fide,” inquit Terentius. “Homines antiqui, qui ex sua natura caeteros fingerent,” inquit Cicero. His autem loquendi generibus mate-
 35 riam non alios quam poetas praebuisse verisimile est, sed hi quam angustis spatiis tempus illud circumscribant, vel ex his Iuvenalis versibus patet:

Antiquum et vetus est alienum, Posthume, lectum
 concutere, atque sacri genium contemnere fulcri.
 40 Omne aliud crimen mox ferrea protulit aetas,
 viderunt primos argentea saecula moechos.

Sed et ipsum Hesiodum longo intervallo argentei saeculi mores ab aurei saeculi moribus separantem audimus. Dubium vero nemini esse debet quin aureo saeculo argenteum, ut aereo ferreum poetae subiunxerint, id
 45 ipsum exprimere volentes quod Horatius his versibus cecinit:

Aetas parentum, peior avis, tulit
 nos nequiores, mox daturos
 progeniem vitiosiore.

Quam sententiam ex hoc Arati loco mutuatus videri potest:

50 Οἴην χρύσειοι πατέρες γενεὴν ἐλίποντο
 χειροτέρην, ὑμεῖς δὲ κακώτερα τεξεῖσθε.

4. Huius autem rei (meo iudicio) non obscura ratio est. Quum enim posterius ultra nequitiam suorum maiorum, cuius haeredes relinquuntur, sibi novam in dies comparent, nequiores evadere necesse est. Verum (si
 55 serio loquendum est) ne primum quidem saeculum, vel potius ne primos quidem illos primi saeculi homines nequitia caruisse, et ea vel

But Ovid himself, who held antiquity up to ridicule in the verses which I cited a moment ago, elsewhere admits that it is usually praised, when he says:

We praise the olden times, but it's our own
That we experience.

3. And how, I ask you, could one pretend that there was no praise of olden times, when, though its rough and ready ingenuousness is criticised among the Greeks in those words I spoke of, its honesty and trustworthiness was celebrated in turn by the norms of the Latin language? Says Plautus: "He in a word is a young fellow formed by ancient ways." Says Terence: "A man of ancient probity and faith." Says Cicero: "Men of old, such as formed others by the example of their nature." It is likely enough that it was none other than the poets who provided the material for these turns of phrase. But how narrowly they circumscribed that period is quite clear also from the words of Juvenal:

It is an ancient and long-standing thing,
To rock another's bed, o Postumus,
And to despise the sacred couch's spirit.
All other crimes the age of iron soon spawned:
The silver saw the first adulterers.

But we hear Hesiod himself too separating the ways of the silver age from those of the golden by a long interval. No one ought to be in any doubt, however, that the poets made the silver age follow the golden, and the iron the silver because they wanted to express what Horace sang about in the following verses:

Our parents' times, worse than our grandsires' age,
Brought us to birth, much worse, and soon to spawn
A generation much more vicious still.

This view might seem to have been borrowed from the following passage of Aratus:

Just as the fathers of the golden age
Begot a generation worse than theirs,
So will you breed a generation worse than yours.

4. The reason for this fact, however, is in my view not obscure. For since our descendants daily invent new iniquities beyond those of the ances-

Artis typographicae querimonia

*De illiteratis quibusdam typographis,
propter quos in contemptum venit*

Henricus Stephanus lectori bonis literis bene cupienti salutem dicit.

1. “Scribimus indocti doctique poëmata passim,” exclamat Horatius, postquam dixit agenda navis ignarum non audere eam agere, medicos quod medicorum est promittere, fabros fabrilia tractare. In eandem vero
5 sententiam et alibi canit:

Ludere qui nescit, campestribus abstinet armis,
indoctusque pilae discive trochive quiescit,
ne spissae risum tollant impune coronae;
qui nescit, versus tamen audet fingere.

10 Hoc autem quam verum nostra etiam aetate comperiat, quotidie testantur misera poëmata, quae deferri videmus “in vicos vendentes thus et odores” (ut hic quoque verba Horatiana usurpem) “et piper, et quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis.”

2. Sed quod ille de iis dixit qui γράφουσι, multo etiam iustius de iis
15 dicemus qui τυπογραφοῦσι poëmata, quanvis aliena, nec poëmata duntaxat, sed alia aliorum quorumlibet scripta.¹ “Quid? Doctrinam typographi et eius qui poëmata scribit, parine in lance expendendam censes?” Non equidem; sed utrosque, si indocti sint, aequae suo in
20 genere (ut ita loquar) indoctos esse et censeo et affirmo. Quantum enim multi huius saeculi versificatores ab ea doctrinae absunt mensura quam vel mediocris poësis (si liceret mediocribus esse poëtis) desiderat, tantum plerosque typographos ab ea quam ars illorum poscit, vel flagitat potius, abesse dico; ut de iis taceam qui non sunt indocti, id est
25 parum docti, aut etiam minus quam parum docti, sed ne digni quidem sunt qui indocti vocentur, quum sint prorsus analphabeti.

