

THE GREEK EDITIONS OF ALDUS MANUTIUS AND HIS GREEK COLLABORATORS

K.Sp.Staikos



CRETE & RENAISSANCE HUMANISM
by Stephanos Kaklamanis



OAK KNOLL PRESS 2016

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THE GREEK EDITIONS OF ALDUS MANUTIUS AND HIS GREEK COLLABORATORS (c. 1494-1515)

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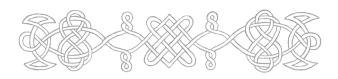
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INTRODUCTION

CRETE & RENAISSANCE HUMANISM
by Stephanos Kaklamanis

Translated by Katerina Spathi



2016

in memory of Manousos Manoussakas

To the Readers

As we reach the end of 2015, five hundred years have gone by since the death of Aldus Manutius, the major humanist of the Renaissance who dedicated his life to the dissemination of Classical Greek and Byzantine literature, since he firmly believed that no humanist education was possible without knowledge of the Greek language. Based in Venice, city of the Doges, Aldus worked tirelessly and with prodigious zeal from 1494 to 1515, in order to offer the humanist public of Venice and Northern Europe reliable first editions of Greek texts, several of which were until that time unknown to the West.

In the past two centuries, scholars and historians have almost exhaustively studied the logic of Aldus's publishing project, the reliability of his editions and the role of his Greek and Italian collaborators and of all those who supported him financially and politically in a variety of ways; the owners of major manuscript collections who entrusted their treasures to him, his relatives and those who carried on his vision after his death. However, what has not been sufficiently appraised is the contribution of his Greek collaborators, mainly the Cretans, without whom this feat, that is, the edition of Greek books at that particular time, would have been impossible. Aldus never hid this fact, instead he spoke of his helpers on every occasion, in the dedicatory prefaces to his editions.

An essential prerequisite for the philological preparation of the texts to be published, especially those about to be printed by his press for the first time ever, such as the five-volume edition of Aristotle's Complete Works, and Plato's Dialogues, was the possibility to access large collections of books, kept in Venice as well as in other centres of Italy, such as Padua and Ferrara. For example, the unique collection of cardinal Bessarion with its highly reliable ancient codices, which had been passed down to the Republic of Venice several years before, the rich libraries of the Hellenist Giorgio Valla, Niccoló Leoniceno of Ferrara, Alberto Pio, prince of Carpi and that of Aldus's close collaborator, Marcus Musurus, constituted indispensable sources for Aldus's editions. Aldus's objective was not only to find and publish hitherto unknown texts; he also wished to be able to collate manuscripts in order to produce reliable editions.

I believe that we all should honour Aldus's memory, and at the same time keep in mind the part played by his Greek collaborators in this gigantic publishing project. Even more so since several of his first editions consist in major works of ancient Greek literature such as the texts of Plato, Aristotle and the scholiasts of the Stagirite philosopher –Alexander of Aphrodisias and Ammonius Hermiae–alongside with the plays of the great tragic poets Sophocles, Aeschylus and Euripides and naturally Homer's epics and the didactic poems of Hesiod.

However, it is not possible to make an overall appraisal of Aldus's editorial endeavour, or even of his Greek editions only, without access to the original editions and to the whole of earlier and recent scholarly work on related subjects. In addition, Aldus's work and his

enterpreneurial activity have been approached from diverse standpoints. For example, there has been exhaustive bibliographical recording of his Greek and Latin editions, and his invaluable Prefaces have been translated and commented upon; also, the families of typeface used in every occasion, as well as the different versions of his printer's device have been identified. However, the aesthetics of Aldus's Greek books, especially the incunabula, in comparison with the Latin editions have not been sufficiently appraised.

Aldus Manutius's contribution to the propagation of Greek and Romanc ulture and Renaissance humanism cannot of course be grasped by studying his editions alone. Subsequent to their publishing, these books became tools of learning in the University circles and had drastic influence on the evolution of European thought from the Renaissance onwards.

K. Sp. Staikos

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RENAISSANCE HUMANISM AND CRETE

BY STEPHANOS KAKLAMANIS

Greek studies and printing in the Humanist era. Contribution of the Cretans

Historical setting

Two historical events seem to constitute landmarks of the humanist movement in Crete: first the Saint Titus Revolt of 1363-1365, when Venetian feudatories and Cretan landowners sought to become independent from Venice and to found their own Republic under the patronship of Saint Titus, first bishop of the island; second, the earthquake of 1508, which razed Candia to the ground and brought death to the inhabitants of the city and surrounding area. The Revolt was smothered by the "Lombard and German" mercenaries of the condottiero Luchino dal Verme who was sent by Venice to combat the Cretan Revolt. However, the uprising drew the communities of the Venetians of Crete and the Cretans closer together, speeded up the mutual cultural influences and eventually led to the emergence of the Venetian-Cretan identity, which formed through a series of events and circumstances, not always easy to deal with. The earthquake of 1508, a hundred and fifty years later, played a similar part: after the destruction of the medieval town of Candia, with its tall walls, towers and scarce public buildings, the new face of the city emerged: Renaissance Candia, with heart-shaped bastions, the Arsenal, squares and main streets, imposing buildings and noble mansions which reminded European travellers of their home countries.

Crete between East and West. In the same period, Crete gained in geopolitical importance due to major events in the larger area of the Eastern Mediterranean, which placed it at the centre of international developments; after a long period of fierce competition and open conflict Venice achieved to push the Italian maritime cities aside from the commercial routes of the former Byzantine empire and establish a dense network of possessions in these territories. Crete was its main domain, and Venice established an administrative system modelled on Venice's system of rule.

At the same time, the *Serenissima* became the major rival of the Ottomans, who from 1351 to 1460 took over Asia Minor, Greece, and the Southern Balkans, conquered Constantinople and made no secret of their designs to expand further west. In this era, which was crucial to the survival of modern Greek identity, a series of major political, social, economic and demographic changes took place; also, the effort to adapt ideologically and culturally to the new circumstances decisively determined further developments.

First humanist stirs. These were the same years when humanism gained strength in Italy. Interest in classical litterature had functioned as a regenerative force in every stage of the history of the Byzantine empire, and more so in the late Palaiologan era, when the study of classical letters flourished. In Italy, the recovery of the Latin tradition began only in the late 13th century, among the circles of educated monks, scholars, and the members of the affluent class who served as secretaries, law scholars, notaries and teachers of grammar and rhetorics at the towns of the Venetian inland such as Verona and Vicenza, and the uni-

versity centres of Padua and Bologna and Avignon, where the papal court had moved (1309-1377). From the 14th century, the tendency to read the Latin authors and imitate their style became widespread and evolved into a veritable school, which surpassed local political and cultural differences as well as antagonism between city-states, and led to the creation of a "Republic of letters" (res publica litteraria). Both Petrarch (1304-1374) and Boccaccio

(1314-1375), the major Renaissance humanist poets, achieved to learn Greek. Boccaccio's teacher was Leontius Pilatus of Calabria (d. 1367), who at some time had travelled to Crete in order to enhance his knowledge of ancient Greek literature. In 1361, aided by his famous pupil, Leontius taught Greek at the Studium of Florence and, following Boccaccio's invitation, produced a Latin translation of Homer in verse. Pilatus's teaching was brief and left no im-



1. Petrarch, wood engraving from:
N. Reusner, Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Virorum...,
Basel 1599.

portant legacy. However, soon Renaissance humanists wished to read the texts of the Greek classical tradition and called on the Greek scholars from Byzantium to teach them Greek in a systematic fashion. This brought about a radical renewal of cultural life in the Italian peninsula. At the time, a quest of knowledge meant faraway voyages in Western and Northern Europe, in order to discover long-lost manuscripts. Diplomatic missions and church councils such as those of Constantia, Ferrara and Flo-

rence, summoned in order to settle crucial political and ecclesiastical questions, offered the scholars opportunities to travel in search of manuscripts. Renaissance humanists sought with ever increasing intensity to acquire manuscripts with original texts, produce new translations into Latin and enhance the existing ones in order to make them more exact, philologically correct



2. Miniature drawing of Giovanni Boccaccio from the codex titled "Ecloge" (Florence 1379, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms Plut. 34.39).



3. C. Salutati, miniature from Florentine codex (Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms Strozzi, 174, f.3v).

and worthy of their original. Crete was among the places most visited in the East, as it was nearest to Italy and served as an intermediary station for travellers to and from Constantinople.

The establishment of Greek studies in Italy. An event which determined the Italian scholars' turn to Greek studies was the initiative on the part of Colluccio Salutati, Chancellor of Florence, to invite Manuel Chrysoloras (1350-1414) in 1396

to teach Greek language and literature at the Studium for a decade. Salutati was convinced of the importance of studying Greek in order to boost the intellectual life of the city that later came to be called the "New Athens". Chrysoloras's teaching, which lasted four years, was not only received with great enthusiasm by its large audience but also led several young men eager

for knowledge, such as Jacopo d'Angelo della Scarpentia (ci. 1360-1410) and Guarino Veronese (1374-1460) to move to Constantinople in order to continue their studies under their teacher, after the he had left Florence. Ninety years later, the death of Lorenzo dei Medici seems to close a very fertile period during which Crete was called upon to lay a leading role in the recovery, collection and transmission of



4. Manuel Chrysoloras, from N. Reusner, Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis...

Greek texts, from the Byzantine East to the Latin West. It is not strange that two exponents of the contact between the two worlds are connected to Crete and Candia: In 1400, Demetrios Kydonis, the much-travelled friend of Chrysoloras and Salutati, passed away at Candia, on his return trip to Constantinople; in April of 1492, on his way back to Florence from Constantinople Janus Lascaris received from physician Niccolò da Siena at Candia 44 codices and a statue, of a total value of 950 ducates, to enrich the collection of Greek manuscripts of his commissioner. Two young Cretans, tempted by the prospects of

working in such a promising environment,¹ accompanied him to the city of Florence, and in their turn became distinguished among the Greek scholars of the Italian Renaissance: Aristobou-



 Janus Lascaris, wood engraving from P. Giovio, Elogia Virorum litteris illustrium, Basel 1577.

los Apostolis (1467-1535) and his pupil Marcus Musurus (c. 1470-1517). The interval between the two events is the time when Crete evolves from a temporary station of scholars of Greek and copyists on their way to Italy, into a significant centre of copying and rescuing the treasure of manuscripts of the Classical and the Byzantine traditions, and a stable centre of teaching ancient Greek language and literature.

Schools and teachers of Greek

In Crete, Greek was taught in an organized fashion in private schools and monasteries of the city by Cretan and Byzantine scholars. A youth among them, Ioannis Argyropoulos, agreed with

^{1.} In 1519, Aristoboulos Apostolis, who had become bishop of Monemvasia under the name of Arsenios, wrote to Pope Leo X of the Medici: "That friend of the Greeks, the most inteligent Lorenzo, the most eminent senator of Florence, brought me then to Florence by the mediation of the most wise Lascaris, and there I met your Eminence; when was that? When in your luxurious house, you prepared with all the riches of Aristophanes, a brilliant masquerade, as if we were in Athens."

notary Konstantinos Mavrikas in October 1453 to teach the latter's son Greek for the price of 14 perpera; at the same time he actively participated in the intellectual events of the era. For example, he developed his opinion on the differences between the two doctrines in a public debate (disputa) between himself and George of Trebizond. The bad ending of this exchange brought about the disruption of their friendship. His interlocutor had been born and raised in Crete and had just returned from Italy. George of Trebizond had travelled to Venice in 1416 in order to copy manuscripts on the invitation of Francesco Barbaro (1390-1454), and to study Latin and Rhetorics under Guarino Veronese. He also lived in Padua, where, at Barbaro's recommendation he taught Greek to the bishop Pietro Marcello (1376-1428). He taught Greek and Latin at Candia until he finally returned to Italy (he travelled to Vicenza in 1426 and settled in Venice in 1427), full of ambition and dreams.

Italian students in Crete. Conversely, several Italians travelled to Crete in order to learn Greek, so that they could study classical authors in the original text, and to seek manuscripts of hitherto unknown or partly preserved texts; they equally searched for statues, coins and other antiquities to carry off to their home countries. This activity was shared by several Venetian nobles and clergymen who served on the island in several positions: Zaccaria Trevista (1370-1414) who was *capitano* (military commander) of Crete in 1403-1404, and Marco Lipomano (1390-1446), duke of Candia in 1435-1437. Also, Ludovico or Alvise Foscarini (1409-1480), rector of Rethymno in 1437-1439, Pietro Donato (1380-1447), archbishop of Crete in 1415-1425, Fantino Vallaresso (1392-1446), Maffeo Vallaresso (1415-1496) who was

serving as canon of the Archidiocese of Crete in 1445 etc. Others settled on the island after years of living in Venice, such as Lauro (Dafnis) Quirini, who moved to Crete in 1452 and stayed there for the rest of his life. Some of them put together their collection with much money and effort while others resold their collections, thus earning money from their activity. Giovanni Corner (1370-1452) travelled extensively to the Greek East and Crete, where his father Federico (Ferrante) possessed land, and he bought manuscripts which earned the admiration of Ambrosio Traversari for their beauty.

The physician Pietro Tomasi, a scholar of Greek and important exponent of Venetian humanism was also in Candia from 1414 to 1418. Among his friends and correspondents were Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481), Leonardo Giustiniani (1388-1446), Ludovico or Alvise Foscarini, Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) and Francesco Barbaro. Tomasi sent Guarino Veronese a manuscript of Plutarch's *Lives* from Crete, and kept other findings for his own collection, which numbered 130 volumes in 1460.

The cultivation of Greek lettters was boosted by other factors, such as the presence on the island of educated monks and priests, who had been sent by or were related to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the longest stay being that of Iosif Vryennios (1381-1401). Above all however, it was stimulated by the intense theological debates on the union of the Churches (1438-1439) which aimed at criticizing, or finding dogmatic justifications for an essentially political choice. A circle of scholars formed around Ioannis Symeonakis, the Orthodox *protopapas* of Candia (d. 1452). Its members included George of Trebizond, Ioannis Kakos (Cauco), Konstantinos Mylaios, Manuel Savios, Michail

Lygizos, Ioannis Syrigos, Ioannis, Benedictos and the physician Emmanuel Semitecolo. These former pupils of Symeonakis, laymen, monks, clergymen, teachers, codex copyists and students of ancient Greek, wrote poetry in ancient metres, corresponded in Greek and composed rhetorical and philosophical speeches in that same language. Some of these texts have survived, and show the high level of knowledge of ancient Greek and the influence of these scholars on the cultural life of the island. They were at the epicentre of local events and formed part of a network of contacts inside and outside Crete. They corresponded with select members of the Venetian-Cretan aristocracy to whom they addressed letters, and for whom they composed laudatory and obituary speeces, or monodies. To this period belong the writings of Petros Lambardos ("obituary of the monk Neilos", letters to the hieromonks Kallistos and Anthimos and "to the most beloved of God and wisest man, protopapas Ioannis Symeonakis") as well as those of Manuel Savios (c. 1408-1449) a musician, hymnographer and protopsaltes of Candia; he composed a "Panegyrical and joyful canon for the much-desired union" to salute the positive outcome of the Councils of Ferrara and Florence, a dialogue "Against the Jews" and an obituary ("Prayer and consolation to the grieving"), for Alexios Kalliergis, a young member of the only Cretan Orthodox family which also belonged to Venetian nobility. The orator clearly states his dependence on the father of the deceased, and shares his grief.²

^{2. &}quot;If only it were possible, noble and eminent sirs, to see the son of your friend and my patron, master Alexios of that virtuous family of the Kalliergis, rise from his bed of pain and to rejoice with him and his father".

Symeonakis was the teacher of several young Italians who later became brilliant scholars of Greek in the main centres of Renaissance Humanism (Rome, Bologna, Florence, Milan, Naples and Venice) and never forgot him: Rinuccio Aretino (1395-1450), secretary to pope Nicholas V and teacher of Greek to Lorenzo Valla, calls Symeonakis "a most learned" man and expresses his gratitude to him for his teaching in a letter of 1415, before Aretino travelled to Constantinople.³ Symeonakis seems to have had codices copied for a select, well-chosen public: he addressed the manuscripts to eminent personalities of the Venetian society, such as Francesco Barbaro, to whom he sent a manuscript of Lucian's works (Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 73) and duke Marco Lipomano, whom he also provided with works by Lucian, the *Mechanics* falsely attributed to Aristotle and *De operatione demonum* by Michael Psellos.

Travellers to Crete – Early archaeology. The early 15th century sees the first attempts by locals and visitors to Crete to trace

^{3.} According to what he wrote to Bonacursio: 'Verum si quid tua gravitas dignum per nos eluxerit, gratia erit habenda Johanni Simonaco prothopapae, viro nostrae aetatis litteratissimo, e cuius industria opere et diligentia derivatum est quicquid graecarum litterarum ad nos effluxit". In the dedication of his translation of Plato's *Crito* to emperor Manuel Palaiologos, written around 1423, he highlights the impetus for knowledge, which set him apart from the pursuits of his contemporaries, and took him to Constantinople: "[...]alii Cereri messium culmos, alii Baccho maturos palmites, alii iam et Apollini hecatombas offerre solebant. Ego vero graecarum cognitione disciplinarum pellectus, patriam, parentes ec dulcem tepidumque nidum deserens, implumis praecepsque coelo, ut vides, volutavi remoto. Ex his itaque studiis quibus iam diu multis vifiliis insudavi et maxime in ea civitate [...]".

the historical past of the island, combining the study of written sources with the search for material evidence. Cretan archaeology was inaugurated by the Florentine priest Cristoforo Buondelmonti (c. 1395-1430) who in his Description of Crete (Descriptio Insulae Cretae) relates his extensive tour of the island in 1415, and gives his impressions of the antiquities he discovered and the ancient ruins he visited, which he also sketched on the margins of his text. The Laurentianus Pluteus manuscript (29.42) includes six draughts (drawings and maps) by Buondelmonti, of which five show archaeological sites on the island (Pantomatrion, Armyros, the mount of Zeus, Idaion Cave, Knossos, the Palace of king Minos, the church of Hagioi Deka, cells of monks, the Labyrinth and Mount Ida) while the sixth is the earliest extant depiction of Candia. This drawing in perspective renders the city (civitas) in meticulous detail: the Byzantine walls are interrupted by tall square towers, it suburbs are organized into parishes and spread in a southwestern orientation. The city is densely built and the state offices, the public buildings and the houses of the officials are laid out around the central square. The commercial life of the town flourished around the centre, where stood the glorious churches and religious institutions. The Jewish quarter was situated at the northwestern end of the town, inside the walls. Outside them stand the windmills of Maroulas and the lazaretto (quarantine station). The rouga maistra (main road) connected the port to the central square, the church of Saint Mark and, through the Great Gate, to the suburbs and southern countryside. Outside the walls were also several smaller markets and the slaughterhouses close to the church of Our Lady of the Angels (Madonna dei Angeli), at the

beginning of the wide road that led west. Thus the Byzantine walls separated the old city from the new (the *oxoporton*), where the poorer members of the population, including refugees from Tenedos island and other Byzantine territories ravaged by the Ottoman Turks, had settled. A surprise awaited Buondelmonti when he arrived at the village of Thrapsanos: he was received by the local patrician Niccolò Corner (son of Andrea), who sat reading Dante in a garden adorned with ancient sculptures; in the course of their conversation he proved fully informed of the contemporary political events in Florence.

Schools and teachers of Latin on Crete. The study of Greek ran parallel to the cultivation of the Latin language; it was taught to young members of the aristocracy by private teachers, house teachers and monks of the Catholic orders who had settled in Crete from the early 13th century. Especially remarkable was the educational work of the Domenican friars at the convents of Saint Peter at Candia, Saint Nicholas at Chania and the Madonna at Rethymno. The monastery of Candia had a library looking onto the sea, where once the drone of the waves made reading difficult for traveller Felix Faber. The Franciscan monks had developped a similar activity; one of them was the Cretan Petros Filarges (Pietro di Candia), future antipope Alexander V (1409-1410). Latin, as well as bilingual (Greek and Latin) manuscripts were reproduced in several copies by local scribes who knew either or both languages. They copied from manuscripts of the private or the monastic collections of the island, some of which were especially rich: such was the case of the monastery of Saint Francis (San Francesco) at



6. Map of Crete from Liber Insularum Archipelagi [1420] by Cristoforo Buondelmonti (from: Τόπος και Εικόνα, Χαρακτικά ξένων περιηγητών για την Ελλάδα..., vol. I, Olkos, 1978).

Candia: in the early 15th century the monastery possessed 290 manuscripts, consisting of works of western theology and translations of texts of Greek literature and the Fathers of the Eastern Church into Latin. The wide range of the Catholic monks' activity among Cretan society and especially its influence on the lives of the noble families emerge from contemporary texts such as wills and testaments, and the works of vernacular literature (Bergades, *Apocopos*).

Venice ruled Crete by dispatching a number of functionaries (secretaries and accountants) who supported the authorities in their work and executed their orders. There is no doubt that, in spite of their merchant, non-aristocratic origin, they had trained at the Scuola Grande di San Marco, which had been founded to serve the needs of the Cancelleria. In order to aid their finances they also gave classes or even took up more demanding activities, as in the case of notary Lorenzo de Monacis (1388-1428). During his long stay in Candia he handled a number of cases *ex officio*, or contributed to their processing.

In the first years of his career, De Monacis met three supporters of the union of the churches, Maximos Chrysovergis, Demetrios Kydonis and Manuel Kalekas, and possibly followed the flaming theological debate (*disputa*) between Iosif Vryennios and the Domenican monk Manuel Kalekas (d. 1410) on the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit, which took place in one of the churches of the city. He might also have examined the lawsuit of the woman who demanded that the poet Leonardo Dellaporta (c.1330-1419/1420) acknowledge her child's paternity. He believed that in fact the Latin language was superior to the Greek and that little profit would come from translating

Greek works into Latin. In an extensive letter addressed to de Monacis in 1416, Francesco Barbaro, the most prominent exponent of Renaissance Humanism, refuted these views with convincing arguments. In any case, during his stay in Crete, de Monacis learned sufficient Greek to read Byzantine historians in the original, although not with the ease he wished for. After his return to Venice (1421) he dedicated himself to writing a chronicle titled De gestis, moribus et nobilitate civitatis Venetiarum, who made him known to a wider public: besides his main source, the Chronicle (Chronica) of Andrea Dandolo, he sourced precious material on the events in Crete and the Byzantine territories in the 13th century (with which he deals in books IX and X) from the works of Nikitas Choniates, Georgios Acropolitis and Georgios Pachymeres, using manuscripts then in circulation in Crete and the books (Registri) of the Ducal Cancelleria of Candia, to which he had easy access. It is fairly obvious that a systematic search of the surviving archives related to the functionaries of the Cancelleria (as well as those of Rethymno, Chania and Siteia) has a lot to teach us on the people who, alongside with the Catholic monks, the members of the Diocese and representatives of the Orthodox world, worked to slowly but steadily prepare the ground for the educational and ideological orientation of Cretan society in the two following centuries. Available information seems to indicate that Cretan students at the universities of Padua and Bologna followed a somewhat languid course in their studies as very few of them made it to their final exams and received their degree. However, for several reasons this picture does not reflect the general knowledge of Latin. The universal usage of this language in public and notary documents is sufficient indication that Latin was widely used by the urban population, who needed it for every-day transactions in the public and private spheres. A 1501 petition to the Senate of Venice includes a request of the nobles of Candia, who asked that the person who taught Greek and Latin to the functionaries of the Cancelleria, Peritio de Sanctis, be entrusted with teaching their children as well, for two hours daily, so that they would not be left illiterate. This indicates the contemporary reality, that is, the urgent need for the dissemination of knowledge of both languages in the higher levels of society. In the following decades, equipped with this knowledge the nobles supported the Renaissance movement in Crete in a variety of ways, with the generous help of a vigorous merchant class.

On the eve of the Fall of Constantinople

The decision of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos to accept the terms of the Union of the two Churches as established in the Councils of Ferrara and Florence (1438/9), in which Georgios Gemistos (Pletho), his pupil Bessarion and Mark of Ephesus became distinguished for the depth of their philosophical thought, widened the theological differences and the ideological gap between Greek-speaking populations in Byzantine and Latin-held territories. Consequences were harsh for the internal life of Crete, where, already from the late 14th century, dogmatic confrontations had been equally frequent and intense as those occuring in Constantinople. The policy of Venice was to adopt a mild stance towards ideological differ-

ences among the population. In the field of doctrine, Venice reinforced the institution of the protopapas (who represented the Greek Orthodox flock before the Venetian authorities). Furthermore, the Venetians assigned public posts, including those related to the Church, to officials who came from the ranks of the aristocracy, possessed a large experience in administration and had a solid humanist and theological education; these choices were made easier by the presence of Venetian popes such as Eugene IV, born Gabriele Condulmier (1431-1447). Fantino Vallaresso, the Veronese pupil of Guarino (1392-1446) was capable of distinguishing a politically attainable goal from a chimera; as Latin archbishop he worked to combat scandals and saw to the attenuation of dogmatic differences and the promotion of the union, thus strengthening the Venetian presence in Crete. At the incitation of the noble poet Marinos Falieros, who composed poems in the vernacular and of Paolo de Dotis of Padua, Vallaresso wrote a treatise on the decisions of the Council of Florence, in which he had participated, engaging in a systematic refutation of the arguments presented by the opponents of the union (Libellus de ordine generalium conciliorum et unione Florentina). A similar stance was adopted by Filippo Parura, his successor in the Diocese (1448-1458).

In the heroic days of the siege of Constantinople, Cretans fought by the side of Constantine Palaiologos and won their freedom from Mehmed the Conqueror thanks to their extraordinary bravery. Also Cretan were the ships which fled through the flames carrying the "sad news" to the Christian world,⁴ and

^{4.} A codex of Agarathou monastery (today in London, BL, Additional

the island of Crete received not only those who escaped the city before it was besieged by Mehmed II, but also those who survived its fall. At the time, the cardinal Isidore of Kiev was living in Candia as manager of the fund of the Latin Patriarchate in the East. He had also conducted the official rite which celebrated the reunion of the churches at the baptistry of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. In the letters he sent from Crete to Pope Nicholas V, cardinals Bessarion and Capranica, Doge Francesco Foscari and to the Commune of Florence, Isidor lamented the unprecedented disaster, the vandalisms and the loss of the city's cultural and spiritual identity. The role of Crete in the new era was defined by Constantine himself shortly before he was felled by the infidels' sword. The anonymous poet, probably a Cretan and a scholar, of the *Anakalima*, the Lament of the Fall of Constantinople, described the events with great clarity (v. 30-42):

The wretched man looked left and right the Cretans had gone and the Genovese as well and the Venetians fled, he was left all alone. He spoke through burned lips and said "You leave to save yourselves

ms 34060, f. lv, reads "In 1453, on 29th June, on a Saturday, three Cretan ships, belonging to Sgouros, Yalinas and Filomatis sailed in from Constantinople, and we were told that on May 29th, the day of Saint Theodosia, a Tuesday, on the third hour, the Agarenes, the army of the Turk Celebi Mehmed, invaded Constantinople and they said that they slew the king Constantine Palaiologos And there was much sorrow and weeping in Crete for this sad message, because nothing worse has ever happened nor shall come to pass. And may the Lord our God have mercy on us and spare us this terrible threat".

where do you leave me
You leave me to the dogs and mouth of the beast!
Christians cut off my head
and take it, Cretans, keep it in Crete
so that the Cretans see it and take pity on me,
beat upon their chests and weep black tears
and pray for my soul, as I loved them all;
so that the dogs won't have me".

By this symbolic act, the last emperor transfers the symbols of his power as well as the cultural treasure of Constantinople, while the doctrinal preferences which led to the unavoidable destruction become of secondary importance. The conspiracy of Sifis Vlastos and his few fellows in Rethymno in 1454 ended almost before it had begun, because, like the one of 1460, it was based on unrealistic premises; the vision of reviving a Byzantine centre far away from its ancient cradle. It had by that time become clear, at least to the inhabitants of the Cretan cities, that adherence to Venice and assumption of a common Venetian Cretan sociopolitical reality constituted in fact the only way to the prosperity of their homeland.

The role of Bessarion in the intellectual and political scene of Europe. From the mid-15th century, the humanist movement in Crete is influenced by the endeavours of Cardinal Bessarion (c. 1403-1472), former metropolitan of Nicaea and an emblematic figure of modern Greek history, in favour of his nation. After the Fall of Constantinople Bessarion worked with unrelenting passion, as few others did, to organize a Crusade in order to reconquer Constantinople, and to rescue the texts of

Greek literature. Obviously, achieving the first of these goals was well beyond his capabilities in spite of his tireless efforts and his participation in several successive diplomatic missions, as a Crusade would suppose the cooperation of the local rulers of Italy and Western Europe, who would have to set aside their personal interests. He was more likely to succeed in his second goal, as



7. Cardinal Bessarion: N. Reusner, Icones sive Imagines viuae...



8. Francesco Filelfo: N. Reusner, Icones sive Imagines viuae...

this depended to a greater extent on his personal effort. He worked systematically to set up a dense network of agents in the Greek-speaking territories of the East and Southern Italy, in order to find and acquire Greek manuscripts, by buying them or having them copied. In Crete, as titular Latin Patriarch of Constantinople (from 1458), Bessarion disposed of funds and people devoted to the cause of the church reunion. Thus, he was aided by the Venetian noble Lauro Quirini (1420-1479) and the "king of the paupers" Michail Apostolis (1422-1480), who was by now a refugee from Constantinople.

Quirini had studied in Venice and Padua. In 1451 he married Pelegrina, daughter of Marinos Falieros, and settled in Candia, where he traded in textiles and manuscripts for the rest of his life. He was one of the best-known Venetian humanists of his generation, and wrote several books on philosophical and political issues. He corresponded with Francesco Barbaro

(for whom he wrote a laudatory speech "Oratio in laudem Francisci Barbari"), Maffeo Vallaresso, chronicler Pietro Dolfin (1427-1506), who had served as Counsellor at Candia in 1471-1473, Greek scholar and manuscript collector Jacopo Foscari (1415-1457), and humanists Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457), Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481), Bernardo Bembo (1433-1519) and others. For twenty years, as ad-



9. Pope Nicholas V, founder of the Vatican library. Copper engraving.

ministrator of Bessarion's income in Crete, Quirini knew and worked with the pro-unionists of Candia such as priest Ioannis Plousiadinos, Georgios Trivizios and others, and with the "pauper" Apostolis, who protested to their common patron that Quirini was late paying him his allowance. In a letter written in late 1464 he confronts Quirini himself without roundabouts: "My son came to you to request what is due to us and came back empty-handed, so I wish to know the reason for this, even more so since you know how poor we are. Or perhaps since your purse is full of gold coins, you believe that mine is as well, exactly

as those whose bellies are full do not believe those who are hungry and accuse them". In his letters to popes Nicholas V (1447-1455) and Pius II (1458-1464), and cardinals Ludovico Trevisan and Paolo Morosini Quirini conveys the Cretans dismay before the growing Ottoman danger. At the same time, the search for manuscripts and antiquities in Crete boosted his reading and collecting activity and ensured him a network of contacts in Venice, Florence and Rome.

Michail Apostolis. After a long time wandering in Rome and the courts of the rulers of Italy, Apostolis developed a similar activity in Crete. He worked intensively from the region of Candia (Gortyn) to find and copy Greek manuscripts and asked for the help of the pro-unionists of the town. He faced a myriad of difficulties in his dealings with "the bad and foul owners of the books", whom he describes in detail in his letters to Bessarion, and at the same time received the attacks and mockery of his Orthodox fellow citizens for his beliefs: "look, the devil has taken him too; behold the shame, behold the scum". 5 He also travelled to Cyprus and Constantinople to pursue the same goals. In his letters, he urged Bessarion to create an endowment which would secure a living to his fellow priests, as no Orthodox requested their services, and which would ensure him a paid position of teaching Greek; thus he would both be able to teach the language ("give the Greek speech to Crete or let the language re-

^{5.} Plousiadinos also describes the intensity of inflamed passions: "In the taverns, in the streets, in the markets, by everyone and everywhere, the pro-unionist priests are reviled and their honour is slandered and defamed".

main barbaric because of you" and put together a team of experienced scribes and "philologists" who would copy and publish critical editions of the texts. This plan went well beyond the needs of Apostolis's maintenance and met with the ambitious project Bessarion was working on in Italy. This is why it did not take long for it to materialize (bule of 1466). Bessarion supported a similar circle of erudite Greek and Italian scholars in Rome. including well-known copyists, several of whom were Cretans devoted to the project of enriching Bessarion's library. When Michail Apostolis was named a beneficiary of the endowment, he was able to start his school (which he called "museum", "school" and "pandidacterion", without it ever taking the form of a public school). Thus the pro-unionists of Crete improved their knowledge of Greek. Apostolis, together with his students (Michail Lygizos, Nikolaos Kavadatos, Emmanuel Adramyttenos, his son Aristoboulos and others) and the other priests who aided him and also received the help of the endowment (Georgios Alexandrou, later bishop of Arcadia, Georgios Grigoropoulos, the multifaceted Ioannis Plousiadinos, later Joseph bishop of Methoni, Michail Souliardos, Kosmas Trapezuntius etc.), coordinated the copying of tenths of manuscripts, thus retrieving and reproducing whatever could be rescued from time their compatriots' indifference and the onslaught of Ottoman expansion. The Ottoman-Venetian War (1463-1478) and especially the seizure of Chalcis by Mehmed the Conqueror in 1470 reminded the Christians of the Fall of Constantinople and pained the Italians even more than the Fall of Constantinople itself.

Apostolis dedicated a collection of 133 religious epigrams to one of his students, Adramyttenos, who was preparing to leave for Italy. In Mirandola, where he lived from 1482 to 1485, he taught Greek to Aldus Manutius and greatly influenced Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, whose close friend was the Jewish Elia del Medigo of Candia (1458-1493).

In 1467, a year after the foundation of the pro-unionist school, the Diocese of Crete founded a Seminar to teach Latin and Theology to the young students destined to become priests of that same Diocese.

After the death of Bessarion (18 November 1474), his successors, the titular Latin Patriarchs of Constantinople Pietro Riario (1472-1474) and Girolamo Lando (1474-1496) delayed the paying of the money established by the trust, as they questioned the sincerity of the beneficiaries' faith and the import of their contribution to the cause of the reunion of the churches. By 1480 several of the beneficiaries had died, including Apostolis, while others had left for other destinations. However, the success of their endeavour becomes obvious from the important production of Cretan manuscripts during that period, manuscripts which can be distinguished by the type of texts they include and their binding. In addition, the pupils of Apostolis and his son Aristoboulos, who aided his father in his teaching, formed a new generation of copyists, early printers and "philologists" with a solid knowledge of Greek.

These initiatives were supported by members of the Catholic church, while the teaching of Greek in Crete continued without obstacles during the second half of the 15th century. Schools continued to attract the interest of the locals as well as of several Italians, despite the fact that Greek studies had become popular in Italy and their level had improved. The example of Lorenzo

Camerti of Camerino is telling; nicknamed "the Cretan", Camerti spent seven years studying Greek in Crete, before the Venetian Senate elected him in the chair of Greek literature in Padua, in 1503, choosing him over the other candidate, Marcus Musurus.

Cretan codex copyists in Venice

Several of the Cretans who moved to Venice, Rome, Milan and Florence and other cities of Italy and were involved in the spreading of Greek by copying codices and teaching, had in fact received their education in the circle of the pro-unionists of Candia or under its direct influence, while the youngest among them had studied Greek at the school created by the endowment's beneficiaries.

Several Cretan scholars and codex writers ventured into Italy, starting their journey from the metropolis of Venice. Some of them had to cross the Alps in order to reach Paris, Alcalá de Henares or London in order to find commissioners and work opportunities. The field of their activities had impressively expanded in the meanwhile, thanks to the institutional and material infrastructures which had been established in Italy, the brilliant teaching and philological achievements of the Italian humanists and their teachers from the Orthodox and Latin East, and printing, the art of typography (*ars artificialiter scribendi*) which had dynamically entered the scene, offering the possibility of mechanical reproduction of hundreds of identical and affordable copies. In 1497, Georgios Grigoropoulos wrote to his son Ioannis, then living in Venice: "Dear son, if I am to gain any

profit from writing [copying] there as well, write to me so that I can participate, as noone here wants written texts". He thus testifies to the shortage of commissions of texts of Greek and Christian (Pateric) literature, as Italy had become the epicentre of Greek books production. The surviving manuscripts of Late Byzantine and early Cretan vernacular literature as well as the correspondence of the family of priest Georgios Grigoropoulos show that manuscripts were intensively copied in those years (the availability of printed books remained limited in Crete). The usual commissioners were both priests and lay men and sometimes women (such as *kyra* Leni, mentioned in Marcianus gr. IX, 17 (1247)), who needed the texts to further their education, and for religious practices.

In the meanwhile, the first printed Greek book saw the light in Milan on 30 January 1476. The *Epitome of the Eight Parts of Speech...* was written by Constantine Lascaris and edited by Demetrios Damilas, pupil of Apostolis. Eight years later, in Florence, he printed the *Complete works of Homer (by the labour and skill of Demetrios the Cretan, of Milan,...)* and copied codices of great philological and artistic value for the patron of that town. Another pupil of Apostolis, Nikolaos Kavadatos, the *protothytes* of Chania, better known as Laonicus of Crete, and Alexander "from Candia of Crete, son of the wisest and most erudite master Georgios the priest, son of Alexandros", founded the first Greek press in Venice and in 1486 printed Homer's *Batrachomyomachia* (22 April) and the *Psalter* (15 November); *folio* 22V of the edition includes "heroic and political [decapentasyllabic] verses of the teacher master Michail Apostolis".

These inaugural steps evolved into an impressive itinerary

ENITOMH TŴN ÖKTŴ TOŶ KŐFOY MEPŴNKAI ÄKKNTINŴN ANAFKAÍ WN CYNTEOEÌCA NAPAKWNCTANTI NOY KACKAPEWC TOŶ BYZANTIOY.

ράμμα εσί μέρος ελαχίσου φωνής αλίαρετον . Εισί δε Γράμματα ἀκοσίτευταρα . Τόντων φωνήτεντα μέν επτά . α ε η ϊ ο μικρον ν Τιλόν και ω μέγα . Ενμφωνα Σε δεκαεπτά . β Γ 2 ?.

Β κ λ μ γ ζ το ρ σ τ Φ χ +. Τωγ Δε φωγκενίων μακρα με γ δνο καὶ ω με γα.

Βραχεα Δε δνο ε τιλογ καὶ ο μικρογ. Δίχρογα Δε τρία α ι ν . Εξ ων δίφθοι τοι κυρίως με γ εξ δίγογογον του Καταχρησικώς λίγον τα α ω σ ω σ ω σ ον . Καταχρησικώς λίγον του δε του δε συμφώγων κ μιφωγα με γ ο κτω δε του δε του δε του δε τρία ο δε τρία ο δε τρία ο δε τρία ο κ π τ . Δασε δε τρία ο φ χ . Μέσα δε τρία ο β τ Σ .

Εκτων δικρημένων Σε των δε γραμματων α συ δε τρία δικρημένων Σε των δε γραμματων α συ δε τρία δικρηνών α διδεν αλέξε ο διον ω ε τρος εξε ων δλόγος διον δε του δεν αλέξε ο διον ω ε τρος εξε ων δλόγος διον δε τρος αναγινώσκε.



10. Title page of the Epitome of the Eight Parts of Speech by Constantine Lascaris, Milan, Demetrios Damilas for D. Paravisino, 1476.

which led to the flourishing of Greek studies at the end of the 15th century. Several chairs of Greek existed at the same time throughout Italy; more importantly a number of publishing houses focused mainly on the printing of ancient Greek and Latin authors. This was a very significant contribution to the intellectual activities of Europe in general, with Aldus Manutius as main exponent of that current. In the twenty years spanned by his editorial project (1495-1515) he produced tenths of Greek editions under his name and the emblem of his press, the anchor and the dolphin, most of which were the first printed versions of those works: Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Euripides, Herodotus, Hesychius, Theocritus, Thucydides, Plato, Sophocles, Philostratus and others. Manutius was of course a Renaissance humanist himself, and a teacher of classical languages in several rulers' courts in Italy. However, for his publications he chose to lean on renowned philologists, among which several Cretans stand out. Both in the first (1495-1505) and the second (1509-1515) period of the Aldine press, the heaviest weight of finding manuscripts, critically editing and designing the editions of Greek poets and authors fell on the shoulders of his closest collaborators, who undertook the task with zeal and brought it to term in the most admirable manner. All of them were from Crete, former pupils and friends of Aristoboulos Apostolis; Apostolis played the most important part in the preparation of Galeomyomachia by Theodore Prodromos and a collection of grammar treatises titled Thesaurus Cornucopiae et horti Adonidis (1496): the most valuable and cherished coworkers of Aldus were Ioannis Grigoropoulos and Marcus Musurus. Aldus gained great experience and knowledge on the casting and laying out

of Greek typeface by closely observing the printed production of the press of the Cretans Zacharias Kalliergis and Nikolaos Vlastos, with whom he maintained contact and a cordial commercial relationship. In addition, when the bank crisis caused by the Ottoman-Venetian War of 1499-1599 forced Kalliergis and Vlastos to close down their business, Aldus hired their specialized assistants. Everything indicates that the quality of the Aldine editions is closely linked to the high degree of maturity of Renaissance humanism in Crete in the second half of the 15th century.

Bessarion's donation

A century after Petrarch had expressed his intention of donating his manuscripts to the Commune Venetiarum, on 13 May 1468, the cardinal Bessarion gave his uniquely rich and valuable collection of Greek and Latin manuscripts to the Basilica of Saint Mark under the condition that they be kept in a specially designated space (a library) and at the disposal of all those who studied the Greek and Roman intellectual legacy. Thus, the precious fruit of the strenuous labour of Bessarion and his partners in Italy and the Greek and Roman East in order to rescue the works of Greek literature would be preserved in the safest manner.

Venice was a prosperous city with public and private schools and enviable libraries housed in monastic institutions such as San Giovanni e Paolo and San Giorgio Maggiore, in addition to the book collections established by nobles, functionaries of the administration, teachers and scholars. The new art of printing

had found the ideal circumstances to show its potential for the expansion of knowledge and the circulation of ideas. In addition, the Greek Orthodox presence was continually boosted by the arrival of new refugees fleeing the upheaval in the Eastern Mediterranean, thus creating new foundations and perspectives, such as the establishment of the brotherhood of Saint Nicholas in 1498. Thus the politically and ideologically charged act of Bessarion turned out to be ingenious. In the conscience of the thinker who was able to show the common ground and subtle similarities of the thinking of Plato and Aristotle to his contemporaries, the political, ideological and emotional bonds between the Greek-speaking world and Venice were so clear that he did not hesitate to fulfill what Petrarch finally had not. He was not motivated by the honours and distinctions he had received from the the Most Serene Republic. His thought was most influenced by an experienced truth: to the Greek refugees, Venice was a extension of their tortured homeland, a city that seemed another Byzantium, as he clearly states in the act of the donation of his manuscripts to Doge Cristoforo Moro.⁶ This was where several refugees from Byzantium had finally settled, after wandering about Italy, following the example of "the most fair and wise lady Anna, daughter of the most respectable and illustrious Loukas Notaras, formerly Megas Doux of Constantinople". As

^{6.} The extract reads thus: "Cum enim in civitatem ventram omnes fere totius orbis nationes maxime confluant, tum praecipue graeci, qui e suis provinciis navigo venientes Venetiis primum descendunt, es propterea vobiscum necessitudine devincti, ut ad vestram appulsi urbem, quasi alterum Byzantium introire videatur".



11. Cardinal Bessarion's letter to Doge Cristoforo Moro and the Senate of Venice, by which he announces the donation of his library (Marcian Library, Cod. Lat. XIV, May 1468).

is well known, the Etymologikon Mega kat'alphaviton (Great Etymological Dictionary) was printed at the incitation of Anna Notara on 8 July 1499. This monumental edition, the most exquisite specimen of early Greek printing, was the fruit of the harmonious collaboration of several Cretans after a seven-year preparation, thanks to the financial means provided by Nikolaos Vlastos, the philological prowess of Marcus Musurus and Ioannis Grigoropoulos and the knowledge and skill of Zacharias Kalliergis and his fellow printers. This team immortalized its name in one of the most important creations of Greek books of the Renaissance. The introductory note, composed by Musurus in classical Greek, praises the contributors to the edition, who admirably overcame the technical difficulties of the project, and exalts the island of Crete, which by the force of its spirit and culture had been serving humanity from the time of god Zeus, who was born on that island. The secrets of the craft of designing and casting the typeface were taught to them by the goddess Athena, on the orders of her father. The lines of Musurus express his sincere satisfaction for the human potential generated by the land of Crete in the past and present. And indeed, as we have seen, in the previous decades Crete had become another garden of Eden, where Greek studies had found the conditions to flourish and the opportunity to spread to the West.

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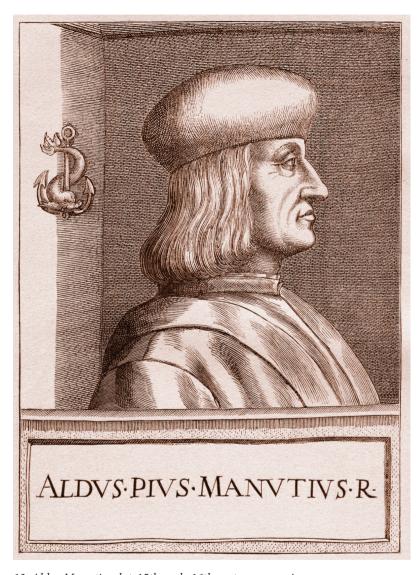
ALDUS'S GREEK COLLABORATORS



Aldus Manutius's personality, his contribution to learning and the propagation of Greek and Roman Letters, and humanist literature beyond the confines of Italy, as well as his constant pursuit of perfection in his editorial projects, are subjects which have been dealt with several times. The world of intellectuals and nobles who aided Aldus in his editorial enterprise, and financed the publication of important works of ancient Greek literature, such as the prince of Carpi, Alberto Pio, for the Complete works of Aristotle, have been equally well explored. Here, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out Aldus's position on the dissemination of ancient Greek Letters, as exposited by him in his Musarum panegyris, a text also known as Epistola ad Catherinam Piam: "How could a person who does not know Greek imitate the Greek authors who by everybody's account are the most versed in all the sciences and nothing comparable to their works has come out of the Latin language?"

