

HUMANISTS WITH INKY FINGERS

The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe

by

ANTHONY THOMAS GRAFTON

2002 Balzan Prizewinner



LEO S. OLSCHKI

2011

ANTHONY THOMAS GRAFTON
Humanists with Inky Fingers.
The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe

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Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei



THE ANNUAL BALZAN LECTURE

— 2 —

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ALBERTO QUADRIO CURZIO

Chairman of the Joint Commissions established by
the International Balzan Foundation “Prize”, the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences
and the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei

FOREWORD

It is a great honour and a remarkable satisfaction for me to write the foreword to this second Annual Balzan Lecture.

This lecture series is the fruit of the Agreements on Collaboration¹ between the International Balzan Foundation “Prize”,² the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences³ and the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.⁴

As Chairman of the two joint commissions, established to give definitive shape to such collaboration, it is both my pleasure and my duty to illustrate the origin and the aim of this initiative.

Since becoming a member of the Balzan “Prize” Board,⁵ I have appreciated the fact that its Chairman, Ambassador Bruno Bottai, has always stressed the inherent international nature of the Balzan, while at the same time recognizing its strong historical roots in Italy and Switzerland. This sentiment – shared by the whole Balzan “Prize” Board, including Achille Casanova, also the distinguished Chairman of the Balzan “Fund” Board in Zurich⁶ – expresses the wishes of the Foundress of the “Balzan” and is actively supported by the Governments of the two Countries.

¹ See p. 11.

² See p. 12.

³ See p. 13.

⁴ See p. 14.

⁵ For composition of members see p. 71.

⁶ For composition of members see p. 77.

In order to give practical expression to this, I proposed that the Balzan “Prize” Board should evaluate a possible collaboration with the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences and the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Both of which are highly regarded internationally.

This collaboration has now taken concrete shape through the constructive role of the Balzan “Prize” Board. Its final form is the result of meetings I had with Professor René Dändliker, former President of the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences, and Dr. Markus Zürcher, Head of Administration of the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences, with the collaboration of Dr. Suzanne Werder, Secretary General of the Balzan “Prize” Foundation, and the full support of the former President of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Professor Giovanni Conso. The successive Presidents of the Swiss Academies, Professors Peter Suter and Heinz Gutscher, as well as President, Professor Lamberto Maffei, of the Accademia dei Lincei have all expressed their strong support for our endeavours.

I am confident that the opportunities for collaboration provided by the Agreements we have concluded, will be beneficial and will strengthen the international role of the Balzan Foundation in promoting the research endeavours of the Balzan Prizewinners. The institutional activities of the Balzan Foundation remain untouched by these Agreements where the authority of the General Prize Committee⁷ – composed of twenty eminent European scholars and scientists – is absolute. The selection of the Balzan Prizewinners is strictly reserved to the autonomous Balzan General Prize Committee which retains its own statutory competence within the Balzan Foundation.

The first Annual Balzan Lecture delivered by Professors Peter and Rosemary Grant on *The Evolution of Darwin’s Finches, Mockingbirds and Flies*, in May 2010, was an outstanding success and succeeded in launching the series of lectures with appropriate fanfare. With this second lecture, *Humanists with Inky Fingers. The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*, given by Professor Anthony Grafton in Zurich, we now turn to the concerns of a renowned scholar in a very different discipline.

⁷ For composition of members see p. 73.

These lectures exemplify the central purpose of the Agreements, to promote the diffusion of cutting edge research and provide a setting for learned discussion. Their subsequent publication ensures that these very valuable contributions to scientific and academic knowledge gain wide distribution.

Anthony Grafton⁸ was awarded the 2002 Balzan Prize for the History of the Humanities *for his outstanding work on the history of scholarship, especially of the classical tradition in European intellectual history since the Renaissance, including the history of the evolution of scholarly practices, techniques and attitudes, and the links between humanist learning and the development of modern science*. He is widely regarded as ‘the Historian of Historians’. Thus, we are extremely honoured that he has accepted our invitation to deliver this lecture.

I state this both as Chairman of the Joint Commissions overseeing the Balzan Agreements with the Academies and as President of the Class of Moral, Historical and Philological Sciences of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

Milan, August 2011

⁸ For biographical and bibliographical data see p. 49.

AGREEMENTS ON COLLABORATION BETWEEN
THE INTERNATIONAL BALZAN FOUNDATION “PRIZE”,
THE SWISS ACADEMIES OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
AND THE ACCADEMIA NAZIONALE DEI LINCEI

(hereafter referred to as the ‘Balzan’, the ‘Swiss Academies’ and the ‘Lincei’, respectively)

The main points of the agreements between the Balzan, the Swiss Academies and the Lincei are the following:

1) The promotion of the Balzan Prize and the presentation of the Prizewinners through the academies’ channels of communication, in Italy and Switzerland as well as abroad. By virtue of the relations of the Swiss Academies and the Lincei with academies of other countries and with international academic organizations, they will contribute to more widespread circulation of news related to the Balzan;

2) On the occasion of the Awards ceremony of the Balzan Prize, held on alternating years in Berne and Rome, each academy will contribute to the scientific organization of an interdisciplinary Forum, in the course of which the Prizewinners of that year will present their scientific work and discuss it with other scientists proposed by the academies. Furthermore, in the years when the ceremony is held in Rome, one of the Prizewinners will give a Balzan Distinguished Lecture in Switzerland, and when the ceremony is held in Berne, a Balzan Distinguished Lecture will be organized at the headquarters of the Lincei in Rome;

3) The academies will contribute to a series of publications in English (ideally with summaries in Italian, German and French), created by the Balzan, with the collaboration of the Balzan Prizewinners.

To promote and supervise all these initiatives, two Commissions have been set up, one between the Balzan and the Swiss Academies (composed of Professor Peter Suter, Dr. Markus Zürcher and formerly Professor René Dändliker, now Heinz Gutscher) and another between

the Balzan and the Lincei (composed of Professors Sergio Carrà, Lellia Cracco Ruggini and formerly Claudio Leonardi†, now Carlo Ossola). Both commissions are chaired by Professor Alberto Quadrio Curzio as a representative of the Balzan, which is also represented by Professors Enrico Decleva and Paolo Matthiae, while the Balzan Secretary General, Dr. Suzanne Werder, has been appointed Secretary of both Commissions.

INTERNATIONAL BALZAN FOUNDATION

The International Balzan Foundation was established in Lugano in 1956 thanks to the generosity of Lina Balzan, who had come into a considerable inheritance on the death of her father, Eugenio. She decided to use this wealth to honour his memory.

Eugenio Francesco Balzan was born in Badia Polesine, near Rovigo (Northern Italy), on 20 April 1874 into a family of landowners. He spent almost his entire working life at Milan's leading daily newspaper, *Corriere della Sera*. After joining the paper in 1897, he quickly worked his way up from editorial assistant, to news editor and special correspondent. In 1903 editor Luigi Albertini appointed him managing director of the paper's publishing house; he then became a partner and shareholder in the company. He was not only a skilful manager but also a leading personality in Milanese society. In 1933 he left Italy due to opposition from certain quarters hostile to an independent *Corriere*. He then moved to Switzerland, living in Zurich and Lugano, where for years he had invested his fortune with success. He also continued his charitable activities in favour of institutions and individuals.

He officially returned to Italy in 1950. Eugenio Balzan died in Lugano, Switzerland, on 15 July 1953.

The *International E. Balzan Prize Foundation* – “Prize” aims to promote, throughout the world, culture, science, and the most meritorious initiatives in the cause of humanity, peace and brotherhood among peoples, regardless of nationality, race or creed. This aim is attained through the annual award of prizes in two general fields: literature, the moral sciences and the arts; medicine and the physical, mathematical and natural sciences.

Nominations for the prizes in the scientific and humanistic fields are received at the Foundation's request from the world's leading learned societies. Candidates are selected by the *General Prize Committee*, composed of eminent European scholars and scientists. Prizewinners must allocate half of the Prize to research work, preferably involving young researchers.

At intervals of not less than three years, the Balzan Foundation also awards a prize of varying amounts for humanity, peace and brotherhood among peoples.

The *International E. Balzan Prize Foundation* – “Prize” attains its financial means from the *International E. Balzan Prize Foundation* – “Fund” which administers Eugenio Balzan's estate.

SWISS ACADEMIES OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

The Association of the “Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences” includes the Swiss Academy of Sciences (SCNAT), the Swiss Academy of Humanities and Social Sciences (SAHS), the Swiss Academy of Medical Sciences (SAMS), and the Swiss Academy of Engineering Sciences (SATW) as well as the two Centres for Excellence TA-SWISS and Science et Cité. Their collaboration is focused on methods of anticipating future trends, ethics and the dialogue between science, the arts and society. It is the aim of the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences to develop an equal dialogue between academia and society and to advise Government on scientifically based, socially relevant questions. The academies stand for an open and pluralistic understanding of science and the arts. Over the long-term, they mutually commit to resolving interdisciplinary questions in the following fields:

- They offer knowledge and expertise in relation to socially relevant subjects in the fields of Education, Research and Technology.
- They adhere to the concept of ethically-based responsibility in gaining and applying scientific and humanistic knowledge.
- They build bridges between Academia, Government and Society.

ACCADEMIA NAZIONALE DEI LINCEI

The Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, founded in 1603 by the Roman-Umbrian aristocrat Federico Cesi and three other young scholars, Anastasio De Filiis, Johannes Eck and Francesco Stelluti, is the oldest scientific academy in the world. It promotes academic excellence through its Fellows whose earliest members included, among many other renowned names, Galileo Galilei.

The Academy's mission is "to promote, coordinate, integrate and disseminate scientific knowledge in its highest expressions in the context of cultural unity and universality".

The activities of the Academy are carried out according to two guiding principles that complement one another: to enrich academic knowledge and disseminate the fruits of this. To this end, the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei organises national and international conferences, meetings and seminars and encourages academic cooperation and exchange between scientists and scholars at the national and international level. The Academy promotes research activities and missions, confers awards and grants, publishes the reports of its own sessions and the notes and records presented therein, as well as the proceedings of its own conferences, meetings and seminars.

The Academy further provides – either upon request or on its own initiative – advice to public institutions and when appropriate drafts relevant reports. Since 1992, the Academy has served as an official adviser to the President of the Italian Republic in relation to scholarly and scientific matters.

WELCOME ADDRESS BY RALPH EICHLER

President of the Federal Institute of Technology (ETH), Zurich

Ladies and gentlemen. This is the first Annual Balzan Lecture to be delivered in Switzerland. I would like to welcome the Presidents of the Swiss Academies of Engineering Sciences, of the Humanities and Social Sciences and of the Medical Sciences. Dear Guests, dear colleagues, as President of the ETH Zurich which hosts the Balzan Annual Lecture this year, I welcome you to our home. The International Balzan Foundation «Prize» and the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences, in cooperation with our in-house Competence Centre «History of Knowledge» – which is also connected to the University of Zurich – have organized this event.

This year's Lecture will be given by Professor Anthony Grafton, Princeton University. He will present his latest findings in relation to the History of Books and Publishing. Anthony Grafton received the Balzan Prize in 2002 for the History of the Humanities. We will have the pleasure this evening to listen to a brilliant intellectual historian of Early Modern Europe. Professor Grafton has taken the history of the classical tradition in the late Renaissance as a starting point for his studies. You will hear more about his outstanding work later.

Although the ETH Zurich is quite a young university and despite our focus on the rather unemotional engineering and natural sciences, we can nevertheless offer some historical object lessons. Just look around! The Semper Aula is an architectural jewel. This room was constructed between 1859 and 1868 according to the design of the famous architect Gottfried Semper, who I would like to point out was the first professor of architecture in the university. Gottfried Semper designed this assembly hall for special academic events and ceremonies. And for this, Professor Grafton's lecture fits the bill very well. Thank you for coming!

I wish you all an informative and stimulating lecture.

WELCOME MESSAGE BY ALBERTO QUADRIO CURZIO

Professor Anthony Grafton of Princeton University, 2002 Balzan Prizewinner for History of the Humanities, is an unparalleled scholar who will deliver today the second Annual Balzan Lecture. Even if it is unnecessary to introduce Professor Grafton, given his fame, it is worthwhile to stress that he deals with the essence of history and “time”, and that his research work has reverberated throughout the profession and into the wider sphere of the layman. His approach to history is that of an interlocutor and from this perspective he has engaged in a profound conversation with the past. He has voyaged into the past and therefore become both a witness to history and a scholar who explains the path and progression of the history of the humanities.

This evening’s lecture entitled *Humanists with Inky Fingers: The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* is yet another product of this discourse, echoing his earlier work on footnotes. I am sure that a whole new perspective on this era will emerge from Professor Grafton’s Lecture.

We are confident, given the eminence of the speakers, that “The Annual Balzan Lecture” will become a landmark event. As Chairman of the Joint Commissions established by the International Balzan Foundation “Prize”, the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences and the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, I wish to take this opportunity to thank the Chairman of the Swiss Balzan Foundation “Fund” Achille Casanova and the Chairman of the Italian Balzan Foundation “Prize” Bruno Bottai for their continuous support.

I wish also to thank the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences for their efforts in organizing this event in Switzerland, the “Geschichte des Wissens” of the ETH and the University of Zurich for their cooperation and for their hospitality, and the President of the ETH, Profes-

sor Ralph Eichler who also addressed the audience along with Professor Peter Suter, President of the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences. I wish to thank the other participants as well, Professor Michael Hagner and Professor Valentin Groebner, for their academic contributions.

OPENING REMARKS BY PETER SUTER

President of the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences

Dear Professor Eichler, dear Professor Grafton, ladies and gentlemen.

First I would like to thank Professor Eichler for allowing us to use this wonderful auditorium for such a prestigious event, the first Balzan Annual Lecture in Switzerland. As the President of the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences, I am very happy that in collaboration with the Balzan Foundation and also the Competence Centre “History of Knowledge” of the ETH, the leading technical university in Switzerland, we have been able to organize this event here.