2 Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.117 6 Hor. *Ars* 379-82 11 Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.269-70

¹ Estienne puns here on the Greek words for “write” (*graphousi*) and “print” (the neologism *typographousi*).

Printing's Complaint

*About certain uneducated printers,
on whose account her Art has been brought into contempt*

Henri Estienne sends greetings to the reader who wishes liberal education well.

1. Horace exclaims: "We scribble verses, educated men, and men uneducated just the same," after he has remarked that the man who does not know how to sail a ship does not dare to sail one, that doctors promise what is in the competence of doctors, and that artisans deal with matters artisanal. Indeed, in the same vein he also writes elsewhere:

Who does not know the game, from field of arms
Refrains; he keeps his peace who has not learned
To play with ball, with discus or with quoit,
Lest packed observers raise an easy laugh:
Yet he who knows not how still dares mould verse.

How true this may be found to be, however, in our own age is evidenced by the wretched poems which we see being brought to market "into the alleyways that incense sell and perfumes" (to borrow here too the words of Horace), "spice and pepper and what's wrapped in their inept effusions."

2. But what Horace says in the case of those who *write* poems, we will claim much more justly in the case of those who *print* them, although they be those of others, and not only poems, but diverse writings by sundry diverse individuals.¹ "What's this? Do you reckon that the learning required from a typographer and a poet can be weighed in the same balance?" Not strictly, no: but I do reckon and I do assert that both, if they be uneducated, are equally uneducated in their own medium. For to the same degree in which many versifiers of this age fall short of the measure of learning which even mediocre poetry (if there could actually be poets who are mediocre) requires, to such a degree I claim that the majority of printers fall short of that which their art asks for, or rather demands. That is to say nothing about those who have little learning, or even less than little, but are not even worthy of being called "uneducated", since they are completely illiterate.

3. “Quid?” dicet fortasse quispiam, “quum tot librorum agmina ex tot typographorum officinis prodeant, quos omnis doctrinae expertes esse constat, an ita necessariam illis esse literarum cognitionem existimas, ut a suis fertilissimis alioqui prelis, in quibus consenuerunt, tanquam Aristophanicos Strepsiadas ad tam seram scholam vocare, et veluti Pelias quosdam recoquere velis?”² Atqui, si ideo typographicae arti doctrina non est opus, quod multi eam indocti exercent, ac de iis queri minime debeo, itidem certe poëticae non esse necessariam, quod ab indoctis etiam multa proficisci poëmata videamus, ideoque de illis immerito questum esse Horatium pronuntiabimus. 4. “Nisi forte poëticae quidem necessariam omnino esse poëticam, at typographicae arti non item?” dicet aliquis. Sed quo id ore dici a quoquam poterit? Itane vero librorum editio pro dignitate ab iis elaborari poterit, quibus nihil cum Musis commune est? Itane vero artem cuius velut tutelae ac fidei literae hoc saeculo commissae sunt, fideliter tractare literarum imperitus poterit? 5. Ecquid, obsecro, dicturum putamus Aldum, si nunc reviviscens videat successisse sibi typographos quorum non minima pars vix pene aliud in libris quam quomodo alba pagina discernenda sit a nigra, intelligit?³ Nam qui tantum profecerunt ut Graeca literarum elementa possint a Latinis, Hebraica a Graecis discernere, atrocem sibi fieri iniuriam existiment si in numero indoctorum habeantur. Quid vero dicturos M. illum Musurum et Ianum Lascarin putamus, in quibus primis Graecia reviviscere coepit, et qui principes in pandendo nobis ad linguae Graecae adyta itinere fuerunt?⁴ 6. Quid, inquam, dicturos remur, si, quum ipsi tantum honoris arti typographicae detulerint, ut non indignam existimarint cui suam operam navarent, fungentes munere correctorum (liceat enim de rebus typographicis typographice loqui), eo rem devenisse videant, ut, si quis tria Latinae linguae verba

² In Aristophanes’ comedy *Clouds*, Strepsiades is an old man saddled with his son’s debts, who decides to enter the school of Socrates to learn the “worse argument” so as to defeat his creditors in court and evade repayment. Pelias, King of Iolcus, at whose behest the expedition of the Argo was sent to obtain the Golden Fleece, was tricked by Jason and Medea on their return into allowing his own daughters to try to rejuvenate him, by cutting him up and boiling him in a cauldron.