OAME, I, 160-161

^{12.} Aldus Manutius, engraving from Orazio Pagani, Dell'acque di Recoaro, Vicenza, apresso Antonio Veronese, c. 1761.



13. Aldus Manutius, late15th-early 16th century engraving.

The life of Aldus

Aldus Manutius was born at Bassiano near Rome one year before or after 1450. He received his early education in Rome, at a time when the splendour of the Greek and Italian thinkers of the Curia of Pope Nicolas V (d. 1455) was but a memory. Aldus records the names of his first Latin teachers, Gaspare da

Verona and Domizio Calderini, in his preface to the *Idylls* of Theocritus (1495-96) and to the *Silvae* of Statius (1502), respectively. He studied Greek in Ferrara, under Battista Guarino, in the late 1470s, but was initiated into the subtleties of the language and especially the Attic dialect by Emmanuel Adramyttenos.² Ferrara had a long-standing tradition of Greek letters, as Guarino Veronese and Theodorus Gaza taught in that city with great



14. Emblem of the Manutius family, which embellished Aldus's publishing house.

Bartelucci, Genealogia

success. There, Aldus got to know two prominent exponents of the humanist ideals: Niccolò Leoniceno, who was to become an active collaborator of his and a contributor to his editorial project, and the demonic Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Indeed, it is possible that Pico della Mirandola, who was a relative of the Carpi rulers, recommended him for the position of tutor to princes Alberto and Lionelo Pio. Aldus was later named a citizen of Carpi, while the rulers of that small state became the most fervent supporters and endorsers of his plans. He did not live in Carpi permanently, but often travelled to nearby cities, depending on the political circumstances in the region.

When the Venetians attacked Ferrara in 1482, he was forced to seek refuge in Mirandola, together with Pico and Adramyttenos.

Aldus was a fervent admirer of Angelo Poliziano (Politian), the most insightful Hellenist in Italy and a distinguished



15. Venice, wood engraving from J. Ph. Foresti, da Bergamo, Supplementum Chronicarum, 1490.

Maïer, Politien teacher of Greek literature in Florence. Poliziano was a role model for Aldus, who was greatly impressed by his tireless quest for the philological "truth" and the acute critical faculties evident from his writings. Even though he was one of the leading intellectuals of his time, Poliziano never claimed to be a Platonist or even a true philosopher: he was devoted to the voca-

Scaglione, «grammaticus»

tion of grammarian (*grammaticus*), which Aldus also sought to become.³ When Pico della Mirandola showed him a copy of the *Silvae*, Aldus, full of enthusiasm, wrote to Poliziano and asked to be included in his close circle, even among his *familiares*. Also, Aldus expressed his boundless gratitude to this "grammarian" by publishing his complete works: *Opera*, 1498.

By the age of forty, around 1490, Aldus had made a career as a tutor and teacher, and enjoyed the esteem of his circle of friends. However, he was not particularly renowned in the world of Letters and was in constant search of his identity. No major event took place which could adequately explain why Aldus abandoned teaching and turned to printing. This career change could perhaps be traced to two interconnected factors; he was highly sensitive to grammatical niceties and the correct pronunciation of Greek and Latin, and he attached great importance to education, and consequently to the quality of teaching aids and manuals which should be available to tutors. Aldus believed – and this is one of the clearest expressions of the humanist ideal – that with the appropriate tools teachers could mould their students into righteous men and utilize to advantage human virtues and values, thus shaping personalities able to contribute to society according to their potential. Printing, thanks to its amazing achievements, was the most dynamic and effective means of spreading Aldus's humanist ideals. Indeed, comparison of his Greek with his Latin editiones principes reveals that from the outset he gave priority to the publication of the monuments of ancient Greek literature.

Aldus's considerations regarding the establishment of his press

Aldus's decision to set up his printing shop in Venice, rather than in some other publishing centre of Italy, with a longer tradition in the cultivation of Greek Letters, such as Florence, Rome or Milan, was probably due to commercial considerations.

Venice was the main and most populous centre of the Greek diaspora, as well as the major nexus of communication with Greek territories. In addition, the fact that the Serene Republic



16. View of Florence, wood engraving from Bernardino da Firenze, Le bellezze di Firenze, Florence, L. Morgiani and Giovanni di Pietro, c. 1495.

ruled over several regions in Greece offered the possibility for regular commercial exchanges with the Greeks, whom Aldus hoped to attract as customers. The close contact he maintained with the Cretan scholars and their copying workshops served the same goal, that of the best possible organization of his printing press and distribution of its products. The Venetians had established the most important printing tradition in the West and thanks to their mercantile prowess had broadened their market beyond Italy. Furthermore, the possibility that Bessarion's last will and testament would be executed, and his collection would become essentially a public library, obviously served Aldus's editorial projects. We should not forget that, as we shall see later, Bessarion had possessed the most important private collection of codices in the West.

Scholderer, *Printers*

From early in 1490, everything showed that the position of Florence as the major centre of Humanism and the dissemination of Greek Letters in the West would gradually be taken over by Venice. The strong presence of Greeks in Florence was largely due to the allure of a limited number of personalities, such as Manuel Chrysoloras, Ioannis Argyropoulos and Janus Lascaris, whose work was decisive for the systematic cultivation of the Greek language in Italy. However, no Greek community, not even a small one, was ever established in Florence, and although the systematic teaching of Greek became widespread thanks to the circles of scholars and the Medici court, there was never a question of Greek becoming the second national language. Thus, without the support of a dynamic Greek element, any organized movement to disseminate Greek books was doomed to fail.

Florence undoubtedly remained the hub of Humanism until 1495, when it was captured by the French, but the idiosyncratic character of Florentine humanists demanded the publication of Greek and Latin books for the city's university community, rather than for Hellenism everywhere. In Venice, as early as 1486, two Cretans, Laonicus and Alexander, published the *Psalter* and *Batrachomyomachia*, books intended



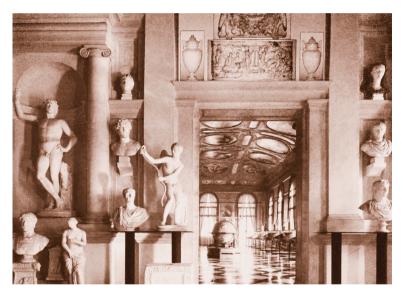
17. Sabellico, wood engraving from N. Reusner, Icones sive Imagines viuae...

exclusively for the Greek public, very possibly that of Crete. In addition, some of the most distinguished Byzantine scholars began to realize that the Greeks had to unite by means of their common ideals, customs and traditions, and above all to preserve and cultivate the Greek language. Printing was indisputably the ideal means to ensure systematic communication between Greeks everywhere, and Greek men

of letters, having made a decisive contribution to the Italian centres in which Greek books were published, felt obliged to establish and organize a permanent hearth for their reproduction.

Sabellico's role in Aldus's project

The years between 1490 and late 1493, when Aldus's printing press probably began to operate, albeit experimentally, are marked by his intensive effort to forge his way and to find the people he could work with. One person who may have contributed decisively to the realization of Aldus's plan was Marco Antonio Sabellico. There are no clear testimonies as to the relationship between the two, but the fact that Sabellico came



18. Entrance to the Marcian Library, Venice.

from Rome and was a pupil of Gaspare da Verona and of Calderini, who were teachers of Aldus as well, might have brought about their first encounter. Sabellico was already experienced in publications but Aldus was probably more inter-

ested in his relations with the Venetian authorities, as well as the fact that, around 1501, Sabelico was appointed librarian of the Libreria Nicena (later Marcian Library), where Bessarion's then unrivalled collection of manuscripts was kept unused. Among Aldus's first collaborators was Arsenios Apostolis, editor of the *Galeomyomachia*, probably the first typographical proof to emerge from Aldus's printing press, even if the circumstances in which this was undertaken remain unknown.

The Library of Bessarion

In contrast to what Cardinal Bessarion had envisioned when he offered his collection of 752 codices and incunabula to the Senate of Venice, his collection remained inaccessible for decades. Thus, in spite of his explicit wish, his donation did not contribute to the dissemination of Greek Letters, except in rare cases.4 The authorities of Venice opted instead to bury his books and showed infuriating indifference towards this treasure. The Greek cardinal had provided the opportunity for anyone and everyone not only to consult the manuscripts but also to borrow them, by depositing the double of their value as pledge. In 1473, a year after Bessarion's death and approximately five years since he had made the donation, the manuscripts remained locked away in chests in the Sala di Scrutinio. Ten years later, they were still in the same place. In 1485, it was judged that they took up precious space and thus they were stacked on top of one another and stored in a corner of the room. This, in spite of the fact that the person responsible for

Zorzi, Libreria



19. Cardinal Bessarion, wood engraving from the edition: J.B. Schioppalalba, In Perantiquam Sacram Tabulam Graecam Insigni Sodalitio Sanctae Mariae Caritatis Venetiarum ab amplissimo Cardinali Bessarione dono datam dissertatio, Venice, Typis Modesti Fentii, 1768.

the collection, Marco Barbarigo, brother of the Doge Agostino Barbarigo (1486-1501), was not short of political connections. These conditions clearly did not permit any serious study of the manuscripts; at best, what could be done was a limited collation of the texts. In 1506, after the death of Sabellico, who had been the first official librarian, several thefts of manuscripts upset the Venetian Senate to the extent that even visits to the library became nearly impossible. The borrowing of books was not allowed and a special permit was needed to study the manuscripts. The archives show that, contrary to Bessarion's explicit request, the books were not kept in Venice and those who borrowed them seldom deposited the required sum.

The Library of Musurus

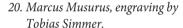
If we review the editions by Aldus and take into account the information on the owners of the manuscripts on which the editions were based, we may safely conclude that the library of Marcus Musurus perhaps played the main part in Aldus's publishing activity, at least as far as Greek books were concerned.⁵ It is of course impossible to have a complete picture, as Musurus's library has not been preserved in its entirety; nevertheless scattered information and indications lead to the conclusion that he had assembled an impressive corpus of manuscripts.

Aldus's vision, articulated with his prestige as a competent philologist and the aid of Marcus Musurus and Janus Lascaris, who knew better than anyone else the total of extant codices of ancient Greek and Byzantine literature, in West and East, led others to play a part in his publishing venture, thus shaking off misconceptions surrounding the uniqueness of manuscripts.

Thomas Linacre worked on the completion of the Aristotle edition (1495-1498) and contributed a rare manuscript by Prudentius, in his possession, which was used in the first volume of the edition of *Poetae Christiani*. G. Bardellone, owner of the only surviving manuscript of Hesychius' *Lexicon*, although

Lowry, *Aldus*, 259 ff.







21. Erasmus, sixteenth-century engraving (1524).

well aware of its rarity, entrusted it to Aldus, to serve as the basis for his edition. Equally, Leoniceno never refused Aldus any of his precious and reliable codices, mostly of medical texts, which would make the latter's editions more complete. Concurrently, he was publishing his own opuscula at Terme. And, as Aldus was waiting for rare codices from the North, which Conrad Celtis had promised him, Erasmus told of Poles and Hungarians who approached him and offered him manu-

scripts. Enthralled by the relentless and sometimes adventurous search for Greek codices, Aldus never considered Janus Pannonius's tale of a tower full of books, somewhere in Dacia, to be a fantasy. Several notable collections of Greek books had been established in Venice itself, such as the library of Giorgio Valla, which included important Greek codices. After it came into the hands of Alberto Pio, it was classified by Musurus, who also took the necessary notes on Aldus's behalf. Another rich library was that of Cardinal Domenico Grimani, which from 1498 onward housed the 1,190 codices that had belonged to Pico della Mirandola; several of these were in Greek and included works by Aristotle's commentators. In 1523, the year of Grimani's death, the collection numbered 15,000 volumes!

The beginnings of Aldine typography

When Aldus decided to bring to fruition his vision of propagating Greek thought by means of typography and by setting up his own printing press, he had to face three main issues; securing the necessary funds, choosing the right collaborators and, above all, resolving the technical problems in order to cut an original Greek typeface. In his Preface to his edition of Musaeus, which is addressed to Musurus, Aldus exhorts his readers to assist him in his editorial endeavour: $\kappa\alpha i$ $\delta\nu\tau\omega c$, ϵi $\delta\omega\sigma\epsilon\tau e$, $\delta\omega\sigma\omega$ $\delta\tau i$ $o\upsilon\kappa$ $\epsilon\chi\omega$ $\epsilon\nu\tau\upsilon\sigma\sigma\upsilon\nu$ $\epsilon\nu$ $\epsilon\nu$ 0 $\epsilon\nu$ 0 ("I shall give something if you do, as I cannot print without a lot of money"), and it is obvious that he has started off with limited financial means. However, Pierfrancesco Barbarigo,

OAME, I, 5

Marco's son, and Andrea Torresani were his inconspicuous helpers, while he received a significant financial contribution from Alberto Pio for his edition of Aristotle, and not only that.

Two people seem to have responded right away to Aldus's appeal for help in promoting printed Greek books: Arsenios Apostolis and Marcus Musurus. Apostolis in fact had hopes of undertaking an editorial project of his own. It is possible that his eventual breach with Aldus, for reasons unknown, is related to his competitive stance. In contrast, there can be no doubt that Musurus shared Aldus's vision and that he dedicated himself to finding and collating the best codices for each edition, meticulously editing the Greek texts. At times, he tried to adapt to Aldus's unrealistic projects, such as that of publishing Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*, as we shall see later.

Charta, I, 311-312

As regards the much-discussed typeface chosen by Aldus, recent investigation by N. Barker supports the view that at least the first font family (Musaeus, c. 1494) was modelled on the handwriting of Immanuel Roussotas. There can be no doubt as to the identity of the artisan who cast the type; Francesco Griffo da Bologna was well-known to everyone in his time, even though today we have little information on his life and work.

Aldus shares with his readers what his editorial endeavour meant to him, in the Preface to his first dated book (C. Lascaris, *Epitome of the Eight Parts of Speech*, 1495):

"I decided to devote my whole life to serving my fellow men. As God is my witness, I wish for nothing more than to do something for them, as all my life hitherto shows, in all my undertakings – and I hope to give more in the future".

OAME, I, 4

In his prefaces, Aldus refers repeatedly to Musurus's contribution to his publishing enterprise. In the Preface to *Greek Orators* (1509) we read: "If there is someone worthy of being addressed in the Greek books we edit and publish, it is you, wisest Musurus. And not only because you have always been ready to help us and continue to aid us in our labour [...]". In the corresponding Preface to Cicero's *Epistles to Atticus*

Bartelluci, Genealogia

OAME, I, 120



22. The printing house of Aldus at Venice (Angolo degli Onori-Manuzi), Via Ospedale di Staffolo, Venice.

(1513), he notes with enthusiasm: "[...] the help of the erudite Marcus Musurus, my excellent collaborator, whose contribution to editing and restituting the texts is so precious that, had Greece begotten two more men of his value, I would not lose my hope of soon providing the cultivated public with authoritative editions of the masterpieces of Greek and Latin literature".

Aldus's Greek typeface

The design of the typeface in which Aldus printed his Greek texts has been studied extensively since the late nineteenth century. In his fundamental work *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* (93-106), Robert Proctor relies on the words of Ioustinos Dekadyos:

"Aldus, surnamed Manutius...through his pursuit of virtue and thanks to his love and care for our matters [Greek Letters] invented, by the acuity of his own mind, these befitting letters; not even the most accomplished calligraphers have engraved more beautiful ones".

Dekadyos's opinion can be interpreted in several ways, as it is not clear whether he means the Greek characters used before Aldus or the script of the calligraphers of his era. So, what did actually happen? Following the steps of Proctor and other scholars of Aldine typography, such as V. Schoelderer, G. Mardersteig (*Caratteri*) investigated the different fonts used by Aldus in his editions and revealed the protagonists in their design and cutting.

Barker, *Script*, 434 ff.

In order to print his Greek books, Aldus had to make two major decisions for his typeface and the person who would cut and cast the punches. The person entrusted with providing Aldus's house with the necessary Greek fonts was Francesco Griffo, as noted above. Proctor had identified four main families of Greek fonts, of different size but identical style.

As mentioned already, Aldus chose a simplified form of Immanuel Roussotas's handwriting as the model for his type. Roussotas had been working in Venice at least since February 1465 and it is possible that one of the Grigoropoulos brothers, Ioannis or Manuel, brought him into contact with Aldus. Whatever the case, it is certain that Lascaris's *Epitome* was printed with this first family of fonts, on 25 February 1495, and that for the same typeface, these "*lettere greche in summa bellezza de ogni sorte in questa terra*", the *Signoria* granted Aldus exclusive rights for twenty years. A question which remains open is whether the un-

Proctor, *Greek*, 99

Α' A Dos o Pw μοῦς τος σου δείς κ Μπροέ A de

ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΝ જે જાદ λα κότα του το ικτιώ κα κασα προοιμιάζειν τῷ τὰ Ας εστά λός Ε΄ το Φῶν τοῦ ε ἐτέροις αὐτέκα δέ μα ἐν Ινσανουμέν τῷ τὰ ἐκρα αὐ κὸν ἀδί 5ον αμα, κὸ Λογιώτατ κὸ μα λιςα ως ἐψεἰδῶν τετα πξα γόντα τῷ Ου Τό κω. δαν ει θέντα δαιμον δ

α β કરી, જુ ος τα નિ દ & Φιλόθημ) δύχε μολ ελθάν εἰς τὸν γαμ. ἐ πὰ βαίχε ἡ με βαμως, εἰς ἐκεῖνον κέρντα Τὰς παιδός χεόνεσ κỳ τα σῶον ἐκεῖν) ἔναι, ဪ πρὸς αὐτὸν ΦιλοΦροσιών.

Νικοκλί

ε Πες είλα μθρι εποιχόρω, ωσ πεξίουσ περί του ελει είναι τον ξόνου όπολε με θα ως χελι χεω φίνο ο ό, ασμενος πίμιν ελ είαυ τοῦ Φύσεωσ ε΄ επισωσειν ὑπέρεν, πα ραμυθιανίσως πίρουμε τοῦ ἐσεθώσειν ὑπέρεν, πα ραμυθιανίσως πίρους που νοσ ἐσεθού στι του πένδους τιὰ στο ιόν μθρο οῦ συμφορά, δυς πα ρεγόρητος, ε΄ βαρυτέρα, πως τε λοίοι σ ἐπιλου φιθημαι. ἐπελ διτ

ΦΟΙΝΙΣΣΑΙ

Ετεοπλέα, πλεινήν τε Γολυνέπως βίαν ·
πόρας τε διατάς · την μέν, Ι σμήνην πατήρ
ώνο μασε · την δε πρόθεν, Αντιγόνην εγώ ·
μαθών δε ταμά λέπτρα μπτρώων γάμων
ό πάντ άνατλώς Ο ιδίπως παθή ματα,
είς όμματ αὐτω δεινόν ε μβάλλει φόνον,
χρυσηλάτοις πόρπαισιν άι μάξας πόρας ·
επή δε τέπνων γένυς ε μών σπιάξεται,
πλήθροις έπρυ ταν πατέρ, , ίν ά μνή μων τύχη

23. Families of Greek fonts made by Aldus: (a) Musaeus, (b) Nicander, Alexipharmaca and (c) Euripides, Tragedies.

dated edition of Musaeus (*Hero and Leander*) and the *Galeomy-omachia*, "published" by Arsenios Apostolis, were printed before, after or at the same time as Lascaris's *Epitome*.

The second Aldine family of Greek fonts was first used in August 1495. As Proctor observes, it is but a recast of the first family of characters, now with a smaller eye.

Greek, 103-104

The third typeface appeared in July 1499 and was used to print the *Scholia* (*Commentaries*) of Nicander on the *Alexipharmaca* (included in the edition of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*). This time Aldus chose the writing style of Musurus, but possibly incorporated elements of the style of Ioannis Grigoropoulos as well. This third typeface of Aldus was the most successful one and remained in use for a long time, becoming the model for several Greek fonts created in Europe.

Proctor, Greek, 104-106

The fourth Aldine Greek typeface was first used to print the *editio princeps* of Sophocles' tragedies in 1502. Emmanuela Quaranta has shown conclusively that the type was modelled after Aldus's own handwriting, as demonstrated also by his manuscript titled *Grammaticae Iustitutiones Graecae*, published posthumously by Musurus in 1516.

Osservazioni

7Roussotas (Rhusotas). The only information available on the copyist who signed his works as "Immanuel Roussotas" comes from the manuscripts he produced and signed. The name Roussotas or Rossotas is found in the Byzantine onomatology from the fourteenth century. In a letter from Isidoros Glavas, Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, to Ioannis Karantinos, the Roussotas are mentioned among the families of that city. In the early fifteenth century, Ioannis Rossotas or Kaloioannis is mentioned among those in the service of Constantine Palaiol-

ogos, while he was Despot of Mystras. It is possible that Immanuel was born in the Peloponnese, as his style of writing is recognizable in many manuscripts penned by calligraphers of that region (codex Par. gr. 2162). At the time when Roussotas was active in the Peloponnese, in the mid-fifteenth century, other renowned calligraphers were also working at Mystras, such as Nicolaos Melanchroinos, who was *vestiaritis* and secretary to the *potes* Moraios and to Nicolaos Eparchos.

Twenty-one manuscripts by Roussotas's hand have been identified and allow us to trace an itinerary of the cities in which was active before he settled in Venice (1465). However, no other evidence has shed light on his life. His signing as "Immanuel" rather than the Byzantine "Emmanuel" indicates that he preferred the Italian version of his name. Agamemnon Tselikas, who has studied this calligrapher's life and work in depth, does not exclude the possibility that Roussotas, like Caesar Strategos, might have been part of the team working in the humanist scriptorium of the monastery of Santi Giovanni e Paolo at Venice, under the guidance of Ioakeim Tourianos. (Information drawn from an unpublished study by Agamemnon Tselikas.)

Aldus's Greek collaborators

Aldus published a total of seventy-five texts by Classical Greek and Byzantine authors; this number includes grammatical works, *feuilles detachées* and series, as well as Latin translations of Greek works. Most of them were edited by his Greek collaborators, among them M. Musurus, I. Grigoropoulos, D. Doulas, I. Dekadyos, as well as Bolzanio, Leoniceno, Linacre and others, who contributed to the five-volume edition of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*.

Manoussakas, Umanisti

Marcus Musurus

Marcus Musurus, the most prominent philologist of the Renaissance, renowned teacher at the University of Padua, calligrapher, avid collector of Greek codices and eminent Latin scholar, was the pillar of Aldus's project of Greek publications, and others.⁷

Charta, I, 328-351

```
EYPIPIAOY
       io Rai Zuri Towr did igw Mine Torwr.
             Zasifius ti snansocrat nanus.
       שושות של של של של של דסוסלנ סטשת פניחשי של נומג
            ws irris arwr най шахів A pus sur
             μέλλοντος . ή η τοι χέων φοβή βάρος,
            Tur ti zopavs zu pros er ) Taferir,
            ทอง แผงสบหล่รุง รผู้ชั่ง . รำผชา อำธยร เ
       10 καλών έλιξαι αλλ εμό προχερ έχων,
τάχη, κόμιξε χαρ) δείνου ξένου, 150 μν
λαίον τέπαιρε πήχυν, διόυνων ποθα. 1740 Νυ
       פנ או אמולמן שוקי ל ד סאודור אף בשר ;
       10 "0011805 8124 2000 2005 7000 7601.
       Be อบ Toi Beadurgs, แช่น อาพ อาพ อาคพังเ เรือลง.
       ใช้ ชินซึง ออุติร เลช หลังอง พร จิสตรุงาณ;
       ปะ อคลี ชายชางส ผลีกางงาทิล สาร์ ชาย
ใช้ อบางสมาส การ์ รูสุร ทางเกลา กางเลง หาร์ ผลี
       פנ דו לף בעדם; בא אטו מואי ל' מו מידען פידם זו.
τι δι διασοί δος δένοντα πολεμίων τινά.
είδη θε καμ ποδίκεο μένης την το κ φόβος.
        io pa il a Bpaziwy , oior in Biroarta ot
             με μνή μεθ'ή μεις , hvi κα ξύν Η ρακλει
             Σπάρτην ἐπόρθεις, σύμμαχος γένοιο μοι
             TOIRTOS , SIOS ÀN TPOTHY EUPUSEWS
            Binvital Tolk, nanos, never dopu. pur yas
             Est d'er on Bu nai Tod'en oplas Exer,
```

24. Hand-written notes attributed to Marcus Musurus, from the Tragedies of Euripides, 1503.

Musurus was born on Crete, possibly at Candia, around 1470. He received his early education on his native isle, where

Geanakoplos, Greek Scholars, 111-166

> Müller, Lascaris

he was taught Greek and Latin; it is possible that Ioannis Grigoropoulos was his classmate. He first travelled to Italy at a young age, escorted by his father. He settled in Florence in 1492, when Lorenzo the Magnificent was ruler of the city. At the time, the city on the Arno housed a university, the Studium, where Manuel Chrysoloras had first taught Greek in 1397. When Musurus came to Florence, Demetrios Chalcocondyles was professor of Greek. The details of Musurus's studies are not well known, but it is presumed that he studied under Janus Lascaris and attended lectures on the great ancient Greek historians, orators and tragic poets, such as Thucydides, Demosthenes and Sophocles. Whatever the case, Musurus's apprenticeship with Lascaris must have lasted until 1490, when the latter travelled to the East (in 1490 or 1491), on a mission on behalf of Lorenzo il Magnifico, to find and purchase Greek manuscripts for the Medici library, while his pupil remained in Florence until 1493.

Before settling in Venice and commencing his collaboration with Aldus, Musurus visited his birthplace. From one of his letters to Ioannis Grigoropoulos we know that settling in Venice was related to the goals of enhancing his knowledge of Greek language and literature, and of working for a living.

It is unclear when his collaboration with Aldus started; it is certain that he was already helping him from 1494 and continued to work with him until Aldus's death in 1515.

In 1515 Musurus started to work with the Florentine printing house of Giunta, which also had a branch in Venice. The fruits of this collaboration where two books edited by Musurus: the *editio princeps* of Oppian's *Halieutica* (1515), and Theocritus' *Bucolics* (1515-16). His partnership with the Florentine press did not last

Giunti, I, 71, 81

long and in 1516 Musurus definitively left Venice for Rome. He was received with great honours by Pope Leo X himself, who appointed him Archbishop of the Catholic See of Monemvasia. In addition to awarding him this distinction, the Pope saw that he obtained other incomes from the Diocese of Hierapetra on Crete and from Cyprus. It should be added that, on the Pope's initiative, a Greek College was established in Rome in 1516, where Musurus and Janus Lascaris taught Greek. The last translation and edition of Musurus in Rome was a Latin version of a treatise on the treatment of gout, written by Demetrios Pepagomenos at the behest of Michael VIII Palaiologos. Musurus was urged to undertake the translation by Janus Lascaris, who suffered from this ailment, to honour his patron, Scaramuza Trivulzio Bishop of Como, who too was afflicted by gout. The book, titled *Libellus de Podagra* (*On Gout*), was printed in Rome in 1517.

Charta, I, 351

The cause of Musurus's untimely death remains unknown. However, the exact date was discovered by M. Manoussakas, in the course of his investigations in the Marcian Library: 24 to 25 October (night of Saturday to Sunday) 1517, in Rome.

Manoussakas, *Mort*

Ioustinos Dekadyos

Ioustinos Dekadyos, a scholar from Corfu born around 1472, was another of Aldus's collaborators. We know nothing about his studies, but he evidently had sufficient knowledge of Greek, since in the Preface to the third volume of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* (1498) Aldus praises him for his contribution to the edition of *History of Animals*.⁸

Legrand, *Bibliogr.*, I/1, 24

Dekadyos was also the sole editor of the Psalter (c. 1497),

the only liturgical Greek book published by Aldus, aside from $\Omega \rho \alpha \iota \eta \zeta$ ἀειπαρθένου [Hours of the Virgin], of 1497. In his inspired Preface to the *Psalter*, Dekadyos announced the trilingual edition of the *Pentateuch* (in Hebrew, Greek and Latin). The project was well on its way by 1501 and a text in three languages had already been typeset, but the book was never published, even though Aldus himself had informed Conrad Celtis that it was forthcoming "*Vetus et novum Testamentum graece*, *latine e hebraice mondum impressi*, *sed parturio*".

Renouard, *Annales*,
321

No information is available on other editions of Dekadyos. From some point onwards he settled in Constantinople and became part of the circle of the Patriarchate. He corresponded with Arsenios Apostolis, who was also his personal friend, as can be seen from the last letter of their correspondence.

Ioannis Grigoropoulos

Ioannis Grigoropoulos can justly be called an ardent lover of Greek literature, a pioneer of Greek printing and a famed calligrapher. Most of his activity took place in Venice. The son of Georgios and Foteini, and brother to Manuel Grigoropoulos, Ioannis was born in Candia on an unspecified date. He was a pupil of Arsenios Apostolis in Crete and before moving to Venice in 1494, he worked as a codex copyist, a profession he pursued until 1498, or thereabouts, when he started collaborating with Nikolaos Vlastos and Zacharias Kalliergis. Grigoropoulos was a close friend of his schoolmate and brother-in-law Marcus Musurus, and of his former teacher Apostolis. He was quite renowned in publishing circles for his excellent knowledge of

Greek literature, which was probably the reason why Aldus's competitors, Giovanni Bissoli, Benedetto Mangio, Bartolomeo Pelusio and Gabriele Bracci, unsuccessfully attempted to recruit him to their newly-founded printing press in Venice.

Charta, I, 232-233

Grigoropoulos worked as proofreader in the printing house of Vlastos and Kalliergis. He compared the manuscripts to the



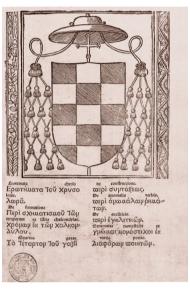
25. View of the town and port of Candia (Heraklion), from: J. von Sandrart, Kurtze Beschreibung von dem Ursprung..., Nuremberg 1686.

typeset text, which is precisely how he is mentioned in the regulation of the Neacademia, " $\varphi v \lambda \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \delta \iota o \rho \theta \omega \tau i \delta o \varsigma$ ". Grigoropoulos is not mentioned in any of Aldus's dedicatory prefaces nor in his correspondence. Apparently, he started teaching at the University of Padua in the early sixteenth century, since Johann Cuno attended his lectures on Aristotle in 1504. From then on, his trail is lost. M. Manoussakas believes that he returned to Candia and was still alive in 1508, as the handwriting of the will of Maria Stephanopoulina resembles that of Grigoropoulos.

Charta, I, 393-394

Demetrios Doukas

Geanakoplos, Greek Scholars, 223-255 Another important collaborator of Aldus was Demetrios Doukas, who was probably born in Candia, Crete around 1480.¹⁰ Nothing is known of his youth or his teachers. He is mentioned for the first time in a will made in Candia in



26. Title page of Erotemata by Manuel Chrysoloras, Alcalá de Henares, Guillermo de Brocar, 1514.

November 1500. In the Preface to the *Polyglot Bible* of Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, Doukas himself indicates that he had travelled to Constantinople. He settled in Venice in the early sixteenth century and became part of Manutius's editorial team some time before 1508.

Aldus entrusted him with the edition of *Greek Orators* (*Rhetores Graeci*), which was published in two volumes in 1508 and 1509. Apart from the exercises and speeches of famous orators, it included the

editio princeps of Aristotle's Poetics. Doukas was apparently an excellent philologist, judging by the fact that in one of his letters he advises Musurus, then a professor at Padua, to include the Rhetorics of Hermogenes in his lectures; this was a very influential diatribe during the Renaissance, especially after George of Trebizond had extolled the art of the orator Hermogenes of Tarsus in his major work Rhetoricorum Libri V, which

is based on Byzantine orations.¹¹ Alongside *Greek Orators*, Doukas edited Plutarch's *Moralia*, which circulated in 1509. After this last edition, and the closure of Aldus's press, Doukas moved to Spain, where he became a member of the scholarly coterie of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. He was engaged as professor of Greek in the newly-founded University of Alcalá and from that position participated in several Greek publications such as Manuel Chrysoloras's *Erotemata* and Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, dated 1514.

Legrand, Bibliogr., I/1, 118-120 (41), 120-121 (42)

Doukas's major contribution to the dissemination of Greek letters in Spain was not his teaching but his participation in the *Polyglot Bible*; he edited the original Greek text of the *New Testament*. Apparently Doukas continued teaching at the University of Alcalá even after the publication of *The Polyglot Bible*, since he is mentioned in the salary lists until October 1517. From that date, however, we know nothing about his activity. Aldus had died in 1515, and Doukas moved to Rome for unknown reasons in 1526. He is mentioned as the editor of the *Liturgies of Saint John Chrysostom, Basil the Great and of the Presanctified of Archbishop Germanos*, published in Rome, for which he used typeface belonging to Z. Kalliergis, among other material. Doukas is mentioned for the last time in 1527, as "public professor" of Greek in Rome, appointed by Pope Clement VII.

Charta, I, 420

Ioannis Rossos

Another Greek who moved in the printers' circles in Venice was Ioannis Rossos, the most eminent Greek calligrapher of

Tselikas, *Rossos*

the Renaissance. Born in Candia, he probably joined the clergy at an early age. He also became involved in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Candia Diocese, and even in the issue of Cardinal Bessarion's Endowment, while at the same time working as a codex copyist.

The beginnings of Rossos's activity as a calligrapher are traced to Venice in 1449. He worked in that city until 1455, when he travelled to Rome, with the intention of working for Cardinal Bessarion. Rossos did not stay in the circle of the Academy founded by the Greek cardinal. Instead, he visited several humanist centres of Italy, such as Bologna and Florence, offering his artistic skills. It is probable that from around 1495 he was again in Venice and participated in the monumental edition of the *Great Etymologicon* (N. Vlastos - Z. Kalliergis, 1499). After the interruption of the work of the Cretan printing shop of Vlastos and Kalliergis, in 1500, he seems to have helped at the printing house of Aldus, and among other projects edited the manuscript entitled *Rules of the New Academy*.

Staikos, *Printing*

The contribution of Musurus to the editions of Aldus

Charta, I, 337-342

Ferreri, *Musuro*, 112-131

The first stage of Aldus's collaboration with Musurus in Venice spans the years from 1497, when Giovanni Crastoni's *Dictionarium Graecum* was published, to 1499 or early 1500, when the Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων φιλοσόφων, ρητόρων, σοφιστῶν (Epistolae diversorum philosophorum oratorum) was published. Musurus probably did not play a significant part in the edition

of Musaeus, since we know that he left Venice before the end of 1495 to travel to Crete, and did not return to the Serenissima until September 1497. It is also probable that the purpose of his journey was to collect manuscripts for Aldus's future editions. During these three years (1497-1499/1500), Musurus edited at least three other books for Aldus's press: the aforementioned *Dictionarium Graecum* by Crastoni (1497), the *Comedies* of Aristophanes (1498) and *Epistolae diversorum philosophorum* (1499). At the same time he helped the Cretans Nikolaos Vlastos and Zacharias Kalliergis to realize their dream of founding an exclusively Greek printing press in Italy. Their first monumental edition, the *Great Etymologicon* (1499), opens with two notes by Musurus.

Ferreri, *Musuro*, 93-234

Charta, I, 395

In July 1499, Musurus interrupted his collaboration with the presses of Aldus and Vlastos - Kalliergis, and travelled to Ferrara to meet Niccolò Leoniceno, a famous physician who also possessed an important collection of manuscripts. The aim of his visit was to find out whether Leoniceno would be willing to sell a manuscript of Galen's Therapeutics (On the *method of curing diseases*), which would serve as the model for the edition planned by Vlastos and Kalliergis. Musurus stayed in Ferrara for approximately three months and subsequently, without apparent reason, settled in the nearby town of Carpi in 1499 or early 1500, instead of returning to Venice. He completely changed his career, abandoned the world of printing and became a tutor or mentor to Prince Alberto Pio - a position formerly held by Aldus. Musurus led a tranquil life in this new environment, as his duties by the prince only required a few hours of his day. Thus he was also able to manage the estate

Manoussakas -Patrinellis, *Corr.*, 181-184 (n. 10, 11) donated to him by the ruler of Carpi, and to devote most of his time to studying and organizing the large library of Alberto Pio, which had been enriched with rare Greek codices from the collection of Giorgio Valla and was thus especially interesting to Musurus.

The Rules of the New Academy

Aldus's ambitious project to publish as many Classical Greek works as possible, in an almost unfeasibly short time, must have created the need for effective organization of his enterprise from early on.¹² The problem was not only the numerous philological questions, which demanded fast and authoritative solutions, but also the coordination of typesetters, proofreaders and technicians handling the presses. Solving these problems required concerted and continuous effort, and being the meticulous publisher that he was, Aldus set up a committee comprised mainly of the Hellenists who worked with him.

Aldus's printing house functioned in exemplary fashion, and by dubbing the committee "New Academy" he aspired probably to give it an academic identity. Only naturally, the authority of his editions and the rigorous philological editing of the Classical texts attracted a coterie of thinkers around him. It became commonplace to say that a stay at Aldus's press, however brief, was a necessary experience for those wishing to get to know the world of printing and the mechanisms of publishing and circulating reliable copies of works of the Classical literary corpus. During the Italian Renaissance the term of

"academy" had considerable appeal for the cultivated public, as it evoked the ideal world of Plato's Academy. Thus, by his move, Aldus added academic prestige to his editions and made their quality more widely known. At the same time he was preparing the ground for a future expansion of his activity.

The first reference to the existence of the New Academy is in the Preface to the *Tragedies* of Sophocles (1502). It should be noted that the Academy's work related solely to subjects connected to Greek literature, as no Latin edition of Aldus mentions the Academy. Addressing Janus Lascaris, Aldus writes:

"When the cold foggy nights found the members of the Academy sitting around the fireplace, with Musurus among us [Musurus was then living in Carpi] we often talked about you..."

OAME, I, 61-62

In the colophon to the same edition is the indication "*Venetiis in Aldi Romani Academia*" and for the next two years (until 1504) all Aldus's publications carry the emblem of the

Ενετίησι παρ' Αλδφ τῷ Ρωμαίφ, οὐ μήν γε ἄνευ προ|νομίου, Χιλιοστῷ Πεντακοσιοστῷ δευτέρῳ, Μαιμα|κτηριῶνος τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη . | Venetiis in Aldi Romani Academia mense Augu=|sto·M·DII·|

27. UCLA, I, 68(48).

New Academy, which subsequently is used only occasionally, as in the edition of Pindar's *Odes* in 1513. The rules of the New Academy ($NEAKA\Delta HMIA\Sigma\ NOMO\Sigma$) have survived but throw no light on the issue. This unique document records the names

Lowry, *Aldus*, 199-201

of the seven founding members, and states that they are obliged to speak Greek, setting a penalty for every infraction of this rule, while at the same time it declares that new members are welcome as long as they comply with this condition. However, independently of the existence of the New Academy and its *modus operandi*, this regulation points to nothing more than the enthusiasm of a small lively group of "men who appropriately were dreaming already of the New Academy and almost Platonically constructed it" (ἀλλ ἀνδράσι πρεπόντως τοῖς τήν Νεακαδημίαν ὀνειροπολοῦσιν ἤδη καὶ πλατωνικῆς μικροῦ δεῖν καὶ κατασκευάσασιν αὐτήν).

The Rule of the New Academy is preserved in the sole copy kept at the Vatican Library, cited later on. The founding members are stated to be Aldus, surnamed "the Leader", Scipio Fortiguerra, dubbed "of the Readers' tribe", Ioannis of Crete "of the Proofreaders' tribe" (probably Ioannis Grigoropoulos, but also possibly Ioannis Rossos), Battista Egnazio "of the Priests' tribe", Paolo Canal "of the Nobles' tribe", possibly due to his noble descent, Girolamo Menocchio, "of the Surgeons' tribe", possibly due to his medical knowledge and Francesco Rosetto, of the "Teachers' tribe".

Members of the Academy

Firmin-Didot composed a list of at least thirty regular members of the New Academy; he also asserted that often eminent scholars were declared honorary members and were thus able to attend the Academy's sessions. However, neither the regulation of

Alde, 441-470

the New Academy nor any other text contain indications which would allow such a supposition. Aldus envisaged the Academy as becoming a cultural institution in Venice and in the North generally, and thus asked Emperor Maximilian I to validate its operation by an imperial edict. This did not materialize, and following Aldus's death in 1515 the New Academy was dissolved.

Donati, Seconda

The suspension of Aldus's work

Venice's expansionist tendencies in Italy posed a threat to a number of cities, such as Milan, Ferrara and Carpi, which thus formed alliances in order to salvage their autonomy. This led eventually to the formation of a European coalition, with the participation of France, Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, Florence and the Vatican. The coalition represented a real peril for the Serene Republic and the city devoted its energies to organizing its defences. In this climate of insecurity, Aldus abandoned Venice in May 1509, retired to Ferrara and left his father-in-law Andrea Torresani in charge of his printing press and other affairs. The same year saw the shutdown of the University of Padua, and Musurus was obliged to leave the city in June 1509 and seek refuge in Venice. Aldus made a failed attempt to transfer his printing press to Vienna. Finally, in order to protect his property from the onslaught, he left Venice and did not return until 1512.

The resumption of Aldus's activities

In 1512, Aldus succumbed to the pressure of his peers and mainly to the insistence of Andrea Navagero, Giovanni Giocondo and Marcus Musurus, and was persuaded to reopen his press. When he returned to Venice, Aldus was impressed by the deep devotion of the Serenissima's citizens to the Arts and Sciences, and spoke of the city of the Doges with admiration, not hesitating to call it "a new Athens".

Musurus returned to the house of Aldus and, judging by the four major and time-consuming editions attributed exclusively to him (Alexander of Aphrodisias 1513; Plato 1513; Hesychius 1514 and Athenaeus 1514), he must have worked indefatigably,



28. Andrea Navagero, wood engraving from: N. Reusner, Icones sive Imagines viuae...

even more so if one takes into account the editions which he prepared and which circulated after Aldus's death, such as Pausanias's *Description of Greece*.

When Aldus died in February 1515, at the age of sixty-three, the intellectual world of the West lost the person who had helped most to propagate Greek thought through printing. His library must have been extraordinarily rich, especially in

Greek codices, and must have contained all of his editions as well as previous and contemporary ones by other publishers. Erasmus called Aldus's workshop the "house of treasures", possibly referring to the libraries of the other scholars who frequented the place. We can form an impression of Aldus's col-

lection from the words of the Ambassador of Mantua, who stated in 1580: "I spoke this morning to Master Aldo Manuzio, who, as he says, has one of the most greatest libraries, one that every scholar would wish for, even if he were a prince". When Aldus the Younger died in 1597, his library numbered 343 manuscripts and 1,564 editions, but we do not know how many of these books had belonged to Aldus the Elder.

The Manutius publishing house continued to operate under the direction of Aldus's father-in-law and business partner, Andrea Torresani d'Asola. A successful printer and publisher himself, Torresani d'Asola carried on Aldus's work in the same spirit, but his editions did not have the same allure as those of his predecessor and he took a different editorial tack. Torresani

was mainly concerned with the commercial success of his books and turned to subjects which would ensure him large runs, and sell well. In November 1515 Musurus fulfilled Aldus's wish and published the Greek grammar that Manutius had composed. Thus he paid tribute to Aldus, who had been his faithful friend and ideal collaborator for approximately



29. Printer's mark of Federico Torresani from Erotemata by Manuel Chrysoloras, Venice 1539.

twenty years. The *Grammar* circulated with commentaries in Greek and a Preface addressed to the celebrated French book collector Jean Grolier.

Bertolotti, *Varietà*

Lowry, *Aldus*, 60-61

Cataldi-Palau, *Asola*

The printing tradition of Venice

When Aldus started to collect material with a view to the systematic publication of Greek and Latin books, he did not have the necessary funds and certainly was unable to calculate the cost of the huge philological work necessary to produce authoritative editions of the Greek Classical and Byzantine au-



30. Appian, Historia Romana, Venice 1477.

thors, primarily. In this sense, he was not interested in luxurious editions and did not wish to continue or compete with the achievements of older printing houses, which had produced splendid and artistically refined books. It is sufficient to recall the marginal vignettes and ornamented initials of Erhard Ratdolt and Petrus Loslein, which illustrate Appian's *Roman History* (1477), or the Renaissance-type frame of *De arte grammatica* by Diomedes, printed in Venice by Christophorus de Pensis in 1491. Aldus was interested first and foremost in of-

Ongania, *Venetian*, 49, 88

fering the reading public the most reliable editions he could produce, by collating exhaustively as many manuscripts of the work as possible.

By the end of the fifteenth century, approximately 140 printing shops had been established in Venice, although many of them only worked with occasional commissions or for short periods of time. Printers would buy or borrow a large part of their typographic material from their colleagues. Original visual material, such as embellishments, vignettes, garlands and arabesques, as well as illustrations, was expensive, which is why many printers borrowed or bought pictorial motifs from printing shops that had closed down. Thus it was not uncommon for headpieces, initials and images (mainly woodcuts or wood engravings) to be used by diverse presses at different periods and to reappear over extended periods of time. In addition, because many printers had not settled permanently in printing centres of Italy but instead moved from town to town, depending on the entrepreneurial possibilities generated by social needs, university centres and humanist schools, they adapted the style of their editions to the local typographical tradition.

Scholderer, Venice

The aesthetic tradition of Greek books

The aesthetics of Aldus's Greek editions is not far removed from the printing tradition of Greek books from 1470 onwards. Printed Greek books were not embellished with headpieces and initials, although the initial of each chapter is clearly differentiated. The only example of an embellished Greek book is the rubrication used by Demetrios Damilas, such as EI Δ Y Λ ION • A • KYK $\Lambda\Omega\Psi$, in the edition of Theocritus's *Idylls* (Milan, *c.* 1480).

The absence of headpieces and initials in Greek books before Aldus's time was not related to financial considerations on the part of printing shops; instead, it was an aesthetic stance, which dictated that Greek incunabula should be distinguished by their austerity, just like ancient texts and funerary inscriptions on stelai. This was the aesthetic choice of Janus Lascaris for the *Palatine* or *Greek Anthology* (Florence 1494), the Florentine *editiones principes* of Euripides' *Tragedies*, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, and all of his editions at the Press of the Greek College of Rome (1517-1521). Lascaris's initial intention was to publish works of Greek literature using only capital (majuscule) script, which he rejected in the course of his project, as the ancient text had to be accompanied by its ancient commentary.

