

FINDING *IMBERIOS* AND *MARGARONA*: AN INVENTORY OF EXTANT EDITIONS

Imberios and Margarona in rhyming political verse survives in eleven Venetian chapbook editions: 1553, 1562, 1600, 1624, 1638, 1644, 1646, 1666, 1770, 1779 and 1806. This article is a complete inventory of all, and includes a survey of the respective publishers, as well as identification of a number of the woodcuts used over the years. For the sake of this study, all editions have been inspected. That of 1562, which scholars have thought latent, is brought to light, and we are now pleased to report it exists in excellent condition. It discloses a heretofore uncharted collaboration between printers (Rampazetto and Zanetti). The two oldest surviving editions (1553 and 1562) are described *in extenso*, and their provenance is pursued with rather extraordinary results, while the defining details of the other nine are given below. Some are described here for the first time.

But first an overview of what is known about what we believe to be the editio princeps. The 1543 edition is now missing.¹ It was commissioned by Damiano di Santa Maria to the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio. At the time of the publication of *Imberios* the editor in charge at the Damiano publishing house was Andronikos (Nikandros) Noukios of Corfu, but there is no evidence he was involved in this edition.² In 1543 on the strength of his commercially profitable liturgical works, Damiano published six secular books.³ Aside from *Imberios*, these were: *Αἰσώπου μῦθοι* (BH 15-16, vol.

I owe Dr David Holton the greatest thanks for hours of stimulating discussion about old editions, and for reading carefully every draft of this article. It is all the better for his comments, and would have been still better if I had incorporated more of them. I am extremely obliged to Professor Elizabeth Jeffreys and Professor Michael Jeffreys for generous advice and information, and the provision of microfilms at the beginning of this research. Denis Rhodes, of the British Library, the authority on De Marinis, gave me support in trying to locate the 1543 *Imberios*. It is a great pleasure to acknowledge the help of the Librarians who allowed me to see and, then, microfilm the Editions. I am especially indebted to Mesdames Fabienne Le Bars, Custodian of the Bibliothèque nationale, and D. Muzerelle of the Bibliothèque d'Arsenal.

1. Θωμάς Ι. Παπαδόπουλος, *Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία (1466ci.-1800)*, Athens 1984, no. 6108. Hereafter, «Papadopoulos» followed by the entry number.

2. Comparison with the work we know to have been translated and edited by Noukios, *Αἰσώπου μῦθοι* (Γιώργος Μ. Παράσογλου, *Αἰσώπου μῦθοι: Οι πρώτες νεοελληνικές μεταφράσεις*, Athens 1993), or, indeed, with his *Ἀποδημίαι*, available in Jules Albert de Foucault (ed.), *Nicandre de Corcyre, Voyages*, Paris 1962, could not reveal any linguistic affinities.

3. The standard description of the Damiano project is Στέφανος Κακλαμάνης, «Ἀρχεαικὲς μαρτυρίες γιὰ τὴ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἀνδρέα Κουνάδη καὶ τοῦ Δαμιανοῦ di Santa Maria (Πρόδρομη ἀνακοίνωση)», in Ν. Μ. Παναγιωτάκης (ed.), *Ἀρχὲς τῆς νεοελληνικῆς λογοτεχνίας. Πρακτικὰ τοῦ δευτέρου διεθνοῦς συνεδρίου Neograeca Medii Aevi*, vol. 2, Venice 1993, pp. 600-601.

1, no. 103), *Ἀπόκοπος* (BH 15-16, vol.1, no. 104), Markos Depharanas, *Λόγοι διδακτικοί* (BH 15-16, vol. 1, no. 105), Giustos Glykis, *Πένθος θανάτου* (BH 15-16, vol. 1, no. 102) and Iakovos Trivolis, *Ιστορία τοῦ ῥέ τῆς Σκότζιας* (BH 15-16, vol. 1, no. 106). There are three cohesive links among these works, or, at least, prominent in some: first, easy accessibility to the Venetian printers: as far as we know, they are all written by Greeks of lands held by the Venetians.⁴ Second, introduction of Western cultural elements (in *Πένθος θανάτου* and *Ιστορία ῥέ Σκότζιας*).⁵ Third, didacticism which voices Greek popular (λαϊκές) perceptions, and as such is conducive to commercial success. *Imberios* certainly conforms with this frame: it spins a Western European tale in Greek terms, and in one of its most memorable scenes it features parental counsel and conventional wisdom. It would be, of course, reckless to speculate about its authorship.

Tammaro de Marinis gives a description of the 1543 edition and reproduces the title page (with the «Ἐξήγησις»), a full-page block and two other excerpts each preceded by a woodcut.⁶ According to him, the book is a large 8o (that is, a 4o), consisting of 20 leaves, with signature A. The colophon on a20r reads: «In Venegia per Giouanni Antonio & Pietro fratelli, di Nicolini da Sabbio. | Ad Instantia di M. Damian di santa Maria: nel MDXXXIII». Only ten copies of De Marinis's book survived the 1940-3 bombings of Milan, which destroyed the Hoepli warehouse. De Marinis had them with him in Florence.⁷ Here follows a diplomatic transcription of the three excerpts in the order he published them, for the sake of clarity.⁸

A. The «Ἐξήγησις», which is followed by the Kounadis mark:

1 Ἀρχήζω πρῶτον μ' ὀρισμὸν, καὶ με βουλην̄ κυρίου,
νὰ διγηθῶ ἀφήγησιν, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡμπερίου.

4. Depharanas was of Zante; Trivolis of Corfu; Glykis of Koroni, which had fallen to the Turks as recently as 1500.

5. K. Θ. Δημαράς, *Ιστορία τῆς νεοελληνικῆς λογοτεχνίας: Ἀπὸ τις πρῶτες ρίζες ὡς τὴν ἐποχὴ μας*, Athens 1985, p. 69 comments on *Πένθος θανάτου* as a product of cultural interaction with the Venetians.

6. He had a copy in his personal collection which was posthumously bequeathed to Italian public libraries. For the description see Tammaro De Marinis, «La prima edizione della traduzione greca di *Pierre de Provence et la Bell Maguelonne*», in his *Appunti e ricerche bibliografiche, con 272 tavole in eliotipia*, Milan 1940, pp. 90-1, and plates CLIV-CLV. Evro Layton, «Notes on Some Printers and Publishers of 16th-Century Modern Greek Books in Venice», *Θησαυρίσματα* 18 (1981) 132-6 drew attention to De Marinis's publication, and reproduced the title page.

7. This information derives from the autograph inscription in the copy De Marinis donated to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in 1946 (classmark: 25805 d.100).

8. Italics denote ligature or abbreviation. Abbreviated καί; are henceforth expanded within brackets.

- Καὶ διὰ τὴν πανεξαίρετον, ὠραίαν μαργαρώνα,
 ὀπόλαμπεν σευγενικὲς ὥσαν χρυσὴ κορῶνα.
 5 Τὸ πῶς ἐξενιτεύθησαν, ἀπὸ τὰ γονικάτους,
 καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸ ὕστερον, ἦλθαν ζῆνᾶφεντίατους.
 Τὸ ποῖον ἀκούση θέλεται, εἰς τὴν διήγησίν του,
 ὅσαν ἰδεῖται τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τὴν ξετέλισίντου.
 Τὸν εἶχα δὴ καὶ μόνυχεν, ἀπλᾶ διεγραμμένον,
 10 βούλομαι νὰ τὸν βάλω γῶ, εἰς τὸ ῥημαρισμένον.
 Ἄνεν καὶ λάθω πούπετες, ὅποιοι τὸν ἀναγνώση,
 ζυτῶ τοῦτο συμπάθιον, διὰ νὰ μουτοδόση.

B. Lines 735-50, preceded by *Iliad* woodcut no. 7:

- 735 Βλέπη σοχάζη θεωρῆ, ῥόδα ὠραιωμένα,
 λουλούδια πανεξέρετα, καὶ μυριοάνθισμένα,
 Καὶ ἐνθυμήθηκεν ἐκεῖ, ὠραίαν τὴν γυνήντου.
 εἰς τὰ λουλούδια ἔθηκεν, εἰς μίον τὴν κεφαλῆντου
 Ὑπνον γλυκὴν γλυκύτα Τον, ἡμπέριος κοιμάτε,
 740 τὴν πανεξέρετον γυνὴν τότες ἀνασορᾶτε.
 Ἡλθεν καιρὸς πανέμορφος, καὶ τὸ καράβην ξέβη,
 πέμπη ζῆγγὴν τὴν βάρκαντου, ἡμπέρη νὰ γυρέβη.
 Γυρέβουντον καταπαντοῦ, δέντονε πητυχένου,
 καὶ ζὸ καράβην πήγασιν, ὅπου τοὺς ἀνημένου.
 745 Καὶ σόσουσιν καὶ δένουσιν, τὴν βάρκαν ζὸ καράβη,
 καὶ τὸ καράβιν μὲ σπουδὴν, τὴν ζράταντου διάλη.
 Καραβοκῆρης τζέκραξεν, νὰ τοὺς ἀναρωτήση,
 λέσιντου καὶ ἡμπέριος, ἔναι ζὸ ῥημονήση.
 Μακρένω τὴν διήγησιν, πολλὰ τὴν ἀνασέρνω,
 750 ἄκουσον καὶ τοῦ καραβίου, ποῦσας τὴν ἀναφέρνω.

C. Lines 531-46, preceded by *Iliad* woodcut no. 9:

- Ὡς εὐγενὴς καὶ φρόνυμος, τῆς λέγει γὰρ τοιοῦτα,
 τὰ λόγια πουσου θελω πῆ, ὅλα φουκράσου μοῦτα.
 Ἀρχίνησαι νὰ τῆς εἰπῆ, ὅλην τὴν ὄρεξίντου,
 σὰν τοῦ πατέρα μυσικά, τὴν ξομολογησίντου.
 535 Τὸ πῶς τοῦ δείδη λογισμὸς, νὰ πᾶ ζᾶ γονικάτου,
 πατέραν καὶ μητέραντου, εἰς τὰ συγγενικάτου.
 Νὰ πάρη τὴν συγχώρισιν, ἀπὸ τῶν γεννησάντων,
 ἀπὸ τὴν ἐδικότηταν, τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπάντων.
 Καὶ τοῦτο ἔναι λογισμὸς, καὶ νοῦς ὁ ἐδικόσμου,

- 540 νὰ πάγω ζῆν πατρίδαμου, μὰ τὸν κριτὴν τοῦ κόσμου.
 Ἀνὲν καὶ βούλεσε καὶ σὺ, νὰ μοῦ ἀκολουθίσης,
 βλέπεσε μὴν τοπήστινος, νὰ ποξεκαθαρίσης,
 Καὶ μάθητο πατέρας σου, κ(αὶ) θέλημασε σκόψη,
 νὰ μᾶς εἰπῆ γὰρ ῥήματα, καὶ νὰ μᾶς ἀντικόψη.
 545 Ὅτι ἀνεμαθητευθῆ, ὁ λόγος καὶ γρηγίση,
 κρυφᾶ κρυφᾶ πάλιν ἐγὼ, ζράτα θέλω ποιήση.

