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Evro Layton

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THE HISTORY OF A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY GREEK TYPE REVISED

Evro Layton

ABSTRACT: This article attempts to study the history of a sixteenth-century Greek type in Italy. The type was produced under the auspices of Cardinal Marcello Cervini who wished to publish some of the manuscripts from the Vatican Collections. Cervini commissioned the Roman printer Antonio Blado to be in charge of the project. Since Blado did not own Greek type and had no experience with Greek he invited Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, the noted printer of Greek in Venice, to come to Rome and take charge of the cardinal's project. The scholar-scribe Nikolaos Sophianos also joined the project along with Benedetto Giunta, a bookseller in Rome who represented the cardinal. The Greek font designed and cut for this project appeared in several works in Rome and was designated by scholars as Greek 1. To this day nobody has been able to match Greek 1 with the handwriting of any of the scribes working in Italy during this period. When the association of Sophianos with the cardinal's project came to an end, Greek 1 became very much in demand and was used by a number of well-known printers in Rome, Florence and Venice. It required a series of legal actions to prove that Greek 1 belonged to Sophianos who finally took possession of his type and other equipment. He used it to print a number of publications. The type later passed into the hands of Vasileios and Hippolitos Valeris and later to some other minor publishers of Greek liturgical books. It was still in use as late as the mid-1580s.

The aim of this article is to describe Cardinal Marcello Cervini's attempt to resurrect Greek printing in Rome and to trace the history and fate of Greek 1, the first font used for his project.

In 1539, Cardinal Marcello Cervini, also known as Cardinal di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, was the librarian of the Vatican library. He wanted to publish some of the sacred Greek texts from the manuscripts of the Palatina, as the Vatican library was known at the time. His initiative was received with great interest and enthusiasm by the intellectuals of his time.¹

Rome, unlike Venice and Florence, had a poor record in Greek printing. Aside from some very early attempts to include Greek quotations in Latin books in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the only Greek books printed in Rome came from the press of Zacharias Kalliergis between 1515 and 1523. These included the books he printed between 1517 and 1520 under the auspices of the Greek Gymnasium press, which was under his direction since he was an official

¹ See the letter of Donato Giannotti to Piero Vettori, in R. Ridolfi and C. Roth, *Lettere a Piero Vettori*, Florence: Vallecchi, 1932, p. 82.

of the school.² Before Zacharias Kalliergis' arrival, the only work printed in Rome was a booklet composed of a handful of prayers in Greek and Latin, the *Operetta bellissima da imparare la lingua greca*, compiled by Paolo Enea and printed by Stefano Guillery and Ercole Nani in 1510.³ In 1526, Dimitrios Doukas of Crete printed in Rome the first edition of the Greek liturgies.⁴ After this date Greek printing in Rome became virtually non-existent.

Leon Dorez was the first scholar to study and write extensively about the Cardinal's project. Cardinal Cervini with the encouragement of his pupil, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the nephew of Pope Paul III, decided to publish some of the Greek and Latin manuscripts from the Vatican collections.⁵ He appointed the Roman printer Antonio Blado to be in charge of the printing of the Greek texts.⁶ Since Blado did not know Greek and had no Greek type at his

² For the earlier bibliography on Zacharias Kalliergis see Evro Layton, *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, 16, Venice 1994, pp. 318-333. See also C. S. Staikos, "The printing shop of Nikolaos Vlastos and Zacharias Kallierges. 500 years from the establishment of the first Greek printing press", *La Biblio filia* 102 (2000), pp. 11-32. For the Gymnasium press see note 10 below.

³ Fr. Barberi, "Stefano Guillery e le sue edizioni romane", *Studi offerti a Roberto Ridolfi*, Biblioteca di Bibliografia Italiana, 71, Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1973, pp. 93-145 and his "Stefano Guillery e le sue edizioni romane (1506-1524)", in his *Tipografi romani del Cinquecento. Guillery, Gimnasio Mediceo, Calvo, Dorico, Cartolari*, Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1983, pp. 9-55.

⁴ É. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, Brussels 21963, Vol. I, no. 76 (henceforth *BH*); D. J. Geanakoplos, *Greek scholars in Venice*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard: University Press, 1962, pp. 223-255; E. Layton, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-280; M. Menato {et al.}, eds., *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani. Il Cinquecento*, Milano: Editrice Bibliografica, 1977, Vol. I, pp. 401-403 (henceforth *DTI*).

⁵ L. Dorez, «Le cardinal Marcello Cervini et l'imprimerie à Rome (1539-1550)», *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 12 (1892), pp. 289-313; R. Ridolfi, "Nuovi contributi sulle 'stamperie papali' di Paolo III", *La Biblio filia* 50 (1948), pp. 183-197; B. M. Galanti, "Note per la storia dell'arte della stampa in Roma: la 'Stamperia Camerale' ed i suoi stampatori", *Bollettino dell'Istituto di patologia del libro* 7 (1948), pp. 17-20; P. Paschini, "Un cardinale editore. Marcello Cervini", *Miscellanea di scritti di bibliografia ed erudizione in memoria di Luigi Ferrari*, Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1952, pp. 383-413; S. Morison, "Marcello Cervini Pope Marcellus II bibliography's patron Saint", *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 5 (1962), pp. 301-319.

⁶ For Antonio Blado see F. Barberi, "Blado, Antonio", *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 10 (1968), pp. 753-757; E. Vaccaro-Sofia, "Documenti e precisazioni su Antonio Blado ed eredi tipografi camerale del sec. XVI", *Bollettino dell'Istituto di patologia del libro* 9 (1950), pp. 48-85. See also *DTI*, Vol. I, pp. 147-149.

disposal the cardinals suggested that he go to Venice to buy Greek types and the necessary equipment, and to consult with Paolo Manuzio.⁷ In Venice Blado also came into contact with the well-known printer Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio who had considerable experience not only as a printer of Greek but also as an engraver and punchcutter. He also met Nikolaos Sophianos, a scribe and scholar who in the past had been a student at the Greek Gymnasium and was therefore a student both of Ianos (Janus) Laskaris, the director of the Gymnasium, and of Zacharias Kalliergis, who was in charge both of the pupils and the press of the school. In 1539 Sophianos lived and worked in Venice copying manuscripts. Apparently Stefano was hired to cut the Greek types for Cardinal Cervini's project in Venice and to join the operations of the press in Rome. Nikolaos Sophianos' role in the Cardinal's initiative is less clear. Many of the earlier accounts of the Cardinal's project, including those of Dorez, do not mention Sophianos at all.⁸

Nikolaos Sophianos was one of the best educated and talented of the Greeks residing in Italy during the sixteenth century. He was born in Corfu and belonged to the prominent family of the Corfu Sophianoi.⁹ At an early age he was sent to Rome to attend the Greek Gymnasium founded by Pope Leo X on the Quirinal Hill under the direction of Ianos Laskaris.¹⁰ At the school he also

⁷ P. Manuzio, *Epistolarium Pauli Manutii libri XI*, Venetiis: In Aedibus Manutianis, 1573, pp. 27-29. See also *DTI*, Vol. I, pp. 147-149.