Charta, I, 272-274

Graphic material of the Aldine press

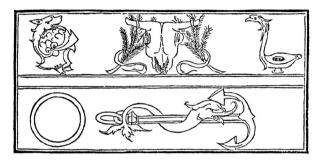
To my knowledge, the visual adornments of Aldus's editions, such as headpieces, initials and illustrations, have not been studied with regard to their style, original models and use. Consequently, they have not been compared to the artistic tradition of Venetian publications from 1470 onwards. In contrast, Harry George Fletcher III has made a meticulous study of the varying representations of Aldus's anchor, in his Greek and Latin editions. Aside from headpieces and initials, Aldus's Greek editions are also embellished by seven wood engravings.

Fletcher, *Aldine*

The printer's mark of Aldus

Aldus started to decorate his editions with printer's marks approximately seven years after he had published his first book, that is, from 1501 onwards. By 1499 he had chosen his printer's mark, and made known the motto which was to com-

Fletcher, *Aldine*, 43-44



Da laltra parte tale elegáte scalptura mirai. Vno circulo. Vna ancora Sopra la stangula dillaçõe se rouoluea uno Delphino. Et qísti optima méti custi oli sterpretai. ΑΕΙ ΣΠΕΥΔΕ ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ. Semp sestina tarde.

31. The original version of Aldus's printer's mark first appeared in Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Venice 1499.

plete it, both to his collaborators and the wider public, in the edition of Poliziano's *Opera* (1499). The maxim "festina lente" (hasten slowly) is traditionally attributed to Emperor Augustus. It first appeared, together with the composition of dolphin and anchor in horizontal alignment, in the edition of *Hypnerotomachia* (f. d7).

Manutius's printer's mark is the best-known and most characteristic in the history of printing. The dolphin represents activity, while the anchor stands for steadiness. Its classic version appeared first in the second volume of *Poetae Christiani*

Suetonius, *Augustus*, 25, 4

Veteres (1502) and for the first time in a Greek book in the *Tragedies* of Sophocles (1502). Henceforth, the imprint was used in all of Aldus's editions with minor variations, mainly in size.

Depending on the case, the initials AL and DUS or ALDVS MA[nutius]. RO[manus] are printed on either side of the an-



32. Aldus Manutius's printer's mark from Poetae Christiani Veteres, vol. II, Venice 1501.



33. Printer's mark of Anthology of epigrams, apud Aldi filios [Paulus Manutius], Venice 1550.

chor. The device was usually printed in black ink, except for a few cases where it was printed in red, such as in the *Libri lectionum* by Ludovicus Caelius Rhodiginus (1516) and *Sacrae Scripturae Veteris novae'que omnia* (1518).

Staikos, Printers, 13-14

After Aldus's death, his heirs, Andrea d'Asola and later Aldus's and Andrea's sons continued to use the anchor as printer's mark, with occasional variations. It is usually framed by the indications *ALDI FILII* and *Aldus Iunior*.

Tổ MÊN PAPON BIBAÍON, EOYÍAA. OÍ ΔÈ EYN-TAZÁMENOI TO ÝTO, ÄND PEZ ZO FOÍ.

ε υση μος όπτος , ποδι λέξεων και το τοιχείου.

Ε Μάσιος αιδι θεοδούου τε νέου, ο μοίως.

ε υγένιος αιδγους πόλεως της ο φρυ για παμμιγή λέξιν και το ξουχείου.

ε ωπμος γαζαίος λέξες έπτος και η και το ξουχείου.

Κ αικί λιος απελιώτης εκλογών λέξεων και το ξουχείου.

Λ ογίνος δικίωτος, λέξεις και το ξουχείου.

Λ ού πόρκος βιρώτιος, απίκας λέξες.

1 ουτίος Ιούλιος σο Ωιλής, επιτομίω των παι μοίλου γλωσών, Gιβλίων ανευνί HOUTEL CHÓS

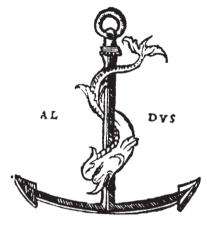
κοντα τους. Το των ηθώτος άπι κής κοι το ς σιχείου.

Ε άμομιλος ,λάμωνα λέξεων σωνάλων περοχήν διδλίων είνευ ήκον του πέντε έξτι διάχο το εξουχέιο, έως ή ω το λί άχο ή α, μέχοι ή λ, χ απορίων έπεσμίκη.

Ε ωλίων άλεξαν σβολο, άπικών λέξεων σωνατοχήν κοι το ξουχέον.







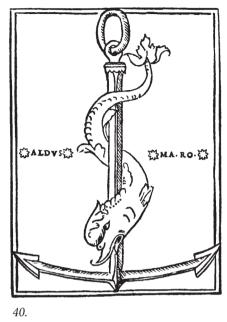
35.

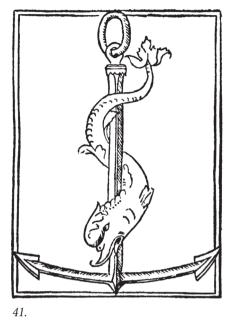


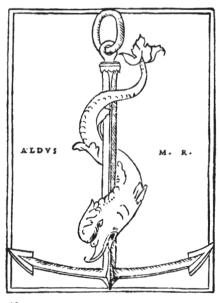














42. 43.

34. Sophocles, Tragedies, Venice, 1502.

Bibl.: Renouard, 34 (6). Firmin-Didot, 212-213. Adams, S 1438. *OAME*, I, 61-62 (XXXVIII). UCLA, I, 68 (48). *Le Edizioni di Testi Greci*, 68-69 (14). *Manuzio*, 62 * PM: Kristeller, 66-67 (174-178). Vaccaro, 299 (il. 392). Fletcher, 45 (2). Staikos, *Marks*, 10.

35. Herodotus, Histories, Venice, 1502.

Bibl.: Renouard, 35 (8). Kristeller, 67 (174). Firmin-Didot, 216-218. Adams, H 394. *OAME*, I, 64-65. UCLA, I, 70 (50) * PM: Zappella II, 38. Fletcher, 46 (2a). *Le Edizioni di Testi Greci*, 70-71 (15). *Manuzio*, 64. Staikos, *Marks*, 11.

36. Lucian, Dialogues, Venice, 1503.

Bibl.: Renouard, 39-40 (3). Firmin-Didot, 243-244. Adams, L 1602. UCLA, I, 81 (57). *Le Edizioni di Testi Greci*, 74-75 (17). *Manuzio*, 75 * PM: Kristeller, 67 (178). Fletcher, 53 (fl). Staikos, *Marks*, 12.

37. Maximus Planudes, Anthology, Venice, 1503.

Bibl.: Renouard, 42 (9). Firmin-Didot, 251-254. Adams, A 1181. UCLA, I, 87 (62). *Le Edizioni di Testi Greci*, 80-81 (20). *Manuzio*, 81 * PM: Fletcher, 47 (3). Staikos, *Marks*, 13.

38. Horae in Laudem Beatissimae Virginis, Venice, 1505.

Bibl.: Renouard, 49 (3). Firmin-Didot, 227. *OAME*, I, 91 (LXVIII). UCLA, I, 101 (74). *Manuzio*, 92 * PM: Fletcher, 47 (4). Staikos, *Marks*, 14.

39. Plutarch, Opuscula, Venice, 1509.

Bibl.: Renouard, 55 (1). Firmin-Didot, 317-321. Adams, P 1634. *OAME*, I, 99-101 (LXVI). UCLA, I, 117 (84). B. Hilyard, «Girolamo Aleandro Editor of Plutarch's *Moralia*», *Bibliothèque d' Humanisme et Renaissance* 36 (1974), 517-531. *Le Edizioni di Testi Greci*, 100-101 (27). *Manuzio*, 103 * PM: Fletcher, 54 (f2). Staikos, *Marks*, 15.

40. Constantine Lascaris, *Epitome of the Eight Parts of Speech*, Venice, 1512.

Bibl.: Renouard, 58 (1). Firmin-Didot, 329-330. BH I/3, 180-181 (54). Adams, L 228. PAP I, 253 (3427). OAME, I, 105-106 (LXXI). UCLA, I, 123 (90). Manuzio, 107 * PM: Fletcher, 47 (3), without AL DVS. Staikos, Marks, 16.

41. Emmanuel Chrysoloras, Erotemata, Venice, 1512.

Bibl.: Renouard, 59 (2). Firmin-Didot, 328-329. BH I/3, 98-99 (1680). Adams, C 1506. PAP I, 124 (1680). UCLA, I, 121 (88). OAME, I, 104 (IXX). Le Edizioni di Testi Greci, 102-103 (28). Manuzio, 108 * PM: Fletcher, 48 (5). Staikos, Marks, 17.

42. Plato, *Complete Works* [edited by Marcus Musurus], Venice, 1513.

Bibl.: Renouard, 62 (4). Firmin-Didot, 342-351. *BH* I/1, 100-112 (39). Adams, P 1436. PAP I, 363 (4857). *Manuzio*, 116. UCLA, I, 136 (97/1). *OAME*, I, 120-123 (LXXVIII). *Le Edizioni di Testi Greci*, 106-107 (30) * PM: Kristeller, 67 (177). Fletcher, 54 (f4). Staikos, *Marks*, 18.

43. Aristotle, *De natura animalium* (translated by Theodorus Gaza), Venice, 1513.

Bibl.: Renouard, 65 (11). Firmin-Didot, 367. *BH* I/3, 186-188 (159). Adams, A 1765. PAP I, 46 (589). UCLA, I, 129 (94). *OAME*, I, 76-77 (XLVIII). *Manuzio*, 112 * PM: Fletcher, 54 (f3). Staikos, *Marks*, 19.

A. Initials and Headpieces

The initials and headpieces of Aldus are distinguished by the simplicity of their design but not by their originality, and are inferior to comparable embellishments and marginalia of other printers active in Venice long before Aldus started his publishing house, such as Bernardinus Benali and Johannes Emericus de Spira, and naturally Erhard Ratdolt.

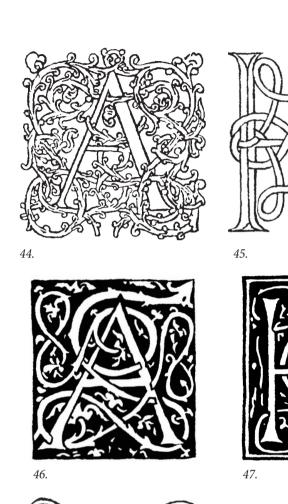
a. Initials

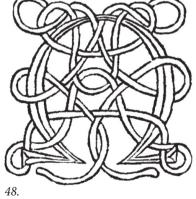
The trunk of the initials is outlined in antique style and does not differ in design from the capital letters used by other Venetian printers such as Erhardt Ratdolt or Herbort de Seligenstadt. All these initials consist of a simple form of the letter, encircled by intertwined vegetal ornaments, mainly stylized leaves, palmettes and rosettes. Sometimes initials are part of a freer composition, in which the decorative band spiralling around the trunk of the letter seems to form a single ensemble. Initials of similar style to those of Aldus were used in the presses of Venice from the early 1480s. Some examples are those used by an unknown printer in 1482 in the edition of Alexander de Villa Dei's *Doctrinale*, with commentaries by Ludovicus de Guaschis. Sometimes these compositions are inscribed in square or rectangular frames and drawn against a dark ground. 4

Ongania *Venetian*, 49 ff.

BMC V 585

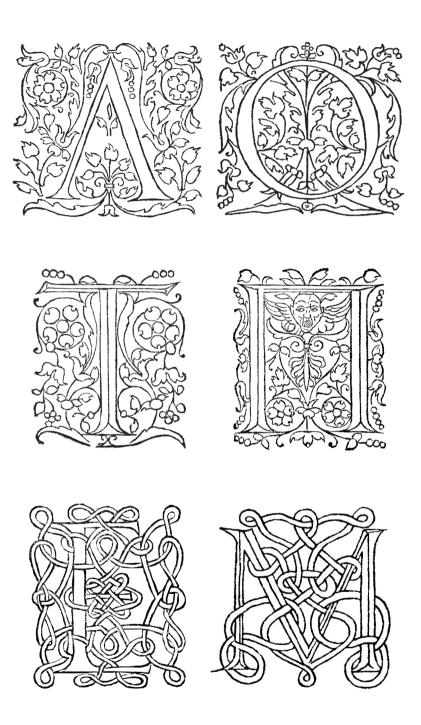
^{44.} A. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* (c. 1496-1497). 45. Aristotle, *On skies* (1497) 46-47. Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale* (1498). 48. *Aristophanes*, Plutus (1498). 49. C. Lascaris, *Epitome of the Eight Parts of Speech* (1495).

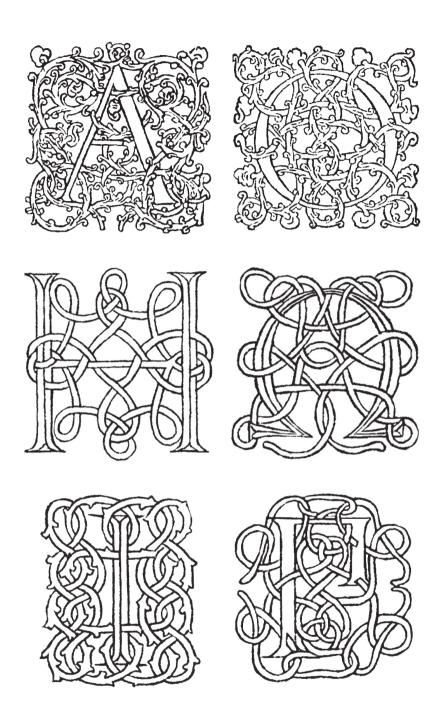


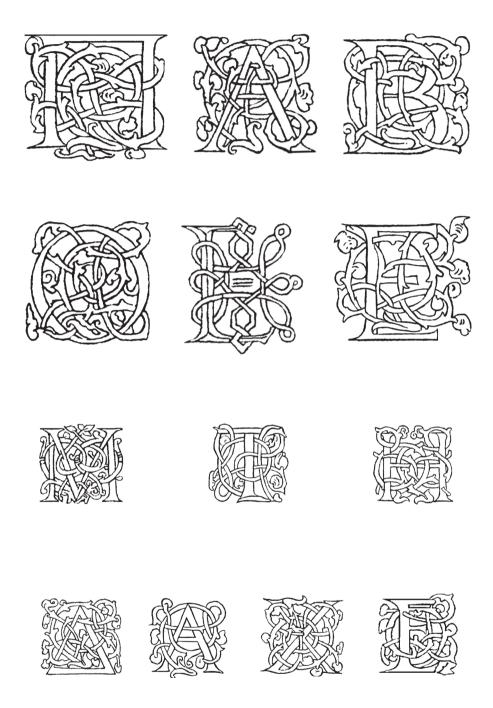




49.









ΚΗΡΙΟΚΛΕΓΤΗΣ.

ον κλέ παν πο τί ςωτα κακα κέντασε μέ λιωα,

Κηρίον εκσέμβλων συλώ μλρον άκραδε

χειρών Δάκτυλα σάντὕ σενυξονοδάλλει και χερεφυσος. Και ταν ταν επάπαξε και άλατο ταδά Φροδίτα. Δεξετάν όδιώ αν και με μφετο όπιτε τυτθον Θυρίον ζυτί με λιωα και άλικα τραύματα ποιεί. Χάμάτερ τε λάξασα, τὶ δοῦκῦσον ἐωὶ μελίωτας,

 Troth may do.

The proposition of the tail and the troinest of the troinest of the proposition of the troinest of the troinest

b. Headpieces

Headpieces were designed in similar logic to the initials, or vice-versa, and fall into two categories: composite and linear.

Composite headpieces consist of vegetal patterns developed

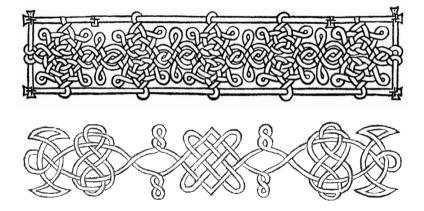
Essling, *Figures*, Ip, II/1, 210-211 (747)





symmetrically around a central motif, such as a mask, from which sprout flowering branches and foliage with rosettes and fruit. The model for this composition of Aldus was a part of the frame of the title page to Lucian's *De veris narrationibus*, published by Simon Bevilacqua in Venice, 1494.

Essling, Figures, Ip, II/1, 230, 234



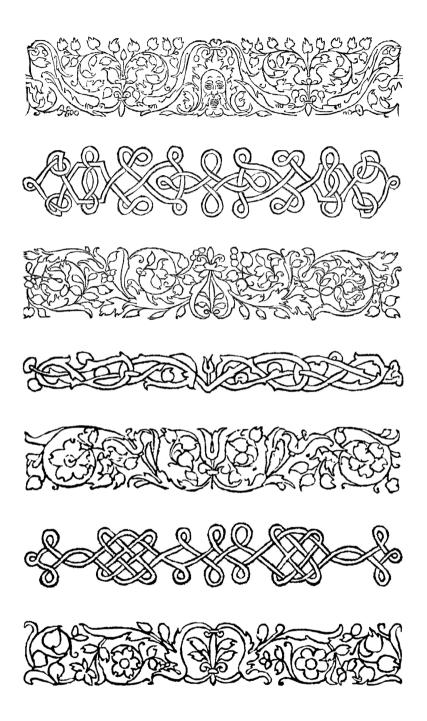
Linear headpieces are inspired by or probably copied from the marginal wood engraving that frames the text of Luca Paciolo's *Summa de Arithmetica*, which circulated from the printing house of Paganino de Paganini in 1494. Aldus created

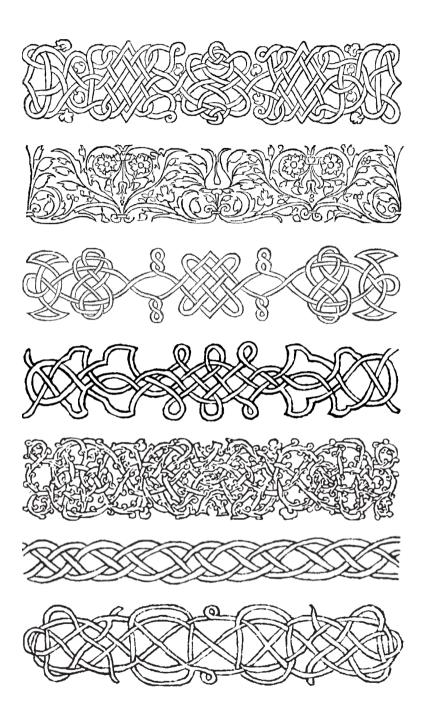
BMC V 457



50. Herodian, On numbers, in Theodorus Gaza, Introduction to Grammar, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495.

harmonious combinations of headpieces and initials for Herodian's essay *On Numbers* (1495) and Aristophanes's *Comedies* (1498) and other works.¹⁵





B. Illustrations

The incunabulum of Musaeus' Hero and Leander, with two woodcuts, is the first Greek illustrated book. The woodcuts, in "folk" style, were never reproduced again and depicted the cities of Sestus and Abydos on the Hellespont. Hero watches as Leander makes his ill-fated attempt to swim across the channel, and throws herself out of the window when she sees him lying dead on the sand. Both woodcuts are crowned by epigrams related to the poem, composed by Antipater of Thessalonica, in Greek and in Latin translation. The same representation, but in smaller size, embellished the re-edition of Musaeus' work by Aldus's heirs in 1517. The woodcuts are modelled on the earlier edition but were certainly made by a different artist.

The small booklet of *Hours of the Virgin*, printed by Aldus in 1497, is illustrated with an image of the Annunciation to the



51. Wood engraving from Hours of the Virgin, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1497.

Virgin, on the reverse of the title page. The woodcut had been used originally by Johannes Hamman de Landoia in the edition of Officia beate marie secundum usum Romane ecclesiae (Venice, 1497) and subsequently in the Latin edition of the Horologion of 1505. The Annunciation to the Virgin also illustrates an undated edition by Aldus, printed around 1497 and titled Breussima introductio ad litteras graecas.

Essling, Figures,

Ip, I, [407]



Antipatri

Hicest Leandri tranatus hoc est ponti
Fretum non soli amanti graue.

Hæc Herssantiquæ domusilia- hæ turris
Reliquiæ-proditrix hie pendebat lucerna.
Cómunespambos hoc habet sepulchrum, núc quogDe illo inuido conquerentes uento.



52. Wood engravings from Musaeus, Hero and Leander (c. 1495), the first-ever illustrated Greek book.





53. Wood engravings from Musaeus, Hero and Leander (c. 1517), identical to the first edition of Aldus (c. 1495).

The richest illustration of all the Greek books printed by Aldus is found on the first page of the text of the *Psalter*. The elaborate woodcut, as well as the extensive use of red print (rubrication) on all pages of the text, is encountered for the one and only time. The text is framed by a row of linear compositions of differing thickness, reminiscent of arabesques, interpolated in which are two images: David playing the lyre, and a rabbit. To our knowledge, none of these images illustrate any earlier incunabulum, in Greek or any other language.

The aesthetics of Greek editions

In relation to the use of adornments such as initials, headpieces and illustrations in Aldus's Greek editions, it should be noted that a difference in style distinguishes them in two sets. Until 1499, all the *editiones principes*, and others, were embellished with initials and headpieces, with the exception of $\Theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\delta\varsigma$, $K\acute{e}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ Å $\mu\alpha\lambda\theta\acute{e}i\alpha\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha$ i $K\~{\eta}\pi\sigma\iota$ Å $\delta\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\delta\sigma\varsigma$ (Thesaurus, Cornu copiae et Horti Adonidis 1496) and the Dictionarium Graecum (1497), which is adorned with just one initial (199a). From 1499 onward, starting with Epistles of Various Philosophers..., all embellishments disappear; the place of the initial on the first page remains empty and sometimes the first letter of the first word is in lowercase: $\alpha \mid \beta\alpha\iota\alpha$ (Pollux, Onomasticon, 1512).

It is possible that the Greek editions of Aldus were stripped of decorative elements in order to reduce costs. For the same reason he used a new font with smaller eye, as well as smaller



54. Decorative elements on the first page of the Psalter (c. 1497), edited by Ioustinos Dekadyos.

spacing in comparison to editions such as the *Idylls* of Theocritus and the *Grammar* of Theodorus Gaza.

It should also be noted here that in his editions until 1499 there were frequent inconsistencies as to the embellishments, that is, initials and headpieces. For example, in the edition of Aristophanes, on page (N), where the *hypothesis* (plot) of *Peace* is cited, three paragraphs are laid out with a place for the initial: while the first paragraph starts with a figurated H, the other two start with moveable type characters (Φ and T). This cannot have been due to time considerations, as the ending of *Peace* is typeset in triangular layout, which was surely more time-consuming.

Obstacles to his editorial projects

The dedicatory prefaces which Aldus wrote for his Greek editions, and especially those addressed to the sponsors and supporters of his endeavour, clearly show the difficulties he was facing, not only due to the lack of reliable manuscripts and money, but also because of the envy of his enemies and competitors. It should be noted that until the mid-1490s none of the publishing houses of Italy had ventured to circulate systematically the great literary works of Classical Greece, and so the territory for Greek books in university schools was essentially uncharted.

Aldus's ulterior intention, beyond overcoming the continuous obstacles, was to stimulate the scholarly and cultivated public of Italy and the North to learn the Greek language, so

that they would be able to read from the original. When Aldus addresses his main sponsor, Alberto Pio Prince of Carpi, in the Latin Preface to Aristotle's *Organum*, he points out that even in advanced years Cato the Roman never abandoned the idea of studying Greek. And although young boys were being taught Greek on an equal footing with Latin at their schools, older people should not give up but follow Cato's example instead. This is the main reason why Aldus repeatedly dedicated his editions of Greek authors to teachers of Greek in schools even in remote cities of the Venetian territory; such as Daniele Clario of Ragusa, to whom he dedicated the *editio princeps* of Aristophanes's Comedies (1498), and Codro Urceo, teacher at the Gymnasium of Bologna (Epistles, 1499). Aldus accomplished two goals by these dedications: he rewarded Italian Hellenists for their teaching practice, and at the same time he advertised his editions to the wider reading public, in cities of difficult access, such as Ragusa, and even beyond the Alps, such as Paris, where Girolamo Aleandro played a leading role in distributing Aldine editions.

Although Aldus was supported by eminent intellectuals and scholars, including some members of the Venetian Senate, his publishing initiatives had also earned him some opponents, mainly because his books enjoyed a wide circulation. The book trade was an important source of income for Venice and enhanced the Republic's prestige in its numerous territories in Greece. Aldus's initiative in supplying the book market with reliable Greek editions, which were also affordable, in small format and easy to use ('pocket' edition of Sophocles' *Tragedies*, 1502), impressively increased his clientele, especially

OAME, I, XLVI

among young students. To give an example, at the time of circulation of the *Tragedies* of Sophocles, his editions were printed in 2000 copies, and Manutius himself claimed that 1,000 volumes were available to the public every month!

Education in the Palaiologan period

Aldus's guide in scheduling his Greek editions was the teaching curriculum established in Byzantine schools during the Palaiologan period. This was the two-stage system implemented by Maximus Planudes, Thomas Magister, Manuel Moschopoulos, and Demetrios Triklinos, which aimed at consolidating knowledge of grammatical principles, so that students could proceed to the philological analysis of ancient literary works.¹⁶

The teaching of grammar was based on the $Ars\ Grammatica$ of Dionysius of Thrace, (2nd century BC) and on Byzantine grammar textbooks such as Manuel Moschopoulos's $\Pi \varepsilon \rho i$ $\sigma \chi \varepsilon \delta \tilde{\omega} v$ ($De\ ratione\ examinandae\ orationis\ libellus$), and other minor manuals, through which Byzantine teachers sought to make the more profound concepts of the ancient literary corpus better understood. With these grammatical tools, their rules and methods, students were taught the meaning of words, their etymology, and the characteristics and particularities of each dialect. On this foundation, the teacher would help consolidate the pupil's knowledge by the use of examples, such as extended passages from Classical and Postclassical texts, and works of Christian authors. This practice dates from the time of Georgios Choiroboskos (6-7th century AD).

Armed with the tools of grammatical knowledge, students were then able to follow and understand literary texts. The most widely used textbooks were Homer's works and in particular the Iliad, which was viewed as a treasury of wisdom, from which all those wishing to serve Greek Letters could draw inspiration and knowledge. Following this, students passed to the analysis of three tragedies by Sophocles: *Aias* (*Ajax*), *Electra* and *Oedipus Rex*, which were selected both as literary models and for the moral principles and messages they promoted.

The next stage of the students' education included mostly works of authors of the Classical period, considered exemplary as to their plot, symbolism, poetic form, purity of language, rhetoric, and so on. The recurring names are those of Aeschylus, Hesiod, Pindar, Oppian, Theognis, Philostratus, Libanius, Demosthenes, Theocritus, Nicander, Menander (*Gnomai*), Lycophron, *e.a.* Without doubt, the teaching of literature (poetry and prose) alongside grammar was the best indicated method for the deeper comprehension of each text.

The teaching of Greek in Italy. Teaching according to the Palaiologan tradition was initiated in Italy when Manuel Chrysoloras was appointed to the official Chair of Greek at the Studium of Florence in 1397. It is almost certain that the Greek scholars who thereafter taught the language in Italy, such as Theodorus Gaza, George of Trebizond, Andronicus Callistus, Janus and Constantine Lascaris, followed this teaching method. A proof of this can be found in the publishing project of Buono Accorsi, who was probably aided by Andronicus Callistus, the

first person to establish a humanist school in Italy, in order to teach Greek literature, from the beginnings of printing in the Italian Peninsula (1465).

Accorsi was born before the mid-fifteenth century and was probably taught philology and Greek at Milan by Francesco Filelfo. In 1456 he was in Pavia, where he took courses to perfect his Greek with Andronicus Callistus, with whom he be-



55. George of Trebizond, wood engraving from N. Reusner, Icones sive Imagines viuae...

came friends. From 1460 he engaged in codex copying and in 1461 he travelled to Florence, at Filelfo's suggestion, and became a protegé of Piero de' Medici. He later set up a school at Pisa, where Demetrios Castrenos paid him a visit in March 1469. An important scholar from Constantinople, Castrenos was not lucky enough to become a member of a scholarly circle or a ruler's court in Italy, although he was under Filelfo's patronage

and lived for a time at the court of Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino.

Around 1474 Accorsi returned to Milan, where he founded a private school which focused on Greek literature and rhetoric, and was in contact with printers of the city. In 1476, he and Giovanni Francisco della Torre bought the manuscript collection of Andronicus Callistus, so that the latter could travel to Paris. Callistus's manuscripts helped Accorsi to im-

prove his teaching curriculum as well as to further his publishing plans.

Taking as precedent the *Epitome of the Eight Parts of Speech* by Constantine Lascaris, which had been printed in a typeface cut and cast by Demetrios Damilas in 1476, Accorsi undertook the publication of bilingual (Greek and Latin) editions, in order to support the teaching at his school and perhaps in other

cultural centres of Italy. From late 1476-early 1477 to late 1481 Accorsi published several editions, such as Crastoni's *Dictionary*, Aesop's *Fables*, a reedition of Lascaris's *Grammar*, the *Idylls* of Theocritus, Hesiod's *Works and Days* and the first edition of the *Psalter*.

Accorsi did not limit himself to publishing only Greek works. He also circulated Latin and contemporary humanist texts, such as Cicero's *Epistulae ad Fa*-



56. Theodorus Gaza, wood engraving from N. Reusner, Icones sive Imagines viuae...

miliares and the *Elegantiolae* of Agostino Dati, a philosopher, historian and founder of the rhetoric school of Sienna. To print his Greek and Latin editions, Accorsi worked with various presses in Milan, notably those of Philippo de Lavagnia and Antonio Zaroto. In any case, the typeface was probably set by Damilas at a printing press of Milan.

Charta, I, 142-150

Aldus's publications

During the period of his printing activity, from 1494 until his death in 1515, Aldus published one hundred and thirty-six titles (dated and undated), by Greek and Latin authors, as well as Renaissance humanist authors. Many volumes include other, smaller treatises and essays of the Greek and Latin tradition, mainly on rhetoric and poetics, as well as Catalogues of his books.

The Greek editions of Aldus number seventy-four. Twenty-one of them, which are discussed below, were published before 1500. Aldus also published Greek texts in Latin translation, such as Averroes's commentaries on Aristotle, *In Analytica Priori Aristotelis* (1497), Iamblichus's *De mysteriis* (1497) in the translation of Marsilio Ficino, Cardinal Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis* (1503), Origen's *Homilies* (1503/4) in the translation of Saint Jerome, Euripides's *Hecuba* and *Iphigeneia in Aulis* (1507) in Erasmus's Latin translation, and Aristotle's *De natura animalium* in Theodorus Gaza's historical translation in 1504, which was reprinted 1514.

Aldus's publishing orientation during the stage of early ty-pography differs from the path he followed from the early sixteenth century onwards. As has already been stated, of his forty-one incunabula, twenty-one are Greek, and demanded a great deal of time and effort on the part of the editors; such were the five-volume edition of the Aristotelian corpus, the editio princeps of the Comedies of Aristophanes, including the ancient commentaries, Theophrastus's Enquiry into Plants and Dioscorides's De Materia Medica. Comparison of the Greek to the Latin editions of Aldus, in terms of content, reveals that the

AEZIKON KATA CTOIXEIWN.

Alpha.cum A.

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ATOC . OV . O . H .

itagibilis.uel.cui nocere qs neqt nocuifti.pro dougab de re irretentibilis. læfus eft.ab de re

analog.

infatiabilis.

A.cum.B.

Αβάσκαν Τος . ου . ο . ή . aBaloc.ov. # . o. aBapoc . ov . o . H. αβέβαιος · ου · ο · ή · בפנאדףום . וו. פואדף סב . סע . פֿי άβιος · ον · ο · αβίωτος · ον · ο · κ αβλαβάα · ας · ή · αβλαβής . έος . δ . μ apritia . ac . i. aBANG · HTOG . άβληΤος · ου · ο · ή · αβληχρός.ου.ο. CBOHBHTOC. OU. O. άβολος.ον.ο. aBoulia. αβουλος · ου · ο · ή · aspa.ac. i. авражночи . appopioc . appolicatoc.ov.o.n. inuidia uacuus. inacceffibilis, non tinctus. instabilis. Stoliditas.ruditas.infipientia. Stolidus.ignarus. non curans de uita. non uiuendus. incolumiras. innocuus, incolumis, cæcitas. no missus, noui tæli epitheton, inuulneratus. robustus imbecillis. auxilio carens. flumen ciciliæ. temeritas.isipietia. malū cosiliū confilio carens.inconfultus. ancilla. fonuerune. mollis .i .delicate uiuens. mollis ut fupra.

Aiii

57. Crastoni, Giovanni, Dictionarium graeco-latinum, Milan, [Demetrios Damilas], for Buono Accorsi [no later than 1478].

Latin publications do not follow a specific programme. Some of them were published thanks to Aldus's ties of friendship with humanist circles of Venice, Padua, Ferrara and elsewhere. For example, from the texts of Roman literature, Aldus chose to publish only *De Rerum Naturae* of Lucretius, edited by the eminent humanist Girolamo Avanzi, and the *Astronomicon* of Firmicus Maternus, which is included in *Scriptores Astronomici* (1499) alongside other astronomical treatises. Another precious edition was the *Complete Works* (*Opera*) of Poliziano, edited by Lorenzo Sarti and printed in 1498, which includes the complete correspondence of Poliziano with the major exponents of Renaissance Humanism in Italy, alongside several translations and commentaries on Greek and Latin philosophical and literary essays, such as Plato's *Charmides*.

Manuzio, 57-58(27)

However, the greatest number of Aldus's Latin incunabula consists in essays by scholars of his acquaintance, several of whom entrusted their precious manuscripts to him, so that they could be published, as was the case with Niccolò Leoniceno (*Da epidemia*, 1497). Another of Aldus's early achievements in printing was *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* by Francesco Colonna, which was published in 1499 at the expenses of Leonardo Grassi.

From the early sixteenth century, Aldus and his close collaborators realized that many changes should be made so that the orientation of the house could be maintained without depending almost exclusively on generous sponsors. Not only was the publishing programme redesigned, but also the format and appearance of the books. Probably the fact that the publishing house functioned as an Academy contributed to this

change. Whatever the case, the year 1502 saw the launch of Greek editions in small format, the proliferation of works of Latin literature. As previously stated, in order to reduce costs, the books were normally printed without headpieces, initials or other ornaments. Thus, Aldus's small-format Greek and



58. Engraving from Hypnetoromachia Poliphili, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1499.

Latin editions were accessible to students attending the universities of Padua, Ferrara and elsewhere, and not limited to affluent collectors and court circles in Italy and the North.

From the early sixteenth century until his death, Aldus pub-

lished ninety-one volumes of ancient Greek and Christian texts, both autonomous works and collections of writings. Thirty-five of those are purely Greek, while two other editions are trilingual and bilingual respectively: the one-page trial print of the *Old Testament* (1501) and Erasmus's collection of Greek and Latin sayings and proverbs, printed under the title *Adagia* (1508), as well, of course, as his two Catalogues.

Last, the exhaustive pace of work in Aldus's printing house should not be overlooked, as his press published 28 titles in just two years (1501-1502).

THE GREEK EDITIONS OF ALDUS

CATALOGUE AND COMMENTARY

The Greek Editions of Aldus Manutius

(c. 1494-1515)

Undated editions:

- 1. Galeomyomachia (c. 1494-5)
- 2. Musaeus, Hero and Leander (c. 1495)
- 3. Psalter (c. 1497)
- 4. Rules of the New Academy (c. 1501)

Dated editions:

- 5. C. Lascaris, Epitome of the Eight Parts of Speech (1495)
- 6. Aristotle, Organon (1495)
- 7. Theodorus Gaza, Grammar (1495)
- 8. Theocritus, Idylls (1495-6)
- 9. Thesaurus, Corn of Amalthea and Gardens of Adonis (1496)
- 10. Theophrastus, Historia Plantarum (1497)
- 11. I. Crastonus, Dictionarium Graecum (1497)
- 12. Hours of the Virgin (1497)
- 13. U. Bolzanius, Institutiones Graecae Grammatices (1497/8)
- 14. Aristotle, Physics (1497)
- 15. Aristotle, *History of animals* (1497)
- 16. Athenaeus, Prolegomena to the Deipnosophists (1498)
- 17. Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics (1498)

- 18. Aristophanes, Nine Comedies (1498)
- 19. Catalogues of Aldus's editions
- 20. Epistolae diversorum philosophorum oratorum... (1499)
- 21. Dioscorides, De materia medica (1499)
- 22. Aratus, Phaenomena (1499)
- 23. Nonnus of Panopolis, Metabole [Paraphrase of John] (1501)
- 24. *Bibbia* (1501)
- 25. Poetae Christiani Veteres, first volume (1501)
- 26. Poetae Christiani Veteres, second volume (1502)
- 27. Constantine Lascaris, De octo partibus orationis (1501-1503)
- 28. Stephanus Byzantius, De urbibus (1502)
- 29. Julius Pollux, Onomasticon (1502)
- 30. Thucydides, (*History of the Peloponnesian War*) (1502)
- 31. Sophocles, Tragedies (1502)
- 32. Herodotus, [Histories] (1502)
- 33. Euripides, Tragedies (1503)
- 34. Lucian, Complete works (1503)
- 35. Ammonius Hermiae, De interpretatione (1503)
- 36. Ulpian, Prolegomena (1503)
- 37. Xenophon, Paralipomena (1503)
- 38. M. Planudes, Anthology of Epigrams (1503)
- 39. Ioannes Grammaticus (Philoponus), Commentary on Aristotle's Posterior Analytics (1504)
- 40. Flavius Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana (1504)
- 41. Gregorius Nazianzenus, Carmina ad bene... (1504)
- 42. Homer (1504)
- 43. Demosthenes, Orations (1504)
- 44. *Horae in laudem...* (1505)
- 45. Quintus Smyrnaeus, Posthomerica (1504-1505)

- 46. Aesop (1505)
- 47. Erasmus, Adagiorum (1508)
- 48-49. Greek Orators (two volumes) (1508-1509)
- 50. Plutarch, Opuscula (1509)
- 51. M. Chrysoloras, Erotemata (1512)
- 52. C. Lascaris, *Epitome* (1512)
- 53. Pindar (1513)
- 54. *Orators' Speeches...* (1513)
- 55. Greek Orators (1513)
- 56. Plato, Complete works (1513)
- 57. Alexander of Aphrodisias, Εἰς τὰ Τοπικὰ (Commentary On the Topics of Aristotle) (1513[4])
- 58. Suda (1514)
- 59. Hesychius, Lexikon (1514)
- 60. Athenaeus, Deipnosophists (1514)
- 61. Aldus Manutius, Grammar (1515)

1. [Theodore Prodromus], Γαλεομνομαχία (Galeomyomachia, edited by Arsenios Apostolis), Venice [Aldus Manutius?], c. 1494-1495 (no colophon).

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4°. 122 leaves.
Bibliography: HC 7432 * BH I(9) * BMC V 553 * Census G 40 * Firmin-Didot, 56-58 * Rhodes, G 2 * UCLA, I, 3(3) * Charta, I, 324-326 * Manuzio, 2.
Copies: National Library of Greece (Kok. 114).
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Galeomyomachia or Katomyomachia, as the manuscript was titled, is a mock-epic poem in 384 verses, which narrates the battle between mice and a cat. It was written by Theodore Prodromus, also known as Ptochoprodromus, who lived at Constantinople in the 12th century CE, under the Comneni dynasty. Although the book is sometimes included in the editions of Aldus's press, it presents a number of textual and typographic inconsistencies compared to his other editions.

The Prologue in Greek is signed by Arsenios Apostolis and addresses the readers, inviting them to study texts of the comic tradition such as *Battle of Frogs and Mice (Vatrachomyomachia)*, which at the time was still attributed to Homer. Arsenios also announces the edition of the *Ionias*, compiled by his father, Michail Apostolis, which nevertheless was not released from the Press of the Greek College of Rome until 1521. The first page of the edition bears the title *Galeomyomachia*, and is followed by the Prologue of Apostolis. There is no reference to Aldus anywhere.

A number of questions regarding the edition remain unanswered: was *Galeomyomachia* a sort of general rehearsal of Aldus's publishing work? Was there ever a plan of Aldus and Apostolis working together? There is no evidence on any of these issues. Be it as may,

Apostolis did not participate in the Aldine editions and his name is only mentioned in an epigram composed by himself, which embellishes the edition of *Thesaurus*, *Corn of Amalthea...* (1496):

Άριστόβουλου τοῦ Ἀποστολίδου. Σπουδαίων ἕνεκεν Γωαρίνος ἤλυθε κῆπον, Εὐσταθίου κ' ἄλλων ἄνθεα δρεψάμενος, Λείρια δ' ἱμερόεντα πονήσας εἵλετο ταῦτα, Ἄ προτιθείς γε λέγει πᾶσιν 'Όδμὴν λάβετε!

Αρισό δουλοσά πος όλι οσ ίτρο διά κομος

το Το Το Τυλέο μθή οις χαίς έν .

Ο μης οι μθή ο Τπο μπη γρη ι μωτα τος . Τη

το χίουπαί δων τα υπο Εξατιθέν τ παιδέν

χως, βα ξα χο μυομα χία μτι μι μαι χλι

δαι καθά περ ήρό δο τ ίτος είν καί μαι ο σα παι

τνίων ανά με τα το ίς τι παι σίν τι κίμη εντί το το το το μο το το μο το το το μο καί φι κροών), μι μπ Τα παί δων ω τα δια καί φι λίμου τον τω καί φι λίμουν. Το με τα τε με τές δε τίσ τ

The edition of *Galeomyomachia* was never re-issued, neither from Aldus's press nor from any other publishing house of Italy or Northern Europe. It was however reprinted in 1832 by the Office of the Diocese of Florence, in almost identical layout. This time the title page bears the printer's mark of Aldus, which was missing from Apostolis's edition, and only first appeared in 1502, on Sophocles's *Tragedies*.

2. [Musaeus], Τὰ καθ' Ἡρὼ καὶ Λέανδρον (Hero and Leander, including a Latin translation attributed to Marcus Musurus), Venice, Aldus Manutius [c. 1495].

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4°. Ten leaves and two wood engravings.

Bibliography: HC 11653 * BH I(10) * BMC V 552-553 * Census M 880 *
Firmin-Didot, 53-56 * OAME, I, 5 * UCLA, I, 2(2) * Rhodes, M 8 *
Bühler, Musaeus * Sicherl, Musaios * Ferreri, Musuro, 235-243 *
Manuzio, 3.

Copies: NLG (Kok. 71).
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The poem of Musaeus titled *Hero and Leander* was simultaneously printed both by Aldus Manutius in Venice and by Janus Lascaris in Florence around 1494-95. The edition of Lascaris is included in the book titled Γνῶμαι μονόστιχοι ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν [One-line sentences of diverse poets].

Aldus completed the text with Musurus's Latin translation. At the same time, this is the first Greek book illustrated with wood engravings: in one of them, Leander swims across the Hellespont, from Abydos to Sestus, under the anxious gaze of Hero; in the other, Leander is lying dead on the shore and Hero throws herself out the window. The same illustrations adorn the 1517 reedition of the work by Aldus's heirs. This time the woodcuts were smaller and more polished.

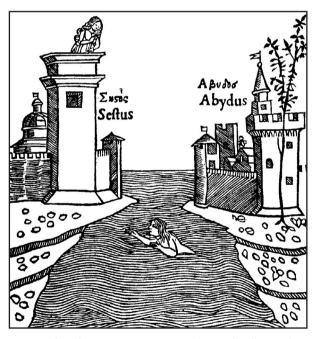
Aldus announces to his readers that the poem of Musaeus is a precursor to the treatises of Aristotle and other philosophers, which he planned to publish. Subsequently, he invites the cultivated readers to respond to his project by buying copies of Musaeus, so that he could realize his vision with the help of this money: *Because, how could I satisfy your most extreme desires without money? As for me, I commit to putting my plans to action without sparing effort nor money. Farewell.*

The woodcuts of Musaeus are crowned by Antipater's epigram, in Greek and in Latin translation (Anth. Gr. 7.666):

This is the place where Leander crossed, these are the straits, unkind not only to one lover.

This is where Hero once dwelt, here are the ruins of the tower, the treacherous lamp rested here.

In this tomb they both repose, still reproaching that envious wind.¹⁷



59. Woodcut from Musaeus, Hero and Leander (c. 1495).

3. Ψαλτήριον (*Psalter*, edited by Ioustinos Dekadyos), Venice, Aldus Manutius [c. 1497].

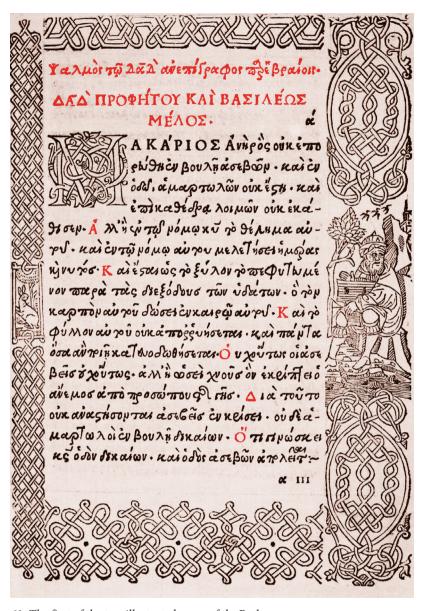
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4°. 154 leaves. 
 Bibliography: HCR 13452 * BH I(11) * BMC V 563 * Census P 1033 * Firmin-Didot, 58-61 * Rhodes, P 28 * UCLA, I, 24-25(19) * Xάρτα, I, 326-327 * Manuzio, 29.
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Copies: Oikonomopoulos Collection - Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library * NLG (Kok. 98) * MET * Γ B.

Aldus's *Psalter* is one of the most elaborate books he ever printed as well as one of the most beautiful Greek incunabula, together with the *Great Etymologicon* and Galen's *Of the method of curing diseases*, which were published by the house of N. Vlastos and Z. Kalliergis. The book's unique aesthetics are marked by red penwork on every page and the woodcuts which frame the first page of the text.

This edition of the *Psalter* is not the *editio princeps*, as it had been preceded by those of Accorsi (complete with a Latin translation) printed by D. Damilas in Milan around 1481, and of the Cretans Laonicus and Alexander in Venice in 1486. The *Psalter* was edited by Ioustinos Dekadyos, who also worked with Aldus in editing the Greek grammar of Bolzanio (1497) and the *Dictionarium Graecum* (1497). It is the last undated book of Aldus, and was presumably printed sometime between 1495 and1497.