The 1553 edition. A copy is held in the Vatican Library. Another copy survives in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; classmark: *38.L.147.⁹ The latter wants half its (inner) folia.

*Description of the Vatican copy of 1553*¹⁰

- (1) Location:
 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini Collection;
 classmark: GGG. VI.49
- (2) Title Page:
 ΕΞΗΓΗΤΙΚΟ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΤΟΥ | ΥΜΒΕΡΙΟΥ. | Αρχήζω (...) διὰ νὰ
 μουτοδόση. (Cristoforo Zanetti's device: see «Decoration» below)
- (3) Contents:
Begins fol. 1r: ΕΞΗΓΗΤΙΚΟ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΤΟΥ | ΥΜΒΕΡΙΟΥ. |
 Αρχήζω πρῶτον μ' ὀρισμὸν, καὶ με βουλὴν κυρίου, | νὰ διγηθῶ ἀφή-
 γησιν, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡμπερίου. (...) Ἀνὲν καὶ λάθω πούπετες, ὅποιος τὸν
 ἀναγνώση. | ζητῶ τουτὸ συμπάθιον, διὰ νὰ μουτοδόση.
Continues fol. 2r: ΔΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΩΡΑΙΟΤΑΤΗ | ΤΟΥ ΗΜΒΕΡΙΟΥ. |
 Ἀνθρώπος μέγας θαυμασὸς, ῥήγας τετιμημένος, | εἰς τὴν προβεύτξαν
 ἦτονε, μυριοχαριτωμένος, (...) Ἀνδρόγυνον ὠραικτικὸν, ζόν κόσμον
 ἡγαπημένον, | τὴν κρίσιντους, ἐκάμνασιν, σὰν ἦτον τὸ γραμμένον.
Ends fol. 18v: Ἀφέντης μέγας ἔγυνεν, ὡς ἔτρεχεν τὸ μέλος, | ἡμπε-
 ριος ὁ θαυμασὸς, ὡς ἔδειξεν τὸ τέλος. | Τέλος τῆς διηγῆσεως τοῦ
 ἡμπερίου· | [colophon fol. 18v] Stampato in Vinegia per Christophoro di
 Zanetti. L'anno del Signore. MDLIII

9. Legrand (*BH 15-16*, vol. 4, p. 558) thought there was only one copy. According to Evro Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy: Printers and Publishers for the Greek World*, Venice 1994, p. 236 another copy is held in the Bodleian, but I cannot confirm this.

10. For the format of the description, I have generally benefited from D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction*, New York and London 1994, pp. 153-168. See also the standard guides: R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, Oxford 1927 (reprint, Winchester, 1994), pp. 145-164; Roy Stokes, *Esdaile's Manual of Bibliography*, Latham 2001, pp. 237-244; Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, Oxford 1972, and Paul Shaner Dunkin, *How to Catalog a Rare Book*, Chicago 1951 (reprint, Chicago 1973).

- (4) Material:¹¹ Paper thick, rough, laid, yellowish white. Watermarked: *Chapeau* with cords and a cruciform decoration above the crown, 60×42 mm; *Chapeau*, similar (but not identical) to Likhachev 3064, 64×42 mm;¹² *Tête de boeuf*, without facial characteristics, with triangular ears and a long line between the horns terminating in a floral (?) design, 67×39 mm.¹³ Chainlines at c.30 mm apart. Leaf no. 9 (quire consisting fols a9-10), oiled, very dark brown (the colour has slightly affected the neighbouring pages)¹⁴; laid, watermarked (similar, but not identical, with Briguet 3486, 3489). The volume is well preserved, almost no marks etc.
- (5) Dimensions: 4o, 198.5×143 mm. Sheet size: 400×290 mm (probably a variety of Pott).¹⁵
- (6) Number of leaves: 2 + 18 + 2¹⁶
- (7) Collation: A18 (36 pp). No anomalies discernible (cancels etc.).
- (8) Catchwords and page numbering: At the foot of the page, middle to right-hand corner beginning fol. 2r: ἡμπέ. α2-α9; «ἡμπέ.» centred, and the a2 etc. flush to the right of the line. No catchwords.
- (9) Presentation (Mise-en-page):
- a. Font: DS no. 3.¹⁷ Type measurements: 87; 1; 3.¹⁸ The second line of

11. I follow the formulae established by G. Thomas Tanselle, «The Bibliographical Description of Paper», *Studies in Bibliography* 27 (1971) 27-67.

12. J. S. G. Simmons, and Bé van Ginneken-van de Kastele (ed.), *Likhachev's Watermarks*, Amsterdam 1994.

13. Very idiosyncratic, there is nothing similar in Charles-Moïse Briguet, *Les filigranes*, Amsterdam ²1953; Gerhard Piccard, *Die Ochsenkopf-Wasserzeichen*, 3 vols, Stuttgart, 1966; Aurelio and Augusto Zonghi, and A. F. Gasparinetti, *Zonghi's Watermarks*, Hilversum 1953. For animals in watermarks, see Don Francisco Bofarull y Sans, *Animals in Watermarks*, Hilversum 1959.

14. For oiled paper, whose chief use was not in printed books, see E. J. Labarre, *Dictionary and Encyclopaedia of Paper and Paper-Making*, London and Toronto ²1952, pp. 175-176.

15. For paper size names the most useful source remains Labarre, *ibid.*, pp. 253-272.

16. I follow the formula: front endleaves + folios + back endleaves.

17. This is a cursive font (20 lines = 87 mm) with a minimum of contractions and ligatures. Examples in Layton, *Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, figs 212, 213. It was used by Cristoforo Zanetti for the first time in 1553 and thereafter until 1580 for his non-liturgical books and liturgical pocket editions. These are, aside from *Imberios*: *Ἀπόκοπος*, *Ἀπολλώνιος*, *Σπανός* (1553); *Ψαλτήριον* (1555); *Ἐρολόγιον* (1559, 1580); *Στουδίτης*, *Θησαυρός*, and the preliminary leaves of the 1561 edition (1557-8); *Γλυζούνης*, *Βιβλίον ... λογαριστικὴν* (1568); *Διήγησις Βελισαρίου*, *Ἱστορία ρε̅ Σκότζιας* (1577); *Ἀπολλώνιος*, *Σπανός* (1579). See Layton, *ibid.*, p. 525n11, and her «Some Notes», pp. 128-131, esp. 129, 130n29.

DS no. 3 had already been used by the Nicolini da Sabbio (1543-1551) and was to be used by Francesco Rampazetto (see note 42 below), and had also appeared in books printed by Melchiorre Sessa. The particular type used by Zanetti might well have been acquired directly from the Nicolini da Sabbio (whose name no longer appears in Greek books after 1552).

couplets is indented, and begins with a lower-case letter. b. Display headletters: 22.5×0.75 mm. c. 34 lines per page, where no illustrations; 14 lines where the page is illustrated. d. 150×77 mm of printed area where no illustrations. No unusual abbreviations. No colour.

- (10) Punctuation: Formalised in the manner of the period: a comma at hemistichs of both lines of the couplet, and at the end of the first line; a full-stop at the end of the second, but with some variation.¹⁹
- (11) Marginalia:
- (a) s.ixx ex./s.xx in. hand: «Ἐξήγησις» in pencil over and to the left of the printed «Ἐξήγησις» on fol. 1r; «int.1» in pencil on right margin of a1r, both by binder/librarian.
- (b) Front endleaves: «ggg. vi. 49.» in black ink (twice) in s.xviii.ex./xix.in. hand; «xxxii.c.44» in green black ink in hand of same period; «30»; an acquisition stamp removed with some damage to the page; «GGG.vi-49» in pencil.
- (c) Γ S (the latter spiralling around the stem of Γ) in black ink on exact centre of recto of the second front end leaf).²⁰
- (d) The red «Biblioteca Barberina» acquisition stamp on fol.1r: [oval, 30×27 mm. Vertical view of back of a single Barberini bee framed by «Bibliot. Barberina 1837». Another red stamp on fol. 11r: «1837», 13.5×24 mm.
- (12) Provenance and History: Owned by the Biblioteca Barberina. Since 1902

DS no. 3, and K. no. 1 were used by the Nicolini da Sabbio exclusively for the Kounadis/Santa Maria publications. See Layton, «Andreas Kounadis and the Nicolini da Sabbio», in Triantafyllos E. Sklavenitis, and Konstantinos Sp. Staikos (ed.), *The Printed Greek Book, 15th-19th Century: Acts of the International Congress, Delphi, 16-20 May 2001. Το έντυπο ελληνικό βιβλίο, 15ος-19ος αιώνας: Πρακτικά διεθνούς συνεδρίου, Δελφοί, 16-20 Μαΐου 2001*, Athens 2004, p. 75.

18. I note the dimension measurements as introduced by H. D. L. Vervliet (ed.), *The Type-Specimen of the Vatican Press, 1628*, Amsterdam 1967, p. 20n2: height of 20 lines, height of each type, height of non-display capital, preceded by a colon (all in mm). For more details, see Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (transl. Harry Carter), Amsterdam 1967, pp. 15-19, 78.

19. This formality does not, of course, accommodate the meaning of the line. On punctuation generally, see Franca Brambilla Ageno, *L'edizione critica dei testi volgari*, Padua 1984, pp. 42-44, 311-314, and Hans Eideneier, «Περὶ στιξεως, ὀρθογραφίας καὶ τονισμοῦ», in Παναγιώτης Αγαπητός - Μιχάλης Πιερής (ed.), *Τ' ἄδωνιν κείνον ποῦ γλυκὰ θλιβᾶται [Neograeca Medii Aevi 4]*, Heraklio 2002, pp. 251-253.