When I started my medical studies in the university building next to this one, this auditorium of the ETH was already quite well known for its cultural events and lectures. At that time for instance Professor Karl Schmid was lecturing in German literature in this building and it was a pleasure for us to come to the ETH to learn about Philosophy and the Humanities in the home of the engineers. Today, it is a great pleasure for me to participate in this very fruitful collaboration with the Balzan Foundation and, as a result, to organize today’s lecture by an outstanding representative of the human and social sciences, and their essential connection to other domains of research.

The Balzan Foundation is not only noted for its illustrious Prizewinners, but also for what it does for academia in many different fields including the natural and technical sciences as well as the humanities. This evening we will be offered an insight into the history of the humanities – a very good way of also appreciating how important different disciplines impact on the various fields of academia.

On this occasion, it is also a great pleasure for me to welcome Walter Burkert – 1990 Balzan Prizewinner – who is with us in the audience. He was formerly Professor of Studies of the Ancient World in Zurich.

I would now like to briefly present to you Professor Michael Hagner, who will deliver an introduction to this evening’s lecture by

Anthony Grafton. Michael Hagner has studied both medicine and philosophy, which is not a very usual nor a very frequent combination, but a useful one nevertheless for both fields of activities. He studied at the Freie Universität Berlin and then conducted research in Neurophysiology before taking up other interests: History of Science and Philosophy. He also worked at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine in London, and then at the Universities of Lübeck and Göttingen where he obtained his habilitation at the Medical Faculty in 1994. In 1995 he moved to the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin and finally, as it happens frequently with very gifted scientists, the ETH Zurich recruited him in 2003 to come here and direct this Competence Centre, which is a shared organization between the University of Zurich and ETH Zurich. I think this is a very wise arrangement in terms of providing benefit to the students of both universities. Michael Hagner has been a visiting Professor at the Universities of Salzburg, Tel Aviv, Frankfurt am Main and Cologne. He was a Fellow at the Collegium Helveticum in Zurich, the Zentrum für Literatur und Kulturforschung in Berlin and at the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in Paris. Professor Hagner has received many important distinctions, including the Prize of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities and the Sigmund Freud Prize for academic prose from the Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung. He has written a number of important books in this area including *Homo cereбрalis*, *Der Wandel vom Seelenorgan zum Gehirn* and *Geniale Gehirne: Zur Geschichte der Elitegehirnforschung*.

It is a pleasure for me to hand over to Michael Hagner, who will introduce Anthony Grafton. I am quite sure that you will enjoy the following excursion in the fascinating landscapes of the history and culture of the humanities.

PRESENTATION OF ANTHONY THOMAS GRAFTON
BY MICHAEL HAGNER

Chair, Science Studies, Federal Institute of Technology (ETH), Zurich

TIME AND BOOKS. INTRODUCING ANTHONY GRAFTON

President Suter, President Eichler, Professor Grafton, colleagues, ladies and gentlemen.

In February 1858, when he was still professor at the ETH Zurich and was working on his masterpiece *The Civilization of the Italian Renaissance*, Jacob Burckhardt wrote to his friend: “Das Erdenleben ist erstaunlich kurz im Verhältniß zu den vielen Büchern die man lesen und dem vielen geistigen Stoff, den man sich aneignen soll”.¹ [This span of life on Earth is exceptionally brief in proportion to the many books one should read and the intellectual material that one should absorb].

I am not sure, whether Anthony Grafton has quoted this sentence in one of his writings, but Burckhardt’s lament contains two aspects, which seem to be crucial for Grafton’s work. On the one hand, there is the permanent challenge of time and the recognition of the brevity of life. On the very first pages of his intellectual biography of Girolamo Cardano, the Renaissance astrologer, mathematician and physician, Grafton emphasizes Cardano’s reflection upon time, according to which the loss of time is a greater tragedy than the loss of any other thing.² If the biographer admires his protagonist for being aware of the difficulties of understanding and mastering time, then his own life as a scholar, as a university lecturer and as an intellectual is a sound example for a remarkably productive and creative use of time. This leads

¹ JACOB BURCKHARDT, *Briefe. Bd. III, April 1846 bis März 1858*, Basel, Schwabe, 1955, p. 277.

² ANTHONY GRAFTON, *Cardanos Kosmos. Die Welten und Werke eines Renaissance-Astrologen*, Berlin, Berlin Verlag, 1999, p. 9.

me to the second aspect of Burckhardt's statement: books. Grafton has never hidden the fact that books have been the most important intellectual food in his life. He has emphasized on several occasions that as a young boy his Ali Baba's cave was the New York Public Library at Fifth Avenue and Forty-Second Street. As a student in the 1970s he devoured the old book collection at the University of Chicago, where he studied history and earned his PhD in 1975, and the legendary Warburg Library in London, where he spent one year studying with the historian Arnaldo Momigliano.

Since then, Grafton has occupied a desk in every library around the world, in which he could find manuscripts, books and other sources which were relevant for his studies on the Renaissance and the Reformation, on historiography and chronology, on forgery and footnotes, on polymaths and the "Republic of Letters". This woefully incomplete list may give you a clue that it would be hopeless for me to give you a representative, let alone full picture of Grafton's prodigious contribution to the history of the humanities. Instead, I would like to focus on the question, why has his work become so important far beyond Renaissance and Reformation studies?

To begin with one external factor, Grafton's first volume on the Calvinist scholar Joseph Scaliger came out in 1983,³ that is the year, when Umberto Eco's novel *Il nome della rosa* was first translated into English. This is a mere coincidence, but I am convinced that the worldwide reception of this novel was helpful for historians to make their point that the pre-modern world of scholarship, the history of books and of libraries and the complex interweaving of knowledge and belief are indeed a rich field of studies in order to understand theories, values and practices that have become self-evident in the modern world of erudition and learning. Did you know, for example, that Girolamo Cardano invented the citation index? Not without vanity, he made a list of 73 famous authors, who had mentioned his work and thus he was convinced that he had found evidence for his reputation.⁴

What does such a list mean in the history of scholarship? We are obviously not dealing with one of those great ideas that seemingly chan-

³ ANTHONY GRAFTON, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship. Vol. 1: Textual Criticism and Exegesis*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1983.

⁴ ID., *Cardanos Kosmos*, pp. 11-12.

ged the world like an earthquake or a war. We are rather confronted with those little tools of knowledge, with practices, habits and sometimes tacit operations, which tell us more about the making, establishment and transformation of knowledge than great ideas. This leads me to my second point for understanding the importance of Anthony Grafton's work. Born in the 1950s, he belongs to that generation of Anglo-American scholars – others are Lorraine Daston, Simon Schaffer and Steven Shapin – who have radically transformed the field of history of science and of the history of ideas.

In the history of science, the traditional focus on theories and ideas was replaced by studying experimentation and observation, instruments and scientific objects. Instead of erroneously assuming that epistemic categories like rationality or objectivity are timeless, these categories and others like trust, scepticism or eye-witnessing were studied in their historical emergence. This new approach led to a set of new questions: Who are the individuals involved in the research process? How did they practice and communicate? What social networks did they build, and what did these networks mean for their evaluation of knowledge production? What were the categories, rules, values and standards that guided their work?

Anthony Grafton has contributed enormously to this enterprise, to the history of science in the Anglo-American sense, yet more so to the history of the humanities. In his study on *Forgers and Critics* he brilliantly showed that the criminal work of forgers was crucial for the coming into being of standards for the critical evaluation of historical documents.⁵ The same can not be said for fraud in the experimental sciences! And in his book on the history of the footnote he argued that these little and sometimes monstrous appearances at the bottom of a book page did not merely serve as proof and evidence, they were also instruments for controversial debates.⁶

Controversial debates – this is my third topic, and perhaps the most important one. The Anthony Grafton I know is far from being combative, but he intervenes constantly in contemporary debates on the func-

⁵ ANTHONY GRAFTON, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1990.

⁶ ID., *Die tragischen Ursprünge der deutschen Fußnote*, Berlin, Berlin Verlag, 1995.

tion of the humanities. To do so, it is necessary, but not sufficient to be an erudite scholar. In addition, one has to be a prolific and elegant writer, who is ambitious enough to find readers beyond the community of scholars. Allow me to quote Jacob Burckhardt again. In 1847 Burckhardt wrote: “Wie viele haben denn eingesehen, dass eine Zusammenstellung lauter wahrer, gut geforschter Thatsachen doch noch immer keine Wahrheit, d. h. keinen wirklichen geschichtlichen Eindruck ausmacht? – Gegen das Naserümpfen der jetzigen Gelehrsamkeit muß man sich mit etwas Gleichgültigkeit panzern und sich damit zufrieden geben, daß man vielleicht gekauft und gelesen, nicht bloß in Bibliotheken mit saurem Schweiß excerptirt wird”.⁷ [How many people actually understand that the sum of verifiable facts cannot represent the whole truth, i.e. it cannot render the complete historical import? One has to protect oneself with a certain indifference in the face of the haughty erudition evidenced in today’s world. Rather one should take satisfaction when your works are bought and read, instead of being merely thumbed in libraries] History is concerned with narration and interpretation, and not with the juxtaposition of persons, dates and events, even if quantitative methods and data banks are useful tools. I would bet that Grafton fully subscribes to Burckhardt’s claim and to the narrative turn in 19th century history. Evidence for that may be found in his most recent book, the *Cartographies of Time*, co-authored with Daniel Rosenberg.⁸ This book deals with the visualization of chronology and genealogy, and, yes, we are fully convinced that visual forms have been important for the conceptualization of history as well as for other disciplines. However, this conceptualization does not simply occur through visualizations or through chronologies themselves, but through a rigorous and well-formulated argument. Burckhardt writes with admirable zest: “[die] eigenen Resultate in deutscher Sprache für alle Gebildeten wahrhaft maulbar [machen]”.⁹ [...one should make available to all intellectuals one’s own results in German...] The important point here is not that Burckhardt is concerned with the German language. You could of course replace German by Italian, French, or Russian

⁷ BURCKHARDT, *Briefe*. Bd. III, p. 80.

⁸ DANIEL ROSENBERG and ANTHONY GRAFTON, *Cartographies of Time. A History of the Timeline*, Princeton, Princeton Architectural Press, 2010.

⁹ BURCKHARDT, *Briefe*, Bd. III, p. 80.

etc. The point is that scholars have to use the language they master, and this is not necessarily English.

I began my introduction by emphasizing the role of time and of books in Grafton's intellectual cosmos. Let me finally return to these two issues. Recently, Grafton has intervened in two debates, which are of vital importance to the humanities, the first of which concerns the ongoing digitalization and virtualization of books. There are people who provocatively argue for the disappearance of the printed book, and there are others who with the same level of conviction bemoan the decline of scholarship. In this situation, the text *Codex in Crisis*, first published in the "New Yorker" and republished in an extended version in the beautiful collection *Worlds Made by Words*, is like a cathartic cure.¹⁰ The recipe is very simple and can be passed on to any student in his or her first semester: it would be an enormous waste of time not to use the electronic search machines and not to use virtual publications for your research, but at the same time, you will never become a serious scholar, if you exclusively rely on virtual sources.

The other debate concerns the fatal attacks against the humanities, notably in the United States and Britain, where the government has decided to cut the budget for the humanities completely. This decision is indeed alarming for the entire civilized world. In defending the civic importance of the humanities, Grafton uses the analogy of slow food, when he talks about research, writing books and teaching students: "Slow scholarship – like Slow Food – is deeper and richer and more nourishing than the fast stuff. But it takes longer to make, and, to do it properly, you have to employ eccentric people who insist on doing things their way".¹¹

If Anthony Grafton had not taken his time in tramping through the world of books, our world would be more dingy – and we certainly would not have the pleasure to come together here at the ETH Zurich and enjoy this Annual Balzan Lecture 2010.

¹⁰ ANTHONY GRAFTON, "Codex in Crisis", in ID., *Worlds Made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West*, Cambridge / MA, Harvard University Press, 2009, pp. 288-324.

¹¹ ID., "Slow food and fast, University style", in *The Daily Princetonian*, February 16th, 2010, <http://www.dailyprincetonian.com/2010/02/16/25167/> (accessed 24 January 2011).

Lecture by ANTHONY THOMAS GRAFTON

HUMANISTS WITH INKY FINGERS

THE CULTURE OF CORRECTION IN RENAISSANCE EUROPE

By the late summer of 2002 I thought I had seen everything – everything that can happen to a teacher and scholar. I had given lectures and seminars, published books and articles, reviewed and been reviewed. Critics had praised me for upholding traditional standards of scholarship and denounced me as a Marxist deconstructionist. A former student and his collaborator had even turned me into the villain of a best-selling mystery novel set in Princeton. Happily, they granted me a dramatic death scene. But the announcement of the Balzan Prize came as a complete shock – one made all the more stunning by the fact that the first official announcement took the form of an attachment to an email message, which I could not open. Only a subsequent note from Nicolette Mout revealed that I had won.

As clarity returned, nothing about the award inspired more pleasure than the requirement that half of the prize money be used to further the work of young scholars. For many years I had studied the life and work of the French classical scholar Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609). Like many scholars of his time, Scaliger saw himself as a citizen of an international Republic of Letters – an imagined community that stretched across linguistic, political and religious borders. Scaliger maintained relations with his fellow citizens by writing letters – letters in Latin, for the most part, some of them brief and formal, others long, passionate, and dense with technical content. At the same time, though, Scaliger was very French. As a young man he knew the poets of the Pléiade and the legal scholars who were recreating a new French past. He loved the French language, and used it to correspond with the friends of his youth. Throughout his life, he had re-

ceived letters in French from men and women of many different social ranks. Scaliger's correspondence, in other words, was a complex corpus that had made him part of multiple social networks.

