

IOANNIKIOS KARTANOS,
BIBLION ΠΑΝΥ ΩΦΕΛΙΜΟΝ...

The purpose of this article* is to announce the addition of a new book to the catalogue of Early Greek printings. The slim volume concerned is preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, under the shelfmark AA. 20. Th. Seld (6)¹, where it is bound as the sixth item in a miscellany of texts otherwise of the 17th c. In the old printed Bodleian catalogue² and the newer electronic catalogue of pre-1926 printings it is hidden anonymously under the title *Πασχάλιον*. However if the cataloguer had looked beyond the title page and examined the letter to readers on the next folio, the work would not have remained anonymous. The letter is signed with the name Ioannikios Kartanos. Furthermore the title, the variety of language levels used in the publication and the authorial position adopted are characteristic of that writer, so that there is no reason to doubt the attribution. There follows a brief bibliographical description of the book.

Its current dimensions are 18.6×14 cm, though this part of the volume, like some of the others, has been cut down for the purpose of common binding. The title page contains a number of woodcut illustrations (see pl. 1)³, dominated by a striking central picture of a bearded astronomer measuring the stars with dividers, having five geometrical shapes on a oval tray in front of him (on this more later). There is a surrounding border of varied compositions, standing figures to the left and right, some in architectural frames, and pairs of animals above and below. The animals below are horned and winged, with a winged figure of an infant male between them.

As may be seen in pl. 1, the words of the title page are divided in two

* This article is one of the many results of a research programme on the early history of texts in vernacular Greek funded by the Australian Research Council.

1. A note on the fly-leaf gives an earlier shelf-mark: «Olim C 3.20 Th Seld».

2. *Catalogus librorum impressorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae in Academia Oxoniensi*. Vol. III. E typographeo Academico, Oxonii 1843, p. 54.

3. It should be pointed out that the Bodleian's photographers have reproduced the page well, despite problems of tight binding and faded ink. The photograph is rather clearer than the original.

spaces above and below the central picture. Above: ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΑΝΥ ΩΦΕΛΙΜΟΝ ΚΑΓ ΑΝΑΓ-/καιον εις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς ἱερεῖς καὶ / ναύτας, περιέχων ἐν αὐτὸ Πασχάλιον, Ἰνδικ-/τον καὶ πότε γίνεται το φεγκάριν / καὶ ἄλλα πολλά. Below: Τετύπεται ἐνετίησι ἐν οἰκίᾳ Γωάννου καὶ Πέτρου τῶν / Σαβιέων. Εἴτει α,φμδ. Οἰκτωβρίου, λ'. Note that the words πάνυ ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον also appear in the title of the first edition of Kartanos' other, much longer work, the *Παλαιὰ τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη*⁴.

Attribution of the printing to Giovann' Antonio and Pietro di Nicolini da Sabbio tallies well with the date 1544. Other Greek books printed by this particular pair among the four Nicolini da Sabbio brothers cluster in the period 1542-1546, when there appeared 13 of the 15 titles listed under their names by Papadopoulos⁵. Kartanos' book was thus printed by the most active Venetian firm putting out works in Greek in the second quarter of the century⁶. The *Παλαιὰ τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη* was published in its first two and fourth known editions (1536, before 1540, 1556) by a rival printer, Bartolomeo Zanetti. The third edition, mainly consisting of leaves from the second, was published in 1549 by Damiano di Santa Maria, a close associate of the da Sabbio brothers⁷.

The book contains two quires, each of 12 sheets. The first is numbered α I to α IIIII, then with Arabic figures α 7 to α 12. The second quire is not numbered⁸. On the verso of the last sheet there is the printer's device of the Nicolini da Sabbio, a «cabbage with a serpent entwined around its stem enclosed within a shield with the word "Brasica" below»⁹. According to Layton, this device was used «whenever they either financed a publication themselves or when the editor or author of a work they printed did not have a personal mark or coat-of-arms to be displayed»¹⁰.

The letter to the readers, which occupies the recto and the top of the

4. Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος, *Παλαιὰ τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη*, ἐπιμ. Ἐ. Κακουλίδη-Πάνου, τ. 1, Athens 1988, p. 21.

5. *Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιογραφία* (1466 ci. - 1800), τόμος πρῶτος - δεύτερος [Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 48], 1984, 1986. Vol. 1, Index, p. 702. (Henceforward «Papadopoulos, *Βιβλιογραφία*»).

6. 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, p. 402. (Henceforward «Layton, *Sixteenth Century*»).