20. At this stage, it would be speculation to try to identify who °S is. Among the conceivable candidates are: Girolamo Soranzo (1815-1895) director of the Museo Correr in Venice, and Iacopo Soranzo (18th century?), Venetian senator. See Carlo Frati, *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani*, Firenze 1933, s.v. «Soranzo».

in the Biblioteca Vaticana.²¹

- (13) Binding: modern, thick and rough greenish white paper worn and fragile in the back. Signs of moderate trimming. Illegible hand-writing along the back. Two strong threads hold the cover. Bound with *Apokopos* (1553)²² and *Spanos* (1553?).²³ Slim volume (c.1 cm overall thickness). *Imberios* thickness: c.4 mm. Each volume is bound with three frail threads at the gutter. Possibly original binding consisted of two threads, now both removed, at either end of gutter.²⁴
- (14) Bibliography: Papadopoulos, no. 2119; *BH 15-16*, vol. 4, no. 558. This edition has been discussed by Layton and Kaklamanis, and referred to by van Gemert.²⁵
- (15) Decoration:
- (a) Cristoforo Zanetti's printer's device (77×56 mm). Three darts held together by a ribbon, heads pointing upwards and stems touching the ground.
- (b) fol. a1v, 153×108.5 mm (full-page): a king enthroned, crowned, sceptred, and surrounded by six courtiers. It is surtitled «Ἡμπερίως.»
- (c) fol. a4r, 73.5×114 mm. Substantially worn on bottom right-hand corner. A crowned king with beard, and a younger man, whose left hand is on the handle of a sword in its scabbard; they are both mounted with lances in hand in a rocky landscape.
- (d) fol. a10r, 50×72.5 mm (without extra ornaments), flanked by two floral designs added by Zanetti. It shows an armoured gallant talking to a lady in a mountainous landscape, while to the left is a person writing on a

21. The Barberini collection was founded in 1638, and was acquired by the Vatican library in 1902. See Frati, *ibid.*, 48-9.

22. Printed by Cristoforo Zanetti. *BH 15-16*, vol. 4, no. 557; Papadopoulos, no. 1036 (but the classmark he mentions is «GGG.III 93 int.2»).

23. *BH 15-16*, vol. 3, no. 105; Papadopoulos, no. 5345. It is in red and black following the practice of liturgical works. There is no indication of place, printer or date, but Legrand assigned it to Cristoforo Zanetti, and dated it to 1553, because it is printed with DS no. 3, a type Zanetti used in three other books that year (see note 17 above). See also, Layton, *Sixteenth-Century Greek Book*, p. 205, and her «Notes on Some Printers», pp. 135-136 and 136n43.

24. Similar holes in *Apokopos*, also printed by Cristoforo Zanetti, bound in the same volume.

25. Layton, *Sixteenth Century Greek Books*, *passim*; Κακλαμάνης, «Ἡ ἰδέα τῆς σειρᾶς στὴν ἔκδοση τῶν νεοελληνικῶν λογοτεχνικῶν ἐντύπων τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνα», in David Holton, Tina Lendari, Ulrich Moennig, and Peter Vejleskov (ed.), *Copyists, Collectors, Redactors and Editors: Manuscripts and Editions of Late Byzantine and Early Modern Greek Literature. Papers Given at a Conference Held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 23-26 May 2002, in Honour of Hans Eideneier and Arnold van Gemert*, Heraklion 2005, p. 331; Arnold van Gemert, «Ἡ ομοιοκατάληκτη διασκευὴ παλαιότερων βυζαντινῶν ἔργων. Κρητικά στον Ἰμπερίο», in *Πεπραγμένα Θ' διεθνούς κρητολογικῆς συνεδρίου*, Heraklion 2004, p. 51 n22.

book-stand, behind whom someone is sleeping in a four-poster bed.

(e) fol. a11v, 40.5×75 mm (without extra ornaments), flanked by the same floral designs as the previous cut, enclosed (above and below) by two floral headpieces. It shows the right side of a galley with one rank of nine manned oars, the captain/cox, and a flag with the cross near the spear-shaped bow.

(f) fol. a13v, 50×72.5 mm (without extra ornaments), flanked by floral ornaments. It depicts three ships, one in the foreground, two at the back, in the midst of a dire storm. A Zephyrus head is blowing in the upper right-hand corner, while the back of a naked Neptune, who stands dramatically on a horse, trident in hand, features in the right-hand part of the cut.

(g) Heading (fol. 2r): 14×86.5 mm (some tear). Bordered parallelogram, two shepherds with dogs and livestock against thick arboreal background.

The five woodcuts purport to depict scenes from the romance of *Imberios*. In fact, they are all borrowed from a variety of publications by either Damiano or other publishers.²⁶ Two out of the five blocks come from the set of woodcuts in Loukanis's *Iliad*. The whole original run was cut by the artist Carnesecca, probably commissioned by Damiano himself.²⁷ Arguably the most copied cuts in the Greek printing-houses in Venice, the *Iliad* set was subsequently employed in a long series of publications by a number of publishers until as late as 1640 when some of them were last printed.²⁸

It is remarkable how little regard was paid to the appropriateness of the cuts to the context of the 1553 *Imberios* into which they were introduced, as opposed to the three surviving 1543 blocks. Cut (b) was originally intended in Loukanis's *Iliad* to illustrate the meeting at Nestor's ship summoned and headed by Agamemnon after his dream sent by Zeus, but it serves here as a general indication of the royal theme of *Imberios*. This is a copy of *Iliad* no.

26. Neil Harris, *Bibliografia dell'Orlando Innamorato*, 2 vols, Modena 1991 established that there was much interchange of the iconographical material in the sixteenth-century Italian printing industry. Woodcuts were often cut with a general «romance intent», and were inserted into various texts, sometimes with only a tenuous link between text and image.

27. See the pioneering article by Enrica Follieri, «Su alcuni libri greci stampati a Venezia nella prima metà del cinquecento», in n.e., *Contributi alla storia del libro italiano. Miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati*, Firenze 1969, pp. 119-64. Now in her *Byzantina et Italograeca: Studi di filologia e di palaeografia*, edited by Augusta Acconcia Longo, Lidia Perria and Andrea Luzzi, Rome 1997, pp. 67-110. Also, Layton, «Notes on the Illustration of the Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy», in n.e., *Ροδωνιά: Τιμή στον Μ. Ι. Μανούσακα*, Rethymnon 1994, vol. 1, pp. 267-77.

28. See Holton, «A Set of Sixteenth-Century Woodcuts in Greek Popular Texts», *Ἑλληνικά* 25 (1972) 371-6 for an overview of the career of the set.

13 (in fol. Á 3r).²⁹

The second cut (c) is the only one which was borrowed from the original Loukanis set (no. 6, fol. 13r).³⁰ In the context of the *Iliad* the woodcut illustrated the peak of the argument between Agamemnon and Achilles, when the latter was considering attacking the former after the crucial threat of taking Bryseis to compensate for Agamemnon's loss of Chryseis. In *Imberios* it occurs in the vicinity of the duel between the eponymous hero and the foreign challenger in Provence – and quite improbably at that, as in the romance *Imberios* (the only one of the two who qualifies to be the crowned figure) is not older than his adversary.

The third cut (d) originates from another source – Boiardo, *Il quarto libro d'Orlando innamorato* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1545), fol. 27v (or fol. d3v; double page numbering in use).³¹ It is a copy less elaborate than the original. In Boiardo the cut summarises Book 4, Canto 7, while here one is hard pressed to conceive it in the frame of *Imberios* revealing his identity and his plans to flee to Margarona a year after their wedding.

The next cut (e) is another improbable choice. It is a copy (less fine than the original, and with slight damage) of the woodcut in Girolamo Tagliente, *Libro dabaco ... thesauro universale* (Venice: Lucantonio degli Uberti, c.1520), fol. 53v. This was one of the most imaginatively illustrated sixteenth-century schoolbooks, and the most popular printed abacus book of the century.³² The creator of the cuts can be identified as the Florentine woodcut-artist Lucantonio degli Uberti.³³

29. That it is a copy and not the original is verified by Layton, *Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, p. 129n93.

30. Layton, *ibid.*, p. 90.

31. Repeated in «Libro quinto» in the same volume, p. 133. In fact, the book is not Boiardo's, but a continuation of his *Orlando innamorato* by Niccolò degli Agostini issued with the original work. I follow the bibliographic convention of listing it under Boiardo's name.

32. Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600*, Baltimore and London 1989, p. 327.

33. The cut on the last page carries the xylographic signature «Opus lucha ántonio de uberti fe ī uinetia». Paul Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts: With an Annotated List of Florentine Illustrated Books*, London 1897, p. xli believes Lucantonio was in Venice probably around 1500. This edition is probably the first with cuts by Lucantonio. For more samples of his work, see Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Graving*, New York and London 1938, p. 3, plates 305-10, and Victor Essling, *Études sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise: Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe*, Florence and Paris 1909, part 3, pp. 98-107.

The cut is recorded in Essling, *ibid.*, nos 1872-6; Max Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530*, Milan 1942, no. 7154 (I think he is wrong in dating this edition, albeit tentatively, to 1510); Ruth Mortimer (comp.), *Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts: Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts. Part II, Italian 16th Century Books*, Cambridge, Ma. 1974, vol. 2, no. 489. Layton, *Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, p. 129n93, who has identified it, refers to Essling, *ibid.*, no. 1870 which, however, pertains to a 1520 reissue of

In its original context, the woodcut illustrated a problem in arithmetic, while the *Imberios* reader has to stretch their imagination to see the connection with the theme of the prince finding a boat to give chase to the robber eagle.

The last woodcut (f) is a free rendition of a cut in Boiardo, *Quarto libro*, fol. 41v framed by the same floral designs. The original is at shorter range, and depicts four ships (one wrecked), a Neptune without horse and more modestly dressed, city walls in the background right, and two Zephyri, one in either top corner.

This may be the least appropriate block. Its equivalent in Boiardo anticipates the disaster in Book 4, Canto 10 but the scene of the formidable storm is hardly relevant, with *Imberios* sleeping peacefully on the island, and failing to return to the ship taking him to Provence on time.