This much I knew, but not a great deal more. In my own research I had concentrated on Scaliger's editions of texts and treatises, which earned him his great reputation and his unique research professorship at Leiden, and the notes and other materials he had collected in preparing these.¹ When using Scaliger's correspondence to supplement these sources and set them into context I depended – as other scholars have – on a motley collection of earlier editions. These had the merit of existing but not many others. Scaliger wrote his letters himself, in a beautifully clear script that bore out a saying of my teacher, Arnaldo Momigliano: "a great man with good handwriting is twice a great man". But none of the editions was complete, and even brief comparison with surviving manuscripts showed that the editors had not always accurately reproduced what he wrote. Would it be possible to find young scholars who were interested in these materials and had the skills and energy needed to prepare them for publication?

Learned friends – above all Nicolette Mout, Henk Jan de Jonge of Leiden and Jill Kraye of the Warburg Institute in London – offered advice and support. They pointed out that an edition needs a base. The Warburg Institute – itself a bastion of the European Republic of Letters since the 1920s – offered to provide space and support for the project. The Balzan Foundation agreed that an edition would make an appropriate use of the award. An advertisement was posted and a committee was formed. To the delight of all involved, two superbly qualified scholars materialized on cue: Paul Botley, a British specialist in Renaissance humanism, especially the Italian variety, trained at Cambridge, and Dirk van Miert, a Dutch specialist on universities and scholarship in Holland in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, trained at Amsterdam. Both had excellent Latin (as well as a number of other languages, all of which proved necessary). Both had considerable experience in the study of Renaissance manuscripts and early printed books. And both were deeply interested in the history of scholarship in the Renaissance.

¹ ANTHONY GRAFTON, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1983-93).

Paul and Dirk made skillful use of catalogues, many of them now on line, to assemble a full corpus of Scaliger's preserved letters – one much larger than the printed corpus from which I and others had worked. It has continued to grow as manuscripts were newly catalogued – most recently at the Royal Library at Copenhagen. The full correspondence turned out to include “1650 letters, about 800 of which were written by Scaliger”. His discussion partners included great philologists like Isaac Casaubon and Justus Lipsius, the astronomer Tycho Brahe, the Arabist Etienne Hubert, the antiquaries Markus Welser and Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc, and the lawyer and historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou – a conspectus of the north European Republic of Letters at its most erudite. The letters, most of them informal, reveal much about the everyday life of a scholar in the years around 1600: they include Scaliger's thanks for a remedy for colic, accompany bottles of wine that he sent to friends, decline invitations to weddings and ask for help obtaining rare manuscripts and books. One even reveals that the great man's teeth were falling out. (Scaliger was proud that he came from Gascony, a land known for its inhabitants' tendency to boast and exaggerate; when his skeleton was exhumed in 1980, it turned out that his front teeth had remained intact).²

Most important, the letters shed a brilliant new light on the development of Scaliger's interests and methods as a scholar – both those that found expression in his published works and some that did not. As Paul and Dirk established and annotated the texts – which now fill eight bulging volumes, currently undergoing a final scrutiny by Henk Jan de Jonge before publication – it became clear that they would yield a new narrative about Scaliger and his world. Perhaps they will inspire someone to replace what remains the standard biography of Scaliger, a slender, eloquent book written by the philologist and ancient historian Jacob Bernays in the 1850s, with a new one. In the meantime, the experience of working on them has inspired Paul and Dirk to begin their own new enquiries into the structures of scholarship – the shapes of scholarly lives and accomplishments – in the premodern world.

One of the many points that Paul and Dirk established as they worked seemed particularly fascinating. In 1627, Daniel Heinsius edi-

² For details on the project see its website, <http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/research/projects/scaliger/> (consulted on September 27, 2011).

ted for Elzevir in Leiden an edition of Scaliger's Latin correspondence.³ Isaac Casaubon had already printed some of Scaliger's letters in 1610. Across Europe, citizens of the Republic of Letters gathered their unpublished letters from Scaliger and sent them to Leiden. Given Scaliger's clear handwriting, one might think that Heinsius only had to set the texts in order and give them to the printer.

In fact, as Botley and van Miert showed, Heinsius found plenty of work for his nimble pen. The edition was meant as a memorial to a great man. But Scaliger's Latin, though fluent and forceful, was imperfect. Scaliger did not worry about maintaining the sequence of tenses or putting verbs at the ends of sentences. Heinsius made him do both.⁴ And the editor did more as well. Scaliger was famously indiscreet, as the printer Franciscus Raphelengius jr. noted in a letter to Lipsius: "those he calls scoundrels, asses, beasts and ignoramuses today will be gentlemen, scholars and savants another day".⁵ His letters swarmed with unkind remarks about friends and colleagues – not to mention enemies like Marin Del Rio, S.J., whom he termed "stercus Diaboli" (Del Rio's reply was simple but devastating: the devil does not shit). Heinsius did his best to make the letters decorous, as befitted the personal testimony of a great man. Sometimes Heinsius did his work so seamlessly that no reader could have noticed it. In a letter of 1599 to the Pensionary of Holland, Jan van Oldenbarnevelt, Scaliger – the best-paid member of the Leiden faculty – complained that he had to pay an especially high tax assessment. He described this as "not a decree of the Estates but a conspiracy of the professors, who would like to ease their burdens and enlarge mine".⁶ Heinsius neatly snipped out the one word "professors", leaving a grammatical if slightly confusing sentence that would irritate no one.⁷

³ JOSEPH SCALIGER, *Epistolae omnes quae reperiri putuerunt*, ed. Daniel Heinsius (Leiden, Elzevir, 1672).

⁴ See the excellent account by Paul Botley and Dirk van Miert on the project website (<http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/research/projects/scaliger/>).

⁵ Franciscus Raphelengius to Justus Lipsius, 7 November 1595; in *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum tomus I [- V]*, ed. Peter Burman (Leiden, Luchtmans, 1727), I, 208: "Laudator et contemptor vehemens ac saepe eiusdem viri aut rei. Qui hodie *Maraus*, *Asnes*, *Bestes*, *Ignorants* etc. alias iidem erunt *Galant-hommes*, *Doctes*, *Sçavants* etc."

⁶ Scaliger to Oldenbarvelt, 20 April 1599; Leiden University Library MS BPL 885: "Ego, qui scirem non ordinum hoc decretum, sed ipsorum Professorum conspirationem esse, qui se levare, me onerare vellent ...".

⁷ SCALIGER, *Epistolae omnes quae reperiri potuerunt*, ed. Daniel Heinsius (Leiden, Elzevir,

But Scaliger also complained, in ways harder to soften, of the injuries that individual dunces had inflicted on him. In 1590, Franciscus Junius had defiled Scaliger's edition of Manilius by reprinting it and adding his own comments, in which he presumed to criticize the great man. Scaliger revenged himself by defacing his own copy of the book with kind remarks like "cacat". He said unkind things about Junius in more than one letter. In this and many other cases, Heinsius replaced the names of those who served as Scaliger's targets with asterisks. But context made many of these references transparent. Owners of the published letters enjoyed the game of filling in the missing names, especially after Paul Colomiès published a key to them in 1669. Richard Bentley, for example, entered the names in his copy of Scaliger's letters, now in the British Library.⁸

Others – especially those who felt the stab of Scaliger's bent nib – were not amused. Gerardus Joannes Vossius, Junius's son-in-law, complained to Scaliger's literary executor, Franciscus Gomarus, that Scaliger and Heinsius had slandered a worthy man. The editors – i.e. Heinsius – had failed to carry out their full duty when presenting such incendiary materials to the public: "They did right, and deserve praise when they put an asterisk in place of Junius's name at every point ... But I would have preferred for them to omit the entire sentences. For as it is a fair number of readers will understand what is being said from what precedes and follows these passages. In particular, those who lived in the time of Junius and Scaliger will be quite clever enough".⁹

To a modern reader, trained to believe that an author's every word matters, these changes seem wrong-headed. In the early modern peri-

1627), 707. I owe this example to the Scaliger project website (this document has now been removed from the website).

⁸ British Library 1086.b.1.

⁹ Gerardus Joannes Vossius to Franciscus Gomarus, 11 May 1627; VOSSIUS, *Epistolae selectiores* (Amsterdam, Blaeu, 1699), 56: "Recte interim ac laudabiliter quod omnibus in locis, loco Juniani nominis, asteriscum posuere, uti et cum Manilius Junii, vel Tertullianus, vel Epistolae ejus ad Atticum taxarentur. Mallem tamen totas periodos omisissent. Nunc sic quoque intelligent non pauci, quid dicatur, idque ex iis, quae vel praecedunt, vel consequuntur. Ac imprimis illi sagaces satis erunt, qui Junii et Scaligeri temporibus vixere." See also Vossius to Franciscus Junius jr., 22 September 1628, *ibid.*, 76; Vossius to Joannes Meursius, 2 May 1630, *ibid.*, 86; Meursius to Vossius, 5 March 1630, *ibid.*, 89; Vossius to Meursius, 2 May 1630, *ibid.*, 96.

od, as Paul and Dirk showed, they were normal practice. When the first collection of Isaac Casaubon's letters was published a few years after Scaliger's, the editor took care to remove potentially offensive passages and leave no trace.¹⁰ And in fact there were many earlier precedents for gentle scholarly bowdlerism. Aldus Manutius deliberately redacted the letters of Angelo Poliziano when he printed them in 1498.¹¹ The corrector who printed the letter of Joannes Trithemius at Haguenau in 1536 edited the salutations found in the original MS, which indicated that Trithemius had received mail from "the gymnosophist of the University of Cologne" (and which suggest to me, as they perhaps suggested to the corrector, that his correspondence, like many of his other writings, was partly, if not wholly, fraudulent).¹² Even some of those who printed their own letters did the same. When Erasmus published his correspondence in 1521, for example, he admitted that when he had come across letters that were intemperate in tone, he had "either omitted them or softened them", and he asked Beatus Rhennanus, the master corrector who oversaw the edition, to ensure that the publication did his reputation as little harm as possible.¹³

In theory – as Erasmus himself argued in his art of letter writing – letters directly and transparently represented the writer's self. But the self they represented was supposed to be decorous – the self that the writer wanted the public to know. Like the girls who attended school with Jane Eyre, the humanist letter-writer was to be the child not of Nature but of Grace. All humanists looked back to such models as Cicero, who filled his correspondence with formulas of politeness; Pliny, who insisted that he would never have collected and circulated his letters on his own; and Jerome, who sometimes wrote under the names of

¹⁰ PAUL DIBON, *Les avatars d'une édition de correspondance: les Epistolae I. Casauboni de 1638*, «Nouvelles de la République des Lettres», 2 (1982), 25-63.

¹¹ ANGELO POLIZIANO, *Letters*, ed. Shane Butler (Cambridge, Mass., I Tatti Renaissance Library, 2008-), I, 291-293.

¹² In the holograph collection of Trithemius's letters, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana MS Pal. lat. 730, ep. II.31, 152 recto – verso, is headed *Epistola nicolai gerbellii phorcensis gymnosophiste in academia coloniana: ad ioannem tritemium abbatem*. This splendid title reappears at II.36, 159 verso: *presbyter et gymnosophista erpfordiensis*. In the printed edition of the letters, Trithemius, *Epistolarum familiarium libri duo* (Haguenau, Brubach, 1536), the reference to gymnosophists disappears from the headings to the letters in question: mute evidence of a corrector trying to make the collection look more plausible.

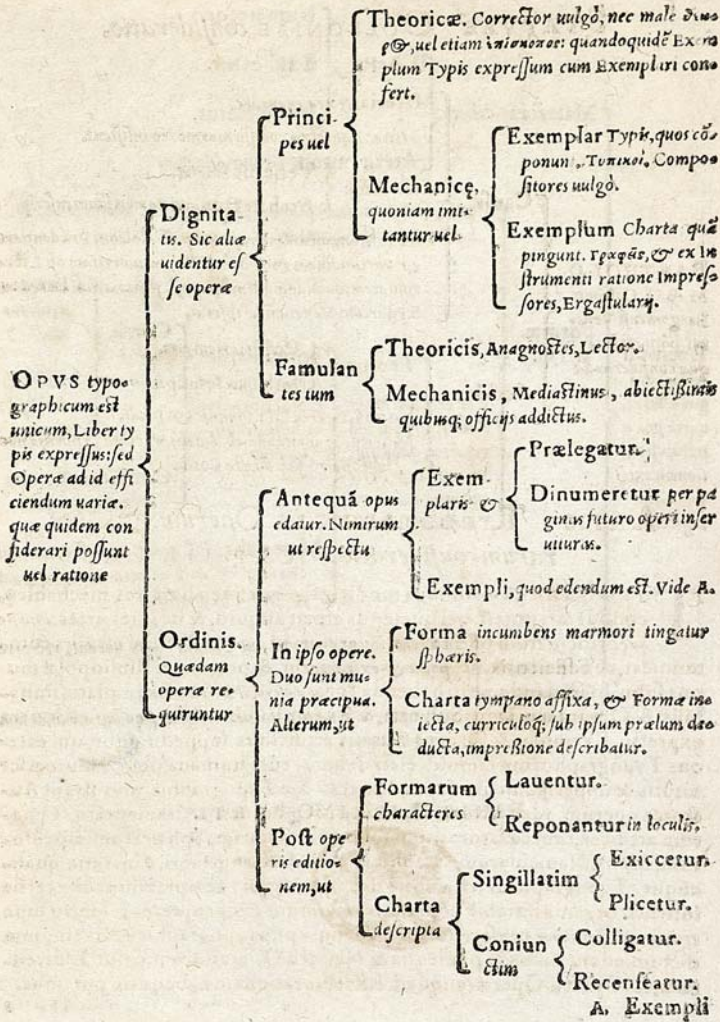
¹³ ERASMUS, *Opus epistolarum*, ed. Allen et al., IV, 409.

his female friends and companions. Apparently the ancients had not simply collected their letters, but redacted them to achieve certain rhetorical ends. Many no doubt suspected that Petrarch, the first of the modern letter-writers, had done the same when he edited and reshuffled his letters in the collections that he entitled *Familiares* and *Seniles*. If so, they were right.¹⁴ It seems likely that most of the humanists whose letters were edited after their deaths would have preferred to reach the public more or less as Scaliger did, rather than to be the object of a scrupulous philology that exposed them, warts and all.