³ Aldo Manuzio (Aldus Manutius, 1449-1515) was a humanist and one of the earliest printers of Greek texts in Venice. The blank page is called in Latin a “white page” (*pagina alba*), a printed page is called a “black page” (*pagina nigra* or *atra*).

⁴ Musurus (Markos Mousouros, 1470-1515) and Lascaris (Ianos Laskaris, ca. 1445-

3. Perhaps someone will say: "What now? Although so many serried ranks of books are appearing from so many workshops of printers, who, it is agreed, are all without any learning, do you think that it is so necessary for these printers to have a knowledge of letters that from their otherwise most fertile presses, where they have grown to old age, you wish to call them back to so late a school, like Aristophanic Strepsiadeses, or to boil them back to youth like a load of Peliases?"² But if the art of typography has no need of learning for the reason that many uneducated men practise it, and I ought not to complain about them at all, on the same argument it is surely the case that it is not necessary for poetry either, since we can observe that many poems emerge also from the uneducated, and for that reason we shall proclaim that Horace complained about them without their deserving it. 4. Someone will say: "Unless perchance poetical knowledge is indeed necessary for the art of poetry, but not likewise for the art of typography?" But with what effrontery will this argument be able to be made by anyone? Is it really the case that editions of books can be managed in accordance with their worth by those who have nothing in common with the Muses? Is it really the case that a man unskilled in letters will be able faithfully to ply the art to whose guardianship, as it were, and good-faith literature has been entrusted in this age? 5. What do we suppose Aldus would say, if coming back to life now he were to see that he had been succeeded by typographers no small segment of whose number understands scarcely anything else in the matter of books than how to tell a blank from a printed page?³ For those who have made enough progress to be able to tell the Greek letters from Latin, and the Hebrew from the Greek, would regard it as an atrocious slur upon them if they were to be numbered among the uneducated. What do we suppose the famous Marcus Musurus and Janus Lascaris would say, in whose persons Greece first began to come back to life, and who were the leaders in opening up for us the path leading to the inner sanctum of the Greek language?⁴ 6. What, I ask, do we think they would say? They themselves regarded the art of typography with such great honour that they did not think it unworthy of spending their own efforts upon, serving the function of *correctores* (for one should be allowed to speak in typographer's language about the typographic art). What, I ask, would they say were

1535) were Greek exiles in Italy and the first to print Greek texts (from the press of Lorenzo Alopa in Florence).

Consulibus senatuique Francofordiae

Ornatissimis et spectatissimis consulibus senatuique inclytæ urbis Francofordiæ Henricus Stephanus salutem dicit.

1. Diu me suspensum, viri amplissimi, contrariae de dicandis hisce *Nundinis* cogitationes tenuerunt, quum neque dicandas vobis esse putarem, neque cui potius eas dicare possem, viderem. Nam nisi vobis eas dicarem, vestro iure vos fraudare et modo non de possessione avita vos deturbare mihi videbar; at vobis *Nundinarum Francofordiensium encomium* dicare volenti, in mentem veniebat laudare in os putidum esse, et neque apud verecundos id fieri debere, nec ab homine satis verecundo
10 fieri posse. Quod enim Aeschino, qui a *pudore* nomen habet, apud Latinum comicum dicitur, “vereor coram in os te laudare”, id omnibus qui ingenuo praediti sunt pudore, dicendum est.¹

2. Iam vero non vestrae verecundiae tantum, sed meo etiam honori consulendum esse existimabam. At illi male me consulturum, atque
15 omnino futurum arbitrabar ut in assentationis suspicionem inciderem, si dicatione eiusmodi vosmetipsos non solum testes vestrarum laudum, sed etiam velut arbitros constituere velle viderer. Verum hos tandem metus rationes variae superarunt. Primum enim, illud *Encomium* minimam duntaxat esse harum *Nundinarum* partem; deinde, multos huius
20 *Encomii* vobiscum esse participes, quibus assentari me velle, nemo sibi persuadeat; postremo, non eos a me laudari qui sint ignoti, sed qui velut in oculis totius Europae versentur, atque hoc nomine multo minus suspectam esse debere meam laudationem, cogitavi. Hoc quoque non parum me confirmavit, quod me et a vobis et ab amicis ac familiaribus
25 assentationis crimine (si forte id mihi obiiceretur) statim liberatum iri sciebam: a vobis, quod nullam mihi vobiscum amicitiam, nullam necessitudinem intercedere, ac ne notos quidem privatim mihi vos esse sciatis; ab amicis et familiaribus, quod ii, quum ingenium meum

11 Ter. *Ad.* 270

¹ Aeschinus, one the two “brothers” in Terence’s *Adelphi*, derived from the Greek root αἰσχυν- meaning “shame” or “modesty”. Terence (c. 190-159 BCE), an African Roman, was the author of six comedies.