⁸ See note 5 above.

⁹ For the earlier bibliography on Sophianos see St. Kaklamanis, «Μιχαήλ Ροόέτος: Κορωναίος κωδικογράφος του 16ου αιώνα», *Αφιέρωμα στον Πανεπιστημιακό Δάσκαλο Βασ. Βλ. Σφυρόδερα*, Athens: Lychnos, 1992, p. 65, note 30 and E. Layton, *op. cit.*, pp. 460-472.

¹⁰ I. E. Kalitsounakis, «Ματθαῖος Δεβάρης καὶ τὸ ἐν Ρώμῃ Ἐλληνικὸν Γυμνάσιον», *Αθηνᾶ* 26 (1914), pp. 81-102; B. Knös, «Laskaris et le Collège grec du Quirinal», in his *Un ambassadeur de l'hellénisme, Janus Lascaris*, Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1945, pp. 140-158; V. Fanelli, "I Ginnasio Greco di Leone X a Roma", *Studi romani* 9 (1961), pp. 380-381 [= his *Ricerche su Angelo Colocci e sulla Roma cinquecentesca*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1979, pp. 91-110]; J. Ruysschaert, «Trois recherches sur le XVI^e romain», *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria* 3, ser. 25 (1971), pp. 12-13; Fr. Barberi, E. Cerulli, "Le edizioni greche 'in Gynnasio mediceo ad Caballinum montem'", *Atti del Convegno di studi su Angelo Colocci*, Jesi, 13-14 settembre 1969, Jesi: Amministrazione Comunale, 1972, pp. 61-76 and Fr. Barberi, *Tipografi romani del Cinquecento. Guillery, Ginnasio Mediceo, Calvo, Dorico, Cartolari*, Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1983, pp. 59-76; A. Hobson, "The printer of the Greek editions 'In gymnasio Mediceo ad Caballinum Montem'", *Studi di Biblioteconomia e Storia del Libro in Onore di Francesco Barberi*, Rome: Associazione italiana biblioteche, 1976, pp. 331-335. Markos Mousouros refers to the Greek Gymnasium in a letter to I. Laskaris in his Aldine edition of Pausanias, 1516, see *BH*, Vol. I, no. 51, pp. 148-149.

must have studied with Zacharias Kalliergis who was the Headmaster in charge of the pupils.¹¹ When the school closed its doors shortly after the death of Pope Leo X in 1521, Sophianos remained in Italy and like many of his classmates (Matthaios Devaris, Constantinos Rhallis and Christophoros Kontoleon)¹² earned his livelihood by copying manuscripts for wealthy patrons such as Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi and Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador in Venice. Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza also commissioned Sophianos to go to Greece to purchase or copy manuscripts for him. It is said that Sophianos had brought back some 300 manuscripts for him. These manuscripts are now incorporated into the collections of the Escorial.¹³

Sophianos was also a pioneer in promoting the use of the Greek vernacular. He wrote a grammar of spoken Greek which remained in manuscript form until Émile Legrand published it in 1870 and again in 1874.¹⁴ As early as 1533, he had written a dialogue in modern Greek in Agostino Ricchi's manuscript of *La commedia dei tre tiranni*.¹⁵ He is also known for his translation into modern Greek of pseudo-Plutarch's *Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς*.¹⁶

¹¹ M. Manousakas, «Η παρουσίαση από τον Ιανό Λάοκαρη των πρώτων μαθητών του Ελληνικού Γυμνασίου της Ρώμης στον Πάπα Λέοντα Ι' (15 Φεβρουαρίου 1514)», *O Eparvios* 1 (1963), pp. 161-172.

¹² See Matthaei Devarii, *Liber de Graecae linguae particulis*, Romae: Apud Fransciscum Zannettum, 1588 (BH, Vol. II, no. 179), pp. 54-55. In his introduction the nephew of Matthaios, Petros Devaris, gives the names of the other students and friends of his uncle at the Gymnasium.

¹³ BH, Vol. I, p. cxc. See also A. Gonzalez Palencia and E. Mele, *Vida y obras de Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, Madrid 1941-43, Vol. I, pp. 253-257; J. Irigoin, «Les ambassadeurs à Venise et le commerce des manuscrits grecs dans les années 1540-1550», *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*, Florence: L. S. Olchki, 1977, Vol. II, pp. 399-415, especially pp. 402-403. See also A. Hobson, "The Library of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza", *Actas del XVIII Congreso de la Association Internationale de Bibliophilie*, Madrid 1993, pp. 39-51.

¹⁴ Nikolaos Sophianos, *Γραμματικὴ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσης*, Ἀθήνησιν: Ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου τῆς Πανδώρας 1870 [Grammaire du Grec Vulgaire], Paris: Maisonneuve, 1874. See also Th. Papadopoulos, *Νικολάου Σοφιανού Γραμματική της Κοινῆς των Ελλήνων Γλώσσης*, Athens: Kedros, 1977, especially pp. 167-254.

¹⁵ See M. Vitti, *Nicola Sofianos e la Commedia dei tre tiranni di A. Ricchi*, Napoli 1966, pp. 30-34 and his «Επα θεατρικό πείραμα του Νικολάου Σοφιανού», *Πρακτικά Τρίτου Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου*, Athens 1969, Vol. II, pp. 254-256.

¹⁶ Παιδαγωγός, Ἐπυπώθη εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν ἐν οἰκίᾳ Βαρθολομαίου τοῦ καλλιγράφου, 1544 [i.e. Bartolomeo Zanetti], BH, Vol. I, no. 107. This work is printed with Greek 1 and not the type that belonged to Bartolomeo Zanetti.