The illustrations in the 1553 *Imberios* include Cristoforo Zanetti's printer's mark,³⁴ and a headpiece. There is a marked similarity with the headpiece in Dapharanas, *Λόγοι διδακτικοί* (fol. A2r) published by the Nicolini da Sabbio.³⁵ Of interest also is the similarity between the title pages of *Ἀπόχοπος* (1543) by the Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano and that of the Zanetti *Imberios* of 1553.³⁶

The 1553 Vienna and Vatican are almost identical copies. As Vienna is lacking the inner leaves, there are only 426 shared lines. In these there occur three instances of substitution of type marks.³⁷ No other substantial variations are discernible.³⁸

the first edition (1515) that was not illustrated by Lucantonio. For the same reason I disagree with Layton's reference to Sander, *ibid.*, no. 7151.

34. As reproduced in Layton, *ibid.* (note 33), fig. 248.

35. Layton, *ibid.*, fig 158 conveniently reproduces this as well.

36. Layton, *ibid.*, 534n9 remarked that, except for the printer's device, they are identical.

37. In Vienna 11 *Ανευ*, the -v drops under the line, to be rectified in the Vatican copy. In Vatican 898 *κτίπηCa* the -τ- looks like a broken part of a ligature: its equivalent in Vienna is clearly whole. The Vatican 976 *ἄγρουον* is corrected to *ἄγριον* in Vienna. Finally, in Vatican 172 *κιαναδακ<..>ζη ρ* and *ι* are not visible (no ink), as opposed to the Vienna edition.

38. Sixteenth-century printers would make corrections while printing was in progress, but would not withdraw pages with errors. Comparing, therefore, extant copies could be worth the modern editor's while. For example, a similar analysis led Γιώργος Κεχαγιόγλου, «Πρώτες εκδόσεις της ομάδας του Απολλωνίου: Νέα στοιχεία», *Ελληνικά* 37 (1986) 145-59 to a hypothesis about the existence of a previously unknown edition.

On printers' corrections see Conor Fahy, «Correzioni ed errori avvenuti durante la tiratura secondo uno stampatore del Cinquecento: Contributo alla storia della tecnica tipografica in Italia», *Saggi di bibliografia testuale*, Padua 1988, pp. 155-6; Κακλαμάνης, «Ἀπὸ τὸ χειρόγραφο στὸ ἔντυπο: Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Αἰμίλιας (1529)», *Θησαυρίσματα* 27 (1997) 216-17. On variations in different copies of the same edition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 204-13.

In conclusion, we might add that the books printed by Cristoforo Zanetti in 1553 bear an unmistakable resemblance to comparable editions by the Nicolini da Sabbio. After the end of the Damiano-Nicolini da Sabbio association in 1549 woodcuts and types cut by the brothers passed into the hands of Zanetti, who starts printing for Damiano.³⁹ This continuity of stock and personality is manifest from the re-printing of titles originally printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio.⁴⁰

The 1562 edition. Scholarship since Legrand was unsure about the 1562 *Imberios*. Here follows its first description.

Description of the 1562 Edition

- (1) Location:
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, «François Mitterand»; classmark: Rés. Yb. 379.
- (2) Title Page:
ΕΞΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΥΜΑΚΤΟΥ | ΗΜΠΕΡΙΟΥ. | Αρχήζω (...) διὰ νὰ
μουτοδόση. (Cristoforo Zanetti's device; see «Decoration» below)
- (3) Contents:
Begins fol.1r: ΕΞΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΥΜΑΚΤΟΥ | ΗΜΠΕΡΙΟΥ. |
Αρχήζω πρῶτον μ'ὀρισμὸν,καὶ με βουλὴν κυρίου | νὰ διγηθῶ ἀφή-
γισιν,αὐτῶ τῶ ἡμπερίου. (...) Ἀνὰ καὶ λάθω πούπετες, ὅποιος τὸν
ἀναγνώση. | ζητῶ τοῦτο συμπάθιον,διὰ νὰ μουτοδόση.
Continues fol. a2r: ΔΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΩΡΑΙΟΤΑΤΗ | ΤΟΥ ΗΠΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ. |
Ἀνθρώπος μέγας θαυμασὸς, ῥήγας τετιμημένος, | εἰς τὴν προβενύτσαν
ἦτονε, μυριοχαριτωμένος, (...) Καὶ κάμασιν εἰς ἀριθμὸν,σοσοὺς σσα-
ράντα χρόνους, | ἄτεκνοι τοὺς ἐπέρασσαν,εἶχαν μεγάλους πόνους.
Ends fol. 16v: Αφεύτης μέγας ἔγυνεν,ὡς ἔτρεχεν τὸ μέλος, |
ἡμπερίος ὁ θαυμασὸς,ὡς ἔδειξεν τὸ τέλος. | Τέλος τῆς διηγῆσεως τοῦ
ἡμπερίου. | [colophon fol. 16v] Ἐνετίησι παρὰ φραγκίσκο τῶ
ραμπαζέτω. | ἀφξβ'.
- (4) Material: Paper thick, rough, laid, yellowish white. Watermarked:
Chapeau with cords; *Ancor* (three types); chainlines c.30 mm apart.
Extensively soiled at upper part; worm-hole at foot of page through the

39. Layton, *Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, p. 525.

40. Elizabeth Jeffreys, «Some Comments on the Manuscripts of *Imberios and Margarona*», *Ελληνικά* 27 (1974) 43. For a useful overview with rich bibliography of Cristoforo Zanetti, the most prolific printer of Greek books for Greek readers in the second half of the 16th century, who produced exclusively modern Greek works, see Layton, *Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, pp. 522-535.

- entire number of leaves.
- (5) Dimensions: 4o, 199×140 mm. Sheet size: at least 400×280 mm (probably a variation of Foolscalp).⁴¹
- (6) Number of leaves: 3 + 16 + 3
- (7) Collation: A16 (32 pp). No anomalies discernible (cancels etc.).
- (8) Catchwords and page numbering: At the foot of the page, middle to right-hand corner beginning fol. 2r: ἡμπέ. α2-α9; «ἡμπέ.» centred, and the α2 etc. flush to the right of the line.
- (9) Presentation (Mise-en-page):
- (a) Font: DS no. 3. Rampazetto used the same type as Zanetti in 1553.⁴² Type measurements: c.88; 2; 3.⁴³ The second line of the couplet is indented, and begins with a lower-case letter. b. Display headletters: 22×0.80 mm. c. 36-8 lines per page, where no illustrations; 12-26 lines where the page is illustrated. d. *circa* 173×78 mm of printed area where no illustrations (38 lines). No unusual abbreviations. No colour.
- (10) Punctuation: Formalised in the manner of the period, but with some variation.
- (11) Marginalia:
- (a) s.xvii hand: «Domus profess. paris. Societ. Jesu.» in black ink over the title.
- (b) «Y553 A» in top right-hand corner in sepia ink.
- (c) «Yb 379» on front endleaf.
- (d) «1562» in red ink under Greek year number on fol.1r.
- (e) «Ne extra hanc Bibliothecam efferatur. Ex obedientiâ.» printed on a piece of paper pasted at foot of fol. 1r.
- (f) The red «Bibliothèque (sic) royale. Type B», no. 15 acquisition mark (24 mm diameter) on fol. a1r.⁴⁴
- (12) Provenance and History: Owned by Pierre-Daniel Huet.⁴⁵ On 17 April

41. See note 15 above.

42. The 1548 *Belisarios* by Petro Nicolini da Sabbio, and the 1554 edition by Rampazetto are similarly linked. See W. F. Bakker and A. F. van Gemert (ed.), *Ιστορία τοῦ Βελισσαρίου*, Athens 1988, p. 55. See also Layton, *Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, pp. 130nn24 and 28, and note 17 above.

43. See note 18 above.

44. Type B, with all its variables, was used sporadically from 1735 to 1792. See Pierre Josserand, and Jean Bruno, «Les estampilles du département des imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale», in n.e., *Mélanges d'histoire du livre et des bibliothèques offert à Monsieur Frantz Calot*, Paris 1960, pp. 275-7, and plate 23 (fig. 15).

45. Considered one of the most learned men of his age, Huet (1630-1721), bishop of Avranches, member of the French Academy and personal tutor of the successor to the French throne, conceived an intense interest for romance, and published his *De l'origine de romance*, Paris 1670, in which he offers an overview of Greek romances to Theodore Prodromus. It is not

1691 it passed to the «Maison professe des Jésuites» of rue Saint-Antoine, Paris.⁴⁶ Acquired by the Bibliothèque royale probably in November 1763.⁴⁷

- (13) Binding: *Demi-reliure* with pink marbled paper; spine covered in brown leather with golden fleur-de-lys, of the type used by the Bibliothèque nationale in the second half of 18th century.⁴⁸ Edges slighted tinted pink.

impossible that he had acquired *Imberios* through his friend Bartholomew d'Herbelot (1625-95), author of *Bibliothèque orientale*, Paris 1697, who travelled three times to Italy. See the autobiographical work Huet, *Commentarius de rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, Hague 1718, pp. 319-320. The information on Herbelot in John Aiken (annot., and transl.), *Memoirs of the Life of Peter Daniel Huet, Bishop of Avranches*, London 1810, vol. 2, p. 193n33. Also, see Alfred Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, Paris 1870, vol. 2, p. 272.

It should not be taken for granted that a scholar like Huet at that time knew Modern Greek. However, there is firm evidence, aside from his *De l'origine*, that Huet did. First, he read Βοσκοπούλα. See Στυλιανός Ἀλεξίου (ed.), *Ἡ Βοσκοπούλα: Κρητικὸ εἰδύλλιο τοῦ 1600*, Heraklion 1963, p. λε'. Second, he offered his comments on the editio princeps of Trivolis's *Ἱστορία ρὲ Σκότζιας*. See Émile Legrand (ed.), *Ἱστορία τοῦ ρὲ τῆς Σκωτίας μὲ τὴν ῥήγισσα τῆς Ἐγγλητέρας*, by Iakovos Trivolis [Collection de monuments de la langue néo-hellénique 13], Paris 1871, pp. vi, vii-viii (first reference to Huet in connection with Trivolis in Ἐμμανουὴλ Κριαρᾶς, «Der Roman *Imperios und Margarona* und das *Dekameron* als Quellen des Jakob Trivolis», in Johannes Irmischer [ed.], *Probleme der neugriechischen Literatur*, Berlin 1960, vol. 3, p. 62n1). Third, he called «confusum et λαβυρινθῶδες» a Modern Greek grammar written (in Latin) in the seventeenth century. See J. Boyens (ed.), *Grammatica linguae graecae vulgaris communis omnibus Graecis ex qua alia artificialis deducitur peculiaris eruditus et studiosis tantum*, by Romanus Nicephorus Thessalonicensis [Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fascicule 18], Paris 1908, p. xi.n3. I am grateful indeed to Dr Io Manolesou for this last piece of information.