Dekadyos signs a prophetic editor's note. As he has realized that printed Greek books have started to overcome the first set of difficulties which arose during the transition to mass production, he invites Greeks everywhere to endorse Aldus's project, in order for liturgical books, such as *Menaia*, *Gospels*, *Triods*, *Paracletica* etc. to be published.



60. The first of the two illustrated pages of the Psalter.

4. Νεακαδημίας Νόμος (Constitution of the New Academy)

Bibliography: Morelli, *Aldi* * Renouard, 499-503 * Firmin Didot, 435-470. Copies: Vatican Library (Vat. lat. 1, f. 32)

In his pioneering bibliographical note on the editions of Aldus Manutius and his successors, Antoine-Augustin Renouard (*Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes, ou Histoire des Trois Manuce*, Paris, Chez Jules Renouard Libraire, 1839) speaks of the Rules of the New Academy and informs that there was a Latin translation thereof. This was owed to the initiative of abbé Marini, who translated the Rules into French and Latin, revising and expanding his initial translation, published by Renouard in the Appendix to his *Annales* in 1812.

This unique document is preserved in the Vatican Library and is pasted on the rear of the cover of a volume which includes the *Great Etypologicon*, Venice, Nikolaos Vlastos and Zacharias Kalliergis, 1499 and Galen's *Of the method of curing diseases*, Venice, Nikolaos Vlastos, 1500.

[Special thanks to Ricardo Luongo who kindly gave us access to the only extant copy of the Rules, included in the editions *Aldo Manuzio e l'ambiente veneziano 1494-95*, Suzy Marcon and Marino Zorzi (eds), il Cadro, 1994; Martin Davies, *Aldus Manutius*, *printer and publisher of Renaissance Venice*, London 1995.]

Επειδή του λλα και ώφέλι μα τοίς περί του διάσι έσου οδικόσι ποιρα หุ้ง ยลวิ สย์ Финси ยัน คื ยี Жиний รอ่นแม้เลง , ผืยงแสดน แอเที ยีโด มีเอ๋า ที่ หนึ่ง , Αλδιφ τῷ ρωμαίφ, Ιωαίνην τῷ κρητὴ κοὶ Τί τῷ έμοὶ Σκιταίων τῷ κρεφτορο μάχφ γόμον Χέθαι, μιὰ ἀλλως ἐξεναι ἀλλήλοις όμι λεῖν, ἐμιὰ τῆ ἐλλάδι φωνή. Ε πο ή άλλως διαλέροιτο οδήμεν, η βεπίτηδες, ημη προνοχμενος, માં માં αὐτοῦ δοῦ νόμε ἐπιλαθόμονος, ἐνατ ἀλλίω ενὰ τύχην, ζημιού Δου αργιείδιον ού, ο ποσοκικο κό τύχη του στο ιων σολοιμομέδι μι κάδω δ δο ωτέρα τίς επιτη διων ιζαμαρρικού δύν ησιταβαλέτω δίδ βαμαρτών το έτο τίμιον διθύο, μιλ διαλαβαλέδω έστ αύριον έστ όννη οιν μι απο πίσας δε δι σλάσιον οφιλέτω μι οδούς δε κί ρύτο, τε ζασλά σου, και ματοί λόγον ἀὰ τῶν ὑποδρθέσεων ἀν πραπείδω . ὁλι πορῶν δὶ νοῦ νόμου, ἄ κοιὶ δῦ ἐκπνον ὑπερισων, ποθ κοινοῦ π ἐλλωνι σῶν ἀπελαυνεδω, κή της των σουδαίων όμι λίαο άπαξιού Δω, και το άχο δύτου, άπο φρασ ουρίζε οδω το του διούρυ άποιντημα, εμβεβλή δω ός το καλλόμε νον αργυ είδιον έκρίσο τε લે βαλαί πόν ε, ή κή νη δία πυλίδα, ας βύτο μό אים על אות לפישט שוליילוש, מש דואל משף מל של של של של של של של של אות של יוני ויו יו το χαιροβυκθέν α ύφαμωδν ώ ανιούν, και αξίω κριθέντι, επικεκλοσμούν πρότερον έπιμελως, κή επεσφραγισμού νέο το ασφαλέσατον. όταν δε ανοι χθηναι οδικη લે σ το μέσον προτεθά οδω, κ) δικειθμίκοδω το νόγισμα, καὶ લ μεν ιμανον η είς συμποσόου πμιι τε, μ οδε ποίνημα, εγκεχειείδω Αλδιώ τω κυρίω, ἀφ ὧν ἡμας ἐκείνοσ ἐςτάτω λαμπρωσ, κὸ οὐ κατα ρους οὐτυ σου τασ άλλ αιθράσι πρεπόντων τοις των νεακρεθη μέαν δυβροπο λού σιν ίκθη, พุ่ สิงสาพงเหนีร แแนร์ ปลัง พลาสอนอนสอสอน สมาทั้ง . ล่า แห่ สมา เพลาองใสล้ γύ ειον είς το συμτωό σιον, ένα του τεθεί ων πάλιν είσ τιω πυξί δα, κή σία Φε שש בנשם סני שססט דסט ביצואדב או ביץ בני סום, מוסט לב מבוע פוס ילט בול מסו ילפם של בול ישוב בול של בין מים ולבי ςω ή μηθοία ημίνουμ σό την ποιραλαβάν, σλην ε οιβα ή Φιλελλήνων πνα, ούη εμάνα το χρές, ουτές τν, ούη εμμουσον, ούη εμοιρον την ελλίων κών. κοι το μέγισον, της νεακουθημίαο ουνάλλο Σιον, ουκάπειρον, ουθάμύνον ને મહાર τέρων. લ મેં τις ξένου, મે જો દુંદ્ધ પ્રદેશ (διαφιλά) αφίκοι ό πο τε, κή ειδι όમ μοίκ ο ταί θα κοι τά είνα χράαν, ά μεν πεπαιδευ μείος, κ) τ έλλων κών επ 5ή μων καὶ αὐ ၆σ οὐορο ἔξτω ρίο αὐαγεραμμένοις αὐπτείνων ὅ ὅ τόμῳ, Ν οἰαν Ιου μονος, μηθεμιάς τυ χών συγγνώμης, μηθε άχολο γίας τηνὸς, Οξή μίω διθίς ησιταθεδικάδω, και της νεακασημίας εκδεδιώχθω ανά นอง ผ่ง หอน าอันบารบี ประ , แหน่ าา ค่องใช้ x ปี พว่า หู เม้า แร กางอัง อัง อัง อัง માં αρτε , જો σ સπαξ ή ατα ς αθείσην εμμολον υπο 5 κ, κ) ώσ περ εγγυητάς η αστα 5 κο κ. ε ε δ. αυ Us μπ ε ε ο ωστα ε ελλίω πος , ώς μκ που βού των κιμιώνος, W μπ 5 2000 by dig o' Mlwi the dirada, ash of Tolo brow big the would be in σιωουσιασ αξιού Δω, μικδι αν πάνυ δίοιδ. Εισηγί (απο τον νόμον Σκιταίων καρ τερόμαρο, Φυλίκο αναγνως έδος έπε μφιζεν, Αλου έωμαῖοο, ο τίτο νεαναση μίας αρχηγέτης, καὶ Ιωάννο κρίο, φυλής διορθωί όδος, πρυτα νθοντες έπεχειρογόνησαν ή όι νεακοιθημαϊκοί πάντες, ών βαπί ις κς προθε δύτερος, Φυλησι δροπρεπίους, ν Παι λος σλεώς, Φυλησ δυχενέλιου, και Ι δρώνυμος λουκαίος λαζός, Φυλής θεραπευ Wdos, και φράγκισκος ρόσητ σο επρωναίος, φυλής διοθασκαλίδος, κοι άλλοι συχνοί μα 94 le αντις ήδα, καὶ τής νεακοιλη μίαο επη τι μούντεο, δνόματι μόνον προβερόμανοι. Εί η ή Now seiv Tau THY ag a TOU TO KALL GUG QU'TH'S EZO MEVOUS.

5. Constantine Lascaris, Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν ὀκτὼ τοῦ λόγου μερῶν (Epitome of the Eight parts of Speech, Pythagoras, Golden Verses etc.) Venice, Aldus Manutius, 8 March 1495.

Together with the *Erotemata* of Chrysoloras, the *Grammar* of Constantine Lascaris, written in the form of questions and answers, was the major tool for learning Greek. Lascaris was perhaps the best teacher of grammar of his time and his lectures at Messina became famed all over Italy. The renowned Pietro Bembo, who was notorious for his perfectionism, even travelled to Messina to follow his lessons.

The *Epitome of the Eight parts of Speech* was composed around 1465, for the daughter of Francesco Sforza duke of Milan, Ippolita, who was then fifteen years old. The first edition was released in Milan in 1476: it was printed in the typeface cut by Demetrios Damilas and is in fact the first dated Greek book. In addition, it marks the beginning of the Greeks' engaging in printing Greek works. It is possible that Aldus began his publishing project with the *Epitome* in order to pay tribute to this occurrence. The Aldine edition was enriched with two introductory notes addressed to the *Studiosi*: in the first, Aldus informs his readers that he published the *Epitome* based on Lascaris's own manuscript and corrections, while in the second he praises the work, ending with one of Cato's maxims: "The life of man is like iron: it shines while used; if it stays unused, it rusts".



ΕΓΙΤΟΜΗ ΤΩΝΟΚΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΜΕ-ΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΩΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΩΝ ΣΥΝΤΕΘΕΙΣΑ ΠΑΡΑΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΛΑΣΚΑ ΡΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΥΣΑΝΤΙΟΥ

Περί Διαι γεσεως του γραμμάτων.

βιβλίον πρώτον.

Ράμμα τι μερος ελάχεον φω
νης άδια, ρερν. εἰσὶ δε χάμμα
τα εἰκοσιτεωταρα. α β γ

δ ε ζ η θ ι η λ

μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ τ

Φωνης ταμθέπτα α ε η ι ο μικρον

ν γιλογησίω μετα. Σύμφωνα δε δεκαε πτα

β Γ λ ζ θ κ λ μ ρ ξ σ

μακρα μθοδο η κιμω μετα. Βραχα δε λνο

ε γιλον ησίο ομικρον Δίχονα δε ξία α ι

ν Εξ ων λιφθοδοι κιριως μθιέξ τίνον η αι

αυ οι δι ει ον Καταχης τικος δε τεωταριστα

α μ ω γ

ARISTOTLE

The editio princeps of the Corpus Aristotelicum

The publication of the didactic treatises of Aristotle, and some of Theophrastus's works by Aldus at the very beginning of his career was an ambitious and risky endeavour. First of all, he needed generous funding, which he finally obtained from his pupil, Alberto Pio prince of Carpi, to whom he addressed the Prologue of the first part of the five-volume edition of the Aristotelian corpus: Aristotle, *Organum* (1495). Aldus had to solve two more problems, related to each other: choosing the right partners (scholars of Greek, palaeographers and proof readers) and finding the most reliable manuscripts on which to base the edition.

In the Prologue to the *Organon* he mentions several helpers, in particular Alessandro Bondini or Bondino (whose name Zacharias Kalliergis translates as *Agathemeros* or *Euemeros*), who played a major part in classifying the treatises of Aristotle (Firmin-Didot, 65-70). It should be noted that the *Complete Works* (*Opera*) of Aristotle in Latin had already been released by the presses of Venice five times since 1482 (Filippo di Pietri, GW 2336). In his dedicatory Preface to the second volume of the Stagirite's treatises (1497), Aldus pays tribute to the scholars of Padua and Venice who aided him in his endeavour and thanks to whom he acquired knowledge on Greek language and literature. He also names the British Thomas Linacre, pupil of Chalcocondyles and of Poliziano in Florence, for his contribution to the edition of the Corpus Aristotelicum. When Linacre re-

turned to Oxford, he carried with him the five volumes of Aristotle printed on vellum, which is the only extant complete series of the edition (1495-1498), now kept at the Bodleian library.

In this great endeavour of publishing Aristotle, Aldus was helped by other scholars as well, such as Francesco Caballi (Firmin-Didot, 96-101), physician and philosopher, who taught at Padua, and undertook the task of putting the treatises of Aristotle in order, Niccolò Leoniceno, a famed teacher at the university of Ferrara and owner of an important library of manuscripts (Galen's *Method of Curing Diseases* of N. Vlastos and Z. Kalliergis (Venice, 1500) was based on one of his manuscripts) and Lorenzo Maioli, public professor of philosophy in Ferrara. In 1497 Aldus published a collection of Maioli's writings, under the title of *Epiphyllides*, which consisted in material entrusted to him by the duke Ercole d'Este, so that it could be published. The permanent collaborators of Aldus must have contributed to the edition of Aristotle, especially some of the Greeks, such as Ioustinos Dekadyos and Musurus, and possibly others who are not mentioned.

The manuscripts used by Aldus for this edition have been identified to a great extent thanks to the research conducted by Martin Sicherl on codices now kept in the major European libraries. In the preparation of the edition, a major part was played by the manuscripts of cardinal Bessarion's collection, and the codices belonging to Palla Strozzi, Niccolò Leoniceno and Andrea Torresani, who employed Michail Apostolis as codex copyist.

6. Aristotle, Εἰς Ὁργανον: ἀναλυτικὰ πρότερα, ἀναλυτικὰ ὕστερα... (Organon: Prior Analytics, Posterior Analytics, Topics, Sophistical Refutations and Introduction by Porphyry) Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1 November 1495.

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Folio. 242 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 7(5) * BMC V 553 * Census, A 959 * Firmin-Didot, 65-71 * Rhodes, A 15 * OAME, I, 5-7 * UCLA, I, 3-5(4) * Manuzio, 4.
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Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library * NLG (Kok. 13) * ZPL * SFLF * MPL * GLM.

The series of *editiones principes* of Aristotle's didactic works was inaugurated with the *Organon*, that is, the treatises which compose *Logic*. As already mentioned, they were dedicated to Alberto Pio prince of Carpi, a patron and sponsor of several editions of Aldus. This was an arduous venture, and a gigantic achievement from a philological point of view. The manuscripts available to Aldus were hard to read and contained various errors due to repeated copying by unreliable scribes. While the material was abundant, no treatise of Aristotle had ever been published in the original, so that one could compare versions; consequently the venture of Aldus turned into a real nightmare.

In his dedication to the prince of Carpi, Aldus states that several scholars of Greek aided him in this edition, the first among them being Alessandro Bondini (Ballisteri, *Bondino*), who stood up for the superiority of peripatetic philosophy, without which it is impossible to conquer virtue. The title page of the first volume bears three epigrams: the first is ancient and to this day remains anonymous (Stornazolo, *Codices*); the second was written by Scipio Carteromachus (Scipione Fortiguerra), and the third by Aldus, who praises the Muses and the lovers of virtue.

έις όργανον άριστοτέλους. Ανώνυμον.

Ηδή είβ λος Αειστιλους λοπιής σειδέης. Ε΄ η 2 μου ήν ίκα λεσαν στο μίπο, είδη μονες ή δροσ. Αλλάμιν αίθο μθρώ στο λαμπετόων τι έίσκω. Φος Β΄ άληθείης παρέχι. Αξίδος πιμπάδε.

ΣΚΙΠΙΏΝΟΣ ΚΑΡΤΕΡΟΜΑΊΧΟΥ

Γαίνο έκ μυχάτων, τον πρίν ποτε κόσμον άτρ Αλ ύσ. Καὶ μικρε δε φθαρεις, τιλο το Αυστάλης. Τον δῶυ τοωτού του μετά καίμεος Αλδος έφωερς, Δς Εασίλδον νῶυ, δωιμόνιόντε δοκείκ.

Α΄ΛΔΟΥ ΜΑΝΟΥΚΙΌΥ ΒΑΣΙΆ ΝΕΌΣ ΕΊΣ ΦΙΛΟΥΣ

Μουσάων Φίλοι, ἀδάρετης, και έμπο Φίλ Α΄ Λόν,

Χαίρετ ἀδου ὑμῖν δῖος Α΄ Μεστέλες.
Αυτίκ Α΄ Λέξανδρος, και μμώνιος εἰσ αόρα κείνοις.

Καίρι ἱωάννης ἐσετό γρα μματικόσ.

Ενάξεσ Τάμους θώσω Φίλοι, ἄξα Φυλώσει,

Χρυσοῦ τη δὲ πολώμοι μίτον ἡ Λάχεσις.

ΕΡΡΩΣΘΕ.

Damis Alexandry Brassicani Philosophi ac june Consuly 7. Theodorus Gaza, Γραμματική εισαγωγή... (Introduction to grammar. On months. Life of Apollonius of Alexandria the grammarian, Apollonius, On Syntax, Herodian, On numbers), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 25 December 1495.

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Folio. 202 leaves.
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Bibliography: H 7500 * BH I(17) * BMC V 553 * Census G 110 * Firmin-
Didot, 71-74 * Rhodes, G 3 * OAME, I, 7-9 * UCLA, I, 5-6(5) *
Manuzio, 5.
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Copies: Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation
Library * AOFL (cat. no 5) * NLG (Kok. 50) * MSJT * TUL * ZPL *
SLFL.
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The only writings of Theodorus Gaza printed in Greek were his *Grammar* and *On months*. He probably wrote *Introduction to Grammar* while he taught at Ferrara. It was the fourth grammar written by scholars of the Renaissance, the others being the works of M. Chrysoloras, C. Lascaris and D. Chalcocondyles.

Aldus dedicates his Prologue to the readers and points out the importance of the edition. He admits that difficulties arise with the study of this grammar, which is quite complicated. Subsequently, he states that he collated several manuscripts of Apollonius's *On Syntax* but was unable to reach a conclusion on possible omissions or additions of the copyists, and closes the Prologue with Isocrates's maxim: *If you love knowledge, you will be a master of knowledge.* Aldus wrote the following funerary epigram to Gaza:

The great Theodorus Gaza lies among the Muses of Helicon and those of Italy...



ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΉΣ Ε ΙΣΑΓΩΓΉΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑ ΤΟ ΓΡΩΤΟΝ•

T dv ? Φωνηέντων,μακρὰ με · π · ω·βρα δ χία δε · τ · ο · δίχονα ? · α · τ · υ · Ėξ Θων δί Φθογγο! κυρίως μθρ · α τ · α υ · Ε · ω • ο τ · ο υ · κα Ιαχεη ε τικώς ? · α · π · ω · υ · υ

Τῶνὸς τιμφωνων, πὰ μομὶ, ἡμίφωνα οῖον $\cdot \xi^-$, ξ^- , ψ^- , λ^- , μ^- , ν^- , ρ^- , ω^- ο δυν δισλά μομ $\cdot \xi^-$, ξ^- , ψ^- , ξ^- , χ^- ,

Προσφή αι βίξεια ι ραρεία · στεισωμινή η διοεία · ψι λη · αποροφοι · υφίν ... διασολή · Περιάρθρη ...

8. Theocritus, Εἰδύλλια... (*Idylls*, includes essays, diatribes, didactic epics and other writings by Theognis, Cato, Pythagoras, Hesiod, Phocylides, Moschus and Maximus Planudes), Venice, Aldus Manutius, February 1495-6.

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Folio. 144 leaves.
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Bibliography: HC 15477 * BMC V 554 * Census T 144 * Firmin-Didot, 74-77 * Rhodes, T 3 * OAME, I, 9-10 * UCLA, I, 7-9(7) * Gallavotti, Teocrito * Ferreri, Théocrite * Manuzio, 7.
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Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library * NLG (Kok. 112).

Alongside the Epigrams of Callimachus, the *Idylls* of Theocritus were very influential in the scholarly circles of the Renaissance and at the same time served as a manual for the teaching of Greek. For example, aside from his public lectures on Homer and Hesiod, Angelo Poliziano gave lessons on Hellenistic poetry and in particular Theocritus. Even before the edition of *Bucolics* by Buono Accorsi (Milan, c. 1482) and that of *Idylls* by Aldus (1495-96), Martinus Phileticus had already translated and published the *Idylls* (*Idyllia septem*) in Latin (Rome, Eucharius Silber, 1482).

In the Preface, Aldus addresses his Latin teacher Battista Guarino (Firmin-Didot, 74-79) and expands on the difficulties that arise in publishing Greek works for the first time, as the manuscripts available have suffered so much damage due to age, and contain such a multitude of errors that their own authors would have a hard time recognizing them (468-469). He also mentions and thanks the young scholar Francesco Roscio, who informed him that a manuscript of Theocritus existed in Verona.



ΘΕΟΚΡίΤΟΥ ΘΥΡΣΙΣ Η Θ΄ΔΗ ΕΊΔΥΛΛΙΟΝ ΓΡΩΤΟΝ ΘΥΡΣΙΣ Η Θ΄ΔΗ

Δύτι το Ιιθύεισμα και απί

Τυσ αι πό λε τήνα,

Α΄ τη τι τώις πα γρώσι με λίσ
δεται α΄ διν δεκαι τὸ

Συείσ δες μετα πάνα τὸ δού

τερογ α΄ θλον α΄ τρισθ.

Α΄ ικα τῆν Θ Έλμι κοι αὸν Εά

γον. αλ ງα τὸ Λα. μίν. Α΄ Ιλα δ΄ αλ ງα Λάρι την οσ γέρασιές τὰ καταξξά Α΄ χίναρος, χινάρφ ἢ καλὸν κρῆς ἐ σεκάμέλξικ

ΑΙ. Αθορος, χιαρφήκαλον κρις ε σεκαμελέμε
ΑΙ. Αθορω ποιμών το τεον μέλοσ μό το καπαχές
Των άπο πως πέξασ καπαλείβε) ο φόθεν όδω ρ.
Αίκα ποι μώσους πων οί ιδαδό ρορ άγρον πος.
Α΄ ρυαπο σακίπου λα. μίχασ αίδι κώρέσκη
Τώνας άρνα λαιιών το δεπον διν όσε ρορ άξεις.

Θ. Λής πετί τῶν νυμφῶν λής αἰπλε Τῆθε καθέξας Δ΄ς τὸ κα΄ περτες του το κω΄ λοφορῶτε μυεῖκαι, Συείς δεν, τὰς δ' ἀιτας ίγων ἐντῶπ ρομωσῶ;

ΑΙ. Ου θέμις ὧ πειμαν το μεσαμβειν, τό θέμις ἄ μμι Συείς σεν τον πάνα σε δοίκαμος - ἦ γρο ἀ τοῦ χρας Τορ ίκα μεκμακώς ἀμπανίεται ἐντίσε το περός Καί οἱ ἀલ δριμεῖα χολα ποτὶ ξινὶ κάθηται. Αλλα το τὸ ἐνὸ κάθος ἄ κοι δο ἄ κρὶ ἀ εκ και πῶς ωνο κοι δος ἄ κρὶ ἀ εκ και πῶς ωνο λικᾶς τοῦ το πλέον ἵκιο μώσης.

9. Θησαυρός. Κέρας Ἀμαλθείας, καὶ κῆποι Ἀδώνιδος (Thesaurus, Corn of Amalthea and Gardens of Adonis), Venice, Aldus Manutius, August 1496.

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Folio. 286 leaves.

Bibliography: H 15493 * BMC V 555 * Firmin-Didot, 79-84 * OAME, I, 10-13 * UCLA, I, 9-11(8) * Manuzio, 9.

Copies: NLG (Kok. 115) * GLM * MSJT.
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Thesaurus, Corn of Amalthea and Gardens of Adonis is an incunabulum of lexicographic or encyclopedic character. It contains more introductory notes and laudatory epigrams than any other edition of Aldus: two prefaces in Latin, by Aldus and Angelo Poliziano, and two in Greek, by Scipio Carteromachus (Fortiguerra) and Guarino Favorino, in addition to four epigrams in Greek, composed by Poliziano, Carteromachus, Arsenios Apostolis and Aldus.

The edition was prepared in a time of political instability, under the imminent threat that Charles VIII of France would invade Italy. In his Preface to the *Studiosi* Aldus refers to the hard work required in order to produce reliable editions. He finds relief in the fact that apparently his readers have begun to comprehend the importance of producing quality editions, since even the *book buriers* are not so cautious any more and often reveal and entrust to him their treasured manuscripts. The material for the *Thesaurus* was compiled by Favorino, pupil of Poliziano, and alphabetically ordered with Poliziano's aid. Subsequently, Aldus added and corrected several entries after careful collation with other manuscripts. In the final stage of the work, he worked with Urbano Bolzanio, a scholar who possessed deep knowledge of Greek, as we shall see later on. Aldus himself chose the title, with its clear references to classical antiquity.

ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΕΎΣΤΑΘΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ Α΄ΛΛΩΝ ΕΝΔΟΣΩΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ, ΒΑΡΙΝΟΥ ΚΑ΄ΜΗΡΤΟΣ ΈΚΛΟ ΓΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ

ΑΤΘ΄. Ανω άττις, όδτι αδλαβής διώ α) ἡμὸ ὁ χαλεπὸς Ε΄ βλαβφος άκιου εδικείσως κὰ αὐτὸ τὸς ὰ τιὰ άτια, το πάσει το α΄ ὁ δὶ Μεθέδι ὁ τις • ἀπὸ Τό άωτὸ βλαπτω, άσω άρς καὶ ἄα

, Α άρελον, μι βότρο μέν αί εν αί αρτον εκ εποκτ . δο δί εν ά λα τα κρίτον, άλατακ ράτη τον . μέτα εὐπο ενώ, οριμι, έρμλα, ερμί, έρκους είρετως , οριας ερκίς είρετως , οριας κα το είρετως , οριας κα το είρετως , οριας κα πους είρετως , οριας κα πους είρετως , οριας κα πους μη διωαμένα οριας κα το είνετως μη διωαμένα οριας κα το είνετως είνετως , οριας κα το είνετως , οριας κα το είνετως , οριας κα πους , οριας είνετως είνετως , οριας είνετως , οριας είνετως , οριας είνετως , οριας , οριας είνετως , οριας , οριας είνετως , οριας , ορια

10. Theophrastus, Περὶ Φυτῶν ἱστορίας, Περί Φυτῶν αἰτίων... (Enquiry into Plants, On the Causes of Plants...), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1 June 1497.

Folio, 527 leaves.

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Bibliography: Renouard, 11(3) * BMC V 556-557 * Census, A 959 * Firmin-Didot, 87 * Rhodes, A 15 * OAME, I, 14-17 * UCLA, I, 17-18 (13) * Manuzio, 11.
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Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library * NLG (Kok. 13) * SLFL * KPL * MPL * PL.

Theophrastus's *Enquiry into Plants* and *On the Causes of Plants* are the first scientific botanical works and the only ones which remained in use throughout the Middle Ages. Theodorus Gaza had translated both treatises into Latin (*De historia et causis plantarum*). They were edited by Giorgio Merula and printed by Bartolomeo Confalonieri in Treviso in 1483. Extracts of the Latin translation of Gaza are included in the anthology titled *Pharetra doctorum et philosophorum* and published in Strasbourg (c. 1482), Nuremberg (1473-74?) and Cologne (1479?).

Aldus did not have the luxury to collate several manuscripts for the edition of Theophrastus; indeed he had to rely on one sole and damaged text, of dubious reliability. He apparently did not know that codices of these treatises were preserved in the Marcian Library (Marcianus graecus, n. 208).

By a strange coincidence, both the manuscript, and the copy which Aldus had made and used for typesetting have been preserved. Sicherl identified the original with codex Graecus 2069 of the French National Library, a manuscript which belonged to Aldus's friend Niccolò Leoniceno, while the press-copy is MS 17 of the Greek collection of Harvard Library.

Τουτουτήθε τη βίρλο στελε 20 μθρίων ον όμα τακού πάξι:.

Θεοφράσου περίφυτ ίστείας.
Τοῦ αὐ το θπερίφυτῶραὐτιῶρ.
Αριστά λος προβλιμαίτων. Τμήμα τω βιακοῦ κοιτω.
Αλεξαύδρου ἀφροδιστέως προβλιμάτων. Ειβλία δύο-Αριστά λους μηχανικώς.
Εταυτο θπερία τὰ τὰ φυστιά. Βιβλία δεκα τέωτα ρα.
Θεοφράσου τ μετά τὰ φυστιά. Βιβλίο ρ ς κ΄.

Eorum que in hoclibro continentur, nomina &ordo.

Theophrasti de historia plantarum,
Eiusdem de causis plantarum,
Aristotelis problematum,
Alexandri aphrodisiensis problematum,
Aristotelis mechanicorum,
Eiusdem metaphysicorum,
Theophrasti metaphysicorum,
Iibri quatuordecim.
Iibre unus.

7494

11. Ioannes Crastonus, *Dictionarium graecum . . . cum interpretatione latina (Opuscula* of Cyril of Alexandria and *De differentia* by Ammonius Hermiae), Venice, Aldus Manutius, December 1497.

Folio, 246 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 13(7) * BMC V 558 * Census, C 960 * Firmin-Didot, 92-95 * Rhodes, C 14 * OAME, I, 22-24(18) * UCLA, I, 22-24(18) * Manuzio, 18.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library * AOFL * NLG (Kok. 36).

The *Dictionarium Graecum*, edited by Marcus Musurus, represents an endeavour on the part of the house of Aldus to publish a Latin-Greek and Greek-Latin dictionary. The first part is a reproduction of Giovanni Crastoni's *Dictionary*, to which Latin entries with their Greek translation were added in alphabetical order. Crastoni's *Dictionary* had been printed for the first time in Milan around 1480 by Demetrios Damilas, on behalf of Buono Accorsi and his humanist school.

Aldus addresses the *Studiosi* (Firmin-Didot, 93-94) and informs them that he has collected a rich corpus of material in order to build a dictionary more complete than those already in circulation. He adds however that he needs the aid of more scholars in order to render each word "with exactitude", and goes on to ask: "How are we to succeed in such a project when there are no Greek books on botany, medicine or the seven liberal arts? We must wait for the publication of the great dictionaries of antiquity and Byzantium, such as the *Great Etymologicon*, *Suda*, and the dictionaries of Julius Pollux, Stephanus Byzantius and others which shall soon be printed in this house".

Constitueram Tu Tur () ήνων λιξικά, quæ dictionaria latine possumus dicere, no prius publicare excusa typis nostris, q copiolissima, emendatissima q; haberem.uese cum id per difficile esse cognoscerem non mihi solum negociis samilianbus ipe dito, & re impressora, sed etta expeditissimo cuiq, atq utriusq lingua, et liberalium artium, medicina quas estientarum omnium doctissimo, mutaui sententia. Quado q dem & nosse cuncta oportet, & dictiones omness na mi nveso tura interpretari, que nescio an quisq præstare nostro tempore præter unumaut alteru possit, quo & græ-cæ & latinæ litetæ licet meliuscule sesenabeat q multisanteactis annis, tamé adhuc iacent. Quis entm bene noust liberales artes quis é simplicium rerum, quibus i medicina opus est, doctissimus heu heu puder dicere uix lactucas brassicas, &qua uel cxcis se ipsam ostendit herbam cognoscimus quod ego cum cogno, & si nó pos fum non dolere uehementer, tamé non solum non succumbo dolori, sed sic acciv gor nocte die qua fuccuré dum nullo de uitato labore, ut speré breui futuru, quo& bonas arres omneis, & medicinam ipsam calleant homines ætatis nostræ, ualeato; studiosissimus quisq;, nis sibi ipse defuerit, cumantiquitate contendere.doleant, maledicant obstent. & quantum, & quandiu uelint, si qui sunt suidi, indocti, & bat bari. Essu Essu Ra A wis accipite nunc igitur quod pro tempore damus duplex uno uolumine dictionarium.ubi quid sit additum infronte librilicet uidere. si qua ité facta sint meliora, legentes cognoscite & expectate magnum etymologicum. Su dam Pollucem. Paufaniam. Stephanum. & cateros bonos, quos cura nostra ipres sos breui publicare est animus expectate deiceps optimos quosq; gracos núcare nostro decem Aristophanis comædiæ cu optimis commentariis excudutur , Su das item, omnesci in uno nolumine doctissimos epistola moxaggrediemur. Hermogenis rhetorica & Aphthonii progymnasmata & in eos ipsos & i Aristotele có mentarios necnon Galeni quæcunq extant in medicina. Sed quag certo scio di-Eturos plerosq; cum nostras has pollicitationes legerint ouidianum Illud, Pollicitis diues quilibet elle pot, id tamen fero aquo animo, quadoquidem uolété Chrifto Islu Deo nostro optimo maximo & hæc & musto maiora uidebunt, quæ paro,quæ molior. Vestrum é intereastudios & amici fautoresé; prouinciæ nostræ, si cupitis Aldum uestrum opem uobis & pereunti doctrinæ impressorio ære, sacilius allatum, are uestro emere libros nostros, ne parcite ipesa. Sicin, breui oia dabimo.

& mementote qd præcepit optimus Poeta Hesiodus.

Καὶ δίμου ός κεν δῷ καὶ μιὰ δίμου ός κεν μὰ δως.

Δώτη μόνης ἐδωκεν , ἐδωὶ ἐνοδοῦτης ἔδωκεν. Η

Da, tibi qui dederit qui non dederit tibi, ne da,

Dantialiquis dedit, at non dant non deditullus.

ἔρ ἡ ωδι.

Hocest

Σκι πίωι Θ το καρτερομάχου. Μεμομθύοις ξείνοιος ί λληνί ότο άνθεα ελώ τίνος, Η βίβλ Θ πο λληνιά Φθεριίαν πει ρέχει. Λ 4μων ώς πο λλοί θποεωθείσεων όμπει λατίμους. Γολλάκαμών ο άλδος είπε επς ο χειροτώπην.

Μάρκου Μουσυζου το Κριτός. Της ελίπειε μαίρεσκε πιθηνέτει ρα , πελασχώς Γλώους καὶ άθυχάτη ραύσου ο άμω 6 βλου. Της τα λαπόζως μυπάρω όπισο έροπου είν Εινών είν άμφου, για πέαρ Άλδος έφη. **12. Ωραι τῆς Ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας** (Hours of the Virgin), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1497, bound with *Breuissima introductio ad litteras graecas*.

Folio. 160 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 15(13) * *IGI*, 4870 * Rhodes, H 5 * *Manuzio*, 19 * Layton, *Add.*, 3.

Copies: Gennadius Library.

This small liturgical book is the first dated Aldine edition with a religious subject, and was probably published with the pro-unionist Greek public in mind. At the same time, it is the *editio princeps* of





this text. We do not know who edited it, but its typesetting is reminiscent of the *Psalter*, an edition by Ioustinos Dekadyos, who probably also prepared the one in question here. Red penwork was extensively used in the edition, as well as several headpieces which appeared here for the first time and were probably never used again, and initials of diverse shapes and sizes, the smallest of which are identical to those of the *Psalter*. The edition is also illustrated with a woodcut of the Annunciation of the Virgin.

The unique, unnumbered quire of *Breuissima introductio ad litteras graecas* which is bound together with *Hours* in the copy of Morgan Libray, has been bibliographed and commented upon by Evro Layton.

13. Urbanus Bolzanius, *Institutiones Graecae grammatices*, Venice, Aldus Manutius, January 1497/8.

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    4°. 220 leaves.
    Bibliography: Renouard, 11(4) * BMC V 558 * Census, U 66 * Firmin-Didot, 95-96 * Rhodes, U 1 * UCLA, I, 25-26(20) * OAME, I, 21-22 * Manuzio, 20.
    Copies: GL.
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The edition of *Institutiones Graecae*... was commissioned to the renowned scholar of Greek Urbano Bolzanio, or Belluno, by Aldus, who wished to produce a textbook which would lay out the rules of Greek grammar with Latin examples for the first time. Aldus dedicated the edition to one of the most eminent and inspired Italian humanists, the famed Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, also known as the *Phoenix* of science due to his love for letters and his deep erudition. After the edition was released, a commemorative medal was cut in honour of Bolzanio, as an acknowledgment of the extreme importance of his grammar textbook.

Bolzanio (Urbano dalle Fosse) was born in 1443 and died in 1524. He studied at Constantinople and followed the Doge Andrea Gritti to Venice. He completed his studies at Messina under Constantine Lascaris (Rosa, *Urbano*). He adored the Greek language and thus sought to pass on his knowledge to all those who wished to learn the rules of grammar and correct usage of Greek. On the journey of his return to Venice from Constantinople, he visited the main Greek cities and the Aegean islands. When he settled in Venice, he opened a private school centered on the teaching of Greek. He became well-known as a teacher, and his grammar was republished in Venice in 1512 and 1545.

14. Aristotle, Φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις (*Physics*), Venice, Aldus Manutius, February 1497.

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Folio. 306 leaves.
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Bibliography: Renouard, 7(5) * BMC V 553 * Census, A 959 * Rhodes, A 15 * OAME, I, 14-17 * UCLA, I, 13-15(11) * Manuzio, 23.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Founda-
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tion Library * NLG (Кок. 13) * MSJT * KL * SLFL * PL.

The Aristotelian works included in the second volume of the Aristotelian corpus published by Aldus had been translated into Latin and published independently many years before. For example *Auscultationes physicae* (*Physics*) had been published by Lorenzo Canozio in Padua between 1472 and 1475 together with the commentaries of Averroes. The most reliable Latin translation however was the one of Ioannis Argyropoulos (*Physica*) which was printed by Oliviero Servio in Rome *circa* 1481.

The Aldine edition was printed in two parts, and could have constituted two independent volumes. The first includes *Enquiry into Plants* by Theophrastus, and the other the *Physics* together with Aristotle's *Problems*, *Mechanics* and *Metaphysics*.

In his Preface, dedicated to his pupil Alberto Pio (Firmin-Didot, 97-98), Aldus praises "philosophy" and attacks the "pseudo-philosophers", who are dominated by ignorance, do not follow the rules of the church and are more like beasts than like humans as they have no relation to virtue; for the occasion, he cites Plato's saying "*The impure should not touch the pure*".



ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΈΛΟΥΣ ΒΙΌΣ ΕΚΤΩΝ λΑΕΡΤΙΌΥ:

? Ρισοτέλης μικομά χουνή Φαιστάδος, σαΓαρίτης · δ ήν ικόμαχος Ιὧ ἀπὸ ν ϊκομάχου τος μα Ελάον Θ΄ το ἀσκληπης · καθάφησον Ερμί σους Το ταβ τορὶ Αρισοπέλος ενός σαυς Είω ἀμύν ται

To maxedop waoshaia Foul pingseia st πνησιώ τωρο σ το Πλάτωμ @ μαθητ· τραυ λόσ τω φων ως ώς Φησι Τιμόθεος ο άθωναιος το των πρι δίων αλλα και ίχνοσης-ภ อินหาบง้างเร ภ หา คนั้ง หา กับ ขาหอน พา เหือ ชางา์ ชื่อรางา์ ชื่อรารั σο λακις ωτο το το πος το δε το πές το δε το πονος ετι τοριόν τος. WITE PROSVERENOV EITEN A PISOTEANO HIMÃO ATTENANTIOENA-Damper na wwhapia Sopraer Ta The uga . Proi d' Epula-περ αθωαίων, χολαρχησ έγλυετο τη ζη ακαθημία το λίις ξε φοκράτης. ελθόν τα δε αυτον και θεασα μθρομ νπ αλλω την ορο New, Exe St was Tov Tov dy Nuncionai next usp and upo τος άρακάμπον τα τοις μαθη τούς συμφι λοσοφάρ. οθεν πε בינים שו לו שופים של בינים יו שו שו של בינים של של של בינים παλεξάν βρφ, συμπαρών δελέτετο απαιέπει δι δε σλείους έρλουν το μομ και έκα γεσεν, είπων αίρχου σεωπών, ξε μοκ ρά τη d'éan λέραν. και προς θέστη σεωερύ μναζε τους μαθητοίς, ά-माय मार्थ हैं म निहा मार्थ हं कार कार की मार्थ कर के निहा में कि मार्थ है मार्थ है मार्थ कार

15. Aristotle, Περὶ ζώων ἱστορίας (History of Animals, including diatribes of Theocritus), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1 June 1497.

Folio, 472 leaves.

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Bibliography: HC 1657 * GW 2334 * BMC V 555-556 * IGI, 791 * Census A 959 * Firmin-Didot, 96-101 * Rhodes, A 15 * OAME, I, 13-14 * UCLA, I, 15-17(12) * Manuzio, 22.
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Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library * NLG (Kok. 13) * SLFL * KPL.

The third volume of the edition of the Aristotelian corpus included 24 treatises by Aristotle, covering various aspects of his research on animals: *Parts of Animals*, *On the soul, Generation of Animals* etc. The studies of Aristotle which form part of *History of Animals* had been translated into Latin by medieval scholastic philosophers and are included in volumes published under the title of Aristotle, *Opera*. One example is the edition printed by Filippo di Pietro in Venice in 1482, with the commentary of Petrus Antonius Sforzantes. The *History of Animals* had been translated into Latin by Theodorus Gaza (*De animalibus*), edited by Ludovico Podocatharo and printed in Venice in 1476 in the house of Johann von Köln and Johann Manthen. Five more editions of *De animalibus* were released by the presses of Venice; four of them cite Gaza as the translator while the fifth does not mention the translator's name (1492, 1493, c. 1495 and 1498).

One more time, Aldus dedicates the edition to Alberto Pio, and informs him that in ordering the didactic writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus he has followed the advice of Francesco Caballi of Brescia (d. 1540), professor of philosophy and medicine in the University of Padua (Thorndike, *Magical*).



ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΖΟΩΝ ΙΣΤΟΡίΑΣ

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Qu cirpis 2 wor more on take of istraous BE ord Saspertas es omosome en . Oson odpuso de odpuas. Ta de Cinbeta. iodes c anomorone pi . olop nyap, akeis प्रहादिक शिवाद्वारका . हे में में मुव्वका मान् עם, שון בי אועדיים ולא לצי שווים שור שווים בים שווים בים של NOV OF MEPH, a Man MEAN KA AFT TOSau med'ost po out me povoda ov me e repa me pre ze chaupisi da οίον κε Φαλήμοι σκέλος κου χερ κου όλος όδρα χων δ όθο ραξ. Τουτα γραυτά τίδι μέρη όλα, και έδιμ ου τον έτερα, MORA C. TOUV TOUS TOS ON O MOIONE PH, OU TRESTON EXT OMOS ONE POUV. OI-TRETREMOCK a, TREAU TOOK MANON EVICE OF ETE ga. Tautade, Tre poly, es Su The most con of the side of the och of the sunos as over inais o · σσωμη η του άλλων ζούωμ, οσατώ είλη, Ταυ τα λέχουλμ αυτοις. o Moisos po ws web oo o Nov Ext moos to o Nov was the moesor is the ERUSOP TPOGERASOV . TO SE, Tai Ta ply 851 . As apeges Serad v הברס צעף משנ באל לומיססטף זם צונסס ללה למני קיף. אברשים צים שי προιγορίνοι - κρίδεν είδη σλείω ιχούων θο ρνίθων . δαφέρειδέ, οξε

οδυ τὰ જ λ લ ω τ μο ρίου εν αυ τοί σ, πα ρα τα ε τη παθι μα τωμ εναν τι ω σεκε, οίου, χεω μα τος νι ο εμα τος τω τὰ μολύ, μα λλ οκ **16.** Athenaeus, Δειπνοσοφιστῶν Προλεγόμενα (Prolegomena to the Deipnosophists [Venice, Aldus Manutius, before 15 April 1498].

Folio. One leaf.

Bibliography: Bühler, Athenaeus * Charta, I, 339 * Manuzio 24.

Copies: Morgan Library (MA 1346-230).

Aldus Manutius had planned to publish Athenaeus's *Deipnosophists* already in 1498-99, as can be seen from his letter to Giovanni Battista Palmiere of Bologna: "Vidi in quodam Athenei principio versiculo decimo octavo Masurius non Munsurios scribendum est".

The edition was finally released fifteen years later, in 1514. However, one page titled "T Ω N A Θ HNAIOY NAYKPATITOY Δ EIIINO- Σ O Φ I Σ T Ω N ПРО Λ EГОМЕNA", was indeed typeset in 1498, with text printed only on one side of the page. It came to the possession of Beatus Rhenanus and bears a hand-written note by the owner: "Beati Rhenani sum. Nec muto dominum. AN. M. D. XIII, Basilieae".

This *feuille détachée* of Athenaeus was possibly gifted to Rhenanus by Johann Cuno, who worked in Aldus's printing shop and collected printing proofs, such as those of Aristotle and Theophrastus.

This edition of Athenaeus was probably delayed due to the fact that Aldus had not found a copy of the *Deipnosophists* on which to base the edition. It is known that Carteromachus was bargaining over a manuscript of Athenaeus on behalf of Aldus in 1505, and that in the spring of 1508 Paolo Canal had copied a manuscript of the *Deipnosophists* which belonged to Battista Egnazio; this was the copy used by Musurus for the preparation of the edition in 1514.



ΤΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΌΥ ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΠΝΟ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝΙΡΟΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΑ.

בשו בשל אמן אמן שונים ומון אמני דים בים לים אמני ממנידים du mair . neis an spear isocha c ourse yea porous ni mountais ni o xus ou pous a 's prava מסים או ואומס שו מו או מו שו שו של שו של של של של או או או או או או של שו של שו של שו של שו שו שו שו שו שו של שו A smorpe in integralente dos de properoy. Kai esty ino Abov oncomia minus OR Mis TOLOW TOP GRAUMASTO ON TOS TO ADJOU OR OVOMO A SHEAR OF HOS SEV ADJO SEL דוני ב אאוף חונו רבותי בלב מסד לבע דבף כן. ען דוני ב את לו אוסף סטיחת פיב פותם בל את שונים. אפו צ בות שמנו לפני סוניני דף בו או בוש ושור שו של שוש של שוי או שום בו או עבי πίρχελοχον πεια το παρρασή @ Πλούταρχος @ Λεωρίδας ο κλάος @ Αιμιλιανος de Aporte of othe master aine smoror copinosopo Dewila repappieros, and o kar יש שו של אסי שומי לבחים סענים בי ישי או צעיותם ח. הים אני שו של אסי או שאתם מו באה. שׁ סע משרים לעם לעלענק מסוף בו מידים בים דו אבנעמצע בער אמחמל פידו, מאל ה את דמושי שטל שאנו שאמשונה P איסישודב אני משונת ד בעונונים משלני מיחול שם ושלוו . בע אמיד 260 दिम मान्दार केंद्र कर के मार्क नक्ष मार्क मार्क मार्क मार्क मार्क का का का का का का का का कि कि 10 का क

Beuti Rhenami fum. Nec muto domini.