Unlike the earlier generation of immigrant Greek scholars in Italy who, for the most part, edited books of classical literature and composed grammars of classical Greek for Western consumption, Sophianos wanted to focus on the education of his compatriots by acquainting them with the classics through translations into the spoken language of his time. He discussed his plans with many of his Greek friends and former classmates from the Greek Gymnasium who seemed to be in agreement with him. However, as far as we know there were no other translations of ancient Greek texts made by Sophianos after the publication of his *Παιδαγωγός*. Probably his ideas were ahead of his time and he was unable to obtain the financial backing necessary to carry out his project.¹⁷

Sophianos also excelled as a cartographer. He published an up-to-date map of Greece giving both the ancient and modern Greek place names which is not extant today. Some sources maintain that it was published in 1536, others c. 1540 or before 1543.¹⁸ Nicolas Gerbel of Basel published a book to go with Sophianos' map in 1545.¹⁹ Soon after publishing his map Sophianos also produced a placard²⁰ which gives in alphabetical order all the names included in his map in modern Greek as well as in Italian. This folio broadside printed before 1545 was very well received and praised by his contemporaries.²¹ In 1552, Sophianos' map came out in another, perhaps abridged edition, *Totius Graeciae descriptio*.²²

¹⁷ See his letter to Bishop Dionisio Zanettini describing his plans reproduced in *BH*, Vol. I, pp. 247-249. See also P. Ziogas, «Μία κίνηση πνευματικής αναγεννήσεως του υποδούλου ελληνισμού κατά τον 16ο αιώνα», *Ελληνικά* 27 (1974), pp. 299-303.

¹⁸ See *BH*, Vol. I, p. cxi. See also L. Bagrow, *History of cartography*, enl. R. A. Skelton, Chicago 1985, pp. 157-159, 272; C. G. Zaharakis, *A Catalogue of Printed Maps of Greece 1477-1800*, Athens: Samourkas Foundation, 1992, no. 2242, which states that “there are no known copies of the first (1536) and second (1544) woodcut editions of the map no. 2242”.

¹⁹ *Nicola Gerbelij in descriptionem Graeciae Sophiani, praefatio*. Basileae, ex officina Ioannis Oporini, 1545. A second edition came out under title *Nicola Gerbelii Phorcensis pro declaratione picturae sive descriptionis Graeciae Sophiani*, Basileae: Per Ioannem Oporinum, 1550.

²⁰ *Nomina antiqua et recentia urbium Graeciae descriptionis A. N. Sophiano iam aeditae*. See *BH*, Vol. I, p. cxii.

²¹ *BH*, Vol. I, pp. cxci-cxciiii. For more information on Sophianos as a cartographer and his influence on later cartographers see R. W. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the sixteenth century and their Maps*, Chicago: The Newberry Library by Speculum Press, 1993, pp. 495-499.

²² *BH*, Vol. II, no. 246.

As mentioned above, the contribution of Sophianos to Cardinal Cervini's project received little attention at the time. It was not until more recent years that a series of documents published by various scholars have revealed that Sophianos was the legal owner of the first Greek type cut for Cardinal Cervini's publications.

The type in question, designated Greek 1, belonged to Nikolaos Sophianos and was used to print the very first book produced with this type, an undated work written by Sophianos himself entitled *Περὶ κατασκευῆς καὶ χρήσεως κρικωτοῦ ἀστρολάβου*. Émile Legrand believed that the Astrolabe was printed by Sophianos in Venice c.1544. However, Alberto Tinto is undoubtedly correct in concluding that the Astrolabe was the very first work printed in Rome c.1542 with the newly designed type.²³ Andreas Moustoxydis, in his biographical essay on Sophianos published in 1843, also suggested that the Astrolabe was the first work printed in Rome.²⁴ In the dedication to Pope Paul III, Sophianos refers to the newly-cut type produced at the instigation of Cardinal Cervini.²⁵ This work was followed by the publication of the commentaries to the four gospels by Theophylaktos, Archbishop of Bulgaria.²⁶ The Theophylaktos work contains no mention of editor or even printer but has the eagle device of Antonio Blado on its titlepage. Again there is no mention of Sophianos' role in the production of this work.

The only contemporary mention we have of this first Greek type designed and cut for Cardinal Cervini is a vague and confusing reference in a letter by Donato Giannotti to Piero Vettori from Rome, dated 22 January 1542, which says that the Greeks have also produced a Greek type: "I greci hanno fatto anchora eglino una lettera greca".²⁷ Giannotti's letter refers to "the Greeks" as if the production of the type was a cooperative affair and if one compares Greek 1 with Sophianos' own handwriting, at least to this writer's untrained eye, there is no resemblance between the two.²⁸ Giannotti goes on to say that with this

²³ *BH*, Vol. I, no. 111; A. Tinto, "Nuovo contributo alla storia della tipografia greca a Roma nel secolo XVI. Nicolo Sofiano", *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1965), pp. 171-175.

²⁴ See his «Νικόλαος Σοφριανός», *Έλληνομνήμων* no. 4 (1843), p. 240.

²⁵ *BH*, Vol. I, p. 266, where the text of the dedication to the Pope is reproduced.

²⁶ Θεοφυλάκτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας, *Ἐρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα Εὐαγγέλια*, Romae 1542.

²⁷ R. Ridolfi and C. Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

²⁸ To be on the safe side, I sought the expert opinion of Monsignor Paul Canart of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, who examined the handwriting of Sophianos and compared it to Greek 1. Monsignor Canart informed me that Greek 1 is not based on Sophianos' own handwriting. I wish to express my thanks and gratitude to Monsignor Canart for answering my many queries throughout my researches on Greek typography.