7. Layton, *Sixteenth Century*, op.cit., pp. 160-161, 402-420.

8. It is possible that the decision not to number the sheets of the second quire is connected with the fact that it contains full-page tables which must have caused problems for the printer, and which also have their own logical order in the sequence of the months.

9. Layton, *Sixteenth Century*, op.cit., fig. 206, p. 408.

10. Ibid., p. 410.



Plate 1. Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος, *Βιβλίον πάνυ ὠφέλιμον*, Venice 1544, title page.
(Reproduced with the permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

verso of α II, is disappointingly formulaic and lacking in hard information of use to the bibliographer or literary historian. Even so, I reproduce it in full ¹¹:

α IIr Ιωαννίκιος ιερομόναχος ὁ καρτᾶνος, καὶ μέγας πρωτοσύγγελλος κερκύρων τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν εὖ πράττειν.
Ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ πολλάκις καὶ πολλαχοῦ ἦσαν οἱ παρακαλοῦντες ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἐκδώσωμέν τινας ὑπομνηματισμούς, οὓς κάθ' ἑκάστην ἡ ἀγία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖται, περὶ τε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης κύκλων καὶ θεμελίων, πάτας τε καὶ ἰνδίκτου, καὶ ἐτέρων ἡδέων ὑπομνημάτων, ὧν ὡς εἰπεῖν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀναγκαίων ὄντων, τὸ εἰδέναι ὁποίας ἡμέρας κ(αὶ) ὥρας τοὺς κύκλους καὶ τὰς ἀποκαταντήσεις· οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ κ(αὶ) περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν πασχάλιων, καὶ ὅλως τῶν βουλωμένων πλέεσθαι· ἔτι δὲ χειροτέχνων καὶ γεωργῶν καὶ σχεδὸν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, εἰς τὸ παρευθὺς καὶ ἄνευ αὐτῶν κόπων, εὐρίσκειν ὅπερ αὐτοὶ βούλονται· ταῦτα δὴ λογιζόμενος ποιῆσαι, ἐδεδίδειν τε τὸ ἐπίταγμα, ὡς ρύπω μὲν καὶ πάσης ἀμαρτίας κατεστιγμένος, (καὶ) τὸν λογισμὸν ἑμαυτῷ φέρων τὸν πολυτάραχον κλύδωνα· καὶ μήτε νοῦν καὶ διάνοιαν κεκαθαρμένος, μήτε λόγον ἔχων ἐπαρκέσαι τοῖς νοηθῆσι δυνάμενον, ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτοῖς φθέγξομαι· ὥκνουν τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸ ἐπίταγμα, μήποτε διπλοῦν ὀφλήσω τὸν γέλωτα· τῆς ἀμαθίας ἅμα κ(αὶ) τῆς ἀνοίας· τὸ δὲ χαλεπότατον, συγγνωστὸν μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἀμαθίας τὸ ἐγκλημα εἰ μὴ ἐκ ραθυμίας προέρχοιτο· τὸ δὲ σὺν τῇ ἀμαθίᾳ κεκτῆσθαι τὴν τῆς γνώσεως οἴησιν, χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐπίμωμον· κ(αὶ) συγγνώμης ἀπάσης ἀνάξιον· καὶ μείζονος ἵνα μὴ λέγω τῆς ἄκρας ἀμαθίας τεκμήριον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῆς παρακοῆς ὁ καρπός, θάνατος· ὁ δὲ ταπεινὸς καὶ ὑπήκοος χριστοῦ μαθητὴς καθιστάμενος πρὸς ὕψος ἀνάγεται· καὶ χάριν παρὰ θεοῦ τὴν φωταγωγὸν κομίζεται· καὶ ἀνοίγων τὸ στόμα πληροῦται πνεύματος, καὶ καρδίαν καθαίρεται, διανοιᾶν τε φωτίζεται· καὶ λαμβάνει λόγον ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματος¹²· οὐ μεριμνῶν τί λαλήσῃ, ἢ τί εἴπῃ· ἀλλ' ὄργανον δὲ χρηματίζον ἐν αὐτῷ λαλοῦντος τοῦ πνεύματος, πρὸς αὐτὸν τοίνυν κἀγὼ θαρρήσας, ἀνανήψας μετὰ δακρύων ὁμμάτά τε καὶ χεῖρας, καὶ γονυπετῶν αἰτήσας, ἵνα μοι νοῦν καὶ γλῶτταν φωτίσει καὶ ἔννοιαν, ὑπεκυψάμην ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιτάγμασιν· θαρρῶν δὲ ταῖς εὐχαῖς τῶν πατέρων, ὡς πληρωθῇσεται πνεύματος (καὶ) λαλήσω λόγια, οὐ τῆς διανοίας καρπὸν τῆς ἐμῆς, ἀλλὰ καρπὸν τοῦ τοῦ τυφλοῦς φωτίζοντος πνεύματος· ἐπεὶ οὖν αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ φωτίζων ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον πρὸς αὐτόν, αὐτὸς φωτίσει κάμοῦ τὰς διανοίας ἵνα μετὰ πάσης ἀγαθοεργείας καὶ ἐπιμελίας ταῦτα ἄρξωμαι