46. On that date Huet signed the contract of the donation of his famous library of 8,271 volumes to the Jesuit abbey. See Françoise Péliison-Karro, «La bibliothèque de Pierre-Daniel Huet, évêque d'Avranches, entre la maison professe des Jésuites et la bibliothèque du roi», in Bruno Blasselle, and Laurent Portes (ed.), *Mélanges autour de l'histoire des livres imprimés et périodiques*, Paris 1998, p. 113. The *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de la maison professe des ci-devant soi-disans Jésuites*, Paris 1763, p. 302 reads: «no. 5017. Histoire des amours de P. de Provence & de la belle Magdelone (sic), en grec vulgaire. 1562, in 4.» Huet was adamant in refusing the books he bestowed to be borrowed by readers of the Jesuit library, hence the warning pasted on the page titles of his collection (see «e» in Decoration above). One of the very few manuscript «ex libris» of the Abbey was the inscription cited in «a» in Decoration above.

47. According to Franklin, *Anciennes bibliothèques*, pp. 270-1, the Abbey was closed by the French state in 1762, and the Jesuits sold their books in November 1763, which is probably when it was acquired by the Bibliothèque royale. See Péliison-Karro, *ibid.*, for the fascinating story of the acquisition of Huet's collection, and the determined attempt by Huet's heirs (acting on behalf of the Russian empress?) to get the collection back, with recent bibliography. An older account in T. Mortreuil, *Bibliothèque nationale: Son origine et ses accroissements*, Paris 1878, pp. 95-7. The «A» in the classmark presumably signifies that this book was perceived by the author of the Bibliothèque royale catalogue to be another copy of the «Y553» item already in their possession. This item is the 1638 edition discussed later (see note 62 below).

48. «Demi-reliure» is the binding that combines a leather-covered spine with paper covers. The one used in the *Imberios* volume is a typical product of the binder Antoine Durand. According to the binders' archives of the Bibliothèque royale, the first example of a leather-

Two paper stamps: «Inv. Réserve Yb 379» on cover, and «Y553A» on spine. Signs of trimming. Slim volume (c.0.8 cm overall thickness with covers). Thickness without covers: c.3 mm.

- (14) Bibliography: Brunet knew that a copy formerly of the Jesuit Library was at the then Royal Library.⁴⁹ Legrand reported this rather incredulously.⁵⁰ Krumbacher half believed the edition had ever existed.⁵¹ Subsequent scholarship speculated about the existence of the edition.⁵²

- (15) Decoration:

(a) Cristoforo Zanetti's printer's device (75.5×56 mm). As in the 1553 edition (see Decoration a, above).

(b) fol. a1v, 153×110 mm (full-page). As in the 1553 edition (see Decoration b, above).

(c) fol. a.3v, 46×86.5 mm. Six knights in armour, mounted on armoured horses, one squire to the right; two windows with people.

(d) fol. a9v, 8×86.5 mm. A naval battle. Fire ascending from a vessel towards the centre.

(e) fol. a10v, 47×87.5 mm. A knight in armour is speaking with a lady; a hippogryph with lowered head to the right; a fountain with running water in the background; two persons flying off a hippogryph in the background left.

(f) fol. a12r, repeat of (d) above.

(g) Heading (fol. 2r): 14×87 mm (some tear). Bordered parallelogram, two shepherds with dogs and livestock against thick arboreal background.

Woodcut Identification: We have been able to identify three of the woodcuts:

b. a1v: the same copy of Loukanis *Iliad* no. 13 as in the 1553 edition.

c. a3v: this was subsequently used in Boiardo, *Orlando innamorato* (Venice: Fabio & Agostin Zoppini, 1580), fol. 184v (repeated in 242v and 394r), 455×865 mm.

e. fol. 10v: We are satisfied that it was cut by the same artist who illustrated the 1554 *Furioso* by Rampazetto, as the similarity between the

bound spine in a paper-covered volume dates to 1767. See Jeanne-Marie Métivier, «La reliure à la Bibliothèque du roi de 1672 à 1786», in Blasselle and Portes (ed.), *Mélanges*, p. 142 and especially pp. 162-3.

49. Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, Paris ⁵1863, vol. 4, and col. 647.

50. *BH 15-16*, vol. 1, no. 139; Émile Legrand (ed.), «Imbérios et Margarona», in *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, vol. 1, Paris 1880, p. xxix.

51. Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, New York ²1971, p. 869.

52. Κακλαμάνης, «Η ιδέα της σειροῦς», p. 335-6; Layton, *Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, p. 217n100; Papadopoulos, no. 2120.

facial features of the lady in fol. 43r and the lady in the block in question is striking.⁵³

One of the most eminent Venetian printers, Francesco Rampazetto flourished between 1553 and 1576. He was elected Prior to the Guild of Printers and Booksellers (1572), and designated as official printer to the Republic. He started operations in 1553 (1538 according to some sources). His publications were primarily Latin and Italian, his Greek output being small, and invariably funded by others. The Greek books were all printed with DS no. 3.⁵⁴

In the 1562 *Imberios* nothing but the colophon indicates that the printer is Francesco Rampazetto. Indeed this is the first instance of a collaboration of Rampazetto with Zanetti. In 1562 Rampazetto used his personal printer's mark in his more sumptuous productions. This consisted of a cat sejant in a cauldron, framed by a design crowned by a near-simian head and (in succession downwards) two naked figures, two urns and two dressed female figures. According to Layton (*Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, p. 439, and fig. 214), Rampazetto most frequently used in his Greek books a mark comprising two cherubs holding laurels, standing on clouds, and above the motto «et animo et corpori».⁵⁵

The Other Surviving Editions

(1) 1600: On fol. 1r: dense floral ornament; ΗΜΠΕΠΙΟΥ (mark of Pinelli [framed pine tree emblem with the initials GAP]) Ἐνετίησιν, Παρὰ Ἀντωνίω τῷ Πινέλῳ. | ,αχω. (sic) [colophon on verso of the last page of text] Ἐνετίη-

53. According to Giorgio Massi, «La sfortuna dell'*Orlando innamorato*: cultura e filologia nella 'riforma' de Lodovico Domenichi», in Giuseppe Anceschi and Tina Matarrese (ed.), *Il Boiardo e il mondo estense nel Quattrocento: atti del convegno internazionale di studi: Scandiano, Modena, Reggio Emilia, Ferrara, 13-17 settembre 1994*, Padova 1998, vol. 2, p. 1017n173, the hippogryph pertains to *Orlando Furioso* rather than *Innamorato*. Although I have inspected seventy editions of both from 1511 to 1608, item «de» has not been identified more narrowly.

54. See Mortimer, *Harvard College Library*, p. 414; F. Ascareli, *La tipografia cinquecentesca italiana*, Firenze 1953, p. 204; Ester Pastorello, *Tipografi, editori, librai a Venezia nel secolo XVI*, Firenze 1924, no. 351; N. Γ. Κοντοσόπουλος, «Τὰ ἐν Βενετία τυπογραφεῖα ἐλληνικῶν βιβλίων κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν», *Ἀθηνᾶ* 58 (1954) 299; Ascarelli, and E. Vaccaro, «Marche poco note di tipografi ed editori Italiani del sec. XVI dalla raccolta della Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina», in n.e., *Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Anna Saitta Revignas*, Firenze 1978, p. 50; Giacomo Moro, «Insegne librerie e marche tipografiche in un registro veneziano del '500», *La bibliofilia* 91 (1989) 71n45; an overview in Layton, *Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, pp. 437-47.

55. He generally used a variety of marks, on three of which, see Ascarelli-Vaccaro, «Poco note», figs 53-5.

σιν, Παρὰ Ἀντωνίω τῷ Πινέλῳ. | ,αχῳ. (sic)⁵⁶ (geometrical floral ornament)

Collation: A20, in 8ο, 40 pp numbered a2-a10. All pages have catchwords in the usual place. No woodcuts, but the poem is divided into five sections by means of four floral ornaments: first, after line 134; second, after line 530; third, after line 618; fourth, after line 734.⁵⁷ 28 lines per page. Sole known exemplar: Oxford, Bodleian Library; classmark 8ο. A. 24. Th (3). Papadopoulos, no. 2121.⁵⁸

Antonio Pinelli flourished in Venice (1600-31), and was the founder of the firm which operated from 1600 until after the fall of the Republic in 1797. The Pinellis achieved eminence, were appointed official Ducal printers, and had the monopoly of printing all government papers under the designation «Stampatori ducali». On the fall of the Republic, the municipality appointed them to carry out a large part of the official printing. It is perhaps indicative of the firm's prestige that among the editors of their liturgical editions was Maximos Margounios, arguably the most distinguished and erudite Greek clergyman of his time.⁵⁹

Antonio bought the stock of Cristoforo Zanetti from the heirs of the latter's son, Pietro, and other defunct presses which specialised in Greek books, as well as the *Iliad* set of woodcuts. The Pinelli Greek output was considerably reduced by 1676.⁶⁰

(2) 1624: On fol 1r: ΗΜΠΕΠΙΟΥ. (framed pine tree with the initial A)

56. This obviously problematic date (χ=600, ω=800) appears in *Ἀπολλώνιος, Διήγησις γαδάρου* and *Imberios* (BH 17, vol. 5, nos 2, 3 and 4 respectively), all by Antonio Pinelli. Legrand (ibid, p. 2) thought that the -ω attached to the number αχ' (=1600) is a printer's mistake for αχά, and dated these works to 1601. Πάνος Βασιλείου, «Ἀποκατάσταση χρονολογίας στὴν *Bibliographie Hellénique* τοῦ Ἐ. Legrand», *Ὁ Ἐραμιστῆς* 14 (1977) 206-8 noted that in a *Πεντηχοστάριον* and a *Τριώδιον* of the same year by A. Pinelli (BH 15-16, vol. 2, nos 232, 234) the superscriptum -ω has a circumflex, and it is the case ending for the dative to state the year: «ἐν ἔτει...». Thus, he confirmed the view of K. Τσαντσάνογλου, «Περὶ ὄνου...», *Ἑλληνικά* 24 (1971) 64n3, and corrected Legrand's dating to 1600.