πριν γιγήτων μηνί γέλον. Καὶ εἰς τὰ Οδύσσειαν δέ. Καὶ ἐκεὶ γῆρας ὁ μούσος τὸ ξέρον μεθώθει του, παρεκβαλοῦσι ταῦθις ταῦθις τὸν εἰκλογὴν κατεύθυνθιναν μετανοεῖν. οὐ μάλις οὐλατεῖσιν τοινιδέμνοις αὐτὸν τέλος θέρισαν. οὐαὶ μὲν τις ἐκφλυαρίζων τὸ περάγμα, μητρίστη μικρὸν ἡμίτις καυπιτόρον περιχατεῖγεται. οὐσαντις γε τοῦ θεοῦ πάντιν δύναμιν, ποιούστος ἰστος ἔται. Καὶ θαρρων ταῖς παρέστησιν, τὸ πάρον ἐργον τρέψει. ἀλλὸς τοιούτος, οὐαὶ κακοῦς κρίνον. οὐαὶ μὲν ταπείνων ἐργοῦμεν (τινιστότες ταύτας κατεύθυντα παραρματα—καὶ Αισθέτα μαντα). Εἰ δὲ καὶ τυπῷ ὁ σύντομος ἀρχαῖον, ὀρθὸδοξίαν, ἀλλὰ μητρίτης καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτος ἐπιβαλλούμενος τῷ τρόπῳ, οὐαὶ εἰ μὲν τέρπον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς γοῦν αἰτίαρροις (εἰσιν αἰτίαστοι), ἀγορεύειν τοις ἐν ταῖς θεοῖς Φορτίον ἀραιτεῖς. οὐτε μονὸν ἐν τῷ πρόθυρών οἱ στοφοί, τὰς Ιλιαδός περὶ τραχοφούσιν, οὐτε ἐκείνων αἰναλεκτέον. οὐτε μὲν πράκτουσι οὐαὶ, ἀμαυρώσουσι ταῖς πάνταις ἀλλοι. Καὶ κανὼν μέσην θηραί/θεατρού. Καὶ σκαριματα τὸ πάντη ταῖς ἀλλοῖς μετεπείραφιν, ἐφελ καὶ γέδοται. ἐκείνα δὲ καὶ μάνα πάντιν σωτηρίας περιστρέψιν σύνταῦθα. Οὐ τὰς Ομήρου ταῦτασι οἱ μοι, εἰς τὸ παντελές ἐσπίαζον. καὶ ωδῶν αἰχαρώματι οὐαὶ τὸ θυντής αἰθρίῳ τίνισας λαλῆν, αἰθηγαρον πάντας καὶ εἰς αἰλυροφύσιον μετεβαθτο. καὶ οὐ μόνον εἰ τὸ πάντα μυθικὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὄμολογον μηδένιον ιστορύμενα. τὸν Αγαμέμνονα, τὸν Αχελέα. τὸν Νίστορα. τὸν Οδυσσέα. τὸν λοιπὸν γένεα. οὐδὲ μικτὴν τὸν θυντήν εἰς διάφορας οὐαὶ οὐλατένιον. Εἰσδομή δὲ ἀπειναγόντα πάντης ἐκείνωνες ἐλθόντες, θέτεισαν τὸν θυντήν τοις οὐρανοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θυντήν περιστρεψάντοις μετέσχον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θυντήν πονηρούμενοι γονόφοροι μόνοι καὶ τοιςαύτούς τοις αἰναγαργούν οὐδεὶς πάντης, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ λοις αἰφνίσαντες οὐαὶ οὐλατένιοντας παρέστητον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ιστορίας αἰφνίσκον οὐ τοσοῦτος ἔχειν. Καλλωπεγένεσιν τοις θυντήντες, καὶ οὐδὲ μάθοις δὲ ἀπαραπονήσοις εἰς αἰλυροφύσιον εἴναι περιστέταξεν. οὐ μὲν οὐ καὶ τοῖς ἔξις οὐλατένιοτες, καὶ οἱ Αρίσταρχος. οὐ πάντιν καλλωπεγένεσιν τοις θυντήντες, οὐ δὲ αἰριβέσθοις, οὐτοπόρ ταῖς ιστορίας εἰφέταιστον μόνεν αἰφνίσειν, οὐτοπόρ ταῖς μάθοις περιμετατελεῖσθαι;

Εύσταθίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης, Παρεκβολαι εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὁδύσσειαν, Romae [1542].

type they printed the Theophylaktos and also began to print Eustathios' commentaries on Homer. The publication of the Eustathios was Cardinal Cervini's most ambitious project by far.²⁹

Who were these Greeks mentioned in the Giannotti letter? Giannotti, who was at the time in residence at the palace of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi, was undoubtedly referring to the Greek scholars who worked for Cardinal Ridolfi. These were Nikolaos Sophianos, Matthaios Devaris, Michael Kontoleon, Kostantinos Rhallis and an unidentified Demetrios.³⁰

²⁹ Εύσταθίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης, *Παρεκβολὴ εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν*, 4 Vols., Romae [1542]-1550. Volume 4 contains the index prepared by Matthaios Devaris [col. Vol. 3, 1549]= apud Antonium Bladum asulanum, & socios, typis Ioannis Honorij Manliensis salentini Bibliothecae Palatinae instauratoris.

³⁰ See R. Ridolfi, "La biblioteca del cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi (1501-1550). Nuovo contributo di notizie e di documenti", *La Biblio filia* 31 (1929), pp. 173-193, especially pp. 182-184.

After the publication of the first volume of the Eustathios printed with Greek 1 (20 lines= 97-98 mm), the printing of the remainder of the volumes was interrupted until a new smaller type became available. It appears that the large type and the wide margins used for the first volume were too expensive and Cardinal Cervini wished to reduce the costs of production drastically. At this point, Nikolaos Sophianos' connection with the operations of Cardinal Cervini's project came to an end and he returned to Venice. Soon after, he left for Greece to buy manuscripts for Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.³¹ The remainder of the Eustathios volumes used the types designed by Giovanni Onorio da Maglie who at this time was working as a copyist and restorer for the Vatican Library.³² It appears that Nikolaos Sophianos must have also been in charge of editing the Theophylaktos and the first volume of the Eustathios. When in 1545 the printing of the Eustathios was resumed, Niccolò Maiorano was hired to oversee the editing of the remaining volumes of the Eustathios.³³

Although Sophianos' connection with the printing of the Eustathios came to an end, both Cardinal Cervini and Benedetto Giunta (a bookseller in Rome who was in partnership with Nikolaos Sophianos to produce the type and with Antonio Blado and Cardinal Cervini to distribute the works) retained possession of Sophianos' moulds and other printing equipment. Nikolaos Sophianos had at his disposal only a set of matrices of Greek 1. Cardinal Cervini had also kept a set of matrices in his possession which he later loaned to the Giunti in Florence who modified the moulds and produced a set of letters measuring 20 lines= 100 mm. The Giunti firm used the Sophianos type in their publications well into the 1590s.³⁴

A series of documents published in more recent years fill in the gaps about the fate of Greek 1. The first to publish a document that contained information

³¹ See note 13 above.