11. The orthography and simple punctuation of the original are maintained.

12. Read στόματος: cf. John of Damascus, see note 13 below.

α IIv

σὺν θεῷ καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκθησόμεθα χάριτι, ἥς ἡ δόξα ἔσωθεν ἀπαστράπτουσα· τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας μετὰ τῆς δεούσης καθάρσεως καὶ τῶν ταραχοδῶν λογισμῶν ἀποθέσεως, φωτίζει τοῖς ἀμαρύγμασιν· ἐρῶ, δὲ ἐμὸν μέν, οὐδέν· τὰ (δὲ) τοῖς ἐκκρίτοις τῶν διδασκάλων πεπονημένα || εἰς ἓν συλλεξάμενος, ὅση δύναμις ἐκάστω σὺν τετμημένῳ τὸν λόγον ποιήσομαι· κατὰ πάντα ὑπείκων τοῖς αὐτῶν τε προστάγμασιν· ἀλλὰ μοι συγγνώμονες γένοισθε πάντες ὧς θεοτίμητοι παρακαλῶ, διὰ τὸ ιδιωτικῇ τῇ λέξει κομίζοντι τὸ παράπαν ἡμάρτηται, μετὰ γοῦν πάσης ἐπιμελείας καὶ πόνων οὐκ ἄνευ, διὰ κύκλων καὶ διαγραμμάτων καὶ τάξεως εὐαρεστούσης, ὡς οἷόν τε τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπεδεδώκαμεν· κ(αὶ) λαμβάνοντες ἀνὰ χεῖρας, ἰκετεύω τὴν τῶν εὐχῶν χορηγίαν ἀντίδοτε· ἔρρωσθε.

This letter is an adaptation of the words of John of Damascus in the Prologue to his *Πηγὴ γνώσεως*¹³. A comparison with that text will show substantial word-for-word similarity in many of the sentences, with alterations necessary for the new situation, which are not always successfully made. The major additions (which, one may assume, show direct reflection of Kartanos' purposes) come in three areas. First, the initial sentences describing the content of the book and its intended readers, before the long statement of the humility-topos from John of Damascus. Second, the sentence in the middle of the text showing unexpected tears and emotion. Finally the apologetic statement at the end, describing his choice of simple language and use of carefully constructed circles and diagrams – the latter plainly referring to the publication's second quire.

In Kartanos' book there follows the list of contents (α IIv-IIIr):

Πίναξ τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου.

Περὶ τοῦ γινώσκειν τίνα [= τί νὰ] τρόγῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ πῶς νὰ πορεύεται τὸν καθένα μῆναν διὰ τὴν ὑγίαν του.

Περὶ τοῦ γινώσκειν τὸ πάσχα πότε γίνεται.

Περὶ τοῦ εὐρίσκειν τὴν πάταν τῆς σκάρας ἐὰν τὴν χάσης.

Περὶ τοῦ εὐρίσκειν τὴν πάταν τ(ῆς) ῥόδας ἐὰν τὴν χάσης.

Περὶ τοῦ εὐρίσκειν ποία ἔνε πρώτη ἡμέρα τ(ῆς) μεγάλης σαρακοστής.

Περὶ τοῦ πότε ἀποκρέβομεν τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων.

Περὶ τοῦ πόσαις ἡμέραις ἔναι ἡ σαρακοστὴ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων.

Περὶ τοῦ πότε ἀποκρέβομεν τῶν χριστοῦ γεννῶν.

Περὶ τὸν βίσεκτον χρόνον πότε ἔναι.