Bafilore-

17. Aristotle, Ἡθικὰ Νικομάχεια... (Nicomachean Ethics, Politics, Economics, Magna Moralia, Eudemean Ethics), Venice, Aldus Manutius, June 1498.

Folio. 337 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 16(1) * BMC V 558-559 * Census, A 959 * Firmin-Didot, 103-105 * Rhodes, A 15 * OAME, I, 22-23 * UCLA, I, 26-27(21) * Manuzio, 25.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library * NLG (Kok. 13) * SLFL * MPL * DPL.

Aristotle's Ethics (Eudemean Ethics, Nicomachean Ethics and Magna Moralia), like all the works of Aristotle edited by Andronicus of Rhodes in the 1st century BCE, were translated into Latin several times and commented upon by eminent exponents of the scholastic tradition. At least twenty-eight independent editions of these treatises are documented, more than the editions of any other branch of Aristotle's so-called didactic works. Among them, one could single out the Latin translations of Ioannis Argyropoulos and his interpretations of several passages which had been distorted by commentators and copyists of the Middle Ages. The first edition of Argyropoulos (Ethica) was printed in Florence by Niccolò di Lorenzo, while Argyropoulos was teaching at the Accademia Fiorentina that is, around 1480. His subsequent translations of Aristotle were printed in Paris as part of the work of the school of Sorbonne, and the last was published in Rome by Eucharius Silber.

The Prologue to the fifth and last volume of the Aristotelian corpus is addressed once more to Alberto Pio (Firmin-Didot, 103-104). Aldus confesses that, for this edition, his intention was to concentrate all the texts by Aristotle translated into Latin by Leonardo Bruni: "In order to locate them", Aldus continues, "I searched in Rome, Flo-

rence, Milan, and from Greece to Britain, indeed I left no stone unturned! Above all, however, I did a thorough search in Venice. After completing the volume, I waited for another six months, in order to pinpoint flaws. This endeavour should prove, I hope, how many difficulties I had to face, that is, ingratitude, envy and ill will in my effort to publish a reliable edition of Aristotle".



Indeed, ten years had to pass until 1508, when Aldus was able to locate the suitable manuscripts in order to publish Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetorics*, which he included in the edition of *Rhetores graeci* (Greek Orators), 1508-1509.

18. Aristophanes, *Κωμφδίαι ἐννέα* (*Nine Comedies*, with ancient commentaries on the work, edited by Marcus Musurus), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 15 July 1498.

Folio. 350 leaves.

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Bibliography: HC 1656 * BH I(21) * GW 2233 * BMC V 559 * IGI, 790 * Census A 958 * Firmin-Didot, 103-111 * Rhodes, A 14 * OAME, I, 23-24 * UCLA, I, 27-29(22) * Chantry, Scholia in Plutum * Ferreri, Musuro, 93-111 * Manuzio, 26.
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Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library * NLG (Kok. 12) * GLM * MSJT * KPL * LM * FMDL * PL.

Aldus entrusted Marcus Musurus with preparing the *editio princeps* of the nine *Comedies* and the accompanying ancient commentaries. Only two scholars of the Renaissance dealt with the *Comedies* of Aristophanes: Leonardo Bruni, who rendered a number of lines of *Plutus* into Latin in prose, and Rinucci (Rinuccius de Castiglione), also known for his translation of the *Fables* of Aesop. According to Cristoforo Buondelmonti, who was present at the scene, during the time Rinucci was teacher on Crete, in 1416 or 1417, he told his audience a story which included a paraphrase of *Plutus*.

The edition of Aristophanes was based on a codex of Bessarion's collection (Venetus V) and includes *Plutus*, *Clouds*, *Knights*, *Acharnians*, *Frogs*, *Wasps*, *Birds*, *Peace* and *Ecclesiazusae*. Musurus collected the ancient commentaries from several manuscripts. In his Preface, written in Greek, he testifies to the enthusiasm of the members of Aldus's press, who worked for the simultaneous edition of Aristophanes's works and the last volume of Aristotle's *Complete Works* (1495-1498).



ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΊΝΟΥΣ, ΠΛΟΫΤΟΣ.

+ KachwoikeTHO.



Δόξη δεμή δράμ <u>ταυτα</u> το κεκτη μένο.
Μετέχενανά χκη τόμο ορά πομτα τ κανθρο.
Τό σωμαρο βεούκ έφ τον κύειος Κρατείν όδω μωμ, ά πατόν έωνη μενόν. Και τοῦ τα μερδή, τοῦ ται το δελοξία

I appare inран воофорых Later vo Emplé משנה של של מש של בי שונה WE TENDA EN TOU IN OF GUOIDE ile To Baumaros maige The שמשושים של בשוקים на, станфотей 24. ной שניום של אות שות של של מבשב SHAWTIN . ATTOU & of Stouds מ דונט ממצאו , מין מ פו של אם בידע אני ב של משני שניים αργαλίον, χαλεπον. δύσ ROZON · SUSCEPTO · EIPH · नया कि कार हवा है वेरे ताइ, वेरे द्व REOV. MILLETTE JOTHO TO A es p. wo mode Aya me פור של בי שוקים וו שונים של שונים חום אנוסוס, אם לעקבף בל בצ שני שני שני שני שני שני עם די र्राष्ट्र . कंट बंगा का दिया άπνω.

Ωζού. γου d'a mapelale

אנמ דבלס אור אלי מין ביר שנשן > อราว่า, Zdo de กลา รา รูปลง กลายาการคุณ เทเกา การคลบร. ผลิส คิ ก "เมาออุล องอนน์ 200, ผลาายอ 244 การส λιφε. Δουλογβρέθου. γαλετον όντος φίσει το δουλδίζη, χαλεπώτες γίνε, έαν κανονίζη τις de and in บาทคุย รณี Minde an Truitou oige a portes Town To our as as spaporous Sign Tou Secured אסוב של שמאמושי מידון בם שם שי שי דמנו דם ועל בידו מוף ל הבף במפונים . מו בידוציון מימואון יהף סב วอ ทางเพาแบบ Husou วณคาพคราที่กลายสมุทิก เก่าของสมุทิก Avepos เก็บานขนางแลาน ส่งเกเอง ที่มา m A F a Ma na poorwing ane xoly. Tan manay. Fappoorwood an od control 2 xet in your Form की, को की द के महाविधेन को व विकार मान कि कि कि का मान की की की की कि की का की कि की कि का की कि की की कि की क ชาย p อบีม corte , าน Bixาระน ชายเององ เมลา เพื่อ คลียอpop, อบาท หลังานเป็น ค านะ @ cortos s เร็ตเรื่อ, ขณาย ขนาง เพลา เพลา เพลา ไร อายุเลาอร วาว อีเอาลมาวิท ยัลมาอปาวิท อังหอด อบหนัส ในคุณ านั้ง เผล A see of Liveros To or whator in a sor awing i autor. Tou i wow pupo auti To por wip now pulpope κοι Και πούτα μθο δη πούτα. και πούτα μθο δη του τον έχει τον Τοπορ. ές ιδι το χήμα απο θετικόν πλο πρώτης δι ανοίασ . Τα δε λοξία. Το άπο λλονι Ατοι το λοξίω ίαν πεμπορ-τι. λοξά χαιρ μαν Ιδύεται ό θεός. η τζο λοξίω πορείαν ποιου μόμο, ό αι το ταιρ έδι το θιλίο.

Hac funt gracorum uoluminum nomina, qua in Thermis Aldi Romanı Venetiis impressa sunt ad huc usq diem sprimum octo bris M. H.D. Nam cû quot die aliquis peteret qui nam greei libri formis exculi fint, ac quanti une attainim quod uel ipfe feire cuperet, uel ad amicos id cupi de effagitates mitteret, pertædebat toties idem feribere occupatiffimum hominem.

En grammatica.

E rotemata Costantini Lascaris e regione cui interpretatione latina Eltem de literis ac diphthógus gracis Elté introductio quadam

E rotemata Cóstantini Lascaris e regione cú inter pretatione latina. Eltem de literis, ac diphthógis græcis Elté introductio quædam docens etiá sine magistro splabas dictios græcas posse legger, si parus si manusculis seripas characteribus Eltem quo nam mo do litere & diphthógig græce ad nos ueniante. Eltem abbreutationes si plurime, quibus frequentissime græci ututur. Eltem Pater noster E Aue Maria E Salue Regina E Credo in unum deu patrem omnipotétem. Eln pricipio erat uerbum Elte aurea carmía Pythagoræ Elté pecepa Phocytida utilissima omnia cú expositione latina e regioe i uno utolumine uédum marcellis quatuor. rammatica V rebani utilissima od declinida nomina, pronomia, & uerba omnia tá lingua cói, al alturuer. Attica lonica Dorica Acolica cú regulis optimis & necessaris in utilis se se su protectiva quando de la compositione de caterio sorationis pubus. Ventur no minors marcellis quatuor.

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anonifmata qua the fuarus & cornucopia appellatur dictionum difficulum, & maxime uerborum, qua apud Homerum ex commentariis Eultathii. & aliorum grammaticorum per ordinem literarii. © Aleli Dionyfii de indeclinabilibus uerbis © Declinationes uerboru fum & co, utilifiima © De iis qua federe fignificant. © Quot fint qua ire fignificant. © Ex feripits Herodiani excerpta de magno uerbo feitu dignifilma. © De iis qua federe fignificant. © Quot fint qua ire fignificant e Ex feripits Herodiani excerpta de magno uerbo feitu dignifilma. & rara inuent © Ex feripis eiudid deductiones uerborus difficulter declinatorum.

© Cherobofici ad eos qui in omnibus uerbis regulas quazunt & fimilitudines. © Eiudem in quibus ob malefonantiam attraha turn-litera. © De anomalis & izequalibus uerbis fecudum ondemen alphaberi e Herodiani de inclinatis, & encliticis & coencliticis dictionucis. © Ex feripis to ferentos feculationum de literature e feculationum decepta. On ins grammatici de idiomatic Ceufathii de idiomatis qua apud Homese. El fede idiomatis, ex iis quaz a Corintho decepta. © De feemininis noibus, qua definunt in o magnum-ofa in unouolumine. Vendútur minimo, nummo aures & femis.

Grammatica doctifima & (pace aliorum dixerim)omnium utilifima. Theodori Gaze uir ingenio & doctrina uel cum antiquif fimis conferendie. Eluídem de métibus pulcherrimum opus. Ttem quatuor libri A ppollonii de coftructióe. Omnia i uno uolum mis Veccunt aures quammones.

innis conterendi de Etiliaem de metious putienterinium opius etem quaturi nori Appolioni de cotituctioe Omnia i uno uolu mine Vencunt autro nummo, nec minoris.

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hermenas liber unus, fue fectiones fex CPriora refolucoria libri duo CPofteriora refolutoria libri duo CTo vica libri octo.

CElenchi libri duo O és i uno uolumine uédútur aureo & femis

CElenchi libri duo. O és i uno uolumine-uédútur aureo & femis.

In philosophia. Primum uolumen.

Vita Ariste relis p Laertiú & philoponú & uita Theophrasti. Aristotelis physicorú libri octo CDe cœlo libri quatuor. De gñatióe & corruptióe libri duo. Meteorologicorú libri quatuor. De múdo ad Alexádrú liber unus & Philóis iudæi de múdo liber unu.

CTheophrasti de igne liber unus CDe uétis libre unus CDe fignis aquariú & uétorú icerti auctoris. Oes i uno uolumine-uédiur ad minumá númis aureis duobus. CSecundum uolumen.

De historia aialium libri octo. C De pribus animaliú libri quatuor. De gres qua ialium liber unus CDe aialibri tres. De lenssu il ber unus CDe memoria liber unus. CDe gomo & uigilia liber unus. CDe fomniis liber unus CDe diurinatione per somnium, liber unus CDe memoria iliber unus. CDe gñatione aialium, libri que. CDe longitudine & breuitate uitæ liber unus. CDe riu uctue & seocetute, & respiratióe, & uita & morte libri tres. De fipiritu liber unus. CDe evoloribus liber unus. CDe rium liber unus. CDe rium libri unus. CDe rium con uolumine minimum pretium Venetiis nummi aurei duo & se con rium libri unus. CDe rium volumen.

CTertium Volumen.

mis.

Theophrasti de historia plata se, libri decé Œ Eiusché de causis planta se libri sex. Œ Aristotelis problematum sectiones duo dequadraginta Œ Alexandri aphrodisses problematu libri duo Œ Aristotelis mechanico se liber unus. Œ Eiusché metaphysicoru libri quatu ordecim. Theophrasti metaphysico geliber unus. Oés in uno uolumine minimú pretium nummi aurei, tres

CQuartum Volumen. A riftotelis magno se moraliú ad Nicomachú patré libri duo. E Ethico sead Eudemum discipulum libri octo C Ethico se ad Nicomachum filium libri decé. «Occonomico se libri duo o Politrico se libri octo océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri octo océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri octo océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri octo océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri octo océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri docto océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri docto océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri docto océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri octo océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri octo océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri octo océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri octo océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri octo océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri octo océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri octo océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo. Politrico se libri octo océs i codé uolumíe-mímum priú númi a urei duo.

19. CATALOGUES OF ALDINE EDITIONS

Bibliography: OAME, I, Pinakes IX, X, XIV * Manuzio, 30, 74, 118.

In total, Aldus published three Catalogues of his Greek and Latin editions, the first in 1498 and the others in 1503 and 1513. These are essentially announcements of forthcoming books: *© LIBRI GRÆCI IM-PRESSI* and *LIBRI LATINI*. At the end of each catalogue there is a colophon informing the public that the books were printed at the Thermae of Aldus Romanus, in Venice.

The first Catalogue is divided into sections entitled *Grammar*, *Poetics*, *Logic* and *Philosophy* and includes all of Aldus's editions, including the two liturgical books which he released, the *Psalter* and the *Hours of the Virgin*, although these are not placed in a different section.

The second Catalogue (1503) is of special interest as it also advertises Greek editions of other presses of Venice and Milan, whose books apparently were available from Aldus's bookshop. These are, for example, the *Great Etymologicon* (Venice, N. Vlastos and Z. Kalliergis, 1499), Simplicius, *On Aristotle's Ten Categories* (Venice, Vlastos - Kalliergis, 1499), Ammonius Hermiae's *Isagoge* (Venice, Vlastos, 1500), and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes (Florence, edited by Janus Lascaris, 1496). These are obviously unsold copies of printing shops that had gone out of business, which Aldus intended to promote to the Greek-speaking cultivated public of Venice and elsewhere.

LIBRORVM Et græcovum, or latinorum nomina, quot quot in hunc usa il em excadendos carausmus, seire uos uo lummus. Vib etam quadam de libru singulus, unquam eo rum aroquenta discunar, us inde quid singulo quoq libro tractatur, facle co gnosatis. Quod ideo factum est, qa, cum unduq ad nos scribano, qui nam libri cura nostra except sine, se facilitatione, and alter, proper summas occipationes nostra anostra propier summas occipationes nostra anostra propier summas occipationes nostra anostra su nostra esta nostra esta con la constanta de l

LIBRI GRAECI.

E votemata Constantini Lasatris tribus libris, in quibus hæc habentur, uidelicet. De quatuor grammatices, 95 octo orationis partibus. De formatione uerborum per tempo ra, or modos omness. De accentibus, et punctis, er loas tonorum. De præpositionum anstructione. De figure. De anomals uerbus. De affiratione, et exilium uoca-lium, et alphthongorum, hac pruso libro. De confru thone uerborum, libro feundo. De nomine, et uerbo abunde admodum, libro tertio. De pronominibus feuns dum diuersas linguas, & quemadmodu eis poetæ utuntur. Que omnia habene latinam tralationem propter gracarum literarum rudes, ita tamen, ut & amoueri, & addi latinum queat pro minfanq arbitrio. In medio latina tralationis habetur Cebetis Thebani tabula, or oratio qua dam ad Virginë tim grææ, q latine,ne charta,quæ super erat,periret. Inest er nostrum Opusalu de literu,er diphthongs græas, ut possine, a præceptore ærene, uel per fe ipsos disære principia literarum grææru. I item queadmodum literæ, or diphthongi græcæ ad nos ueniant. Abbreniationes etiam graca. Oratio dominica, go duplex salumno ad . B . Virginem . Symbolum Apostoloru. Enangelium dini Ioannis - Carmina aurea Pythagora. Phocylidis documenta. Omnia habent latinam interpretatione. Inest etiam perbreus ad hebraiam lingui introductio. Nec non de Dialectis er græce, et laune, ubi multa digna lectu dicurur.

C anonismata, que the savus, & Cornucopia appellatur di titonum dissiliatum, & maxume uroborum, que apud Ho merum ex commentaris te llashis, e a diorum grimataco rum per ordinem literarum. Aclis Dionysis de indeclinabilibus urobis. Declinations uroborum sim, ere o, utilissima. De sis, quue sedere si quissiante. Quo si sine que ire si gnisiante. Ex scriptis Herodisi excerpta de ma gno uerbo sciu dismissa, e rara i uentu. Ex scriptis et us dem deductiones uerborum distiante declinationes. Charobosci ad cos, q in omnibus uerbo regulas querunt, & si multandare, riletta De anomalis, e mequalibus uerbos se successiva de consensativa de inclinatis, e concluias, e concentral phabeti. Herodiani de inclinatis, e concluias, e concentral phabeti. Herodiani de inclinatis, e concluias, e concentral phabeti. La se serve pub se concentral phabeti. La se serve pub se concentral phabeti. La se serve pub cherobosci de sis, que a climantur, enclusias que a desimatis e tuliantous, que a concentral de tentininis nomanibus, que a desiment in o magnum.

C rămatică dolhifima, cr(pace aliorum dixerm) omnium utilifima Theodori Gaza utri ingenio, cr dolrima utel că ansiquisfimis conferendi - Eiufdem de mensibus pulcher rimu opus - Item quawor libri Apolonii de constructione. D iltonarium gracum copiossimum secundum ordinem alphabeti cum interpretatione latina. Cyrilli opufculum de difficibulus qua mariato accenu, mutause significatum, se cundum ordinem alphabeti cum interpretatione latina. Ammonius de differentia difficum p literaris ordinems. Venus instructio, eyo denoi attones presestorum multum significatur vis . Significatur vis . Index oppido gopiosus per literarum latinarum ordinem, quod est loca diffionaris latini opiossissimente free omness graca decre, eyo mulaus etiam multu modis. Illud etiam significanum existemus, plurima una per emedant, plurima item additu, num iis cuta poetata suna si cus un contast suna si cuta poeta suna si cutam mo si cuta poeta si cuta poeta suna si cuta mo si cuta poeta suna si cuta poeta si c

jurina insperima moper emecan, purima item datin, num ijs guu poetua fune Aiteram in fine additum.

Theorifi eeloga triginm. Hessal theogenia. Eiusselin sum Plamuda ex latino libro, qui Carb diaten, sententia pa ranetica distrib. Caput De inuidia. Theognidis ma garensic souli sententia elegiaca. Sententia peruntes mo nossilio per apini ex marti poetis. Aurea Carmina py thagora. Phocylida poema admonitori uniliss. Carmina Sibylla erythraa de Christo 185 V. Disserta

A ristophanis cum antiquis commentarys Comcedia nouem-Plurus. Nebula-Rana Equites. Acharnes. Vespa. Aues. Pax. Coconatrices formna.

M usei poetæ antigssimi De Herone,& Leandro amantibus opusalum cum interpretatione latina.

L ogica Arifotelis, 9d organum grææ dicitur, ubi habentur hæc. Porphyrif introductionis, fiue uniuerfalium liber unius. Predicamentorum Arifotelis liber unius. Perihermenias liber unius, fiue fectiones fæx. Privem refolu toriorum, libri duo. Posteriorum refolutoriorum, libri duo. Topiarum, libri octo. Elenchorum, libri duo.

Primum uolumen in Philosophia.

v its Aristotelis per Laertis, & Philoponum, & uits Theophrash. Aristotelis physicorum libri octo. De cœlo libri quature. De generatione, & corruptione libri duo. Meteorologicorum libri quaturo. De mundo ad Alexis drum liber umus. Philonis tudas de mundo liber umus. Theophrash de igne liber umus. De uentus liber umus. De lapidious libru umus. De signis aquarum, & uenturum incerti sudoris.

Secundum wolumen.

De historia animalium libri octo. De partibus animaliù libri quantor. De gressi animalium libre unus. De animaria libri quantor. De sons di libre unus. De memoria libri unus. De sons di libri unus. De sons di unimatione per sonniù libri unus. De dominis libri unus. De dominis libri unus. De lognadine, go breutate uita libri unus. De lognadine, go breutate uita libri unus. De lognadine, po breutate uita libri unus. De partibus, et morte libri tres. De sprina libri unus. De mortus libri unus. De partibus sudutivibus libri unus. De xenophanis, zenonis, go Corga opinio nubus, libri unus. De trentine callori libri unus. De controli de pictus libri unus. De vertigne callori libri unus. De schopius libri unus. De dooribus libri unus. De schopius libri unus. De dooribus libri unus. De controli unus. De dooribus libri unus. De controli unus.

T heophrast de historia plantarum, libri deam. Einsdem

G regorii Nazanzeni opukulum ubi philofophatumata emanangust in tota uita experus eli hetoicis. 60. (Etuidem uirginitata carmen, hetoicis. 70. (Etuide do cumeta uirginibus, hetoicis. 524. Etuidem indute de manaren percenta uirginibus, hetoicis. 524. Etuidem indute de manaren percenta uirginibus, hetoicis. 524. Etuidem indute de manaren affectibus, hetoicis. 526. (Etuidem committeratuma de manaren affectibus, hetoicis. 526. (Etuidem committeratum la longuagitonem de repositionem, hetoicis sai. (Infomnium de Aparen affectibus, hetoicis. 526. (Etuidem committeratum la longuagitonem de repositionem, hetoicis. 526. (Infomnium de Aparen affectibus, hetoicis. 526. (Etuidem committeratum la longuagitonem legis. 526. (Etuidem legis. 526. (Etuidem

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habent latinam interpretationem e regione ad guezatum literatum tudium utilitateiquat tannen tualaio fixua libuentineparae a guezo, potert pro arbitrio fou oli
medio tralationila latina in fingulia quaternionilosi habentu aliqd hiftoriae eusgelica fecundum lozanem prota osationeile guezzella literatura del hiftoriae eusgelica fecundum lozanem prota osationeile guezzella literatura del regione del regione

20. Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων, φιλοσόφων, ρητόρων, σοφιστῶν (Epistles of philosophers, orators and sophists, edited by Marcus Musurus), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 17 April 1499.

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4°. 408 leaves.

Bibliography: HC 6659 * GW 9367 * BMC V 560 * IGI, 3707 * Census E
64 * Firmin-Didot, 119-123 * Rhodes, E 1 * OAME, I, 26 * UCLA,
I, 30-33(24) * Belloni, Lettere greche * Ferreri, Musuro, 112-131 *
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Manuzio, 31.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library * AOFL * NLG (Kok. 44) * DPL * LPL * MSJT * GLM

* OML * KPL * PL.

As a literary form, Epistolography could be seen as the child of Rhetorics, a discpline which encouraged letter-writing as an exercise in style. The collection of *Epistles* compiled by Aldus Manutius includes letters from the correspondence of several philosophers, sophists and nine orators, divided in two sections. A great number of epistles, covering diverse subjects such as love, agriculture, fishing etc., has survived, thus making it possible to source valuable information on the life and work of the writers themselves as well as on the everyday habits and activities of all the social groups of Athens.

At the end of the first part of the edition, which is dated March 1499, Musurus informs the readers that this compilation does not exactly correspond to his original wishes; rather, he had to follow the manuscripts of the twenty-six letter writers which reached his hands, often in bad condition, such as the one of Alciphron. Aldus addresses the second part of the edition to Codro Antonio Urceo, a famous teacher of Greek at the Gymnasium of Bologna; the volume is dated 17 April 1499.

Σψέποσ. ΘεοΦυλακτος. △ 10180Ho. Диродечно. Kpoutho. Airiavog. Avazapors. Πλωσων. Aweras. A CISO TEXHO. Ever wisho. Προκόσιοσ שלאו ששוני Diog Josof. Θεανώ· Azizandpos. MEZIATE. A Vois. I work pol THO . Mija. Aparos. MOVOTORIO. Anippwi. A HUORESTOS. האסג. Hpanagro. DINOSPATOS.

ΤΕ το το λων αθροισις ανόβουν πανούφων,
Οὺς ὁ πρὶν ἐβλάς Ησεν ὡσ ρόδα χεόνοσ,
Ων ρει μιλι ανθοσ, κ δε το μύρου χάρισ,
Μενό δι αρκωσ εἰσ πνοιω δύωδιας.
Καὶ Κρο σοφων χαρ, κ μιλι ακμικ το βίου
Γ τηνωσ τα ριλθεμ. κ δε Κρο λόχωμ χάρισ
Μενό διαρκωσ εἰς ἀειμνης ον κλίος.

21. Dioscorides of Anazarbus, Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς... (De Materia Medica) and Nicander, ἀλεξιφάρμακα (Alexipharmaca), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 8 July 1499.

Folio. 178 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 21(4) * BMC V 560-561 * Census, D 260 * Firmin-Didot, 123-124 * OAME, I, 30-31 * UCLA, I, 35-36(26) * Manuzio, 33.

Copies: Alexander A. Onassis Foundation Library.

De Materia Medica by Pedanius Dioscorides of Anazarbus (first century CE) is one of the major works on pharmacology, possibly the most important of Antiquity and the Middle Ages. It records all the remedies and medicines available, all edibles and beverages, ointments and minerals together with botanical cures, spells and amulets. The volume includes the *Alexipharmaca* of Nicander of Colophon, a poet of the second century, who composed a poem of 630 hexameters on antidotes to venomous bites.

Aldus dedicates the *editio princeps* of these treatises to the Venetian patrician Girolamo Donato and confesses that he is overwhelmed by panic due to the simultaneous preparation of so many editions. Nevertheless, he hopes to overcome all the obstables with the aid of Divine Grace. Aldus complains to Donato about people's ingratitude and the ills of current times: "[...] unless he be still persecuted by the misery which follows the Greeks and all those who try to support the Greek culture".

De materia medica was translated into Latin in the Middle Ages. It was printed as early as 1478, together with Pietro de Abano's commentary, at the press of Johann von Medemblick, in the small Italian town of Colle.

TENOS NIKANAPOY.

IKANAPON Towney The A 10 vo or of a ond ing cont me את אידועום אסט שסנואסבעס מו דש אסט פועמו סאס די ואינסס בעו אני שבף ποικτων, ίε ράα Φικών αὐτον το κλαείου απόλλωνος, έκ προχόνων निक दिन्य कार है देश देश है के के देश है के के के के कि ελου φησί, τον έρρε λε κλάρου νι φοεωτα πολίχεν. hλα ρος de τόπος ชีราง, ลำชาวิพิพงอง ระ ออร โยอง ซึ่ง Фиогу ลบาริง ชิลแงสเอบอบ ราย พังวุพง, สเจา ลา ปุรุ ยุพิล ราย พง-עישובסו ס ספתו עמוסט אפסינט של ביצעור דם מפדום אים א א א אבאסט, דוא לטידונים ע ביצמודום הרוצמים μου. ος πατελθη ύπο ρωμαίων. Ε προσφωνει λέχων ού τως. Τ δυθρανί βης, ος κληρορ ล้ผิ ภายาคูณาง ใญปร , Kinhv 9. แล้งนี้แบงรอง ล้องบัลางรู บันงอง อุดบัสง A สิลมิเทย จะอ ρίζαν επείελυον ώρακ λίος. Είσιπ λισιακίκητε περιΦρονος, Ιω πελοπείς Ι πωνδάμιζα Фангров ск в тей актых на обурациаты ней од а хано шогносто, шоти ийнта Φντων idio τητοσ.

NIKANAPOY OHPIAKA'.

Εία περιμορφάσ τι σίνη τολοφώια θηρών Απροϊδή τύξαστα, λύση θέτεραλκία Ικόδιο, Βας τ Φονδυτικών και όλε ข้างอุดแผงเล่าสร้านที่ พางอาการ เลา เลา E முகாலிக фவாக்கையும் . எம் A வி கால் படி நூர் வுற நூலில் Βουκείδος πάλερρια ορωπύπος, δύπε καθύλω Η κοιε αρο πρόνου πι αλλι επό λοιου οδύμπα,

D Novo . อุลอังธุร องเ วาว ลือล หละ การ องลื ה בע להסיקה עשק אל עשופם במסו אמו) לב במחובו מני דוני מני מששים אל מש משונים ול שששים ול מששים אם שונים לבל עם אים אושיאים עונים אשל προσφιλέσαπε έρμπσιαναξ

वं क्या में के का माने वा में हिंद की मानकार का में किया के किया मान के की माने WY Onot nate me i Peans & One iw The How Kai The Brad Cac. or o puia de, Toutes Qui Tus ลมสมองเมาน นี่เอเม ลมีปอลร อังกิของ Ta รังกุมเองในอิร วู้ ผี พระ เมลียอร & อังออุลเล นี้ อุท τα ολέθρια. γέρου ολοφωία είδως. έπεραλκέα ή τω αντισαθή έλκω λέτο όδη μι Quiny ขึ้นลมาเลม Tot Tart, ดีเอง Thu Departian อุเกา โออนง Tois อำเกาแลง ← อินทอ์ Too. เอง צושלים דום. דעני לצ בחוזמן בף ומו סטון ביולמי. יון דעני סף פידולת יון יציות בני על המונים. Φίλερμη σιαναξιδέρμησιαναξ Φίλος Το Φιλητή και ενώριμος Ιώ. τον του δε τά πε στιά γιραπη αι, καὶ το λεγομθρα ασ τω ερομερίω. ου διώσται δε Νίκαι δροσ μικμο νουόν του του διά ελληρο σφων κοεως, διά γε γεν Φιλκτίω πρε σβύτερον έναι Νικανδρο ש מטידסס פני ה Ninauspoo עבעויא דעו דו בּףעאסמימת דון של אר מד בסף טידבף סט, בידור שוף די εικολοφωνος πριητών ές το οῦ οῦ τος έται ρος Νικανόρο, ο μώνυμος πραγοτέρο 🕅 त्रेण में क्या का भारा भेड़ कारण कि. के के कर दे, जम्म कार्य कृति का का कि मार कि का कि का भाराम, En of nei por of impauppias oix dovesto kai o Ninaudoos, ?nawtho Arthud Xov.

22. Aratus, Φαινόμενα (*Phenomena* etc. in *Scriptores astronomici*, two volumes, Venice, Aldus Manutius, [17] October 1499.

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Folio. First volume, 186 leaves, second volume, 194 leaves.

Bibliography: BMC V 560 * IGI, 8846 * GW 9981 * Firmin-Didot, 128-131 * OAME, I, 26-28 * UCLA, I, 37-38(27/1-2) * Manuzio, 35.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library * AOFL (cat. no 12).
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Aldus only published one treatise of astronomy, and not as an independent edition, but as part of the collection which circulated under the title *Scriptores astronomici*. The edition includes the *Phenomena* of Aratus together with Theon's *Commentary on Aratus* and the *Sphere (Sphaera Graeca)* of Proclus. The work of Aratus of Soli, which he composed at the incitation of Antigonus Gonatas, had become part of the teaching curriculum of the medieval monastic schools of Western Europe. Aratus did not have specialized knowledge in order to deal with questions of meteorology but sourced his material from the writings of Eudoxus of Knidos: description of the constellations (stationary bodies), enumeration of the planets and characteristic signs of the weather.

The popularity of the work is not so much due to its content as to the poetic force of the text: it opens with a hymn to Zeus, similar to the hymn written by the Stoic philosopher Cleanthes, while Aratus imitates the language and style of the poet Hesiod. Apparently, the curriculum of Universities in the 16th century included the class of Astronomy, since the edition in question was republished fifteen times.

Aldus dedicates the book to Guido Ubaldo I da Montefeltro Duke of Urbino, a famous collector of manuscripts, possibly because the manuscript on which the edition was based came from his library.

ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥ ΣΦΑΙΡΑ.

I sei azwos noi wozov.

בשי את אפידט דם אנסעצ ה לומעו דף מעדם או אינוש בקיב סב דעו. דע ין שופת vottos. Bordos Mão, o da moving parvollord ing mood the investigan of Must vori jodia mer po as parod is mod po nue repor cel ouros es plus

To por Tived in pl ? OTO OUL BRING py This word por as Dave por chevois as par TOV EVOLUTON & TOTALLEN TO ACPATON ENERVOID DANE PON ENCUL & TOTAL TOTALE או באו צחב סישם ש לשם חם אסו סעום ושל שו דם הפול סף דול אבי דעו.

Περι σφαιρας πυπλων.

ד בי לני דו ססמוףם צערא , בי ועל פוס הצמון אסו בין אסצים בים לום ד שואשיו הצמן ואסו עו of Tovo autous mass Exert & Roome. Got Bayndoin undois aparinos, Depiros Tpo wined. ionuepivod. zenuepivod Tpomnod. avragamnod. apamnod pop 3, Bulled ם עוצאוסס ב מוא טבע פצ אושטע אונו אנע ס ב סמ שים אושעס דם ספול סי דס מו אם כר סואונים כי יועון ס วิ บราริ ก็ม ฉาหาล นุยิลมอ เมื่อ. ผ้า พัง หล่าเมือน 🥆 สรรุ , ราง ชีบ ดม, รีว ลมลาวภา เลานม, ลำ. יום בשונים בינים בל בשונים בל בשונים בל בשונים בל שונים בשונים בשונים בינים בינים בינים שונים בינים שונים בינים בי หม่หลอง ชีริ่งง o Bopdorares T มา าก พลาร ราส papo เป็น หม่หลองเอ ซึ่งในอาปรองร จังลเอา อ์ หลางดู Dewgerau, agent Durega แรก รูย์กลี) ซอ ทองแระ dio หย่นลา Je ซาทอง. โดย ידם ספול פידים בשק שונות וצעות בר מונים וחו בדי שונים ובאון אונים ובאו בידים בחים בחים בחים בידים בידי יושי. Χ לעבף וים ל לסחות ל איני של לאים ופחשים שום ל ליש של אתוצ אף מסף בשל שיות RAWINT The vant to Roopes you ploke it 15000 ploce o HA 105 The Xes עוב פועל לסשוני אופרטובי או או עוברו בא ועלף שמ סשני ביו לפן ביו מעדבר עוצ שורב אפרטו באמ χέτη ή ήμε ρα με τα μούτοι τω χόμε ριν) βοπήν ελείτη πρός με σημβείαν παρεσε θων ό ήλιος θεωράττω, άλλ τω βπάτερα μέρη τρέπετου που πόσμε. Ο δικέκλη του & έχοι προ тыков. Антиритиво від попаво того в жараминов той ритий. С єфатом τον ορίζοντος καθέν σημειονικό όλος υπήλον απλαμβανό μοροσ, εν ο τα κεμθρα τάρο ส่งสำหนาทิรท์แล้ง ซีรีเง สอ คุณาณ. 😤 ๆ พรอสุดทุนอื่อง รับงน ที่ และ เรอร เมือง ซีรีเง อ์ เอหนะ คร ของ. เริ่มรูว ซินะหูเอิยสง อ์ โดอสหอง, เมล์ พรอง วิ อ์ง สดอง ชโม หุ้น เชื่อสม อันหสง อ์ สดินทา אנסו. דעל דענה לי שינה אינה אבו לפו זיסמו בשאמדפוב אסוש לבשפודטינ בות בל ד מברשו לבסבשל क की वर्ण मोड़ और मि कुद्र पेक की, कि की कुंधर महिवत का vivolat और एम प्रकेश है। महिवाद कि की נוסקום תלעתם בליו פו שחוף כ ל דטל שמת מות דום, סון אסוימסו אם אם היה שנים לות הוחום.

Διά τι πεντι μονον παραμηλοι εν τη σφαίρακυκλοι. רבידה א הצמעות מו עם וומו בשנים בו בשנים וועם וומו בשנים בשנים בשנים וומו בשנים בשנים וומו בשנים בשנים וומו בשנים ב μω παραμηλες Ενοιο δ κλικαθικάς) κμιρ ως πρόσ αλ Δησιν κυκλ) παραμηλ) πζι मारादे पृष्टि परा विश्वावत वृत्त्रभाषा

Spi PETOU

23. Nonnus of Panopolis, Μεταβολὴ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Άγίου Εὐαγγελίου (Paraphrase of the Gospel of Saint John), [Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1501].

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    4°. 56 leaves.
    Bibliography: Renouard, 261 (12) * Firmin-Didot, 186-190 * Adams B
    1896 * UCLA, I, 98(70) * Manuzio, 53.
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Nonnus of Panopolis, Egypt, is better known as the author of the last great epic of antiquity, *Dionysiaca*, a poem of 48 books and 25.000 dactylic hexameters. The subject of the poem is the journey of the god Dionysus all the way to India and his triumphal return. Its surviving parts allow us to conclude that the style of the poem is identical to that of *Metabole*, or *Paraphrase of Saint John*, also written in poetic form.

Aldus's choice of publishing Nonnus's *Metabole* or *Paraphrase* poses a number of questions as, contrary to what was announced in the 1503 Catalogue, neither a Latin translation of the text nor other poetic works of Nonnus were published by his press. In addition, there is no title page, prologue or colophon with the exact date of publication. It has been argued that Nonnus's *Paraphrase* formed part of the unfinished fourth volume of *Poetae Christiani Veteres*.

Aldus had declared that he would publish the latter volume together with a Latin translation thereof; however, this project never materialized.

nonnoy point of panonoaitoy metaboah tof kata idannin arioy eyappeatoy.

χρονος Ιω, ἀκίχητος, οἰ ἀξξήτω λόρος αρχί,

1 σοφυὴο χωετίζοο ὁμήλικος, ἡὸσ ἀ,
μήτως,
Καὶ λόρος αὐτοφ√το θεοῦ, φωσ ἐκ
φαίεοο φωσ.

Παζος είω αμοβισος απορμονι σιώ θρονος εσρη Kai Jeos vilizeve Drogelw rons ou Too an apxing A cral would se more Jew. Text provino opeou. TI GEORS I TO DOG NO THORO NOW WE TO THE OF OW TO S. Απνοα και πνείοντα και δρ 29 σύνου δίχα μι θου, O user E pu zo Top E one noù E juputoo har ai ail i Ζωή πασ μέλουζε, και ώπυμό ρων φαίος αιδρών. Zων πάνζοφος και αλλυσανί δε κόσμω, Ouparious or not ne Boraid your oros airn Kai 26 pog ou just us de mexiaso Bola d' oi 26 zum E out Tie specionors of new dos asog of invio. Κήρυξ αρχερόνου βαπί ισμανς διωομα δ' αὐ ίφ. OGOO I wairing, 20000000000000 6 wish A yer sor was som o got un do som is exty Map Tuzilw, iva maivres choo nigunoo iwi ο εθω τίς τι έχριοι, άτο μονα, μη το καιώ σμου. Ouplie xerog Elw vospor palog, an iva monior raow aia A JEdor Steps por ai Sepeava, Kai paleos meone Ad Dog anno Vuro 10 pavein, Zawli watreilw cit zowy Jeost zwor, 296. και γαρ έου μέα παζος έτη τυμον αρχέρονον φωσ M ouvoyluns 25 209 ner, ou air pa mol vou no Jaipen, TVAV μα lexous an lion no Town of av of our air of as Ερχομείων cuti γαιαν έίω δ' ci άπει θε ικόσμω, Απροϊδησ, και κόσμος απείει ος έσκε δι'αν το. και λόρον οὐχίνωσκον έτσή λυθα κόσμος άλήτης.

aaa

24. Bibbia [Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1501].

Folio. One leaf.

Bibliography: Renouard, 261(12).

Copies: Bibliothéque Nationale de France, Ms. Gr. 3064, c. 86-87.

Aldus was a pioneer in several and diverse areas of publishing, such as the systematic publication of ancient Greek texts and the establishing of editions in small format. Another of his groundbreaking ventures was his involvement with Hebraic typography. Is should be stressed that he was the first and only printer of Venice to have published texts in Hebrew during the whole period of early printing. He intended to publish a *Polyglot Bible* in the three biblical languages: Hebrew, Greek and Latin. This project did not materialize and the first *Polyglot Bible* was in fact published years later in Alcalá de Henares, Spain, under the patronage of cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, in six volumes (1514-1517).

From Aldus's *Epistle* to Conrad Celtis, dated 7 July 1501, we know that he planned to publish the *Polyglot Bible* in a three-column layout, starting with the text of *Genesis*. Aldus even sent Celtis proofs of the layout. The fact that he was interested in printing Hebrew texts is evident from two of his editions, and the *feuille détachée* of *Bibbia*. He had also used Hebrew type in the citations of Poliziano's collection, published under the title *Opera* in 1498, as already mentioned. Words in Hebrew script were also included in the edition of *Hypnerotomachia*. In 1501, at the same time when he was planning the Polyglot Bible, Aldus included an introduction to the Hebrew language (*Introductio perbreuis ad hebraicam linguam*) in the edition titled *Rudimenta grammatices latinae linguae*, which he compiled himself.

Regarding the publishing of bilingual (Greek and Latin) liturgical texts, there was a precedent in the edition of the *Psalter*, published by Demetrios Damilas on behalf of Buono Accorsi in Milan in 1481.

ראשית כרא אלדים רשמים ואת תארץו ורארץ חיתה תחו ובחו וחשך על פני תרום ורוח אלרוים מרחפת על פני חמים ויאמר אלדים יהי אור ויהי אור וירא אלדים את תאור כי מוב ו ויברל אלדים בין תאור ובין תַרושָרו וַיִּקרָא אַלדִים לַאור יום ובחשר כַרא בילח ויחי ערכ ויחי בקר יום אחר ו ויאטר אלדים יחירקיע בתוך חמים ויהי מבריל בין מים למים וועש אלרים את חרקיעויברל בין חפים אשר מתחת לדקיעובים א אשר מעל לדקיע וירוי כן ו ויקרא אלדים לרקיע שמים ויהי ערב ויחי בקר יום שני ו ניאטר ארדים יכור חפים מתחת חשמים אל מקום אחד ותראח חיבשה וירוי כזוייקראאלדים ליבשה ארץ ולמקוח חמים קרא ימים ויראאלדים כימוב ו ויאמר אלדים תרשא הארץ רשא עשב בזריע ורעעץ פרי עשח פרילמים אשר זרעו בו

על תארץ ויהי בון ורוצא

תארץ דשא עשב מזריע זרע

N appi empinore o Brog
por of photo, ATHUYAV. HO yas
hv dopapo, had ana rou
ore biason & ore ope emot

vwTig abvarung my wina कि हें का कि שם ב שונים זפני על פר זפן בין בי ביני פרנים אבוים פא דש ששי או בשניב שם ששר אן בילצי ספנסקים Dosomuan", my sexuelous obeos apané σονΤεφωρι CapapiconT8 σκοτ, nika red obeorropais whip , Crò on opos end ALO VUKTO, NE YEHE TO E COUTE POR, CHE YEVE TO прыничераціа. Калент овгогушиви THE SEPEWHALE DEVENT USE POS, C ESWAR xwpigov apaneo" udanos nudanos. ne noi u o obsorps sepewal, of the xwester apracus Το υδωρος το υπρκάτο το σερεωμαρος. El apares Trusteros y emapo Tr sepeco Mazog. Cleseve to &T). NEKa ZEGEN BEOSTO SEPEWHOR PPEROV, NI E DEVE TO E CONTE POR NIE Here pomposi in poa Moripa. Kai eint BPANS es ouvagazin Midu, a WABHTW HEHPA, Chere 20 & TWS. Chenane ou obeos אנונונו בשו שוני ב דמסטקשום דינלעד שיי ב Kaker Barawas Acider o Beof ot ka AOV, El erate o de or. Cachonato i yi Bo Taku ze pou aus i pop aus pu, ni ξύλον Kapminon Jelan Kapmon Klychow von BOMOSOTH & roans pua au poù crawrol è migh zar. ni e sepe zo z Twr. ni e Enveluen i mi Go Takun xeprovani popani pua x1 HEVOS, NI KOLOHOTH, NOW EUXON KOOM mor se igh x apres & some ema au socie

Npricipio creauit deus cœlum,& ter ram, terra auté erat inanis & uacua,&

tenebræerant super faciem abyssi, & spiritus domini ferebatur super aquas, dixitgideus fiat lux, & facta é lux . et uidit deus lucem, quod effet bona, & diuisit lucem a tene bris.appellauitq; lucé diem , & te nebras noctem, factumqiest uespe re & mane dies unus. Dixit quoq; deus fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum, & diuidat aquas ab aquis, & fecit deus firmamtum diuifitg; aquas quæ erant fub fir mamto ab jis, quæ erant super fir mamtu. & factum é ita, uocauitq; deus firmamtu cœlum & factum est uespere & mane dies secundus.

Dixituero deus , congregentut aquæ quæ fub cælo fút in locum unum, & appareatarida, & fa&tú é ita , & uocauit deus aridam ter ram, & congregationes aqua y ap pellauit maria. & uidit deus qu eét bonum, et ait germíet terra herbá uirentem & faciétem femen , & li gnum pomiferum faciés fructum iuxta genus fuú, cuius femen in fe metipfo fit fup terram , & factum é ita. & ptulit terra herbam uiren tem, & faciétem femé iuxta genus

That edition was not wholly religious or liturgic, but served rather as a grammar textbook, as the *Psalter* was suitable for teaching Greek, especially to non-native speakers.

25. *Poetae Christiani Veteres* (*Christian Poets*), first volume, Venice, Aldus Manutius, January 1501.

4°. 236 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 24(1) * Firmin-Didot, 186-190 * Adams, P 1685 * OAME, I, 34-36 * UCLA, I, 42-44(31) * Manuzio, 42.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

The first volume of this collection includes poems by Prudentius, composed between 395 and 405, the Christian theologist Prosperus, Cyprian, Saint John of Damascus (with Latin translation), Epiphanius, Cosmas Indicopleustes, bishop Mark and Theophanes.