³² B. Rainò, *Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, trascrittore di codici Greci*, Bari 1972, pp. 21-48; M. L. Agati, "Giovanni Onorio da Maglie: Caratteri a mano – caratteri a stampa", *Scriptorium* 48 (1994), pp. 122-140; M. L. Agati, P. Canart, C. Federici, «Giovanni Onorio da Maglie 'instaurator librorum graecorum' à la fin du Moyen Age», *Scriptorium* 50 (1996), pp. 363-369; M. L. Agati, "Giovanni Onorio da Maglie e il problema dei suoi imitatori", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 51 (1997), pp. 243-275.

³³ For the particulars of the contract signed (20 February 1545) by Cardinal Cervini, Antonio Blado and Benedetto Giunta with Maiorano see L. Dorez, «Le cardinal Marcello Cervini», pp. 289-313. See also W. A. Pettas, *The Giunti of Florence*, San Francisco: B. M. Rosenthal, 1980, pp. 309-316: Document 16.

³⁴ See A. Tinto, "The history of a sixteenth-century Greek type", *The Library*, 5th ser., 25, no. 4 (1970), pp. 292-293, states that the Giunti used the modified Greek 1 types from 1548 until 1594.

that Nikolaos Sophianos had taken part in the Cervini project was Eugenio Casanova.³⁵ This document mentions in passing Sophianos' partnership with Benedetto Giunta to fashion and produce the printing types for the Cardinal's Greek publications. In the same document we also learn for the first time that the man who cut Greek 1 and also took part in the printing of both the Theophylaktos and the Eustathios was Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, the well-known printer of Greek in Venice.³⁶ According to the documents, some of the types were cut in Venice. Stefano later moved to Rome and became a member of the Blado operations both as a printer and punchcutter. Since Blado did not know Greek and had never published a Greek work before this period, the subsequent publications of Antonio Blado's Greek works were most probably printed for him by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio.³⁷

In order to be reimbursed for his part in the printing and editing of the Theophylaktos and the first volume of the Eustathios and to recover his moulds and matrices held by Benedetto Giunta and his lawyer Jacopo Apocello, Sophianos was forced to take a number of legal actions. The process took some nine years of repeated legal appeals.³⁸ Sophianos was finally able to recover all

³⁵ "Le carte di Costantino Corvisieri all'Archivio di Stato di Roma", *Gli archivi italiani* 7, no. 1 (1920), pp. 30-32.

³⁶ For the Nicolini da Sabbio see E. Layton, *op. cit.*, pp. 402-420. See also E. Layton, "Andreas Kounadis and the Nicolini da Sabbio", *To Έντυπο Ελληνικό Βιβλίο 15ος-19ος αιώνας. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου, Δελφοί, 16-20 Μαΐου 2001. The Printed Greek Book 15th-19th Century. Acts of the International Congress, Delphi, 16-20 May 2001*, Athens: Kotinos, 2004, pp. 69-79; E. Sandal, *Il mestier de le stamperie de i libri. Le vicende e i percorsi dei tipografi di Sabbio Chiese tra Cinque e Seicento e l'opera dei Nicolini*, Comune di Sabbio Chiese: Grafo, 2002, pp. 9-82. See also Cr. Stevanoni, "La grande stagione dei libri greci", *ibid.*, pp. 83-110. See also L. Carpané, "Annali tipografici, Venezia 1521-1551", *ibid.*, pp. 121-233.

³⁷ For the Greek works published by Blado see *Catalogo delle edizioni romane di Antonio Blado Asolano ed eredi (1516-1593)*, 4 Vols., Roma 1891-[1961], Vols. 1-2 compiled by G. Fumagalli and G. Belli Vols. 2-4 compiled by E. Vaccaro Sofia. See Vol. 1, nos. 66, 67, 78, 79, 83, 107, 161, 183; Vol. 3, nos. 1193, 1220; Vol. 4, nos. 1523, 1527.

³⁸ For the various attempts made by Nikolaos Sophianos to recover the moulds, matrices and other equipment from Benedetto Giunta see: Ph. Mavroedi, «Ειδόνεις για τα ελληνικά τυπογραφεία της Ιταλίας τον 16ο αιώνα», *Δωδώνη* 4 (1975), pp. 248-250 (documents of 7 September 1542, 31 January 1543 and 19 September 1543); St. Kaklamanis, "Μιχαήλ Ροοέτος", pp. 82-83 (document of 7 September 1542); A. Hobson, "Jacobus Apocellus", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 7, no. 3 (1979), pp. 279-283 (document of 19 September 1543); A. Tinto, "Nuovo contributo alla storia della tipographia greca a Roma nel secolo XVI: Nicolo Sofiano", pp. 171-175 (document of 7 April 1551); W. A. Pettas, "Nikolaos Sophianos and Greek printing in Rome", *The Library*, 5th ser., 29, no. 2 (1974), pp. 206-213, especially pp. 211-213 (document of 1 June 1551).

of his materials and also receive payment for his contribution in Cardinal Cervini's project, when in 1551 the court decided in his favor and against Benedetto who, beside having to return all of Sophianos' equipment, also had to pay for all the expenses of the trial.³⁹ (Incidentally the Benedetto in question was not the son of Filippo Giunta Benedetto who at this time headed the Florentine publishing firm, but a cousin who was a bookseller in Rome.)⁴⁰

While Sophianos was in Greece to buy manuscripts for Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, his type remained in Venice, presumably on loan to his friend and fellow Corfiote, Antonios Eparchos, who in September 1544 used it to publish his lament on the destruction of Greece.⁴¹ Although there is no indication of printer, the printer was undoubtedly Bartolomeo Zanetti who was also a copyist of Greek manuscripts and had also printed Sophianos' own translation of the *Περὶ πατέων ἀγωγῆς*.⁴²

Between 1548 and 1550, Lorenzo Torrentino, the rival of the Giunti press of Florence also made use of Greek 1. Alberto Tinto⁴³ believed that the type was probably loaned to Torrentino by Nikolaos Sophianos himself after Sophianos published two Greek liturgical books in Venice. These two works, an *Horologion* and an *Euchologion*, were both printed in 1545 and were financed by wealthy Greeks from the Ionian Islands.⁴⁴ Tinto states that the final appearance of Greek 1 was in Bologna in a poem of an Achille Bocchi work published in 1555.⁴⁵

However, Greek 1 continued to appear in Greek publications in Venice well into the 1580s. It passed into the hands of another of Sophianos' compatriots, Vasileios Valeris (also known as Varelis and in Italian documents as Barelli). V. Valeris had arrived in Venice from Corfu in 1538. Soon after, he became a member of the Greek Brotherhood like his brothers and his father Matthaios, a prosperous merchant.⁴⁶ Initially Vasileios earned his livelihood in copying

³⁹ See W. A. Pettas, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-210.

