

Anna Gialdini

“Ligato alla greca”

Greek-style bookbindings
in early modern Venice and beyond



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ANNA GIALDINI

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GREEK-STYLE BOOKBINDINGS
IN EARLY MODERN VENICE AND BEYOND

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Abbreviations

Archives and Libraries

| | |
|------|----------------------------------------------|
| ASF | Archivio di Stato di Firenze |
| ASV | Archivio di Stato di Venezia |
| BA | Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan |
| BAV | Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City |
| BL | British Library, London |
| BNF | Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris |
| BNM | Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice |
| BOD | Bodleian Library, Oxford |
| BSB | Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich |
| NYPL | New York Public Library, New York |
| ÖNB | Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna |

Print Publications

- COMSt *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction*, ed. by Alessandro Bausi *et al.*, COMSt, 2015.
- PLP *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, 1-12*, ed. by Erich Trapp *et al.*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001.
- RGK *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600, I: Großbritannien, A: Verzeichnis der Kopisten, B: Paläographische Charakteristika, C: Tafeln* [= RGK I], ed. by Ernst Gamillscheg, Dieter Harlfinger and Herbert Hunger, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981; *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600, II: Frankreich, A: Verzeichnis der Kopisten, B: Paläographische Charakteristika, C: Tafeln* [= RGK II], ed. by Ernst Gamillscheg, Dieter Harlfinger and Herbert Hunger, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989; *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600, III: Rom mit der Vatikan, A: Verzeichnis der Kopisten, B: Paläographische Charakteristika, C: Tafeln* [= RGK III], ed. by Ernst Gamillscheg *et al.*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997.

Databases and online resources

Archivio dei possessori (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana): archiviopossessori.it
 Biblioteca Riccardiana – Legature LAB: riccardiana.firenze.sbn.it/legatureLAB/index.php
 BUB – Legature storiche: bub.unibo.it/it/bub-digitale/legature
 DBI Dizionario biografico degli italiani: treccani.it/biografico
 DNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: oxforddnb.com
 EMOBP Early Modern Book Prices: emobooktrade.unimi.it/db/public/prices
 Glossaires Codicologiques: codicologia.irht.cnrs.fr/accueil/vocabulaire
 ISTC Incunabula Short Title Catalogue: data.cerl.org/istc
 LoB Language of Bindings thesaurus: ligatus.org.uk/lob
 MEI Material Evidence in Incunabula: data.cerl.org/mei
 MOL Manus Online: manus.iccu.sbn.it
 Pinakes: pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr
 USTC Universal Short Title Catalogue: ustc.ac.uk

Other

| | |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| c. | century |
| b. | <i>busta</i> |
| fol./fols. | folio/folios |
| fasc. | <i>fascicolo</i> |
| fil. | <i>filza</i> |
| fl. | <i>floruit</i> |
| ms | manuscript |
| <i>m.v.</i> | <i>more Veneto</i> , i.e. dates formulated according to the Venetian calendar (year starting 1 st March) |
| not. | <i>notaio</i> |
| reg. | <i>registro</i> |
| s.l. | <i>sine loco</i> |
| s.n. | <i>sine nomine</i> |
| <i>s.v.</i> | <i>sub voce</i> |
| vol. | volume |

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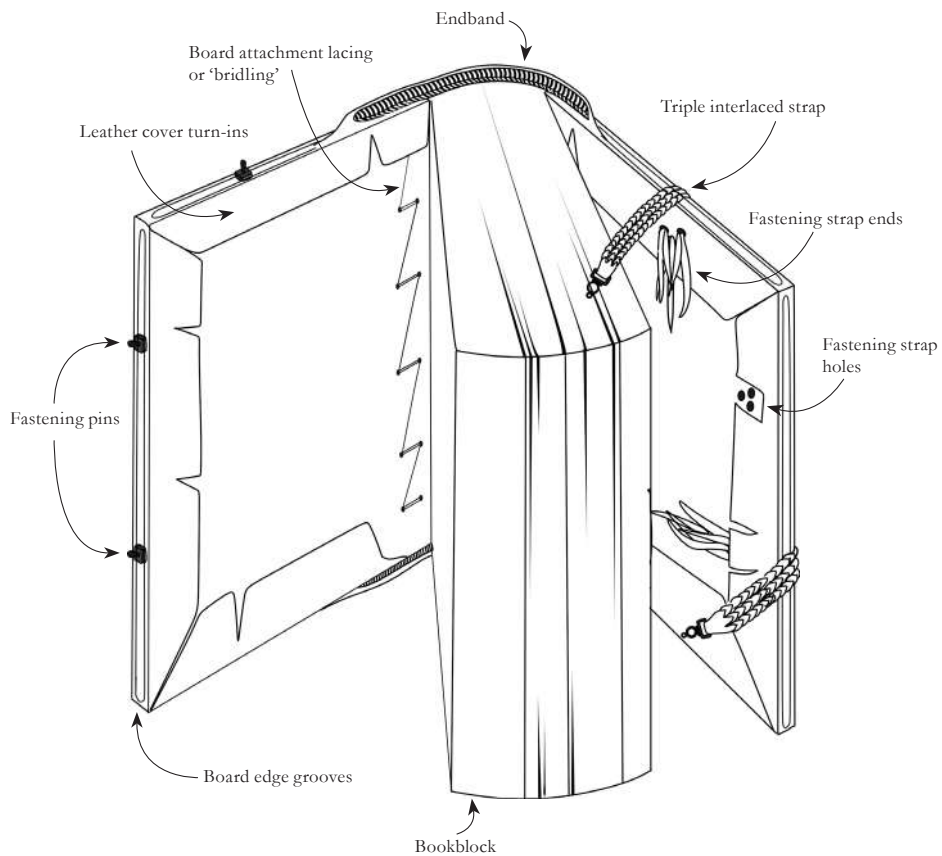


Fig. 1. A western-made, genuine Greek-style structure. The drawing is based on Oxford, All Souls College Library, Great Lib. Gallery b.10.5 (Pl. 1).

Introduction

Books are complex objects, with complex lives. In Europe, in the couple thousand years in which the codex has kept the shape that books still largely have today,¹ it has undergone an endless number of transformations in terms of structure, materials, and techniques; the processes that determined its production, circulation, consumption, and survival are similarly composite, and have attracted the attention of historians as well as scholars in other disciplines, from literary studies to anthropology, from economics to sociology.

Something that is common to all sorts of books, if not all books, is that at some point over the course of their lifetime they often received some sort of binding, even if it is just in the form of sewing holding together their gatherings. Bindings protect books (from dirt, pests, the elements, the risk of losing parts of them, and the damage that loose leaves are subject to), but they do much more than that: they make books usable, as readers can leaf through them; they make them transportable, by turning several components (leaves, gatherings) into one self-contained object; they limit the effects of humidity and light on the pages; they offer space for decoration and text; and, as the most visible part of a closed book, they are vehicles for meaning.

In his seminal work on the transmission of classical texts in late antiquity, Guglielmo Cavallo provided an additional point to Giorgio Pasquali's famous "Decalogue" for studying the transmission of classical texts: "The material features

1. The origins of the codex format are still under discussion; see, among others, Guglielmo Cavallo, "La nascita del codice", *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 78 (1984), pp. 118-121; Colin H. Roberts and Theodore Cressy Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985; Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, *Histoire de la lecture dans le monde occidental*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1997; Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins*, Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2006. As I write these pages, news has broken of Theresa Zammit Lupi's identification of evidence of a codex structure in the so-called "Graz Mummy Book" (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, UBG Ms I 1946), dating from the third century BC; see Theresa Zammit Lupi *et al.*, "The Graz Mummy Book?: The Oldest Known Codex Fragment from 260 BC Discovered at Graz University Library, Austria", *Journal of Paper Conservation*, 2024 (Advanced online access: doi.org/10.1080/18680860.2023.2292721).

of the vessels of texts can in some cases determine the facts, modalities, and phases of the history of the text itself”.² And indeed, the story of how texts survive or die is one of selection, reproduction, and retrieval of very tangible books. Where a binding fails, the text can be compromised and lost; the history of ancient texts is rife with references to classical works that have not reached our time.

Bookbindings are – and have historically been – understood as objects with multiple functions and meanings, but for a long time they have been relegated to the periphery, even by book historians: a minor art. Even today, the metaphors employed by historians to express how bindings related to the rest of the book have mostly shown them in a marginal position, as a component separate from the book. Bindings have been compared to “frames”,³ to the “clothes” of the book,⁴ but also to its “skin”⁵ (playing out the regular use of leather and parchment for book covers), or suggested an analogy with exoskeletons, in that bindings have structural, protective, and decorative functions.⁶

And yet, bookbindings are often the first point of contact and interaction between a person and a book, in a way that frames, for instance, are not. In fact, one of the metaphors that prove the most useful in the analysis of these objects is that of bookbinding *as* texts which can be “read”, as has been suggested for binding structures⁷ and for their decoration.⁸ This kind of approach allows us to look at morphological units and the ways they have been organised syntactically,⁹ to consider binding practices pertaining to different cultures as different languages, and to look at them through a lens of cross-cultural contact. Bookbinding practices are anything but static; we can consider them as “go-betweens” (that is agents of ex-

2. Giorgio Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, 3rd ed., Florence, Le lettere, 2003, pp. XV-XX; Guglielmo Cavallo, *Dalla parte del libro: storie di trasmissione dei classici*, Urbino, Quattro venti, 2002, p. 28; see also Daniele Bianconi, Cura et studio: *il restauro del libro a Bisanzio*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell’Orso, 2018.

3. Joseph A. Dane, *What Is a Book? The Study of Early Printed Books*, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 2012, p. 143.

4. See for instance Christian Coppens, “Binding History, Book History: Some Notes About the Jacket of the Word”, in *Arte della legatura a Brera: storie di libri e biblioteche. Secoli XV e XVI*, ed. by Federico Macchi, Cremona, Linograf, 2002, pp. 3-19; Donatella Giansante, María Isabel Alvaro Zamora and Ma. Luz Mandingorra Llavata, *Els vestits del saber: enquadernacions mudèjars a la Universitat de València*, Valencia, Universitat de València, 2003.

5. *La pelle del libro: il cuoio attraverso cinque secoli di legature in Italia*, ed. by Guido Tolomei Vianini, Rome, Fiammetta Soave, 1993.

6. Edoardo Barbieri, “Dalla descrizione dell’esemplare alla ricostruzione della sua storia (problemi ed esperienze)”, in *Il libro nella storia: tre percorsi*, Milan, CUSL, 2000, pp. 203-280: 234.

7. Nicholas Pickwoad, “Reading Bindings: Bindings as Evidence of the Culture and Business of Books” (The Panizzi Lectures, The British Library, London, 2008).

8. Carlo Federici and Konstantinos Houlis, *Legature bizantine vaticane*, Rome, Palombi, 1988.

9. Patrick Andrist, Paul Canart and Marilena Maniaci, *La syntaxe du codex: essai de codicologie structurale*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2013.

change between cultures) and the results of such exchange as “translations” across time and space¹⁰ – translations in which both makers and users have agency.¹¹

Few styles of bindings are as apt to study cross-cultural contact as Greek-style bindings made in western Europe in the early modern era, traditionally known as “*alla greca*” bindings, which constitute the topic of this book. They have been studied by bookbinding historians for about 75 years, almost for as long as the discipline has existed in its own right: initially (as was common at the time) mostly for their decorative features, and more recently for their structures, as well. But it is exactly their structural elements that made these bindings conspicuous in Renaissance Europe, where they were part of the wider phenomenon of the rebirth of Greek studies in the West.

While classical culture was never completely lost in medieval Europe, it was limited to certain areas and uses. For much of Europe, the stimulus for the rediscovery of Greek culture and its literature was born only with the spread of humanism.¹² Greek books started being sought after then, as did Greek teachers, such as Manuel Chrysoloras (*ca.* 1350-1415), who held courses in Florence starting in 1397.¹³

With the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, the availability of both Greek books and Greek teachers grew. The Uniate Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472) collected a high number of Greek manuscripts¹⁴ and chose to bequeath his library to the Republic of Venice.¹⁵ Scholars also sent their agents to Greece to procure surviving manuscripts. Books were passed along to be read and copied, because it was a sign of *humanitas* to lend one’s own: humanism did not just recover texts from antiquity, but re-used and re-interpreted social and cultural paradigms as well. Friendship was one of them.¹⁶

10. On the idea of “translating” the past through material mediums, see Peter Burke, “Translating the Language of Architecture”, in *Early Modern Cultures of Translation*, ed. by Karen Newman and Jane Tylus, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015, pp. 25-44.

11. See for instance Maurizio Bettini, *Vertere: un’antropologia della traduzione nella cultura antica*, Turin, Einaudi, 2012.

12. Among the many studies on the topic, see Jean-Christophe Saladin, *La bataille du grec à la Renaissance*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2000; Clémence Revest, *Romam veni: Humanisme et papauté à la fin du Grand Schisme*, Paris, Champ Vallon, 2021; Guglielmo Cavallo, “La produzione di manoscritti greci in Occidente tra età tardoantica e alto medioevo: note ed ipotesi”, *Scrittura e civiltà*, 5 (1981), pp. 111-131; Santo Lucà, “Il libro bizantino e postbizantino nell’Italia meridionale”, in *Scrittura e libro nel mondo greco-bizantino*, ed. by Carla Casetti Brach, Bari, Edipuglia, 2012, pp. 25-76.

13. Leighton D. Reynolds and Nigel G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3rd ed., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991, p. 147.

14. Marino Zorzi, “Bessarione e i codici greci”, in *L’eredità greca e l’ellenismo veneziano*, ed. by Gino Benzoni, Florence, Olschki, 2002, pp. 93-121.

15. Dorit Raines, “Book Museum or Scholarly Library? The ‘Libreria di San Marco’ in a Republican Context”, *Ateneo Veneto*, 197.9/2 (2010), pp. 31-50; Marino Zorzi, *La libreria di San Marco: libri, lettori, società nella Venezia dei Dogi*, Milan, Mondadori, 1987.

16. Peter Burke, “Humanism and Friendship in Sixteenth-Century Europe”, *Groniek*, 134 (1996), pp. 91-98.

All of these activities – that is to say reading and learning as well as sharing – were of course largely dependent on the physical instrument that carried texts: books. Many of the first books containing Greek texts to circulate in Italy in the fifteenth century were manuscripts imported from Byzantine territories, presumably with their bindings. They must have had several material features that caught the eye of readers: these books could have had different writing supports, decoration, and layouts. But at first sight they must have been unusual especially for their bookbindings: they had unsupported sewing structures (Byzantine binders used thread only when sewing their books, without supports, which gave them smooth spines), projecting endbands (running across onto the head and tail edges of the boards adjacent to the joints, thus sitting on the edges of the boards, and sewn to them), flush boards (with bookblocks cut to the same size as the boards), interlaced leather fastenings, and, often, grooved board edges.

All of these characteristics (and their implications) will be explained over the course of this book. For now, suffice it to say that inevitably, some or all of these features certainly made an impression upon book collectors, who soon (by the 1450s in Italy) started commissioning imitations of Greek bindings for their own books (not necessarily in Greek). The production of Greek books, in the meantime, had begun to flourish in Italy: among the Greek emigres from Byzantium or Crete, many took up scribal activities,¹⁷ and some Italian scribes were active in the copying of Greek books as well.¹⁸

In the approximately one century and a half that the style stayed in fashion in Italy, the practice underwent deep transformations: the bindings that were called “alla greca” during this time were made by an unknown number of binders and binderies, in constant conversation with the Greek tradition, which was imitated, hybridised with local techniques, adopted selectively, reinvented for dozens, probably hundreds of customers across the continent: but nowhere in larger quantities, or more inventively than in the Republic of Venice. Today, nearly 1,200 Greek-style bindings made in Italy (in Venice, but also in Florence, Rome, France, Bologna, and

17. Brigitte Mondrain, “Le commerce des manuscrits grecs à Venise au XVI^e siècle: copistes et marchands”, in *I Greci a Venezia: atti del Convegno internazionale di studio (Venezia, 5-7 novembre 1998)*, ed. by Maria Francesca Tiepolo and Eurigio Tonetti, Venice, Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 2002, pp. 473-486; John Monfasani, “L’insegnamento universitario e la cultura bizantina in Italia nel Quattrocento”, in *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1995, pp. 43-65; Paolo Eleuteri, “Libri greci a Venezia nel primo Umanesimo”, in *I luoghi dello scrivere da Francesco Petrarca agli albori dell’età moderna: atti del Convegno internazionale di studio (Arezzo, 8-11 ottobre 2003)*, ed. by Caterina Tristano, Marta Calleri and Leonardo Magionami, Spoleto, CISAM, 2006, pp. 69-84.

18. Silvio Bernardinello, “Copisti di codici greci dal X al XVI secolo”, in *Studi in onore di Elpidio Mioni*, Padua, Liviana, 1982, pp. 1-11; Armando Petrucci, “Scrivere ‘alla greca’ nell’Italia del Quattrocento”, in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio, Atti del seminario di Erice, 18-25 settembre 1988*, 2 vols., ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo, Giuseppe De Gregorio and Marilena Maniacci, Spoleto, CISAM, 1991, vol. II, pp. 499-517; Elisabetta Barile, *Littera antiqua e scritture alla greca: notai e cancellieri copisti a Venezia nei primi decenni del Quattrocento*, Venice, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, 1994.

Verona), France, and elsewhere in western Europe survive, in over 80 institutions in 17 countries; the *corpus* presented here is the first such census carried out of specimens in the style.

By examining them, a story can be told within the larger story of the Greek book (or the book in Greek) in Europe in the early modern period, one that takes into consideration the material and cultural aspects that are crucial to understanding who, how, and why, made these books the way they were made. Customers must have visited binderies asking for “Greek” bindings or commissioned them through booksellers, and binders must have tried to imitate Byzantine practices; some replicated them perfectly; others mixed western and Greek techniques, sometimes openly, sometimes finding ways to hide the combination of the two. On this basis, Greek-style bindings made in Europe can be divided into two types: genuine, when all the structural features of Byzantine bookbindings are reproduced (Pl. 1a), and hybrid, when they are imitated in part and associated with other, western, characteristics. In any case, binders generally tooled the covers according to western designs, no matter how Greek the structure underneath was, possibly to appeal to the taste of western book collectors. While it is useful to distinguish between hybrid and genuine Greek style on the basis of structural analysis, even bindings made in the genuine Greek style in Europe seem to have a degree of hybridism in the use of western decorative patterns and tools. In their hybridism, and in the ways that it was articulated throughout such a long period of time, lies exactly the role of books as go-betweens for cultures that engaged in elaborate exchange when they came in contact.

Greek-style bindings quickly became associated with Greek texts and appreciated as “prestige goods”. Yet they were also re-invented, both in terms of their structures and in their western-style decoration: this is not uncommon for Greek art and material culture, which was more appreciated when filtered, or otherwise even considered “awkward”.¹⁹ The final products are the reflection of personal and collective cultural paradigms.

While it is helpful to look at all bindings in general as holistically as possible, with an approach that does not discount materials and structure in favour of decoration, it is particularly so for Greek-style bindings, since decoration is exactly what binders did not care to imitate from the Greek world, as mentioned. The history of bookbinding, however, has not always adopted this approach, and Greek-style bindings made no exception.

James Basil Oldham acknowledged the use of a particular style for binding Greek books outside Greece in his Sandars Lectures on early modern English

19. Rembrandt Duits, “Byzantine Icons in the Medici Collection”, in *Byzantine Art and Renaissance Europe*, ed. by Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Rembrandt Duits, Burlington, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 157-188.

blind-stamped bindings, delivered in 1949; he noted that it “was sometimes used by binders, whatever their ordinary style, when they were binding Greek books”.²⁰ The first analyses that comprised their structures followed a few years later, with Berthe van Regemorter’s studies in the 1950s and 1960s,²¹ and Tammaro de Marinis’s monumental work on Italian bindings (1960), which included Greek-style bindings made in several areas.²² Berthe van Regemorter made no typological distinction between Greek-style bindings produced in Greece and those made elsewhere, but her pioneering work first outlined the history of Greek-style bookbinding over a long timeframe,²³ stretching from Coptic models via Byzantine bindings to their Italian reinterpretations.

These works served as stepping stones for a new generation of historians of bookbinding, looking at Greek-style bindings in Greece and Italy. Attention started shifting towards linking bindings to individual ateliers or binders,²⁴ connections with Italian humanism started to be explored,²⁵ and the profiles of some collectors of Greek-style bindings emerged.²⁶ During this time, the term “alla greca” was es-

20. Now in James Basil Oldham, *English Blind-Stamped Bindings*, New York – London, Garland, 1990, p. 20.

21. Berthe van Regemorter, “La reliure des manuscrits grecs”, *Scriptorium*, 8 (1954), pp. 3-23; Berthe van Regemorter, “La reliure byzantine”, *Revue belge d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art*, 36 (1967), pp. 99-162.

22. Tammaro De Marinis, *La legatura artistica in Italia nei secoli XV e XVI*, 3 vols., Florence, Alinari, 1960, vol. III, pp. 31-49. On De Marinis, see most recently *Tammaro De Marinis e la cultura napoletana del primo Novecento*, ed. by Giancarlo Petrella, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2023.

23. Regemorter, “La reliure des manuscrits grecs”, p. 22.

24. Gabriele Mazzucco, “Il maestro legatore dei manoscritti di Giovanni Argiropulo a San Zanipolo”, *Miscellanea Marciana* 2-4 (1987/1989), pp. 117-121; Gabriele Mazzucco, “Legature rinascimentali di edizioni di Aldo Manuzio”, in *Aldo Manuzio e l’ambiente veneziano 1494-1515*, ed. by Susy Marcon and Marino Zorzi, Venice, Il Cardo, 1994, pp. 135-179; Ilse Schunke, “Venezianische Einbände ‘Alla Greca’ aus der Meerman-Phillips-Sammlung in Berlin”, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 59 (1964), pp. 375-383.

25. Piero Scapecchi, *Aldo Manuzio: i suoi libri, i suoi amici tra XV e XVI secolo: libri, biblioteche e guerre in Casentino*, Florence, Octavo, 1994; Piero Scapecchi, “Legature ‘alla greca’ dal circolo di Aldo Manuzio”, *Rara volumina*, 2 (1994), pp. 5-12; Piccarda Quilici, “Legature greche, ‘alla greca’, per la Grecia”, *Accademie e biblioteche d’Italia*, 52 (1984), pp. 99-111.

26. Philippe Hoffmann, “Reliures crétoises et vénitiennes provenant de la bibliothèque de Francesco Maturanzio et conservées à Pérouse”, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Moyen Âge-Temps Modernes*, 94.2 (1982), pp. 729-757; Philippe Hoffmann, “La collection de manuscrits grecs de Francesco Maturanzio, érudit pérugin (ca. 1443-1518)”, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Moyen Âge-Temps Modernes*, 95.1 (1983), pp. 89-147; Susy Marcon, “I libri del generale domenicano Gioachino Torriano († 1500) nel convento veneziano di San Zanipolo”, *Miscellanea Marciana*, 2-4 (1987/1989), pp. 81-121; Marie-Pierre Laffitte and Fabienne Le Bars, *Reliures royales de la Renaissance: la librairie de Fontainebleau 1544-1570*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1999; Konstantinos Choulis, “The Relationship between Byzantine and ‘Alla Greca’ Bookbinding Structure: A Preliminary Study on the Structural Elements of ‘Alla Greca’ Bindings in the Vatican Library (*Fondo Antico*, Vatt. Gr. 1-1217)”, in *La reliure médiévale: pour une description normalisée. Actes du colloque international (Paris, 22-24 mai 2003)*, ed. by Guy Lanoë and Geneviève Grand, Turnhout, Brepols, 2008, pp. 183-196; Carlo Federici, “Legature ‘alla greca’ tra gli stampati vaticani”, in *Libri, scritture e testi greci: giornata di studio in ricordo di*

tablished as the standard for Greek-style bindings made in Italy; although it was not always clear whether it comprised both hybrid and genuine Greek-style bindings, or only the former, as we shall see.

In 1989, a key work dedicated to the subject, Anthony Hobson's *Humanists and Bookbinders*, was published.²⁷ Despite considering the subject mainly from the point of view of decoration, this text was a milestone for its awareness of the fundamentally experimental nature of Greek-style bindings and its depiction of the world of scholars as book collectors in Renaissance Italy and beyond. This called for an approach taking into consideration not just bookbindings in themselves but the people who made them, purchased them, and commissioned them. It represented a fundamental shift in framing the question.