Since the 1970s, I had been interested in the work of printers' correctors – the poor devils of letters who worked in printing shops, reading proofs and preparing texts for publication – doing, in essence, exactly what Heinsius did for Scaliger. As fortune had it, I was invited to give the Panizzi lectures at the British Library in December 2009. Inspired by watching Paul and Dirk, I devoted them to the larger question of how texts were prepared for publication in the first age of print. In the remainder of this lecture – a short preview of a larger book, to be published by the British Library – I will present, very briefly, some inky-fingered citizens of the Republic of Letters, men who occupied hard stools in printers' workshops rather than comfortable chairs in universities. I will show that when Heinsius and others redacted scholars' letters, they were adapting normal printing-house practice; that the correctors who did this vital work received little respect or money; and that the printing-house craft of correction in fact had its roots in the world of manuscript books – a fact that helps to explain why correction so often provoked fury rather than gratitude in those corrected.

What did a corrector do? We can start by asking a learned Swiss. The Basel scholar Theodor Zwinger laid out in diagrammatic form, in the manner of Petrus Ramus, the table of organization of a printing house and an inventory of equipment, materials and operations to be performed with them (Plate 1). At the top right he noted that printers have employees of two sorts: theoretical and mechanical. The mechanical employees set the type, ink the formes and print the pages. The theoretical employees, correctors, compare the text printed in the shop

¹⁴ ALDO BERNARDO, Letter-Splitting in Petrarch's *Familiares*, «Speculum», 33 (1958), pp. 236-241; HANS BARON, *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press for the Newberry Library, 1968), pp. 7-101.

Plate 1. THEODOR ZWINGER, *Methodus apodemica* (Basel, 1577). British Library.

with the “example”, or copy that it reproduces. All seems simple – as it does in Zwinger’s second diagram, a crisp flow chart (Plate 2). Here he states – accurately – that the correctors read each leaf three times, twice against the original and once, in revises, against the second corrected proof. Karl Krauss dismissed readers as a mere “byproduct” of literature. Similarly, it seems that correction was a direct byproduct of the invention of printing.

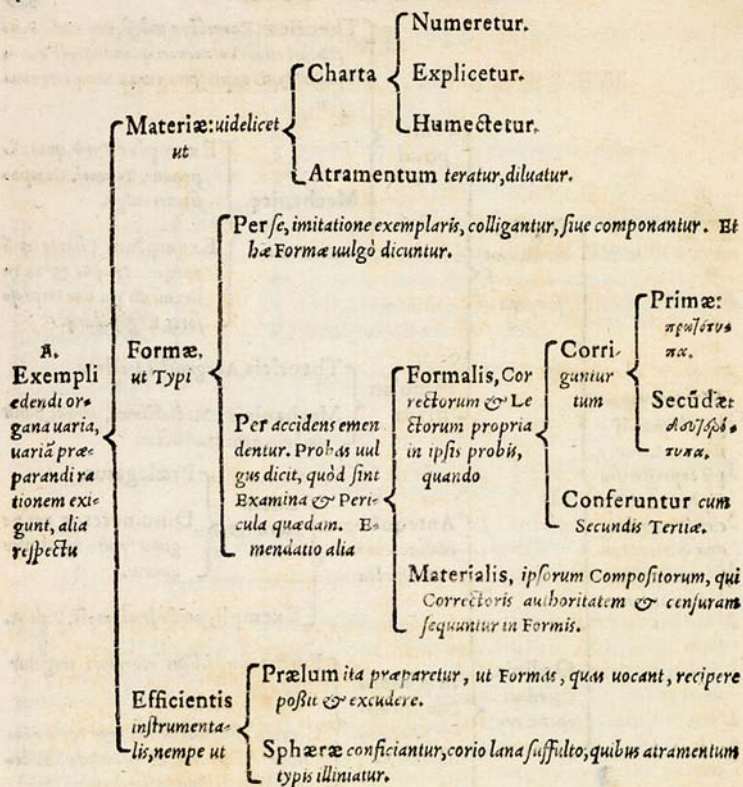
Like any other occupation, correction developed its own culture. Its practitioners soon devised their own technical language. Raimundo Silva, the proof-reader who is the anti-hero of José Saramago’s *The History of the Siege of Lisbon*, offers a superbly imaginative meditation on the best-known of them all, the deletion sign derived from the Greek δ : “yes, this, symbol is called *deleatur*, we use it when we need to suppress and erase, the word speaks for itself, and serves both for separate letters and complete words, it reminds me of a snake that changes its mind just as it is about to bite its tail”.¹⁵ This particular coded abbreviation came into existence very rapidly indeed. A proof sheet from an edition of Justinian’s Institutes produced in Peter Schöffer’s shop as early as 1475 shows the *deleatur* in full flower in its margins.¹⁶ Jerome Hornschuch, who published the first manual for correctors in 1608, included a table of correctors’ signs, some of which remain in use (Plate 3).

Like other new occupations, correction seemed to require a particular sort of person. The great Antwerp publisher Christopher Plantin etched the frightening portrait of an ideal corrector in a letter of recommendation for his own son-in-law, Franciscus Raphelengius: “He has never been passionately interested in anything so much as the study of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac and Arabic tongues (in which those who confer with him familiarly affirm that he is no mean scholar) and of the humanities; also he will correct loyally, carefully and faithfully whatever is entrusted to him, without ever seeking to parade his learning or show off before others, for he is very retiring and most assiduous at the tasks assigned to him”.¹⁷ In theory, at least,

¹⁵ JOSÉ SARAMAGO, *The History of the Siege of Lisbon*, tr. Giovanni Pontiero (London, Harvill, 1996), 3.

¹⁶ See WEHMER, *Ein frühes Korrekturblatt aus der Schöfferschen Offizin*, Gutenberg-Jahrbuch, 1932, pp. 118-122.

¹⁷ Quoted by COLIN CLAIR, *Christopher Plantin* (1960; repr. London, Cassell, 1987), p. 258, n. 16.



FINIS LIBRI QVARTI.



- A Si quid est omisſum, litera ſit, ſive dictio, ſive diſtinctionum aliqua, in locum illius omiſſi hoc ſignum in linea inferitur, & quod omiſſum eſt, ad marginem è regione verſus dextram adſcribitur. Vt ſi e. g. Imperator poſitum ſit pro Imperator, ibi inter p & r dictam notam interpono, & e literam ad marginem annoto.
- S Quod abundat & ſuperfluum eſt, illud calamo inductum hac in margine poſita expungere iubet.
- ✓ Cum litera aut nota diſtinctionis eſt inverſa, cancellatur, & hoc in margine ſignum adponitur.
- } Si quando dictiones, quæ ſeiungendæ erant, omiſſo ſpacio iunguntur, hac nota divelluntur, & ipſa ad marginem quoq; ponitur.
- U Divulſa & hiantia coniungit, eo quo in præcedente dictum, modo adhibita.
- = Quæ diſtorta ſunt & obliquè poſita; aut quæ alius exſtant, quò vicina litera minùs exprimantur, hoc ſigno intus & in margine notantur.
- 1 | 2 In præcedentibus dictionum ad marginem ponitur, & dictiones, quo reponendæ ſint ordine, ſuprà numeris; inſrà lineâ ſubductâ notantur.
- # Spacium deprimentum ſignificat.
- Puncti nota.
- (, Omne diſtinctionum genus, ut ſunt Colon, Semicolon, Interrogatio, Exclamatio, Admiratio, &c. ſemicirculo, quali hîc Comma, ad marginem poſito, inſcribitur.
- (- Nota diviſionis, in extremitate lineæ, quæ integram aliquam dictionem capere non potuit.

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the corrector's job called for meticulous attention to detail, expert knowledge of languages, and a complete absence of thought. Stakhanov would have been proud – especially if he had been able to see the inky proof sheets of Plantin's Antwerp Polyglot Bible, on which Raphelengius worked selflessly for years, taking no credit, with the equally selfless editor, Benito Arias Montano, the two of them writing notes to one another in Latin as they worked (Plate 4).

In fact, however, Renaissance correctors often did more than correct printers' errors. They made decisions of their own about the texts they processed – sometimes with disastrous results. Like the early laboratory assistants studied by Steven Shapin, correctors were mentioned by the good and the great when they did something catastrophic (as when a literal-minded proof-reader in Aldus Manutius's shop changed the verse "Drink to me only with thine eyes", in the Greek Anthology, to "Drink to me only with thy lips"). Beatus Rhenanus, an original scholar and a supreme craftsman of proofs and formes, oversaw the production of Erasmus's 1515 edition of Seneca, printed beautifully by Froben. The title page promised that critical attention had transformed the text: Erasmus, it said, had corrected every error – or at least a great many. The text was now so perfect that it would itself correct the characters and conduct of those who bought the book. Unfortunately, the edition was completed while Erasmus was far from Basel. Its text pullulated with uncorrected errors, and it included Seneca's apocryphal Latin correspondence with Saint Paul. Beatus Rhenanus took the blame on himself – while also noting that he had emended many errors by adroit conjecture, and complaining that the task of correction had overwhelmed Froben's staff corrector, Wilhelm Nesen. Everyone agreed that the edition was unsatisfactory – not surprisingly, given that some of the "monstrous" mistakes Rhenanus corrected were actually new typographical errors, created in the printing-house itself. Yet Erasmus had to wait until 1529 to see a new edition appear. And even this still included the forged works of Seneca, though its title page relegated them to a separate section, and that included a third section with the Borgesian title "Works that do not exist".¹⁸

¹⁸ See WINFRIED TRILLITZSCH, *Seneca im literarischen Urteil der Antike: Darstellung und Sammlung der Zeugnisse*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1971); LISA JARDINE, *Erasmus, Man*

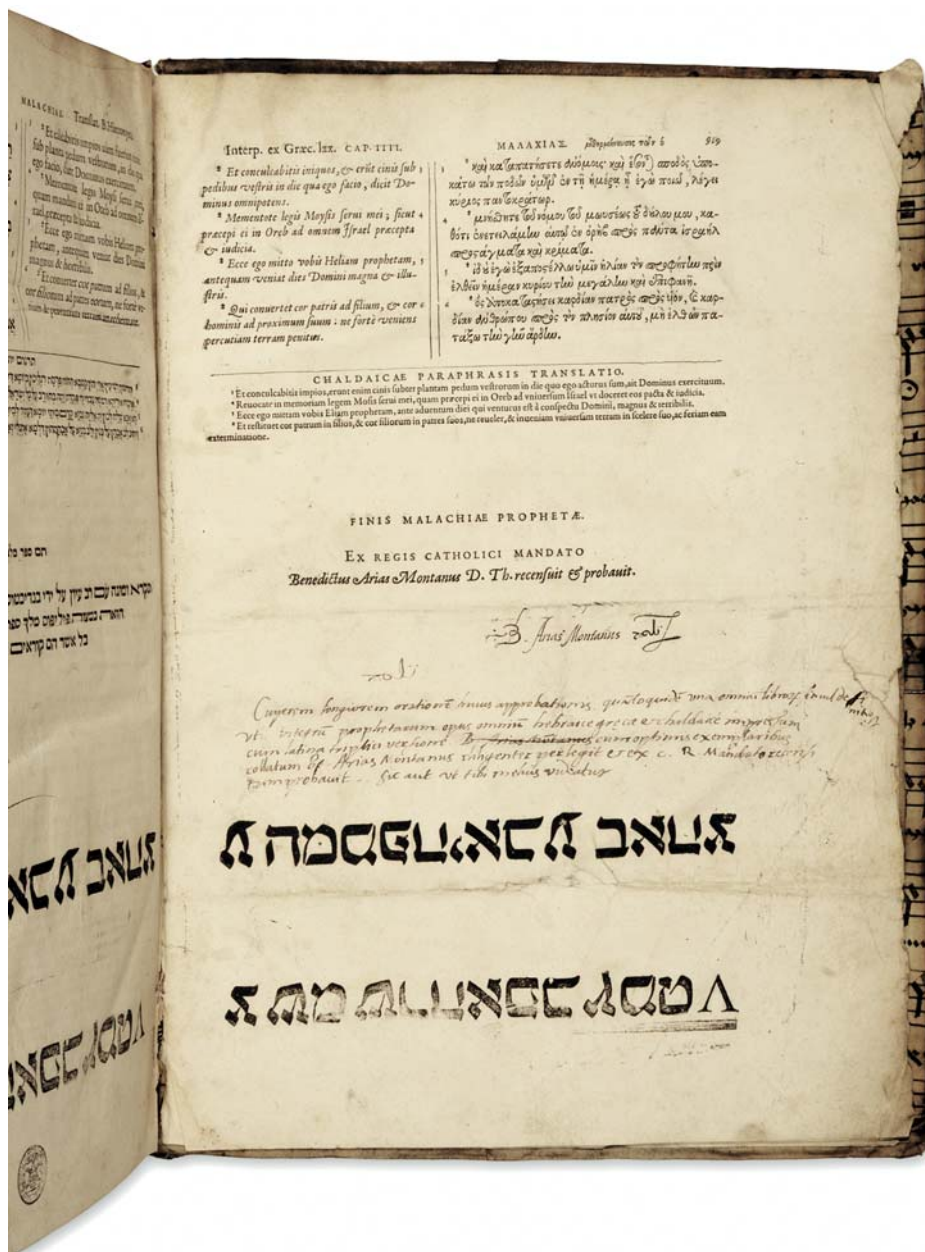


Plate 4. Proof sheet, Antwerp Polyglot Bible. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus.