⁴⁰ See W. A. Pettas, *The Giunti of Florence*, pp. 137 and 345.

⁴¹ See *BH*, Vol. I, no. 108.

⁴² See note 16 above.

⁴³ A. Tinto, "The history of a sixteenth-century Greek type", pp. 292-293.

⁴⁴ See *BH*, Vol. I, nos. 115 and 116. The Sophianos press had to close after the death of Markos Samariaris, one of his patrons.

⁴⁵ Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum quaestionum de universo genere*, Bononiae: In aedib. Novae Academiae Bocchiana, 1555. The 1574 edition of this work does not use Greek 1 but a different Greek font.

⁴⁶ For V. Valeris see E. Layton, *op. cit.*, pp. 494-499, where the earlier bibliography is cited. See also Ch. G. Patrinelis, «Ἐπιτολές του Ἰππόλυτου Βάρελη και του Μανουήλ Γλυτζούν, Ελλήνων εκδοτών στη Βενετία», *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά* 4 (1992), p. 284, note 4.

Greek manuscripts. He also worked as an editor for various publishers of Greek liturgical books in Venice, among them Damiano di Santa Maria, Melchiorre Sessa and especially Andrea Spinelli. Sometime between May 1548 and May 1549 he was ordained as a priest by Metrophanes, Bishop of Caesarea (who later became the Patriarch of Constantinople Metrophanes III [1565-1572 and 1579-1580]).⁴⁷ At the time Metrophanes of Caesarea was in Italy to collect money and oversee the ecclesiastical affairs of the Greeks of Venice on behalf of the Patriarch of Constantinople Dionysios II. The presence and patronage of Metrophanes played an important role in bolstering Valeris' role and status in the life of the Greek community of Venice.

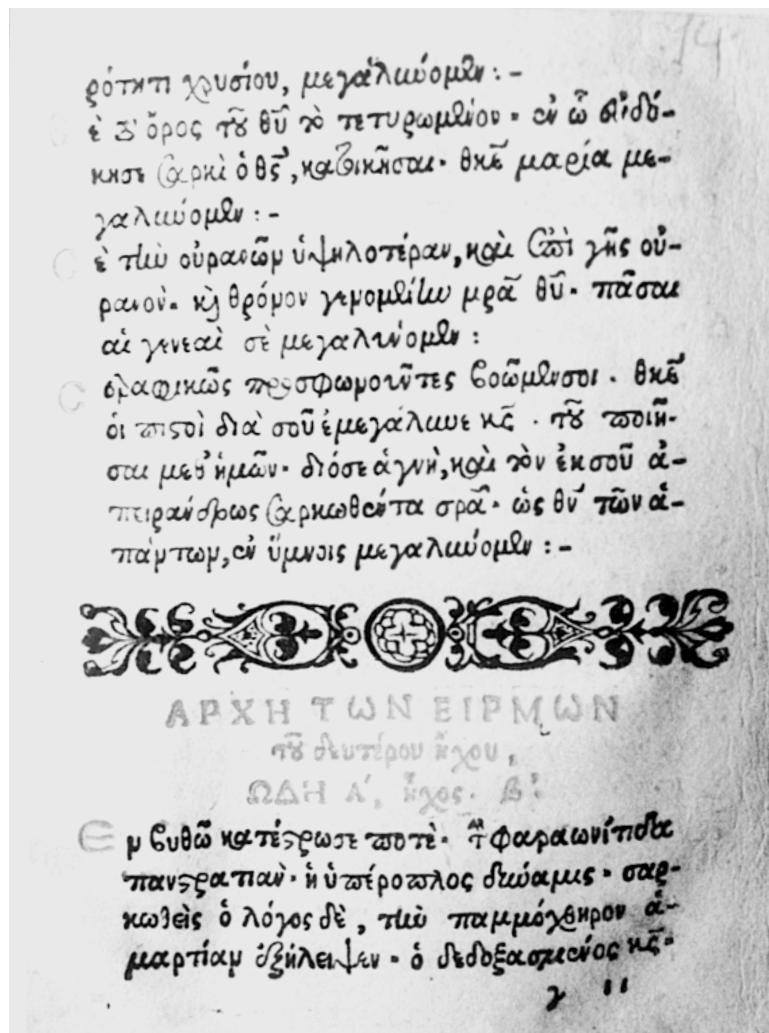
It appears that Metrophanes of Caesarea wished to establish a Greek press to print some first editions of hitherto unpublished liturgical editions of the Orthodox Church. In order to accomplish this in 1548 he entered into partnership with Vasileios Valeris and two prosperous businessmen, Demetrios Marmaretos, and Silvestro de Odino. Both men were known to Metrophanes from Constantinople and they also had financial dealings in Venice and thus were known to the Venetian authorities. The most important member of the partnership was Vasileios Valeris. Valeris was the only person among the partners who had experience as an editor and corrector of liturgical books. He was to play a pivotal role in this partnership since he apparently also had in his possession Greek 1 and owned a printing press that was kept in his house.⁴⁸

Originally, the main purpose of the partnership was to publish the first edition of the Anthologion and to obtain from the Venetian authorities the necessary permission to print it. This was accomplished when on 20 July 1548, the Venetian Senate granted the appropriate license to Demetrios Marmaretos "et compagni".⁴⁹ Again on behalf of the partners, Demetrios Marmaretos also received an imprimatur to publish two more works. One was a "Nomimon," described in the request as a work which would include the canons of the Apostles and the tenets of the Councils of the Church. The partners were also

⁴⁷ For Metrophanes of Caesarea and his connection with Vasileios Valeris see M. Manousakas, *Ανέκδοτα Πατριαρχικά Γράμματα (1547-1806) προς τους εν Βενετίᾳ Μητροπολίτας Φιλαδελφείας και την Ορθόδοξον Ελληνικήν Αδελφότητα*, Venice 1968, pp. 14-15 and his «Επιτροπικόν Μητροφάνους Καιοφείας Πατριαρχικού Εξάρχου εις Βενετίαν (1549)», *Θησαυρίσματα* 11 (1974), pp. 7-20; St. Kaklamanis, «Τρεις πρώτες εκδόσεις (1548-1549) από το τυπογραφείο του Βασιλείου Βάρελη και ο Μητροφάνης Καιοφείας», *Θησαυρίσματα* 20 (1990), p. 219, note 1.