Despite the popularity of Greek-style bindings in book history (which was and is matched by great enthusiasm in the antiquarian book market), it is only in recent years that the first case studies have started connecting the structures of Greek-style bindings and the history of their production and consumption.²⁸ This change – which reflects a wider movement in book history, towards a deeper awareness of economic processes, sociological aspects of the interaction between the book and its owner, and cultures of writing and reading²⁹ – also requires that the history of bookbinding be studied within a system.³⁰

One example of such systems being recognised in book history is Robert Darnton's "communications circuit", a fundamental model showing how communication between the figures engaged in the book trade escapes linearity – and in which bookbinders appear twice, to account for their interactions with both booksellers and final customers, as some book owners relied on trusted craftsmen, while others employed booksellers as intermediaries.³¹ It may also be useful to borrow Simon Franklin's concept of "graphosphere", created to describe systems or "landscapes" of writing (of "visible signs", more specifically) as information technologies

monsignor Canart (Città del Vaticano, 21 settembre 2018). Atti, ed. by Cesare Pasini and Francesco D'Aiuto, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2022, pp. 251-257.

27. Anthony Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders: The Origins and Diffusion of Humanistic Bookbinding, 1459-1559*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989.

28. Nicholas Pickwood, "How Greek Is Greek? Western European Imitations of Greek-Style Bindings", in *BIBΛΙΟΑΜΦΛΑΣΤΗΣ 3: The Book in Byzantium. Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Bookbinding. Proceedings of an International Symposium (Athens 13-16 October 2005)*, ed. by Niki Tsironis, Athens, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2008, pp. 177-200; Mirjam M. Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift: A Collection of Book Bindings*. Vol. 3, *A Catalogue of South-European Bindings*, London, British Library – Oak Knoll Press, 2010.

29. Frans A. Janssen, "The Battle of Perspectives in Book History", *La Bibliofilia*, 115.2 (2013), pp. 383-389.

30. David Pearson, "Bookbinding History and Sacred Cows", *The Library* 21.4 (2020), pp. 498-517.

31. Robert Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?", *Daedalus*, 111.3 (1982), pp. 65-83.

that can be looked at as a whole, broken down into components, or considered in their social, political, and cultural functions and meanings.³²

Today, the history of bookbinding is a strongly interdisciplinary field and a recognised specialism in its own right. Among other things, the field helps challenge the conceptual frameworks through which processes of “making” have regularly been looked at by historians, which often implicitly revolved around a dichotomy (and hierarchy) of “hand” and “mind”, “practice” and “knowledge”. Artisanal knowledge often defies such a division: in science, art, and especially in material culture, it becomes very clear that the nature of practitioners’ work was “embodied”: their material practices relied on *both* making and knowing, experience and knowledge.³³

The binders who made Greek-style bindings in western Europe remain, with some exceptions, “invisible technicians”;³⁴ yet, the voices and roles of those relegated at the margins can be brought to the forelight “by reading sources against the grain”:³⁵ the archives can be generous even when researching often-nameless binders, as shown in my recent study.³⁶ On occasion, attempts have been made to suggest these individuals must have been ethnically Greek (or have possessed a familiarity with the language) due to the spelling of text tooled on bindings, but the evidence is uncertain, lacking information on their literacy skills and how workshops were organised.³⁷ Even if they were Greek, the sense of identity of Greek emigres in the West was a troubled one.³⁸

Yet it is essential that the knowledge and perception of both makers and users be taken into consideration.³⁹ It is particularly important in this case because it tells

32. See Simon Franklin, *The Russian Graphosphere, 1450-1850*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2021, pp. 1-9.

33. Pamela H. Smith, *From Lived Experience to the Written Word: Reconstructing Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern World*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2022.

34. The term is borrowed from Steven Shapin, “The Invisible Technician”, *American Scientist*, 77.6 (1989), pp. 554-563.

35. See Maartje van Gelder and Filippo de Vivo, “Papering Over Protest: Contentious Politics and Archival Suppression in Early Modern Venice”, *Past & Present*, 258.1 (2023), pp. 44-78: 47.

36. Anna Gialdini, “Bookbinders in the Early Modern Venetian Book Trade”, *The Historical Journal*, 65.4 (2022), pp. 901-921.

37. A theory brought forward by Charles Graux (see Teresa Martínez Manzano, “Las encuadernaciones de los códices griegos del Escorial y su relevancia para la historia de los textos”, *Scriptorium*, 70 (2016), pp. 253-284: 272) and Anthony Hobson (Anthony Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting: Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Their Books and Bindings*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 108).

38. Jonathan Harris, “Common Language and the Common Good: Aspects of Identity among Byzantine Émigrés in Renaissance Italy”, in *Crossing Boundaries: Issues of Cultural and Individual Identity in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. by Sally McKee, Turnhout, Brepols, 1999, pp. 189-202.

39. David McKitterick, “Customer, Reader and Bookbinder: Buying a Bible in 1630”, *The Book Collector*, 40 (1991), pp. 382-411: 388.

a story of transculturation, and of how different agents negotiated “foreign” objects in their own cultural space. Cross-cultural contact, in this case, happened not just between western Europe and Greece, either; since Byzantium called into question so many aspects of European society’s shared (real or imagined) antiquity, as we shall see, their relationship with their past, and its legacies, also constituted a layer in their interaction with these objects.⁴⁰

Amongst the locales where the style was produced, the Republic of Venice offers a particularly privileged perspective on the interconnected aspects of Greek-style bindings and on their cultural history. Movable type printing in Venice (an industry started by foreigners, especially Germans)⁴¹ is attested from 1469.⁴² After the first efforts to establish printing in Greek commenced in Italy in the 1470s, Venice became an extremely important centre for printing in the Greek language in Europe, due especially to the work of Aldus Manutius (*ca.* 1450-1515),⁴³ but also through the work of members of the Greek community itself,⁴⁴ which was a large and active one.⁴⁵ Book ownership was common in the Republic of Venice:⁴⁶ goods

40. Peter Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past*, London, Edward Arnold, 1969; Kathryn Taylor, “Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Ethnography”, *History of European Ideas*, 46.2 (2020), pp. 113-130.

41. Catherine Kikuchi, *La Venise des livres: 1469-1530*, Paris, Champ Vallon, 2018; Cristina Dondi, “Printers, Traders, and Their Confraternities in Fifteenth-Century Venice”, in *Urban Networks and the Printing Trade in Early Modern Europe (15th – 18th Century): Papers Presented on 6 November 2009, at the CERL Seminar Hosted by the Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels*, ed. by Adam Renaud *et al.*, London, KBR, 2010, pp. 97-108.

42. Martin Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Renaissance Europe*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1991; Kikuchi, *La Venise des livres*, pp. 37-41.

43. See mainly Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1979; Nicolas Barker, *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script & Type in the Fifteenth Century*, 2nd edition, New York, Fordham University Press, 1992; Mario Infelise, “Aldo Manuzio: da Bassiano a Venezia”, in *Aldo Manuzio: Il Rinascimento di Venezia*, ed. by Guido Beltramini and Davide Gasparotto, Venice, Marsilio, 2016, pp. 157-165. On printing in Greek before Aldus Manutius, see Geri Della Rocca De Candali, “Printing in Greek before Aldus Manutius”, in *Printing R-Evolution and Society, 1450-1500: Fifty Years That Changed Europe*, ed. by Cristina Dondi, Venice, Edizioni Ca’ Foscari, 2020, pp. 279-297.

44. Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, *Charta of Greek Printing: The Contribution of Greek Editors, Printers and Publishers to the Renaissance in Italy and the West*, Cologne, Dinter, 1998; Georgios Ploumidis, “Le tipografie greche di Venezia”, in *I Greci a Venezia: atti del Convegno internazionale di studio (Venezia, 5-7 novembre 1998)*, ed. by Maria Francesca Tiepolo and Eurigio Tonetti, Venice, Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 2002, pp. 365-379; Augusto Campana, “Chi era lo stampatore Bartolomeo de Columnis di Chio”, in *Scritti. 1. Ricerche medievali e umanistiche*, ed. by Rino Avesani, Michele Feo and Enzo Pruccoli, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2008, pp. 137-178.

45. Ersie C. Burke, *The Greeks of Venice, 1498-1600: Immigration, Settlement, and Integration*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2016.

46. Margaret L. King, “The Venetian Intellectual World”, in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. by Eric Dursteler, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2013, pp. 571-614: 593.

of any kind could be found and bought in the city, an emporium bursting with products from the city, its dominions, and any other market within reach; the Renaissance represented an explosion in material culture consumption trends, and Venice was one of the continent’s liveliest markets.⁴⁷ The culture of the patrician class in Venice was steeped in a specific flavour of humanism that negotiated it for civic values reflecting and reinforcing its self-image as a city of peace, military and commercial success, and good governance over its subjects, which included *stato da mar* territories extending over several ethnically Greek islands and coastal areas. The proximity of the University of Padua completed a framework that offered a perfect breeding ground for Greek-style bindings to be produced:⁴⁸ many of those who owned them acquired their books, or had them bound, or even first saw the style in circulation, in Venice.

Greek-style bindings are also placed exactly at the turn of an era, when typography was introduced in Europe; but the world of bookbinders was not transformed in the same way as that of other book professionals. Whether on a manuscript or printed book, each binding is still a unique handmade piece. Unlike scribes,⁴⁹ binders did not see a fall in the demand for their services; on the contrary, as printing made book production more affordable, bindings still had to be produced individually. So binders saw an increase in the demand for their services, and eventually responded by accelerating work and lowering standards.⁵⁰ This is not the case for luxury products as Greek-style bindings often were, but the considerable presence of printed books bound in the style (just over 300) is significant: it tells us the intent was not just to replicate Greek manuscripts. Since Greek-style volumes were usually bound shortly after being printed, statistical data by date of printing allows us to pinpoint a general trend for the making of Greek-style bindings in Italy in general: experimentation in the fifteenth century, with a steady growth up to around the

47. Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600*, New Haven – London, Yale University Press, 2005.

48. *Tra Oriente e Occidente: dotti bizantini e studenti greci nel Rinascimento padovano*, ed. by Niccolò Zorzi and Ciro Giacomelli, Padua, Padova University Press, 2022.

49. Armando Petrucci, “Copisti e libri manoscritti dopo l’avvento della stampa”, in *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all’avvento della stampa: atti del seminario di Erice (23-28 ottobre 1993)*, ed. by Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio, Spoleto, CISAM, 1995, pp. 507-525; Helena Szépe, “Venetian Miniaturists in the Era of Print”, in *The Books of Venice / Il libro veneziano*, ed. by Lisa Pon and Craig Kallendorf, Venice, La Musa Talia – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – Oak Knoll Press, 2008, pp. 31-60.

50. Nicholas Pickwood, “Onward and Downward: How Binders Coped with the Printing Press before 1800”, in *A Millennium of the Book: Production, Design and Illustration in Manuscript and Print 900-1900*, ed. by Michael Harris and Robin Myers, Winchester, St. Paul’s Bibliographies, 1994, pp. 61-106; Mirjam M. Foot, “Some Changes in Binding Structure and Decoration during the First Quarter of the Sixteenth Century”, in *La reliure médiévale: pour une description normalisée. Actes du colloque international (Paris, 22-24 mai 2003)*, ed. by Guy Lanoë and Geneviève Grand, Turnhout, Brepols, 2008, pp. 235-244.

first quarter of the sixteenth century, culminating around 1525 and followed by a slow decline, at least in Italy, until the last quarter of the century.

Some of the early studies of Greek-style bindings, such as those of Berthe van Regemorter, saw them as the natural presentation of Greek books. In unravelling the complex manners in which Greek identities can be articulated and negotiated in book material culture, it becomes clear these bindings were in no way an obvious corollary to the renaissance of Greek letters in Italy, nor were Greek texts always associated with Greek-style bindings. Many bibliophiles had Greek books bound in other styles, and non-Greek books bound in the Greek style. Greek-style bindings were far from an obvious, natural consequence: they were deliberate.

In researching books as material objects, the first and foremost consideration is that of approaching them as such; as a consequence, first-hand analysis of the bindings constitutes the most important source for the research in this book; just over 400 bindings were examined, in over 50 libraries, museums, and archives in nine countries: Belgium (KBR, Brussels; Katholieke Universiteit Bibliothek, Leuven); the Czech Republic (Roudnická Lobkowiczká knihovna, Nelahozeves); France (Bibliothèque Méjanes, Aix-en-Provence); Germany (Staatsbibliothek, Berlin; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich); Italy (Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio and Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna; Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana and Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze; Biblioteca Teresiana, Mantua; Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, and Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan; Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia; Biblioteca Casanatense, Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, and Biblioteca Angelica, Rome; Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Turin; Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice; Biblioteca Capitolare and Biblioteca Civica, Verona; Biblioteca Bertoliana, Vicenza); The Netherlands (Universiteitsbibliothek, Amsterdam); Spain (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial); the United Kingdom (Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge; the British Library and the National Art Library, London; the John Rylands Research Institute and Library, Manchester; the Bodleian Library, the New College Library and the All Souls College Library, Oxford); the United States (Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin; the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore; the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; UCLA Library, Los Angeles; the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA; the Tisch Library, Tufts University, Medford, MA; the Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT; the Morgan Library & Museum, the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library, and the New York Public Library, New York; the Rosenbach Museum, Philadelphia; the Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ; the L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT; the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.). When possible, rare book shops and private collections were also visited.

I have also used visual and documentary sources. In the context of western European art, only a handful of artworks are known to contain depictions of Greek-style bindings; archival sources are somewhat more generous, but present their own challenges, as we shall see. Like other material culture, evidence for the consumption of bindings appears in inventories, correspondence, and payments to manufacturers.

In these sources, these bindings are called “*alla greca*”; I explain in Chapter One why the phrase is both worthy of analysis (by bringing together examples of its use across all aspects of early modern Italian culture, not just bindings) and problematic for use in taxonomies today. I then analyse the characteristics of Greek-style bindings from a structural perspective, looking at their starting points in the Byzantine tradition and at how Italian elements were incorporated, how genuineness and hybridism are articulated, and at the solutions adopted by binders when making these bindings.

In Chapter Two, I consider trends in the production of Greek-style bindings, focusing on their connections with luxury and the fascination for alterity that turned them into collectables, using the interconnected history of the use of Islamic techniques (such as gold tooling) and designs comparatively; this is also an opportunity to look at how hybridism was negotiated, at the kinds of books that tended to be bound in the style, and at the ethnic identities of those who acquired them.

Chapter Three is an exploration of documentary sources on Greek-style bindings themselves, and especially on their prices, which allows us to read the value of binders’ practical knowledge in a comparative key with the expensive materials typically associated with the production of Greek-style bindings.

In Chapter Four, I turn to case studies in the consumption of Greek-style bindings, to show how they were used in self-fashioning by scholars, but also by diplomats, bankers, and patricians; in other words, how collecting practices developed and how bindings were part of the strategies adopted by individuals (especially those in the higher social classes) to construct the image others had of them and their own identities.

Finally, Chapter Five looks at the wider contexts of the imitation and appropriation of Greek material culture in early modern Europe, through the lens of the reception of Byzantine heritage, showing the pervasiveness of European attempts to find authority or legitimacy in a classical past and the peculiarities of the Venetian case.

1. Making Greek books: “alla greca” bindings in Venice and Europe

The matter of Greek-style bindings is key to understanding what place they held in early modern collections. The uses of structures and materials varied widely; mapping local manufacture and consumption trends over time allows us to decode the meanings given to these books.

Greek and European elements and techniques worked together in a number of combinations, as different artisans continued, or broke with, the Byzantine tradition. But before addressing how hybridism took shape, it is essential to look at the vocabulary used to identify Greek-style bindings, both in the early modern era and now. Only then can we start to understand Greek-style bindings as objects that existed in a spectrum of techniques and meanings.

The history of bookbinding is a young discipline, especially if compared with other histories of the book: terminology is still very much in evolution. Early lexicons created by codicologists, such as those by Denis Muzerelle or Marilena Maniaci,¹ had broad coverage and, inevitably, less depth into book structures. Today, the Ligatus Research Centre’s *Language of Bindings* thesaurus, launched in 2016,² is the most specific and detailed lexicon available to historians; its terminology is used throughout this book, including by making a conscious choice to use “Greek-style” where many have used “alla greca” when describing these bindings.³

“Alla greca” as a phrase has been pervasive, admittedly for good reasons: it was used in early modern sources; it is evocative: connected with the idea of “Greekness abroad” (it has only very rarely been used by book historians for Byzantine bindings), it echoes the antiquarian ideas that offered fertile ground to the making of these books; finally, it is much better known than “Greek-style”, having

1. “Glossaires Codicologiques”, codicologia.irht.cnrs.fr/accueil/vocabulaire, originally published in 1985; Marilena Maniaci, *Terminologia del libro manoscritto*, Rome, Istituto centrale per la patologia del libro, 1996.

2. *Language of Bindings thesaurus*, ligatus.org.uk/lob.

3. “À la grecque”, its French equivalent, is used in French and occasionally in English.

effectively become the default term in historiography and in the rare book market. Why, then, should it be challenged?

One issue is that today “alla greca” indicates different techniques to different people, and in fact, it probably always has. This is as true of early modern texts (which mention “alla greca” bindings with no specification of the kind of book structure, possibly to mean “Byzantine”, too)⁴ as it is of modern-day scholarship: throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, “alla greca” has been used to identify only hybrid Greek-style bindings by some, and both genuine and hybrid Greek-style bindings alike (as long as they were made in western Europe) by others.

The pioneers of bookbinding history Berthe van Regemorter, Tammaro De Marinis, and Ilse Schunke were the first to refer to bindings made in imitation of the Byzantine practices as “alla greca” or “à la grecque”. All three focused on the combination of Greek technical features with decoration in the Italian style.⁵ In 1978, Jean Irigoïn described both genuine and hybrid structures under the term “alla greca”.⁶ In the 1980s, as interest in these objects grew and techniques were studied more closely, “alla greca” was retained as their name, but was employed with very different meanings. Piero Scapecchi,⁷ Carlo Federici,⁸ and Federico and Livio Macchi⁹ used it either for hybrid structures only or to emphasise the hybridism of binding structures. Others adopted a more inclusive view: Philippe Hoffmann

4. See pp. 26-33, 87-99.

5. Regemorter, “La reliure des manuscrits grecs”, pp. 3, 13 and Regemorter, “La reliure byzantine”, p. 111 (mostly quoting or referring to early modern sources using this phrase); De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, vol. III, p. 36; De Marinis applied the term to both genuine and hybrid bindings, though he seemed to view the latter as the exception rather than the norm, but his remark that these bindings “generally” have smooth spines clearly indicates that he included hybrid bindings in the category. Schunke used it for genuine bindings, as she mentioned bindings “without supports”: “Anschürnen des Heftfadens an die Deckel ohne Bünde” (Ilse Schunke, “Venezianische Renaissance-einbände: Ihre Entwicklung und ihre Werkstätten”, in *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro De Marinis*, 4 vols., Verona, Valdonega, 1964, vol. IV, pp. 123-200: 169-170).

6. Jean Irigoïn, “La reliure byzantine”, in *La reliure médiévale: trois conférences d’initiation*, ed. by Élisabeth Baras, Jean Irigoïn and Jean Vezin, Paris, Presses de l’École normale supérieure, 1978, pp. 23-35: 30-32.

7. Scapecchi, *Aldo Manuzio*, p. 44. However, see also Lilian Armstrong, Piero Scapecchi and Federica Toniolo, *Gli incunaboli della Biblioteca del Seminario vescovile di Padova: catalogo e studi*, ed. by Pierantonio Gios and Federica Toniolo, Padua, Istituto per la storia ecclesiastica padovana, 2008, pp. 70-71, in which one Cretan binding was described as “alla greca di origine cretese”.

8. Federici, “Legature ‘alla greca’ tra gli stampati vaticani” (see also p. 27, note 16).

9. Federico Macchi and Livio Macchi, *Atlante della legatura italiana: il Rinascimento: XV-XVI secolo*, Milan, Sylvestre Bonnard, 2007, p. 283. See also Federico Macchi and Livio Macchi, *Dizionario illustrato della legatura*, Milan, Sylvestre Bonnard, 2002, pp. 214-215; Carlo Federici and Federico Macchi, *Le materie dei libri: le legature storiche della Biblioteca Teresiana*, Mantua, Publi Paolini, 2014, p. 95. This position was also held by the COMSt handbook: *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction*, ed. by Alessandro Bausi *et al.*, COMSt, 2015, p. 207. Piccarda Quilici also seems to imply that a genuine binding cannot be called “alla greca”, as she said of Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS. 408: “Binding after the Greek-Byzantine model, made at the end of the fifteenth century in

stated that “alla greca” could be applied when “Byzantine features were preserved” in a binding;¹⁰ Anthony Hobson¹¹ (who was the first to introduce a terminological distinction between “genuine” and “hybrid” “alla greca” bindings) and János Szirmai,¹² similarly, underlined the experimental nature of early “alla greca” bindings, an interpretation more recently also adopted by Konstantinos Choulis;¹³ Silvia Pugliese’s use of the term includes both genuine and hybrid structures.¹⁴

In addition to its history of being used with different meanings, the term “alla greca” cannot properly account for the complexities that are inherent to Greek-style bindings, either genuine or hybrid.¹⁵ The place of production of many Greek-style bindings and the ethnicity of their makers is difficult to determine, and at times, the identification relies on decoration. A binding made in Italy by an Italian binder with Greek features and Italian decoration is, according to the consensus, an “alla greca” binding; but what about a binding made in the same way and under the same circumstances in Italy by a Greek binder, born and trained in Greece?¹⁶ What if the ethnicity of the binder is unknown, as is mostly the case? What about bindings made in culturally-Greek settings such as Crete, or parts of southern Italy? And what about bindings made by Italian binders, but so mimetically Greek (including, potentially, in decoration) that we cannot be sure we can correctly identify their place of production as Italy?

Italy” (Piccarda Quilici, *Legature antiche e di pregio: sec. XIV-XVIII*, 2 vols., Rome, Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, 1995, vol. I, p. 127).

10. Hoffmann, “Reliures crétoises”, p. 746.

11. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, p. 181.

12. János A. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1999, p. 84.

13. Konstantinos Choulis, “The History of the Binding and Conservation of the Greek Manuscripts of the *Fondo Antico* in the Vatican Library (15th to 20th Centuries)” (PhD Thesis, London, University of London – School of Advanced Studies, 2013, 3 vols.), vol. III, p. 36. See also Konstantinos Choulis, “La legatura dei manoscritti greci nel periodo bizantino e post-bizantino: l’origine, la storia, le tecniche di manifattura”, in *Scrittura e libro nel mondo greco-bizantino*, ed. by Carla Casetti Brach, Bari, Edipuglia, 2012, pp. 181-206: 181.

14. See the bindings listed in Silvia Pugliese, “Byzantine Bindings in the Marciana National Library”, in *ΒΙΒΛΙΟΑΜΦΙΣΤΗΣ 3: The Book in Byzantium. Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Bookbinding (Proceedings of an International Symposium, Athens, 13-16 October 2005)*, ed. by Niki Tsironis, Athens, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2008.

15. Other terms have been suggested, such as “Pseudo-Greek style”, employed in *The History of Bookbinding 525-1950 A.D.: An Exhibition Held at the Baltimore Museum of Art November 12, 1957 to January 12, 1958*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 1957, pp. 95-96. Annaclara Cataldi Palau has described Venetian-made Greek-style bindings as “Oriental Venetian type”: Annaclara Cataldi Palau, “Il copista Ioannes Mauromates”, in *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito: atti del V Colloquio internazionale di paleografia greca, Cremona, 4-10 ottobre 1998*, 3 vols., Florence, Gonnelli, 2000, vol. I, pp. 335-399: 382.

16. Carlo Federici’s recent study (Federici, “Legature ‘alla greca’ tra gli stampati vaticani”, p. 253) accounts for this possibility (“artigiani bizantini che replicano, rispettandole integralmente, le tecniche di costruzione e di decorazione delle coperte bizantine”) and places the specimens resulting from it in the “Byzantine bookbinding” category.