More important, correctors did more than scrutinize the proofs that emerged from the press. A wood engraving by Moses Thym from 1609, which adorns the first manual for correctors, shows a printer's "theoretical" and "mechanical" employees in action, in very close quarters (Plate 5). To the left, pressmen pull sheets, while a colleague lifts a finished sheet to dry on rack at the ceiling. On the right, a younger workman moistens the paper so it will hold ink. Farther back on the right, men argue. At the end of the room, a woman comes through the door with a jug of beer for the printers (in Germany, they received this tip every time they finished printing all the copies of one sheet). In the foreground, the master printer stands, in a glorious robe, counting on his fingers (like all publishers, then and now, he probably lives well but is on the edge of bankruptcy).

The workers Thym portrays wear radically different sorts of clothing. The different styles were laid down by sumptuary laws, designed to set craftsmen apart from members of the privileged orders. Shirts identify workmen. Doublets and ruffs identify the correctors. Learned men, able not only to read but also to correct classical and modern texts in Latin, they work alongside the craftsmen, ignoring noise, dirt and ink in order to concentrate on the words of their texts. One of them, on the right, works directly with the type in a forme. Like my father, a journalist and editor who learned at his newspaper how to correct copy not just by reading proof, but by working directly with the type, this is a learned man dirtying his hands.¹⁹

More important, for present purposes, are the two wearers of ruffs in the rear. They seem to be engaged in a lively conversation or argu-

of Letters: *The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993); LEIGHTON REYNOLDS, *Beatus Rhenanus and Seneca, De Beneficiis and De Constantia*, in *Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547): lecteur et éditeur des textes anciens*, ed. by François Heim and James Hirstein (Turnhout, Brepols, 2000).

¹⁹ JEROME HORNSCHUCH, *Orthotypographia*, ed. and tr. Philip Gaskell and Patricia Bradford (Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, 1972), xvi, reproduced and analysed in PERCY SIMPSON, *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 126-134. One of the best introductions to the world in which the correctors lived and worked is Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999); for complementary studies of one of the greatest Renaissance printing houses, see MARTIN LOWRY, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1979), and MARTIN DAVIES, *Aldus Manutius: Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice* (Tempe, Ariz., Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999).



Plate 5. JEROME HORNSCHUCH, *Orthotypographia* (Leipzig, 1608). University of Chicago Library.

ment. And one of them is writing. Hornschuch's manual makes clear that correctors had to do much more than read proofs. They also had to write blurbs, draw up tables of contents and indexes, and – above all – disentangle the illegible copy provided by authors (“do hens have hands?” asks Hornschuch) and impose proper grammar and punctuation on it. I suspect that the seated man is doing exactly this, while the author vigorously objects.

House practice in these matters could be innovative and invasive. Venetian correctors introduced the semicolon and gradually taught authors how to use it. On other points, correctors met resistance. When the Zurich Hebraist and historian Theodor Bibliander received the printed text of his 1558 chronology from his publisher in Basel, Oporinus, he was infuriated by what he saw. The sheets were all set and the text could not be changed, so he announced his dissent at the start of his own errata list:

Scholars have rightly judged that correct division of speech into its parts, and limbs, and joints, can take the place of a commentary. This area of orthography should also include correctness in letters, syllables and words. But it can be hard to put this into practice, since authors and correctors often prefer different forms. One person may put a capital letter at the beginning of a word, or use it for the sake of elegance or emphasis in writing, as to show honor to certain persons and things: for example, when the words God, Sacred Scripture, etc. are written. Meanwhile another thinks that according to the laws of orthography, a small letter should be used. There is also occasional disagreement about diphthongs and consonants.²⁰

Unable to maintain his preferences, Bibliander had to content himself with an indirect form of revenge: he emended the substantive “errors that seem to have escaped the attention of the corrector of the press”, which he listed at length, suggesting his low opinion of their competence.²¹

Other correctors made more radical improvements. Balthasar Moretus, who took over Christopher Plantin’s printing house, wrote to Justus Lipsius that the handwriting of another distinguished author “terrifies us”. Worse still, the writer in question had made a grammatical error in the Latin title of his work. Moretus, a tradesman, was reluctant to correct a gentleman’s Latin. “I have no desire to write directly to him about matters like this”, Moretus explained, “since he might suspect me of having some desire to criticize him in a disrespectful way”. But he saw no other way to preserve “his honor and that of the press”, and the correction was made before the book appeared.²²

²⁰ THEODORE BIBLIANDER, “Castigationes chronologiae”, in his *Temporum a condito mundo usque ad ultimam ipsius aetatem supputatio partitioque exactior* (Basel, Oporinus, 1558), [a 5 verso]: “Literati homines probe iudicarunt, aptam orationis distinctionem per suas partes, et membra, et articulos, esse vice commentarij. cui parti orthographiae adiungi etiam debet recta scriptura in literis, syllabis et dictionibus. Qua quidem in re difficilior vel ideo est observatio, quod scriptoribus et librorum castigatoribus non raro diversa placent. Et alius in dictionis principio maiusculum pingit elementum, vel ornatus causa in scriptione, vel dignitatis causa, et ut honos quidam ipsis personis et rebus habeatur: ut cum Deus, Scriptura Sancta et alia scribuntur: ubi alius iuxta leges orthographiae censet minusculam literam ponendam esse. Adhaec in diphthongis et consonantibus discrepantia est nonnulla. Ego enim otium, negotium, spatium, exspatior, pretium, sydus, consydero, iubilaeus, ut Graeci iobelaios, censeo scribendum: alius mavult ocium, spacium, sidus, iubileus, praecium”.

²¹ *Ibid.*: “Proinde relegata ista recte scribendi ratione ad typographiae mores praesentes, ea studebo emendare, quae diligentiam typographici emendatoris subterfugisse videntur”.

²² Moretus to Lipsius November 27, 1598; MPM Arch 12, 48-49; JUSTUS LIPSIUS, *La cor-*

Correctors, in other words, usually had the last word. Yet for all the utility of what they did, they often found themselves the objects less of gratitude than of anger, pity or derision. Hornschuch admitted that he himself had taken up the trade to avoid the worse one of a tutor, and that most of his colleagues, if they could, “would be off like a shot from this sweat-shop, to earn their living by their intelligence and learning, not their hands” – a clear admission that the corrector did not really see himself as the “theoretical” worker envisioned by Zwinger.

Correctors had every reason to feel ill used, moreover. True, their names came before those of the laborers in the payrolls – for example, those of Froben and Episcopius. But their actual pay was very modest: lower than that of the best-paid compositors and pressmen. The rich if fragmentary archives of the Plantin house record the long years that Raphelengius and Cornelis Kiliaan put in working faithfully for him, evidently contented with their lot. But they also preserve the memory of Olivier a Fine. The ledger records the payments made to him, week by week, for thirteen years. Suddenly, in 1593, “he became discontented and left without saying good-bye” – a slam of the door as conclusive as, and much sadder than, the one that ends Ibsen’s *A Doll’s House*.²³

“The toad beneath the harrow knows / Exactly where each tooth-point goes”. Plantin’s correctors knew exactly how poor they were, and exactly whom to blame. The *Concordia*, an archival document that records the correctors’ agreement, in 1664, to hold a yearly feast, also records the whispers, if not the cries, that passed among the correctors

respondance de Juste Lipse conservée au Musée Plantin-Moretus, ed. by Alois Gerlo and Hendrik D.L. Vervliet, with Irène Vertessen (Antwerp, De nederlandse Boekhandel, 1967), 83: “in titulo ipso libri sui *Iob. BernartI ad Silvarum libros Commentarius. In quibus cum aliorum Scriptorum tum praecipue Antiquorum Patrum varij loci illustrantur et explicantur* nescio quo sensu pronomen *quibus* ad silvarum libros et non ad commentarium suum referat. Haec talia ad ipsum nolim scribere ne studium mihi aliquid esse suspicetur se arguendi et carpendi. Quod certe abhorreo, ac ipsius tantum et typographiae nostrae honorem specto”.

²³ Museum Plantin-Moretus, MPM, Arch 785, fol. 15 recto. For this and other materials on correctors in the Plantin archive see the classic account in Voet, Leon. *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*. 2 vols. (Amsterdam, Vangendt & Co., 1969-72), and the fine article by Dirk Imhof, “Fauten des schrijvers, ende twee oft drij des druckers”. Proeflezen in de Plantijnse drukkerij”, in *Portret van een Woordenaar. Cornelis Kiliaan en het woordenboek in de Nederlanden*, ed. by Stijn van Rossem et al. (Antwerp, Provincie Antwerpen, Departement Cultuur, 2007), pp. 73-85.

when they met to exchange gossip: “I, Philip Jac. Noyens often heard from others, and the venerable de Kleyn heard from Master Vanderweyden, and Hieronymus de Bravio heard from Vanderweyden as well, that the correctors used to receive a rise in salary when they had been here for two years. Noyens and the aforesaid de Kleyn also heard this often”.²⁴ The learned corrector, in other words, suffered an acute case of what the American social commentator David Brooks calls status-income disequilibrium: all his education qualified him only to be a poor devil of letters, neither better paid nor more secure in his employment than the inky-handed men of toil who sweated beside him.²⁵ Correctors, in other words, were men of low income and, measured by their own sense of worth, low standing. Yet they edited the work of men of high status. The conflict between the nature of the calling they practiced and their social and economic position caused constant trouble.

Most surprising of all – and most illuminating, in the context I have tried to establish – is the origin of the correctors’ craft. The signs used in proof correction obviously took shape in the printing house. But when and why did correctors take responsibility for the shape and content of texts? One famous episode – the history of correction at Rome in the first years of printing, around 1470 – can shed much light on our topic. Rome in this fertile moment became a locus classicus for prominent correctors – notably Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Bishop of Aleria and Vatican Librarian. They not only prepared texts for the press, but also set their stamp on them with prefatory letters in which they described, all too briefly, what they had done to the books they edited. These correctors went about their task using methods that had been devised over the previous century and more, in a very different context. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Italy developed a lively secular and commercial book trade in Latin. Humanist writers could reach a substantial number of readers: some of the works of Bruni and Pius II survive in as many as 200 to 300 manuscripts. In the brilliant Latin prolegomena to his *Supplementum Ficinianum*, published in 1937, Paul Oskar Kristeller laid out the rules of the publishing game that humanists played. To

²⁴ Museum Plantin-Moretus, Arch 329, fol. 10 verso.

²⁵ DAVID BROOKS, *Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They got There*. (New York, Simon & Schuster, 2000).

make a text accessible, the humanist prepared a fair copy for the copyist or the typesetter: a so-called *archetypus*. Doing this exposed the humanist to grave risk. Making a mistake in Latin at school could lead to physical punishment. Making a mistake in Latin in a published text, given out in definitive form, could lead to much worse humiliation – as Poggio found when his enemy Lorenzo Valla dedicated a whole dialogue to his mistakes. In it, the cook and stable-boy of another great Latinist, Guarino of Verona – Germans, and therefore barbarians – read Poggio's text aloud and castigated it, solecism by solecism.²⁶

Humanists who wished to produce works in Latin and to escape whipping, generally submitted them to the judgment of a friend – someone capable of assessing and correcting both substance and content. Ideally, the author would not send presentation copies of his work to patrons and colleagues, or allow a *cartolaio* to make and sell further copies, until it had undergone this process of purgation (in practice, of course, copies of uncorrected texts also entered circulation). Individual humanists, like Niccolò Niccoli and Antonio Panormita, became famous for their skill at identifying others' errors and correcting them. When Poggio wrote his dialogues *On Avarice*, for example, he sent them to Niccoli for comment. The experience that followed will be familiar to anyone who has written a dissertation and sent chapters to a supervisor. For two months Poggio heard nothing. So he sent a follow-up letter in which he asked, mildly, if Niccoli had received his book. By return Niccoli sent a blast in which he basically said that there was nothing wrong with Poggio's work except the style and the content, and suggested multiple corrections. Poggio, hurt, replied that friends in Rome had liked the book. But he made the changes Niccoli proposed and circulated the work in this improved form.²⁷

The first print correctors in Rome actually emerged from the manuscript book trade. Giannantonio Campano edited Livy and other an-

²⁶ PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER, *De traditione operum Marsilii Ficini*, in *Supplementum ficianum. Marsilii Ficini florentini philosophi platonici Opuscula inedita et dispersa*. 2 vols. (Florence, Olschki, 1937; repr. Florence, Olschki, 1973), I, clxviii-clxxxii; repr. in PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome, Storia e letteratura, 1956; repr. Rome, Storia e letteratura, 1969), pp. 123-138.

²⁷ HELENE HARTH, *Niccolò Niccoli als literarischer Zensor. Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte von Poggios 'De Avaritia'*, «Rinascimento», 7 (1967), pp. 29-53.

cient texts for a Viennese printer in Rome, Ulrich Han. In the years just before printing arrived in Rome, Campano had distinguished himself as a corrector in the sense that Niccoli had used the term: one who edited manuscripts before the stationers began to copy them for the public. Michele Ferno, his biographer, records that “everyone brought him whatever they had created, as if to a common censor and supreme oracle. No scholar would have dared at that time to publish anything before he had investigated his critical judgment”.²⁸

Ferno did not exaggerate. One of the most brilliant and authoritative humanist writers of Latin, Pope Pius II, gave Campano permission to edit his *Commentaries*. This work swarmed with vivid tales. Pius explained how he had preserved his chastity from the assaults of eager young women in Scotland and defeated the cardinals who assembled in the Vatican latrine to deny him the papacy. It was one of the most compellingly readable works of Renaissance Latin. Campano claimed that Pius had given him “the power to delete anything superfluous, correct anything that seemed false, and explain anything that was stated obscurely”.²⁹ Diplomatically, he explained that he had found Pius’s work so elegant that it needed no “second hand to enhance its qualities”.

