

CHAPTER I

Reading and Refashioning the Comedy, 1484–1536

Any account of sixteenth-century readings of Dante needs to pay particular attention to the remarkable longevity and popularity of a Florentine relic – the 1481 printed Florentine edition and commentary by Cristoforo Landino, the Comento sopra la Comedia. Landino's large folio commentary is itself a remarkable synthesis of old and new. Chauvinistically pro-Florentine, the prologue remakes Dante in the image of late 1470s and early 1480s Florence, as a Platonist, cosmographer, devotee of the ancients and wellspring of the vernacular. At the same time, in the chiosa or commentary proper, Landino offered a mine of earlier exegesis, Neoplatonizing allegorization and assorted learning. The editorial success of the Comento thirteen reprints in Italy before the end of the sixteenth century - was due in part at least to the way it presented a Platonizing interpretation of the poem that was congenial to later readers, acted as a kind of summa of earlier Dante commentary and housed a veritable vernacular encyclopaedia of doctrinal and scientific material. Even after the publication of new Venetian print commentaries by Vellutello (1544) and Daniello (1568), both of which we will examine in Chapter 5, Landino's own commentary continued to be printed and was never really supplanted. The Comento was, in fact, one of the most republished and widely read vernacular books in Renaissance Italy.2 Utilized by grammarians and by commentators on vernacular literature, by writers of all kinds of treatises and even by poets and authors of literary works of entertainment,3 it attracted a whole host of readers, not only in Italy, but also in late Renaissance France and Spain, and even late Tudor England.⁴ Botticelli, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Bramante, Vasari and other Renaissance artists and architects read Dante through Landino's commentary, as did Ariosto, Tasso and many other Italian poets and prose writers. The printed Landino was made into manuscript copies and translated into other languages.⁶

The present chapter is made up of four main sections which aim to chart Florentine and Venetian printings of Dante's *Comedy* from the early



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1480s to the late 1530s, and to assess more closely Bembo's treatment of Dante in the *Prose* and some early reactions to his judgements. The first section examines the reprints of Landino's edition and commentary produced in Venice, especially in the 1490s, and the provocation to Landino's *Comento* brought about by the 1502 Aldine edition of the *Comedy*, which presented a new text prepared by Bembo himself. Section 2 considers subsequent Venetian editorial initiatives, most of which still involve Landino's *Comento*, as well as an early Florentine edition of the poem, printed in 1506 by the Giunta press, which competes with the Aldine *Comedy*. The third section pays fuller attention to Bembo's *Prose* and its judgements on and overall treatment of Dante. The final part of the chapter then assesses two early responses to Dante in the Veneto in the 1520s, both of which enter into dialogue with Bembo and evaluate Dante in quite different ways.

From Landino to Bembo: Dante Editions, 1484-1502

With one exception, all the late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century reprints of Landino are Venetian.7 There are five Venetian reprints (1484, 1491, 1492, 1493 and 1497) alone before the end of the fifteenth century. These five are followed by a further eight reprints in the sixteenth century. All these pre-1500 editions and a further five (1507, 1512, 1520, 1529, 1536) will be examined in this chapter. The remaining three Venetian editions of Landino (1564, 1576, 1596) will be treated in the final section of Chapter 6. The five incunables examined in this chapter see Landino's edition and commentary of Dante caught up in the rapidly developing Venetian print industry, made up of its networks of craftsmen, typographers, illustrators, scholars, textual editors, businessmen, merchants and investors. All the late fifteenth-century editions of Dante are large folios, the most expensive, bulky and imposing format, which tended to bring with it associations of seriousness and study, and was most commonly used for legal and theological works. And all these editions utilize typographical elements that had been developed by printers based in Venice in order to give the book decorative appeal, to mark up the text for readers and to provide supplementary information for them, including printed illustrations.8 It has become commonplace to use the term paratext to describe the visual and verbal features that represent a text to its readers, thereby setting up a complex series of relationships between the book's physical form and the reader's experience of the book and apprehension of its meanings. In the Introduction, we noted the role of paratexts in manuscript copies of Dante's