“Greek-style” (a term adopted, for instance, by Mirjam M. Foot,¹⁷ P.J.M. Marks,¹⁸ Nicholas Pickwood,¹⁹ and Georgios Boudalis²⁰ amongst bookbinding historians writing in English) responds to these needs: it describes a technique (or rather, a set of features usually found together) rather than a place of origin, but it can be complemented by more specific information about the binder, structure, time or place of production of a bookbinding (such as “a hybrid Greek-style binding made in Florence by an Italian binder”); and it can be an apical term for “Byzantine” and “post-Byzantine”, comprising both categories as well as bindings made in Italy in the Greek style, in accordance with the hierarchical approach generally adopted today by information scientists in the building of *thesauri* and other controlled vocabulary. In this sense, “Byzantine” and “post-Byzantine” are each a “narrower term” (NT) to “Greek-style”, which in turn has a “broader term” (BT) relationship to them. “Alla greca”, conversely, cannot clearly be mapped to such a hierarchy.

The work on a bookbinding terminology that fits taxonomical description is still in progress, which if anything further confirms the vitality of the topic of vocabulary in the field of bookbinding history;²¹ but in the meantime, it is worth looking at historical uses of “alla greca”, which has enjoyed such wide popularity so far. To book historians, it a polysemic term (if not, at times, downright confusing). But what about its usage in Renaissance Italy? “Alla greca” and its variants, such as “maniera greca”, “alla grechessa”, or “more graeco” were consistently employed to describe these bindings. Was its early modern meaning less erratic than it is today in the field of bookbinding history?

1. Defining “alla greca”: speaking, dressing, living in the Greek manner

While it was no shock to Venetians to see foreigners walk the city streets, many objects worn and used by Greeks and many of their habits were still distinctly connotated, and often described as “alla greca”. The foreignness of Greek marks of distinction was nuanced: the attitudes of Venetians encompassed and crossed social behaviours, from appreciation to distaste, from appropriation to rejection,

17. Mirjam M. Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift: A Collection of Bookbindings*. Vol. 1, *Studies in the History of Bookbinding*, London, The British Library, 1978, p. 178; Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift*. Vol. 3.

18. P. J. M. Marks, *The British Library Guide to Bookbinding*, London, The British Library, 1998, p. 36.

19. Pickwood, “How Greek”.

20. Georgios Boudalis, “Surveying Bindings of the Late 15th-Early 18th Century in the Libraries of the Iviron Monastery / Mount Athos and the St Catherine’s Monastery / Sinai”, in *La reliure médiévale: pour une description normalisée. Actes du colloque international (Paris, 22-24 mai 2003)*, ed. by Guy Lanoë and Geneviève Grand, Turnhout, Brepols, 2008, pp. 117-131: 118.

21. The LoB, for instance, has recently added ‘Greek bindings’ and ‘hybrid Greek bindings’ as labels to the entries for ‘genuine Greek-style bindings’ (w3id.org/lob/concept/1357) and ‘hybrid Greek-style bindings’ (w3id.org/lob/concept/1394) respectively.

from recognition as a sign of familiarity to differentiation. Chronology also fed into the complexity of the phenomenon. “Alla greca” was used interchangeably in early modern Italy to describe objects and practices that belonged to classical Greek culture, to Byzantine culture, or to the post-Byzantine world – or perceived as belonging to any of them. Sources on performing music “alla greca” also testify to the existence of a “hybrid soundworld” in early modern Crete; but some of the items called “Greek” in Italy were, in fact, not particularly Greek at all: certain musical instruments were known as “alla greca” in Renaissance Venice and Rome because they somehow recalled ancient Greek instruments, although their technology was western.²²

More in general, the meaning of the phrase was extremely wide and, thus, inevitably vague. Its usage was not limited to object manufacturing: people could live – and in fact, die – “alla greca”. The *status animarum* (censuses) held at the Archivio del Patriarcato in Venice often identify people as “vive alla greca” (“lives in the Greek manner”), indicating those who adopted Greek Orthodox devotional and religious behaviours (including not just ethnic Greeks but also, for instance, Albanians).²³ Churches themselves could be “alla greca”: in his *Descrittione dell’isola di Creta*, Francesco Barozzi (1537-1604) described one church erected near the city of Lappe as such; the tiny chapel was located inside a cave,²⁴ which may indicate that its Greekness derived from the liturgical tradition followed in it, rather than by any architectural elements. In 1487, when Anna Notaras wrote to the Venetian authorities to lament the prohibition to have mass celebrated in her home, as she had done for many years, she indeed said “Mi ho facto celebrar messa, in casa mia, alla greca” (“I had mass celebrated in my home alla greca”).²⁵ The same vocabulary applied to religious material culture. When Francesco Barozzi was accused of sorcery and necromancy, it was reported that one of the witches he met with had a “Santissimo Sacramento consecrato alla greca” sewn into her shoe so that it would

22. Alexandros Maria Hatzikiriakos, “‘Cantare alla greca con citere e violini’: Western Musical Transfers and Localisations in Early Modern Crete”, *Muz yka*, 67.4 (2022), pp. 116-135; Romano Silva, “Strumenti musicali alla greca e all’antica nel Rinascimento”, in *Memoria dell’antico nell’arte italiana*. 1. *L’uso dei classici*, ed. by Salvatore Settis, Turin, Einaudi, 1984, pp. 363-372; Patrizio Barbieri, “Musiche e strumenti ‘alla greca’ nel Seicento italiano”, in *Francesco Buti tra Roma e Parigi: diplomazia, poesia, teatro*, ed. by Francesco Luisi, Rome, Torre d’Orfeo, 2009, pp. 363-372: 349.

23. Burke, *The Greeks of Venice*, pp. 185-194.

24. “Da molt’anni in qua fu fabbricata dentro in detta spelonchetta una picciola chiesa alla greca”, in Francesco Barozzi, *Descrittione dell’isola di Creta (Περιγραφή της Κρήτης) (1577/8): μια γεωγραφική και αρχαιολογική περιγραφή της Κρήτης στα χρόνια της Αναγέννησης*, ed. by Stephanos Kaklamanis, Heraklion, Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη, 2004, p. 234.

25. “Cum sit che zà anni trenta, vel circa, sia stata et habitata in questa alma cita; et continue, quando a mi ha piacesto, per devotione mia et per non intender io la lengua latina, mi ho facto celebrar messa, in casa mia, alla greca”, in Nikos G. Moschonas, “I Greci a Venezia e la loro posizione religiosa nel XV secolo (Studio su documenti veneziani)”, *Ο Εραμιστής*, 5 (1967), pp. 105-137: 113.

make her invisible – the one and only material element provided in the description of this Greek woman.²⁶

And indeed, just as they lived in the Greek way, people could also die and have funerals “alla greca”. This was the request that the Greek Maria Zachari left in her testament in 1628 in Venice: for 30 ducats to be set aside for her funeral, “alla greca”, “as usual”.²⁷ The funeral of Theodoros Palaiologos, celebrated in Venice in 1532, offers further details as to what this meant in practice. As a *stradiota* turned translator and diplomat in the service of the Republic, Theodoros was a respected figure in Venice and his funeral was attended by many even outside the Greek community. Marin Sanudo, who described the ceremony, did not fail to notice that Theodoros’s body had been dressed “a la greca”, with a purple *casacca* lined with crimson satin, and that the rite itself was also celebrated “a la greca”, “with women crying over his body and tearing their hair”²⁸ – an indication that the phrase did not refer purely to the rite observed, but rather to a set of cultural practices, encompassing gestures and materiality.

These were the social behaviours and material practices of Greek people that Venetians, and Italians more in general, considered to be conspicuous marks of alterity. Speech was another: those who spoke Greek the same way the natives did (presumably Byzantine Greek) were said to speak Greek “alla greca”.²⁹

After seeing Matteo Spandounes (Spandolin) in 1499 at a meeting of mercantile officials, Sanudo noted in his diary that he “va vestito a la grecha” (“dresses in the Greek style”; “va vestito” suggests that he did so in public).³⁰ Not all of those who wore Greek-style clothing, however, would be Byzantine or Venetian Greeks: Italians also could, and did. The Paduan Augusto Valdo “was so enamoured of Hellenism that after a long sojourn in Greece he continued to wear the Greek costume

26. Fabio Forno, “Barozzi, Francesco”, in *DBI*, 6 (1964). On Barozzi, see below, pp. 78-79.

27. “Item voglio che siano dati ducati trenta al suddetto signor Francesco Zibetto mio nipote, affinche mi faci far l’esequie solite alla greca per anno uno”, in Despina Vlasi, “Le ricchezze delle donne: pratica testamentaria in seno alle famiglie greche di Venezia (XVI-XVII sec.)”, in *Oltre la morte: testamenti di Greci e Veneziani redatti a Venezia o in territorio greco-veneziano nei sec. XIV-XVIII. Atti dell’incontro scientifico, Venezia, 22-23 gennaio 2007*, ed. by Chryssa A. Maltezou and Gogo Varzelioti, pp. 83-117: 92.

28. Marin Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto (MCCCCXCVI-MDXXXIII) dall’autografo Marciano ital. cl. VII codd. CDXIX-CDLXXVII*, ed. by Rinaldo Fulin *et al.*, 58 vols., Venice, F. Visentini, 1879-1903, vol. LVI, col. 877-878; see Chryssa Maltezou, “Stradioti: i difensori dei confine”, in *Ευρωπαϊκή Ακριτική Παράδοση: από τον Μεγαλέξαντρο στον Διγενή Ακρίτα...*, ed. by Hélène Ahrweiler, Athens, ACRINET, 2004, pp. 47-57; Burke, *The Greeks of Venice*, p. 161.

29. Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance: Greek Scholars in Venice. Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe*, 2nd ed., Hamden, Archon Books, 1973, p. 42.

30. Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. II, col. 545, in Ersie Burke, “Surviving Exile: Byzantine Families and the Serenissima 1453-1600”, in *Wanted: Byzantium. The Desire for a Lost Empire*, Uppsala, Uppsala Universitet, 2014, pp. 109-132: 113.

in Italy”.³¹ In these cases, the reference was definitely to contemporary, Byzantine or post-Byzantine, Greek material culture.

When it comes to skills and objects in the domain of the arts, the same phrase can clearly point to the past; but it is often unclear what past that may be, and in fact it often does not seem to be a specific and univocal period. Some Venetian scribes listed writing “alla greca” among their skills, which fundamentally translated into their ability to write initials in a style reminiscent of Byzantine lettering.³² “Alla greca” was also a manner of painting, especially associated with the iconography of the Virgin with the Child in her arms. Often, both Greek and Italian artists could paint “alla greca” and “alla latina” to cater for different customers.³³ However, it was not rare for Byzantine icons imported from the Eastern Mediterranean to be mis-dated by their western owners by about 1,000 years or so; they were often believed to be from the late antique period when they had been, in reality, made in the fifteenth century.³⁴ In art literature, the term was less neutral than it was elsewhere: in Giorgio Vasari’s *Lives*, “alla greca” or “maniera greca” could have a twofold meaning – either referring to *classical* Greek art, from antiquity, or to *old* Byzantine art, from the recent past – with very different connotations, as the latter was understood to be old-fashioned, something truly, derogatorily “belonging in the past”.³⁵

As Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood have noted, the temporality to which objects and works of art were attached in the early modern period was shaped by concerns of authenticity, political implications, and cultural milieu. In the West, a widespread idea that Greek culture was characterised by timelessness and unchangeability existed, as compellingly expressed in Vespasiano da Bisticci’s (1421-1498) view of Byzantine dress as he saw it during the Council of Ferrara-Florence. He described the style of the robes, caps, and beards of the Byzantine Emperor and of members of the Greek delegation:

31. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, 216-217.

32. Barile, *Littera antiqua*.

33. Lorenzo Lotto, for instance, was directed to paint “alla greca” in the Greek church of St. Anna in Ancona in 1551; see Margarita Voulgaropoulou, “Η ζωγραφική βυζαντινότροπων εικόνων στις δύο ακτές της Αδριατικής: η περίπτωση του Ιωάννη Περμενιάτη”, *Εγνατία*, 14 (2010), pp. 195-211: 197. See also, for instance, ASV, *Notarile*, Atti, b. 10643, not. Agostino Pellestrina, fols. 8v-9r, inventory of the possessions of Zuan Maria deponentore: “un quadro doro grando alla grecca and uno quadro alla grecca de uno xpo”; *ibid.*, Testamenti, b. 343, not. Giovanni Nicolò Doglioni, no. 283, will of Gregorius Malaxò: “un quadretto di avolio alla greca d’immagine della Madonna”.

34. Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, “What Counted as an ‘Antiquity’ in the Renaissance?”, in *Renaissance Medievalisms*, ed. by Konrad Eisenbichler, Toronto, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009, pp. 58-61.

35. Laura Popoviciu, “Between Taste and Historiography: Writing about Early Renaissance Works of Art in Venice and Florence (1550-1800)” (PhD Thesis, University of London, 2014, 2 vols.), vol. I, pp. 47, 49; vol. II, p. 276.

Opposite to the Pope’s seat, on the other side, was a chair covered with a silken cloth on which sat the Emperor, clad in a rich robe of damask brocade in the Greek style (“vesta alla greca”) and a cap in the Greek fashion (“capeletto alla greca”), on top of which was a magnificent jewel. He was a very handsome man with a beard of the Greek cut (“al modo greco”). Round about his chair were posted the many gentlemen of his retinue, clad in the richest silken robes made in Greek fashion (“alla greca”); their attire being most stately, as was that of the prelates and of the laymen also.³⁶

The alterity of the Greek dress left a strong impression (above all the *skiadon*, the Byzantine “sunshade” headwear, which became frequent in the iconography of Greekness in Italian art).³⁷ Vespasiano da Bisticci also highlighted how the fashion of the Greeks had not changed in 1,500 years:³⁸

I will not pass on without a word of special praise of the Greeks. For the last fifteen hundred years and more they have not altered the style of their dress; their clothes are of the same fashion now as they were in the time indicated. This may be seen in Greece in a place called the fields of Filippi, where were found many records in marble in which may be seen men clothed in the manner still used by the Greeks (“dove sono molte storie di marmo, drentovi uomini vestiti a la greca, nel modo erano allora”).³⁹

These observations are part of the recounting of the Council of Ferrara-Florence, during which many Westerners saw Byzantine Greeks (and their dress) for the first time, receiving a long-lasting impression of the experience. Vespasiano da Bisticci took away several notions from the episode: the remarkable nature of Greek dress, as opposed to the Italian (in other words: its otherness); its antiquity; its richness and desirability (in admiration, he added that “the very rich silk robes”

36. “Era una sedia al dirimpeto a quella del papa da l’altro lato, ornata di drappo di seta, et lo ‘mperadore cor una vesta alla greca di brocato domaschino molto rica, cor uno capeletto alla greca, che v’era in su la punta una bellissima gioia; era uno bellissimo uomo colla barba al modo greco. Et d’intorno alla sedia sua erano molti gentili uomini aveva in sua compagnia, vestiti pure alla greca molto ricamente, sendo gli abiti loro pieni di gravità, così quegli dei prelati, come de’ secolari” (Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le vite*, ed. by Aulo Greco, 2 vols., Florence, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1970, vol. I, p. 19; translation in *The Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, ed. by William George Waters and Emily Waters, Toronto – London, University of Toronto Press, 1997, pp. 25-26).

37. Carlo Ginzburg, *The Enigma of Piero. Piero Della Francesca: The Baptism, the Arezzo Cycle, the Flagellation*, London, Verso, 1985; Theodore Koutsogiannis, “The Renaissance Metamorphoses of Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaeologus”, in *In the Light of Apollo. Italian Renaissance and Greece (22 December 2003-31 March 2004)*, ed. by Mina Gregori, Cinisello Balsamo – Athens, Silvana – Hellenic Culture Organization, 2003, pp. 60-70.

38. For an overview of how Byzantine dress changed in reality, see Maria G. Parani, “Cultural Identity and Dress: The Case of Late Byzantine Ceremonial Costume”, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 57 (2007), pp. 95-134.

39. “Non passerò che io non dica qui una singolare loda de’ Greci. E’ Greci, in anni mille cinquecento o più, non hanno mai mutato abito, quello medesimo abito avevano eglino in quello tempo, ch’eglino avevano avuto nel tempo detto, come si vede ancora in Grecia nel luogo si chiama i campi Filippi, dove sono molte storie di marmo, drentovi uomini vestiti a la greca, nel modo erano allora” (Bisticci, *Le vite*, vol. I, p. 19; translated in Waters and Waters, *The Vespasiano Memoirs*, p. 26).

of the Greek clergy “appeared a great deal more solemn and dignified than those of the Latin prelates”).⁴⁰ And still, despite the foreign nature of this sight, he did not fail to mention an element of familiarity and moral worth: he specified that this was the same dress with which Greeks had originally come to the Christian faith.⁴¹

Ancient Greek (or falsely thought to be), Byzantine or post-Byzantine Greek, a hybrid of Greek and Italian techniques, Italians imitating Greeks: all of these behaviours, practices, and objects were, at one time or another, called “alla greca”. When we use the same term for Greek-style bindings made in Italy, we are lending early modern terminology to the language of contemporary taxonomies without taking into account the fact that “alla greca” as a term was not normalised, and its use was over-extended; “Byzantine” as a word did not come into regular use with the meaning of “Eastern Roman” until the mid-sixteenth century;⁴² Greeks called themselves “Romans”, and later “Ἕλληνες” (“Hellenes”).⁴³

Ultimately, our responsibility as historians is to understand the categories of early modern culture and the language through which they were identified, not to adopt them. Therefore, while one argument for the use of the term could be its history, a close look at sources cautions against it. By laying bare the ambiguity of the term, these sources reveal not just the perceived value of Greek-style bindings in Renaissance Italy and their association with antiquarianism, but also mechanisms of self-fashioning and cultural awareness.

2. *A glossary of Greek-style bindings*

Byzantine bindings had several distinctive features, individually or combinedly imitated in Italian-made Greek-style bindings: unsupported sewing structures, by which a smooth spine was normally obtained, with the aid of overall spine linings; projecting endbands; flush boards; and interlaced fastenings. The grooves often running along the edge of the boards in Byzantine bindings were a common char-

40. Bisticci, *Le vite*, vol. I, p. 18.

41. “Pareva una grande veneratione, vegendo i Greci con quegli abiti antichi sacerdotali, che sempre hanno usato dal dì che vennono alla fede in fino allora. Non passerò qui una loda grandissima de’ Greci, mai non hanno mutato abito, così i temporali come gli spirituali. Sono passati mille anni o più...” (Bisticci, *Le vite*, vol. I, p. 152; translated in Waters and Waters, *The Vespasiano Memoirs*, pp. 131-132).

42. The term was mostly used by Byzantines themselves to identify a connection with Constantinople (the city of Byzantium), although it has been recently shown how it could also serve as a distinction between Eastern and Western Romans: Panagiotis Theodoropoulos, “Did the Byzantines Call Themselves Byzantines? Elements of Eastern Roman Identity in the Imperial Discourse of the Seventh Century”, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 45.1 (2021), pp. 25-41.

43. Molly Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453 to 1774 the Ottoman Empire*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2015, pp. 43-44.

acteristic and frequently adopted in Greek-style bindings both East and West, but were not necessarily present in either.

Greek-style bindings can be divided into two broad categories: genuine Greek-style bindings, which replicate all of these features; and hybrid Greek-style bindings, which, conversely, combine one or more (including grooved edges) with western characteristics. As we shall see, hybrid bindings often had more than one western component or feature to them, as the functionality of the binding (which makes the book easy to use and browse, protects the bookblock from external agents, provides resistance to wear, and so on) made it so that certain characteristics called for others to be used in association: with the use of sewing supports, for instance, typically come panel or transverse spine linings. Genuine and hybrid Greek-style bindings exist in a non-linear spectrum (from the “most genuine” to the “most hybrid” books, where one Byzantine feature exists in an otherwise fully western European binding, presumably as a mere nod to the fashions of the times) with a number of possible solutions and reinventions between them; decoration (tooling, edge decoration, and to an extent, furnishings), as mentioned, is not taken into account to assess genuineness or hybridity of a book.

These features will now be described in detail, in context with the conventional practices in use in Greece and Italy in the roughly 150 years during which Greek-style bindings were produced in the West, from the 1450s. I will deliberately describe books from the inside out, i.e. from the sewing of the gatherings to coverings (and tooling, bosses, and fastenings, if present). This arrangement is not only logical, but conducive to understanding the making of bookbindings, as it follows the same progression that binders went through in their work. It also highlights the importance of observing and recording structural elements in bindings: this is of the utmost importance for Greek-style bindings, where decoration – which commonly occupies a prominent position in bookbinding historiography – is homogeneously western, and therefore intrinsically less informative about the ramifications of Greek influence on European book-making.

2.1. *Unsupported sewing structures and supported sewing structures (related terms: Sewing supports; Change-over stations)*

The fundamental structural difference between western European and Greek bookbinding practices lies in the diverging techniques used for sewing bookblocks. The common practice in Europe prescribed that strips of a flexible, yet strong material be used to support the sewing of the gatherings (“supported sewing structures”), as opposed to sewing the gatherings using thread only (“unsupported sewing structures”) as was done in the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond, i.e. in the Coptic, Georgian, Greek, Islamic, Syriac, and Ethiopian traditions.⁴⁴ But for a long

44. See Jen Lindsay, “The Edfu Collection of Coptic Books”, *The New Bookbinder*, 21 (2001),

stretch of time roughly up to the Middle Ages, western and eastern traditions probably did not differ: the structure of the earliest surviving western European binding, the St. Cuthbert Gospel (British Library, Additional MS 89000), an eighth-century manuscript in a contemporary binding made in Northumbria, is unsupported.⁴⁵

The use of sewing supports was well established in the West by the Carolingian era, the first period to give us significant numbers of bindings.⁴⁶ By the time Greek-style bindings began to be recreated in western Europe, in the fifteenth century, unsupported book structures must have been unfamiliar to most western binders, while still being very common in the Eastern Mediterranean: unsupported sewing was a firmly-established Byzantine and post-Byzantine practice until the second half of the seventeenth century, when western and Islamic influences started acting upon the Greek tradition and post-Byzantine practices embraced the new practice of using sewing supports.⁴⁷

Supports, either single or double, were made of cord or skin (either tawed, tanned, or parchment), and could be flat (straps) or round (cord, or rolled skin). The use of double flat supports, often in alum-tawed skin, was common in Renaissance Italy, including in hybrid Greek-style bindings.

By going around sewing supports, sewing thread attaches each gathering to the already sewn section of the bookblock at the spine (the switch from one gathering to the next takes place at the sewing stations closest to head and tail, called “change-over stations”, which are by default unsupported sewing stations) (Fig. 2). The ends of the supports (slips) are then cut to a manageable length and used to attach the boards (if the book is bound in boards,⁴⁸ which is always the case with Greek-style bindings). Typically, the bigger the book, the higher the number of sup-

pp. 31-51; Karin Scheper, *The Technique of Islamic Bookbinding: Methods, Materials and Regional Varieties*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2015; Eliana Dal Sasso, “Ethiopian and Coptic Sewing Techniques in Comparison”, in *Tied and Bound: A Comparative View on Manuscript Binding*, ed. by Alessandro Bausi and Michael Friedrich, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter, 2023, pp. 251-284. Armenian bindings are generally considered to be part of the eastern techniques, but use sewing supports: see Dickran Kouymjian, “Post-Byzantine Armenian Bookbinding and Its Relationship to the Greek Tradition”, in *BIBΛIOAMΦΙΑΣΤΗΣ 3: The Book in Byzantium. Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Bookbinding (Proceedings of an International Symposium, Athens, 13-16 October 2005)*, ed. by Niki Tsironis, Athens, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2008, pp. 163-176.

45. On the St. Cuthbert Gospel and its binding structure, see Nicholas Pickwood, “Binding”, in *The St. Cuthbert Gospel: Studies on the Insular Manuscript of the Gospel of John*, ed. by Claire Brey and Bernard Meehan, London, The British Library, 2015, pp. 41-63.

46. On Carolingian bindings, see Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, pp. 99-139.

47. Georgios Boudalis, “The Evolution of a Craft: Post-Byzantine Bookbinding between the Late Fifteenth and the Early Eighteenth Century from the Libraries of the Iviron Monastery in Mount Athos/Greece and the St. Catherine’s Monastery in Sinai/Egypt” (PhD Thesis, London, University of the Arts London, 2004, 3 vols.), vol. I, pp. 332-339.