13. PG 94, cols. 521-526.

Περὶ τοῦ εὐρίσκειν τὴν ἰνδικτιῶνα ἐὰν οὐδὲν ἐνθυμῆσαι.
 Περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ εὐρίσκεις πότε κάμνη τὸ φεγκάριν.
 Περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ εὐρίσκεις τὴν πάτα τοῦ φεγκαρίου.
 Περὶ τοῦ γινώσκειν τὰ νερὰ πότε εἶναι ὀλίγα καὶ πότε πολλά.
 Περὶ τοῦ γινώσκειν πότε φέγγη τὸ φεγκάρι καὶ πότε δὲν φέγγει.
 Περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ εὐρίσκεις τὸ μικρὸν ἔτος.
 Περὶ τοῦ εὐρίσκειν τὸ μέγα ἔτος.
 Περὶ τοῦ γινώσκειν τὰς δοξολογημένας ἐορτὰς ὅλου τοῦ χρόνου.
 Περὶ τῶν ὥρῶν τῶν μηνῶν πόσαις ἔχει ἡμέρα, καὶ πόσαις ἡ νύκτα.
 Περὶ τοῦ γινώσκειν πόσω ἔναι τὸ φεγκάρι καὶ τὰ ἄστρα καὶ ἡ γῆ μεγάλη.
 Περὶ τοῦ γινώσκειν πότε ἀρχίζουν αἱ ὥραι ὅταν γίνεται τὸ φεγκάριν.
 Περὶ τοῦ γινώσκειν ἐτοίμως τὸ πασχάλιον καὶ τὸ φεγκάριν, εἰς ταῖς τό-
 σαις ἡμέραις καὶ ὥραις, καὶ στιγμαῖς γίνεται· ἀπὸ τὴν σήμερον καὶ
 ἕως χρόνους ἐρχομένους, εἰκοσίενα, ἡγουν ἀπὸ τοὺς χιλίους πεντακο-
 σίους σαράντα πέντε, ἕως εἰς τοὺς χιλίους πεντακοσίους ἑξήντα πέντε.

The texts bound together in the collection of which this book is a part are as follows (with references to the volume and page of the printed *British Library Catalogue to 1975*, in which all but one appear):

Clement, the blessed Paul's Fellow-labourer in the Gospel, his *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, London 1647 (BLC 64: 110).

Certain Annotations upon Clement, London 1648 (BLC 64: 110).

Philo Judaeus, *De Septenario*, ed. David Hoeschel, Augsburg 1614 (BLC 258: 10).

Θεοφύλακτος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας, *Παιδεία Βασιλική*, trans. Petrus Possinus, Paris 1651 (BLC 323: 407).

Sancti Philastrii episcopi Brixienensis, *Haeresium pene omnium [...] Catalogus*, Helmstadt 1640 (this edition not in BLC; see earlier editions at 257: 207).

Heresiography, or a description of the Hereticks and Sectaries of the latter times, by E. Pagitt, London 1645 (BLC 245: 190).

[Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος], *Βιβλίον πάνυ ὠφέλιμον*, Venice 1544 (the subject of this paper).

Adriani, *Isagoge sacrarum litterarum*, ed. David Hoeschel, Augsburg 1602 (BLC 2: 433).

Κάνων ὁ Πασχάλιος Ἰσαὰκ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ, ed. M. Iacobus Christomannus, s.l., s.d (1611. Text and translation published as two parts with separate pagination, BLC 161: 5).

Several pairs of works in the collection have common themes, but I can discern no overall reason for the decision to bind these books together.

Kartanos' work has an obvious link in subject only to the last item on the list. It is also far the earliest in date, being printed more than a century before the collection was put together – which must have occurred after 1651, the date of the latest item. The clustering of five items in the period 1640-1651 may suggest that the date of combination was not long after 1651. The simple binding, in worn brown calf (repaired in 1952, according to a note on the back inner paste-down), is of little use in making the date more precise. One may conclude therefore that Kartanos' book has been in the Bodleian since a date in the second half of the seventeenth century. Of its earlier history nothing more may be said.

It is not the purpose of this announcement to analyse the work in any detail – a task which I leave to those more expert than myself in the Greek literature of the 16th c. But I shall end with a few preliminary thoughts which may be of use till the publication of a more complete study. The existence of this book will come as no surprise, since it has long been suggested that Kartanos may for commercial reasons have printed a work or works other than the *Παλαιά τε και νέα διαθήκη*¹⁴. In fact there is a reference to such a work (in manuscript) in a library catalogue written later in the 16th c.¹⁵ The question will arise whether this catalogue reference corresponds to the printed book preserved in the Bodleian. First impressions are inconclusive: there is certainly some overlap between the contents of the two sides of the comparison, but enough differences and imprecisions remain to prevent easy acceptance of the identification.