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poem, and how there are many points of continuity between the styles of presentation and the supplementary materials provided in manuscript copies, on the one hand, and corresponding features in the early printings, on the other. We also noted how, as vernacular print culture begins to develop and vernacular readers multiply, paratexts themselves proliferate, and what one might call 'paratextualization' of Dante acquires its own characteristics. Print paratexts in editions of Dante include a remarkably rich variety of features that affect the presentation of his texts and the ways in which they are apprehended by its readers, including running titles, frontispieces and titlepages (sometimes with decorative elements and portraits), addresses to the reader, letters of dedication, rubriche or argomenti (that is, condensed narrative outlines of the content of each canto), printed marginal annotations, annotations at the end of the canto, borders and frames of various kinds. often floriated and foliated, illustrations (both full page and vignette), illuminated, rubricated or historiated initials, portraits of the poet, decorative letters, tables of notable matters, indexes (sometimes multiple ones), lists of difficult vocabulary, lists of errata and other ancillary material, such as additional verse compositions that may be by Dante himself or attributed to him or by others in celebration or defence of the poet.9

Surprisingly little work has been done to parse this variety of material and to understand better its functions, the kinds of readers to which paratexts respond, and the styles of reading that they promote. One useful starting point is offered by Guyda Armstrong, who in another context, has suggested a four-fold division – authorial (dedications), organizational (title, title-page, index), visual (decorative elements) and editorial (discursive interventions such as addresses to readers). 10 This taxonomy is helpful, even if we need to acknowledge the inevitable artificiality of the distinctions, and the tendency of them to bleed into one another. For late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions of the Comedy, most paratexts are the creation of editors, and encompass features that Armstrong lists under organizational, visual and editorial. We will be concerned with examining such forms of presentation, assessing the ways they might embed particular kinds of interpretation and offer hermeneutic hints or even frameworks for contemporary readers. We will also explore how paratexts have bearing on questions such as the navigability of the text (or the other parts of the paratext), the authority of the writer or transfers of authorial agency to the editor, printer or others, the processes by which critical reception leaves its mark on the kinds of paratextualization undertaken, and, above all, the dialectical and emulative relationships set up by the kinds of paratexts used in successive editions.

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The five 'Dantes' published in Venice before the end of the fifteenth century reveal four principal innovations with respect to the 1481 Landino. First, we find a desire to emend the text of Dante's poem. Second, there is a strong interest in providing decorative printed initials and borders. Third, beginning with the November 1491 edition and all subsequent ones, visual paratexts are included which provide a full illustrative programme of woodcuts for the entire poem, one for each canto, and separate full-page illustrations for the opening canto of each *cantica*. And fourth, one notes the urge to provide supplementary material for the reader in the form of rubrics, title-pages, indexes, printed marginal notes and additional texts of various kinds. As one would expect of prints in this period, many of these features have strong continuities with the material layout and content of Dante's poem in the manuscript tradition, as well as with other Venetian prints of devotional, classical and vernacular texts, including those of Boccaccio and Petrarch.¹¹

The first folio reprint of Landino, set in Roman typeface and printed by Ottaviano Scoto da Monza, is dated 23 March 1484. Scoto was one of many Italian printers who set up a printshop in Venice in the final two decades of the fifteenth century. He produced almost exclusively works in Latin, editions of patristic and classical texts, as well as treatises on natural philosophy and medicine. His edition of Dante is noteworthy for its typographical quality and its attentiveness to the 1481 edition. The edition introduces elegant, well-executed woodcut initials for the opening letter of each canto, and spaces for historiation on the guide letters are inserted for each new section of commentary. The rubrics provided at the beginning of each *cantica*, and which celebrate the 'divine poet', are identical to those found in the 1481 Landino; and, as in that edition, running headers are provided throughout with the *cantica* and canto number on verso and recto respectively. The edition itself makes some corrections of Dante's text, and provides a denser text block. The section of the section of Dante's text, and provides a denser text block.