48. The term “inboard bindings” (or “bound in boards”) indicates that the boards are “attached to the bookblock [...] before the book was covered” (LoB, *s.n.* “Inboard bindings”, w3id.org/lob/concept/1395), as opposed to bindings in which boards are absent or attached with or after the covering.

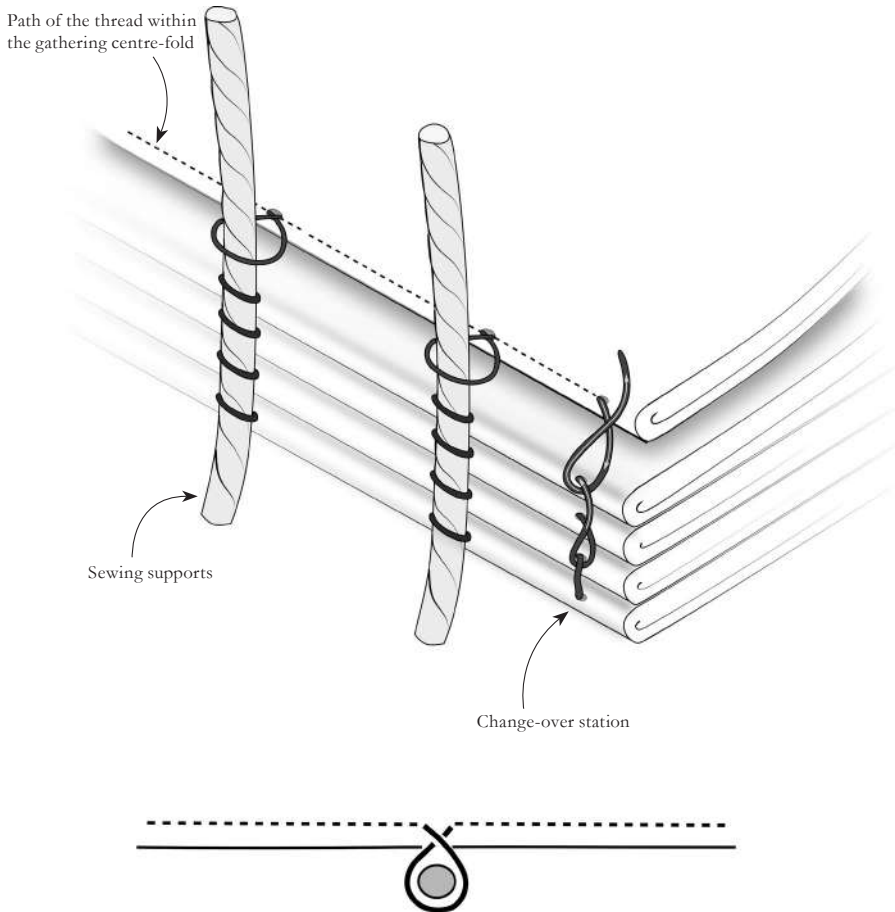


Fig. 2. A supported sewing structure seen from the spine of the bookblock.

ports, but in order to save time, a binder could also choose to reduce the number of supports or skip a certain number of them, sometimes to the detriment of the stability of the book structure.⁴⁹

2.2. *Smooth spines*

In unsupported structures, the thread attaches the gatherings one to another in sequence (Pl. 1b). The absence of sewing supports typically results in a uniform, smooth spine, thanks in part to the V-shaped nicks specifically cut into the back of the gatherings to create recesses into which the sewing thread is pulled and recessed

49. This technique, known as “bypass sewing”, often compromised the stability and durability of the book. See Pickwood, “Onward and Downward”.

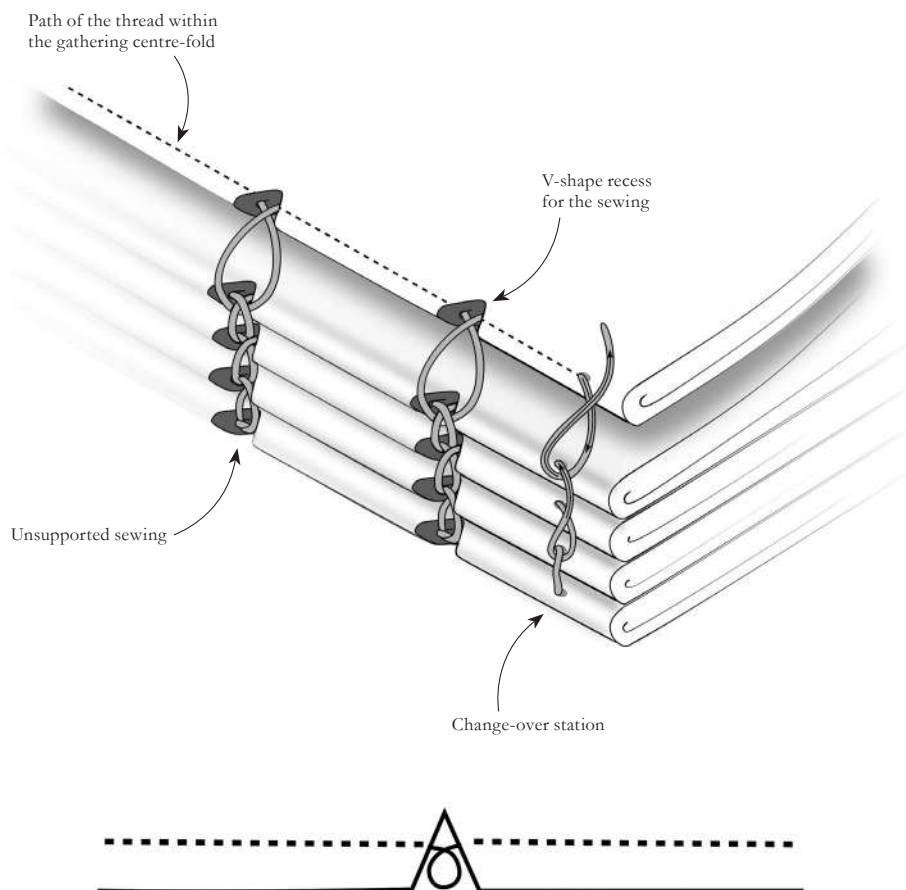


Fig. 3. An unsupported sewing structure seen from the spine of the bookblock.

(Fig. 3).⁵⁰ On occasion, even in unsupported structures, thicker-than-usual thread can create a slightly uneven surface on the spine of the book which can be mistaken for sewing supports: wherever possible, the structure of a binding should therefore be determined through a complete analysis of its components and features.

A technique adopted in sixteenth-century France is that of the so-called “recessed supports” (Fig. 4), in which thin supports are also hidden in deeper recesses in the spine of the bookblock (called “grecques”: evidence of how closely related to Greek-style bindings this practice was considered) thus forming a smooth spine. Thin supports in themselves could minimise the ridges on the spine of a book.

50. Konstantinos Houlis, “A Research on Structural Elements of Byzantine Bookbindings”, in *Ancient and Medieval Book Materials and Techniques: Erice, 18-25 September 1992*, ed. by Marilena Maniaci and Paola F. Munafò, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1993, pp. 239-268: 247.

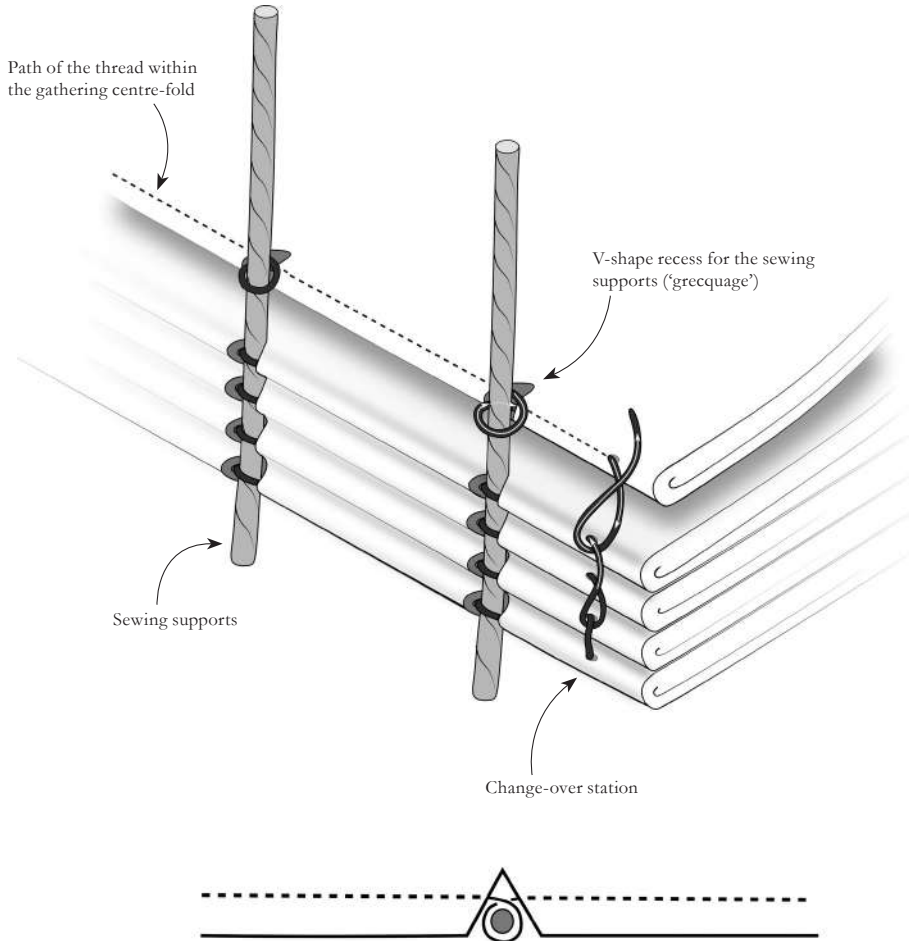


Fig. 4. A supported sewing structure with recessed supports seen from the spine of the bookblock.

The adoption of unsupported structures, and therefore of smooth spines, represented one of the greatest challenges for western binders when making Greek-style bindings; generally, a Greek-style book without sewing supports is also otherwise completely genuine, showing that if a binder accepted and adopted the practice, they were likely also more motivated to imitate the other characteristics of Byzantine bookbindings.

However, some binders did not know how to mimic unsupported structures, and some probably chose not to; especially considering that to many customers, how a smooth spine was achieved must not have been as important as the fact that it was. It may be that some binders simply did not trust a book with no sewing

supports to resist wear,⁵¹ and in fact the reputation of unsupported structures for fragility had a long life: at the end of the nineteenth century, Léon Gruel’s (1841-1923) bookbinding manual argued that the practice of binding books with no sewing supports was “catastrophic”.⁵² While the majority of Greek-style bindings made in Venice has unsupported structures, their use did not become consistent until around 1500.

Many binders did not use sewing supports at all in their bindings, which are therefore, by all means, structurally genuine. Others used them, and did not attempt to hide that they did. Their customers seem to have accepted hybrid Greek-style bindings sewn on supports (however noticeable), whose “Greekness” showed elsewhere, for example in their endbands or in the grooved board edges. Others used supports, but tried to conceal them. In these cases, sometimes a tension appears to have existed between material and aesthetic preoccupations, between the “image” or “idea” of a Greek book (more so than faithfulness to Byzantine models) and functionality as seen through the eyes of western binders, accustomed to sewing supports; this induced the binders to adopt different solutions, in order to satisfy their customers, while still adhering to familiar practices.

2.3. Bridling (related terms: Round spines; Single- and Double-sequence sewing; Laced slips)

In unsupported bindings, thread (occasionally, the same length of thread employed to attach gatherings to each other) was also used to attach the boards, most commonly using a technique called “bridling”.⁵³ The process can be completed in one or two sequences. In double-sequence sewing, the first and the last gathering

51. Raised bands were such an important part of the visual canon of the western book that even false bands were created to create the illusion that a book was more stable than it actually was. On false bands, see Foot, “Some Changes”, pp. 236-237; Nicholas Pickwood, “The History of the False Raised Band”, in *Against the Law. Crime, Sharp Practice and the Control of Print*, ed. by Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote, New Castle – London, Oak Knoll – The British Library, 2004, pp. 103-131.

52. Léon Gruel, *Manuel historique et bibliographique de l'amateur de reliures*, Paris, Gruel & Engelmann, 1887, p. 148: “On appelle reliures à la grecque celles qui en réalité ne sont pas cousues sur de vrais nerfs apparents, tels que le commande la perfection d’un travail soigné. Cette façon de procéder est un acheminement vers la décadence qui se constate surtout aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles. [...] une reliure dont la couture aura été faite à la Grecque, ne pourra jamais dissimuler, sous un nouvel habit, si riche qu’il soit, les avaries causées par cette funeste opération”. More in general, bindings with smooth spines were called Greek in France in the modern period, regardless of how this was achieved; see Quilici, “Legature greche”, p. 108. For other early uses of “grecquer”, see Mirjam M. Foot, *Bookbinders at Work: Their Roles and Methods*, London – Newcastle, The British Library – Oak Knoll Press, 2006, p. 52.

53. Assunta Di Febo *et al.*, *Legature bizantine vaticane e marciiane: storia dei materiali e delle tecniche di manifattura. Mostra organizzata dall'Istituto centrale per la patologia del libro. Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, 16 novembre-22 dicembre 1989. Guida alla mostra*, Rome, Arti grafiche Meglio, 1989, pp. 38-39; Federici and Houlis, *Legature bizantine vaticane*, pp. 23-33. Bridling is also known as “zigzag hinging system” (Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, pp. 69-70).

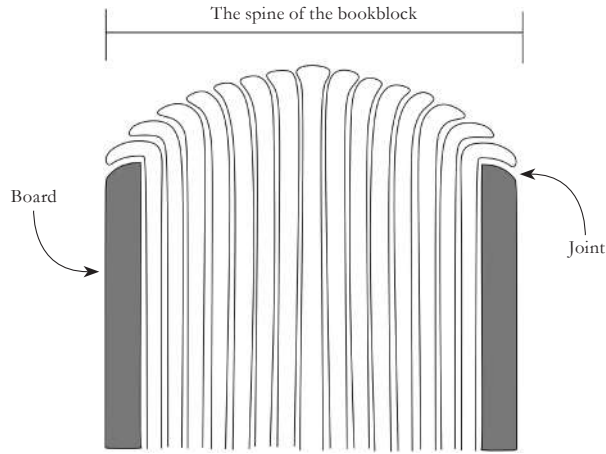


Fig. 5. A spine profile with the first and last gatherings bending over shaped boards.

can be sewn directly to their respective board, with each subsequent gathering attached to this structure, which grows with each added element.⁵⁴ The two halves of the bookblock thus created are then tied together.⁵⁵ On an uncovered spine, this technique can be detected in the line of chain stitches created by the sewing, which “points” into opposite directions.

The typical profile of a Byzantine binding seen from head or tail thus shows the first and last gatherings curving “around the outside” of the spine edges of the boards: the swelling (and thus the roundness) of the spine is further enhanced by connecting the outermost gatherings, respectively at the front and back of the bookblock, to the boards so that they may bend over the boards at the joints (Fig. 5); in fact, the joints of the boards were often shaped so as to facilitate this. This is one of the reasons why the use of wood for boards was so persistent in connection with Greek-style bindings (paper boards do not offer enough resistance).⁵⁶

Single-sequence sewing was also used, in which the binder sewed all the gatherings together starting at one end and progressing to the other. When a single length of thread was used to attach the gatherings and the boards, the board itself

54. LoB, *s.n.* “Double-sequence sewing” (w3id.org/lob/concept/3402).

55. Guy Petherbridge, “Sewing Structures and Materials: A Study in the Examination and Documentation of Byzantine and Post Byzantine Bookbindings”, in *Paleografia e codicologia greca: Atti del II Colloquio internazionale (Berlino-Wolfenbuttel, 17-21 ottobre 1983)*, 2 vols., ed. by Dieter Harlfinger and Giancarlo Prato, Alessandria, Edizioni dell’Orso, 1991, vol. I, pp. 363-408, vol. II, pp. 201-209; Paul Canart, Dominique Grosdidier de Matons and Philippe Hoffmann, “L’analyse technique des reliures byzantines et la détermination de leur origine géographique (Constantinople, Crète, Chypre, Grèce)”, in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio: atti del seminario di Erice, 18-25 settembre 1988*, 2 vols., ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo, Giuseppe De Gregorio and Marilena Maniaki, Spoleto, CISAM, 1991, vol. II, pp. 751-768.

56. See below, p. 45.

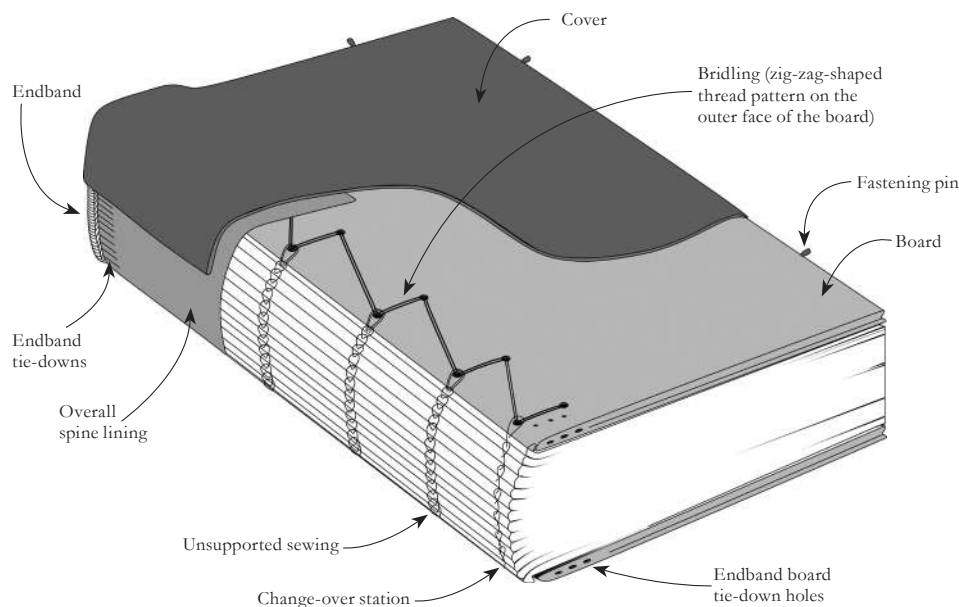


Fig. 6. Board attachment through bridling, with the zig-zag shaped thread pattern visible on the outer face of the boards, underneath the overall spine lining.

constitutes the starting point for the sewing (which then progresses to the other board in the case of single-sequence sewing, or to the middle of the bookblock in that of double-sequence sewing).⁵⁷

Either way, the length of thread used to attach the board enters it through holes drilled into the boards at the joints; it then runs through the board and exits on its inner side, forming a loop around a section of the board to anchor itself.⁵⁸ This process usually creates a zig-zag-shaped thread pattern on the inner surface of the boards or on the outer surface of the board (Fig. 6). Most commonly, the zig-zag pattern on the inner or outer surface is symmetrical on the left and right board,⁵⁹ but a few examples do exist in which bridling creates zig-zag-shaped, asymmetrical patterns; the occurrence of asymmetrical bridling seems to be random and not associated with a locale or time, as it appears on a copy of the Pausanias printed by the heirs of Aldus Manutius and now at the Morgan Library & Museum (PML

57. Federici and Houlis, *Legature bizantine vaticane*, pp. 24-25.

58. For a detailed description of the variants of this technique, see Houlis, “A Research on Structural Elements”, pp. 245-264.

59. I use the terms “left board” and “right board” in accordance with the LoB. Other widely-used terms are “upper board” and “lower board” or “front board” and “back board”. The terms “left” and “right” remove any confusion when describing the boards of books containing text in right-to-left (such as Arabic) or left-to-right (such as Latin) languages.

16168) bound possibly in Florence,⁶⁰ two manuscripts bound for Daniele Barbaro (1514-1570) now at the Bodleian Library, Laud gr. 38 (Pl. 2a) and Laud gr. 63, and two Aldines bound together, now Cambridge, Trinity College, N. 5. 94.⁶¹

V-shaped attachments are also possible; they have been associated with provenance from the “Oriental” monasteries of the Greek world (Mount Athos) or Southern-Slavic bookbindings, but on occasion appear on western-made Greek-style bindings;⁶² one such case is Bologna, Biblioteca dell’Archiginnasio, 16.N.IV.3 (a copy of the 1524 Homer printed by the heirs of Aldus; Pl. 2b), carefully sewn in the genuine manner, on six sewing stations (a high number for an octavo).

When, on the other hand, a book was sewn on sewing supports, its bookblock was typically sewn first, and the slips at each end of the supports could be used to attach the boards to the bookblock.⁶³ The most common practice in Italy consisted in lacing the slips through tunnels drilled in the spine edges of the boards, then securing them to the board with nails (Fig. 7) or less frequently, with wooden wedges inserted in the lacing holes. This is how the slips were secured to the boards in BNM Gr. X, 6 (=1270), a fifteenth-century hybrid Greek-style binding which belonged to Gioacchino Torriano (*ca.* 1416-1500).

The shape of the spine of genuine Greek-style bindings made in the West can sometimes be as emphatically round as that of the bindings made in Greece and in Crete, whereas hybrid Greek-style books feature flat spines, in accordance with the Italian tradition. (A flat spine must not be confused with a smooth spine: the former term indicates a 90-degree angle at the hinge between spine and boards; the latter indicates that no ridges break the surface of the spine).

Despite proving to be an effective, long-lasting solution in itself for board attachment, on occasion bridling underwent a surprising innovation in early modern Europe. In some unsupported structures, there is evidence that the thread brought into the boards was also (needlessly) apparently stopped and kept in place with nails, as can be seen, for instance, in Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliothek I A 17, a miscellany copied and bound in the sixteenth century which belonged to Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1515-1586).⁶⁴ In this case, the detachment of one board shows an unequivocally unsupported structure, but rust on

60. The binding was tooled with the coat of arms of Filippo Strozzi the Younger (1489-1538).

61. Some of the books bound for Johann Jakob Fugger also feature asymmetrical bridling, such as Munich, BSB, Cod.graec. 121.

62. Canart, Grosdidier de Matons and Hoffmann, “L’analyse technique”, pp. 766-767; Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, pp. 71-74; Julia Miller, *Tradition and Individuality: Bindings from the University of Michigan Greek Manuscript Collection*, Ann Arbor, The Legacy Press, 2021, pp. 544-545. It can be found on some Greek-style bindings made in Italy (possibly Rome); Choulis, “The History of the Binding and Conservation”, vol. III, p. 606.

63. For a hybrid technique combining unsupported sewing with board attachment typical of supported sewing used in a group of English-made Greek-style bindings, see Pickwoad, “How Greek”, pp. 195-198.

64. On this binding, see Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, pp. 84-86.

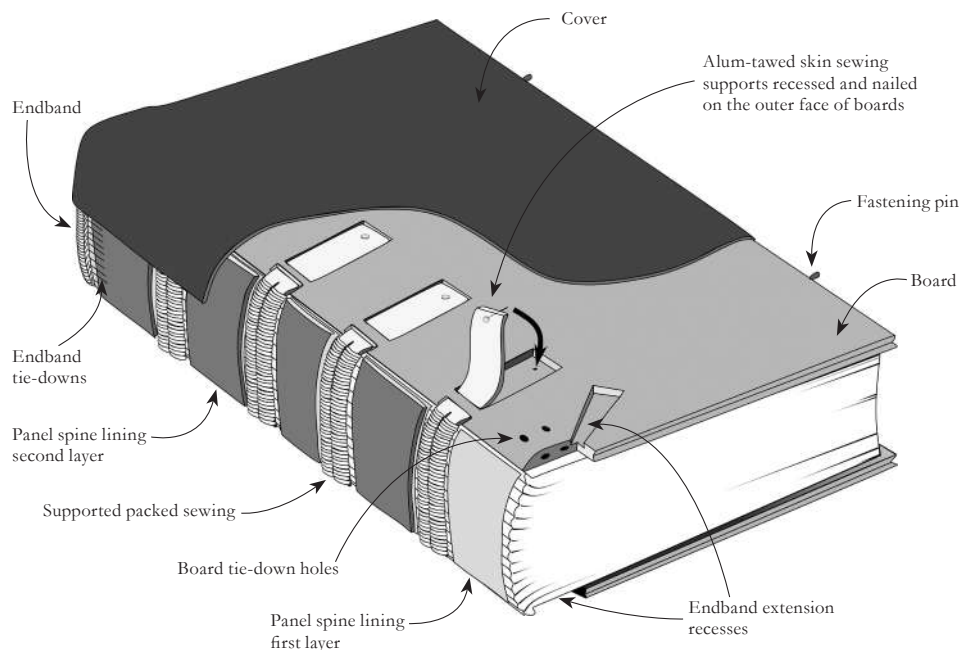


Fig. 7. Board attachment through laced supports. This figure is based on the bindings made by the “Master of John Argyropoulos” held at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice.

the inner face of the boards reveals the presence of nails, whose extremities can also be felt when running one’s finger on the surface. The same conclusions must be reached in the case of several manuscripts that belonged to Francesco Barozzi, such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 68, which contains grammatical texts and was bound by the so-called Mendoza Binder. This “bridling-with-nails” technique is both innovative and conservative, as a new, hybrid technique that seems to have been developed to preserve aspects of the traditional “know-how” of western bookbinding. It is perhaps no wonder that it seems to be exclusive to Venice, where Greek-style practices underwent the most experimentation and contamination.