In fact, however, Campano made a good many changes and additions. Five times in the course of the *Commentaries*, the text states that Campano had written an elegant poem to celebrate an event – for example, the discovery of the papal alum mines at Tolfa. A note in the original manuscript, the Reginensis – to which Campano added what he thought were his most important corrections – shows that he not only composed this poem, but inserted it into the text himself. Apparently he had full confidence that Pius or his heirs would accept such additions as part of an “emended” text of the *Commentaries*. Many

²⁸ MICHELE FERNO, *Campani vita*, in GIOVANNI ANTONIO CAMPANO, *Opera* (Rome, Silber, 1495), [vii] recto: “Omnes eloquentiae parentem: oratorum poetarumque principem appellabant. Ad hunc quaeque illi condidissent tanquam ad communem censorem supremumque oraculum deferebant. Nemo litteratorum ausus eo tempore quicquam fuisset edere qui illius ante iudicium sententiamque non explorasset. Magnam is labori suo gloriam addidisse ducebatur: cui huius commendatio accessisset”.

²⁹ Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, MS 147, fol. 361 verso: ‘Facta est mihi ab eo potestas eiciendi quae supervacua, corrigendi quae intorta viderentur, etiam illustrandi quae obscuriusculae dicta. sed ea visa est omnium elegantia, is splendor ut non solum aliena non ageant manu ad augendam dignitatem sed manifestam efferant desperationem imitari cupientibus’.

other changes in the text must also have been the work of Campano's fine Italian hand.³⁰

Evidently, the terms "emendation" and "correction", in the years just before printing came to Rome, embraced not just radical rewriting, but the insertion of full-scale supplements. Evidently, too, their use implied something like a collaborative vision of authorship – even when the author in question was someone of high authority. According to Ferno, Campano's skill as a corrector of modern Latin texts that circulated in manuscript, won him his employment in the printing-house: "That was why no printer in Italy in those days apparently wanted to undertake a publication which did not have one of his prefatory letters to illuminate its path".³¹ The corrector, in other words, got his start not in the age of mechanical reproduction but before it – and from the start he asserted his sovereign authority over authors of higher status. No wonder that writers less biddable than Pius II reacted with fury to the corrector's well-meant effort to save them from shaming – especially once the corrector was no longer a fellow man of standing, like Niccoli or Campano, but an inky-handed mechanical.

And yet correctors did necessary work. Consider one last case. In 1543 the cunning Nuremberg printer Joannes Petreius brought out Copernicus's *De revolutionibus*. The author, far away and ill, could not see the book through the press. Instead, Georg Joachim Rheticus and Andreas Osiander, both press professionals, prepared the copy and read the proofs. They inserted many small corrections (including technically necessary alterations to some of Copernicus's numbers). Osiander made one especially radical change – one that has long been infamous. Copernicus believed that he had discovered the truth about the universe, and presented his work as an account of the real world. That made his book a direct and radical challenge to the entire structure of natural philosophy, as well as astronomy – a dangerous and provocative stance. Osiander added an anonymous preface to the work, ad-

³⁰ See CONCETTA BIANCA, *La terza edizione moderna dei Commentari di Pio II*, «Roma nel Rinascimento», 12 (1995), 5-16.

³¹ CAMPANO, *Opera*, [vii] recto: "Hinc iam nemo in tota impressorum Hesperia ea tempestate opus imprimendum suscipere velle videbatur cui illius commendationis epistola non praeluxisset. Adeo clarum et celebre apud omnes sanctumque et venerabile illius nomen habebatur. Vnde cum Vdalricus quidem Gallicus tunc qui formas in Vrbem literarias nuper intulisset in-terquiescere illum assiduus emendationibus non permitteret".

dressed to the reader. Here he dialed down the book's radicalism by claiming that Copernicus had presented his theory not as the truth, but only as a hypothesis meant to stimulate discussion.

From 1543 to the present, Osiander's maneuver has infuriated admirers of Copernicus. Rheticus threatened to assault him – and did take him and Petreius to law, unsuccessfully. Johann Kepler, Willebrord Snell and others sorted out the story of how the preface was added: notes in their copies of the text record their indignation. Of course they were right to argue that Osiander had gone against Copernicus's manifest intentions. Yet Osiander's decision also probably saved Copernicus's book. *De revolutionibus* attracted sharp criticism as soon as it appeared, and some censors tried to suppress it, or at least to slow its circulation. But it never became the object of a serious campaign of repression, except to some extent in Iberia. And as Owen Gingerich has shown by the simple expedient of examining the dozens of preserved copies, the book not only circulated, but attracted readers, who filled its margins with marginalia and made Copernicus's work a standard text. By the end of the sixteenth century, accordingly, the Copernican genie had left the bottle, and no imaginable act of repression – even the attack on Galileo – could put it back.³²

Seen on its own, Osiander's act looks outrageous. Seen in the context of Renaissance methods of correction, it still seems outrageous – the act of a little man imposing his own caution on a greater one. But it also seems a prudent and ingenious effort to practice the corrector's trade – and one that has many counterparts in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century worlds of erudition, and in the earlier traditions of book production that printing preserved, even as it transformed them. Next time you become enraged at your copy-editor, your professor, your editor, or your agent, just reflect: you too are acting out a scene deeply embedded in the classical tradition.

³² OWEN GINGERICH, *An Annotated Census of Copernicus's De Revolutionibus* (Nuremberg, 1543, and Basel, 1566) (Leiden, Brill, 2002).

ANTHONY THOMAS GRAFTON

BIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

ANTHONY THOMAS GRAFTON, born on 21 May 1950, is an American citizen.

He studied History and History of Science at the University of Chicago and University College London. In 1974-75 he taught History at Cornell University; since 1975 he has taught at Princeton University, where he is currently Henry Putnam University Professor of History and the Humanities. At Princeton he founded the Freshman Seminar Program, which he directed for ten years. Since then he has served as Director of the Program in European Cultural Studies, of the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Research, and of the Council of the Humanities.

Anthony Grafton is a member of the American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a corresponding fellow of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and the British Academy. He has received fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Guggenheim Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Science Foundation, the California Institute of Technology and the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin. As a visiting professor, he has taught at the Collège de France, Columbia University, the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, the Warburg Haus in Hamburg, and the University of Munich. He has been a Resident at the American Academy in Rome and has held visiting memberships at Pembroke College, Oxford; Christ's College, Cambridge; Trinity College, Cambridge; and Merton College, Oxford. In 2002 he received the Balzan Prize for History of the Humanities, and in 2003 the Mellon Foundation Award for Distinguished Achievement in the Humanities. In 2006 Leiden University granted him an honorary doctorate.

His books include:

- *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. I, *Textual Criticism*, vol. II, *Historical Chronology*, Oxford UP, 1983-93.
- (with LISA JARDINE), *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Europe*, Harvard UP, 1986.
- *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship*, Princeton UP, 1990.
- *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800*, Harvard UP, 1991.

- *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers*, University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- *The Footnote: A Curious History*, Harvard UP, 1997.
- *Cardano's Cosmos: The Worlds and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer*, Harvard UP, 1999.
- *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance*, Hill & Wang, 2000.
- *Bring Out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation*, Harvard UP, 2001.
- (with MEGAN WILLIAMS), *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*, Harvard, 2006.
- *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge UP, 2007.
- (with BRIAN CURRAN, PAMELA LONG and BENJAMIN WEISS), *Obelisk*, MIT, 2008.
- *Worlds Made by Words*, Harvard UP, 2008.
- *Codex in Crisis*, New York, The Crumpled Press, 2008. Video: ANTHONY GRAFTON, *Codex in Crisis*, Authors@Google, February 12, 2009.
- (with JOANNA WEINBERG), «I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue.» *Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and A Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship*, Harvard UP, 2011.
- *The Classical Tradition*, (ed.) with Glenn W. Most and Salvatore Settis, Harvard UP, 2010.
- *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*, British Library Publishing, forthcoming September 2011.

He has also contributed articles and reviews to *American Scholar*, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *London Review of Books*, the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, the *New York Review of Books*, the *New Yorker*, and the *Times Literary Supplement*.

Brief description of ANTHONY GRAFTON's Balzan Research Project
JOSEPH JUSTUS SCALIGER (1540-1609).
EDITION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE

Half of the Balzan Prize awarded to Anthony Grafton in 2002 has been devoted to the creation of a complete critical edition of the correspondence of the great French humanist and historian Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609). A complete edition of Scaliger's correspondence has long been the wish of Anthony Grafton. In an era of great encyclopaedic minds, Joseph Scaliger was recognized by friends and enemies alike as the most learned man in Europe – as the only one who could rival Aristotle as the “greatest scholar of all time”. An erudite philologist, Scaliger could restore ancient texts like Virgil, Festus, Catullus, Tibullus, Apuleius, Caesar and Polybius to their original form. He also wrote treatises on “historical chronology”, the highly complicated but indispensable study of dates and calendars in ancient and recent history, and made fundamental contributions to various fields of knowledge. Anthony Grafton has dedicated a biography to Scaliger (Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the *History of Classical Scholarship*,

vol. I. *Textual Criticism and Exegesis*, Oxford 1983; vol. II. *Historical Chronology*, Oxford 1993) that not only deals with the man, but also presents a network of his contemporaries describing their many-faceted activities.

As a leading figure of intellectual life and a privileged witness of the political and religious events of his time, Scaliger, through his correspondence, played a central role in the trans-national community of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Scaliger's letters, in French and Latin, are especially rich, but they have never been edited or analysed as a whole.

The Scaliger Project was established at the Warburg Institute in September 2003 by Professor Anthony Grafton of Princeton University, to produce a critical edition of this important correspondence. Two editors, Dr. Paul Botley and Dr. Dirk van Miert, were appointed to undertake this task. By the end of the fourth year of the project, the text of the corpus had been established. The surviving correspondence of Joseph Scaliger amounts to some 1650 letters, written between 1561 and 1609. The entire correspondence has been transcribed and collated with its extant sources; this text has been edited and provided with a full textual apparatus; every letter has been provided with textual and contextual headnotes; and every letter has been supplied with an English synopsis.

Efforts during the fifth year focused on compiling elucidatory footnotes to accompany the letters, and on the preface and bibliography for the entire edition. Most of the textual work has been done from microfilms, photographs and photocopies: final visits to Paris, Munich, Hamburg and Copenhagen were made in September 2009 to check the original manuscripts where these reproductions are unclear.

At the end of 2009, Dr. van Miert left the Project to take up a position as a postdoctoral fellow at the Huygens Institute of the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences in The Hague. Dr. Botley remained to complete the eight volumes of the letters. He also worked on compiling the final volumes, containing an essential companion to the text, undated letters, a number of textual and exegetical appendices, an extensive biographical glossary, and the indices.

The edition is now nearly complete and the eight volumes are projected to be published by Droz.

Dedicated website: <http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/index.php?id=164>

DR. PAUL BOTLEY is a research fellow at the Warburg Institute, London.

He took his first degree in English literature at the University of Reading. He studied for his Master's degree at the University of York, where he worked on Erasmus' Latin translation of, and commentaries on, the Greek New Testament (1516-1535). His doctoral research at Cambridge looked more broadly at Latin translations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, focussing particularly on the work of Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444), Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459) and Erasmus. A revision of this work, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, was pub-

lished by Cambridge University Press in 2004 (paperback 2008). Dr. Botley was Munby Fellow in Bibliography at Cambridge University Library, and has held research fellowships at the Institute for Greece, Rome and the Classical Tradition at the University of Bristol, and in the Centre for the History of Science at Imperial College, London. His second book on the development of Greek studies in renaissance Europe has recently been published by the American Philosophical Society: *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396-1529* (2010). Dr. Botley is currently preparing a monograph on one of the translators of the King James Bible, Richard 'Dutch' Thomson (c. 1568-1613), and has a longstanding interest in the work of Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614). He has worked on the Scaliger project since its inception. In autumn 2011 he will join the University of Warwick as Assistant Professor in the Department of English.

DR. DIRK VAN MIERT is a researcher at the Huygens Institute, The Hague.

He studied Latin and Spanish at the University of Amsterdam (1992-1997) and at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (1995). He specialized in Neo-Latin; the Latin as used by humanists in the Renaissance. Dr. van Miert wrote his MA thesis on the universal scholar Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575) and his book on the cultural history of Holland, the *Batavia*. In 1998, he was attached to the (Constantijn) Huygens Institute, assisting the edition of Grotius' correspondence and Erasmus' *Opera omnia*. In 1999 he started his PhD-project on the history of the Amsterdam Athenaeum, finished in 2004 (published in Dutch 2005 and in English in 2009). He worked on the Scaliger project from its inception until 2009. In November 2009 he started at the Huygens Institute, with the assignment to write a monograph on Biblical Criticism and Secularization, as part of a project set up by Henk Nellen (Huygens Institute) and Piet Steenbakkers (Utrecht University) and sponsored by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research.

REMARKS BY VALENTIN GROEBNER

Professor of History of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, University of Lucerne

Michael Hagner: Thank you very much, Tony, for this marvellous lecture. It is now a great pleasure for me to introduce my friend and colleague Valentin Groebner. Valentin studied history first in Vienna, then he moved to Germany, continued his studies in Marburg and Hamburg, and finally moved to Bielefeld, which at that time was a remarkable place for historians in the German academic world. He wrote his PhD on the underclass in medieval Nuremberg. After these years in Germany, Valentin settled in that city already mentioned in Tony's lecture – Basle. There he worked at the university as an assistant professor and became interested in corruption in the Middle Ages and the early modern period. After his habilitation, Valentin received the prestigious Athena Fellowship from the Swiss National Research Foundation. He was a Jean Monet Fellow at the European University in Fiesole, and was visiting professor at Harvard University. Since 2004 he has been Professor of History at Lucerne University. He has widely published on various topics such as the visual representation of bodily violence and the history of identification and the "passport". His most recent book carries the enigmatic title: *The Middle Ages Never Stop*.