The next two Venetian editions are more interesting still. They both carry a colophon which details the date of the printing and some of the circumstances and nature of the editorial work. One is dated 3 March 1491, the other 18 November of the same year. In both editions, the colophons declare that the text has been revised by 'el reverendo maestro Piero da Figino'. The colophon in the March edition is, however, far more detailed, and this fact, combined with the more extensive textual revision that has been undertaken on the basis of the 1484 edition (the amendments in the November edition are based on the 1487 Brescia edition), has led Paolo



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Trovato to suspect that it may well mark a response to the November print, and date instead from March 1492. ¹⁴ The colophon in question reads:

Finita è l'opera dell'inclito & divo Dante alleghieri poeta fiorentino revista & emendata diligentemente per el reverendo maestro Piero da Figino maestro di teologia & excellente predicatore del ordine dei minori & ha posto molte cose in diversi luoghi che ha trovato mancare in tutti i danti li quali sono stati stampadi excepto questi impressi in Venetia per Bernardino Benali & Matthio da Parma & ha ancora posto di fora in li margini tutte le historie notande & li nomi proprii che si trovano in ditta opera fornita de stampar del MCCCCLXXXXI Adì iii marzo come ne dicti danti si potrà vedere sì in lo testo come nela iosa & questo per negligentia & diffecto di correctori passati.

Here is finished the work of the illustrious and divine Dante Alighieri, Florentine poet, diligently revised and corrected by reverend master Pietro da Figino, teacher of theology and excellent preacher of the order of the minors. He has placed many things in different places in the text that he found to be missing in all the Dante editions that have been printed (where the negligence and shortcomings of previous editors are seen in the text and in the gloss), except for those from the Venetian presses of Bernardino Benali and Matteo da Parma, and he has put in the margins all the notable stories and the proper names that are found in this work which was made ready for printing on 3 March 1491[2].

Pietro da Figino was a Tuscan theologian, Pietro Mazzanti da Figline, who was indeed active as a preacher in Venice in 1489–90, and he offers a good example of how Venetian presses made use of Tuscans in editing vernacular texts.¹⁵ Matteo of Parma, better known as Codecà, was active in Venice as a printer both of his own books and those of others. He engaged in collaborative ventures with Lucantonio Giunti and Bernardino Benali, and produced a range of books, in both Latin and vernacular, across a variety of genres.¹⁶ Alongside the textual emendations and supplements noted in the colophon, both these editions of Dante provide significant new materials, not found in either the 1481 or the 1484 'Landinos'. Both carry a programme of illustrations made up of three full-page woodcuts at the beginning of each cantica and then a further ninety-seven smaller vignettes which are placed in rectangular frames at the start of each subsequent canto. The framed illustrations render visually one or more scene from each canto, and they follow (and for Inferno they do this quite closely) the woodcut cycle of sixty-seven striking full-page cuts first produced in the edition of Landino printed in Brescia by Bonino de' Bonini in 1487. The Brescia edition does not, however, include any



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woodcuts after the plate for the first canto of the *Paradiso*, and thus the later Venetian editions represent the first prints that offer illustrations for every canto. Many elements present in these illustrations are familiar devices within the manuscript tradition of 'pictorial' or 'figurative' commentary on the poem. Thus, for example, the characters Dante and Virgil are identified by the first letters of their names (in some printed copies sixteenth-century readers have expanded the initials D. and V. in pen), and the vignettes constitute a frame, often divided into sections, which illustrates successive sequences in the narrative, and can usually be read from top to bottom (fig. 1).¹⁷ The rectangular framed woodcuts draw upon the techniques and expertise available to the Venetian print trade in the late 1480s and early 1490s, and it is notable that many other contemporary Venetian editions, including some for Petrarch and Boccaccio, have similar kinds of illustrations.¹⁸

The November 1491 edition, which was printed by Pietro de Piasi, has larger vignettes; the smaller ones are reproduced in the later Venetian editions printed in 1493, 1507, and 1529. 19 Before the text of the poem and the commentary, the November edition contains an interesting tavola or form of indexation – one found in other Venetian prints of the period and in de Piasi's own earlier edition of Petrarch – which uses alphabetical letters as keys and gives instructions on its use, so that 'con mirabile facilita & prestezza troverai tutto quello che a te sara in piacimento' ('with amazing facility and speed you will find all that you desire').20 It is a revealing marker of the popularity of Landino (and the desire to navigate its riches) that the index is keyed not to Dante's text but rather to the Comento itself. Landino's commentary is even the basis for some features of the woodcuts themselves given that at least one of these offers a pictorial summation of the Florentine commentator's glosses, rather than a visual commentary on material taken from Dante's text.²¹ As well as such 'visual' paratexts, the November 1491 de Piasi edition incorporates an extensive selection of Dante's canzoni, eighteen in total, occupying nearly nine folio pages. The first two are taken from the Vita nova ('Donne che avete' and 'Donna pietosa di novella etade': chapters 19 and 23); the next fifteen follow the order assigned to them by Boccaccio; and the final one is the canzon francesa, the so-called discordo trilingue, a composition in three languages whose authenticity has been disputed but which is now attributed to Dante.²² This interest in Dante's other poetic production is neither a marginal nor an isolated phenomenon in Venice and Florence during this period, and we will explore it more fully when we consider manuscript collections and printings of his vernacular verse in the next chapter.