The other context into which the book must be integrated is the formation of a canon of printed Greek information on the various details of popular astronomy and the ecclesiastical calendar which are covered by Kartanos in this book. The discussion must take into account the multifarious manuscript texts, from east and west, which circulated on these subjects, and achieved independent printed form in the west earlier than 1544¹⁶. Another

14. E.g. E. Kakoulidi-Panou, «Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος. Συμβολή στὴ δημόδη πεζογραφία τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνα», *Θησαυρίσματα* 12 (1975) 226-227.

15. The catalogue (probably posthumous) of manuscripts of the *Megalos Domestikos* Michael Kantakouzenos (executed on March 3, 1578), preserved in Ms. Vindob. Hist. Gr. 98, f. 78, no. 42, discussed in Georgios K. Papazoglou, *Βιβλιοθήκες στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη τοῦ 15ου αἰῶνα* (κώδ. *Vind. Hist. gr.* 98), Thessaloniki 1983, p. 346. Papazoglou adds a possible third term of comparison in the ms. Vind. suppl. gr. 101.

16. There were two different problems: (1) The practical difficulty of getting relevant information to those who needed it (e.g. the priests and sailors of Kartanos' title page); (2) The fact – more troublesome in the West than in the East – that the Medieval Easter Computus worked in a closed computational system, giving results demonstrably different from those derived from observation. Information on printed attempts to solve both problems may be found in the literature on relevant scientists: Regiomontanus (e.g. E. Zinner, *Regiomontanus: his Life*

strand in the argument will be the introduction of Easter-tables into the printed Greek service-books in the years before that date. However the most important need is for comparison of Kartanos' text with the *Βιβλίον πρόχειρον* or *Λογαριαστική* of Emmanuel Glyzouni(o)s, the book which was to serve the greek-speaking world as a textbook of practical mathematics from 1568 (the first surviving edition, which was probably also the first issued)¹⁷ through most of the period of Turkish rule¹⁸. The chronological priority of Kartanos' little book over Glyzounis' much larger volume is secure, and so the former should probably be regarded as one of the latter's sources. I am informed by Eleni Kakoulidi-Panou that there is at least one common item in the contents of the two texts. Finally there is pictorial evidence that the similarity of the two books may have struck a worker in the printery of Francesco Giuliani in 1596. In that printery's version of Glyzounis' work (one of two editions to appear that year)¹⁹, the bearded astronomer of Kartanos' title page reappears, in a different, though similar woodcut²⁰. The background detail seen in the 1596 picture is much less precise and makes less visual sense than that of the earlier version. It is perhaps not irrelevant that the whole Glyzounis title page has a similar layout to that of Kartanos: but the figurative panels at the sides and at the top and bottom have been replaced by defined spaces filled with a repetitive stamped pattern.

It is likely that there has survived a reference to Kartanos' book written fourteen years after its publication. Fani Mavroidi published a legal document of 1558 dealing with differences between the Varelis brothers and Nikolaos Malaxos arising from the despatch of a crate of books from Venice to Greece²¹. The date of the despatch is uncertain: Mavroidi suggests 1548-1552 or 1554-1558. The contents are listed in detail: they include «nonnulla Calendaria et lunaria», which the editor could not identify, since the first Greek books then known which fit this title date from much later. She

and Work (transl. E. Brown), Amsterdam, New York, Oxford, Tokyo 1990, esp. pp. 195-260 on his printed books, dominated by almanacs and calendars), and the massive literatures on Copernicus, the Gregorian calendar reform of 1582 and subsequently Galileo.

17. Discussed in Papadopoulos, *Βιβλιογραφία*, II, 235, p. 72; Layton, *Sixteenth Century*, p. 303.

18. See e.g., Ch. Philetas, «Ἐμμανουὴλ Γλυζώνιος», *Πανδώρα* 9 (1858) 274-275.

19. Papadopoulos, *Βιβλιογραφία*, I, 2483-2484, p. 186. The other edition was by Cristoforo Zannetti.

20. See Layton, *Sixteenth Century*, op.cit., fig. 109, p. 119. The parallel was first noted by my colleague Dr. Vicky Doulavera.

21. F. D. Mavroidi, «Εἰδήσεις γιὰ ἑλληνικὰ τυπογραφεῖα τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸν 16ο αἰώνα», *Δωδώνη* 4 (1975) 237-252, esp. 244-245 and 252.

proposed that the document refers to a lost edition which would normally have been destroyed by its owners at the moment when the astronomical information it contained went out of date. Though certainty will never be achieved in such a case, the similarity of content and dates is close enough to suggest that the preservation of one copy in Oxford has proved her right.

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