⁴⁸ The full details of the partnership were published in St. Kaklamanis, «Τρεις πρώτες εκδόσεις», pp. 218-252, see especially document 1, pp. 240-242.

⁴⁹ See St. Kaklamanis, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-244, documents nos. 1 and 2.



Είρμολόγιον, Ἐνετήσιν ἐν οἰκίᾳ Βασιλείου ἱερέως τοῦ Βαλέρη καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ μαρμαρέτου, 1549.

granted permission to print the first edition of another liturgical book, the *Heirmologion*.⁵⁰

The *Heirmologion* was published in 1549.⁵¹ On the titlepage Vasileios

⁵⁰ St. Kaklamanis, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-246, documents nos. 3-4.

⁵¹ St. Kaklamanis, *op. cit.*, p. 234. Th. I. Papadopoulos, *Ελληνική Βιβλιογραφία (1466-1800)*, Athens 1986, Vol. 2, no. 130a. See also E. Layton, *The Greek Book*, pp. 495-496.

Valeris and Demetrios Marmaretos are mentioned as publishers. However, the Anthologion appeared much later, in 1555.⁵² On the titlepage only the name of Vasileios Valeris is given as the man responsible for its publication. The introduction was written by Nikolaos Malaxos, a well-known cleric who was also involved in editing Greek liturgical books for Andrea and Giacomo Spinelli.⁵³ As far as the Nomimon is concerned, no such work has been found thus far. Some scholars believe that it was never published because a few years later, in 1566, the younger brother of Vasileios Valeris, Hippolitos, who became involved in publishing after Vasileios' death, was still looking for an appropriate manuscript in order to publish such a work.⁵⁴

Vasileios Valeris continued to edit Greek liturgical books for Andrea Spinelli even after his own printing press began operations in 1549.⁵⁵ The Spinelli works were printed with the types that were designed and cut by Andrea Spinelli who was a well-known designer and engraver.⁵⁶ Vasileios also printed a handful of liturgical books under his own name using Greek 1. The books which appeared under his own name –at least the ones known to us at present– are very rare and difficult to examine since they belong either to private collections or to monastic libraries not easily accessible to scholars. Most of the works from his press are in the libraries of the monasteries of Mount Athos.⁵⁷

Some years ago, Phani Mavroeidi published a notarial document dated Venice, 30 November 1558, which gave information about the estate of Vasileios Valeris inherited by his surviving brothers, Ioannis, Georgios, Nikolaos and Hippolitos and the fate of his publications.⁵⁸ The document states that some

⁵² H. Eideneier, U. Moennig, H. Winterwerp, *Neograeca in Germania*, Athens 2000, no. 70. I wish to thank Dr Helma Winterwerp who was kind enough to send me a full description of the Anthologion. I was also able to obtain photographs from another copy of this work from the Biblioteca Universitaria of Bologna.

⁵³ For Nikolaos Malaxos and his contribution as editor and corrector see E. Layton, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-380.

⁵⁴ Ch. G. Patrinelis, *op. cit.*, p. 300. See also his «Αγνωστες εκδόσεις του 16ου αιώνα», *O Eρανιοτής* 19 (1993), pp. 24-25.

⁵⁵ For the books he edited for Andrea and Giacomo Spinelli see E. Layton, *op. cit.*, pp. 497-498. Andrea Spinelli was the official engraver of the Venetian mint.

⁵⁶ E. Layton, *op. cit.*, pp. 476-482.

⁵⁷ Since the Athos monasteries are inaccessible to women, I wish to express my thanks to Drs. Euthymios Litsas, Michael Kordosis and Thomas Papadopoulos for generously supplying me with information, descriptions, microfilm and photocopies of some of the Valeris imprints on various occasions during the past few years. I am also greatly indebted to the late Maria Koutarelli who invited me to examine her Valeris imprints in the Loverdos Library in Kifissia.

⁵⁸ See Ph. Mavroeidi, «Ειδίσεις για τα ελληνικά τυπογραφεία της Ιταλίας τον 16ο

time before his death after 1556,⁵⁹ Vasileios Valeris had sent to Nikolaos Malaxos (who was in Crete), a crate of books for Malaxos to sell on Vasileios' behalf. The books mentioned in the document were 60 Anthologia, 20 of which belonged to Malaxos, presumably as renumeration for having written the introduction to the Anthologion and assisted in its publication. According to the document, all the other books sent belonged to Vasileios. Those included 50 Psalteria, 50 Heirmologia, 50 liturgies in the form of an eiletarion, i.e. a scroll (described in the document as "misse in rotulis"), 50 Spanoi, 50 Oktoechoi and some "Calendaria et lunaria".⁶⁰ Since Mavroeidi wrote her article, more books printed by Vasileios Varelis have been found and recorded. It is now possible to hazard a guess that all the books listed, with the exception perhaps of the Calendaria and lunaria, were actually printed by the Valeris press.

Among the books listed, the Oktoechos and the Spanos are still missing. The Calendaria and Lunaria were probably the type of Italian calendars which were currently in use and sold throughout the Venetian dominions. Recently an edition of the Psalterion published by Vasileios Valeris was discovered by Thomas Papadopoulos at the library of the Great Lavra monastery on Mount Athos.⁶¹ It is undated but on the titlepage it displays the distinctive mark of Vasileios Valeris and is printed with Greek 1.⁶² As stated earlier, the activities of Vasileios Valeris as a printer were unknown to scholars until recently. When Linos Politis discovered a parchment copy of an imperfect Eiletarion (scroll) printed with Greek 1 lacking designation of place and date of publication, he ascribed it to the press of Nikolaos Sophianos.⁶³ However, in his description he pointed out that although the Eiletarion was printed with Greek 1, the large, decorative initials were different from those used in the Sophianos publications.

