

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 cronologico-analitico 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 ἐκδοτική 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 deutscher Humanisten. Die Editionstätigkeit der Griechen in der italienischen Renaissance (1469-1523)* edited by D. Haarfinger etc., Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 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 εἰλωτες, the “helots” of ancient Sparta?), and, against strong opposition from his teacher, he left Crete with his 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 his 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 *Βατραχομυομαχία* (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., “Νεοελληνικά μεταφράσεις, παραφράσεις καὶ διασκευαὶ τῆς Βατραχομυομαχίας” in *Ἄθηνᾶ* 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, Adramytenos 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 ("τρόφιμη 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 Adramytenos's commentary on the *Sibylline Oracles*, but there is no positive evidence of that. Indeed, Adramytenos 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 Adramytenos 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 Adramytenos'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 Adramytenos, 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 “Ἀποστολίου τοῦ Βυζαντίου στίχοι ἰαμβικοί, ἥρωικοὶ καὶ ἥρωοελεγείοι εἰς τὰς δεσποτικὰς ἑορτὰς καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἔλλογιμοὺς τῶν ἀγίων” with a dedicatory note to Adramyttenos: See Legrand, *BH* I lxviii; Laourdas, V., “Μιχαὴλ Ἀποστόλη ἀνέκδοτα ἐπιγράμματα”, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἱστορίας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 20 (1950) 173-174. For more information on Adramyttenos see Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ φιλολογία. Βιογραφίαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι διαλαμπάντων 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 Deutschland. Eine biographisch-kodikologische 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; Patrinely, “Ελληνες κωδικογράφοι τῶν χρόνων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως”, *Ἐπετηρίς 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 poète (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. Patrinnelis: "Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ Ἰωάννου Γρηγορόπουλου μετὰ τοῦ Μάρκου Μουσούρου, Ἀ. 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 - Ploumidī, "Ἐγγραφα ἀναφερόμενα στὶς ἔριδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας στὰ τέλη τοῦ 15 αἰῶνα", *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 Byzantine 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, *Ἡ ἐκδοτική 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 ΓΑΙΑ (January-June 2011), under the sponsorship of Niki Goulandri, I wrote a short essay titled *Tò βιβλίο. Διαχρονική πορεία στην εκπαίδευση* (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. Lambertson – 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).