Valentin Groebner: Thank you. I don't know if the Middle Ages ever stop. But can we ever escape from the "classical tradition"? Is there an exit out of the hardened shells of reconstructions, of the dreamings of Antiquity and its splendours? The decorations of this amazing hall we find ourselves in here right now, designed by Gottfried Semper in 1859 and renovated in the 1990s, offer several hints – behind me, an ecstatic rave party; behind you, the fresh air of the Alps; and at our right, the spacious blue of imagination.

Like Semper's frescoes, Anthony Grafton's lecture has offered us a ride on a magic carpet back in time, although his "correctors" are only

too familiar to us now, and very close. They are still there. There is a tool most of us use for our work: the “delete” key on our computer keyboards, derived from the old Latin correctors command “deleatur”.

His lecture was structured by a chronology pointing backwards, from universities and research institutions in the 21st century to the strict 19th century philologist Jakob Bernays – Scaliger’s first scholarly biographer – and further to the 17th century, to the publication of Joseph Scaliger’s Latin letters after his death; and from then back to the print shops of the 16th century, and their “theoretical employees”, as Jerome Hornschuch labelled them. These correctors, as Anthony Grafton demonstrated, were not only the hard-working, highly learned and badly paid specialists with inky fingers, at work in the print shops of Basel, Leiden, Lyon and Antwerp, who faced the difficult and delicate task of identifying – and correcting – the mistakes of well-paid men of much higher status. These modest correctors were nonetheless, if we believe the printer Plantin in Antwerp in the 1550s, passionately devoted to Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac and Arabic in addition to all the Humanities – *kostengünstige, demütige, flexible Absolventen der Geisteswissenschaften im Dienst einer krisenhaften Kommunikationsindustrie*. In me this struck a strangely familiar chord.

Anthony Grafton’s lecture indeed took another step further back in time – to the manuscript culture of 15th century Italy, before printing. Here a quite different figure appears, learned, but much less subaltern: not a docile employee and a discreet helper, but a much more ambiguous persona: The man to whom you better send the first version of your text in order not to get spanked, or at least not too much. Humanist authors who put their uncorrected Latin text in circulation risked being rewarded not with praise for their erudition and elegant prose, but with public humiliation, with witty and merciless collections of their mistakes, written down, to be copied and passed on among Italian humanists, as we do with chain emails.

Who was thus entitled to correct such mistakes? How did such a culture of emendation and correction relate to the desire underlying all attempts of reconstructing old texts, the desire to come as close as possible to the authentic, original wording? The desire “to speak with the dead”, as Cyriaco d’Ancona, that widely travelled specialist on antique inscriptions and monuments of the 15th century had put it, could initially, only be a highly personal thing: one’s own wish.

Yet its fulfilment could – and can – only be a collective enterprise; undertaken in the company of others. These could either be helpful colleagues, offering material, hints and advice, or merciless competitors taking every opportunity to make fun of one's own hard work, distorting and intentionally misquoting and misrepresenting it – and the first could transform very quickly into the second. The combination of both, constitutes what we know under the slightly euphemistic notion of the “*respublica litteraria*” and modern scholarship. *Die lieben Kollegen*, as eager to learn from you and praise you as they are eager to trumpet your errors. The spicy scatological remarks in Joseph Scaliger's letters and personal notes, Anthony Grafton mentioned – “*cacat*”, and “*stercus Diaboli*” – are thus as scholarly as the elegant philological and historical arguments in his writings. By the same token – because they say so much about the republic of letters – these remarks had to be erased by Scaliger's later editors as correctors: Delete.

“In theory” – to quote Anthony Grafton referring to Erasmus, and who would not believe that Erasmus always wrote the truth, word for word? – “letters directly and transparently represented the writer's self”. Yet if the scholarly desire was to get as close to the old texts as possible, closer than anybody else and, more importantly, closer than all learned competitors and colleagues; if the desire was to know the old authorities from the past more fully and intimately, to touch a sort of innermost core of authentic knowledge (the libido of the philologists is never too far away from wishes of redemption, *Erlösungswünschen*), then the Renaissance scholars – like their modern successors – ran the risk of correcting and transforming the old texts into fulfilments of their own wishes.

As Anthony Grafton has shown in his books, this is what the Renaissance humanists frequently did when they wrote that they spoke with the voices of the dead – wonderfully meticulous, articulate, amusing, full of learned allusions to other sources: and, at times, completely fictitious. Renaissance humanists were not only very good in making the authorities from Antiquity write what they themselves (and their respective patrons) needed to read, by way of cut-up and montage. They were at least as capable of creating completely new old authorities to whom they could lend their own voice. From Petrarch's editing collections of his own letters on, Renaissance humanists, from Alberti to Erasmus, Machiavelli, Cellini, Cardano, were very good in retroac-

tively shaping their own texts: correcting themselves, as it were, re-ordering temporalities in the name of the re-birth of the past, attempting to create a *Nachleben* of their own making – *Nachleben* in the sense of Aby Warburg's definition of the term: *Gespensstergeschichten für ganz Erwachsene*. That is the great thing about writing: On paper you can always go back and do things properly: copy, paste (the term derived from a writing manual from Cardano, in the 16th century) and delete. But only if it has not gone into print yet.

Indeed here the tools of the humanists meet with the works of their modest, inky-fingered correctors in the print shops of the 16th century, Anthony Grafton has so beautifully revived for us. Both act as go-betweens and middlemen, working on the *Schnittstelle* between the past and history, *Vergangenheit und Geschichte*. We tend to use these notions as synonymous in our everyday use of the words, but in fact they mean two very different things. The past is what is gone, *perdu*, over: an inaccessible territory in which nobody will ever set foot again. History, however, is its representation through narration, language and images. That is why history – and especially the history of Antiquity and of the Renaissance – is always set in the present, its protagonists being alive. The past is not only gone, but also impenetrable, opaque: a chaotic mass of data, heterogeneous and ambivalent. The allegedly self-conscious phrase “our past” only masks one's own helplessness in front of this inaccessible time zone. The past is a scandal because it cannot be altered, and this frozen, barren land stubbornly ignores all efforts to be revived, reconstructed, repaired or improved, unless it is turned into history – into malleable, flexible narratives, in texts ready to be re-interpreted, revised, and of course corrected.

Correctors, Anthony Grafton has reminded us, were mentioned most prominently in the surviving documents when they did something catastrophic. The perfect corrector would thus be an invisible one, unknowable and untraceable even for the most passionate and meticulous historian of writing, printing and scholarship – a slightly uncomfortable, even uncanny figure.

Let me bring up a final aspect of Anthony Grafton's rich, inspiring and seducing account. Most of us, I suppose, have had the somewhat unsettling experience that a text, written by somebody we have never met, expresses thoughts we had considered to be highly personal, idiosyncratic even, only much better, clearer and more concise than we

would be able to put them. Most of us may be familiar with the simple sobering fact that our own texts, in the hands of a corrector or editor we have never met before, can undergo a magical transformation, being radically improved by alterations, corrections and – yes – cuts, by deletures that cleared, sharpened and straightened our words. It is an obvious, well-known and somehow yet intricate paradox that we desperately need others – *die lieben Kollegen*, competitors, and, most of all, correctors – in order to be able to speak with our own voice. Beyond the all-to-easy ranting about alleged “century-old traditions”, this links us directly with the scholars of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries that wrote again and again about such experiences. As Anthony Grafton has pointed out in a wonderful article on Leon Battista Alberti and Erwin Panofsky a couple of years ago, we possibly share another paradox with these Italian, German and Dutch enthusiasts of old texts – or at least those among us who would dare to try it. It is the paradox that scholars, writing in a different language to their own, can thus somehow, magically, be enabled to write more forcefully, more imaginatively, bolder and intellectually much more energetically and productively than they could in their own native tongue.

But to do this, you need correctors.

The modest, hard-working specialists in the 16th century print shops were labelled “theoretical” employees, as we have heard. This is only too true: The Greek word “theoria” literally means the action of observing: and not in the sense of passive reception, but of an active, engaged and very practical activity. Anthony Grafton, no doubt, is the practitioner of such “theoria”. As he explained so well in his introduction: working patiently for decades as an utmost compassionate, faithful, and erudite historian inevitably turns you into the murderous villain of a flashy best-selling mystery novel, or, to put it differently: the highest standards of traditional scholarship can only be upheld by somebody castigated (another 16th century word) as a Marxist deconstructionist – *mit Grüßen von den lieben Kollegen*. The correctors are still with us. Thank you.

QUESTIONS FROM THE AUDIENCE
MODERATED BY MICHAEL HAGNER

Michael Hagner: I would like to thank the Swiss Academies and the Balzan Foundation for this wonderful opportunity that allows us to enter into a dialogue with Anthony Grafton. The floor is now open for the audience to address individual questions and comments to Professor Grafton.

Question from a member of the audience: I would like to ask Professor Grafton what he knows about the personal histories of these correctors. Did they do this job all their lives, or did they write before and then become correctors or start correctors and then become writers?

Anthony Grafton: Some correctors actually managed to become guild masters. The Western European marriage pattern which had much older men marrying younger women had the result in the print trade that you had widows in charge of printing houses. In such cases there was a form of hypergamy that could enable the corrector to become the guild master, as it would be useful for the widow to have a learned male master of the household and of the printing shop. By the late 16th century correction has become a profession. I have been able to reconstruct networks. They recommend each other, they move from Frankfurt, an important centre, to Basle and other cities where there was a demand for their services and there is even a small hierarchy. You start as a lector, a reader, reading the copy aloud while the corrector marks in the proof. When you have done this for six months or a year you can then ask to be considered for work as a corrector. This, I think, is one of the real status problems with being a corrector. Plantin, the most famous and the largest in scale of the publishers in the Renaissance, trained his daughters to be readers. He didn't teach them to understand the texts but he taught them to read aloud in La-

tin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac and Aramaic. He let them do this until about the age of twelve, after which he thought it wasn't decent that they should work with the men. This was believed to be a legend but we have actually discovered evidence in the Plantin archive. In those proofs of the great Antwerp polyglot, there is a note in Hebrew from Arias Montano, who edited the work, to Franciscus Raphelengius, the chief corrector, saying: "Would you tell that girl who is supposed to help me, to get here on time, because she keeps coming late". Obviously he wrote it in Hebrew so that Plantin wouldn't be able to read a bad remark about his daughter. I think one of the worst things about being a corrector was knowing that when you started as a lector, you were doing a job that a twelve year old girl could do equally well. In sixteenth century terms this was really a source of misery. Most of them don't rise. Most of them don't seem to have had the resources, either the personal resources or the financial resources to go elsewhere. We have cases of correspondence, where an author, grateful to his corrector, would write: "Isn't there something we can do to get you out of this terrible job?" and the corrector would write back saying that: "I am used to it and I only have to work 12 hours a day and it's not so bad... if only I didn't have this eye inflammation it would be ok". The corrector is a particular kind of person.

Question from a member of the audience: Professor Grafton, you spoke a lot about the practical side of the corrector. From a metaphysical perspective I was wondering if on the part of the corrector, there was ever anything resembling a mission of re-entering old cultures, through translation or a philological approach? A relevant example might be the Hebrew notion of the Tikkun, which the Christian cabalist Knorr von Rosenroth used in the seventeenth century to describe his own work. Tikkun means correction but it is not only correction in a philological sense but in an absolutely messianic sense of bringing the world into order. This probably goes much beyond your work but it would interest me if you had something to say in relation to these aspects.

Anthony Grafton: It actually does not go far beyond. One of the key terms is *emendare* and that is precisely both a textual and a moral term, as Beatus Rhenanus used it in his blurb. It is absolutely the same thing,

you improve a text, but you improve a character by internalizing a text. There is clearly a sense among people like Beatus Rhenanus (and he is the highest form of Renaissance corrector, a scholar who is very independent and has means of his own. His library of course is preserved in Sélestat's magnificent Bibliothèque Humaniste). For him it is clear that his calling is a moral and an aesthetic one and the two things are somehow united. Good letters and good morals will go together. It is the same thing as the inspiration of the humanist school teacher. So I think it is not quite metaphysical but it is certainly ideal. There is however a dark side, in the sense that correction borders on censorship and in fact Catholic censors were correctors. A Catholic censor did not look only for doctrinal problems in a text. A Catholic censor was supposed to look for errors of style, errors of grammar, errors of usage and errors of fact and saw all of that as well as the verification of doctrine as part of the task he carried out. There is a wonderful memorandum written by a Roman scholar, Latino Latini, in the 1550s just as the index of forbidden books is being promulgated, in which he says this is theologically crazy. We are trying to make a perfect book, but books are created by humans. Humans are the children of sin. We should assume that all books will have errors rather than make the theological and moral mistake of attempting to impose a kind of sterile perfection, which has nothing to do with actual human writers. He gives Augustine as the model of an authoritative writer who had not only admitted the errors in his early books, but written a treatment of them: the *Retractiones*. So there is definitely a high ideal but there is also this problem that we need the censor, we need the reviewer, we need the critic. There is always the possibility that he or she will push us into a position that isn't where we think we should really be. That happens as well.

Question from a member of the audience: You just said that Beatus Rhenanus was one of the best correctors of his time. Does that mean that one can be both a corrector and a scholar at the same time? and if so what would be the motivation for a high standing scholar like Rhenanus to do the extremely low work of correcting without losing esteem among his peers?

Anthony Grafton: That is an extremely good question. There were correctors who were extremely good scholars. I use this in the technical

sense that Scaliger in his table talk, which his students took down, says more than once of a corrector that he is a really good scholar. He knows much more than the professors. So Friedrich Sylburg, who is a major corrector in the German world at the end of the sixteenth century but also edits many Greek texts in a very professional way, or Wilhelm Holtzman, whose Greek humanistic name was Xylander, who edits Byzantine and other Greek texts. They are correctors by occupation but they are serious scholars. I think each case is different. In Beatus Rhenanus' case and in a few others one could actually get a fair amount of money because their names lent so much prestige to an edition. Erasmus, when he sets up the project for his own *Opera Omnia*, chooses a dream team of correctors, consisting of Beatus Rhenanus, Sigismund Gelenius, and others. These are the top correctors in the Swiss printing world and he offers quite large amounts of money to them to oversee the edition. So at the very top end it was a pyramidal occupation. Here there was room for people to have considerable money and prestige. But there is a very small top to the pyramid. I think the other thing is personal preference. If you were Beatus Rhenanus, your alternative perhaps was to be a professor. But a professor of the Humanities who was not Scaliger held a very under privileged position in the university, teaching teenagers who showed no respect and not getting much money. It could be better to be a corrector and work with other adults and professionals.