αιώνα», pp. 237-252. See especially pp. 241-252 (document no. 4). See also Kaklamanis, «Τρεις πρώτες εκδόσεις», pp. 231-232, 246-248 (document no. 5).

⁵⁹ This is the last mention of Vasileios Valeris we have. See E. D. Liata, «Ιερείς των Ελλήνων της Βενετίας από 1412-1558. Κατάλογος και έγγραφα», *Θοσαυρίσματα* 13 (1976), p. 100 no. 30.

⁶⁰ The Calendaria and Lunaria could possibly refer to a recently discovered work authored by Ioannikios Kartanos. See Michael Jeffreys, "Ioannikios Kartanos. Vivlion pany ophelimon...", *Ελληνικά* 50 (2000), pp. 45-53.

⁶¹ See his *Βιβλιοθήκες Αγίου Όρους. Παλαιά ελληνικά έντυπα*, Athens: Directorate of Religious and Ecclesiastical Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000, pp. 15, 581 no. 2.

⁶² For the device used by Vasileios Valeris see E. Layton, *op. cit.*, p. 496 fig. 235.

⁶³ «Έντυπο περγαμνό ειλητάριο από το τυπογραφείο του Ν. Σοφιανού», *Μνημόσυνα Σοφίας Αντωνιάδη* (Library of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, 6), Venice 1974, pp. 227-236.

He also observed that the letters seemed more worn and frayed than usual and that the font included some ligatures which he had not found in any of the Sophianos imprints he had examined. The decorative initials of the Eiletarion as described and illustrated in the article by Politis are the same as those found in the pages of the Anthologion and in most of the other liturgical editions printed by Vasileios Valeris. It has recently come to light that a complete copy of this scroll, which contains the liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, was printed under the name of Vasileios Valeris in 1549. This copy of the scroll is among the treasures of the collections of Saint Catherine Monastery of Mount Sina.⁶⁴ At the library of the monastery of Pantokrator on Mount Athos there is another work which belongs to the press of Vasileios Valeris. This is an imperfect (it lacks the titlepage) *Triodion-Pentekostarion* printed with Greek 1.⁶⁵ This unusual double liturgical edition is printed with continuous foliation throughout and its colophon states that it was printed at the house of Vasileios Valeris in 1555. It is decorated with the same large initials used in the Eiletarion and the Anthologion and in the colophon it has Vasileios Valeris' printer's device.

As previously stated, after the death of Vasileios Valeris, his estate was inherited by his surviving brothers, Ioannis, Georgios, Nikolaos and Hippolitos. His youngest brother Hippolitos in partnership with his brothers, tried to continue the publishing activities of the Valeris press. However, due to financial troubles, it took some years before he could begin publishing.⁶⁶ The Hippolitos Valeris press was active between 1564 and 1571. After this date the name of Hippolitos Valeris ceases to appear in the archives of the Greek Brotherhood. It vanishes altogether from the sources. The last work to come out of the press was an Euchologion published jointly with Loukas Sougdouris,⁶⁷ a businessman

⁶⁴ See C. A. Manaphis, ed., *Σινά. Οι θησαυροί της Ι. Μονής Αγίας Αικατερίνης*, Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon, 1990, p. 378, no. 27. See also St. Kaklamanis, «Από το χειρόγραφο στο έντυπο: Το παιχίδι των γραφών», in *Θεωρία και πράξη των εκδόσεων της υστεροβυζαντινής αναγεννησιακής και μεταβυζαντινής δημιόδους γραμματείας*, Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Neograeca Medii Aevi IVa, Irakleio: Crete University Press, 2001, pp. 101-186, especially p. 119 note 40.

⁶⁵ For a complete citation of this work see M. S. Kordosis, «Ελληνικά παλαιότυπα της Μονής Παντοκράτορος Αγίου Όρους», *Κληρονομία* 11 (1979), p. 425, no. 2.

⁶⁶ See Ch. G. Patrinelis, «Επιστολές του Ιππόλυτου Βάρελη και του Μανουήλ Γλυτζούνη Ελλήνων εκδοτών στη Βενετία», pp. 283-319, especially pp. 285-287 that refer to the reasons of Varelis' financial woes.

⁶⁷ For Loukas Sougdouris see C. Mertzios, «Λουκάς Σουγδουρής ο εξ Ιωαννίνων εκδότης εν Βενετίᾳ (1570-1591)», *Ηπειρωτική Εστία* 201-202 (1969), pp. 1-14. See also E. Layton, *op. cit.*, pp. 473-475.

from Jannina residing in Venice. The Hippolitos Valeris press published some twelve liturgical books printed with Greek 1.⁶⁸ It appears that after the cessation of this second Valeris press in 1571, Greek 1 remained in the hands of Loukas Sougdouris. A few years later, in the early 1580s, Greek 1 reappears briefly in at least two works, an Horologion, 1584 and an undated work entitled, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθυῶν* of Zacharias Skordylis produced by a little-known printer, Zuan Battista Tauroceni who had worked previously for the Spinelli. Tauroceni also had in his possession the large Spinelli font, the one they used to publish their Greek liturgical editions. Tauroceni also acquired the Spinelli monogram which he used frequently in his publications although he occasionally used his own monogram as well.⁶⁹ After his death in 1584, some of his printing equipment was taken over by his brother-in-law Giovanni Aliprandi⁷⁰ who published a series of Greek liturgical books using the Spinelli font. I have been unable to find any works published with Greek 1 among the Aliprandi publications although it has been impossible to find and examine them all.

As we see, Greek 1, one of the most elegant sixteenth-century Greek types produced in Italy, had a long and distinguished career. It was used in the printing of Greek books in Rome, Florence and Venice. Some of the most important printers of sixteenth-century Italy used this type at one point or another and it appeared in publications of both the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic faiths.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

⁶⁸ An incomplete edition of a *Παρακλητικὴ* printed in 1569 attributed by Thomas Papadopoulos to the press of Hippolitos Valeris in his *Ελληνικά Βιβλιογραφία*, Vol. II, no. 239, was actually printed by Giacomo Leoncini not Hippolitos Valeris.

⁶⁹ For more information on Tauroceni see E. Layton, *op. cit.*, pp. 483-488.

⁷⁰ E. Layton, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-271.