2.4. *Spine linings (related terms: Overall spine linings; Transverse spine linings)*

Spine linings are layers of thin materials pasted onto the spine of the bookblock as well as a portion of the boards in order to contribute to the general stability of a binding and improve resistance against wear along the hinges of the cover and the joints between the boards and the bookblock. Cheaply-made bindings can lack spine linings altogether, but in Greek-style bindings made in Europe, linings were used in most cases, a sign that these books tended to be carefully made.

Styles varied greatly across different geographical and cultural areas. In Byzantine and Islamic bindings, a common choice was an overall spine lining covering the entire spine and extending over a part of the surface of the boards (up to one third, generally) (Fig. 6).⁶⁵ Overall linings, being a single piece of material covering the spine from head to tail and the spine edges of the boards, contributed to the general stability of books made in the Greek style.⁶⁶ The edge of the lining may be visible underneath the leather. Greek binders and their imitators consistently employed textiles as their material of choice for spine linings; natural-coloured linen was the most common option. Blue-dyed linen was also used,⁶⁷ for instance in BNM, Marc. gr. IV, 33 (=1190), copied by John Rhosos (Pl. 4a),⁶⁸ or the Aldine Lucian (1503) Marc. gr. IV, 25 (=12385).⁶⁹ Reasons for this choice are not clear, but it is possible that blue textiles were a lower cost resource, since generally light-coloured textiles could be recycled to manufacture light-coloured paper.

In western Europe, a different style of spine lining was in use, one which functioned more effectively in combination with sewing supports – and which was prevalently also used in hybrid Greek-style bindings: strips of thin material (parchment or paper, often recycled from other sources, or textiles, or tanned skin) placed in the spaces between pairs of supports (and above the highest support and below the lowest) were used instead. These linings are called transverse (if they extend onto the boards) or panel linings (if they end at the hinge). Unlike overall spine linings, transverse linings are usually pasted to the inside of the boards, where their extremities can be clearly visible on the exposed wood or underneath pastedowns.

An unusual combination of an unsupported structure and manuscript waste transverse lining appears in a binding held at the Biblioteca Corsiniana in Rome (43. D. 32; Pl. 3),⁷⁰ there is no practical reason for the use of transverse lining in the absence of sewing supports, so this specific binder might have just adhered to the practice they knew best: a minor conservative aspect in an otherwise structurally Greek book.

65. They were pasted onto the outer face of the boards in the Byzantine tradition, and on the inner surface of the boards in the Islamic tradition.

66. Federici and Houlis, *Legature bizantine vaticane*, p. 33.

67. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, p. 75.

68. The manuscript, which contains Alexander of Aphrodisia's commentary to Aristotle's *Topica*, belonged to the Monastery of Saint Catherine in Crete and then to Giuseppe Nani, with whose collection it entered the Biblioteca Marciana; Pugliese, “Byzantine Bindings”, p. 250.

69. Mazzucco, “Legature rinascimentali”, pp. 160-161, p. 230 no. 80. Examples of blue and blue-green textile spine linings are also reported in Miller, *Tradition and Individuality*, p. 550.

70. Silvia Sotgiu, “La legatura alla greca del ms. 43.D.32 *Hippiatrica* (Biblioteca Corsiniana – Roma): rilevamento codicologico e strutturale ed esecuzione di un intervento non invasivo”, in *Lo stato dell'arte 1: conservazione e restauro, confronto di esperienze. I Congresso Nazionale IGIIIC, Villa Gualino, Torino, 5-7 giugno 2003*, Saonara, Il prato, 2004, pp. 188-202.

In hybrid Greek-style bindings, on the other hand, spine linings can also help reduce how noticeable the ridges created by sewing supports are, if their presence needs to be disguised to increase the “Greekness” of a binding. By adding panel spine linings in a thicker-than-usual material (leather, or layers of parchment), the binder could compensate for the thickness of the supports. This technique was used by the binders who worked for Gioacchino Torriano (Fig. 7) and Gian Vincenzo Pinelli.⁷¹ Once the boards and spine were covered in leather, and especially if an overall spine lining was applied on top, the spine would appear to be smooth.

2.5. *Boards (related terms: Squares, Grooves, Board edges)*

Another feature of Byzantine bindings that makes them immediately recognisable when compared with Italian bindings is the relationship of their size to that of the bookblock: in Byzantine areas, the bookblock was traditionally cut flush with the boards, so that they were the same size (Pl. 4b); in the West, where bookblock edges were cut before wooden boards were attached, squares (i.e. boards larger than the bookblock) were more common; the visible part of the turn-ins was occasionally tooled.⁷²

Wood was by far the most common board material used in Greek-style bindings, whether genuine or hybrid, in Greece as in the West. The kind of wood employed can be used as evidence to locate where a binding was made. In Greece, poplar, conifer, and oak were common;⁷³ in Italy and Crete, beech was the typical material.

There may be multiple reasons why the practice of using wooden boards, as opposed to paper boards, was preserved in Italian-made Greek-style bindings: the association of these bindings with luxury; a wish to adhere to traditional Byzantine practices; the difficulties inherent in obtaining the typical round shape of the spine with paper boards; or the fact that paper boards did not allow for proper bridling or the use of sewn endbands (endband extensions could not “sit” easily on the edges of paper boards); or finally, because interlaced fastenings required strong boards that did not deform under tension. As a consequence, despite paper boards being cheaper, and thus increasingly common overall in early modern Italian bindings, they are the exception rather than the norm in local Greek-style bindings. One example is an Aldine Psalterion (*ca.* 1498) at the Biblioteca Braidense, AO.XII.71 (Pl. 4c).⁷⁴ However, in the Eastern Mediterranean, some local post-Byzantine practices

71. See p. 109.

72. Greek-style bindings made in Rome sometimes have tooling on their turn-ins. See Choulis, “The History of the Binding and Conservation”, vol. I, p. 167.

73. Federici and Houlis, *Legature bizantine vaticane*, pp. 27-28, 79-81.

74. This is a hybrid Greek-style binding sewn on three supports; the slips were pasted in between the layers that make up the thin paper boards, as per the usual technique when using these

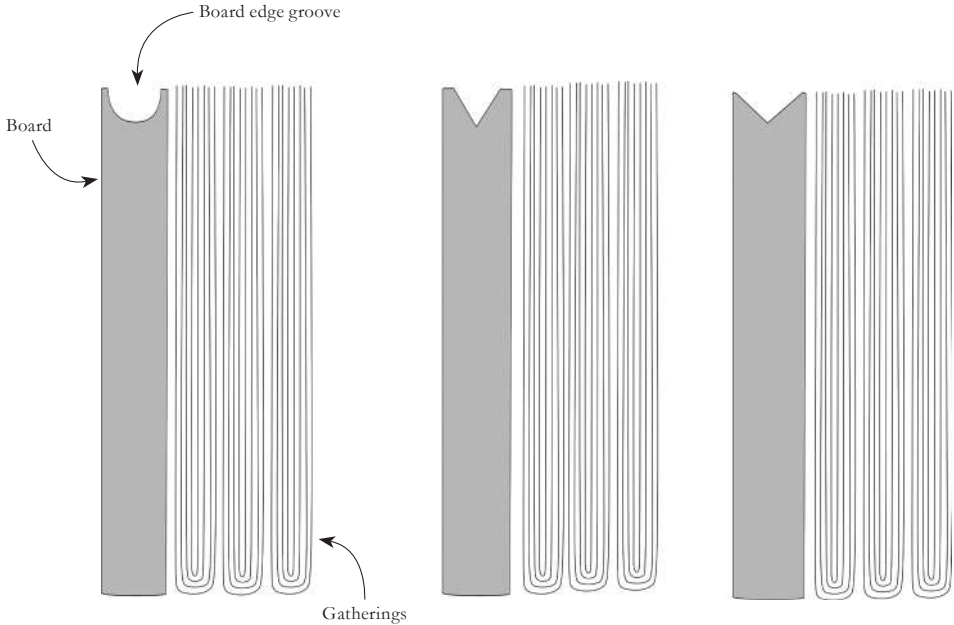


Fig. 8. Cross sections of board edge grooves.

regularly replaced wooden boards with paper boards as early as the mid-sixteenth century, with some occurrences of books bound in structures other than inboard also existing.⁷⁵

It is frequent for the boards of Greek-style bindings (both in Italy and Greece) to have grooves running along their edges;⁷⁶ these grooves have varying widths, shapes (ending with a swallowtail, pointed or occasionally square shape) and extension (extended around the corners of the boards or not) (Fig. 8). It has been argued that the use of grooves running along the edge of the boards was originally a consequence of Coptic bindings using double layers of boards, which, when covered, displayed a visible thin slot between them.⁷⁷ The relationship of this technique with Greek grooved edge boards, however, is unclear.

materials. See *Arte della legatura a Brera: storie di libri e biblioteche. Secoli XV e XVI*, ed. by Federico Macchi, Cremona, Linograf, 2002, p. 118. A copy of Alexander of Aphrodisia's commentary to Aristotle's *Topica* also printed by Aldus (Oxford, BOD, Auct. 1 R 2.11) has thick paper boards. Its structure is probably unsupported. Coherently with paper boards, this bookbinding features textile ties rather than interlaced leather fastenings.

75. See Boudalis, “The Evolution of a Craft”, vol. I, pp. 341-342.

76. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, p. 86.

77. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, p. 74.

2.6. *Endbands (related terms: Cores, Primary sewing, Secondary sewing, Projecting endbands, Recessed endbands, Tie-downs, Crowning cores, Subsidiary cores)*

Greek-style endbands are very distinctive, both for their general appearance and their structures, which probably explains why they were imitated or replicated so often even in hybrid Greek-style bindings.⁷⁸ They project beyond the edges of boards (hence the reason they have also been called “raised endbands”: however, the endbands themselves are not raised, but rather sitting in their usual place, and they project in those books where the bookblocks are cut flush with the boards). Greek-style endbands are also “longer”, i.e. run along the edges of the boards, both at head and tail, for 10 to 30% of the length of the boards, and are sewn to the boards themselves (conversely, western Renaissance endbands are typically laced into the boards, which project at head and tail). Their length serves both an aesthetic and functional role, as they increase the stability of the bookblock as well as the strength of its attachment to the boards; they also prevent the book from opening at too sharp an angle.

The primary sewing is tied-down into the centrefolds of the gatherings and into the boards through holes, thus holding the core close to the edges of the boards. In genuine Greek-style bindings, the slips can be sewn to the edges of the boards because the board edges are cut flush with the bookblock. The thread of these first and last tie-downs can remain discernible under the covers on the outer side of the boards, or create an undesired thickness on the inside under the turn ins; for this reason, the most careful binders usually created channels running from the edge of the boards to the level of the holes to accommodate the thread (Pl. 3).

Greek-style endbands can have extremely complex structures, which can be an indication of expertise in Byzantine (and post-Byzantine) bookbinding techniques,⁷⁹ and which are best described using a taxonomical approach, with progressive sub-divisions to categorise types of endbands. The fundamental element of endbands are their cores, i.e. lengths of alum-tawed or tanned skin (these feature in any type of Italian-made bindings, including Greek-style), as opposed to Byzantine endband cores, which are normally made of cord (less common in Greek-style bindings made in the West);⁸⁰ Greek-style endbands can have one or two cores (usually stacked), sometimes with smaller, subsidiary cores⁸¹ such as crowning cores (Fig. 9).

78. On endbands in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine traditions, see mainly Georgios Boudalis, *On the Edge: Endbands in the Bookbinding Traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean*, Ann Arbor, The Legacy Press, 2023, which also provides a more detailed glossary of endband terminology (pp. 27-36).

79. Georgios Boudalis and Anna Gialdini, “One Binding, Two Binders? A Greek-Style Binding Made in Italy: The Case of Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, MS 11344”, *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies*, 7.2 (2022), pp. 270-292.

80. Pugliese, “Byzantine Bindings”, pp. 233-236.

81. Subsidiary cores are smaller cores laid along the main cores. Until the end of the sixteenth century, they are attached to the rest of the structure through secondary sewing (see below). See LoB, *s.v.* “Subsidiary cores” (w3id.org/lob/concept/3329).

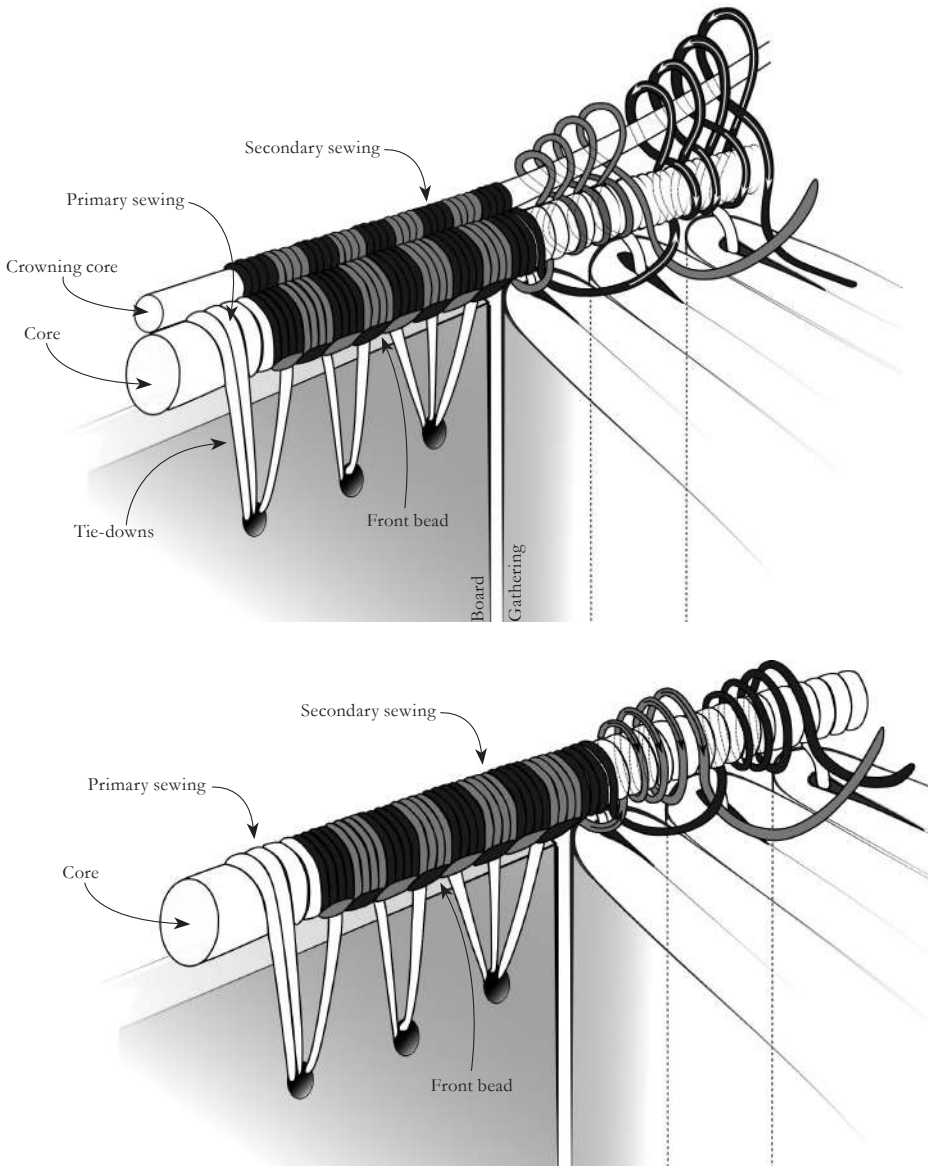


Fig. 9. Greek-style endbands with front bead, with and without crowning core.

Primary sewing is the component used to attach the endband cores to the bookblock and the boards; it is almost always natural-coloured hemp or linen thread. Secondary sewing is an optional (but very common) component with both structural and aesthetic functions. Endbands with both primary and secondary

sewing are called “compound endbands”.⁸² Secondary sewing reinforces the general structure of the endbands; it is usually carried out in silk thread, but in the West, metal thread (usually silver) can be an occasional, luxurious addition.

In Greek-style bindings made in the West, not all features of genuine Greek-style endbands are necessarily reproduced. The major concern of western binders seems to have been for the endbands to extend onto the boards in the typical “horseshoe” shape: a Greek-style endband may even be the only Greek feature in an otherwise western book, a clear indication of the conspicuousness of this feature to the eye of the contemporary observer.

One area where endbands continued to be sewn in a traditional Greek manner is Crete. The workshops that were active on the island never abandoned their predominant practice of Greek-style compound endbands constructed with a primary sewing and a secondary twined structure, similar to weaving, often with white, green and red silk.⁸³ The result is a distinctive, elaborate and markedly decorative endband with a compact patterned surface (Pl. 5a). On the other hand, post-Byzantine bindings are known to display “pluralistic tendencies” and influences from the Armenian and Islamic traditions,⁸⁴ thus showing a predisposition to embrace influences from external practices.⁸⁵

When books started being shelved standing upright in western Europe, in the second quarter of the sixteenth century,⁸⁶ projecting endbands were problematic in that they were not functional: the book’s weight is taken on the tail edge, as opposed to the medieval (both eastern and western) practice of books lying flat, which was the norm in the Middle Ages but only possible with small book collections.⁸⁷ With books bound in the Greek style, collectors had no alternative other

82. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, p. 159; LoB, *s.v.* “Compound endbands” (w3id.org/lob/concept/3621).

83. Boudalis, “The Evolution of a Craft”, vol. I, p. 244.

84. Boudalis, “The Evolution of a Craft”, vol. I, pp. 344-350.

85. On Armenian endbands, see Jenny Hille and Sylvia Merian, “The Armenian Endband: History and Technique”, *The New Bookbinder*, 31 (2011), pp. 45-60. On Islamic endbands, see Barbara Fischer, “Sewing and Endband in the Islamic Technique of Binding”, *Restaurator*, 7.4 (1986), pp. 181-201.

86. See Franca Petrucci Nardelli, *Legatura e scrittura: testi celati, messaggi velati, annunci palesi*, Florence, Olschki, 2007, p. 87; T. Kimball Brooker, “Bindings Commissioned for Francis I’s ‘Italian Library’ with Horizontal Spine Titles Dating from the Late 1530s to 1540”, *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1 (1997), pp. 33-91. Examples of spine titling around the same period also appear in the library of Angelo Colocci, who died in 1549; see Giacomo Cardinali, “Il profeta e il monsignore: quarantasette nuovi manoscritti (e tredici nuovi stampati) di Angelo Colocci nella Vaticana e alla Nazionale di Parigi”, in *Libri, scritture e testi greci: giornata di studio in ricordo di monsignor Canart (Città del Vaticano, 21 settembre 2018)*. *Atti*, ed. by Cesare Pasini and Francesco D’Aiuto, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2022, pp. 259-334: 274-276.

87. For a history of the storage of books in libraries, see Dora Thornton, *The Scholar in His Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1998, pp. 68-69, 134-140.

than laying them flat, storing them upright and crushing the tail endband, or (in France) adding “sabots” to the middle of the head and tail board edge, to level up any projection.⁸⁸ “Recessed” endbands, which occur when sections of the projecting boards are cut to accommodate the endbands (the inevitable consequence of projecting boards in hybrid Greek-style bindings), were an adaptive transformation that avoided storage issues.

2.7. Coverings (related terms: Gold tooling, Silver tooling, Blind tooling)

In finished Greek-style bindings made in Italy, boards are rarely left uncovered or undecorated.⁸⁹ Very occasional exceptions exist: Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana, D. 10.2.7 (the 1525 Giunta edition of Aristotle), which has a genuine Greek structure, seems to have been left uncovered after the spine lining was pasted onto the boards and spine and the endbands were completed;⁹⁰ Salamanca, Biblioteca General Histórica, Salm. Inc. 209, which belonged to Hernán Núñez de Guzmán, similarly lacks any coverings (Pl. 5b).⁹¹

The material used to cover Greek-style bindings is consistently tanned skin (i.e. leather), a common covering across the Mediterranean. In Italy, binders preferred goatskin for these bindings, at least for those patrons who could afford it.⁹² For those who could not, sheepskin was an option,⁹³ a material whose inferior quality showed over time by splitting off of the grain layer. In well-preserved specimens, the difference between the two materials is not always visible to the naked eye. Calfskin was also used. The colours used for the coverings vary from dark tones (black, dark brown) to all ranges of brown and red. The bindings made for Johann Jakob Fugger are consistently covered in red tanned leather for Greek manuscripts and green for Hebrew manuscripts.⁹⁴

In the Byzantine practice, decoration usually consisted of blind tooling, with no gold leaf.⁹⁵ Gold tooling was not introduced in Greek-speaking areas until late: at Mount Athos, for instance, there is no attested use of tooling in either gold or sil-

88. Laffitte and Le Bars, *Reliures royales*, p. 238.

89. On covers of Greek-style bindings, see Federici and Houlis, *Legature bizantine vaticane*, pp. 35-40.

90. Boudalis and Gialdini, “One Binding, Two Binders?”, pp. 277-278.

91. See also p. 123.

92. Venice imported leathers from Constantinople and the rest of the Ottoman world. Anna Contadini, “Cuoridorò: tecnica e decorazione di cuoi dorati veneziani e italiani con influssi islamici”, in *Arte veneziana e arte islamica: atti del Primo simposio internazionale sull'arte veneziana e l'arte islamica*, ed. by Ernst J. Grube, Venice, L'Altra Riva, 1989, pp. 231-251.

93. Foot, *Bookbinders at Work*, p. 61.

94. Kerstin Hajdú, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*. Bd. 10, 1. *Die Sammlung griechischer Handschriften in der Münchener Hofbibliothek bis zum Jahr 1803*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2002, p. 53.

95. See Federici and Houlis, *Legature bizantine vaticane*, p. 41.

ver before the seventeenth century.⁹⁶ The tools, worked in blind on the covers, are often organised into patterns delineated by frames created by fillets. The designs show a great variety of styles, from vegetal motives to zoomorphic. The concentric frames are decorated with repeated small tools, or with rolls, and the central frames are tooled the same way, and centrepieces are not uncommon.

Greek-style bindings made in the West adopted western motives and designs for decoration, using both blind (Pl. 6a) and gold tooling (Pl. 6b), with silver tooling being significantly less common.⁹⁷ Both practical and aesthetic reasons contribute to explain this prevalence of European models, which were both more readily available and more in tune with recent fashions. A practice unknown to medieval European book makers,⁹⁸ gold tooling was introduced from the Islamic tradition in Italy probably in the 1460s-1470s,⁹⁹ after which it became very common in European binding practices. Small tools were often used to compose larger patterns, and lettering was also a relatively common addition, usually for titling.

Colours are normally solid, but a handful of specimens covered in marbled leather exist,¹⁰⁰ such as the Aldine Lucian BNM Marc. gr. IV, 25 (=12385),¹⁰¹ and two sixteenth-century Greek books bound in Rome, whose covers are marbled in floral motifs: a manuscript of the *Acta Concilii* (BAV, Vat. Gr. 832)¹⁰² and the de Sabbio edition of John Damascenus (Verona, 1531; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, B.VI.45).¹⁰³ These bindings are also among the very few with untooled covers. One binding from a private collection,¹⁰⁴ a copy of the octavo Euripides printed by Aldus Manutius in 1503, is in what seems a genuine Greek-style binding covered in possibly marbled, but faded, hairsheep also with no tooling. The history of this book is not known, but it is possible that after being printed in Venice it circulated in Southern Italy, as its endleaves are covered in Latin words with their Spanish

96. Boudalis, “The Evolution of a Craft”, vol. I, pp. 354-356.

97. Silver tooling was used by the Cardinals’ Shop in Rome; see Anthony Hobson, “Two Early Sixteenth-Century Binder’s Shops in Rome”, in *De Libris Compactis Miscellanea*, ed. by Georges Colin, Aubel – Brussels, Mason – Bibliotheca Wittrockiana, 1984, pp. 79-98: 96, and the case of Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, Inc. F. 12 presented further on.