57. For the general assumption that Greek literary books were less attractively illustrated than other Greek book categories (with only a few exceptions at the beginning of the sixteenth century), see Γιώργος Χ. Πατρινέλης, *Το ελληνικό βιβλίο στην Τουρκοκρατία (1476-1820)*, Thessaloniki 1989.

58. BH 17, vol. 5, no. 4.

59. See G. Plumidis, «La stampa Greca a Venezia nel secolo XVII», *Archivio Veneto* 93, series 5 (1971) 31. For Margounios's biography, see Giorgio Fedalto, *Massimo Margunio e il suo commento al De Trinitate di S. Agostino (1588)*, Brescia 1967, pp. 5-114; Layton, *Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, pp. 430, 388-94.

60. See Giuseppe Fumagalli, *Lexicon typographicum Italiae*, Florence 1905, pp. 492, 501; Horatio F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press, 1490-1800: An Historical Study Based upon Documents for the Most Part hitherto Unpublished*, New York 1891 (reprint, Amsterdam 1969), pp. 192-3; Layton, *Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, pp. 429-432.

ΕΝΕΤΙΉΣΙΝ, Παρὰ Ἀττωνίῳ (sic) τῷ Πινέλλῳ. | ,αχιδ'. On verso of the last page of text: Τέλος τῆς διηγήσεως τοῦ ἡμπερίου.

Collation: A-B⁸, C⁴, in 8o, 40 pp numbered ΑΙΙ-ΑΙΙΙΙ, Β-ΒΙΙΙΙ, Γ-ΓΙΙ; all pages with catchwords in the usual place. No woodcuts, but section division as in the previous edition (with different floral designs). 28 lines per page. Sole known exemplar: Rome, Biblioteca Angelica; classmark 00.4.76. Papadopoulos, no. 2122.⁶¹

(3) 1638: On fol. 1r: ΗΜΠΕΡΙΟΥ. | ΓΨΤΟΡΙΑ (Antonio Pinelli's device) ΕΝΕΤΙΉΣΙΝ. | Κοντὰ εἰς τὸν Τζανπέτρον τὸν Πινέλλῃ. | ,αχλή. On verso of last page of text: Τέλος τῆς διηγήσεως τοῦ ἡμπερίου.

Collation: A-B⁸, C⁴, in 8o, 40 pp numbered ΑΙΙ-ΑΙΙΙΙ, Β-ΒΙΙΙΙ, Γ-ΓΙΙ; all pages with catchwords in the usual place. On Β: Ἡμπεριού. and Γ: Ἡμπερίου. No woodcuts, but section division as previously with the same floral ornaments (as in 1624). 28 lines per page. Sole known exemplar: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, «François Mitterand»; classmark Yb. 2460.⁶² Already in 1876 Legrand called it a «rarissime edition».⁶³

Giovanni Pietro Pinello (flourished 1631-80) took over the leadership of the firm from Antonio the Younger. Among his other books are: *Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ, Σύνοψις* (1635), various *Λειτουργικά* (1635; 1640; 1641; 1644), *Ὡρολογόπουλον* (1635), Loukanis, *Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάς* (1640) and *Τριώδιον* (1644).⁶⁴

(4) 1644: On fol 1r: ΗΜΠΕΡΙΟΥ | ΓΨΤΟΡΙΑ:- (a headpiece and then a woodcut depicting a fighting scene; seven men, three with swords; two shields, one decorated with a double headed eagle) ΕΝΕΤΙΉΣΙΝ. ,αχιδ'. | Παρὰ Γωάννη Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Γουλιανῷ. | Πουλιεταῖ κοντὰ εἰς τὸ Γεφύρι, τοῦ ἀγίου Φαντίου. On verso of the last page of text: Τέλος τῆς διηγήσεως τοῦ Ἡμπερίου:-

Collation: A²⁰, in 16o, 40 pp numbered Α2-Α10 (C8 instead of A8), all pages with catchwords in the usual place.

Woodcut Identification: the frontispiece illustration is a free rendition of the cut used in Boiardo, *Orlando innamorato* (Venice: Bindoni, 1538), libro

61. *BH 17*, vol. 1, no. 135.

62. Entry «553» in *Catalogue des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque du Roy, Belles Lettres*, Paris 1750, vol. 1, p. 276 reads: «Himperii historia, rhythmis graecobarbaris (Himperius ille est Petrus Provinciae Comes, cujus & Margaronae historiam hi rhythmici continent.). Venetiis, Joannes Petrus Pinellus. 1638. in-8o». «Y553» is the now defunct Bibliothèque royale classmark.

63. *BH 17*, vol. 1, no 275, and his review of Gustav Meyer (ed.), *Imberios und Margarona, ein mittelgriechisches Gedicht*, in *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, n.s. 2 (1876) 363.

64. See *Catalogue of the Seventeenth-Century Italian Books in the British Library*, London 1986, vol. 3, s.v. «Pinelli, Giovanni Pietro».

1, p. 17, et passim. It depicts a fighting scene – seven knights with swords and shields (one with a black double-headed eagle).

Same section division as previously (with different floral designs). 28 lines per page. Sole known exemplar: Rome, Collegio greco di S. Atanasio; classmark B. All.XVI. 3/7. Marginalia on front endleaves and fol 1r in s.xix hand: «ex Biblioth: Allat̃y», and «I.2.86». ⁶⁵ Papadopoulos, no. 2124. ⁶⁶

Giovanni Antonio Giuliani (flourished Venice, 1616-52) was the son of Baldissera and the grandson of Francesco Giuliani. He was admitted to the Guild of Printers and Booksellers on March 30, 1617 as the heir to his grandfather. The godson of Emmanouel Glyzounis, Giuliani was a beneficiary in his will. ⁶⁷

(5) 1646: On fol 1r: ΓΣΤΟΡΙΑ | ΗΜΠΕΡΙΟΥ. (framed pine tree with the initial A) ΕΝΕΤΙΗΣΙΝ, | Παρὰ Γωάν. Πέτρῳ τῷ Πινέλλῳ. | αχμς. On verso of the last page of text: Τέλος τῆς διηγήσεως τοῦ ἡμπερίου.

Collation: A-B⁸, C⁴, in 8o, 40pp numbered ΑΙΙ-ΑΙΙΙΙ, Β-ΒΙΙΙΙ, Γ-ΓΙΙ; all pages with catchwords in the usual place. No woodcuts but the same section division (as in 1600 and 1624, again with different floral designs from previous editions). 28 lines per page. Indication of cropping by binder. Sole known exemplar: London, British Library; classmark 237.i.18 [(4). Papadopoulos, no. 2125. ⁶⁸

65. Leo Allatius (Chios 1586 - Rome 1669), professor of rhetoric at the Collegium graecorum. Pope Gregory XV appointed him envoy to Germany to obtain the Palatinate library of Heidelberg. Pope Alexander VII appointed him custodian of the Vatican Library in 1661. Impressively prolific, his most important work is *De Ecclesiae occidentalisque orientalis perpetua consensione*, Cologne 1648. He bequeathed his personal library to the Greek College before his death. The most thorough biography of his remains the incomplete study by Stephano Gradi, «Leonis Allatii vita», in Angelo Mai (ed.), *Novae partum bibliotheca*, Rome 1853, vol. 6:2, pp. v-xxviii. Useful are the articles by Louis Petit, «Allatius, Léon», in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Paris 1923, and Alberto Galieti, «Allacci, Leone», in *Enciclopedia cattolica*, Vatican City 1948 with older bibliography. See also *BH 17*, vol. 3, pp. 435-471. For Allatius's bibliography now see Carmela Jacono, *Bibliografia di Leone Allacci (1588-1669)*, Palermo 1962. The most recent work on Allatius's theology is Karen Hartnup, «On the Beliefs of the Greeks»: *Leo Allatios and Popular Orthodoxy*, Leiden and Boston 2004.

66. Also recorded by Μάρκος Φώσκολος, «Τὰ παλαιὰ ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου Ρώμης. Μὲ συμπληρώσεις στὶς βιβλιογραφίες τῶν Ἐ. Legrand καὶ Δ. Γκίνη - Β. Μέξα», Ὁ Ἑραριστῆς 49 (1971) 37, and Γεώργιος Λαδᾶς - Ἀθανάσιος Χατζηδημόσιος, *Προσθήκες, διορθώσεις καὶ συμπληρώσεις στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιογραφία τοῦ Émile Legrand γὰ τὸς αἰῶνες XV, XVI καὶ XVII*, Athens 1976, pp. 133-134.

67. See Κ. Δ. Μέρτζιος, *Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης καὶ ὁ μικρὸς Ἑλληνομνήμων*, Athens 1939, pp. 213-214. Also, C. Lecuir, *Les éditeurs Grecs à Venise au XVIe siècle* [Dissertation University of Paris IV, 1985], pp. 129, 260; Layton, *Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, p. 307; Αἰκατερίνη Κουμαριανοῦ - Λουκία Δρούλια - Layton, *Τὸ ἑλληνικὸ βιβλίον, 1476-1830*, Athens 1986, p. 289.

68. *BH 17*, vol. 2, no. 386.

(6) 1666: According to Papadopoulos, no. 2126, this edition has never been inspected by a bibliographer, although Meyer used it for his edition of 1876.⁶⁹ Here follows its first description.

On fol 1r: ΗΜΠΕΡΙΟΥ | ΓΥΣΤΟΡΙΑ. (triple floral ornament) Νεωζὶ μετατυπωθεὶς (sic) μετὰ πολλῆς | ἐπιμελείας διορθωθεὶς. (sic)⁷⁰ (woodcut of a caped and hatted seventeenth-century male figure talking with a person in a window; three houses, another man is about to enter the middle house) ΕΝΕΤΙΗΣΙΝ, ἀχξζς'. | Παρὰ Ἀνδρέα τῷ Γουλιανῷ. On verso of the last page of text: ΤΕΛΟΣ.

Collation: A²⁰, in 8o, 40 pp numbered A2-A10, all pages with catchwords in the usual place. No woodcuts but same division in five sections as above with different floral designs. 28 lines per page. Formerly in Dresden, Hofbibliothek, a copy is now deposited in Dresden, Universitätsbibliothek; classmark FK 28500b.