To the Consuls and Senate of Frankfurt

Henri Estienne sends greetings to the most excellent and esteemed consuls and Senate of the renowned city of Frankfurt.

1. Contradictory thoughts have long held me suspended in judgment, most splendid gentlemen, about the dedication of this *Fair* of mine. For I did not think it ought to be dedicated to you, but neither could I see to whom it should rather be dedicated. If I were not to dedicate it to you, I thought that I would be defrauding you of your rights and almost disturbing your ancient rights of tenure. But my wish to dedicate to you the *Encomium of the Frankfurt Fair* was countered by the thought that praising someone to his face was a shoddy thing, and should not be done before the modest, nor by a pretty modest man either. For what is said by Aeschinus, whose name is derived from the Greek word for “modesty”, in the Latin comic poet’s play, “I shrink from praising you before your face”, should be repeated by everyone endowed with native modesty.¹

2. Moreover, I reckoned that I should consider not only your modesty, but also my own honour. Yet I thought that it would be against the interests of my self-esteem and might lead to my encountering suspicions of flattery, if people thought that by a dedication of this kind I was wishing to establish you yourselves not only as witnesses to your eulogy, but also as judges of it. In the end, however, various reasoned arguments overcame these fears. First of all, the *Encomium* is only the smallest part of this *Fair*. Secondly, there are many who share with you in this *Encomium*, whom no one would persuade himself that I wished to flatter. Last, I am not praising people who are unknown, but such as are present as it were before the eyes of all Europe. On this basis, I reckoned that my eulogy ought to be much less suspect. The following consideration also did not a little to confirm my resolve, that is the fact that I knew I would at once be freed from the charge of flattery by you and by my friends and relations, if perchance that were to be cast in my face. You would not countenance the charge, since I share no ties of friendship and none of family with you, and you know that you are not even acquainted with me in a private capacity. My friends and relatives would not either, because they would be able to bear witness, having

perspectum et exploratum habeant, me ab adulatione tam abhorre-
 30 quam qui maxime, testari possint.

3. Sed quid ego partes alienas in hac defensione seu excusatione
 suscipio? Ipsae se defendant, ipsae se excusent Nundinae. Nam sine
 vobis laudari se a me passae non sunt, quum etiam suas laudes vobis,
 nec suas laudes tantummodo, sed vitam ipsam, non secus ac filias
 35 parentibus debere se dicerent. Modum tamen in hac vestri laudatione
 me tenere voluerunt, quod Euripides vere dixisset laudes immodicas iis
 qui laudarentur graves esse et onerosas, dixisset etiam probos viros odio
 quodam prosequi eos, a quibus nimiis laudibus afficerentur. Quod si et
 consilium illarum detegere mihi licet, hanc vestri laudationem non
 40 tantum apud vos, sed apud alios quoque sibi profuturam, et ita se bina
 ex hac commoda percepturas sperarunt. Duo enim sibi persuaserunt:
 nimirum fore ut haec laudatio aliam quamquam eiusdem regionis
 urbem ad aemulationem incendat; fore etiam ut brevi Ovidianum illud
 in vobis comprobari possit:

45 laudataque virtus
crescit, et immensum gloria calcar habet.

4. Quod si eas illa spe frustrari contingat, at ne haec etiam eas fallat, ego
 quoque vos illarum nomine supplex rogabo, et vobis ad hanc rem, sicut
 et ad alias omnes, Dei optimi maximi opem et favorem votis omnibus
 50 exposcam.

Ex typographeio nostro, anno MDLXXIII, pridie Calendas Martias.

perceived and thoroughly investigated my cast of mind, that I shrink from adulation as far as those who detest it most.

3. But why am I taking up someone's else's position in this defence or apology? Let the Fair itself offer her own defence, and her own apology. For without your support the Fair did not allow me to let me praise her, since she said she owed to you even her praises, nor her praises alone, but her very life, exactly the same way as daughters owe theirs to their parents. The Fair wished me to be moderate in this eulogy of you, however, on the grounds that Euripides had said with truth that immoderate praise is grave and burdensome to those praised, and also that honest men detest those by whom they have been showered with hyperbolic encomia. Nevertheless, if I may be permitted to reveal the Fair's intentions, she hoped that this eulogy of you would be of benefit to herself not only with you, but with others also, and that she would in this way receive a double advantage from the praise. For there were two considerations which persuaded her: first that this encomium might impel some other city of the same region to emulate you, and second that very shortly the dictum of Ovid could be demonstrated by your example:

Virtue, when praised, increases; glory holds
A spur immense.

4. But if the Fair happened to be frustrated in the first hope, nonetheless I shall ask you on bended knee in their name not to let her second hope fail her. To this end, I shall request for you in all my prayers the aid and favour of Highest and Mightiest God.

From my press, February 28th, 1573.

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