The Prologue of Aldus is once more addressed to Daniele Clario (Firmin-Didot, 187-188). Aldus expresses his bitterness over the ill will of some people, who have accused him, because, after he decided to publish the works of Christian poets, he asked Orthodox Christians and virtuous people for help, in order to correct mistakes and erroneous interpretations of the text, and omitted to approach the malevolent, of which there are so many. Subsequently, Aldus reports that his own workmen threatened to desert him, something that thoroughly disheartened him. Finally though, with the help of Jesus Christ and God Our Lord, since he has printed the text of Prudentius, whose manuscript was found and sent to him from Great Britain (where it had lain hidden for eleven centuries), Aldus believes that the volume will be well received by the Christians and especially the inhabitants of Ragusa, where Clario taught.

In March 1501, members of the Council, among which A. Veneri and M. Sanuto granted Aldus a ten-year copyright of the poetic compositions of Christian authors.

Taánnoy to tamaek hno téie Thu Geolonían. Ó th ákpoetixíe,

Ευεπήνο μελέεων εφθμνια του το λιγαίνα Υ ια θεξ μόρό πων είνειο πικτό μενον Ευχθονὶ κοὶ λλουτα πο λλουα πή ματα κό σμου. Αλλάνα έντε ρασ έλεο τώνος πόνως.

> Σωσε λαίν θαυμαγυριών δεσσό της, Υ΄ γρον θαλαί απις κυ μα χερσώσκις ποί λαι. Ε΄ πών δε τε χθείς έκ πό ρησ, τρεί βου βατήν Πόλου U' Эμσιν ή μεν, όν ημπ έσίαν, Ι΄ σόν τε πατρεί, παὶ βροπίς, δοξαίζο μίνο.

HVETHE JASHPH MAGLENH, 26 you, Σαφως άφλέκτως ζωρεαφουμείη βαίζο. MIZENTA MORON THE BOOTH of DES. Ευασ το λοιναι νηδιω άρας τη σ ποί λοιι Λ Jουτα πικράς, ου βροφί δοξα ζομίν. ε λαξον ἀς τὸρ το νο κολί & λό 29 ν, Ελ Αόντα παι σαν τιι ἀμαρτίαν μα 29 ις, Σαφώσ το νιχρον ές σο έσσ δυ συμπα Αί Σε ασαρχάνοις ελινίον, όν γεγη θότες, É idor τον αὐτον, κοù βροσον, κοὶ κν ρίον. Νού σον περς ύμνουσ οίκε των, δύβρ γι τα, Εχθρού τα πεινών τιι έπιις μενίω όφον. Φ βρων τι παντιώπ α της άμαρτίας, Y TOP DEV and VINTON ESHELYLICHOUS אמושופ עובא שולטים, דו שמו שו דו כ שו שבעם. Ν Ιμφησ παναλ γνου τον παινόλβιον 6 κον. Ιλάν τωβ νέν ή ειωμενό ου γερος, Αγραμλος εκλονέτο διξωίω Τόπω, Ταξεν μελωοδο σάν τε την άσωμα των Ανακτα χρισον, άσωδρωσ σαρκο ν μίνον. Y Loug and swy spandy wand ay xia, Τελεί κωθ' κριώσ ίζ αὐυριφού τυ κό ρης,

26. *Poetae Christiani Veteres* (*Christian Poets*), second volume, Venice, Aldus Manutius, June 1502.

4°. 222 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 39(17) * Firmin Didot, 188-190 * Adams, P 1685 * UCLA, I, 63-65(46) * *Manuzio*, 61.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

The volume includes mainly Latin works of Christian poets such as Sedulius, cardinal Arator, Proba and others, and the Greek *Life of Saint Nicholas*, together with its Latin translation.

Once more, the Preface of Aldus addresses Daniele Clario. Aldus explains that "Despite my wishes I have not been able to send you this volume of Christian poets in time, even though it was printed in my *Thermae* a year ago. The reason for this delay were the obstacles I faced, which I even thought were caused by evil spirits, due to my inspiration to turn to the works of Christian poets instead of more attractive books. However, in the end I was able to overcome these obstacles and thank God for intervening so that these holy books could be published, after laying hidden for a thousand years; thus, students will be able to read and embrace these works, and this shall shatter the myths which these children are fed from their tender age, regarding the true facts..." (Firmin-Didot, 188).

QYAEHOCLIBRO CONTINENTY R.

Sedulii mirabilium diuinoru libri quatuor carmine heroico. Einsdem Elegia, in qua finis pentametri est similis principio he xametri.

Eiusdé hymnus de Christo abincamatione, usq adascésione. Inuenci de Euangelica historia libri quatuor.

A ratoris Cardinalis historiæ Apostolicæ libri duo.

Probæ Falconiæceto ex Vergilio de nouo & ueteri testameto Homerocentra, hocest centones ex Homero græce cum inter, pretatione latina.

Opusculum ad Annútiationem beatiss. Virginis grace cum latino in medio quaternionum omnium.

Lactantii Firmiani de Resurrectione Elegia. Eiusdem de paffione Domini carmineheroico. Cyprianus de ligno Crucis uersu Heroico. Tipherni deprecatoria ad Virginem Elegia. Oratio ad eandem uersu heroico.

Oratio matutina ad Deum uerfu heroico.

Sancti Damasi de laudibus Pauli Apostoli uersus hexametri. Elegia in Hierufalem.

Ode in natali die Saluatoris.

Indie palmarum.

Depassione Domini. Ad Christum ut perdat Turcas.

Epigramma ad beatiss. Virginem.

Vita.S. Martini episcopi a Seuero Sulpitio profa oratione.

De miraculis. S. Martini Dialogus, abeodem.

Detralatione S. Martini ab eodem.

Vita.S. Nicolaie græco in latinum a Leonardo Iuftiniano pa tritio Veneto.

27. Constantine Lascaris, *De octo partibus orationis* (also includes Cebes, *Pinax*, Pythagoras, *Golden Verses*, *The Gospel of Saint John* etc.), Venice, Aldus Manutius [1501-1503].

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4°. 37 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 262(15) * Firmin-Didot, 329-330 * Adams, L
227 * OAME, I, XXIV * UCLA, I, 53-55(39) * Manuzio, 54.

Copies: Gennadius Library.
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This was the second edition of the *Epitome of the Eight Parts of Speech* of Constantine Lascaris and the fourth consecutive edition of that same author by Aldus's press. Aldus also published other essays, on politics, philosophy and grammar in the same volume, as he had done in the first edition of the *Grammar* (1495). These were Pythagoras's *Golden Verses*, a Salutation to the Virgin Mary, an introduction to Hebrew grammar and others, such as a poem of "Phocylides" (*Poema ad bene beateque & vivendum*).

This poem was clearly not written by Phocylides of Miletus, who flourished in the sixth century BCE but by a forger of the first century BCE, who published a didactic religious poem comprised of 250 hexameters under the name of the ancient author. The reception of Pseudo-Phocylides was impressive if one judges from the fact that the work was published at least forty times in Greek and Latin until the late 16th century, alone or as part of a larger edition

In an introductory note addressed to readers Aldus confesses that he rendered the *Grammar* of Lascaris into Latin with great effort, and that he added the *Pinax* or *Tabula* of Cebes to the edition, in order to encourage young students (Firmin-Didot, 330).

Constantini Lascaris Byzantini de octo partibus orationis Liber Primus.

Eiusdem de Constructione Liber secundus.

Einsdem de nomine & uerbo Liber tertius.

E iusdem de pronomine secundum omnem linguă, & poetică usum opusculum.

Hæcomnia habent e regione latinam interpretationem aduer bum fere propter rudes, ita tamen ut & amoueri, & addi possit pro cuius cunquarbitrio.

Cebetis tabula & græca & latina, opus morale, & utile omni, bus, & præcipue adulescentibus.

De literis græcis ac diphthongis & quéadmodu ad nos uenlat

Abbreuiationes quibus frequentissime graci utuntur.

Oratio Dominica & duplex salutatio ad Beatiss. Virginem.

Symbolum Apostolorum.

Euangelium diui I oannis Euangeliffæ

Carmina Aurea Pythagoræ.

Phocylidis Poema ad bene, beate quiuendum

Omnia hæc cum interpretatione latina.

Introductio perbreuis ad hebraicam linguam

28. Stephanus Byzantius, Περὶ πόλεων καὶ δήμων (On cities or Ethnika), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 18 March 1502.

Folio, 182 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 39(16) * Adams, C 1137 * Firmin-Didot, 238-239 * *OAME*, I, 55-56 * UCLA, I, 57-58(41) * *Manuzio*, 56.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

The breadth of Aldus's publishing "philosophy" is demonstrated by this edition of Stephanus Byzantius, a geographer and lexicographer of the sixth century CE. This dictionary, initially titled Ethnika, with a heavy emphasis on language and history, spanned 51 books, reaching to the letter Σ ! Of this vast work, only an epitome survived. According to the Suda, it was edited by the grammarian Hermolaus, who dedicated it to emperor Justinian. In order to compose his dictionary, Stephanus drew on related lexicographical works, such as those of Dexippus and Diogenianus.

Aldus dedicated the edition to Giovanni Taberio of Brescia (Firmnin-Didot, 239; *OAME*, II, 340). He confides to him "Words fail me as I try to express my joy upon knowing that in the great city of Brescia the most cultivated citizens have given themselves to the study of Greek literature under your guidance. I am overcoming the reservations I had when I first took up the publishing of Greek works, and I often wonder, as do my friends, at the fact that Christians have been combatting the infidels for so many years and this has not hindered the cultivation of Greek letters not only in Italy but also in Germany, France, Pannonia, England and Spain".

STE ANOY BYZANTIOY PEPI ΠΟ ΛΕΩΝΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΩΝ.

Τὸ ἄλφα μετά τοῦ βήτα.

βαι, એλις φωκικὶ, ἀχὸ βιθέας chinhs τη σ ἄβη - κέκλη ποιι δι ἀχὸ ήρωος ἄθα - ἡρωδιανὸς δέφη σην όλι - ὰ ἄθας, όπο έθνος ση μαί κῶν Δjà - p αὐό μοιον . δίρθη γρ Φρούειον i σαιρεί ασ · p δι έθνικον, δορ βίτης, καὶ δερ βαίος, ώς σιδήτης, καὶ πυλήτης, ώς δίλοβή συτοιι, κὸς τοῦ σίδη, καὶ πύλη ώς καὶ ἀλσεται, είχρε του σίσε χους του Λειώς έχους αν. Θα πό εθενικό πλαθασός του, αλυθω πό εθεξ θνικόν, αλυθαθος χές αλυθούς. Εθεκλυκόν, αλ λυ βειί σε ειωά αλυβείας πό κατα τικόν κός βα σαλείσε «Αλαλυβάλυθος», και αλοταθές πουλ αφρτακε, αρότοικλος, ούκ αρότοιοξος - κά δε άδαι, πό λις Φωκεύσιν Ενθα Ιερον άπο λ-สอนน. สถา การ อุนคระบท เรียน ของ คราม ภาพาธะ ในว่ ๆ ชาวิชา คนสาระโอง หลูอ การไอ ต่ สินภ ผูชที่ระรีร พัน สำหา ชอด ชาวิท เพลย์ อนศ์ การ หลุดสามพิธ ต่ ค่ายุธรัด Bib การอ การสามพิส อนภาร หน่ายยง คนสามพิธ เล่น สำหา เพลย์ อนภาร หน่ายยง คนสามพิธ เล่น เล่น คนสามพิธ หลุ อนภาร หน่ายยง คนสามพิธ เล่น เล่น คนสามพิธ หลุ

Α βακαξίνοι, πού λις σικελί αδ ούδι τόξωσ, κή παιροξυτόνωσ. νή ή ποιραλή γουσκ δή δι-Φοίπε, ώς ήρωδιανός ού Τι σκαιδικά η ωπερί ούδε τέρων λέγο δ' είναι πό λιν καρικίω, ω δύρειν οὐκ κοτωκ Ακμίν στιε λων δε μοίρά τις δεί. γ έθνικον άβακοινίνος, ώς άκρα DONTINOO, O'OUN &H. JES OINE NOV. METOL TOOV ที่ของ . ภะองที่ของ . คือเทาะอัเของ . กะอเทาของ.

สำคัญที่เอร : สลาพย์เบอร : คาน์เบอร . A Bailes, h ยาตอเล : พร ที่อาอาธาร เพ สำห

Αδυτέρφ περ. 1005, Νόσφον άδαν li-δι δίμ-πω, πριν αδαντίδα κίσκλησκον θε οὶ ἀκον έόντες - πω, πότε ξατύνυμον δίβοιαν ο ασό τοντες τως, γιο τες και το του το του ο Εοός ανό μασούν νιν (διο εκλή, θιν) αςς άδαν 295 300 αρτίκου, ή του ή ου ποσετόν νος, και αρεμούσης, ών α άρισο κράτης - το έθν πιον ο μωνυμεί δι ήρωι, ώς, μαν . Αραπιλός άχας os. Jás. davaos. Nonpos. is i Thunpos dinn ος : βως, σανασς : Λοκρος : Η η πουκρος συμε Λαξον - δε Λίνε τας Λάρ. - Α κπτικον , άθαθτει ος : Η γοῦ κυρέ, ου , Η τών άθαθτων · οῦ το το το Ο νὸς άθαν Ο ου, ώς - Α, βυξαντίου , άλλ ὁ σ βόας, βοαίτειος . Το διαίτιος έθνικον, σων έ 5 Ελον άπο Μώνιος οὐ τῷ ὑαντίου όγχη -

τοίο· ἢ παρὰ λόγον, ὡς πυαίπον ἀγλαὸν ὑόν· θουεῖ δ'ἀχὸ τοῦ ἀβαίνιος είναι το ἀβαντιάς, ώς αρό τοῦ έλικώνιος, έλικωνιάς. δλύμπος, όλυμπάς · σήλιος, σηλιάς. φ δι άβανίζε, άχο της άβαντος τενικής, ώς AINENIS, THE EXINENOS GISWVOS, GISWVIS. acionos, acionis ious de nace à acarlias, άχὸ τοῦ άδαντὶς παρήχθη, ώσ άχὸ τοῦ λέ σβος, λεσβίς, λεσβιάς άχοιις, άχοιικς. Αροιϊάσων άπεπλων μαρτυρά η δησο τερφ λόγφ αρε τε άδαντιος, άδαντιός, τ άδαν Για Η κυκόν 'όπος κημιτο Βουρ βαρι κιω Ιοπίν το Βάς μ, άμαντία έκλν Ην και ροων το μος κ, κοτική περινήσει. Νοιλί μαχος ή μαντίνιω, ώς λεον ίνιω αὐ τω έΦν · και ἀμανίνιω ώκης κόρι κίνν Α βουρνος, πό λις και χώρα ἄκρα τῆς παρε ανῆς · ἡρόδοτος δὲ οὐ τεπάρημ Φυσιν ὅτι ἀ-Capvis λέτεται.ἀΜὰ καὶ es os · ἀβαρνείς τους καιτοικο ώτας · ώς παρα το α lupres, α lupress, κά ω ρος καμμερες, άλος, άλιες, τέλμιωσος, τελμιως ες, περί ων άρκου του. τα Λιμούος, το, Λιμονες, πιες, ων ερμασιτες + δι άβωργις, ου δίναται έχει γε ουθπον Εθινκόν τα γουρ είς μης Αληθέ τῷ 1 της τη της το κέμυμμε μορίτης - δι μακεριδός, της γα Αλευ διαν μη γα Αλυδιδίς, αχά γενικό προδέλ βον Εμωταίος δίομι λίκους οἱ ἀσίας πεεί η γή σει, να μ. Ιάκου άκου θησά Φησην. Εφορος είν τη τός μπί η λείει κληθιώ αι αὐ πω άχο τῆς εν Φωκιδιά ઉαρνίδος, υχό Φω τω αχοτης ετ φωλιστα αναφτήσης, της φα ος, Περκότην δ'ής Τη, νι αδαρνί δης ήμα, βό εωταν ή όνα το ΰτο δι σοφοιλίξο ύτο μυπμα Uζων , 15ρεα του άφροδί την αμορφον εν λαμμάκω τε κού (ων τον πρία σου άποιον β (μος, κωι των χώραν άποιονί ολε κωλέσει-κ κωττο ποιραφ βοραν, κοι άβοιρνίς κωλά Νιμετού πουροφό βοραί, κου ά βουρνίς κμιλά του. έξι ή και πό λις και λό ρες και άπορα έθρητου. Α) το θτι τι άκορπίς, ώς παρα αρτιμισθέρο του γκουγράφοι το έθνικον, άδουρ και τι άκορπίς με το έθνικον, άδουρ και τι άκορπίς το άκορπίς το έπουρα το έπουρα από το και διατικού διατού το θε μιδύ τι τι άκορπίς το και διατικού το βιστικού το και διατικού το και διατικού το και διατικού το διατικού το και διατικού το διατικού το διατικού το διατικού το διατικού το διατικού το διατικού διατικού και διατικού το διατικού διατικού και διατικού διατικού και διατικού διατικού και διατικού διατικού διατού και διατικού διατικού και διατικού διατού διατού διατικού διατικού διατού διατικού διατού διατικού διατού δ άποισιν, ώς άπο λλώνιος ὁ τε χνικός ἐν τῷ περί παρουύ μιων ΦΝΟΙ, Αλέ βους εἰκὶ παιδ τα τοῖς ἐιδιὶ τοῖς ἀσίασ νομποικοῦσιν · ἀλ λόβια δε τῶν δύρω παι ων · οὐ γουρ ἀχὸ πό λεως, ἡ ἀκ μου, μοιτὰ τοῦ τον ἀνόμας των τὸν

A A ii

O catcus m Cofins. A barnis Utmus lam Saci pipilis papus ubi na A parnis us Abarnous

29. Julius Pollux, Ονομαστικόν (Onomasticon or Vocabularium), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 11 April 1502.

Folio, 116 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 32(1) * Adams, P 1787 * Firmin-Didot, 238-239 * *OAME*, I, 57-58 * UCLA, I, 58-59(42) * *Manuzio*, 57.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

This is the first edition of the Dictionary of Julius Pollux of Naucratis which was published both independently, under the title *Onomasticon*, and bound in a volume with *De urbibus* of Stephanus Byzantius (n. 28).

Onomasticon is a collection of Attic words of major pragmatic interest, which was ordered thematically and not alphabetically. Pollux sourced his material from older lexicographic works such as the one of Aristophanes of Byzantium and other, more specialized dictionaries of medicine, botany, theatre etc. The thematic units which make up the dictionary are science, law, religion, warfare, and subjects related to private houses, customs and traditions of marriage, family relations, cooking, music etc.

This edition of Aldus, along with other *editiones principes* of his, was republished by Bernardo Giunta of the House of Giunta in Florence in 1520. The *Onomasticon* was not printed by any other European press for the following two centuries and was only released in two volumes in 1706 by Jo. Henricus Lederlinus and Tiberius Hemsterhuis in Amsterdam.

TOYATOY HOAYAEYKOYE ONOMA ETIKON. BIBAION HPOTON.

IOU XIOG TO AUD SUNG KOLLING AG xailer xaiets.

Παι παζοσ άγαθου, παζών δί σοι ατή μα ματ ίσον βασιλεία το noi or ofa. The di Goias, & uci લ માર્ગ મેં જીમ લાગે જે અગમાં , મારા દિશા લાં છા ! દે માર્મા દે તેલે જાદલ તેલે હોયું . દે મારા કો મેં દે દાર્સા છા ή σωτη εία της οἰκουμοί η ἀρολά, ἔτω-γ દેν એ γι τί σοι προρ βιλλωπ Ιαν συμία λεμαι.ονομασινον μοι δίν δει \$ 616λίω & ετήγραμμα. μιωύα 3 δω τι σωώνυμα ώς ύπα κλά 1/4 διω α δαι, 6 δίς έμας α δί לאאשוניות שבפנאסדו עון דמע של בי דסססטים ו είσ ωλί βοσ, ὁπό Gv είς μο λλουδ έκλογήν. ού μοί τι ποίντα τοι δνόματα τοξειάλη-Φε τουτί ε' βιβλίον . ού δε χο' Ιω πάντα ράδιον ενί βιβλίω συλλαβάν . ποίκσο μαι δε την αρχην άφ ών μάλισα προσή κα του δύσε βάς, άχο των θεων. του ή άλλος ἀσ διν ένως τον επέλ θοι, τού ξομεν. Εξέρω G.

KEPAAAIA TOY PPOTOY BIBAIOY.

Ν τού ο τῷ βιβλίω, ἀι τε θεωΝ καὶ δαιμένων ονομασίαι, @ τῶν கால் விர்ப்தாயல், xoù ர்கமாத் יושרו אני אינו אלף מדונידעי. ασιλικα ονόματα. B. 3.

Τ άχοις, καὶ βραθυτί τος. Β αφησονόματα.

€.

μώρων, και βαναύ ων δνόματα. E VETHEL ad , Kai TE chartion.

κ αιρών δνόμαλα, κή τη αινούσ συμβαι νόν πον, και τη κοιδίκοι τον γγοριών. ζ. Ο Ικου, και πων οι αυ τω, και τερι αυ τον γι grouciar.

Ν κών ονόματα, καὶ όσα τερί ναι ν. ο ερίων τε και πολέμω. δου τε ολιμοί, και έξω λιμοίος.μόρη τε νεώσ, η δωλανεώς. θ.

Σ ζαπωτικοι ονόματα, κοι αρχόντων, και σκουήσ, και των είσ τούσ πολέμου χρησίμων. δσα τε περί πολεμίων, καὶ φίλων, κή πών έν τολέμοιο συμβαινόν πων, κή αρμα 700 µ ஷெம்.

Ι σωικοί διόματα . αὐτῶν το τῶν ἐσιμελκ चिंग, भारते कि प्रथा विकासिंग.

ד בשפחום פים בו בעל באל אים וב ועם שעדם יאין γόπων, και δραλείων.

A ρό Σου μέρη Α μάξης μόξη. P द्धे महरामिका.

7.

KEDALAION PPOTON.

Θεών και των σεει αυτούς ονομασίαι .

Eòg, mi θεοί, mi σαί μον ου. 8τω πόμπρω θοκά θαί μονασ και λάν του Ιτές. Ο τολάτων ή שוד או בל אנו בל בל אנו של ולד μέγισον δαί μονα ώνό μασιν,

κ αι το μεν χωρίον οί φ θδραπεύομον τουσ BESS, i 6por, xoù re cis. ci ba de na Biopioper, OHNS 5. TE MENOS. OI MON IT EXPLESS POI, OHNS τον των Αιών, ώσ όι ζαγφοδί, Αγνον είς ση κὸν θεού. Ε δε προ αὐ τού, πρόσο μοσ . Ε Ε καν σων, όπιθό όο μος . κ) κ είσσοος προπύ Λαια . Τὰ θεραπιού μονα.

Α υτα διά θεραπεύομον, άχαλμαλα. ξόαva. idu bear cinacouara Dear ciniver . me μυτα το πωματα .είδη .ίδεαι. βρέτασ 5, Ν διάκηλον, οὐκ έρφ τε προσίεμαι.

THEE DU GIASHELS.

Ε φων ή θύομον, η πύρ ανακαίομον, δωμόσ. שעומש ששדל שנים בילום . כל ומון על שדמש מיסות ל א אד פונים אל אני אול ומומו מדע אפגאסווו דווי οὐ πρυτανκίω, ἐφ' ὧς Β΄ πιῦρ Β΄ ἀσβεςον αὐ ά πῖ Ε). Ο δεκτός τόπος τών Αυσιών

Ε ο ο ρα δ' ίδιν ος βυκεί β ωδι ωνομά ος ξο δ κο το Τς κρωσι απο θύομον . ο μιοι δί τ σο ι שושות שוש ל שני ל שנש ששל יד שי שושוני של שושות Ο έσω τό πος τών βυσιών.

ב וו ל מוֹ סׁ אַ פוֹסשׁ דֹ שִנפּנְפְפְמִידוו פוֹמּי דִסׁ חסק. - wowlen. voring of the no. 20, 20, 2008 μένου άβέβηλου καίρι έλετω έντετί χηω φονόμαπ. Ο εξω τ πυσών. Ο δε εξω, βεβηλος. Επαίδρος, αρμά ποι

તેમ માર્જ ભાગ લોકો મહે જ ભાગ મુક્ક વ્યક્ત છે જે માછ .

Γερι αδύρυ θέου γ του .

Ε ι μίνη ι καί τι χωρίον άδα τον είν τ΄ ίδροῦ, שנים אמנו מלטים ו מו מו מו מלטים שנים אין אים מל מעקסי και άλαυσούμονον και άθεατον, και ανά Пடிட் வீடியட்சவா கேல்ச ரக்கையு.

ם ומ'מולעונים שבסוק דל שטו ,מאסא דב, אפנו דב μένη, κού όξαη. κού ο σερί αὐτα κύκλοσ, Γερι ἀσύλετό του. σερίβολος.

Ε ι δί και άσυλόν τι είν, τείρο και κρισφύγεσον λέγε, κοι Φύξιμον. και ίδρος όρους, έφοσον τοίς οικέ του σ άστράλακ. ή μίζος Story if, yi ispa, my desds.

Thei oixodo mig raw.

30. Thucydides (*History of the Peloponnesian War*), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 14 May 1502.

Folio, 126 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 33(4) * Adams, T 662 * Firmin-Didot, 209-210 * *OAME*, I, 60-61 * UCLA, I, 62(45) * *Manuzio*, 60.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

The History of the Peloponnesian War of Thucydides was translated into Latin by Lorenzo Valla in the mid-15th century at the request of Pope Nicholas V. Valla's work formed part of a systematic translation project, in order to connect Greek and Latin literature. After five years of toiling, the translation was completed in 1452. The work of Thucydides influenced Valla himself in the composition of his own treatise, titled Declamatio de falso credita et emenita Constantini Donatione. His translation of Thucydides was published for the first and only time in Treviso in the 15th century, possibly in 1483, and is titled Historia belli Peloponnesiaci.

The edition of Aldus opens with two biographical notes on Thucydides (one anonymous and one by a Marcellinus) and records some moments of the historian's life, passed down by Dionysus of Halicarnassus and others which are mentioned in the related entry of *Suda*.

The prologue to the edition was written in Latin and is signed by Aldus, who dedicated it to Daniele Rinieri, a Venetian senator and member of the New Academy (Fimin-Didot, 209-210). Aldus thanks him for his unreserved help in his publishing work, and especially for repeatedly entrusting him with Greek and Latin manuscripts from his collection, in contrast to those who deprive the reading public of their unique manuscripts, that is, the *book buriers*.

Library. : 254.

SOYKYAIAOY ZYMPAGHE PROTHE.

Ουκυλίσκο άθηναίος ξωυξράλε τον πόλεμον που πελοφυνησίων και άθηναίων, ώσ έπιλε μιστυ προσο άλληλους, αρξάμλοσ ο ύλλο ημελιταμλύου, και έλλπίζες μέλον πεθαεσται, μό άξιολογος παι τον ποο χλελυπμάξων, πει μαιρόμλοσ ότη άκμαι ζοντίς τε ηξβαν ές αιδ τον άμφο τόριο παρασκολή τή ποίος, και δάλλο έλληνικον όρων ξωιστά μονον προσεξηστόριους, ε μέλ, ώλλυς εδ έλ, και άλανοού μονον κίνησης χλ' αιδ τη μελότη ότη το το έλλη και έχουδη, μό μέρει που το πορ βαφ βασρών ωσ διέπτεν, και έπι πολομότορα, σαφωσ παλ χλ' προδαύ των, μ) πολ ξιπ παλλαιότορα, σαφωσ

ζω χενέδαι, οὐ τε καιτά του πολέμοις, ὅτε ἐσ τὰ ἀλλα. Φαίνεται χο ἡ νοῦ ἐλλὰσ ησιλουμίνη,ού πάλου βεβαίωσ οἰκουμίνη, άλλα μετανασάσεις το ούσου τα πρότο త్విగులు కార్యంలో కార్యకార్లు కార్ములో ఉంది. కార్యంలో కా פני דב ללב למתא מדוג, מבוש ועלים דב דע מני דעי צומבסנ לססע מדום צווי , ען הבפוטטומו אמים μω των οὐκέχοντος,οὐ δε γεν φυτεύοντες, άσκλον δον οπότε τίς ε σελθών, κὴ άτειχ του άμα όντων, «Νοοσ άφωιρόσε του , της στε 1965 η μέρω αλαθμαίου η όφηση του» τα 200 δελ ήπου μενοι έπικρατείν, ου 2000 εστος άπου 15 του 70,000 καὶ δίαμ το 30,000 κετές θα πόλεων Ίου ον, οὐτε τὰ ἀλλη παρασκουή. μου λιτα ἡ τῆ σ γῆς ἡ αρίςη ἀὰ τοὰ ο με τα βολὰσ τῶν οἰκη κρων άγεν - Ἡ τε ννῦ Θεοπαλία ημελουμθίη, καὶ βοιωτία, παλο ποννήσου τε τὰ πολλά, πλίω αρμαδίασ. της τεάλλης, όζε ω μράτισα. δά χν αρετίω γίο, αί τε διωάμασ ποι μάζουσ επιγνόμιναι, σάσασ ενετρίουν, θε ων εφθά ρουρ, καὶ άμα ὑπὸ ἀΜοΦύλων μά Μον ἐπεβουλδύοντο . τιὰ τονῦ ἀπικιω ἐκ το δ έπι σλά τον Α τ λεπί όγεων άτα σία τον δίου, αίθρωοι ώκοιω οι αύτ ι άθικ τίτά-. Αλγμα τόδε το λότου οὐκ έρο χισον όδι, σές του μετοικίασ ες τοι άλλα μη όμοίωσ αι ξηθήναι έν 35 της άλλης έλλάδος όι πολέμω η σάσει έν πί π ον τες, παρ άθηναί ους όι διωατώταιρι, ώς θέβοιιον ον, ανεχώρουν και πολίται γιγνόμονοι δύθυσ άχο ποιλοιιού, μείζω έτι εποίηζεν σλήθη αύθρωσων πίο πόλιν ώς τε και έσ ιωθίαν ύςε ρον, ώς ούχ ιησικο ούσης την άπικο, άποικιαν ιξέπεμιαν ο θηλοίδε μοι και κ ου των παλαιών κοθένδαν ου χάνιστι πρό χθ' που Γούμου Γούδυ φαίνε πιι πρόπερον 19 υγι όβ χαζι μετά ή ελλάς οθοικά θέ Μοι ου δε πουνομα έδερε ξύμπα σα σω άχεν , άλ χος τοι μεν πρό ελλινοσ το Δευιαλίωνοσ, και παίνυ ου δε έγαι ή εσίνλησης αυ' τι . ησετα έθνη δε άλλά τε, κοι το σεροισμού επισλείσου, αφέρωτων πωλ πωνυμίαν ταρέχε δαι ΕΜΝΟς δέ καὶ των νωθ λίον αι νου τη Φ. Τιώπιδ λου σάντων, καὶ έπαιομίνων αι τούο έτο ώφελεια έσ τος άλλος σο λος, μοι έμαι του, μίν μον τι δμιλία μα Χλον ημλα εδικε έλλιν ασ·ού μλέσ» ι πολλού γα χρόνου κόμιδας» κοι άποι συ ξανικήσου. τα μμηριδί με μου λισα Ο μυρος - જ λλά βλ ύσδρον έτι ποιλ τών Τα ϊκό γ γενόμονος, ού σε μού τδο ξεί μποιντασ άνομασιν, ού διά Χλουσ , Άσδ μας αρχιλάως έν τησ φ. λιώπους, όίπορ κοι πρώτι έλλωος ή ων. σαναους δι ον τίς έπεσ, κή αργιίος, κατ άχαιτουσ αναιγελεί του μίω ουθέ βουρ βουρους είρνικε, έχε το μις διέλ λ λίω ds που, ώς έμοι όδικει αν τί παιλου, είς οι δυομα άπομε μιρί δατι το if δίω ώς έμοι 501 έλληνοθ ησιτά πόλου τε όσοι άλληλων ξωνίε βαν, και ξύμπαν τες κζορον κληθού τις, ού δίν προ των ζωϊνών δι άθεν (αν και άμι είαν άλλη λων άθρόοι έπραξαν, άλ λοι κοι του την των τρατιού, θαλο ως κόθη το σλείω χρώμονοι, ξαν κλ θον Μίνωσ π στοι λαίτοιρο δυ άκομ Ισμον, ναυτικόν έκτι Θαρ, και τίδο νοδ έλλιω ικήσ θαροί στις క్రిమ్ వానీ టెక్టర్గా కిల్పడ్డాగారక్క గ్రామ్ గుండిని ఆగ్రిక్ రాష్ట్ర క్రిట్ ఇం. Καζί οίκις గ్రామ్ న్యాత్రంలో గాప్లు వానీటికము కిస్టిస్ డ్రం గ్రూట్ నిండి లోకైక నీడ్వీకరా, ఇండి స్ట్రాప్త్ క్రిట్లారు వాయ్లో రిజర్ శ్వీ స్ట్రామ్ క్రిట్లు గ్రామ్ క్రిట్లు కిర్మాట్లు కుండి క్రిట్లు కిల్పడ్డు క్రిట్లు కుండి క్రిట్లు కుండి క్రిట్లు కుండి క్రిట్లు కుండి క్రిట్లు కుండి క προσόδου μάλλον ι εναι αὐ τῷ. ὁι χθ Ελληνος το ποί λαι, καὶ τῶν βαρβαρων,οί το ον τη ή πείρω παραθαχείωποι, κὸ όσοι νήσοις είχον, έπειση ήρξαντο μάλλον ποραίδ

31. Sophocles, Σοφοκλέους Τραγωδίαι έπτὰ μετ' ἐξηγήσεων (Seven Tragedies with commentary), Venice, in Aldi Romani Academia, August 1502.

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8°. 200 leaves.
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Bibliography: Renouard, 34-36 * Firmin-Didot, 212-213 * Adams, S 1438 * *OAME*, I, 61-62 * UCLA, I, 68-69(48) * Borza, *Sophocle * Manuzio*, 62.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

This edition of the seven tragedies of Sophocles by Aldus was the first edition of the great tragic poet and was based on a manuscript which belonged to Giorgio Valla, a passionate scholar of Greek. Valla knew Greek equally well as Latin and came to Venice from Milan, where he had studied under Constantine Lascaris, with the support of Ermolao Barbaro.

Valla taught Greek in the Most Serene Republic with great success and at the same time, as we know from his correspondence, gave lessons on Vitruvius, Archimedes and the history of Greek poetry.

Although the title of the edition of Sophocles includes the *commentaries* (scholia) on the tragedies, written by Janus Lascaris, these were only published several years later, in an edition of Lascaris's works printed in Rome in 1528. The *Tragedies* of Sophocles is the first edition of Aldus to mention the New Academy: *Venetiis in Aldi Romani Academia*. Aldus's dedicatory Preface is addressed to Lascaris (Firmin-Didot, 212-213) and highlights very vividly how the circle of Aldus's friends was engaged in a passionate search of antiquity "During the cold and dark [days] as the members of the New Academy all sat around the fire, with Musurus among them, we talked about you..."

ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΑΙΑΣ ΜΑΣΤΙΓΟΦΟ

POE.

Εὶ μὲν ὧπῶ Λἀρτίου δέδορ μάσε περάν τιν ἐχθρῶν ὡρπάσαι Οπρώμενον,

แผ่งขึ้ง เมา เพางณ์ร ธะงอบาเหณีร ออุต Α Ίαντος, ένθα τάξιν εγάτην έχη, πάλαι μυνηρετούντα, μαι μετρού μενον 'LVH Tangvou veozapazo', oxws'idus ส์รัยชอง สุรา อบหยับชอง . ลัง ชัย ชัยผญยอง nuvos nandivus is Tis ivpivos , Baris. ένδον γαρ ανηράρτι τυγχανς, μαρα sazwidem TI, naizepas Elpontovous. ממנ ל סטלצע מישש דווגלב אמיחלמנעקע אטאוג ETEPROVESIV, EVVETAV SOTOUZAPIV avoudin'é dou Third' jus rap do yas madys. οδ ωφθερμ Α θάνας Φιλτάτης εμοιθεών. พร ลง แต่ยี่ยร ขอบ หลัง ลัสอทีโอร นีร "o แพร φώνη μά απούω, παι ξυναρπάξω φρενί, Zannosous nod wvos ws Tuponvinus. และขบง ยายาของ ลับ และ สิ่งปาว ปบอนยาง Βασιν μυμλουντ Αίαν ΤΙ Τω σαμεσφορω. μάνον ταρ, εδεν άλλον ίχνουω πάλαι. νυμτός γάρ ημας της δε, πραγος άσκοπον έχη περάνας, ήπερ ήργασαι τάδε. ίσμεν γαρουδέν τρανές, άλλ άλω μεθα. תמשם לבאסעדאו דשם נדבנטאור אסעש.

32. Herodotus, Λόγοι ἐννέα, οἵπερ ἐπικαλοῦνται Μοῦσαι... ([Histories], Nine books, called the Muses...), Venice, Aldus Manutius, September 1502.

Folio. 144 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 35(8) * Firmin-Didot, 216-219 * Adams, H 394 * UCLA, I, 70-71(50) * *Manuzio*, 64.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

The *editio princeps* of Herodotus's *Histories* was published by Aldus in 1502. However, the *Muses* were already familiar to the humanist public thanks to three Latin translations of Lorenzo Valla, which belong to the incunabula period: *Historiae*, Venice 1474, Rome 1475 and again Venice 1494. Valla undertook the translation of Herodotus and Thucydides at the request of Pope Nicholas V, in an endeavour to systematically translate into Latin the main works of Greek secular and Christian literature.

The edition of Aldus is dedicated to the famed professor of literature at the Gymnasium of Padua, Giovanni Calpurnio of Brescia (Firmin-Didot, 217; Albertini, *Calfurnio*). Aldus is grateful to him for his unreserved help in his publishing work and for putting at his disposal the unique and precious manuscripts which he possessed, such as Cicero's *Epistles* to Atticus and the Greek manuscript of Pausanias' *Description of Greece*: "I never forget, dearest wise Calpurnio, the Greek saying: *one hand washes the other*".

Aldus defends Herodotus, whom his contemporary historians had accused of misinforming his readers. Accusing Herodotus, says Aldus, is akin to turning against Greece itself, *the mother of all virtues and values, the school of cultivation of all kinds of knowledge*.

HPODOTOY AOFOI ENNEA, OIFEP EPIKA AOYNTAI MOYEAI.

HERODOTILIBRINOVEM QVIBVS MYSARVM INDITA SYNTNOMINA.

MOYEON ONO

Κλειώ. Εὐτέρτη. Θάλζα. Μελτομένη. Τερφίχορη. Ερατώ. Γολύμνια. Οὐρανία. Καλλίστη.

MVSARVM NO MINA.

ClioEuterpeThaliaMelpomene.
TerpfichoreEratoPolymniaVraniaCalliope-



33. Euripides, Τραγφδίαι ἑπτακαίδεκα, ὧν ἔνιαι μετ' ἐξηγήσεων: Ἑκάβη, Ὀρέστης, Φοίνισσαι... (Seventeen tragedies, of which some with commentary: Hecuba, Orestes, Phoenician Women...), two volumes, Venice, Aldus Manutius, February 1503.

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8°. First volume, 271 leaves, second volume, 272 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 43(10) * Firmin-Didot, 257-258 * Adams E

1030 * OAME, I, 73-74 * UCLA, I, 78-80(55/1-2) * Basta Donzelli,

Euripide. Electra * Sicherl, Euripides * Manuzio, 71.
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Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

This edition of the tragedies of Euripides by Aldus may be regarded as an *editio princeps*, since Janus Lascaris had only published four of them, *Medea*, *Hipppolytus*, *Alcestis* and *Andromache*, at the press of Francesco Lorenzo de Alopa in Florence, in 1494.

When Aldus started printing the first volume of Euripides's *Tragedies* he had not yet discovered *Heracles* (*Hercules Furens*) and thus the title page announces *Seventeen tragedies* while in fact eighteen were published. The second volume begins with *Rhesus*.

The edition is dedicated to Demetrios Chalcocondyles (Firmin-Didot, 257-258), who was then living in Milan. In his Preface, Aldus expresses his bitterness over the loss of so many precious manuscripts of Greek literary works in Italy, either due to the wars or to the carelessness and neglect of their owners. He is grateful to God because, thanks to the invention of printing, he has the possibility of releasing one thousand book copies containing the major works of Greek and Latin literary tradition every month.

ΕΥΡΙΓΙΔΟΥ τραγωθίαι επλακαίθεκα . ພັν ένιαι μετ εξηγήσεων . Ασί θε αῦ ται .

Doiviarde OPESUS Енави Midea Ιππολυτος AAHHSIS Ανδρομάχη Ι μέτιδες I pizevera er I pizevera ev Taupois AUNISE Phoos Tpwades Banza KUNNW+ Heanngsac ENEVU Iwv

evripidis tragædiæ septendecim, ex quib quædam habent commentaria. G sunt hæ.

Phoenissa. Hecuba orestes Medea Hippolytus Alæstis Andromache Supplices I phigenia i Aulide . Iphigenia in Tauris Rhesus Troades Bacchæ Heraclidæ Cyclops Helena Ion . .

34. Lucian, Opera, Philostratus, Imagines, Heroicus, Lives of the Sophists, Philostratus the Younger, Imagines, and Callistratus, Ekphraseis (Statuarum Descriptiones), Venice, Aldus Manutius, June 1503.

Folio, 292 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 39(3) * Firmin-Didot, 243-244 * Adams, L 1602 * UCLA, I, 81-83(57) * *Manuzio*, 75.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

The works of Lucian held huge appeal with the Western world during the Renaissance. From the approximately eighty works attributed to him the most popular were the *Dialogues* (*Of Gods*, *Of the Dead*, *Of the Sea Gods*, *Of the Courtesans*), and *True History*.

The *editio princeps* of the *Dialogues* was prepared by Janus Lascaris in Florence in 1496, while the city was under French rule. All the other incunabula of Lucian, a total of twenty-nine, were Latin translations made by major Greek scholars of the Renaissance such as Giovanni Aurispa, Rinucci, Lilio Castellani etc. The Aldine edition includes the treatises of Philostratus *Imagines*, *Heroicus*, *Lives of the Sophists*, as well as *Imagines* by Philostratus the Younger and *Ekphraseis* (*Statuarum Descriptiones*) by Callistratus. The edition opens with an epigram on the diverse opinions which can be expressed on one work alone:

Lucian on his own book.

This is the work of Lucian's pen / Who follies knew of bygone men. / For e'en the thing considered wise / Are nought but folly in mine eyes. / No single thought that men embrace / Can merit have or pride of place / For what seems wonderful to thee / Others deride with mockery. 18

TALE ENEETIN EN TOILE TOI BIBAIO.

AOYKIANOY.

\$12058 मार्गिक कार्या के कि .

דסנ מניף ל שנים זומי.

Tã au po Gios on Que sur.

שואסקף מדסט שנמדנף ב פונוסטי.

καλλισβάτου ἐκφράσειο.

QVEHOCVOLVMINECOM TINENTYR.

Luciani opera. Icones Philoftrati. Eiufdem Heroica. Eiufdem uitæ Sophiftarum. Icones Iunioris Philoftrati. Defcriptiones Calliftrati.

LOYKIANOY EIE THN EAYTOY BIB AON.

Αχκιαιός πάδι έγρα το παλαιά το μορά το άδως ο μορά χοι αι θρώπιο είν τα δοκο ν τα Θφά ο Ο είδι το αι θρώποι οι διακειδό είδι τό κας άλλ ὁ σὰ θαυμαίζειο, τοῦ θ' ἐπόροιοι χώλων ο



35. Ammonius Hermiae, Ύπόμνημα εἰς τὸ περὶ ἑρμηνείας Αριστοτέλους (Commentary on Aristotle's On interpretation), Magentenos of Mytilene, Ἐξήγησις... (Exegesis on the Work on Aristotle's De interpretatione), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 17 October 1503.

Folio. 152 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 40(4) * Firmin-Didot, 244-246 * Adams, A 989 * *OAME*, I, 77-78 * UCLA, I, 59-60(59) * *Manuzio*, 78.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

Ammonius of Alexandria was the son of the philosopher Hermias and leader of the Platonists of Alexandria. His *Commentaries* on the *Five discourses* of Porphyry (*In quinque voces Porphyrii commentarii*, Venice, 1494) were printed in the incunabula period in the Latin translation of Pomponio Gaurico (*Charta*, I, 386-387). At the turn of the fifteenth century, the *editio princeps* of the work was printed by the press of N. Vlastos and Z. Kalliergis, again in Venice, under the title of Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὰς πέντε φωνὰς ἀπὸ φωνῆς Ἀμμωνίου Μικροῦ τοῦ Ἑρμείου (1500).

Aside from Ammonius's commentaries on Aristotle's *On interpretation*, this edition of Aldus includes another treatise not mentioned in the title, that is, the paraphrasis of *On the interpretation of Ammonius Hermiae on the Ten Categories of Aristotle*, by Michael Psellos. In the Prologue, Aldus salutes his patron and sponsor Alberto Pio once more, and mentions that the edition was published by his New Academy.

AMM ONIOY TOY EPMEIOY YPOMNHMA EIS TO PEPI EPMHNEIAS APISTOTE AOYS.