Presumably Giovanni Antonio's heir, Andrea Giuliani flourished in Venice (1656-87). Among other books he published: *Πάστωρ Φίδος* (1658), *Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ, Σύνοψις* (1669), a number of *Λειτουργικά* and *Τυπικά* (1672, 1674, 1685), *Ἀνθολόγιον* (1672), and *Δωροθέου ἀρχιεπισκόπου, Χρονογράφος* (1676).⁷¹

(7) 1770: On fol. 1r: ΓΥΣΤΟΡΙΑ | ΤΟΥ | ΗΜΠΕΡΙΟΥ | ΥΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ | ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΒΕΝΤΖΑΣ. | Νεωζὶ τυπωθεῖσα, κ(αὶ) μετὰ ἐπιμελείας | διορθωθεῖσα. (woodcut divided in two parts: in the left quarter an indoors scene – a lady reclining in bed, a sitting figure at a book stand, another lady between them, six or seven minor attendants; in the right part, a crowded market: a person in authority in a throne to the right) ΕΝΕΤΙΗΣΙΝ, 1770. | ΠΑΡΑ ἈΝΤΟΝΙΟΥ ΤΩ ΒΟΡΤΟΛΙ. | CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI. On verso of the last page of text: ΤΕΛΟΣ.

Collation: A-C⁸ (consecutive), in 8o, 48 pp numbered with Arabic numerals: top right for odd, top left for even pages; in addition, A2-A4, B-B4, C-C4. All pages with catchwords in the usual place. No woodcuts but

69. *BH 17*, vol. 2, no. 470. Legrand (ed.), «Imberios», p. xxx gives the title and format, but has not inspected the book himself; he borrows the details from Meyer (ed.), *Imberios*, p. iii, whose description is under four lines.

70. See the remark by Κεχαγιόγλου, «Βενετικές, αθηναϊκές και άλλες «λαϊκές» εκδόσεις έργων της Κρητικής λογοτεχνίας», *Cretan Studies* 6 (1998) 159 that printers indicated in their reprints that they offered an «improved» text, even when they used without much modification either the editio princeps or simply an edition preceding theirs.

71. See *Catalogue of the Seventeenth-Century Italian Books in the British Library*, London 1986, vol. 3, s.v. «Giuliano, Andrea»; further, Κουμαριανού - Δρούλια - Layton, *Τὸ ἐλληνικὸ βιβλίον*, p. 289.

division in eight sections beginning with descriptive titles of 2-4 lines.⁷² 24 lines per page. Sole known exemplar: Athens, Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη; classmark N.Φ. 576 G. Papadopoulos, no. 2129.⁷³

It was not Antonio Bortoli himself who printed *Imberios*. In the Venetian archives there is only one printer under this name before 1800, and he was active at the impossibly early date of 1705. Antonio was succeeded by Giuseppe (1738), then Girolamo (1741) and Francesco (1781). Antonio either founded the firm or revived it: there are references to Giovanni (1654), Giacomo (1655), Camilo (1658) and Cristofolo (sic, 1676). The earliest occurrence of the Bortoli name is 1653.⁷⁴

The firm was named after Antonio. In 1706-7 he bought the important publishing firm of Nikolaos Saros. Until then they had published only three Greek books (1702, 1705). They used the combined names of the two firms until as late as 1788: as stipulated by the contract, the Bortolis had to print the Saros name on their frontispieces until the final reimbursement.⁷⁵ In 1712 they bought the Giuliani firm, and this merger made the Bortolis the major competitors of the Glykis publishers. Between 1774 and 1788, when the last book of the firm was issued, the production of vernacular books wanes, and there is an increase in liturgical titles.⁷⁶

(8) 1779: On fol. 1r: ΓΣΤΟΡΙΑ | ΤΟΥ | ΗΜΠΕΡΙΟΥ | ΥΪΟΥ ΤΩΝ | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ | ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΒΕΝΤΖΑΣ. | Νεωρὶ τυπωθεῖσα, κ(αὶ) μετ' ἐπιμελείας | διορθωθεῖσα. (mark of Antonio Bortoli, tower and lion rampant with a star flanked by initials AB; all framed by floral design) ΕΝΕΤΙΉ,ΣΙΝ, |

72. For example, the first reads «Περὶ τοῦ Βασιλέως κ(αὶ) τῆς Βασίλισσας τῆς Προβέντζας κ(αὶ) πῶς ἔκαμαν εἴνα Υἷον, κ(αὶ) τὸν ὠνόμασαν ΗΜΠΕΡΙΟΝ.»

73. Recorded by Layton, «Greek Bibliography: Additions and Corrections (c. 1471-1829)», *Θησαυρίσματα* 16 (1979) 105.

74. See Brown, *Venetian Printing Press*, p. 401, and Cosenza, *Dictionary*, s.v. «Bortoli». For a full publication list, according to which the last Bortoli book came out in 1788, *BH* 18, s.v. «Bortoli, Antoine». For more on Bortoli, see Ploumidis, «Tre tipografie di libri greci: Salicata, Saro e Bortoli», *Ateneo Veneto* 9 (1971) 245-51.

75. Μέρτζιος, «Ἡ οἰκογένεια τῶν Γλυκίων ἢ Γλυκίδων», *Ἡπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ* 10 (1935) 47-8; Κουμαριανοῦ - Δρούλια - Layton, *Τὸ ἑλληνικὸ βιβλίον*, p. 289.

76. There is a number of catalogues under the combined firm titles. The earliest dates to 1712, and was published by Μανούσακας, «Ὁ πρῶτος ἔντυπος αὐτοτελὴς ἑλληνικὸς βιβλιοπωλικὸς κατάλογος (1712) τῶν τυπογράφων Σάρου/Βόρτολι τῆς Βενετίας» *Ἱστορικὰ* 3 (1986) 211-24 comprising 97 items. The second (1720) was published by Φίλιππος Η. Ἡλιοῦ, *Προσθήκες στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιογραφία Α· Τὰ βιβλιογραφικὰ κατὰλοιπα τοῦ Ἐ. Legrand καὶ τοῦ Η. Pernot (1515-1799)*, Athens 1973, pp. 143-54. The third, fourth and fifth (1730, 1740, 1760) in Λαδᾶς-Χατζηδῆμος, *Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία· Συμβολὴ στὸ 18ο αἰῶνα. Προσθήκες, διορθώσεις καὶ συμπληρώσεις στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία τῶν Émile Legrand, Louis Petit καὶ Hubert Pernot*, Athens 1964, nos. 20, 28, 85 (mention of *Imberios* in all three). For the 1760 catalogue see also Ἡλιοῦ, «Ἐκδόσεις τῶν Ἀνδραγαθειῶν Μιχαὴλ Βοεβόδα καὶ ἕνας βιβλιοκατάλογος τοῦ Βόρτολι», *Μνήμων* 10 (1985) 295-306.

1779. αψοθ'. | Παρὰ Ἀντωνίω τῷ Βόρτολι. | CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI. On verso of the last page of text: ΤΕΛΟΣ.

Collation: A⁸-B¹² (consecutive), in 8o, 40 pp numbered with Arabic numerals; in addition, A2-A4, B-B6. No woodcuts but division in the same sections and titles as in 1770 (this time preceded by a vertical line). All pages with catchwords in the usual place. 28 lines per page. Two exemplars survive: one in Paris, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire des langues orientales; classmark R.VII.7.⁷⁷ The other in Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, classmark: 2386 G 40.⁷⁸ No substantial divergences discernible between the two copies. Papadopoulos, no. 2130.⁷⁹

(9) 1806: On fol. 1r: ΓΣΤΟΡΙΑ | ΤΟΥ | ΗΜΠΕΡΙΟΥ | ΥΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ | ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΒΕΝΤΖΑΣ. | Νεωρὶ τυπωθεῖσα, κ(αὶ) μετ' ἐπιμελείας | διορθωθεῖσα. (mark of a head framed by a complex design featuring, among others, three spear-headed banners to the right) αωζ'. ΕΝΕΤΥΧΣΙΝ, | 1806. | Παρὰ Πάνω Θεοδοσίω τῷ ἐξ Γωαννίνων. On verso of the last page of text: ΤΕΛΟΣ.

Collation: A⁸-B¹² (consecutive), in 8o, 40 pp numbered with Arabic numerals: top right for odd, top left for even pages; in addition A2-A4, B-B6. No woodcuts but division in eight chapters with the titles of 1770 and 1779, now preceded by a floral ornament. All pages with catchwords in the usual place. 27-28 lines per page. Sole known exemplar: Athens, Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη; classmark Ν.Φ. 576 Μ.⁸⁰

Demetrios and Panos Theodosiou are two of the few noteworthy Greek printers of the period from the late seventeenth to the nineteenth century (together with Glykis and Saros). Panos at least once reissued a book previously published by Bortoli.⁸¹ The output of the two brothers was mainly ecclesiastical. The Theodosiou press reissued (often more than once) vernacular titles.⁸²

77. The acquisition stamp of «ECOLE des L.L.O.O. VIVANTES» is on the title page.

78. N.e., *Vulgairegriekse en religieuze Werken gedrukt voor 1800*, vol. 1 of *Bibliotheca Auerbachiana. Catalogus van de collectie Neograeca bijeengebracht door Paul Auerbach*, Amsterdam 1973, pp. 73-4 (with reproduction of title page).

79. *BH* 18, vol. 2, no. 960: Legrand had a personal copy, and there was one more in the «Bibliothèque de Jean Vlachoyanis» in Athens. Also recorded by Παῦλος Λάμπρου, «Βιβλιακά», *Πανδώρα* 9 (1858-9) 390; Λάμπρου, *Κατάλογος σπανίων βιβλίων τῆς νεοελληνικῆς φιλολογίας*, Athens 1863, pp. 11-12; Λάμπρου, *Κατάλογος β' σπανίων βιβλίων τῆς νεοελληνικῆς φιλολογίας, πωλουμένων ἐν Ἀθήναις*, Athens 1864, p. 25, no. 72 (it cost «4 φράγκα»).

80. Recorded by Λάμπρου, *Κατάλογος β'*, no.147, according to whom it cost «3 φράγκα.»

81. *Ερμηνεία εἰς τὸ τέταρτον βιβλίον τῆς τοῦ Θεοδώρου Γαζῆ Γραμματικῆς*, 1757 (*BH* 18, vol. 1, p. 505).