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The edition carrying the 3 March 1491 colophon (that is, 3 March 1492), which was printed by Bernardino Benali and Matteo of Parma, does not have a 'tavola' nor the selection of Dante's lyrics. It does, however, include, as the extended colophon specifies, 'di fora in li margini tutte le historie notande & li nomi proprii', namely, printed marginal glosses indicating the major historical and mythological figures and the names mentioned. These notabilia are all keyed to Landino's commentary. Given that the print marginalia are quite similar to the kind of hand-written annotations we find penned in some early prints of Landino and are in both Latin and Italian, it may well be that notes memoratu digna on earlier prints or manuscripts of the poem provided the initial basis for this edition.²³ The index goes beyond its declared remit of offering 'historie' and 'nomi', however. The subjects marked up range from authorities cited, to scientific and doctrinal discussions, from allegories and interpretations to the naming of specific commentators, and on to the annotations that identify Dante's imitation of Virgil, his use of rhetorical figures and moralizing sententiae (fig. 1). There is at least one example where this paratext directly addresses its Venetian readership, namely, the printed marginal note on Purgatorio XXIII, 101 where Dante's invective against shameless Florentine women is repurposed in order to make it directly relevant to contemporary Venetians.²⁴ As with other parts of the paratext, such as the index and the illustrations, what is especially noteworthy is the fact that certain features are being introduced so as to make the text more readable for a contemporary audience. The Benali-Codecà edition reproduces a trilogy of pseudo-Dantean terza rima poems, the 'Credo di Dante', 'Pater nostro' and 'Ave maria'. This is not an innovation and again shows connections with the earlier traditions of manuscript production and earlier incunables. For these poems had circulated widely in manuscripts of the Comedy, had their own separate print circulation and had earlier been printed in the Dante incunables produced in Venice and Milan by Vindelino da Spira and Martino Paolo Nidobeato.²⁵ As regards the illustrative material in the March 1492 edition, the printers now transform the first woodcut for Inferno 1 into a full-page illustration and place this within a classicizing architectural frame.26

Codecà printed his own reimpression of the 1492 edition the following year, with the same colophon, set of vignette woodcuts, printed marginalia and group of apocryphal poems. This 1493 *Comedy* makes some further innovations. First, it adds a label-title on the opening page in gothic font 'Dante Alighieri fiorentino'. This is the first time that a title



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CANTO

SEXTO

XXXVI

Mentre che luno fpirto questo disse la luno piangea fi che de pietade io uëni men chossi chomio morisse Eteaddischome corpo morto cade etead icho ete corpo morto cade etead icho ete corpo morto cade etead icho ete corpo morto cade ete corpo ete c

Et caddischome corpo morto cade

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CANTO SEXTO DE LA PRIMA CANTICA DI DANTHE.



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Punifceli el peccato del la gola in q fto terzo cerchio Gaftrimar giaa furor diuctre golo fita. Quatro qua lita Macharebe la natura & lhuố (e no mangualli Fame:apper Sete apetito dibere

Figure 1: 1492 edition of the Comedy: printed page with Dante's text, Landino's commentary, print annotations, and woodcut of narrative scene from Inferno VI



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had appeared in this way in a print edition of Dante; and, as we will see, titles and title-pages are a paratextual element that will become increasingly used to make the book attractive to readers. Second, the opening woodcut for *Inferno* remains in its classical border but is now surrounded by a floreal frame, and this is also reproduced around the opening folio of the commentary proper (in some copies the page is coloured by hand). And, third, the number of printed marginalia is reduced.²⁷ The final folio 'Dante' produced in the fifteenth century is the 1497 edition, printed by Pietro Quarengi. This edition reproduces the 1493 Codecà quite closely, including the gothic title-page and it has identical woodcuts (the large ones following the 1491 edition), the printed marginalia, as well as the closing *terza rima* poems. Its textual revision is based on both the Scoto edition and the Benali one.²⁸