Aloi no

- TON 900

OAY MEN EN TOGOITI, usu avweu por à repi en purisas To Apisotenes BiBnior, The TE TURVOTHTOS EVERAT EV aut Tapa-Sido Mevor Bewen Mator , i, The repi T higir Suonohias dio nai ron-אבער ב צון אדער , דסאאם דנף ו מנים ממדב אומא המער סף סידו לבנ. ב לוב דו בי in pags durudini doevernav repi + TE BIBNIS σαφήνειαν , απο μνη μον ώ GAPTES T'EENTHOLWY TE BOS HAWY SISAGHANE PPINAS, TE MATWYING Stadogs, TE de anpor The areputions quotes The Te Egnyntinhe To-משעדשע דסוג אמאמנסוג לינים עוד, א, ד באובא עסדומאי דאג סְניסבשה ד מידשע

πρίσιν ασκήσαντος, πολλήν αν τῷ λορί ψθεῷ χάριν ομολογήσαι μεν. Αρ ο είν η ανε β รูน ซอเซนน ที่ เมียง รางงายออน ซัตร ย่ ยีกาท์อยพร, ที่ ซี พยงระ แยดลงสมพง ย่ ยีกาทอาร รั พอองล เมลิสายอิสเ ซัตร ริกทรัสสุดที่สุด ผู้พองาพา น ก่าง แรงว่าราย ที่ สองเราร์ รายที่ "อุดทัสดา เลือน เลือน เลือน รัสธุ์ ที่ TPOS TÀ ANATHS NOTINHS & A PISOTENES TPAY MATERAS GUYPPA MUATA, T'IS TE H airl a Tauths au שמסו דוֹ ז א אַ ז דע אפּסָעֹאְמִעִמִ דבּ לֹב ד בּ וּבְּאוֹשׁ לוֹ מוֹפְנִי זוֹ דִי אֹ בּ אוֹבָ אַדִי אַ דִּי אַ φιλοσοφίν βολο μένω το περί ερ μηνήκε βιβλίον, η προθεσιε αυτ φανίσα ημίν, περίερρον έπι θάξη. Τίς δ ή προθεσις αύτη ; τότο κ ανάγκη προ Τ άλλ αφορίζε δαι μ προς ταύτην , τὰ έφε προλαμβαιο μένοις της συναναγιώσεως τ κατηγορίων. λέγω , ότι η μ λογική πραγματία, τέλος έχει το δίρεσιν της αποδίξεως προηγίται η ταυτης, ητο απλώς συλλογισμές γνώσις - κ, τας דאו דמאוי א ד מחלשי א בישי ד סטידופייד ד סטאספוס עו פנשף מ דמידוו א, או ממדמאון וו דמסשי κατά γένη τ΄ απλών φωνών, έξ ων ο απλύς λογος έχει τ΄ γένεσιν . παραδύς τοίνυν ο Αρισστέλμε בו דש בובאוש ד ומדווים ושני ד אבן ד מאליים שניים או אבי האבין בי מאליים או אבי אבי אבי אבי אבי אבי אבי אבי אבי דס עונישו שדים דר סטאס אוס מוס משל דו שואס עוני דסוו מסודשים דר אסף הדף סדמספו בי של דמאמניי ניסי μαξο μίννε. ἀλλά τ΄ λόγο τίντι છા τ΄ εἰ δών, το τι αλυτικού , ώς τὸ, Ω μάκαρ ἀτρόδη, ιζ, του ακι η τη της τή προςακτικό, ώς τὸ, Βάκι "(δι Γρι ταχώα, ιζ, το ξερωτη ματικό, ώς τὸ, Τίς, τόδιν మε ἀνδρών, ιζ, τ พัทราเทช , พร ท , Ai A Z พ те หล่ายด , หณ่ ยังไ าชาอเร , าช ลังออุลงาเทช , หลอ อิง ลังออุลเงอ แยยล พย פוֹ סֹדְצֵּצִי דְ הַפְּמֵץ μάτων, δίον, Θεοί δ'έτε πάντα Ισασι, πάσα ψυχὶ άθάνατος, ε περί πανκε ά-TAN A DON HATA THE OF T TOAT MATGAT SISTAGES IN MAS . A PISOTEAMS, ANNA TEPI MOVE T ATOQUE TING . M, TETO enotus . Movor A TETO " goos Thore, dentinoveste annoques te, k, foldes . k, บัสอ τέτο τελέσιν αι αποδείξες υπέρ ων η λογική πασα πραγματεία τῷ φιλοσίφω συντέτακται · κα araptpo mira nervoit p mer ti graio motinir. Sior, I sw vur tode raia m), indetinir, Sior, ρας . το δέ, ομοιον αξιώματι, διον , Ως ώραϊ ζεται η τύχη έν τοις βίοις . άπερ άπαντα θεκτικά องาล +อเฮรร าน, เวลาหอย่านรุงเหล่าอเทาอ ลิง านุ ล่าอดุลงาเหน, รี นิ่งแอาเหร, รัพ แลคาบค่าล าร อรุ่อย พิงเองสาลงาอง กัทร ลักออุลง อเพร. าระ อื่อแอเอบ กัผู้ ล่ะ เพ่นสา , กัท าระ พร เกากลาเหรี เกาคุคค แลาอะ รทั้ง โดยรักษณะ - รณาก) รี ลักอดุลขาเล็น พ่อย ข้อ อังรับก ตัวขึ้น ทุ้ง ระ นี้ , แลม แบ้งน และหาอดูเหน็ , ย้าแบ้ว่อ E กมทะเ ระ ณี , บรอธิบรเหน็ , และหาอดูเหน็ แม้อ ,ระ อน แน่งองรอร รว่า รายา บรลดุรุส , มี นั้น บรลดุรุส ,ณิช อัรสน ผื่อ อังกับ τω μεν, Σωκράτης περιπατή, Σωκράτης ου περιπατή, κατηγορού μεν γάρτο περιπατήν του Σωμράτυς, ποτέ μθυ, καταφατικώς, ποτέ δί, άποφατικώς, ύποθετικού), του ση μαίνοντος TIVOS OVTOS, TÍ ESTV, À BU ESTV, À TIVOS MÀ OVTOS, TÍ BU ESTV, À TÍ ESTV, OS OTAV ETA MEV, E ANDPO Tos est , i, gwor est, , au opwos est , aloos su est, et un est in pipa, vif est, et un est ine pa, นั้น ซึ่งเข ให้มากรับที่เคาหา, ที่ ผลทางอุดเพ่าหน้าง นองกา รู้ปองที่ ล่างอุดงาเหม มองหาสอุลมายดอง Cur Ari da sa A PISOTEANS, OI aUTOTEAES, NA PHOSI MON TOOS TOOS ATO SHEETS TO SELENTINON, OS ENAITES CAMERA FOR MA dr, n, deonevor martus the dia to nathroping tengothtos, da his moonra herus afioig ti his.

anuac ovones FACIAL

36. Ulpian of Antioch, Προλεγόμενα εἴς τε τοὺς Ὀλυνθιακοὺς καὶ Φιλιππικοὺς Δημοσθένους λόγους... (Prolegomena to the Olynthian and Philippic discourses of Demosthenes...), Venice, Aldus Manutius, October 1503.

Folio. 180 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 41(6) * Firmin-Didot, 247 * Adams, V 49 * UCLA, I, 85-86(60) * Manuzio, 79.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

The works of Ulpian, the fourth-century sophist from Antioch were first published by Aldus. Ulpian taught at Emesa and, aside from the *Commentaries* to Demosthenes's speeches, he composed a series of essays titled *Lectures*. This edition of Aldus appealed greatly to the scholarly public of Italy and Northern Europe. Later the *Commentaries* were incorporated into editions of Demosthenes's *Speeches* and republished several times (1570, 1572, 1604, 1607 etc.). To cite an example, the 1570 reedition was published in Paris by the eminent printer and publisher Guillaume Morel (Hoffman, III, 571).

The edition of Ulpian's *Commentaries* is coupled with the *editio princeps* of a highly important dictionary, compiled by Valerius Maximus Harpocration (a grammarian of the second century CE) and titled *Lexicon of the Ten Orators*. This is not simply a lexicographical work drawing upon earlier sources on rhetorical literature but an encyclopedia which offers valuable information on eminent peaople and events. Of special value are the description of the regulations of the Athenian courts and the references to Greek culture and language in general.

ο ὑλπαιού είτο ρος , προλεγόμλικ લેંડ το τους (λαυθιακούς, κή οιλιτατή κό ω ση μο εθένου ο λόγοιο.

Ε ξήγησο αναπαιοτοίτη, લેક δειω ζείς νο σημο ο τίους λόγοιδ.

V Ipiani commentatioli in olynthiacas, philippicas & Demosthenis orationes.

E narrationes faneq necessariæ in tredecim orationes Demosthenis.



37. Xenophon, Ξενοφῶντος Παραλειπόμενα ἃπερ καὶ ἑλληνικὰ ἐκάλεσε... (*Hellenica*, and works by several other authors), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 14 November 1503.

Folio. 160 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 41(7) * Firmin-Didot, 247-251 * *OAME*, I, 79-80 * UCLA, I, 86-87(61) * *Manuzio*, 80.

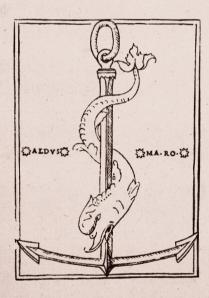
Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

This *edition princeps* of Xenophon's *Hellenica* which was accompanied by extracts from Pletho and Herodian, consists in all the writings of Xenophon conceived as the continuation of Thucydides's *History*.

Several works of Xenophon were already published in the incunabula period and extracts thereof were included in Pietro Paolo Vergerio's edition *De ingenuis moribus*. A large collection of Xenophon's works, titled *Opera Varia*, was printed in Milan at an unknown date and includes various texts of the Athenian historian, translated into Latin by eminent scholars of Greek such as Ognibene Leoniceno, Leonardo Bruni and Francesco Filelfo. The collection was reprinted in Venice, again in an undated edition by Bernardino de Vitalibus. *Cyropaedia*, translated in Latin by Filelfo was first printed in Rome, while *Cyri Testamentum* was published in Milan in the Italian translation of Andrea Magnanimo. In addition, Adam de Ambergau published *De tyrannide* in the Latin translation of Leonardo Bruni in Venice, at an unspecified date *circa* 1471.

The extended Prologue of Aldus is addressed to Guido of Feretrio, Duke of Urbino, and reminds him of the perennial values which he also should serve, as recorded by Isocrates in his speech *Ad Demonicum*.

- Ξ οιοφώντος παραλίτομοια, άποβ κοι ελλωικά εκάλεσε.
- Γ εωργίου γε μισοῦ τοῦ καὶ σελήθωνος ἐν τῶν Διοδώξου, καὶ Γλουτάρχου, περὶ τῶν μίζ κὸ ἐν μαντινεία μάχαν ἐν κεφαλαίοις διάλειμες.
- Η εωδιακού τησ μιζά Μαρκοι δασιλά αδ ίσρει δι διδλία όκτώ.
- Σ χόλια ποιλαιά, καὶ ξομοπί ικὰ ές όλον τὸν Θαυκυλίσκι, ὧν χωρὶσ οὐκ δὶξοίενες ὁ ξυγηςα Φρίσ·
- x enophontisomissa:quæ & græca gesta appellantur.
- G eorgii Gemisti:qui & Pletho dicitur:ex Diodori: & Plutarchi historiis de iis:quæ post pugnam ad Mantineam gesta funt:per capita trastatio.
- H erodiani a Marci principatu historiase libri octo: quos Angelus Politianus ele gantistime latinos fecit
- E natratiunculæ antiquæ:& perbreues in totum Thucydidem:fine quibus autor intellectu est quamdifficillimus.



38. [Maximus Planudes], ἀνθολογία διαφόρων ἐπιγραμμάτων ἀρχαίοις συντεθειμένων σοφοῖς... (Anthology of epigrams, by ancient wise men...), Venice, Aldus Manutius, November 1503.

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8°. 293 leaves.
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Bibliography: Renouard, 42(9) * Firmin-Didot, 251-253 * Adams, A 1181 * UCLA, I, 87-89(62) * Ferreri, Scoli Planudea * Manuzio, 81.
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Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

The *Anthology of Epigrams*, a well-loved book among Byzantine readers, was equally well received by the scholarly cultivated public of the West during the Renaissance. It is a collection of epigrams by classical and Byzantine authors, compiled by Maximus Planudes in the late 13th or early 14th century.

The first edition of the *Anthology* was edited by Janus Lascaris (Florence, 1494). It is a landmark in the history of Greek typography, as it was printed in capital script, reminiscent of ancient inscriptions. The house of Aldus and his successors published three editions of the *Anthology* (1503, 1521, and 1551). The edition of Aldus is richer than that of Lascaris, as it includes nineteen unknown epigrams by anonymous authors, a poem by Paulus Silentiarius and other shorter essays.

A.A. Renouard (*Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes*, 412) relates a charming story related to the distribution and importance of early printed books. He notes that he possesses the *editio princeps* of the *Anthology* of Lascaris, which is filled with hand-written notes of Aldus and his partner and son-in-law Francesco d'Asola, in Greek. That is, this was the book which Aldus used for his own edition, and contains additions and directions to the typesetters.

FLORILEGIVM DIVERSORVM EPIGRAMMATVM IN SEPTEM LIBROS.



ΑΝΘΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΔΙΛΦΟΡΩΝ ΕΓΙ= γραμμάτων, άρχαιοις συντεθη μένων σοφοις, επί διαφό= ροις υποθεσεσιν, ερμινήσιο έχοντων επίδηξιν, μαλ πραγματων η γενο μένων, η ώς γενο μένων άφι γραγματα δ' είς επα τμή – ματα το βιβλίον - μαὶ τώτα δ' κεφάλαια κατά σοι χον διευτί=

OLTON.

39. John the Grammarian or Philoponus, Εἰς τὰ ὕστερα ἀναλυτικὰ ἀριστοτέλους ὑπόμνημα... (Commentary on Aristotle's Posterior Analytics...), Venice, Aldus Manutius, March 1504.

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Folio. 162 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 45(1) * Firmin-Didot, 259-260 * Adams, P 1043

* OAME, I, 80-81 * UCLA, I, 91-92(64) * Manuzio, 82.
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The commentaries to the *Posterior Analytics* of John the Grammarian (Philoponus) were published by Aldus for the first time in 1504. During the time of the incunabula, the only diatribe of John to circulate in print was *De dialectis*, again included in an edition of Aldus (*Thesaurus*, 1496). This edition also includes treatises by Aristotle in the original and in Latin translation (*Problemata*, *De natura animalium*, *De partibus animalium*, *De generatione animalium*), *De Historia et de Causis Plantarum* of Theophrastus and the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias to the *Problems* of Aristotle. These Latin translations were edited by the major teacher of Latin, Theodorus of Gaza, and Aldus recommends them to all those who wish to learn Greek by the method of "comparison". The distinguishing characteristic of this edition is that Aldus here numbered all the pages of the book for the first time.

Aldus dedicates the volume to Matthias Longius, official secretary to the emperor Maximilian of Austria (Firmin-Didot, 260). Longius, bishop of Gurck and later of Carthage, was ordained cardinal and bishop of Salzburg and was the author and publisher of an idiosyncratic travel account which relates his travels in Austria and Hungary: *Odeporicon D. Matthei cardinalis*, Vienna 1515.

Ioannis grammatici in Postenora resolutoria Aristotelis Comentaria.

Ιωαίνου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ, ἐις τοὶ ὑςτρα αἰαλυτικώ Δειςυτίλες, ὑπόμνημα



40. Flavius Philostratus, Vita Apollonii Tyanensis... (Eusebius, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, *Treatise of Eusebius of Caesarea son of Pamphilus against the related to Hierocles*, with Latin translation by Zanobio Acciaiuoli), Venice, Aldus Manutius, May 1504.

Folio. 149 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 26(2) * Firmin-Didot, 261-262 * Adams, P 1067 * OAME, I, 41-48 * UCLA, I, 92-94(65) * Manuzio, 85.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

The biography of Apollonius of Tyana was composed by Philostratus possibly before he wrote his famous *Lives of the Sophists*. It highlights the figure of a peculiar wandering orator and miracle worker, who at some point was worshipped as a god. After the description of his "divine" birth, there is mention of Apollonius's travels around the earth.

The present edition began to be printed in 1501 and indeed the completed Greek text is dated March 1501. The Latin translation is dated February 1502 but the edition circulated only in May 1504, the date of the Prologue signed by Zanobio Acciaiuoli, an eminent scholar of Greek from Florence. At the orders of Pope Leo X, in 1518 Acciaiuoli undertook the direction of the Vatican library, and also worked to put order to the papal archives, which were kept at Castel Sant'Angelo (Redigonda, *Zanobio*).

Aldus justifies this delay by saying that he realized that the description of Apollonius given by Philostratus was but a compilation of false information, in spite of the fact that Saint Jerome gave credit to what Philostratus says about Apollonius.

Philoftrati Atheniensis de Vita Apollonii Tyanensis libri octo sterprete Alemanno Rinnuccino florentino.

Eusebii Cæsariensis episcopi opusculum in Hieroclem Zenobio Acciolo slorentino interpre te.



41. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina ad bene beatéque vivendum utilissima* (= *Poetae Christiani veteres*, 3rd vol.), Venice, Aldus Manutius, June 1504.

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4°. 236 leaves.
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Bibliography: Renouard, 46(4) * Firmin-Didot, 262-265 * Adams, P 685 * OAME, I, 81-82 * UCLA, I, 94-95(67) * Manuzio, 86.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library * $BIA\Omega$ (cat. n. 14).

Aside from his theological works, Gregory of Nazianzus or Gregory the Theologian composed a number of poems during the reign of Julian, a period when Christians were forbidden from cultivating pagan literature. He wrote edifying poems, in the style of Hellenistic poetry, in which he expresses his dreams and musings, and records both the beauty and serenity of nature and his intimate misgivings and fears.

The *Poems* of Gregory of Nazianzus constitute the third volume of the collection published by Aldus under the title *Poetae Christiani Veteres* (the first two were published in 1501 and 1502; see here n. 25 and 26). In all three volumes the Greek poems are accompanied by their Latin translation. Aldus dedicated the edition to Isabella princess of Madua (Firmin-Didot 262-263) whom he congratulates and praises for her support to the scholars and lovers of knowledge, going so far as to state that she represents an ideal of virtue, *sanctis exornata moribus*. He adds that, aside from the *Poems* of Gregory of Nazianzus he dedicates to her the *Life of Apollonius* of Tyana and the essay of Eusebius of Caesarea, *Eusebii contra Hieroclem*, works which he published together with their Latin translations.

ΤΡΗΓΟΡΊΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΝΑΖΙ΄ ΑΝΖΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΤΩΝΚΑΘ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΠΗ. ΔΙ΄ ΩΝ ΓΑΡΟΞΎΝΕΙΛΕΛΗΘΟΤΩΣ ΗΜΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΝΧΡΙΣΤΩΒΙΌΝ.

x

Pist αναξ, δος άγναιο ποτ άκιρο μεν αισ παλωμισ

Σ πουροτύποιο Μωσίος επ ούρει GS Je ρουποντος

Ε κλινασ Αμαληκόλοδονοθένος δοτε πα

* άρεσιν ον βοθρω Δανιήλ ύπο Αξνά λεόν πων x ασματα και φικτα σ'ον ν χων έπεδι (ασ άκωκοιο. ο ν Σία και μεγάλου άχο κή τεοσ έκ θορ Ιωνάς E v& ulvoo, now xereas on antay xoron randows. Ε νολογιδ' ἀωνιεί η δροσερον νέφος άμφεη άλυλε Θ αροαλέους Jeig ωρισας έπει χίρας ίζε ως τασαν. ο σ σοθ'ολω ζειου (εν υπείρ άχοι σεζος ολούσας. κ Ιματα καὶ ανέμου μενοσ μυνα (ασ, ώσκε μαθετοίς E n wegging of Jourd dervoulious in an rour. I OMOISA and fuxagre now after AJ GO VOYOWN ια Jeog. κρανθέο δε βροώς, θνη βισν εμίχθης. v Tuli hos anwe, to d' isarvauu paan Hig. ος ημε θεον πελέσειασ, έπει βροώς αυνό ετύχους. δε μαλκαρ καὶ έμο ι θεδο ίχοιος, ώς με σαωσκο. ο δε μαλαφ και έμοι θεος ίχαος έλθε καλδίντι. E A 8' with the ba de ban Jeog I Da og bigue ox works Ε ν πολέμω, μου βιροί, κοι ενφλοί , μου ανέμοισι δρομίνον, καὶ μοδνον ἐσούρανον ὁμμα φοροντα. K ai zop di sti pio Te, noù à zerou didua bazoi atig, κ αι δή εισ τονοκοσα, κοι αίλο μενου πυροσ όρμη II alvia nano i Teré Joio Biou Stern movos ai opos. ο ιρα θεόν φιλεοντασ απεχδαίρουσι μωλισα. υπε δίκου Τομέονπεσ έσυσδρον αν ποω (εν ο υπε βροπών άλεγοντες, όσοι τυ πεουσιν άλιζον. Ι ων μάποβραλεχρισε, κου οὐ οὐ ον κως με φ λαπε

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42. Homer, Ἰλιάς, Ὀδύσσεια, Βατραχομυομαχία, Ύμνοι (Iliad, Odyssey, Batrachomyomachia, Hymns), two volumes, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 31 October 1504.

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8°. 284 and 311 leaves.
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Bibliography: Renouard, 46(6) * Firmin-Didot, 266-268 * Adams, H 741 * OAME, I, 256-258 * UCLA, I, 95-96(68/1-2) * Manuzio, 88.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

This was in fact a reedition of the *editio princeps* of Homer which had been prepared by Demetrios Chalcocondyles and printed by Demetrios Damilas in Florence in 1488-1489. Aldus dedicates the edition to Girolamo Aleandro.

In the Prologue to the *Iliad*, Aldus complains to Aleandro that he is being unjustly attacked by scholarly and other circles for dedicating his editions to friends and patrons, while his critics claim that these gestures should be exclusive to the authors. He goes on to note: "Since these books are reborn and distributed by my press, with great toil and work, I believe that, as this is a rebirth and resurrection of the book, I have all the right to dedicate them to whomever I please" (Firmin-Didot, 266-268). Subsequently, as he also does in the Prologue the *Odyssey*, Aldus praises Aleandro (Gaeta, *Nunzio*), whose father was an eminent philosopher and physician: "You express yourself very fluently in Greek and teach Hebrew with great ease, to the point that one might think that you studied in Athens and Jerusalem in ancient times. What is your opinion on Latin language today, in which you write poems with great subtlety: lyrical poems, bucolic, iambs and epigrams? Naturally, as no one can be compared to you, I dedicate to you the epics of the Greatest Poet".

ALDVS PIVS MANVELVE TOMA WOTENSH S. P. D.

Sidered of the root, which aliens his to this con the

OMHPOY IAIA E.

HOMERI ILIAS.



ba greed w spanie, rentele apatadine et facherte valpreschebe et sa le medie Arbeite, mediade ifrate liberuminelle, que fabat ten pore, tuttus, Greediatus **43.** Demosthenes, Λόγοι δύο καὶ ἑξήκοντα (Sixty-two orations), Libanius, Ὑποθέσεις εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς Λόγους. Βίος Δημοσθένους (Arguments of these speeches, Life of Demosthenes), Plutarch, Βίος Δημοσθένους (Life of Demosthenes), two volumes, Venice, Aldus Manutius, November 1504.

Folio, 327 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 47(7) * Firmin-Didot, 269-272 * Adams D 259 * *OAME*, I, 84-89 * UCLA, I, 96-98(69) * *Manuzio*, 89.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

The Orations of Demosthenes were not printed independently in the incunabula period, in Greek or in Latin translation. Thus, Aldus's *editio princeps* is the first separate edition of the orator's works. *Orationes duae* by "Demosthenes", which was printed by Johann Reinhard (Rome, 1475), is a forgery. Discourses of the Athenian orator are included in anthologies, such as the edition titled *Pharetra*, which was edited by Musurus and published as *Epistles of philosophers*, *orators and sophists* (1499), and in collections of *Letters* of Cicero and Seneca.

Aldus's Preface to the first part of the book, written in Latin, is addressed to Daniele Clario, philosopher and professor from Parma. In the second part, Scipio Carteromachus addresses a preface in Greek again to Clario, and emphasizes the importance of Demosthenes's exercises in rhetoric. Subsequently, Aldus invokes Angelo Gabrieli, a member of the Venetian aristocracy and excellent scholar of Greek and Latin, who greatly admired Demosthenes's orations.

Δημοδένους λόγοι δύο καὶ έξηκοντα.
Αιβανίου στομετοῦ, Κωτο Δέσεις ἐς τδὸ αὐτδὸ λόγοις.
Βίος δημοδεώους, κωτὰ αὐτὸ ν λιβανίον.
Βίος δημοδεώους, κωτὰ ωλούτας χον.

Demosthenis orationes dua & fexaginta. Libanii fophistain easiplas orationes argumenta. Vita Demosthenis per Libanium. Eiusdem uita per Plutarchum.



44. Horae in laudem beatissimae Virginis secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae, Venice, Aldus Manutius, July 1505.

163 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 49(3) * OAME, I, LVIII * UCLA, I, 101-102(74) * Manuzio, 92.

Copies: Gennadius Library.

This is a new edition of the *Horologion* which had been first published in 1497, as it is not embellished with initials and headpieces, nor with the plate of the Annunciation of the Virgin. The only typographic connection between the two editions is the wide usage of rubrication and the fact that the book bears the device of the Aldine anchor, also printed in red, for the first and only time in Aldus's Greek editions.

Αλόδο τε το σουσκί οιο εθ πράπον.
Καλόν το σουσκόζεν
π λόσονο έκ αρνησαίμην αὐ, ἐ τις ἀσσάζοι
τ ἀ το ὑ ὑ μὰ ὑ εὰ ·
Εφῷ δῦ ὁμὲ γενήσε ἐ ἐ ·
Μάπερον , ἰ δοὺ ὑ μὰν ἡ
πρόξονος , λέπω δὰ τοω
τηνὶ τὰ βύ βλον · Μἡ
τε νω ὀκνεπτ ὁμι λεν
αὐτὰ ὁση μέραι, κὴ λαῦ
τα ὀρθερυόμισοι Ζητη
τά κὶ ἐ πρῶπον ἡ τοῦ
θεὲ δασιλέα ἐ ἐρὲωολε.



45. Quintus Smyrnaeus, Κοΐντου Καλαβροῦ Παραλειπομένων Όμήρου βιβλία τεσσερακαιδέκα (Posthomerica) [Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504-1505].

8°. 174 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 261(14) * Firmin-Didot, 272 * Adams, Q 77 * UCLA, I, 98-99(71) * *Manuzio*, 97.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

Quintus of Smyrna, a poet who probably lived in the fourth century CE, wrote *Posthomerica*, ($T\dot{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\theta$ ' " $O\mu\eta\rho\sigma\nu$), a very long epic in fourteen books, which is a continuation of Homer's rhapsodies, and in particular of the *Iliad*.

Aldus used the manuscript of cardinal Bessarion, who had discovered it in Calabria, possibly in one of the monasteries of the Basilian monks, which he supervised. The manuscript included two more poetic compositions: *The Sack of Troy (Ἰλίου ἅλωσις*) by Triphiodorus of Egypt (poet of the fifth century CE) and *The Abduction of Helen* ($A\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\dot{\eta}$ Ἑλένης), a short epic poem by Coluthus of Lycopolis of Egypt.

The discovery of this codex, known as *Quintus Calaber*, was very important to the scholars of Venice, who believed that in the region of Magna Graecia and especially the libraries of Greek monasteries, they might discover precious treasures of Greek and Byzantine literature, hitherto unknown.

In the 1503 Catalogue of Aldine editions, preserved in the National Library of France, Renouard was able to locate hand-written notes of Aldus himself, concerning his future editions: Demosthenes, Aesop, Pontanus, Augurellus, Homer and Quintus.

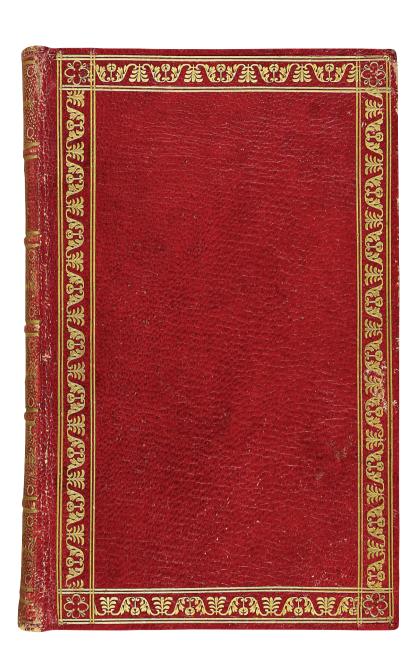
KOINTOY KAAABPOY PAPAAEI.

FOMEN ΩΝ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΒΙΒΑΙΑ

ΤΕΣΣΑΡΕΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑ.

QVINTI CALABRI DERELICTO
RVM AB HOMERO LIBRI
QV ATVORDECIM.





46. Aesop, *Vita & Fabellae Aesopi cum interpretatione latina...* (*Life of Aesop* and *Fables*, Babrius, *Fables*, Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics*, with Latin translation, and other opuscules), Venice, Aldus Manutius, October 1505.

Folio, 152 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 49(6) * Adams, A 278 * *OAME*, I, 92 * UCLA, I, 105-107(77) * *Manuzio*, 95.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

The *Fables* of Aesop were printed several times in Latin translation. The *editio princeps*, dated 1480, was printed by Demetrios Damilas in Milan for the school of Buono Accorsi. Aldus published his first edition of the *Fables* in the same format as the *Carmina* of Gregory of Nazianzus, that is, the Latin translation was separate from the Greek text.

He added another collection of fables to the edition, the *Fables* of Babrius, a hellenized fable writer from Italy who was active mainly in Asia Minor around 20 CE. The collection is comprised of 143 stories, most of which are but a paraphrase of Aesop's fables, with frequent interpolations and fictional elements from other sources.

The third section of the edition consists in the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo of Neilopolis, an author of the fifth century BCE. This is a treatise of doubtful reliability which attempts to explain the meaning of Egyptian hieroglyphs. The text was written in Coptic by an author named Horus Apollo or Horapollo and translated into Greek by an otherwise unknown writer named Philippus. This was the *editio princeps* of the *Hieroglyphics*.

Habentur hoc uolumine hæc, uidelicet.

V ita, & Fabellæ Aesopi cum interpretatione latina, ita tamen ut separari a græco possit pro uniuscuius arbitrio. quibus traducendis multum certe elaborauimus. nam quæ ante tralata habebantur, insida admodú erant, quod facillimum erit conferenti cognoscere.

G abriæ fabellæ tres & quadraginta ex trimetris iambis, præter ultimam ex Scazonte, cum latina interpretatioe. Quas idcirco bis curauimus in formādas, quia priores, ubi latinum a græco feiungi potest, admodum quam incorrecte excusæ fuerant exempli culpa. quare nacti emendatum exemplum, operæpretium uisum est iterum excudendas curare, ut ex secundis prima queant corrigi.

P hurnutus seu ut alii Curnutus de natura deorum.

P alæphatus de non credendis historiis.

H eraclides Ponticus de Allegoriis apud Homerum.

O ri Apollinis Niliaci hieroglyphica.

C ollectio prouerbiorum Tarrhæi, & Didymi, item eorum, quæ apud Sudam, alios' q habentur per ordinem literarum.

E x Aphthonii exercitamentis de fabula. Tum de formicis, & cicadis græce, & latine.

D e Fabula ex imaginibus Philostrati græce, & latine.

E x Hermogenis exercitamentis de fabula Prisciano interprete.

A pologus Aesopi de Cassita apud Gellium.



47. Erasmus, Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, *Adagiorum Chiliades Tres*, Venice, Aldus Manutius, September 1508.

Folio, 257 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 53(2) * Firmin-Didot, 297-303 * Adams, E 418 * *OAME*, I, LXIII * UCLA, I, 111-113(81) * *Manuzio*, 100.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

Erasmus started to collect material for his collection of *Adages* since his first journey to Paris in 1497, when he travelled to that city in order to study under Robert Gaguin and Fausto Andrelini. The first edition of the collection was published as *Collectanea adagiorum* from the press of Johann Philippi, on behalf of E.J. and brothers de Marnef in 1500 and was republished twice, in 1505 and 1507. However, the Aldine edition should be viewed as the *editio princeps*, since Erasmus made several emendations and additions to the texts, profiting from the intellectual atmosphere of Aldus's press while he worked there.

In the House of Aldus, Erasmus met major Greek scholars of his time, Janus Lascaris, Marcus Musurus, Demetrios Doukas and most possibly Ioannis Grigoropoulos, who provided him with abundant material for his collection. Erasmus himself mentions that he had access to the library of the Rialto where he was able to locate the *Anthology* of Michail Apostolis, among other works. He also sourced proverbs from editions in preparation such as Plato's *Complete Works*, the *Lives* and *Moralia* of Plutarch, Aristotle's *Rhetorics* and poetic works of Hesiod, Pindar and others.

Thus, Erasmus was able to enrich his knowledge of Greek literature; he does not limit himself to linguistic and philological commen-

taries, as he did in the 1500 Paris edition, but also incorporates his own observations. The Aldine edition of the *Adagia* includes 3260 proverbs while the Paris reedition of 1507 has only 838. From a scholarly point of view, the *Adagia* constituted a unique manual of ancient wisdom, unlike anything else published until that time. The humanist public and the students of Italian universities and all the

European centres of learning were able to have first-hand knowledge of the philosophical content and moral weight of the sayings and worldviews of great men of Athens and Rome. This edition of Erasmus could be regarded as a precursor to Montaigne's *Essays*.

Characteristic of the rhythms of work in Aldus's press is the fact that Erasmus was forced to correct his texts on the press. One should bear in mind that the year 1508 saw the preparation of the speeches of the *Greek Orators*, the *Opuscula* of Plutarch and the works of Sallustius and Horace, alongside Pliny's *Epistles*.



61. Erasmus writing the Adagia, marginal drawing by H. Holbein from Encomium Moriae, Basel 1515.

Erasmus dedicates his edition to lord W. Mountjoy and declares how much he is indebted to Aldus, whom he thanks especially for his readiness to put the proverbs he had been gathering for a long time at his disposal. He also speeks of the generous aid he received from Janus Lascaris, Battista Egnazio, Marcus Musurus, Urbano Bolzanio and Girolamo Aleandro, without whose assistance the edition would have stayed at the same level as the one published in Paris

in 1507. Erasmus mentions another proof-reader named Serapheim, in relation to the corrections made during the printing of the book.

Erasmus continued to expand and revise the Aldine edition of his *Adagia* throughout his life. The edition published by Henricus Stephanus in 1558 includes a text by Erasmus addressed to scholars everywhere, in which he gives information on the editions of Aldus.

The edition of the *Adagia* opens with a Preface by Aldus, addressed to the *Studiosi* (Firmin-Didot, 299), wherein he speaks of the philological and publishing work of his House, which he compares to that realized by the Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt, thanks to their vast library; the difference being that the latter work remained confined in the walls of their royal palaces, while the work of Aldus is only delimited by the walls of the universe: "Aldus bibliothecam molitur cujus non alia septa sint quam ipsius orbis...".

BRASMI RATERABBMI ADAGIOR VM CHILIADES TRES, AC CENTV-RIAE FERE TO TIDEM.

ALD.STVDIOSIS.S.

Quia nihil aliud cupio, q prodesse uobis Studiosi. Cum uenisset in manus meas Erasmi Roteroda. a nihil alind cupio, di prodelle uobis Studioli. Cum uenifet in manus meas Erafini R oteroda
mi, hominis undecung doctiss. hoc adagiori opus eruditum uarium. plenti boma frugis,
& quod positi uel cum ipia antiquitate certate, intermifiis antiquis autorib - quos paraueram excudendos, illud curauimus imprimendum, rati profuturum uobis
& multitudine ipia adagiori, quae ex plutimis autorib - tam latinis, quam
graecis fitudiose collegit summis certe laborib. summis uigiliis, &
multis locis apud utrius glinguae autores obiter uel correctis
acute, uel expositis erudite. Docet præterea quot modis
ex hisce adagiis capere utilitatem liceat, puta quéadmodum ad uraios sus accomodaria pos. admodum ad uarios usus accomodari posfint. Adde, qd' circiter decé millia uer-fuum ex Homero-Euripide, & cæ teris Græcis eodé metro in hoc opere fideliter, & docte tralata ha bétur,præ ter plu rima ex Platone, Demofthene, & id genus ali is An autem uerus sim,



lobu podes, lobu και το πήσκρα. Nam, quod dicitur, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν αὐλᾶ-

Præponitur hisce adagiis duplex index Alter secundum literas alphabeti nostri nam quæ græca sunt, latina quoq habentur. Alter per capita terum. **48-49. Greek Orators.** *Rhetores Graeci* (Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*, Hermogenes, *Rhetoric Art*, Aristotle, *To Theodectus, three books on Rhetorics, Rhetorics to Alexander*, *Poetics*, Sopater, *Rhetorical questions*, Cyrus the Sophist, *On the difference of state*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Art of Rhetoric*, Demetrius of Phalerum, *On interpretation*, Alexander [Noumenius] *On figures of sense and speech*, Menander [of Laodicea], *Division of causes...*, Aristides, *Oration*, Apsinus [of Gadara], *Precepts of Rhetoric Art*), two volumes, Venice, Aldus Manutius, November 1508 – May 1509.

4°. First volume, 380 leaves, second volume, 228 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 54(4) * Adams, R 447 * *OAME*, I, 97-99

καὶ 103-104 * UCLA, I, 115-117(83), 120-121(87) * Lowry, *Poetics* * Porro, *Vettori - Poetica* * *Manuzio*, 102 and 106.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

The New Academy of Aldus published a two-volume edition titled *Rhetores Graeci*, which included a great number of speeches and rhetorical exercises, most of which were published here for the first time; such are the works of Sopater, Demetrius of Phalerum, Dionysus of Halicarnassus etc. They were edited by Demetrios Doukas, a close collaborator of Aldus and member of his New Academy. Doukas is familiar to us for his editing and publishing activity in Alcalá de Henares, within the larger project of expanding Greek studies promoted by cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros.

Two Prefaces of Aldus enrich the columns of the *Orators*. In the first Preface Aldus dedicates the edition to Janus Lascaris and

RHETORES IN HOC VOLVMINE HABENT VR HI.

A phthonii Sophistæ Progymnalmata. Semipagin	a. 1.
H ermogenis ars Rhetorica.	19.
A riftotelis Rhetoricorum ad Theodecten libri tres.	161.
E iusdem Rhetorice ad Alexandrum.	235.
E iusdem ars Poetica.	269.
S opatri Rhetoris quæftiones de componedis declamationil	ous
in causis præcipuæ iudicialibus.	287.
C yri Sophistæ differentiæ statuum.	450.
D ionysii Alicarnasei ars Rhetorica.	461.
D emetrii Phalerei de interpretatione.	545.
A lexandri Sophistæ de figuris sensus & dictionis.	. 574.
A dnotationes innominati defiguris Rhetoricis.	588.
M enandri Rhetoris divisio causarum in genere demonstrati	uo. 600.
A risterdis de ciuili oratione.	641.
E iusdem de simplici oratione.	663.
A psini de arte Rhetorica præcepta.	682.



acknowledges his assistance in his editions, as Lascaris sought and obtained hitherto unknown and unique manuscripts like the parodies of the Comedies of Sopater, the speeches of Deinarchus, Andocides, Lycurgus and Isaeus, that is, the group of orators who flourished in the time of Demosthenes, among whom was also Antiphon, famous for his witticisms. Aldus writes: "Not only are you a member of the Greek nation, which has given birth to the most eminent and great men, you also belong to the imperial family of the Lascaris, which counts among its members two "saints", named Theodore and Janus: they have the same name as you, the most renowned Greek scholar. Greeks and Latins (Romans) must salute you for your capacity to express yourself equally well in both languages. As for me, I shall never cease to pursue my goal, and by the help of God I shall multiply my efforts, ignoring all obstacles and weariness. However, if by some misfortune I were to become unable to continue my project, be it by adversities impossible to overcome or because I promised things beyond my strength, so that I cannot publish writings which have remained in the dark for years, you can be certain that this is equivalent to someone who retreats so that he can jump further. Hail, Maecenas of our era!"

The second Preface is addressed to Musurus and exalts the latter's inestimable contribution to the transmission of Greek letters at the University of Padua. He also informs readers that in the present edition, after the *Exercises* of Aphthonius and the *Rhetorics* of Hermogenes they shall discover the *Poetics* and *Rhetorics* of Aristotle, treatises which Aldus was unable to include in the philosopher's *Complete Works*, that is, the five-volume *editio princeps* of his other texts (1495-1498).

an Aphthonii Progymnasmata Commentarii Innominati autoris.

Syriani Sopatri Marcellini Commentarii in Hermogenis Rhetorica.



50. Plutarch, Opuscula (Moralia), Venice, Aldus Manutius, March 1509.

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4°. 538 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 55(1) * Firmin-Didot, 317-321 * Adams, P 1634

* OAME, I, 99-101 * UCLA, I, 117-118(84) * Manuzio, 103.
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Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

This was the first Aldine edition of Plutarch's *Moralia*, which were printed under the title of *Opuscula* and include over fifty treatises and essays on ethics, while at the same time embracing most of human sciences such as philosophy, literature, religion, politics, pedagogics and the science of nature. *Moralia* had already been published as *Opuscula Varia* without indication of place, date or printer's name, possibly by Ulrich Scinzenzeler in Milan around 1500.

The edition was prepared by Demetrios Damilas in collaboration with several gifted philologists, among whom were Erasmus, who at the time was working at the press of Aldus as proof-reader, and Girolamo Aleandro. The edition was based on higly reliable manuscripts from the collection of cardinal Bessarion, which by that time had become accessible in the Marcian Library.

Aldus dedicates his edition to Jacopo Antiquario of Perugia who had been secretary to the Duke of Milan until the French conquest of the city and subsequently entered the service of the King of France (Firmin-Didot, 318-321; Bigi, *Antiquari*). The book opens with commendatory epigrams composed by Doukas and Aleandro, in order to honour Aldus and his achievements in humanist studies; "Aldus gives and we correct...".

PLVTARCHI OPVSCYLA. LXXXXII.

Index Moralium omnium, & eorum quæ in ipfis tractantur, habetur hoc quaternio ne. Numerus autem Arithmeti cus remittit lectorem ad femipaginā, jubi tra chantur fingula.



51. Manuel Chrysoloras, Έρωτήματα (Erotemata, Chalcocondyles, On the formation of tenses, Gaza, On Syntax, On Irregular Verbs, On Enclitics, Sentences of various poets), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1512.

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8°. 156 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 59(2) * Firmin-Didot, 328-329 * Adams, C 1506 * OAME, I, 104 * UCLA, I, 121-122(88) * Manuzio, 106.

Copies: NLG (ΕΦ. 1706).
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Contrary to what one might expect, given the great number of first editions of Greek and Byzantine works, and the impressive number of copies (2.000 in the case of Sophocles's *Tragedies*), the manuals of Greek grammar published by Aldus after 1500 are very few. Among his editions on such subjects were the *Epitome* of Constantine Lascaris and the *Introduction to Grammar* of Theodorus Gaza, both published in 1495. The *Erotemata* of Chrysoloras was among the first Greek grammar textbooks to be printed (already in 1469), but did not attract Aldus's interest until 1512. Apparently by that time the number of people, laymen and scholars who were able to read in the original Greek had dramatically increased. Thus Aldus published the second edition of the *Epitome* in 1501 and the third one in 1512, simultaneously with the *Erotemata* of Chrysoloras.

Aldus dedicated the edition of *Erotemata* to the young prince of Aragon, Caesar, third son of Frederick King of Naples (Caracciolo, *Fortunae*). Aside from the *Erotemata*, the book includes grammar treatises such as *On Irregular Verbs* and *On the formation of tenses* by Demetrios Chalcocondyles, *On Syntax* and *On Enclitics* by Theodore Gaza, and *monostichae*, one-line sentences of moralistic character written by several poets.

Ε ρωτήματα τοῦ χρυσολωρά. Τ όρὶ αὐωμάλων ξημάτων. Γ ερὶ χηματισμέ Τ΄ χρόνων ἐκ Τ΄ χαλκονούλε Γ ο τέταρο ν τέ χαζη, πόθὶ σιω τάξεως.

I EEL ER ATTIKEV.

Γ νῶμαι μονός 1 χοι ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητών.

E rotemata Chrysoloræ.

D e anomalis uerbis.

D e formatione temporum ex libro Chalandylæ.

Quartus Gazæ de Constructione.

De Encliticis.

S ententiæ monostichi ex uarijs poetis.





52. Constantine Lascaris, Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν ὀκτὼ τοῦ λόγου μερῶν (Epitome of the eight parts of speech, Cebes, Pinax, Pythagoras, Golden Verses, Phocylides, Poem...[in addition, religious hymns to the Virgin, and passages from the Gospel according to Saint John, in Greek and in Latin translation]), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1512.

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4°. 299 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 262(15) * Firmin-Didot, 329-330 * Adams, L
227 * OAME, I, 105-106 * UCLA, I, 123-125(90) * Manuzio, 107.

Copies: NLG (ΕΦ. 3313).
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In 1512, when he opened his printing press again, Aldus published both the *Erotemata* of Chrysoloras and the third edition of the *Epitome of the Eight Parts of Speech* by Constantine Lascaris, with a Latin translation, as stated before. He also added the *Pinax* of Cebes to the edition and other works intended to edify the youth.

This third edition of the *Epitome* is dedicated to Angelo Gabrieli, a Venetian senator, student of Lascaris and member of the *New Academy* (Dionisotti, *Gabrieli*). The Preface laments the death of Constantine Lascaris, who had died shortly before the release of the second edition of the *Epitome*, in 1501. The *Pinax* of Cebes is of special bibliographic interest as it was initially catalogued as an *incunabulum* of Janus Lascaris, printed in Florence around 1496. Recently though, Giannis Kokonas has argued that the *Pinax* was first published by the press of Quirinal Hill, which issued books for the Greek College of Rome, directed by Lascaris, where Zacharias Kalliergis and Arsenios Apostolis also worked as teachers.

Auntie Gabie

IN HOC LIBRO HAEC HABENTUR.

Constantini Lascaris Byzantini de octo partibus ofonis Lib.I. Eiusdem de Constructione Liber Secundus. Eiusdem de nomine & uerbo Liber Tertius. Eiusdem de pronomine in omni Idiomate loquendi, ac ut poe-

tæ utuntur opusculum.

Hæcomnia habent e regione latinam interpretationem ad uer bum fere propter rudiusculos, ita tamen ut & amoueri, & addi possit pro cuiusquarbitrio.

Cebetis tabula & græca & latina, opus morale, & utile omnibus, & præcipue adulescentibus.

De literis græcis ac diphthongis & quéadmodú ad nos ueniát. Abbreuiationes, quibus frequentissime græci utuntur.

Oratio Dominica & duplex salutatio ad Beatiss . Virginem. Symbolum Apostolorum.

Euangelium diui Ioannis Euangelistæ.

Carmina Aurea Pythagoræ.

Phocylidis Poema ad bene, beatéq uiuendum.

De Idiomatib.linguarum tres tractatus Ioannis grammatici. Eustathii Corinthi cum interpretatione latina.

Introductio per breuis ad hebraicam linguam.



53. Pindar, Ὁλύμπια, Πύθια, Νέμεα, Ἰσθμια (Olympian Odes, Pythian Odes, Nemean Odes, Isthmian Odes, Callimachus, Extant Hymns, Dionysius [Periegetes], Description of the known world, Lycophron, Alexandra), Venice, Aldus Manutius, January 1513.