82. See Κουμαριανού - Δρούλια - Layton, *Τὸ ἑλληνικὸ βιβλίον*, pp. 161, 235n292. A book-

Latent Editions

The following editions have been reported at some point, but either scholarship already considers them as non-existent, or they have disappeared since they were last inspected:

- (1) 1594 by Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis. Iliou concluded that there must have been a 1594 edition on the evidence of 3,756 copies found in the Glyzounis bookshop after his death in 1596. By reason of the large quantity, Iliou argued, the copies could not have been part of an earlier edition.⁸³ In 1594 Glyzounis was associated with the printer Francesco Giuliani.⁸⁴ Interestingly, Giuliani used a font of Cristoforo Zanetti's, as well as Kounadis's printer's mark, both linked with the earlier editions of *Imberios*.⁸⁵ At the end of the sixteenth century, Glyzounis was exceptional in his insistence on reissuing secular books (*Ἄνθος χαρίτων; Ἀπόκοπος; Γαδάρου, λύκου καὶ ἀλουποῦς διήγησις ὠραία; Βίος τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου*, and the rhymed versions of *Ἀπολλώνιος, Βελισάριος* and *Ἰμπέριος*). His colleagues were intensely focused on liturgical books.⁸⁶
- (2) 1712 by Bortoli. It appears under the title «Ἰμπέριος, ἡγουν Ρημάδα τοῦ Ἰμπερίου» in the 1712 catalogue published by Manoussakas.⁸⁷ The same title occurs in the 1720 Bortoli catalogue but there is no way to determine whether there had been a new printing in the meantime.⁸⁸ Papadopoulos no. 2127 refers to *Imberios* in the 1720 catalogue.⁸⁹ For further eighteenth-century mentions (1730, 1740, 1760) see note 76 above.

length study is Γωργος Σ. Πλουμίδης, *Τὸ βενετικὸ τυπογραφεῖο τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ Πάνου Θεοδοσίου: 1755-1824*, Athens 1969. For a publication list of Demetrios, the more active of the two, see *BH 18*, s.v. «Théodose, Démetrius».

83. Ἡλιοῦ, *Προσθῆκες*, p. 125. The stock was finally sold to the printer Domenico Alibrandi of Venice in 1600 by the Glyzounis heirs: the receipt of the transaction in Μέρτζιος, *Θωμάς Φλαγγίνης*, pp. 208-9.

84. See the reference in Glyzounis's will in Μέρτζιος, *ibid.*, p. 214.

85. Layton, *Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, pp. 200, 217n101 accepted the case made by Iliou. For more on Giuliani and his «borrowings» from Cristoforo Zanetti, and Kounadis and Damiano, see Layton, *ibid.*, pp. 291-296, esp. 291.

86. Κακλαμάνης, «Ἀπὸ τὸ χειρόγραφο στὸ ἔντυπο: Τὸ παιχνίδι τῶν γραφῶν», in Hans Eideneier - Ulrich Moennig - Νότης Τουφεξής (ed.), *Θεωρία καὶ πράξη των εκδόσεων της υστεροβυζαντινῆς, αναγεννησιακῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς δημόδους γραμματείας*, Heraklion 2001, p. 121.

87. Μανούσακας, «Ὁ πρῶτος ἔντυπος αὐτοτελῆς ἑλληνικὸς βιβλιοπωλικὸς κατάλογος», pp. 211-224.

88. Ἡλιοῦ, *Προσθῆκες*, p. 148n48, who published the catalogue, believes it is not extant.

89. Which he calls, following Ἡλιοῦ, *ibid.*, 322, «πρὸ; 1721», probably to account for the date of the publication of the catalogue.

- (3) 1747: Title page: ΓΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΩΡΑΙΟΤΑΤΗ | ΤΟΥ | ΗΜΠΕΡΙΟΥ ΥΪΟΥ
 ΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ | ΤΗΣ | ΠΡΟΒΕΝΤΖΑΣ | Νεωζὶ τυπωθεῖσα, καὶ
 μετὰ ἐπιμε-|λείας διορθωθεῖσα. (same woodcut as in 1770 above) ΕΝΕ-
 ΤΥΗ,ΣΙΝ. 1747 | Παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Βόρτολι. ,αψμζ. | CON LICENZA
 DE' SUPERIORIORI
 In small 8o, 40 pp according to the description by Ladas-Hatzidemos who
 publish the title page, but offer no further details.⁹⁰ Papadopoulos, no.
 2128.⁹¹
- (4) Nikos Bees follows Legrand in mentioning a further series of editions:
 1651, 1699, 1778, 1812, which could not be located.⁹²

Conclusions

The complete extant run of early printed editions yields some important results. We can now benefit from the study of one of the earliest editions of *Imberios*, that of 1562. We can also assess the editions by Legrand and Meyer, the only ones available of the rhymed version for the time being, against their principal witnesses (1638 and 1666, respectively) which had never been inspected – largely due to the confusing change of classmarks when the Bibliothèque royale became Bibliothèque nationale, and the Dresden Hofbibliothek became Universitätsbibliothek. This study has also identified blocks used in the 1562 and 1644, which, together with Layton's identification of the 1553 blocks, accounts for nearly all *Imberios* illustrations.

An in-depth knowledge of all the editions is a valuable tool for determining how the romance was received over time. We know less than is desirable about the readership of these popular chapbooks. The palaeographical technique of tracing the marginalia, which was employed in this article, revealed that the rhymed *Imberios* had found its way to unexpected quarters: namely, the library of the Barberini, one of the most powerful patrician families in Rome, and, perhaps more remarkably, to the collections of two high-brow intellectuals: Pierre-Daniel Huet, «the most learned man of

90. Λαδᾶς - Χατζηδηῖμος, *Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία*, no. 49, and fig. 23.

91. Also recorded by Layton, «Greek Bibliography», p. 105.

92. See Nikos Bees, *Der französisch-mittelgriechische Ritterroman Imberios und Margarona und die Gründungssage des Daphniklosters bei Athen*, Berlin 1924, pp. 35 nn.4-6 and 37 n5; Legrand, Review of Meyer (ed.), *Imberios*, p. 363. Writing of the 1666 edition, Legrand found that it «produit servilement ses devancières de 1638 et de 1651», *ibid.*, so, one may assume, he had seen the 1651 edition. De Marinis, «La prima edizione», p. 90 mentions a 1628 edition held in the «Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi», but this seems to be a mistake for «1638» as he gives the classmark of «y+553». In all likelihood De Marinis followed Legrand.

his time», and Leo Allatius, the vastly erudite professor of rhetoric and custodian of the Vatican Library.

A heretofore unknown association, that of Rampazetto with Zanetti, was discovered in the 1562 edition. It remains a matter of speculation why at this early stage of the career of *Imberios* Rampazetto did not illustrate this book with one of the printer's marks he would use in his more sumptuous productions. In the next two and a half centuries, *Imberios* would be published by successful presses, where some of the most eminently prestigious scholars of the time were employed as editors.

A thorough record of the eleven editions contributes to our knowledge of the phenomenology of the printing industry in Venice. Printing houses would be cautious in their choices, and would not alter in the slightest a profitable book such as *Imberios*. It was not beyond them to choose extremely poor quality paper which looked strikingly incongruous, as the choice of the oiled leaf in the Vatican copy of 1553 testifies. Types and, occasionally, printer's marks, especially if they had been associated with a profitable edition, could be re-employed by subsequent publishers, much at odds with modern practices. Printers tried to keep costs low by relying on material that was either readily available, or could reach them easily. They would not stretch their resources to commission new and innovative woodcuts. Instead, they would repeatedly use a standard range of blocks originally cut with the same «general romance intent». This is accurate of the sixteenth century, when Venetian printers would use blocks interchangeably in their Greek and non-Greek editions. From the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, illustrations are fewer, woodcuts featuring now only on the title pages (1644 and 1770).

Printing was not vigorously supervised, and occasionally there was no proofreading. But each edition was «touched up» before going to the printer, and this process possibly involved nothing but notes scribbled on an older copy. Small-scale corrections would take place casually during printing, as the (minor) divergences between the Vatican and Vienna 1553 copies suggest.

In the eighteenth century, the requirements of expediency still held sway, and publishers would copy the text of other houses even to the point of including the chapter titles that had been added by their predecessors. Each *Imberios* edition is based on its predecessor, whose subject matter it religiously respects.⁹³ There are two exceptions to this line of succession.

93. Printers generally preferred to follow the set text of the previous edition, rather than procure other more time-consuming and expensive changes. See Κακλαμάνης, «Από το χειρόγραφο στο έντυπο: Τò παιχνίδι τών γραφών», p. 138.

First, the edition of 1646 by Gianpetro Pinelli does not follow 1644 by Gianantonio Giuliani but the format of the Pinelli editions (1600, 1624 and 1638). Second, the edition of 1666 by Andrea Giuliani does not follow that of 1646 by Gianpetro Pinelli, but 1644 by Andrea's predecessor, Giovanni Antonio. Firm evidence for this is the repetition by 1666 of misprints introduced by the 1644 edition.⁹⁴ It is clear that when a family-run press decided to re-issue an edition, they would draw on the archives of their own establishment, invariably oblivious to more recent editions by other houses.

Finally, there are two issues whose discussion is possible on the basis of a meticulous recording and study of all available editions. First, tracing the successive editions aids the study of the ways in which language has changed over time. When, as in the case of the rhymed *Imberios*, a literary work has an effective life of three centuries, it is particularly helpful in shedding light on shifting linguistic attitudes in general. Second, gauging all printed editions leaves no doubt that the subject matter of *Imberios* remained remarkably stable throughout its reading history without any diversions. This stability may transcend the physical establishment of the printed text. I would venture to argue that a major difference between the two versions lies in the fact that the unrhymed *Imberios* is more clearly medieval, whereas the *rimada* belongs to a post-medieval, bourgeois thought-world, whose taste it satisfied until the early nineteenth century.

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94. 15 πεζιμόντου (for πεζικόν του), 26 ξοιμένος (for ἕξιωμένος); 36 ἀχοντίαν (for ἀρχοντίαν); 44 Φάριντους (for Χάριν τους); 50 σκιρτισμένους (for σκιρτισμοὺς); 602 κοιλοιάδη (for ἐκιλιάδει); 828 Ἀρασημένος (for ἀρωστημένος); 857 ἀραζάρης (for ἀρωστάρης); 1030 Τῆς οὐρανοῦτε (for γῆς, οὐρανοῦ τε) etc.