98. Unlike gold paint, which was used in Europe as early as the seventh or eighth century; see Mirjam M. Foot, *The History of Bookbinding as a Mirror of Society*, London, The British Library, 1998, p. 12.

99. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, pp. 33-59; Stefano Zamponi, “Una precoce attestazione dell’oro nella legatura occidentale”, *Quinio*, 1 (1999), pp. 193-214.

100. At least one French example also exists, i.e. Paris, BNF, Par. gr. 990, a Byzantine manuscript rebound in France for Henry II; see Laffitte and Le Bars, *Reliures royales*, p. 99.

101. Mazzucco, “Legature rinascimentali”, pp. 160-161.

102. Anthony Hobson, *Apollo and Pegasus: An Enquiry into the Formation and Dispersal of a Renaissance Library*, Amsterdam, Van Heusden, 1975; *Legature papali da Eugenio IV a Paolo VI: catalogo della mostra*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1977, p. 61.

103. Macchi and Macchi, *Atlante della legatura italiana*, p. 130.

104. I wish to express my gratitude to the collector (who wishes to remain anonymous) and to Sabrina Minuzzi, who pointed out the binding to me.

translations, and a later price annotation is in carlini, a Neapolitan currency. These are examples of an early use of marbled leather, which would only become common in Europe in the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁵

Coats of arms, which were a foreign element to Greek-style bindings made in Greece, sometimes found their way onto those made in Italy; many remained blank, but on occasion, they were accompanied by initials, such as the “F B” beside a defaced coat of arms on a book in a 2014 Christie’s sale.¹⁰⁶

Plaquettes appear occasionally on Italian-made Greek-style bindings, but not on Byzantine and post-Byzantine bindings. The techniques by which plaquettes were made are not known in detail, but it seems that impressions were transferred from medals onto pieces of leather, which were then fixed into circular recesses on book boards.¹⁰⁷ They seem to be more frequent in Florence than anywhere else; the aim was to emphasise their antiquarian nature: many plaquettes are busts of Alexander the Great (who enjoyed huge popularity in Renaissance iconography as *exemplum virtutum* for the ruling classes)¹⁰⁸ or of Roman emperors.¹⁰⁹ In at least one case (the detached binding of Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, C. I. 13), a plaquette shows a family shield.¹¹⁰

Covers are also frequently the area of a book carrying indications of its contents. As mentioned above, in medieval Europe books were often laid flat on shelves or lecterns or kept in chests and cupboards,¹¹¹ often lying on their left board, at least in Italy.¹¹² The title was therefore best placed on the covers, either on a piece of parchment or paper or in a metal or ivory compartment in the same place. When books started being shelved standing upright, titles frequently appeared on the fore-edge, which was positioned outward,¹¹³ in the sixteenth century, books pro-

105. Macchi and Macchi, *Dizionario illustrato della legatura*, p. 326.

106. Christie’s, *The Boeder Library: Fine Books from the Collection of the Late Professor Heribert Boeder* (Sale no. 10266, London, 17 June 2014), pp. 55-56. For a similar example (Poppi, Biblioteca Comunale Rilliana, Inc. 124, which bears the initials “V Q” tooled on the covers and belonged to Vincenzo Querini), see Piero Scapecchi, “Tommaso Giustiniani e Vincenzo Quirini: un incunabolo aldino. Contributo alla ricostruzione della biblioteca di Giustiniani”, in *Aldo Manuzio tipografo, 1494-1515*, ed. by Luciana Bigliuzzi *et al.*, Florence, Franco Contini Editore, 1994, pp. 197-199: 197.

107. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, pp. 91-146.

108. Claudia Daniotti, *Reinventing Alexander: Myth, Legend, History in Renaissance Italian Art*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2022.

109. See Federico Macchi, “Le legature rinascimentali italiane ‘a placchetta’ della Biblioteca Queriniana”, *Misinta*, 28 (2006), pp. 3-12.

110. The binding is described and reproduced in Philippe Hoffmann, “Un mystérieux collaborateur d’Alde Manuce: *l’Anonymus Harvardianus*”, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Moyen Âge-Temps Modernes*, 97.1 (1985), pp. 45-143: 85-89.

111. On shelving, see Foot, “Some Changes”, p. 235.

112. Petrucci Nardelli, *Legatura e scrittura*, pp. 86-87.

113. This had the advantage that it allowed easy grasping as the hand would easily find the fastenings.

gressively started being stored with their spines outward, and spines slowly started accommodating titles.¹¹⁴

2.8. *Book edges (related terms: Edge decoration)*

Book edge decoration was relatively common in Italian-made Greek-style bookbindings. It was achieved by placing the bookblock in a wooden press so that the edges offered a uniform and compact surface and colours did not penetrate into the bookblock itself.

Solid colours, usually obtained by applying a wash, are frequently found on the edges of many bindings made in Italy in the early modern era, in a continuation of medieval practices.¹¹⁵ This technique was sometimes adopted for Greek-style bindings, which had their edges coloured in different shades: blue (some bindings made for Daniele Barbaro discussed below),¹¹⁶ black (the already mentioned Trivulziana *Psalterion*, Braid. AO.XII.71; perhaps painted as a sign of mourning), or red (a copy of the *Anthologia Graeca* printed in Florence, Oxford, All Souls College Library, Great Lib. Gallery b.10.5). A Marciana Library Aldine (Ald. 113) has “parti-coloured” edges in green and red.¹¹⁷

Painting in patterns also existed, made in imitation of techniques traditional to Crete, where concentric shapes and interlaces in red, white, brown and black were often created, especially in the *milieu* of the Apostolis scribal workshop (Pl. 7a).¹¹⁸ The same patterns also appear on the edges of the Greek-style binding in Italian-made Greek-style bindings, such as in a Homer (1504) at the Biblioteca Bertoliana in Vicenza (G. 4.5.13),¹¹⁹ or in an *Anthologia Graeca* (1503) with added handwritten epigrams, now BNM, Marc. gr. IX, 40 (=1288): this may be an indication that, at least in some cases, Greek-style bindings came to Italy by way of Crete. Aside from Cretan manuscripts, most Greek manuscripts have undecorated edges, a circumstance that gave western binders the freedom to be creative with their choice of decoration, which then followed local tastes: Bologna, Biblioteca Univer-

114. See above, p. 49.

115. Mirjam M. Foot, “Medieval Painted Book Edges”, in Roger Powell, *The Compleat Binder: Liber Amicorum*, ed. by John L. Sharpe, Turnhout, Brepols, 1996, pp. 260-267.

116. See Silvia Pugliese, “Le legature ‘Barbaro’”, in *Daniele Barbaro (1514-70): letteratura, scienza e arti nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, ed. by Laura Moretti and Susy Marcon, Crocetta del Montello, Antiga, 2015, pp. 85-92; below, pp. 100-103.

117. LoB, s.n. “Parti-coloured” (w3id.org/lob/concept/4936).

118. On edge decoration in Crete, see Rudolf Stefec, “Zur Schnittdekoration Kretischer Handschriften”, in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae XIX*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2012, pp. 501-533; Rudolf Stefec, “Weitere Beispiele Kretischer Schnittdekoration”, *Codices Manuscripti & Impressi*, 89-90 (2013), pp. 39-54.

119. De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, vol. III, p. 39 no. 2705; *Parole legate: artigianato d'arte nelle legature dei fondi storici della Biblioteca Bertoliana*, Vicenza, Terra ferma, 2007, p. 56.

sitaria, A.V.X.XVI.11 (attributed to “Achille Bocchi’s Second Binder”) features a particularly elegant, and non-Greek, example¹²⁰ (Pl. 7b).

Gilt book edges were more common in Italy, though they required a greater expense. Gold leaf was applied on the edges, sometimes directly onto the paper itself, but more frequently on a red-coloured ground (often Armenian bole, sometimes faintly visible) which gave the gold additional depth.

Finally, gauffering (which was created by working the edges with tools similar to those used to decorate leather) is also found, almost always in association with gilt edges (Pl. 7c).

2.9. *Fastenings (related terms: Double interlaced fastenings, Triple interlaced fastenings, Pin clasps)*

Fastenings originally came into use because changes in humidity and temperature caused the parchment leaves of the bookblock to distort. Parchment is particularly sensitive to variations in environmental conditions; when the standard support for books gradually changed from parchment to paper, the need for fastenings was not quite as strong as before, and their use in bindings slowly declined, but did not stop altogether:¹²¹ once again, showing that functionality and aesthetics interact in complex ways, and components can continue to have an appeal even after they cease to have a practical function.

The fastenings of Greek-style bindings are another distinctive feature of the craft, and were consistently employed in both genuine and hybrid bindings made in Italy, with few exceptions (Pl. 7d).¹²² Greek-style fastenings were created with thin pieces of leather (usually the same material used for the covering) folded in half end to end, then cut into three (or less frequently, two) long strips for almost their full length, saving only the part closest to the fold. At the fold, a pin clasp (a metal fitting usually composed of a slot and a ring) is kept in place by running the leather strap into the slot, while the ring hooks onto a pin inserted into the edge of the opposite board. Both metal parts are commonly made of copper or silver alloy (Fig. 10).¹²³

Each of the three (or two) strips of the fastening was then pricked with an awl or knife at regular, short distances; the two parts of each pair of strips were interlaced to obtain a triple (or double) strap of a length greater than the thickness of the book, to allow for the attachment to the board. Groups of three (or two) holes were drilled into the right board, one single hole for each part of the strap (Fig. 1). In

120. See *Legature bolognesi del Rinascimento*, ed. by Anthony Hobson and Leonardo Quaquarelli, Bologna, CLUEB, 1998, pp. 14, 65; Federico Macchi, “Una legatura bizantina alla Biblioteca Queriniiana”, *Misinta*, 36 (2011), pp. 29-38: 34-35. See the entry for this binding in the *BUB – Legature storiche* database, as well.

121. Eike Barbara Durrfeld, “Terra Incognita: Toward a Historiography of Book Fastenings and Book Furniture”, *Book History*, 3.1 (2000), pp. 305-313.

122. Such as Venice, BNM, Marc. it. I, 69 (=4975).

123. See Federici and Houllis, *Legature bizantine vaticane*, pp. 36-40.

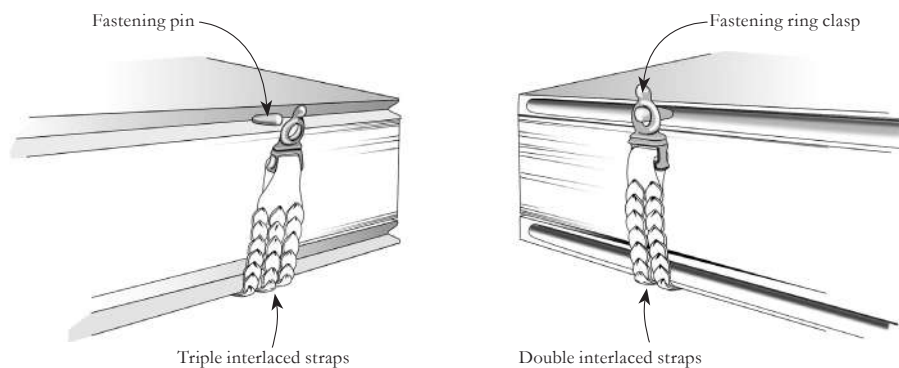


Fig. 10. Triple and double interlaced fastenings.

Italy, the loose parts of the fastenings on the inside of the boards could sometimes be pared to reduce thickness, or recesses could be made into the inner face of the board to accommodate them, as for instance in a copy of the Aldine edition of the *Greek Oratores* (1513) that belonged to Prospero Podiani, founder of the Biblioteca Augusta in Perugia, and which is now at Columbia University Library, New York (LODGE 1513 Or1 v.1-3) or in that of Biblioteca Corsiniana, 43. D. 32 (Pl. 3). Sometimes the loose parts of the fastenings are covered by the turn-ins, which can be pared or slotted to reduce thickness. If the ends of the straps lie on top of the pastedowns, they will most likely be replacements or additions. Most commonly, Greek-style fastenings present themselves in twos (both on the fore-edge) and fours (two on the fore-edge and one each on the head and tail edges).

Interlaced fastenings on Greek-style bindings made in East and West are structurally identical, but with minor differences in their placement: the standard attachment of Greek-style fastenings is on the right board, reaching onto pins on the left board. This is the opposite direction to the fastenings used in the majority of Italy starting from the fourteenth century;¹²⁴ therefore, those few Greek-style fastenings that reach from the left board onto the right can betray an Italian production.¹²⁵ Fastenings following the western tradition (leather straps, textiles ties) can also be found.

124. Di Febo *et al.*, *Legature bizantine vaticane e marciane*, p. 49.

125. Conversely, the absence of this feature does not mean a binding was not made in Italy: in fact, only about 1 in 20 Italian-made Greek-style bindings feature fastenings that reach from the left board onto the right.

2. Making books Greek: Greek materiality and alterity

Despite the heterogeneous nature of Greek-style bindings, trends can be recognised over time: from hybrid in the mid-fifteenth century, to genuine at the turn of the century, enjoying great popularity for the first three quarters of the sixteenth century, finally shifting to a quickly dwindling production after the 1570s.

The mobility of binders and that of the books themselves, the agency of collectors, and economic considerations come to the fore as crucial; the early modern book should always be considered as a product within a market, although it was a very particular type of product. In the case of Greek-style bindings, the same factors played out in the time of great transformative forces such as the rebirth of Greek culture in Europe, the agitation of western powers facing the fall of Byzantium, the Greek diaspora that brought many Byzantine scholars to Italy, and the spread of printing.

The earliest examples in the style are particularly revealing. These bindings are, statistically, outliers, but the specific features that set them apart help frame the phenomenon as a whole.

The first Greek-style bindings made in Italy were most likely Florentine. This is supported by both documentary (as we will see in the next chapter) and material evidence.¹ Three manuscripts now at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence, Firestone Library (Princeton University Library), and Beinecke Library (Yale University) exemplify the kind of manuscript that was bound in this style in fifteenth-century Tuscany. Biblioteca Laurenziana, Strozzi 100 is a fifteenth-century copy of Carlo Marsuppini's translation of Homeric texts;² Firestone Library, MS. 30 is a copy of Horace's works, possibly copied in Siena, dated 1455 in its subscription;³

1. Pickwood, "How Greek", p. 179.

2. De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, vol. III, p. 36 no. 2665; *Poggio Bracciolini nel VI centenario della nascita: mostra di codici e documenti fiorentini, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze, ottobre 1980-gennaio 1981*, ed. by Riccardo Fubini and Stefano Caroti, Florence, The Library, 1980, p. 46 no. 76.

3. Don C. Skemer, *Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library*, 2 vols., Princeton, Department of Art and Archaeology – Princeton University Library – Princeton University Press, 2013, pp. 203-204.

Beinecke Library’s Marston MS 38 is a Latin translation of Diogenes Laertius by Ambrogio Traversari from around the same time. All three were most likely copied by different hands, but on the same fine-quality parchment. The decoration is consistently luxurious (although the quality varies); Marston MS 38 has been attributed to the “Master of the Riccardiana Lactantius”, active in the 1450s and early 1460s (Pl. 9a, 9b, 9c).⁴ At this point, the style of binding was clearly associated with the finest materials money could buy and with the use of decorative apparatuses. There is ground to suggest that these three beautiful upmarket manuscripts could have been bound in the same workshop. The tools on the three bindings (Pl. 10a, 10b, 11) as well as on that of the Riccardiana Lactantius (MS. 544), all of them knotwork and concentric circles, are in a style very popular in Florence at the time (and may even match in part);⁵ the Laurenziana and the Firestone Library manuscripts share single-core compound endbands with secondary sewing in green and pink silk (which is quite common in Italy) and subsidiary cores (which is much less so).

More notably, the texts of the Laurenziana, Princeton, and Yale manuscripts are in Latin (two are translations of Greek texts), a further sign that the style was less closely and firmly associated with Greekness at this stage. One other translation in a Greek-style binding exists: an early-sixteenth century manuscript of Pseudo-Aristotle’s *Secreta Secretorum* translated by Leonardo Bruni (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 42-1950);⁶ and so do Latin classics, such as the Aldine Martial (1501) included in a Christie’s sale in 2001.⁷ All five books have hybrid Greek-style structures.

The prevalence of hybridism in fifteenth-century Greek-style bindings is not limited to books in Latin: many Greek texts were also bound this way, in the Republic of Venice as well as in Florence. A few examples: one fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Epistles of Phalaris* (BA, Ambr. L 33 sup.)⁸ makes no attempt to hide

4. Barbara Shaylor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*. Volume 3, *Marston Manuscripts*, Binghamton, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992, p. 66. The Riccardiana Lactantius in question is MS. 544, in a binding too extensively restored to compare it to the group considered here, but where the same decorative language is employed; see *Legature riccardiane: al primo sguardo*, ed. by Rosanna Miriello, Florence, Edizioni Polistampa, 2008, pp. 198-199 no. 81, and the entry in the *Legature LAB* database of the Biblioteca Riccardiana. On the “Master of the Riccardiana Lactantius”, see Angela Dillon Bussi, “Indagine diretta ad accordare il Maestro del Lattanzio Riccardiano e Mariano del Buono”, *Rara volumina*, 1-2 (2009), pp. 5-15.

5. Identification such as this is difficult to achieve in bindings held at different institutions as it would require rubbings of the tooling, which very few libraries allow for conservation reasons.

6. Pickwood, “How Greek”, p. 183.

7. Christie’s, *Libri, autografi e stampe* (Sale 2397, Rome, 14 June 2001).

8. On the manuscript itself, see most recently Stefano Martinelli Tempesta, “Per un repertorio dei copisti greci in Ambrosiana”, in *Miscellanea Graecolatina I*, Rome – Milan, Bulzoni, 2013, pp. 101-153: 139; Davide Muratore, *Le Epistole di Falaride: catalogo dei manoscritti*, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2006, pp. 75-76.

its hybrid traits. Most of the books bound for the library of Gioacchino Torriano (a case study explored further on) were bound in hybrid Greek-style bindings in Venice before his death in 1500. So were several copies of the *Anthologia Graeca* printed by Lorenzo di Alopa in Florence in 1494, such as BL, I.B.28002 and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Inc. 2989. This copy was lavishly decorated; the antiquarianism of its owner (the physician Matteo Battiferri) is evident in how the word “impresum” (“printed”) was erased from the colophon of the book, and replaced with “scriptum” (“copied”).⁹ Hybrid Greek-style bindings are also on manuscripts now in Florence, but bound in the Venetian Republic, such as Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ricc. 34, a Sophocles copied by Zacharias Kalliergis (active as early as 1473),¹⁰ and Ricc. 52, copied by the scribe John Scutariotes (active until the 1490s),¹¹ containing Homer’s *Hymns*.¹²

The material hybridism of these books is unapologetic: their supported structures are not disguised in any way. The process is one of addition of Greek elements (for instance of grooves on the edges, of length in the endbands) to otherwise fully Italian bindings, rather than of modification.

What was even the point of having a fully Italian binding, with just a touch of Greek? Many collecting practices of the early modern era included the collecting of hybrid, or foreign but otherwise domesticated, objects. The presence of “unusual” features on the books coming from the former Byzantine Empire was certainly evident to both those who made and (at least to some degree) to those who consumed books in early modern Italy. That these characteristics, which embodied the “foreignness” of these books, were not always or not comprehensively reproduced, tells us something about the way their value was negotiated: it was more important for a book to appear partially, or generically Greek, than it was to fully mimic the techniques that made it so. It is no wonder that bibliophiles may have appreciated the appearance of the books and their ability to act as cultural code, more than the technical “know-how” behind it, but what about binders?

We can ask ourselves whether binders did not understand Greek techniques, or did, but mistrusted them (especially when it came to renouncing the use of sewing supports), or simply followed their own habits and practices. However, it may not be possible to fully answer the question: almost certainly, a full range of attitudes and approaches must have led to different results over time.

9. On Matteo Battiferri, see Paola Zambelli, “Battiferri, Matteo”, in *DBI*, 7 (1970).

10. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, p. 67; *Legature riccardiane*, pp. 48-49.

11. On John Scutariotes, see Stefano Martinelli Tempesta, “Il codice Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana B 75 sup. (gr. 104) e l’evoluzione della scrittura di Giovanni Scutariota”, in *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting*, ed. by Antonio Bravo García and Inmaculada Pérez Martín, Turnhout, Brepols, 2010, pp. 171-186.

12. *Legature riccardiane*, pp. 56-57.

Something to consider is that the history of bookbinding, like that of many other arts, is not foreign to skeuomorphic dynamics. Skeuomorphism (a word first coined by Henry Colley March in 1889) is a phenomenon by which designs replicate, for ornamental purposes, attributes in objects long after they cease to be functional: in computer science, a typical example are icons in user interfaces. Byzantine bookbinding techniques present several examples of skeuomorphs, such as the grooving on board edges they may have inherited from the earlier binding traditions. A key concept highlighted by March was expectation: we expect a clock, a camera, a save button, to look a certain way, so these objects retain ornamental designs that are functionally obsolete, yet familiar. But skeuomorphism is not the only factor in the making of Greek-style bindings in western Europe.

We do know that when “foreign” objects reached the Italian market, they did not always travel with the knowledge of their functions (or names, or history) attached to them;¹³ in the case of Greek-style bookbindings, some information must have been intuitive to the binders who recreated these objects (that overall spine lining and Greek-style endbands would improve the durability of the book structure, for instance). The origin of other features must have been lost on them – but then again, it must have been the same for the Greek binders who had been using them for hundreds of years. It is not realistic, for instance, to think that Greek binders could have known why they grooved board edges; it must have been aesthetically pleasing, or an established practice. The western book makers who were asked to make bindings “in the Greek manner” could not have known any better. Similarly, neither Greek, nor western binders could have been expected to know that until the early Middle Ages, *codices* were probably bound in unsupported structures as a standard; unsupported Byzantine books must have looked like a novelty (and welcomed or rejected as such) or even a long-lost ancient practice, rather than a tradition once present locally and making a new appearance in the western European book world. That materiality travelled without an explanation of why objects looked the way they did partially explains the hybridism that Italian-made Greek-style bindings display.

The hybridism of these bindings, however, goes beyond the joint use of the Italian and Greek. If some features were taken from the Byzantine world, almost certainly with no knowledge of how they came to be and no way to deduce it from the object itself (grooved edges), and some traditions were kept from the Italian tradition (frequent use of projecting boards, colours and patterns of endband-making, and decorative patterns), the standard of what a Greek-style binding made in

13. Federica Gigante, “Trading Islamic Artworks in 17th-Century Italy: The Case of the Cospi Museum”, in *The Mercantile Effect on Art and Exchange in the Islamicate World during the 17th-18th Centuries*, ed. by Sussan Babaie and Melanie Gibson, London, Gingko, 2017, pp. 75-85.

Italy was to look like also included Islamic practices, introduced over the course of the fifteenth century in Italy. This is the case of the use of gold and perhaps also of knotwork tools mentioned above. Gold was as foreign to Byzantine bookbinding as it was to Italian bookbinding up to the fifteenth century; Islamic knotwork designs came by way of Spain; both were popular in Italian-made Greek-style bindings (but were frequently used with other styles of binding, as well).¹⁴

It can be easily understood how the use of gold leaf in bookbinding could signify, both materially and semiotically, luxury. Gold leaf was expensive; its use (for tooling or on book edges), conspicuous. In art collecting, owning the exotic and the foreign can signify access to what is rare and to worldliness, not necessarily a connection to a specific culture. Here, the mixture of Greek and Islamic characteristics, often applied together on top of western structures, is an indication of such access – being “in the know”, and having the economic resources to prove it – rather than of specific meanings attached to cultural practices.