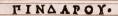
8°. 198 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 64(9) * Firmin-Didot, 363-367 * Adams, P 1218 * OAME, I, 106-108 * UCLA, I, 127-128(92) * Irigoin, Pindare – Mousouros * Ferreri, Musuro, 261-266 * Manuzio, 110.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

None of Pindar's hymns, victory odes or any other work were printed before 1500, in Greek or in Latin translation; the works titled *Iliados Epitome* and *Pro laude Homeri... testimonia*, which are included in the edition *Tractatus de salute corporis* are falsely attributed to "Pindarus Thebanus" (Utrecht, c. 1470). The same is true of *De bello troiano epitome*, which was probably written by Baebius Italicus.

Two years later the *editio princeps* of Pindar's *Odes* was followed by the edition of Zacharias Kalliergis, which was printed together with the commentaries of ancient scholiasts in Rome in 1515 and is in fact the first Greek book published in that city. In his preface, Aldus salutes Andrea Navagero, Venetian senator and librarian of the Marcian Library. He refers to his return to Venice, "this Athens of our time", and the opening of his press shortly after the end of the War of the League of Cambrai. He also speaks of the great scholar Musurus who also had recently returned to Venice.



ολύμπια.

Γύθια.

NÉMEX.

Ia max.

κ αλιμάρου ύμνοι, δι δυ ει σπόμενοι.

ב וסטעסוסע חופנויץאסוק.

Α υκόφρουος άλεξαύθρα, το σκοτεινου ποίημα. PIND ARI.

Olympia. Pythia.

Nemea.

Isthma.

c allimachi hymni qui inueniuntur.

D ionysius de situ orbis. L icophronis Alexandra, obscurum poema.



54. Λόγοι τουτωνί τῶν ρητόρων (Orators' speeches by Aeschines, Lysias, Alcidamas, Demades, Andocides, Isaeus, Deinarchus, Antiphon, Lycurgus, Gorgias, Lesbonax, Herodes; also Life of Aeschines; Life of Lysias), two volumes, Venice, Aldus Manutius, May 1513.

Folio. 142 leaves.

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Bibliography: Renouard, 60 (2) * Firmin-Didot, 333-337 * Adams O 244 * OAME, I, 114-117 * UCLA, I, 131-133(95/1) * Manuzio, 114.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library * AOFL (Cat. n. 19).
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This edition includes rhetoric exercises (*Logoi*) by several orators, some of which had never before been translated into Latin, and were printed here for the first time; such are the text of Alcidamas *On the writers of speeches or On Sophists*, and the fragments of the *Speeches* of the orator and politician Demades of Athens (*Demadea*). The edition also includes samples of the *Logoi* of the prolific orator Deinarchus of Corinth, who was associated with the Peripatus at the time of Theophrastus and Demetrius of Phalerum, as well as fragments of three speeches of the sophist and rhetorician Lesbonax of Mytilene, on historical and political matters.

Aldus addresses his preface to Francesco Faseolo or Fasiol, Great Chancellor (Cancellier Grande) of Venice. He mentions the most eminent members of the latter's lineage, praises Faseolo himself and adds: "if someone asked you how you were able to acquire such knowledge, you might answer him in the manner of Alexander the Great: 'By postponing nothing'".

A ΘΓΟΙ ΤΟΥΤΩΝΙ ORATIONES HORVM TÂN P HΤΟ PΩΝ. RHETORYM. Alogovo. Lyfiæ. Alogovo. Alcidamantis Pars prior Arnostoug. Antifhenis. Δυσον Antifhenis. Δυσον Demadis. Ανθοκίλου. Ifæi. Δεναφ χου. Dinarchi. Αντηφωνς. Antiphontis. Αντηφωνς. Lycungi. Γοργον Gorgiæ. Ακτηφωντος. Lefbonadis. Η φώθου. Herodis. Η φώθου. Herodis. Η μοσον βίος. Item Aefchinis uita. guae pastem ptierem claudit



55. Λόγοι τουτωνί τῶν ρητόρων (Orators' speeches: Isocrates, Speeches, Alcidamas, Against the Sophists, Gorgias, Encomium of Helen, Aristeides, Panathenaicus and Praise of Rome), Venice, Aldus Manutius, May 1513.

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Folio. 142 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 60(2) * Firmin-Didot, 333-337 * Adams O 244

* OAME, I, 114-117 * UCLA, I, 133-135(95/1) * Ferreri, Musuro,
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372-380 * Manuzio, 114.

In his Preface, Aldus dedicates the third volume of the edition of the Greek Orators to Giovanni Battista Egnazio, who studied under Poliziano, priest and ambassador of Venice to the court of Francis I of France. Aldus expresses his anguish over the wars which upset Italy and the whole of Europe, and caused famine and disease, and at the same time states his astonishment at the fact that Letters still flourish in Venice nevertheless. He praises Egnazio for his deep erudition and states how he admires his shining personality, his knowledge and his rhetorical prowess, pointing out that the latter quality is the reason for which he dedicates the *Speeches* of Isocrates to him. He adds that by this move he wishes to show his friendship and his gratitude for Egnazio's help in his publishing project.

Finally, Aldus informs Egnazio that with Musurus's aid he has added other texts to Isocrates's Speeches, such as the speeches of Alcidamas, the *Encomium of Helen* of Gorgias, and the *Panathenaicus* and *Praise of Rome* of Aristides, so that both glorious cities, Athens and Rome, could be present in the volume. This information given by Aldus points to the possibility that Musurus participated in the edition in some form, although he was intensively involved in the Plato edition of 1513 and the subsequent ones of Athenaeus and Hesychius (1514).

I E OKPATOYE AOFOI.

AAKIA AMANTOE, KATA EO & I ET ON.

FOFFIOY, EAENHE EFKOMION.

APIETEIAOY, FANA OHNAIKOE.

TOY AYTOY FOMHE EFKOMION.

ISOCRATIS ORATIONES.

ALCIDAMANTIS CONTRA DICENDI MAGISTROS.

GORGIAE DE LAYDIBYS HELENAE.

ARISTIDIS DE LAYDIBYS ATHENARYM.

EIVSDEM DE LAYDIBYS YRBIS ROMAE.





56. Plato, Ἄπαντα τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος (Complete works), Venice, Aldus Manutius, September 1513.

Folio, 488 leaves.

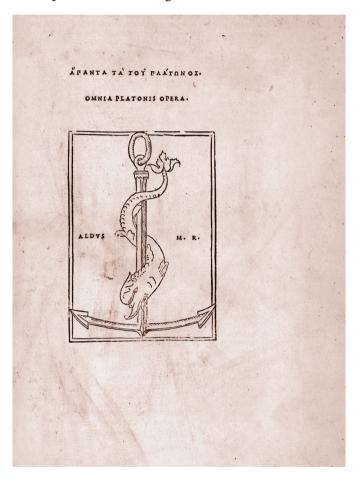
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Bibliography: Renouard, 62(4) * Firmin-Didot, 342-354 * Adams, P 1436 * OAME, I, 120-122 * UCLA, I, 136-137(97/1-2) * Xάρτα, I, 335-338 * Ferreri, Musuro, 132-157 * Manuzio, 116.
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Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library * AOFL.

The most exquisite example of Greek poetry in the Italian Renaissance is the *Ode to Plato* by Marcus Musurus, written for the *editio princeps* of the Athenian philosopher's *Complete Works*. Aside from its literary virtues and impetuosity, the poem is strongly allegorical and symbolic. Musurus invites "divine Plato" to descend from the skies in order to meet the valiant Pope Leo X (Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici), and the circle of scholars and cultivated people who surround him. He asks Plato to inspire the Pope to lead a crusade for the liberation of Greece and Constantinople from the Ottomans. He also incites him to support the letters and the arts, and especially to create the necessary conditions for the propagation of the study of Greek, by founding an Academy modelled on Plato's Academy in Athens.

The publication of Plato's *Complete Works* was a major event for the scholarly circles; possibly, even more significative than the five-volume edition of Aristotle, as the Stagirite philosopher was more widely known through the Latin translations, commentaries and interpretations of his texts, in the Middle Ages and especially from the 12th century onwards. The same was not true of Plato's *Dialogues*: aside from *Timaeus*, in the adaptation of Chalcidius and the trans-

lations of Aristippus (*Meno*, *Phaedo*), no other translation had been attempted until George of Trebizond undertook the *Laws* and *Parmenides*. However, although the *Dialogues*, the *Laws* and *Epinomis* had not been printed in the original, Latin translations of the texts



were available to the philosophical community of Italy and Northern Europe. The *Complete Works* (*Opera*) of Plato had been published in 1484-1485, in the translation of Marsilio Ficino.

57. Alexander of Aphrodisias, Εἰς τὰ Τοπικὰ Ἀριστοτέλους Ὑπομνήματα (Commentary On the Topics of Aristotle), Venice, Aldus Manutius, 15 February 1513/4.

Folio. 145 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 62(5) * Firmin-Didot, 367-370 * Adams, A 655 * OAME, I, 124-126, 128 * UCLA, I, 141-142(100) * Cranz, Prefaces * Ferreri, Musuro, 166-173 * Manuzio, 120.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

In 1513, the same year he published the *Complete Works* of Plato, Aldus put the *Commentaries on Aristotle's Topics* of Alexander of Aphrodisias, the foremost commentator of Aristotle's didactic works, at the disposal of the reading public.

Aldus dedicates the edition to his patron, Alberto Pio and informs him that the *editio princeps* of the *Commentary* on Aristotle's *Topics* was delayed "due to the successive obstacles that I have been encountering for years, in my effort to provide the lovers of Greek and Latin letters with reliable editions. I planned to add the texts of other scholiasts of Plato and Aristotle to Alexander's *Commentary*, and related material which Francesco Vittorio Bergamasco, also known as Francesco il Memoria, an equally eminent philosopher and physician, had composed in Greek, in style and depth which has nothing to envy from the other great commentators of Aristotle. The commentaries of Bergamasco which were destined for this edition covered fifty noteboks, but, to our misfortune, a fire in his house turned all of his manuscripts to ashes, together with his library, which included a great number of Greek and Latin books and his notes on Plato's works, a huge work of interpretation" (Firmin-Didot, 368-369).

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΕΏΣ ΕΊΣ ΤΑ ΤΟΡΙΚΑ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ, ΥΓΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΑ.

ALEXANDRI APHRODISIEI IN TOPICA
ARISTOTELIS, COMMENTARII.



58. Σονίδας, (Suda, contributors = Eudemus, Helladius, Eugenius, Zosimus, Caecilius, Longinus, Lupercus, Justin, Pacatus, Pamphilus, Zopyrus, Polio), Venice, Aldus Manutius, February 1514.

Folio, 398 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 70(11) * Firmin-Didot, 398 * Adams, S 2062 * *OAME*, I, 128 * UCLA, I, 142-144(101) * *Manuzio*, 121.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

The *Lexicon of Suda* (or *Suidas*) was probably composed in Constantinople in the 10th century, since it is mentioned already from 976. It is the major encyclopedic dictionary of the Byzantine era and to date constitutes a unique resource on several people and now-lost works which disappeared during late antiquity. The *editio princeps* of the *Lexicon* was printed in Milan in 1499 by G. Bissoli and B. Mangio. It was edited by D. Chalcocondyles, who states that he toiled greatly, as he was unable to find a sufficient number of adequate manuscripts in order to compare ambiguous passages. This edition was published only a few days before Aldus's death; it was based on a new manuscript discovered by Aldus himself, which allowed him to emend the *editio princeps* of 1499 and clarify some obscure references. Aldus placed a short epigram at the head of the edition, explaining the order of entries in *Suda*.

"Αλδος ὁ Μανούτιος τοῖς ἀναλεξομένοις, εὖ πράττειν. Ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τουτουὶ τοῦ Σουίδα οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ τάξις θεωρεῖται τῶν γραμμάτων, ἥτις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀλφαβήτου, ἄλλη τις καὶ διάφορος, δοκῶ μοι ἀφέλιμόν τι ποιήσειν τοὺς σπουδαίους, εἰ νῦν ὑποθήσομαι, τίνα τρόπον ἐνταῦθα ἕπονται ἀλλήλοις τά τε γράμματα καὶ αἱ δίφθογγοι· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ τῆς ἀλφαβήτου ὁμοῦ ἄπαντα, ὡς ἕπεται ἀλλήλοις ἐφεξῆς, ἔπειτα δὲ ἰδὶα ἕκαστα τῶν εἰρημένων, ὧδε.

TO MEN PAPON BIBATON, EOYTAA. OT AE EYN-TAZÁMENOI TO ÝTO, ÄND PEZ ZO O Ó.

ε υόν μος όπτος, σου λέξεων νωτά συχώνου.

πλάλος ἀδή θεοθούν τε νέου, όμούως.

υχένες αύγουσο πόλεως της ώ φεργής παμμητη λέξεν νιμτά συχώνου.

αμμος αλάκο λέξε έπτου νέος, νωτά συχώνου.

α ακώ λιος σικλιώτης έκλογών λέξεων νιμτά συχώνου.

Α ογίνος δ νιμάλος, λέξει νιμτά συχώς.

Α ού πόργος βυρύπος, λέξει νιμτά συχώς.

αύ πόργος βυρύπος, λέπικώ λέξες.

αύ πόνος δύ λιος σου κές κές που παμαίλου γλωλιών, Ειθλίων οίνεν.

κουτα ωος .

Τ άιμβος ποθώ στωνθείων ὰτί εκόρ ημετά επιχέιου.

Τ άμβολος, λήμώνα λεξεων το πιάλου περιοχόν GiGλίων ώνενδικοντα πέντε έξτ

διάχό τος εξοιχέιο, δως π΄ ω. ττὰ τὰ άχό π΄ τὰ, μέχοι π΄ δι, 2 απορίων έπτονίκό.

Τ ωλίων άλ εξαν δρώς, άπι εκών λέξεων στω αποχόν ημετά ξουχέιου.



59. Hesychius, Λεξικόν (Lexicon), Venice, Aldus Manutius, August 1514.

Folio. 200 leaves.

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Bibliography: Renouard, 66(3) * Firmin-Didot, 377-379 * Adams, H 506 * OAME, I, 143-144 * UCLA, I, 147-148(104) * Latte, Hesychii * Charta, I, 340-341 * Ferreri, Musuro, 174-178 * Manuzio, 124.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library * AOFL (cat. no 20).
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Hesychius of Alexandria compiled one of the most extensive dictionaries of antiquity, whose initial title was probably $\Sigma vv\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\dot{\eta}$ πασῶν λέξεων κατὰ στοιχεῖον [Alphabetical Collection of all the words]. The compiler himself states which were his sources: Diogenianus of Heraclea, Apollonius the Sophist, Aristarchus of Samothrace etc. The scarce biographical evidence on Hesychius the grammarian led earlier scholars to attribute the *Dictionary* to Hesychius Illustrious of Miletus.

The *editio princeps* of Aldus was prepared by Marcus Musurus, and was also republished by the house of Giunta in Florence in 1520. The mansucript used (*OAME*, II, 372) was the only known manuscript at the time, and belonged to the scholar and mathematician Giangiacomo Bardellone of Mantua. Both Musurus and Aldus noted philological emendations and observations directly on Bardellone's ancient manuscript, something which contemporary scholars did not fail to criticize.

Aldus informs his readers that he has not maintained the initial alphabetical order of the dictionary; instead, he has adopted a slightly different order: for example the diphthong EI has been placed between Z and H, etc. Adamantios Korais testified to the importance of the dictionary, by singling out words and idioms still used in his time.

HEYXIOY AEZIKÓN.
HESYCHII DICTIONARIVM.



Francis Planeliney Emit Rome to a Dulii 16 ya

60. Athenaeus, Ἀθηναίου Δειπνοσοφιστοῦ τὴν πολυμαθεστάτην πραγματείαν... (Deipnosophists), Venice, Aldus Manutius, August 1514.

Folio. 171 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 67(4) * Firmin-Didot, 379-383 * Adams, A 2096

- * OAME, I, 144-146 * UCLA, I, 148-150(105) * Bühler, Athenaeus
- * Irigoin, *L'édition princeps* * Ferreri, *Musuro*, 173-192 * *Manuzio*, 125.

Copies: A. Oikonomopoulos Collection – Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.

The only extant work of the prolific author Athenaeus of Naucratis is *Deipnosophists*, which however has not survived intact. Nevertheless, it provides information on people and works otherwise unknown. It is a very original work, whose plot unfolds during a dinner at the house of the Roman Larensius. Twenty-nine people, grammarians, artists, jurists, musicians and philologists and others, including Galen the physician, converse endlessly, citing over 700 authors and 2.500 of their studies, most of which are now lost.

Musurus again prepared the text for publication. He only disposed of fragments of manuscripts, something which made his work even harder. Aldus dedicated the edition to Janus Vyrthesis (or Vértessy) Pannonius, the Hungarian humanist. He congratulates him and the Hungarians on their impressive progress in the cultivation of Greek letters, which is dated from the time of his apprenticeship under Musurus in Venice. Aldus judges Vertessy to be so accomplished in Greek that he might bring the Muses to his country and converse with them in Attic dialect.

ATHENAEVS

Α Ο Η Ν Α Ι Ο Υ Δεπνοσοφισού των πολυμωθετάτην πρωγματείαν νων ξετί σου φιλολόγε με κριν προκεμβία πολλών τε κρά μεγάλων πολ) αξ τομνομούν τε κρά θεωρατών κρι) ποικίλον κρι δεωρατών κρι) ποικίλον κρι δεωρατών κρι) ποικίλον κρι δεωρατών κρι) ποικίλον κριά δεωρατών κρι το κριά δεωρατών κριν ποικίδια το πορά το κριν ποικίδια το πορά το πορά δεωρατών κριν ποικίδια το πορά με το πορά το

αλλίω μυπολλάς μέν μυειάθες ολος Σώσαν τι
στραλμάτω πο λλούς διξΣους τῶν πος ερεσωγομένων «μεταί»
λογάθεν πρώτρου αναγικωποιομένους
Νολίχνι πρώτρου αναγικωποιομένους
Νολιχύδνι, ἐες πέν προσέκεσαν τῆς ὶ μμέζου
ποξεως δίνει ένδω άπουμεποιοποί με ζώς κ ἐνδωίδι»



61. Aldus Manutius, *Grammaticae Institutiones Graecae* [edited by Marcus Musurus], Venice, *in aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri*, November 1515.

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4°. 142 leaves.

Bibliography: Renouard, 73(10) * Firmin-Didot, 406-409 * Adams, M 538 * UCLA, II, 13-14(120) * Ferreri, Musuro, 198-203.

Copies: KPL, Delialis Catalogue (n. 74).
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Aldus's Greek Grammar was only published after his demise. Musurus made Aldus's vision come true nine months after the latter's death, in November 1515. This grammar textbook of Aldus was not warmly received by the circles of Greek scholars and thus was never printed again.

Musurus dedicated the edition to Jean Grolier, a renowned lover of European literature and prominent bibliophile, the copies of whose book collection stand out with their elaborate bindings. Musurus praises Aldus, who devoted his life to the publication of the monumental works of Greek literature and thus rendered them accessible to the reading public. He also confides to Grolier that shortly before he died, Aldus entrusted his *Grammar* to him so that it could be published. Musurus offers Grolier a copy of the edition to add to his unique and rich library. He also informs the French scholar of the intentions of Andrea d'Asola, who had undertaken to continue Aldus's project to publish major texts of ancient literature, several of which were already being edited. Some examples are the works of Galen, Strabo's *Geography*, the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch, the *Description of Greece* by Pausanias, the *Library* of Diodorus Siculus etc.

ALDI MANVTII ROMANI GRAMMA-TICAE INSTITUTIONES GRAECAE.



The Greek Editions of the House of Aldus

Andocides of Athens 216 Aelius Aristides, $\Lambda \dot{\phi} \gamma \sigma \zeta$ (Speech) 214, 216 Anonymous, Βίος Άγίου Νικολάου Παναθηναϊκὸς (Panathenaicus)(Life of Saint Nicholas) 168 Antiphon of Athens 216 Ρώμης ἐγκώμιον (In praise Aphthonius, Προγυμνάσματα of Rome) 228 (Progymnasmata) 218, 220 Aelius Herodianus of Alexandria, Apollonius, «Τῶ σωτῆρι Χριστῷ Παρεκβολαὶ μεγάλου ρήματος παραβάλλοντος» (Comparison (Commentary on the great with Christ the Saviour) 196 Verb) 134 Apsines of Gadara, Τέχνη ρητορική Aeschines 226 (Rhetoric) 214 Aesop, Μύθοι (Fables) 208 Aratus, Φαινόμενα (Phaenomena) Alcidamas of Elaea, Κατὰ σοφιστῶν (On the Sophists) 228 Aristophanes, Κωμωδίαι Alexander Numenius, Τέχνη (Comedies) 150 ρητορική (On rhetorics) 214 Aristotle, Άπαντα (Complete Alexander of Aphrodisias 232 Works) 128, 136, 142, 144, 148 Ammonius Hermiae, Υπόμνημα εἰς Aristotle, *Ρητορικ*ή (*Rhetoric*) 210 τὸ περὶ ἑρμηνείας Ἀριστοτέλους Aristotle, *Ρητορικ*ὴ πρὸς (On Aristotle's On Interpretation) Άλέξανδρον (Rhetoric 186 to Alexander) 214, 216 Ammonius of Alexandria, Περὶ τῆς ἐπεκδοθείσης διορθώσεως Aristotle, *Ρητορικ*ὴ πρὸς (On the diorthosis that Θεόδεκτον (Rhetoric to Theodectus) 214, 216 underwent an epekdosis) 138

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ρητορικῆς (On rhetoric) 214

Demosthenes, Λόγοι (Speeches)

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Dionysius Aelius of Halicarnassus, Περὶ ἀκλίτων ρημάτων (On non-declinable verbs...) 134

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Τέχνη Ρητορικὴ (The Art of Rhetoric) 214

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Notes

1. A vast corpus of literature is available on Aldus Manutius, his life, education, publishing activities, close collaborators, his contacts with the wider circle of Venetian Renaissance humanists and his patrons and helpers.

A classical reference is Malcolm Lowry's *The world of Aldus Manutius*. *Business and scholarship in Renaissance Venice*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1979, which has become a companion to the study of Aldus and his publishing work and touches upon crucial points related to his contribution to Letters, in Italy as well as in Northern Europe.

Concerning the editions, both of Aldus himself and the heirs of his House, the pioneering work of Ant. Aug. Renouard, Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde ou histoire des trois Manuce..., Paris, Chez Jules Renouard, libraire, 1834, remains an essential source. Also very important is the edition of Ambroise Firmin-Didot, Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme à Venise, Paris, Typographie d'A. Firmin-Didot, 1875. The Prefaces and dedicatory notes which Aldus incorporated in his editions constitute an invaluable testimony on the adversities he faced in his monumental task, and have been collected and published in two elegant volumes by Giovanni Orlandi (original text, Italian translation and commentary) with an introduction by Carlo Dionisotti, titled *Aldo Manuzio editore. Dediche – prefazioni* - note ai testi, Milan, 1975 (=OAME, I, II). His abundant correspondence was published by Ester Pastorello, L'epistolario Manuziano. Inventario cronologicoanalitico 1483-1597, Venice-Rome, Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1957. Finally, the catalogues compiled by N. Barker, Kathryn Chew, Anthony R. A. Hobson, Sue Abbe Kaplan, Paul G. Naiditch, Frank S. Russell, Bradley D. Westbrook and Ellen Wright-Attamian, under the title A Catalogue of the Ahmanson-Murphy Aldine Collection at UCLA, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1989, constitute a major source on Aldine editions.

Also illuminating on the editions of Aldus, both the incunabula and later

works are the Catalogues compiled for exhibitions celebrating anniversaries or other occasions. From 1986 in collaboration with M. Manoussakas, we have been organizing exhibitions, on the publishing activity of Greek scholars in Italy, accompanied by the corresponding catalogues. See for example Ἡ ἐκδοτικὴ δραστηριότητα τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς Ἀναγέννησης, 1469-1523, bilingual edition (Greek-Italian), Athens, Ministry of Culture, 1986, in which we mention the contribution of Musurus to Aldus's publishing venture (102-125). The exhibition of Florence was repeated in several European capitals and other cities, and the accompanying edition was reproduced, always in bilingual format (Greek and English, French, German, Dutch etc.) and expanded according to the occasion. Of special interest is the edition created for the exhibition *Graecogermania*, *Griechischstudien deutcher Humanisten*. *Die Editionstätigkeit der Griechen in der italienischen Renaissance (1469-1523)* edited by D. Haarfinger etc., Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliotek, 1989, in honour of Rudolf Pfeiffer.

In 1993, within a series of events hosted by the Greek Foundation for Culture, an exhibition of Aldine editions was organized in the Greek Institute of Venice; again it was accompanied by a bilingual catalogue by M. Manoussakas and K. Staikos, titled *Venetiae quasi alterum Byzantium. Le Edizioni di Testi Greci da Aldo Manuzio e le prime tipografie Greche di Venezia*, Athens, 1993, in which thirty-five editions of Aldus were presented in alphabetical order.

A year later, in 1994, two documented catalogues of Aldus's works were printed in Italy. The first is titled *Aldo Manuzio e l'ambiente veneziano*, *1494-1515*, edited by Suzy Marcon and Marino Zorzi, with contributions by Paolo Eleuteri, Tiziana Plebani, Anna Campos and Gabriele Mazucco (Il cardo, Venice 1994). The second Catalogue was compiled on the occasion of the International Congress "Convegno internazionale Aldo Manuzio e la cultura rinascimentale" celebrated at the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence (17 June – 30 July 1994). It was published under the title *Aldo Manuzio tipografo 1494-1515*, (L. Bigliarri – A. Dillon-Bussi – G. Savino – P. Scapecchi eds), Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale – Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Octavo, Francesco Cantini Editore, 1994.

Finally, we cite the edition in memory of F. D. Murphy: David. S. Zeitberg – Fiorella Giofredi Superbi (eds), *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture, Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy, Acts of an International Conference, Venice and Florence, 14-17 June 1994*, Florence, L. Olschi, 1998.

2. Emmanuel Adramyttenos may not have been a particularly conspicuous figure on the humanist scene (nor one about whom much is known), but one cannot help thinking there must have been something remarkable about his personality and the level of his scholastic attainments to win the admiration and close friendship of Pico della Mirandola, Aldus and Poliziano. He left no original writings, and all we know about his career is that he worked as a copyist and as a teacher. We are left with the impression of a deep thinker and an ardent admirer of classical civilization and ancient Greek literature, who was chiefly noted for the elegance and purity of his language. Aldus describes him as a "great friend" who was devoted to him; Pico della Mirandola, an exacting man, learnt Greek from him; and he even won the friendship of the tetchy Poliziano.

Adramyttenos was born in Crete, probably in 1444, into a family that presumably came from Adramyttion in Asia Minor. He was taught by Michail Apostolis for seven years, starting when he was ten (this would have been in 1454, when Apostolis came back to Crete from Constantinople) and was soon his teacher's favourite pupil. However, he was enticed away from his studies by a youth also called Emmanuel, said to come from a town called Eilos in the Peloponnese (perhaps a pun on the word ειλωτες, the "helots" of ancient Sparta?), and, against strong opposition from his teacher, he left Crete with is namesake. Their original intention was to go to Mount Athos and then on to Italy. According to Apostolis's version of events, Adramyttenos eventually made his way back to Crete, having failed to find work either in Italy or anywhere else, and tried to lure Apostolis's wealthiest pupils away from him. And it may well be true that he was hoping that these young codex copyists would copy rare manuscripts for him which he would then sell in Italy. Be it as it may, in about 1460 Apostolis, a man of pugnacious spirit, wrote a broadside against the two Emmanuels, directing most of his fire at the young Peloponnesian: see "Discours de Michel Apostolis contre les deux Emmanuel ses disciples" in Noiret, H., *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis*, Paris 1889, 154-162.

We do not know exactly when Adramyttenos finally emigrated to Italy or how he came to meet Aldus, nor do we have much information about what he did in his early years there, nor even about the nature and extent of is involvement in Aldus's education. Although Aldus speaks most affectionately of Adramyttenos, to whom he was indebted for much of his extensive knowledge of Greek (as he himself acknowledges), curiously enough he does not mention him in any of his Prefaces, whereas Domizio Calderini, Guarino da Verona and Battista Guarino are all mentioned. From the dating of the manuscripts attributed to Adramyttenos, it appears that he worked mainly as a copyist, that from 1466 to 1468 he was in northern Italy, possibly in Padua, working in collaboration with Michail Apostolis, and that for a time Laskaris was working with them: see Young, D., "A Codicological Inventory of Theognis Manuscripts" in *Scriptorium* VII (1953), 36.

One of Adramyttenos's manuscripts which is of enormous significance for the light it throws on the relation between copyists and early Greek printers is the *Βατραχομνομαχία* (Young, o.c. 23). This manuscript, which has the explanatory notes in red interspersed with the lines of text all the way through, may have been the one used for the edition printed by Laonicus and Alexandrer. A date around 1466 may be tentatively ascribed to it. No conjectures are needed, however, with regard to the connection between Laonikos and Adramyttenos, with or without Apostolis as a link between them as both had been Apostolis's pupils. It can be stated categorically that Adramyttenos's handwriting, somewhat epistolary in style,was not the model for the types used by Laonikos and Alexandros (for a specimen of his writing see Hunger H. (ed.) *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, Part I: "Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens", vol. II/ IC, Vienna 1981, no. 112). On the tradition of the text of the *Batrachomyomachia* see Tomadakis, V. F., "Νεοελληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις, παραφράσεις καὶ διασκευαὶ τῆς Βατραχομυομαχίας" in *Άθηνᾶ* 17 (1973).

Another who studied Greek with Adramyttenos, besides Aldus, was the great Pico della Mirandola; see the letter of 1482 from Giorgio Merula to Pico

in Dorez, L. "Lettres inédites de Jean Pic de la Mirandole", GSLI XXV (1895) 356 ff. While at Mirandola in 1483, Adramyttenos wrote two letters to Poliziano dated 15th April and 4th July. In the first he talks about their friendship, expresses his admiration for Poliziano's immense fund of knowledge ("τρόφιμε Μουσῶν καὶ τῆς σοφίας ἐραστὰ γνήσιε") and mentions that he is cultivating the friendship of Giovanni de' Medici. It has often been said that this was sent to Poliziano as a covering letter with Adramyttenos's commentary on the Sibylline *Oracles*, but there is no positive evidence of that. Indeed, Adramyttenos sent the Sibylline Oracles to a certain Emmanuel Kappadokes, living in Crete, who is not known from any other source: "I now send you the Sibylline Oracles. Take pride in them, with all the faithful, to the glory of Christ." In the second letter Adramyttenos offers Poliziano his condolences on the death of his brother Desiderio Ambrogini. Both letters are published without explanatory notes in Legrand, E., Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe publiées intégralement pour la première fois d'après le codex Trivulvianus 873, Paris 1892, 351-354, 356-359. The commentary on the Sibylline Oracles and the letters to Poliziano and Emmanuel Kappadokes, together with some hymns and other works by Poliziano and an anonymous writer, are preserved in three manuscripts: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 11283; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS matr. gr. 4672; and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS mon. gr. 321. The letters have not been annotated as yet; the article by C. O. Zuretti, "Una lettera di Manuel Adramitteno ad Angelo Poliziano", edited after his death by L. Castiglioni and published in *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo de Scienze e Lettere*, 2nd ser., LXV (1932) 520-522, merely gives a more accurate transcription of one of the two letters published by Legrand. If Poliziano was in some way the dedicatee of Adramyttenos's commentary, that work may perhaps have had some connection with the excerpt from the Sibylline Oracles which Poliziano included in his Miscellanea.

Legrand (*Cent-dix lettres*...355) also publishes two other letters written by Adramyttenos, one addressed to "Cato" and one to Francesco Mariani. The first of these is of interest because the Cato in question is thought to be none other than Aldus, whom Giambattista Scita once addressed by that name

("Docto et Erudito iuveni D. M. Alto Catoni amico primario"): see P. de Nolhac, "Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce. Matériaux nouveaux d'histoire littéraire (1483-1514)", *Studi e documenti di storia del diritto* (a) 8 (1887), 247-299; (b) 9 (1888), 203-248; republished Turin, Bottega di Erasmo, 1961. Adramyttenos stayed at Mirandola until late July 1483, when he moved in with his patron Pico della Mirandola at Pavia, and there he died in 1485, aged only forty-one. Aldus mourned his death in a letter to Poliziano dated 5th November 1485: "Erat enim homo et moribus apprime ornatus et graecis litteris saneque doctus, meique amatissimus. Non possum igitur non moerere, tali amico orbatus..." (see Poliziano, *Opera Omnia*, Venice 1498 VII I ii; and Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce...*, o.c.).

On Adramyttenos's relations with Pico della Mirandola and Poliziano see Greswell, W. P., Memoirs of Angelus Politianus, Joannes Picus of Mirandola..., London/Manchester 1805, 160. Michail Apostolis prefaces his poem "Aπoστολίου τοῦ Βυζαντίου στίχοι ἰαμβικοί, ἡρωικοὶ καὶ ἡρωοελεγεῖοι εἰς τὰς δεσποτικάς ἐορτὰς καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐλλογίμους τῶν ἁγίων" with a dedicatory note to Adramyttenos: See Legrand, BH I lxviii; Laourdas, V., "Μιχαὴλ Ἀποστόλη άνέκδοτα ἐπιγράμματα", Ἐπετηρὶς Ἱστορίας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 20 (1950) 173-174. For more information on Adramyttenos see Sathas, Νεοελληνική φιλολογία. Βιογραφίαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι διαλαμψάντων Ἑλλήνων, ἀπὸ τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας μέχρι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐθνεγερσίας (1453-1821), Athens, 1968, 110; Schoell M., Histoire de la littérature grecque profane, depuis son origine jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs, vol. VII, Paris, 1825, 334; Firmin-Didot, Alde Manuce, o.c., 543; H. Semper - F. Schulze - W. Barth, Carpi: Ein Fürstensitz der Renaissance, Dresden 1882; Legrand, BH II 258; Noiret, Lettres Inédites..., o.c., 29-30; A. Della Torre, Storia dell'Accademia Platonica di Firenze, Florence, 1902, 749-752; L. Bianchi, "Bemerkungen zu Manuel Adramyttenos", Byzantinische Zeitschrift 22 (1913), 372-376; P. Kibre, The Library of Pico della Mirandola, New York, 1936, 16, 23, 36, 165; E. Garin, "Il carteggio di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola", Rinascita 5 (1942), 569-573; M. Wittek, "Chronique", *Scriptorium* 7 (1953), 288-289; D. J. Geanakoplos, Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1962; M. Lowry, The World of Aldus Manutius, o.c.; M. Sicherl, Johannes Cuno. Ein Wegbereiter des Griechischen in Deutchland. Eine biographischkodikologische Studie, Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1978, 75 and N. Barker, Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script and Type in the Fifteenth Century, Connecticut, Sandy Hook, 1985.

On his work as a copyist see Marie Vogel – V. Gardhausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, republished Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1966, 116; Young, "A Codicological...", o.c., 3-36; Patrinellis, "Έλληνες κωδικογράφοι τῶν χρόνων τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως", Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ ἀρχείου 8-9 (1958-1959), 63-124 and Hunger, *Repertorium*, o.c., vol. I, 76.

- 3. Aldus corresponded with Poliziano (see Pastorello, *L'epistolario Manuziano...*, o.c., 323) and his major sign of acknowledgement of Poliziano's philological talent was publishing the latter's complete works, *Opera* (1498). It should be noted that when Poliziano died on 24 September 1494, Aldus had already published or was completing Musaeus's *Hero and Leander*: See Ida Maier, *Ange Politien. La formation d'un poéte* (1469-1480), Geneva, Droz, 1966.
- 4. There is a rich corpus of literature on the library of cardinal Bessarion and its unique content, as well as on the calligraphers who worked for him and the circle of scholars who surrounded him in Rome. Major studies on his library as well as his life and work have been authored by Lotte Labowsky: "Manuscripts from Bessarion's Library found in Milan, Bessarion Studies I", *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1961), 109-131; "Il cardinale Bessarione e gli inizi della Biblioteca Marciana", in A. Pertusi (ed.), *Venezia e Oriente tra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Florence, Sansoni, 1966, 159-182; "Bessarione", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, Istituto dell' Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960, 686-696; *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana. Six Early Inventories*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1979.

For an overview of Marcian Library, and Renaissance humanism in Aldus's time see M. Zorzi, *La libreria di San Marco. Libri, lettori, società nella Venezia*

dei Dogi, Milan 1987. Of special interest is the article by Malcolm Lowry, "Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 57, 1 (1974), 128-166.

- 5. A corresponding table and bibliography are included in the *Charta*, I, 371-373. See also L. Ferreri, *L'Italia degli Umanisti*, *Marco Musuro*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2014, 347-454. For more information on the editions edited exclusively by Musurus and those in which he possibly participated: Musaeus, *Hero and Leander* (c. 1495), Ioannes Crastonus, *Dictionarium graecum* (1497), Urbanus Bolzanius, *Institutiones Graecae grammaticae* (1497-98), Aristophanes, *Comedies* (1498), Angelo Poliziano, *Omnia opera* (1498), *Epistulae diversorum...* (1499), Maximus Planudes, *Anthology* (1503), Plutarch, *Opuscula* (1509), Pindar, *Odes* (1513), *Greek Orators* (1513), Plato, *Complete Works* (1513), Cicero, *Epistulae* (1513), Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Commentary on Aristotle's Topics* (1513-14), Hesychius, *Lexikon* (1514), Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* (1514).
- 6. The testimony of Ioustinos Dekadyos on the peculiarities of Aldus's Greek type obviously indicates that Aldus did not choose the Byzantine calligraphic script but rather the script which Byzantine scholars used in their correspondence. See A. Tselikas, "From Manuscript to Print" in *Greek Letters: From Tablets to Pixels*, M. S. Macrakis (ed.), Newcastle, Oak Knoll Press, 1997, 83-92.
- 7. To date there is no comprehensive study on Marcus Musurus, teacher of Greek and Greek literature in Italy, copyist, eminent collector of manuscripts and printed texts, editor of the first publications of Greek works and major collaborator of Aldus, which would appraise his overall contribution to letters, especially the impact of his teaching at Padua in conjunction with his activity in Aldus's printing press. Nevertheless we dispose of several recent editions on specific activities of his.

Geanakoplos (*Greek Scholars...*, o.c.) composed the first documented study of Musurus intellectual activity in Italy and his work in Aldus's publishing House. The *Charta of Greek Printing* lays out the editions of Musurus in more

detail, comparing them with earlier *editiones principes* and Latin translations of these works. The *Charta* also deals with Musurus'participation in the press of Kalliergis and Vlastos in Venice, the house of Giunta in Florence, and printing presses of Rome.

Several biographical data can be sourced from Musurus's correspondence with Greek and other scholars, which has been edited by M. Manoussakas and Ch. G. Patrinellis: "Ή ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ Ἰωάννου Γρηγορόπουλου μετὰ τοῦ Μάρκου Μουσούρου, Ά. Αποστόλη, Ζ. Καλλιέργη καὶ ἄλλων λογίων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως χρονολογουμένη (1494-1503)", Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 10 (1960), 163-201, see also M. Manoussakas, "Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία τῶν Γρηγοροπούλων χρονολογουμένη", Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 6 (1956), 156-209 and Fani Mavroïdi Ploumidi, "Ἐγγραφα ἀναφερόμενα στὶς ἔριδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας στὰ τέλη τοῦ ιε' αἰἀνα", Θησαυρίσματα 8 (1971), 115-187.

On the library of Musurus, see the fundamental study of E. Mioni, "La biblioteca greca di Marco Musuro", *Archivio Veneto*, p. V, 93, (1971), 5-28, and "L'*Antologia Greca* da Massimo Planude a Marco Musuro", in *Scritti in onore di Carlo Diano*, Bologna, Patron, 1975, 263-309. Also see Ferreri, *L'Italia degli Umanisti...*, o.c., 457-582.

On Musurus's copying activity, extensive bibliography is available, and was recently collected by D. Speranzi: Speranzi, D., *Marco Musuro. Libri e scrittura*, Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2013. For earlier bibliography, see M. Sicherl, "Musuros-Handschriften", in J. L. Heller - K. Newman (eds), *Serta Turyniana. Studies in Greek Literature and Palaeography in Honor of Alexander Turyn*, Chicago/ London, University of Illinois Press, 1974, 564-608 as well as D. Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen griechischen Handschriften*, 2 volumes, Berlin, N. Mielhe, 1974-1980.

Regarding Musurus's teaching at Padua, Geanakoplos collected information from studies on the Greeks of Padua and his correspondence with his students (*Greek Scholars...*, o.c.), while Ferreri also dealt with his lectures (*L'Italia degli Umanisti...*, o.c., 429-469), citing information from the testimonies of his Paduan students and from Musurus's correspondence; see also C. Belloni, "Lettere

greche inedite di Marco Musuro (cod. Ambr. D 137 suss. 41-41 bis)", *Aevum* 76 (2002), 647-679.

- 8. Not much information is available on the life and work of Ioustinos Dekadyos, apart from the data cited in *Charta* (I, 326-327) and the study of Evro Layron, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy. Printers and Publishers for the Greek World*, Library of the Hellenic Institute of Bzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies No. 16, Venice 1994.
- 9. On Ioannis Grigoropoulos's work see *Charta* (I, 377-379) which includes a chronological *Table* of his correspondence (420-421). On his lectures at the University of Padua, which were attended by J. Cuno, see H. D. Saffrey, "Un humaniste dominicain, Jean Cuno de Nuremberg, précurseur d'Érasme à Bâle", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 33 (1971), 19-62, and on his role in the publishing house of Vlastos and Kalliergis see *Charta* (I, 377-8). Stephanos Kaklamanis has contributed new information on I. Grigoropoulos [S. Kaklamanis, "Giovanni Gregoropoulo, copista di testi greci e collaboratore di Aldo Manuzio a Venezia (1494-1505)"], included in Mario Infelise (ed.), *Aldo Manuzio e la costruzione del mito*, *Atti del convegno internazionale (Venezia 26-28 febbraio 2015)*, Venice 2016 (forthcoming).
- 10. On the life and work of Demetrios Doukas see Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars...*, o.c., and Manoussakas Staikos, Ή ἐκδοτικὴ δραστηριότητα τῶν Ἑλλήνων..., o.c., 97-109; see also Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book...*, o.c., 276-280.
- 11. See J. Monfasani, George of Trebizond, A biography and a study of his Rhetoric and Logic, Leiden, 1976.
- 12. The *Rules of the New Academy* of Aldus attracted systematically the attention of bibliographers from the early 19th century onwards, starting with Renouard (*Annales...*, o.c., 499-503), and subsequently with Firmin-Didot (*Alde Manuce..*, o.c., 435-470). M. Lowry [in his article "The 'New Academy" of Aldus Manutius:

a Renaissance Dream", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 58, 2 (1976), 378-420] expressed his reservations as to whether the members of the Academy followed the *Rules* while working at the House of Aldus, but later reconsidered somewhat (*The World of Aldus Manutius...*, o.c., 196-200).

- 13. See Ferdinando Ongania (ed.), *Early Venetian Printing Illustrated*, Venice, F. Ongania / London, John. C. Nimmo / New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895, 64.
- 14. The initials of Aldus's Greek edition hitherto catalogued and presented here fall into four categories regarding their dimensions. All initials were printed in black ink except for those illustrating the liturgical editions *Psalter* and *Hours of the Virgin*. An exhaustive study of the initials would entail their bibliographic recording after reviewing all of Aldus's Greek editions, something beyond the scope of this study. In their majority, initials and headpieces have been reproduced in the editions: Ongania, *Early Venetian Printing...*, o.c., 110-11, 127-128 and Susy Marcon, "Una Aldina Miniata" in *Aldo Manuzio ambiente...*, o.c., 107-133.
- 15. The headpieces which adorn Aldus's Greek editions were designed in harmony with the initials. They are not distinguished by their originality but instead consist in variations of already published headpieces. In general, none of them was printed in red and they are usually of one size.
- 16. On the occasion of the congress and exhibition which took place at KENTPO ΓAIA (January-June 2011), under the sponsorship of Niki Goulandri, I wrote a short essay titled Τὸ βιβλίο. Διαχρονικὴ πορεία στὴν ἐκπαίδευση (Athens, Aton, 2011). In this booklet, relying on the thesis of Fevronia Nousia, Byzantine Textbooks of the Palaeologan Period, London 1077, 77-130 [earlier bibliography: P. Browning, "Homer in Byzantium", Viator 8 (1975), 15-33; R. Lamberton J. J. Keaney (eds), Homer's Ancient Readers: Greek Epic's Earliest exegetes, Princeton, NJ, 1992, 134-148; N. G. Wilson, Scholars of Byzantium,

London 1996, 229-264; Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance* (1261-c. 1360), Leiden / Boston / Cologne, 200, 144-166, 226-306], I came to the conclusion that the texts normally taught at the Byzantine schools also formed the basis for the publishing projects of printing presses from the incunabula era to the mid-16th century at least. According to this view, it is obvious that these editions were destined at humanist scholars and students, something corroborated by the fact that Aldus, in order to reduce the cost of Greek editions and make them easier to consult, established the "pocket-size" book in 1502 with Sophocles's *Tragedies*.

17. From *The Greek Anthology, with an English Translation by W. R. Paton*, vol. II, London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1917 (Translator's note).

18. From *Lucian*, vol. VII, translated by M. D. Mac Leod, Loeb Classical Library 432, Harvard, 1967 (Translator's note).

Collection abbreviations

AOFL = Alexander S. Onassis Foundation, Athens.

DPL = Dimitsana Public Library

FMDL = Father Marios Dapergolas Library, Athens

GL = Gennadius Library, Athens

GLM = Great Lavra Monastery, Mount Athos

KL = Kanellopoulos Library, Athens

KPL = Kozani Public Library

LM = Limonos Monastery, Lesbos

LPL = Leros Public Library
MET = Meteora Monastery
MPL = Milies Public Library

MSJT = Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, Patmos

NLG = National Library of Greece

OML = Olympiotissa Monastery Library, Elassona PL = M. Papathomopoulos Library, Athens. SLFL = Spyros Loverdos Foundation Library

TUL = Thessalonica University Library

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ZPL = Zagora Public Library

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