So far, then, we have seen how the early Venetian reprints of Dante maintained Landino's lengthy commentary in imposing folio format, but began to introduce aids for the reader, including illustrative features and other forms of assistance for utilizing Landino's commentary, as well as supplementary textual materials. The next edition of the Comedy produced in Venice in 1502 by Aldus Manutius marks a break with such practices, and it represents a real watershed in the presentation of Dante in print. Indeed, as Carlo Dionisotti and others have argued, this edition, along with Aldus' earlier printing of Petrarch's vernacular verse in 1501, constitutes a decisive turning-point in the history of the relations between Latin literature and its vernacular counterpart. In these two Aldines, we witness vernacular texts that are prepared with the philological attentiveness that Aldus had previously only dedicated to classical texts and that are edited in line with an informed historical understanding of archaic Tuscan. Pietro Bembo himself - who had collaborated with Aldus since the mid-1490s on editions of Latin and Greek works – provided the philological acumen and knowledge of ancient Tuscan that lies behind the quality and consistency of the texts presented in these editions.²⁹ The editions of Petrarch and Dante are, moreover, the first vernacular texts to use the italic type Aldus had commissioned from the Bolognese Francesco Griffo, and pioneered in his 1501 octavo edition of Virgil. The portable octavo format is chosen over the bulkier folio in response to the Venetian folios produced in the 1490s, for both Petrarch and Dante. It is helpful to look first to the July 1501 edition of Petrarch, Le cose volgari di Messer Francesco Petrarcha, where all the essential elements of innovation – material, typographical, linguistic and orthographical – are already found. 30 For the edition of Petrarch's 'vernacular things', Bembo undertook extensive work

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on the basis of manuscripts of Petrarch, and Petrarch's own partial holograph, now housed in the Vatican Library in Rome (MS. Rome, BAV Vat. Lat. 3195).³¹ The colophon itself draws attention to Bembo's editorial work: 'con sommissima diligenza dallo scritto di mano medesima del Poeta, havuto da M. Piero Bembo nobile Venetiano & dallui, dove bisogno è stato, riveduto et racconosciuto' ('printed with the utmost diligence from the writing of the poet's own hand, which has been acquired by the noble Venetian, M. Piero Bembo, and has been revised and checked by him where necessary'). In his address to readers found at the end of this edition, Aldus boasts about his access to personal copies of Petrarch as part of what Storey has called 'authorizing rhetoric'. This 'avviso' or address was added as an appendix to some final print copies, and was most probably written by Bembo himself, as a response to the heady polemics that his edition had already begun to elicit.³² The address also draws attention to the handling of punctuation.³³ What is more, in what amounts to a pre-publication announcement, the 'avviso' signals a projected edition of Dante, noting how the work will be especially welcome, because of the parlous state of the manuscript tradition:

aspettate in brieve un Dante non men corretto che sia il Petrarcha, anzi tanto più anchora da dovervi esser caro, quanto sanza fine più sono e luoghi ne' quali Dante incorrettissimo si vedea, che quivi non si vederà [...]³⁴

wait a little for an edition of Dante that is no less corrected than our Petrarch, and this Dante will be all the more precious for you in proportion to the number of places in which Dante is at present seen to be totally corrupt, and in our new edition he will not be.

Alongside its presentation of a Tuscan Petrarch based on autograph manuscripts, the Aldine octavo edition of Petrarch also reacts against another pervasive feature found in the earlier print editorial tradition of Petrarch's text: the tendency to present the *Rime* with an extensive exegetical apparatus, often with multiple commentaries by Bernardo Ilicino, Francesco Filelfo, Antonio da Tempo and Girolamo Squarzafico. The 1501 Aldine edition returns instead to a format with little or no apparatus. The Aldine edition of Dante in the 1502 octavo embeds nearly all these features. It is printed after a text which is itself based upon a fourteenth-century manuscript — once given by Boccaccio to Petrarch (MS. Rome, BAV Vat. Lat. 3199) and owned by Bembo's father, the ardently pro-Dantean Bernardo, who annotated his own copy of the 1481 edition of Landino, and subsidized the restoration of Dante's tomb in Ravenna in 1483. In preparing