The fifteenth-century imitation of Islamic features is even more hybrid, more cosmetic, in a way, than that of the Greek: we could say that it followed opposite paths, because decoration was replicated, but not structure. The structural characteristics of the Islamic tradition vary greatly, but in the fifteenth century, they consistently made use of paper boards,¹⁵ lack of sewing supports, distinctive endbands, and flat spines.¹⁶ None of these were replicated in the West: instead, typical Islamic designs and materials of decoration, i.e. arabesque/filigree designs, gold-tooling, and layouts with a centrepiece and corners rather than small tools all over, caught on at remarkable speed in Europe,¹⁷ at times (but not always) in association with Greek characteristics. Gold tooling became ubiquitous by the seventeenth century. Arabesque tools became very popular in France in particular.

Entire cover layouts could also be mimicked. One example of this is a binding decorated in an imitative Islamic style (with no Greek features) now in Brescia, Bib-

14. On knotwork and roundels in Islamic bookbinding designs, see most recently Nuria de Castilla and François Déroche, “About a Series of Late Medieval Moroccan Bindings”, in *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects, Methods, and Concepts*, ed. by Jörg B. Quenzer, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter, 2021, pp. 405-422.

15. Paper boards were overwhelmingly the material employed for boards in the early modern Islamic tradition; they had started replacing wooden boards in the tenth century. See Alison Ohta, “Binding Relationships: Mamluk, Ottoman and Renaissance Book-Bindings”, in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, ed. by Anna Contadini and Claire Norton, Burlington, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 221-230: 221.

16. Similarly to the spines of genuine Greek-style bindings, the spines of Islamic bindings lack the ridges deriving from the use of sewing supports; unlike them, however, they are not round, but flat.

17. On the influence of Islamic bookbinding on European production, see mainly Anthony Hobson, “Islamic Influence on Venetian Renaissance Bookbinding”, in *Arte veneziana e arte islamica: atti del Primo simposio internazionale sull'arte veneziana e l'arte islamica*, ed. by Ernst J. Grube, Venice, L'Altra Riva, 1989, pp. 111-123; Ohta, “Binding Relationships”.

lioteca Queriniana, Ms. A VI 21, a beautiful copy of Thomas Aquinas’s *De virtutibus*, was bound in north-eastern Italy¹⁸ in a very structurally Italian supported structure, with luxuriously gold-tooled covers to complement other expensive features such as illumination and the parchment support on which the text was copied. The large design on the covers depicts a pomegranate in its fruit-setting phase growing on a thorny branch, obtained by the impression of small tools; the outer frame is tooled, once again, with circles and knotwork. Text and illumination are unequivocally Italian, with no concessions to other traditions and no textual or artistic connections to Islamic traditions. Although restored, the binding clearly displays seven double, raised sewing supports (a high number for the size of the book, which indicates that no expense was spared, but also that the binder was probably not aware that Islamic bindings almost always have unsupported structures); projecting wooden boards (a material not regularly employed in Islamic bindings), covered in a beautiful piece of brown tanned skin.¹⁹ The disconnect between text and the decoration of the binding, and the hybridism of the latter, indicate that by the time the fourteenth-century book was rebound, at the end of the fifteenth century (after leaving the possession of its owner, the monastery of San Domenico in Brescia, perhaps),²⁰ the focus was on giving the handsome parchment manuscript and its illuminated decoration a suitable covering – but only in terms of the kind of luxury that Islamic book arts afforded.²¹

Over time, and definitely by the turn of the century, exoticness slowly seems to morph into Greekness as the prevailing trend, at the same time as the Florentine production of these bindings dwindled, overtaken by Venetian workshops, and as the binding of Latin texts in the style also became less common. Already in the 1480s, techniques were introduced to hide the presence of sewing supports and make spines appear smooth. One generation later, bindings did not just *look* more Greek, they *were*, materially, more Greek, as Byzantine elements were implemented. Hybrid bindings did not stop being produced, but more and more bindings started being sewn with thread only, their boards usually attached through bridling. Bookblocks cut flush with the boards and projecting endbands also became the norm. There are multiple and complex reasons for this shift, which probably match the factors that made Venice a hotspot for Greek studies in the same period: the growth in Greek immigration, increase in knowledge of

18. Federico Macchi, “Le legature di pregio della Biblioteca Queriniana: prime valutazioni?”, *Misinta*, 24 (2004), 3-12: 6.

19. On Islamic bookbinding structures, see Scheper, *The Technique of Islamic Bookbinding*.

20. The monastery’s ownership is attested through an inscription on fol. 402v. See *Manoscritti della Biblioteca Queriniana*, 1, *Sec. V-XIV*, ed. by Ennio Ferraglio, Roccafranca, Compagnia della stampa, 2010, p. 51.

21. Michael Snodin and Maurice Howard, *Ornament: A Social History since 1450*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1996, pp. 192-198.

Greek letters, the market for Greek printing and books in general, the Republic's close relationship with its domains Crete, Cyprus, and Corfu, all contributed to Venice having a high degree of physical, commercial, and cultural proximity to Byzantium, to the point it could be considered "not [...] a cultural other but rather an extension of the familiar";²² and yet, Venetians were highly aware of their *stato da mar* territories having different languages, public institutions, religious rites²³ – and, evidently, different books.

The Venetian Republic (and most likely, although it is difficult to place binding production so precisely, especially Venice itself) became the centre of production of Greek-style bindings in western Europe, where collectors familiarised with the style, acquired their bindings directly or through agents, and also where bindings took on a more sophisticated, genuinely Greek, nature. That is not to say that these bindings were completely Greek: but rather that their hybrid traits (whether they were hidden, as it sometimes happened with sewing supports, for example, or not, as was the case for the western decoration they displayed) were better integrated into otherwise Greek structures. It is perhaps appropriate to say that their hybridism is the key through which the cultural meanings of the phenomenon can be unlocked: and luckily to some degree that hybridism is always present.

If we were to frame these processes by today's cultural theory language, we would call them cultural appropriation: the practice of reproducing the traditions of a demographic set (usually a minority) enjoying fewer social and economic privileges for one's own personal gain in terms of cultural capital, generally coming at no risk for the appropriator of being associated with any negative connotations stemming from belonging to said group, and at a considerable monetary expense.

Cultural appropriation and cultural imitation in general also highlight the importance of materiality in sociocultural processes across history and well into today's age. As anthropologists of religion have observed, for instance, to this day materiality is a fundamental aspect of devotion, with specific attention for tactile and physical components of rite and ritual objects. Timothy Carroll has described the wearing of garments as instrumental to the process of "becoming" an Orthodox Christian: textiles "facilitat[e] the production of sacred space".²⁴

22. Deborah Howard, "Cultural Transfer between Venice and the Ottomans in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe. 4, Forging European Identities, 1400-1700*, ed. by Herman Roodenburg, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 138-177: 138.

23. Benjamin Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern Period", in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. by Eric Dursteler, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2013, pp. 125-253: 127-128.

24. Timothy Carroll, *Orthodox Christian Material Culture: Of People and Things in the Making of Heaven*, London, Routledge, 2018, p. 161.

In early modern cross-cultural relationships, materiality could also be key in determining one’s belonging to a certain ethnic or social group, and to granting access or insight into a specific cultural context: dress was a tool of identification, as we have seen,²⁵ which is part of the reason why costume books had such a fascination for early modern audiences.²⁶ Richard Calis has noted Martin Crusius’s interest in the “materiality of proof” in his ethnographic studies of Ottoman Greece – both individuals and written artifacts were made “authoritative” by material features.²⁷ Material culture (and especially dress) possessed the ability to represent and embody the identity of a nation (in the medieval and early modern sense), or even its character.²⁸ Materiality both reflected and shaped the discourse on cultural identities on a societal level.

What is peculiar about Greek-style bindings in western Europe is not so much the use of material culture for self-fashioning or the fact that the bodies being dressed were those of books: books were ideal receptacles of “dress”, which they needed for protection and usability anyway. Rather, it is the fact that while a relatively high number of Italian and western European individuals seem to have embraced the style, evidence shows that a very small number of Greek book owners ever cared to have these bindings made for themselves.²⁹

25. See p. 30.

26. Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2005; Ulrika Rublack, *Dressing up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011.

27. Richard Calis, “Reconstructing the Ottoman Greek World: Early Modern Ethnography in the Household of Martin Crusius”, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 72.1 (2019), pp. 148-193.

28. Frederick G. Crofts, “Visualizing Germanness through Costumes in the Sixteenth Century”, *The Historical Journal*, 64.5 (2021), pp. 1198-1229.

29. In addition to the cases described here, other names appear in the corpus as book owners, but these individuals probably either owned these copies before the books received their current Greek-style bindings, or after. One Ἡσύχιος Χρυσολωρᾶς, ἱερομόναχος, who lived in the fourteenth-fifteenth century (PLP 31157) owned BAV, Vat. gr. 730, which is in a (probably) sixteenth-century binding; it may also have been restored over time, as different inventories record it with different cover colours (see Choulis, “The History of the Binding and Conservation”, vol. I, pp. 174, 182; *I codici greci di Nicolò V: edizione dell’inventario del 1455 e identificazione dei manoscritti, con approfondimenti sulle vicende iniziali del Fondo Vaticano Greco della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, ed. by Antonio Manfredi and Francesca Potenza, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2022, pp. 438-441). Ioannes Mourmouris owned Munich, BSB, Cod.graec. 24, before it received a “Fuggereinband”; the same applies to Cod.graec. 222 and his early owner Demetrios Trivolis. BAV, Vat. gr. 1634 belonged to both Markos Mamounas and Georgios komes ho Korinthios, but was probably bound for a later owner (see Paul Canart, *Les Vaticani Graeci 1487-1962: notes et documents pour l’histoire d’un fonds de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque vaticane*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1979, p. 153). Evidence of Theodoros Rhentios’s ownership of BA, Ambr. C 258 inf. is inconclusive (see Anna Meschini, “Altri codici di Teodoro Rendios”, in *Studi in onore di Elpidio Mioni*, Padua, Liviana, 1982, pp. 55-66; Anna Gialdini, “Antiquarianism and Self-Fashioning in a Group of Bookbindings for Gian Vincenzo Pinelli”, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 29.1 (2017), pp. 19-31).

Janus Lascaris (1445-1534) is one of them: Par. gr. 2129 and 2779 are both in early-sixteenth-century Italian-made Greek-style bindings which were supposed to be replaced once they ended up in Henry IV of France's library (clearly, they never were).³⁰ The binder who made them used tools that were very popular at the time, making it harder to identify his production, but Anthony Hobson points out a few examples, including some Commissioni Ducali, that suggest this artisan bound books "alla latina" as well.³¹ Niccolò Leonico Tomeo (1456-1531), who had been born in Venice but whose family was from Epirus, owned BAV, Inc. I.18, a copy of the Lucianus printed by Alopa in 1496 whose tooling is consistent with a Venetian manufacture from the very early 1500s; Leonico was in Padua from 1497, and in Venice from 1504, teaching Greek.³² John Argyropoulos (1415-1487) may have also owned a manuscript in a Greek-style binding, Par. gr. 1970, which he copied himself; Tammaro De Marinis noted similarities between the design of this binding and Veronese repertoires. The book changed hands several times, making the possibility of his commission inconclusive.

Antonios Eparchos (1491-1571) seems to be the only Greek to have had a real interest in the style. A group of nine manuscripts at the Escorial library (R I 13, Σ I 15, Σ II 3, Σ II 12, T II 19, Φ II 18, Φ III 19, Y I 14, and X I 6) is the main evidence of that. The manuscripts and their bindings have been studied in depth by Teresa Martínez Manzano, who has recognised their Venetian manufacture;³³ Eparchos, who came from an aristocratic Corfiot family, has been known for a long time as a purveyor of manuscripts for the European elites,³⁴ and may have been influenced by their fashions. This is still, however, a very small group of bindings in his large library. Ultimately, the number of Greek-style bindings made for Greeks in western

30. Davide Muratore, *La biblioteca del cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi*, 2 vols., Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2009, esp. vol. I, p. 282; as Lascaris's hand appears on a pastedown, the binding must date from the time of his ownership. See Tiziano Dorandi, "Un manoscritto trascurato del I libro dell'*Anthologion* di Giovanni Stobeo: *Ambrosianus* A 183 *sup.* (76 Martini-Bassi)", *Studia graeco-arabica*, 9 (2019), pp. 47-54. On the French practice of replacing bindings, see below, pp. 66, 142.

31. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, p. 62. Throughout the text, I use the phrase "alla latina" purely in opposition with the range of terms used to identify bindings that possess at least some Greek characteristics, rather than to indicate a specific style or set of features.

32. He also owned Ambr. B 165 *sup.*, but its current binding was almost certainly made for its later owner, Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (Gialdini, "Antiquarianism and Self-Fashioning"). On Tomeo, see most recently Eleonora Gamba, "Il compleanno di un patrizio veneziano alla fine del secolo XV fra divertimento ed erudizione: la testimonianza del *De ludo talaris* di Leonico Tomeo", *Ludica: Annali di storia e civiltà del gioco*, 28 (2022), pp. 19-31.

33. Martínez Manzano, "Las encuadernaciones"; Teresa Martínez Manzano, "Criterios gráficos y extragráficos para la identificación de los manuscritos del último lote de Antonio Eparco", in *Manuscritos griegos en España y su contexto europeo / Greek Manuscripts in Spain and Their European Context*, ed. by Felipe G. Hernández Muñoz, Madrid, Dykinson, 2016, pp. 251-275.

34. M. Léon Dorez, "Antoine Eparque: recherches sur le commerce des manuscrits grecs en Italie au XVI^e siècle", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 13.1 (1893), pp. 281-364; Mondrain, "Le commerce des manuscrits grecs".

Europe does not seem to surpass about a dozen specimens – barely reaching 1% of the known corpus.³⁵

1. *Texts and editions*

Looking at which texts were bound in the Greek style in Italy can cast light on both the customer base and their tastes and cultural habits, and the trends displayed over time and place. Even when the association with Greek culture specifically in the sixteenth century, luxury as a leading characteristic of Greek-style bindings, of course, did not disappear.

Most Greek-style binding show every sign of being “first bindings”, a slippery term (the actual “first binding” of a book may well have been a temporary piece of parchment, later discarded) that can be taken to mean the first long-term binding structure the book received; however, some current bindings almost certainly replaced pre-existing structures. For instance, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 169 (Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives*) was copied in 1394; the conditions of the bookblock indicate that the current binding directly replaced the previous one. Some books also show signs of wear that derive from circulating in unbound form; one example is BA, Ambr. A 91 sup.; at the turn of the sixteenth century, before it belonged to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, this mathematical miscellany was bound for the first time, or rebound, in the Greek style by a binder who also bound at least three Aldines at the Biblioteca Marciana (Ald. 504, 505, and Marc. gr. IX, 40 (=1288)), where the same tools were used.³⁶

The French practice of removing and discarding the bindings of Byzantine manuscripts so that a more fashionable Greek-style binding could be made for them is particularly telling, as it is indicative to us of how manufactured the idea of Greek-style bindings being Greek could really be, and how important taste was as a factor:³⁷ genuine Greekness did not necessarily equate desirability in the eyes of bibliophiles. Both Byzantine and western-made Greek-style bindings could also be replaced with fully western bindings when discarded, as has been shown, for instance, for the Vatican Library.³⁸

35. Ersie Burke has highlighted a relatively low propensity for book collecting in Greek merchant households in Venice (Burke, *The Greeks of Venice*, p. 103).

36. Stefano Martinelli Tempesta, “Gli *Pneumatica* di Erone Alessandrino tra Giovanni Argiropulo e Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: a proposito dell’*Ambr. A 91 sup.*”, *Archivum mentis: studi di filologia e letteratura umanistica*, 10 (2021), pp. 263-281.

37. Anthony Hobson, “Les reliures italiennes de la bibliothèque [grecque] de François Ier”, *Revue française d’histoire du livre*, 36 (1982), pp. 409-426.

38. Konstantinos Choulis, “Conservation Treatments on the Greek Manuscripts of the *Fondo Antico* in the Vatican Library under Paul V (1605-1621)”, in *Studi in onore del Cardinale Raffaele Farina*,

Greek-style bindings made in Venice and its surroundings were typically found on new textblocks produced locally:³⁹ amongst those books in the corpus of which the place of production is known, one in five was produced in Venice. Manuscripts more commonly received Greek-style bindings than printed books in Italy, but amongst the latter, Venetian editions are prevalent.

About 15% of printed books in Greek-style bindings (made in Venice and elsewhere) are on books printed by the Aldine press (mostly from the time of Aldus the Elder), with some titles appearing more frequently than others, namely texts that were used in the teaching of Greek in the West. This does not mean that these specific copies were used in schooling; there is no indication of that. Many of them carry no annotations, for instance, and it would be hard to imagine some of the upmarket specimens in a learning environment. It seems more likely that the prevalence of some texts in teaching made them the embodiment of Greek culture, and students did in fact love collecting them.

The works of Aristotle, printed in five volumes in 1495-1498 by Aldus Manutius,⁴⁰ appear fourteen times in the corpus, mostly in Venetian bindings. The popularity of this edition across the upper social classes from students to wealthy bibliophiles is demonstrated by the diversity of their bindings: a copy of the third volume (1498) held at the Ambrosiana Library in Milan (INC. 372/1) is in a worn-out genuine Greek-style binding, covered in a piece of cheap light brown sheepskin that has fallen off in many areas, soberly tooled in blind only. It is also, however, one of the very few bindings for which double sequence sewing (the practice of starting to sew gatherings from each board and then sewing the two halves of the bookblock together) can be clearly seen,⁴¹ leaving one to wonder if the binder was Greek. It seems to have belonged to Reginald Pole (1500-1558) during his studies in Italy.⁴² The same edition is also in one of the most elegant surviving Greek-style bindings: a copy of the first volume (1495) belonging to the collector, ambassador, and historian Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-1575), currently part of the collection of the Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (54 IV 3 8). Printed on pristine parchment and illuminated, it is in a hybrid Greek-style plaque binding with raised sewing supports and a high-quality brown goatskin covering, richly tooled

ed. by Ambrogio M. Piazzoni, 2 vols., Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2013, vol. I, pp. 147-192.

39. Similar results were found by Konstantinos Choulis for Roman-made Greek-style bindings; he suggests that old Byzantine bindings might have been preserved in the Vatican Library out of respect (Choulis, "The History of the Binding and Conservation", vol. I, p. 140).

40. On this edition, see Martin Davies, *Aldus Manutius: Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice*, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 1995, pp. 20-26.

41. On this practice in western-made Greek-style bindings, see also pp. 39-40 and Pickwood, "How Greek", p. 181.

42. On this volume, see Anna Gialdini and Anne D. McLaughlin, "A Fragmented History: An Unpublished Letter to Reginald Pole in an Ambrosiana Aldine (INC. 372/1)", *La Bibliofilia*, 118.1 (2016), pp. 31-43.

in blind and gold. Its Greek-style endbands are covered with a piece of sewn brocade.⁴³ Before Diego Hurtado de Mendoza acquired it, the book had belonged to Alberto Pio III, prince of Carpi (1475-1531), dedicatee of the edition.⁴⁴ It is possible that he had subsidised the enterprise (which is believed to have sealed the success of Aldus Manutius) and that in order to encourage further patronage, Aldus could have presented this copy to his previous pupil.⁴⁵ If so, this would be a quite rare case of a printer taking a personal interest in the binding of a presentation copy in a very specific style.⁴⁶

The 1504 Aldine Homer survives in 10 Greek-style bindings. Other authors of classical Greek literature all appear consistently: seven copies each of the editions of Plato (1513), Sophocles (1502), the *Epistolae diversorum philosophorum, oratorum, rhetorum* (1499), Euripides (1503), Demosthenes (1504), plus Lucian (1503, four copies), as well as 12 copies of the *Anthologia Graeca* (1503), of which one bound with a manuscript, i.e. Marc. gr. IX, 40 (=1288).⁴⁷

In total, 147 Aldines are known to be bound in the Greek style: well over one in three printed books. No other printer figures in the corpus as frequently as Aldus Manutius and his heirs. Eleven Greek-style bindings appear on editions issued by Lorenzo di Alopa (active 1478-1500 in Florence), who printed many popular editions of Greek classics; seven Greek-style bindings are on copies of his *Anthologia Graeca* (1494), and three on his Apollonius Rhodius (1496); the remaining copy is his 1496 edition of Lucian. These seem to have circulated locally, in central Italy, for the most part. Their owners include Lorenzo de' Medici (who owned a Lucian, no longer in a Greek-style binding, held at the Gennadius

43. Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, p. 84. On Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's library and bindings, see pp. 81-82, 122-123.

44. Giovanni Orlandi, *Aldo Manuzio editore: dediche, prefazioni, note ai testi*, 2 vols., Milan, Il polifilo, 1975, pp. 5-7 no. III, 13-18 nos. VII, VIII, and IX, and 22-23 no. XIII; *The Greek Classics*, ed. by Nigel G. Wilson, Cambridge – London, Harvard University Press, 2016, pp. 10-17 no. 3, 36-53 nos. VII, VIII, and IX, 62-67 no. XII. On the significance of dedications in Aldus's editions, see Rosa Salzberg, “The Richest Man in Italy: Aldo Manuzio and the Value of Male Friendships”, in *Practices of Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Peter Sherlock and Megan Cassidy-Welch, Turnhout, Brepols, 2008, pp. 177-198: 185-186.

45. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, p. 105.

46. It has not been clearly established whether Aldus had in-house binders, or relied on specific binders regularly. The possibility has been under discussion for many years; see most recently Nicholas Pickwood, “Books Bound after What Manner You Please”, in *Aldo Manuzio: la costruzione del mito*, ed. by Mario Infelise, Venice, Marsilio, 2017, pp. 226-258; Carlo Federici and Melania Zanetti, “Le legature dei libri di Aldo”, in *Ibid.*, pp. 198-225; Mirjam M. Foot, “The Binders Who Worked for the Bookshop ‘al segno dell’ancora e dolphin’”, in *Five Centuries Later: Aldus Manutius: Culture, Typography and Philology*, ed. by Natale Vacalebri, Florence – Milan, Olschki – Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2018, pp. 95-102. I use the term *aldines* for books printed by the firm, not just by Aldus.

47. Mazzucco, “Legature rinascimentali?”, pp. 162, 232; Martinelli Tempesta, “Gli *Pneumatica*”, p. 267.

Library),⁴⁸ the physician Matteo Battiferri (*Anthologia Graeca*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Inc. 2989, mentioned above),⁴⁹ and the banker Alfano Alfani (ca. 1465-1550) (*Anthologia Graeca*, Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, Inc. 571).⁵⁰ Conversely, Aldine editions seem to have received Greek-style bindings both in their locale of production and elsewhere; a successful union of two powerful self-fashioning tools. In France, Basel and Paris editions were obvious popular recipients of Greek-style bindings, but Aldines were as well.⁵¹

There are several explanations for the high proportion of Greek-style bindings on Aldines, not disconnected from what had made them so popular in the first place. Aldus Manutius's commercial enterprise benefited from marketing at least as much as it did from the quality of its products:⁵² he offered Greek texts in a shape that made them valuable for more than just study tools. His books combined a fashionable appearance with editions by some of the best-educated scholars of the time, including Erasmus (1466-1536), Marcus Musurus (1470-1517), Demetrios Doukas (ca. 1480-ca. 1527), and John Gregoropoulos.⁵³ The adage "Festina lente" ("Make haste slowly"),⁵⁴ hinting at steady intellectual labour,⁵⁵ was part of the same self-fashioning strategy. The Neakademia (whose members were under the obligation to speak Greek)⁵⁶ also built around the Greek-inspired trope of friendship and sharing.

48. See below, p. 92.

49. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, pp. 100-103; Daniotti, *Reinventing Alexander*, p. 178.

50. De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, vol. III, p. 39 no. 2704 bis. On Alfano Alfani, see Aldo Stella, "Alfani, Alfano", in *DBI*, 2 (1960).

51. See Laffitte and Le Bars, *Reliures royales, passim*.

52. Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*.

53. See Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*. On Gregoropoulos, see Stephanos Kaklamanis, "Giovanni Gregoropulo, copista di libri greci e collaboratore di Aldo Manuzio a Venezia", in *Aldo Manuzio: la costruzione del mito*, ed. by Mario Infelise, Venice, Marsilio, 2017, pp. 105-125.