Question from a member of the audience: Could you comment on the medieval period? Are there some sort of correctors in the monastic scriptorium of the middle ages in the monasteries?

Anthony Grafton: Yes, in my forthcoming book, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*, I try to trace this. One of the most fascinating kinds of corrector, one who was part of monastic discipline was the corrector mensae who sat at each table in the monastic refectory and corrected anyone whose speech or prayer was incorrect as they sat at table. They corrected pronunciation, they also corrected speech. The wonderful late Leonard Boyle, the great librarian of the Vatican, wrote beautifully about this in the little book *Vox paginae* – The Voice of the Page. There were also correctors in monastic scriptoria, because of course you always have to correct a text once you have

written it. There is no such thing as writing a text and thinking that it will be accurate. In the thirteenth century in the Sorbonne and elsewhere, there were correctors who make systematic efforts to collect for example variants in the vulgate bible. They produced the so called *Correctoria*. Beatus Rhenanus knew about these efforts and referred to them, so did Lefèvre d'Étaples, another great corrector. In some sense, the humanists as often knew they were building partly on mediaeval precedent which they didn't like to mention. In the same way, Erasmus in his New Testament commentary quotes the medieval *Glossa ordinaria* several hundred times, but you don't know that he is doing it unless you collate the text. There were medieval precedents but they simply did not want to publicise this. They claimed to be the votaries of a new culture and a new art.

Question from a member of the audience: What about the wastebasket? I mean it always hits back. There might be exceptions, but normally people have to deal with what they throw away and they can't in reality. If I have understood you correctly, much of this additional work was to get rid of the old stuff that didn't serve the ends it was intended to serve. How did the correctors and authors deal with things that had to be thrown away?

Anthony Grafton: They dealt with throwing things away as we do. They stored them and reused them whenever they could. They recycled and reconfigured. Erasmus was particularly good at this, writing something short and then ten years later saying I can use that now, I have a context for it. There is a tremendous amount of recycling. Cardano explains how to do this. You take two copies of your text written on one side of the page and you snip them up and you glue them together in a new order with spaces between the additions and hey presto you have a new book. So the waste basket is definitely part of their practice in the same sad way that it is in ours. It is the storehouse for your next publication.

Question from a member of the audience: This may be a very inappropriate question to address to an historian, but you remind me of an endeavour that we are witnessing today where everybody is a corrector. What comes after Wikipedia?

Anthony Grafton: In fact Wikipedia is fascinating precisely because it shows that you need the corrector. You can't trust the hive mind of the web simply to do the best that it can. There has to be someone who has the power to shut things off, to intervene, to make the additions that keep getting made or to take them away. This is a serious question. In the Anglo-American scientific world, one routine, which is rapidly going to go out of existence, is the traditional routine of journal editing, with scrutiny by referees and editorial committees with professional editors making interventions and suggestions to writers. In the sciences which dominate our universities this has already been replaced in effect by the arXiv system, whereby preprints are simply posted on a website maintained, by historical accident by Cornell University library. The journal publications are purely archival. Everyone reads what is on arXiv in his or her field. The humanities will have little choice but to follow this practice. Universities are no longer willing to subsidise this kind of activity. Subscribers are no longer willing to pay for print copies. As we move our journals onto the web, we find we do not make enough income to support the full kind of editing we used to do. This is a serious issue: how we maintain the belief that a certain journal or a certain website or a certain medium has claims to authority that others don't. "Shakespeare Quarterly", which is a very good literary historical journal at the Folger Library in Washington, just did a Wiki-issue. They invited submissions, they had them judged by readers, then they had them edited collectively by readers. They believe that the results are quite good. I myself shake with horror at the thought of turning all our journals into Wiki-journals. That is one possibility for what comes after Wikipedia. Another, which I think more likely, is a general levelling of the sources of knowledge in which it becomes harder and harder for any normal person to know why one medium has a certain claim and another doesn't. When I was a child my father taught me thus: Here is a book published by Alfred Knopf. You will see that there are an awful lot of words on every page. You will notice that it is printed in a type font which is identified at the end as particularly appropriate to this text chosen by Mr. Knopf himself, who was a very learned and cultured man. So that meant that if you bought a book by Knopf you had certain expectations. That has now almost disappeared in the Anglo-American world. There are a few small publishing houses that remain exceptions but it is rapidly disappearing. So, I see

after Wikipedia a very level playing field in which it becomes very difficult to see who is a star and who is incompetent.

Valentin Groebner: This sounds bleak to me. A lot of the digital journals I am using face an interesting paradox: They have very badly written reviews because practically no editing takes place. No correctors or editors seem to take responsibility for the style, content and the readability of the reviews, and as a result, I have simply stopped reading them. I feel that, especially when texts have to be short and densely packed and precise as possible, the corrector will come back. I wonder if the fate of the sixteenth century correctors may be a sort of cautious tale not to expect too much. You have hinted that by alluding to Steven Shapin's "mechanici" that the correctors are the craftsmen, the people who keep the machine going. Without them Academia may well run the risk of drowning itself in floods of badly written non-edited scholarly prose.

Anthony Grafton: With no corrector and no wastebasket! It is clear to me from my own experience, which is very limited, that in most cases journals and magazines traditionally depended on the existence of a single person who immolated himself or herself to maintain them as for example, Trevor Aston did, for "Past and Present" or other young editors with the "History Workshop Journal" when it began. This is not a formula that lasts. So after the first editor, or editors, the journal always becomes more ordinary. The problem on the web is that you ask people to immolate themselves for no reward and I think the work is just as demanding if it is going to be done well. I do know websites where it is done well, but I think that there is little likelihood of everyone being willing to do their work for no reward, no reward in prestige nor in either monetary or academic currency. In the long term, this is just not a recipe that can work. I am very worried about all this.

Question from a member of the audience: In your book *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* did you touch on the late Italian Renaissance where there were all these writers who were also correctors, Pietro Aretino, etc? Did you deal with this because there were so many writers who were also correctors?

Anthony Grafton: Actually some of my favourite examples come from the mid and late sixteenth century in Italy, because in some ways the polygraphy of that time is personified in the first professional writers. People such as Ludovico Dolce would write about anything as long as they could get a bit of money from the printers. They do some correcting, they correct one another, they satirize one and another's mistakes. It is also in that world that I found my favourite example of good editing in the Renaissance. My good friend David Quint, a literary scholar at Yale, asked me: Is there an example of a corrector who really improves an important work of Renaissance literature? The best case I know is that of Vasari's *History of Art*. This was, we now know, a largely collaborative work, for which Vasari had help from many others. He put both editions, but especially the second edition, through the press at Florence with the help of professionals, particularly Vincenzo Borghini, who was a monk but a very good print professional. There is a very elaborate correspondence between them. You can actually see Borghini doing everything that a modern editor would do and really shaping the book in all kinds of ways. For example, saying: Don't tell us all this nonsense about their early lives... who cares! They are just artists. Talk about their work! Borghini was essentially telling him to be more universal. Don't just get so obsessed with Italy. This is wonderful. My favourite letter is one where he says: There is this book you have to read but I will help you. You will be the upper jaw and I will be the lower jaw and we will chew together. And yet at the same time Borghini is very clear that it is Vasari's book. He is very clear that he could not write this book himself. He does not want to cut what makes Vasari's style so special and wonderful. He does not want to get rid of all the fantasy. That is a great editorial relationship and I think it is not accidental that it comes right out of the second half of the sixteenth century in Italy. It is a point where publishing is really at a very professional and interesting stage.

Question from a member of the audience: We now see more and more sophisticated software being developed to detect plagiarism in newly submitted works. Was this a problem at the time of your correctors? Did they have a role in fighting plagiarism?

Anthony Grafton: Well actually a wonderful new book by Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know*, just published by the Yale University Press,

deals with, I think, the immediately related issue: what she calls “information overload”. The fact is that there is so much material to use, that people who are not very strong of character or very original, simply take things and recombine them. In the 15th and 16th centuries one made a commonplace book. As one read one copied out extracts in topical form. When you wrote, you pulled the extracts out from the commonplace book, laid them one after another with a little bit of writing in the middle and depending on the genre one was practicing, one could present that as an original work. One could present it as a compilation. There is much debate, very sharp debate about what is plagiarism and what isn’t. So the idea that only in the 21st century has literary originality been called into question is inaccurate, as is the assumption that the techniques of recompilation and almost mechanical making of texts are new. This is all well established in the early modern tradition. The thing that worries me in fact, is that I don’t, in the 16th century, find anyone saying plagiarism is fine, whereas there are many academics now who are arguing that there is no problem with plagiarism. Everyone simply pulls material off the web to do various things. Artists do it, writers do it. So we should not only allow our students to do it, we should teach our students how to do it. Again, I am referring to practices which are now doctrine in some American and British universities. So I myself find this a frightening thought but it is one that is beginning to spread, even though, at more and more universities all papers have to be submitted through turnitin.com or one of the other such anti-plagiarism websites. They will test the paper automatically to see if it contains elements from a large known database. I don’t know if anything like this happens in the German speaking world?

Michael Hagner: Yes it does...

Anthony Grafton: Not plagiarism I’m sure but testing for plagiarism...?

Question from a member of the audience: My question may be a little out of place but my neighbour is an editor of a series of books as I am also. As an editor, sometimes you have to do a corrector’s work. Considering just printing errors or spelling errors, you have to cut them

out. You correct them and very often you are faced with a manuscript with a very intelligent argument. You are basically convinced that the argument is wrong, but at the same time you are convinced that the argument needs to be published in order for debate to go on. So could you tell us something about this moral dilemma of people who have taken up the responsibility of publishing the thought of others? Editors in this sense are constantly in between, where they doubt whether something should be said this way or if they should intervene and have it improved.

Anthony Grafton: Well it seems to me that there are two questions here. One is how do we improve what you receive from the author? It's often said, though I don't know how truly, that the American process of editing is Lamarckian whereas the European tends to be Darwinian. That is, in Europe you simply publish something if it is worth publishing. If it is equipped to survive in the ecological niche it inhabits, it will survive and if not, not. Whereas Americans believe that you can force an extra limb or a better claw onto the thing and it will somehow live. This is exhibited at its highest level in the renowned American publications such as "The New Yorker" or "The New York Review of Books" where editors will in some cases intervene in multiple iterations and not just in the writings of a humble professor, but in the writings of authors of extraordinary quality and achievement. The great James Thurber, the greatest of all American humorists, was constantly rewritten by "The New Yorker", to his fury. "It's just a 5 cent magazine", he would complain. That is an American tradition. It's not even British. The British are very Darwinian. They do a certain minimal bit of editing, but they really believe, if it is worth publishing, you just publish it with its faults.

The second one is this interesting question of what a scholarly editor's responsibility is. I am one of four editors of the "Journal of the History of Ideas". We very much believe that we should publish strong arguments that we don't agree with, but that are well put together. I think that this represents a different vision. A generation or two ago, our journal represented a school of thought. It represented one way of looking at the world. Now we have, without even arguing about it, adopted a different view. We will now publish anything that is really well argued and powerful, even if it contradicts our basic presupposi-

tions. This is because that is the way to promote an interesting discourse. It seems to me that this has become good scholarly politics somehow, without an actual discussion having to be initiated on the merits of such an approach. In a nice Foucauldian way we found that we could never find an argument against publishing something we do not like, but think is well done, because those arguments do not exist anymore. The discourse has simply changed. My teacher Momigliano had many arguments against publishing things that he didn't like even if they were well done. He would say: "That guy didn't do anything good, don't publish him!" I remember when the first ancient history journal started blind submissions. Momigliano said: "I am not going to review for them. I won't read an article unless I know who wrote it". I think we by contrast, now absolutely insist that one shouldn't know who is writing. One wants to have this in a completely abstract space, but I think this is something relatively new.

Valentin Groebner: This is admirable; but at least to my knowledge, historical journals in the German speaking realm still have the older sort of "Richtung" (direction/guideline) although it has loosened up in the last two decades. You would choose the appropriate journal for your argument because that is where you would get the most response from interested readers – and this is of course what the author yearns for. On the other hand, there are clear notions of the "wrong" place for the placement of a particular type of text and scholarly argument. There is a sort of tacit division of labour within the scholarly field going on here: an endless game of collective identity politics that keeps scholars busy.

Anthony Grafton: ...True, very true.

Comment from a member of the audience: I was very impressed in the way that you brought together correctors and censorship in a natural way. I think you always have these concepts of improvement and censorship which you cannot avoid and are difficult to deal with.

Anthony Grafton: There are fascinating stories related to this. One of the richest is the story of Herman Hesse's relation to correctors. In the middle of his career he writes a short story about the tragic death of

a corrector who works on a newspaper. After much effort he is unable to convince his colleagues that calling a trivial accident a tragedy is wrong. He collapses and dies and his editor celebrates him by writing an obituary in which, in tribute to him, he doesn't call it a tragic death. But then much later Hesse writes his famous *Der Autor an einen Korrektor*, which is a very very sharp text, denouncing the corrector who brings along Duden and uses it to correct his writing. Duden itself would be a whole other story indeed. In some way, Duden is the corrector turned into a book and given material form.

Michael Hagner: The materialized corrector indeed! Only a few things remain for me to say. First, thank you to the Swiss Academies, thank you to the Balzan Foundation and thanks to all of you who have attended this lecture and thanks of course in particular to Anthony Grafton and Valentin Groebner for these illuminating interventions. Thank you very much.