54. The *motto* (a version of which was included as part of a didactic poem on the art of bookbinding in nineteenth-century France; see Foot, *Bookbinders at Work*, 44-46) was already part of the Greek tradition ("σπεύδε βραδέως") and became popular in the Renaissance. It was included by Erasmus in his *Adagia*, reprinted by Aldus in 1508. The Aldine device of a dolphin and an anchor also hinted at the same formula. See Lamberto Donati, "Le marche tipografiche di Aldo Manuzio il Vecchio", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 40 (1974), pp. 129-132; Karine Crousaz, *Érasme et le pouvoir de l'imprimerie*, Lausanne, Antipodes, 2005, pp. 23-24; Wilson, *The Greek Classics*, p. 341.

55. For the association between slow movement, *gravitas*, and social status in early modern Venice, see Filippo de Vivo, "Walking in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Mobilizing the Early Modern City", *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 19.1 (2016) (= Shared spaces and knowledge transactions in the Italian Renaissance City), pp. 115-141: 136-138.

56. On the Neakademia see mainly Deno J. Geanakoplos, "Erasmus and the Aldine Academy of Venice: A Neglected Chapter in the Transmission of Graeco-Byzantine Learning to the West", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 3 (1960), pp. 107-134; Martin Lowry, "The 'New Academy' of Aldus Manutius: A Renaissance Dream", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 58.2 (1976), pp. 378-420; Stefano Pagliaroli, "L'Accademia Aldina", *Incontri triestini di filologia classica*, 9 (2009/2010), pp. 175-187. On friendship and sociability in early modern Europe, see Burke, "Humanism and Friendship".

Aldus Manutius embraced humanist sociability, and in turn association with him was sought after:⁵⁷ it was part of the shared code of the intellectual social networks that made up his clientele. Bookbindings fit the narrative. In 1506, the German scholar Jacob Spiegel (1483-*ca.* 1547) wrote to Aldus, lamenting that “a lazy bookbinder made such a mess of the Pontanus you gave to me, that its sight embarrasses me”; he therefore sent the book to Aldus, imploring him to take care that the “dearest” book be rebound in Venice and sent back. He concluded: “Write in your own hand that it was you who gave it to me, so that those who work with you know that you think me worthy”.⁵⁸

Aldus was also acutely aware of the importance of paratextual aspects (especially type) in the commodification of culture.⁵⁹ The books printed by Aldus were generally expensive, and the Greek books more so: some scholars felt that Greek Aldines were unreasonably priced.⁶⁰ Aldus himself addressed the issue in his prefaces, mentioning how difficult it was to obtain good texts to put into print⁶¹ and the financial effort the enterprise required,⁶² ultimately inviting readers not to spare expense.⁶³

Italian humanists are prominent characters in the history of Greek-style bindings. But if we turn our attention to Greek patrons once again, the evidence shows that few editions made *by* Greeks or *for* Greeks were bound in this style.

Two main factors indicate that an early modern book was printed specifically for a Greek clientele: texts in Modern Greek (a language that few westerners were interested in, and mainly for commercial reasons) and religious texts that adhere to the Orthodox faith;⁶⁴ the two categories often overlap. A handful of such books survive

57. See Salzberg, “The Richest Man in Italy”.

58. “Pontanus quem donasti mihi hic ab ignauo quodam ligatore adeo deformatus est, ut illum pudeat me aspicere [...]. Adiuro igitur te, per Neacademiam nostram [...], cures pulchre ligari et una cum tuis ad me litteris ferri [...]; ita enim Pontanus ille te propter factus est mihi charissimus, quo aegerrimum sit mihi carere. Scribes tum tua manu me abs te illo donatum, ut intelligant hii qui tuum agunt negotium dignitatem meam aliquid apud te ualere”. Pierre de Nolhac, *Les correspondants d’Aldus Manuce: matériaux nouveaux d’histoire littéraire*, Rome, Imprimerie Vaticane, 1888, pp. 69-70, no. 58.

59. On the physicality of Aldine octavos, see Helena K. Szépe, “The Book as Companion, the Author as Friend: Aldine Octavos Illuminated by Benedetto Bardoni”, *Word & Image*, 11.1 (1995), pp. 77-99.

60. See for instance Nigel G. Wilson, “Some Remarks on Greek Philology in the Milieu of Aldus Manutius”, in *Dotti bizantini e libri greci nell’Italia del secolo XV: atti del Convegno internazionale, Trento, 22-23 Ottobre 1990*, ed. by Mariarosa Cortesi and Enrico V. Maltese, Naples, D’Auria, 1992, pp. 29-36: 29-30.

61. Wilson, *The Greek Classics*, pp. 64-65.

62. Wilson, *The Greek Classics*, pp. 10-11, 38-39.

63. Infelise, “Aldo Manuzio: da Bassiano a Venezia”, p. 159.

64. A number of Orthodox religious texts were printed in Italy in the sixteenth century, among them *Evangelia*, *Psalteria*, *Leitourgika*, *Anthologia*, *Horologia*. This variety greatly owed to lesser control on the part of religious authorities: while the Catholic Church was close, and alert to, print-

in Greek-style bindings made in Italy: an Orthodox-rite book of hours in Greek, i.e. the *Horologion* printed by Bartolomeo Zanetti⁶⁵ in 1535, currently Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Rari L 2827,⁶⁶ is one of them. The book's owners who have left inscriptions, however, are Italian: one "Saverio Tomaso Biasio" (?) and Giovanni Agostino Cerato (the first librarian of the Biblioteca Bertoliana in Vicenza).⁶⁷ Another example is the modern Greek translation of the *Iliad* by Nikolaos Loukanou and printed by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria in 1526,⁶⁸ of which two copies in Greek-style bindings exist (BSB, ESLg/4 A.gr.a.426, and Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 73:1-66).⁶⁹ All three volumes have genuine Greek-style bindings of Italian (probably Venetian) manufacture.⁷⁰

Similarly, only two copies in Greek-style bindings can be identified of an edition that saw the involvement of many high-profile Greeks in late fifteenth-century Venice, the *Etymologicum Magnum Graecum* edited by Marcus Musurus and printed in 1499 by Zacharias Kalliergis with the financial support of Anna Notaras (daughter of the last Byzantine Megas Doux, Lukas Notaras) and Nikolaos Vlastos.⁷¹ Neither seems to have had a Greek owner: one, Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, Inc. F. 12, whose binding was decorated with gold- and silver-tooled knotwork and arabesque tools, has a trail of inscriptions placing it in Geneva in the sixteenth and seventeenth century;⁷² the other, the already-mentioned Salm. Inc. 209 (Pl. 5b), was

ing technologies in its area of interest, the same cannot be said about the Orthodox Church, whose leaders resided in Greece, while printing happened in Italy (mostly Venice) and Vienna, due to the Ottoman stance against the new technology. See Evro Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy: Printers and Publishers for the Greek World*, Venice, Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 1994, p. 131.

65. Bartolomeo Zanetti started his printing career working for the Giunta family. See Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, pp. 513-517. He was a very active scribe and worked for several patrons.

66. I would like to thank Marzia Pontone for pointing out this copy to me. The edition, which was funded by Giovanni Vincenzo Trincavelli, is quite rare; it is listed in Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, pp. 228 no. 56, 514.

67. Domenico Bortolan and Sebastiano Rumor, *La Biblioteca Bertoliana di Vicenza*, Vicenza, Tipografia S. Giuseppe, 1892, pp. 28-29, 83-89, 217.

68. Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, p. 226 no. 31, 411. On this edition, see also Calliopi Dourou, "The Longs and Shorts of an Emergent Nation: Nikolaos Loukanos's 1526 *Iliad* and the Unprosodic New Trojans", in *Receptions of Hellenism in Early Modern Europe: 15th-17th Centuries*, ed. by Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2020, pp. 260-278.

69. De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, vol. III, p. 41 no. 2739 bis (erroneously referred to as 246).

70. I would like to thank Nicholas Pickwoad for supplying information about this binding.

71. Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, p. 320. De Marinis also listed another copy of the same edition, i.e. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bywater B 6 14 as an "alla greca" binding (De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, vol. III, p. 40, no. 2726); however, all evidence of the early modern structure of the book has been obliterated when it was restored. See also I. G. Philip, *Gold-Tooled Bookbindings*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1951, pl. 2 (already in its current state).

72. Purchased by Zacharias Monet at auction on 6 January 1597 ("comparavit sibi in auctione publica"), the volume was then donated to Bénédict Turretini (1588-1631) by Abraham Monet

once again preserved through the ownership of a western scholar: this was probably the second copy of the edition to come into the possession of Hernán Núñez de Guzmán, who heavily annotated it.⁷³

Greek-style bindings also appear on three editions of religious and devotional texts printed by Giacomo Leonicini (*fl.* 1560-1584). One of these copies, now in Tübingen’s Universitätsbibliothek (Gi 288.4-OR), belonged to Martin Crusius;⁷⁴ the covers of the other two display at least one common tool: one is currently for sale at Bruce McKittrick Rare Books, the other has just been acquired by the Genadius Library in Athens (T 73.1/843). Their provenance is not known, and if they were indeed bound in the same workshop, it may have been at the request of an owner just as well as that of the printer.

Books for the Greek market in Greece can also display western-made Greek-style bindings: but if they received their bindings before being exported and coming into Greek ownership (whether in a personal or institutional collection), they tell us very little about the agency of their final users. In fact, when large quantities of books were transported, they were often unbound (as this made them significantly lighter). In other cases, as we will see further on, it must have been more convenient to export the books already bound: a number of copies of the works of Saint Basil, also an edition printed by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio at the expense of Damiano di Santa Maria in Venice in 1535, were bound in a genuine Greek style in unidentified Italian binderies; they are now part of the collections at the Saint Catherine’s monastery (Sinai) (6.3α, 7.3β, 8.3γ, 10.3ε, 11.3στ, 12.3ζ, 14.3θ, 16.3ια, 18.3ιγ, 19.3ιδ, 20.3ιε, 21.3ις, 22.3ιζ, and 23.3ιη) and at the Iviron Monastery (Mount Athos) (28, 28d, 28f, 28g, 28i, and A 28.4).⁷⁵

(“N(obili) et erudito D.D. Turretino S.S. Theol(ogiae) profess(sori) et pastori hoc antiquum volume Abrah(am) Monet(us) civis geneve(nsi)s dono dat in perpetu(um) benevolentiae symbol(um). Cal. Janu. 1630”), quoting Ovid (*Epistulae ex Ponto* III 8, ll. 23-24): “Quae quamquam misisse pudet, quia parva videntur, tu tamen haec, quaeso, consule missa boni”. The names of the two Monet are attested as *régent* (teacher) at the Académie de Genève: see E.-A. Détant, “Tableau chronologique des principaux et des régents du Collège de Genève depuis sa fondation jusqu’à la fin de l’Ancienne République”, *Bulletin de l’Institut national genevois*, 9 (1859), pp. 90-101: 95. I would like to thank Paolo Sachet and Maria-Cristina Pitassi for their assistance in identifying Bénédict Turretini as the recipient of the gift.

73. He originally owned another copy (Madrid, Real Biblioteca, I/3), now in a nineteenth-century Spanish binding. Arantxa Domingo Malvadí and Juan Signes Codoñer, “Hernán Núñez de Guzmán y el incunable 3 del *Etymologicum Magnum* de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real”, *Reales sitios*, 143 (2000), pp. 61-63; Juan Signes Codoñer, Carmen Codoñer Merino and Arantxa Domingo Malvadí, *Biblioteca y epistolario de Hernán Núñez de Guzmán (El Pinciano): una aproximación al humanismo español del siglo XVI*, Madrid, Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 2001, pp. 35, 55.

74. I would like to thank Richard Calis for pointing out the four Greek-style bindings in Tübingen and their connection with Crusius to me.

75. I would like to thank Maria Argyrou, Nicholas Pickwoad, and Georgios Boudalis for sharing their information about these bindings with me. On these and other Italian-made Greek-style bindings at Saint Catherine’s monastery library, see Georgios Boudalis, “The Interaction between

2. *Making materiality: the ethnicity of Greek book owners and bookbinders*

In material culture studies, a famous tenet has been that ideas “move around inside people”,⁷⁶ and techniques with artisans.⁷⁷ Recently, “how-to” manuals have been investigated as a textual form and come into the spotlight as a fundamental tool for the production, codification, and transmission of practical knowledge.⁷⁸

Books and their bindings, however, are particularly mobile objects,⁷⁹ capable of “speaking” for themselves; and they must have done, since no bookbinding manuals circulated in Italy at that time.⁸⁰ The presence of Greek binders in Italy has left so little evidence that we are left wondering about their agency, migration patterns, and work more in general. Bookbinders prove to be remarkably elusive in southern Europe in general, to the point where historians generally identify them by names assigned on the basis of a tool they are known to have used or a famous patron.⁸¹ The dissemination of Greek-style bookbindings thus seems to have followed neither craftsmen nor manuals in its trajectory.

That said, the evidence shows many situations to be more nuanced than a dichotomy of Greek binder versus Italian binder. It is, of course, reasonable to say that hybrid Greek-style bindings are probably the work of western binders, who for one reason or another (distrust; lack of technical knowledge; pure habit) were reluctant to abandon the practices they knew best and regularly used in their professional life. While tempting, however, the opposite (that genuine bindings were the work of ethnically Greek binders) is difficult to state. We know for a fact that western binders bound books in complete imitation of Byzantine techniques. It is also possible that some employed, or subcontracted (both were common practices) binders who knew the specific techniques.⁸² And finally, it was not uncommon for the same binder or atelier to bind books both in the “Greek style” (“*alla greca*”)

East and West as Manifested on the Bindings Preserved in the Library of the St Catherine’s Monastery in Sinai”, *Θησαυρισματα/Thesaurismata*, forthcoming.

76. John Ziman, “Ideas Move around inside People”, in *Puzzles, Problems and Enigmas: Occasional Pieces on the Human Aspects of Science*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 259-271.

77. Luca Molà, “States and Crafts: Relocating Technical Skills in Renaissance Italy”, in *The Material Renaissance: Studies in Design and Material Culture*, ed. by Michelle O’Malley and Evelyn Welch, Manchester – New York, Manchester University Press, 2007, pp. 133-153: 133; Pamela H. Smith, “Knowledge in Motion: Following Itineraries of Matter in the Early Modern World”, in *Cultures in Motion*, ed. by Daniel T. Rodgers, Bhavani Raman and Helmut Reimitz, Princeton – Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2014, pp. 109-133.

78. Smith, *From Lived Experience to the Written Word*.

79. Deborah Howard, “The Role of the Book in the Transfer of Culture between Venice and the Eastern Mediterranean”, in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, ed. by Anna Contadini and Claire Norton, Burlington, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 97-107.

80. Gialdini, “Bookbinders”.

81. Gialdini, “Bookbinders”.

82. Pickwood, “How Greek”, pp. 178-179.

and in the “Latin style” (“alla latina”), using a broader repertoire to serve as wide a market as possible.⁸³ Sometimes, apparently minor material features are a giveaway of such practices: Munich, BSB, Cod.graec. 63, an ascetical miscellany copied for Johann Jakob Fugger in 1552 by Ioannes Mourmouris and bound in Venice in a “Fuggereinband”, has boards that had been however originally prepared to accommodate laced slips from four supports and two endbands – obviously, for a western structure, showing both styles were part of the range available at this specific bindery.⁸⁴

The tooling on some covers includes titles and names of authors in Greek, but this does not necessarily indicate familiarity with the language on the part of binders, who might just as well have copied letters written onto a piece of paper.⁸⁵ Similarly, we cannot assume that directions for binding books in the correct sequence of gatherings, such as those in both Latin and Classical Greek that can be found in the second volume of the works of Aristotle printed by Aldus,⁸⁶ were meant to be read by binders, who (even if literate) may well not have been familiar with classical languages, unlike the books’ owners, who could have passed on the information.

In France, the role of Greek book professionals is perhaps easier to identify. It is known that in the 1530s, the earliest Greek-style bindings made at the court of France were produced under the supervision and guidance of Angelos Vergikios, a Cretan scribe. The bindings were genuine; it was only after he left that Greek features progressively lost ground to hybridism.⁸⁷ Conversely, the names of only two ethnic Greek binders in Italy are known: one southern Italian Greek, Giovanni Onorio da Maglie (†1563), who rebound books for Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600) in Rome, the other a Cretan, Paulos, a scribe living in Padua. Both came from areas that were very much places of cultural encounter.

Maglie is situated in the Salento, where the Greek language and religious identity survived for a long time in a multicultural context. The region also had close commercial connections with the Venetian Republic⁸⁸ and had a lively tradition in

83. See for instance Mazzucco, “Legature rinascimentali”, p. 171 and Hobson, “Two Early Sixteenth-Century Binder’s Shops”.

84. It is also possible, though less likely, that boards were prepared by carpenters before being purchased by binders.

85. Anthony Hobson has argued that the Mendoza Binder could read and write Greek, because of the iotacism in the Greek titles of several Barocciani manuscripts; Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, p. 108.

86. Ambroise Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme a Venise*, Paris, Typographie d'Ambroise Firmin-Didot, 1875, pp. 98-99.

87. Pickwood, “How Greek”; Hobson, “Humanists and Bookbinders”, pp. 184-185.

88. Nicola Lorenzo Barile, “Rethinking ‘The Two Italies’: Circulation of Goods and Merchants between Venice and the ‘Regno’ in the Late Middle Ages”, in *Comparing Two Italies: Civic Tradition, Trade Networks, Family Relationships between the Italy of Communes and the Kingdom of Sicily*, ed. by Patrizia Mainoni and Nicola Lorenzo Barile, Turnhout, Brepols, 2020, pp. 117-138.

book-making: Otranto, on the coast, was a major producer of Greek manuscripts throughout the Middle Ages, and the Greek rite was practiced in Maglie until 1577.⁸⁹ Giovanni Onorio himself copied Greek texts, but signed them in Latin.⁹⁰

Paulos (only his first name is known) was the only known bookbinder of Greek ethnicity to live in the Republic of Venice at the time of the fashion for Greek-style bindings; very scarce information about his life is available.⁹¹ The little evidence we have comes in the form of two letters⁹² he wrote to John Gregoropoulos in Venice in 1501-1503,⁹³ and of a mention of his name in two more. Paulos's colloquial Greek seems to indicate a Cretan upbringing,⁹⁴ and his activity as a scribe confirms this.⁹⁵ He also spoke Italian, as he added several lines in the language.

Paulos is also mentioned in a letter (probably *ca.* 1500) addressed to Gregoropoulos by Michael Trivolis, in which he requests a manuscript of Dioscorides copied by Paulos, "that he himself bound in Padua" ("ὅν ἐκεῖνος ἔχει εἰς τὴν Πάδουαν δεδεμένον")⁹⁶. Paulos's main professional activity was indeed as a scribe, but he must have mastered bookbinding (to what degree, it is hard to tell). It is difficult to extrapolate from a single example; but we do know that Greeks in Italy often took up

89. Guglielmo Cavallo, "La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria", in *I Bizantini in Italia*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo, Vera von Falkenhousen and Raffaella Carioli Campanati, Milan, Scheiwiller, 1982, pp. 495-612; Maria Luisa Agati, *Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, copista greco 1535-1563*, Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2001, pp. 15-18.

90. Maria Luisa Agati, Paul Canart and Carlo Federici, "Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, *instaurator librorum graecorum* à la fin du Moyen Age", *Scriptorium*, 50 (1996), pp. 363-369: 364; Agati, *Giovanni Onorio da Maglie*, p. 19.

91. See Hoffmann, "Un mystérieux collaborateur d'Alde Manuce", p. 95; David Speranzi, *Marco Musuro: libri e scrittura*, Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2013, p. 108.

92. They are part of a collection of sixty-nine autograph letters written in Greek which were exchanged by Gregoropoulos and his relatives and friends in the years 1494 to 1503, on which see Manoussos I. Manoussakas and Christos G. Patrinelis, "Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία του Ἰωάννου Γρηγοροπούλου μετὰ του Μ. Μουσοῦρου, Α. Αποστόλη, Ζ. Καλλιέργη και ἄλλων λογίων της Αναγεννήσεως χρονολογουμένη (1494-1503)", *Επετηρίς του Μεσαιωνικού Αρχείου*, 10 (1960), pp. 163-201; Manoussos I. Manoussakas, "Sept lettres inédites (1492-1503) du recueil retrouvé de Jean Grégoropoulos", *Θησαυρίσματα / Thesaurismata*, 13 (1976), pp. 7-39, and Speranzi, *Marco Musuro*, pp. 286-287.

93. Manoussakas, "Sept lettres inédites", 32-34; Manoussakas and Patrinelis, "Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία του Ἰωάννου Γρηγοροπούλου", pp. 192-193, no. 19; Scapecchi, "Legature 'alla greca' dal circolo di Aldo Manuzio", pp. 8-9.

94. See also Manoussakas, "Sept lettres inédites", p. 9.

95. Vienna, ÖNB, Vind. Hist. 14 was copied jointly by Paulos and by Manuel Gregoropoulos, John's brother. The analysis of the palaeographical distribution of the sections of the manuscript (Paulos's hand is found at fols. 114 ν -123 r and 155 ν -156 r ; Manuel's in the rest) has allowed Rudolf Stefec to demonstrate that the manuscript had been transcribed in a coordinated effort by the two men and over a limited time span. The copying operation must have therefore taken place in the only locale that the two shared at any point in their lives: Crete. See Rudolf Stefec, "Zu Handschriften aus dem Umkreis des Michael Apostoles in Beständen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 63 (2013), pp. 221-236: 229-230.

96. Manoussakas and Patrinelis, "Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία του Ἰωάννου Γρηγοροπούλου", pp. 184-185, no. 12.

a number of professional roles, and in the Italian book trade of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, professional boundaries were not always clearly defined – something that is particularly true of bookbinders.⁹⁷

Unfortunately, of the 20 manuscripts that have been attributed (entirely or partially) to Paulos’s hand,⁹⁸ very few are still in early modern bindings, and these are parchment or half bindings with no connection to Greek techniques. The only manuscript copied by Paulos in a Greek-style binding is Oxford, New College, MS 244, which cannot be considered his work, as it is one of the few examples of surviving English-made Greek-style bindings.

Of Venice’s possessions in the Mediterranean, which extended from the Aegean islands to Negroponte, from the Balkans to the fortresses in the Morea, several islands were central to the provision of Greek manuscripts, in terms of books and labour: Crete, Corfu, and Cyprus were all active hotspots for the copy of Greek codices.⁹⁹

Crete constituted something of an exception to Venetian expansion strategies; the Republic was more interested in establishing bases for its commercial network throughout the Adriatic, the Mediterranean, and the Black Sea, but in Crete it found itself in direct control of an island that corresponded to a sizeable amount of land.¹⁰⁰ In the second half of the fifteenth century, after over 200 years of Venetian dominion, the island remained predominantly Greek, but Cretan society had distinctly multicultural connotations, patrician families were routinely sent in for control and administrative purposes and many Venetians integrated to the point where they spoke, dressed, and worshipped in the “Greek style”.¹⁰¹ At the same time, many

97. Gialdini, “Bookbinders”.

98. Aberdeen, University Library, MS 27; Bourges, Bibliothèque municipale, Biturig. 383 (322); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, MS 500 (382); Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1965 4°; Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Mut. α W. 3. 1 (Puntoni 245); Paris, BNF, Par. gr. 1887, Par. Suppl. gr. 924, Par. gr. 2204, Par. gr. 2214, Par. Suppl. gr. 35; Oxford, BOD, Barocci 231; Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 97, MS 98, MS 117, MS 158; Oxford, New College, MS 244 (the only Greek-style binding in the list); Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Barb. gr. 257, Vat. Barb. gr. 275, Vat. Ott. gr. 279; Vienna, ÖNB, Vind. Hist. 14. See RGK I 342, II 460, III 539; see Philippe Hoffmann, “Autres données relatives à un mystérieux collaborateur d’Alde Manuce: l’*Anonymus Harvardianus*”, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Moyen Âge-Temps Modernes*, 98.2 (1986), pp. 673-708 and Martin Sichel, *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius: Druckvorlagen, Stellenwert, kultureller Hintergrund*, Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 1997, pp. 189-190.

99. David Speranzi, “Michele Trivoli e Giano Lascari: appunti su copisti e manoscritti greci tra Corfù e Firenze”, *Studi slavistici*, 7 (2010), pp. 263-297; Costas N. Constantinides and Robert Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*, Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993; Gilles Grivaud, “Une liste de manuscrits grecs trouvés à Chypre par Francesco Patrizi”, in *Cyprus and the Renaissance (1450-1650)*, ed. by Benjamin Arbel, Evelien Chayes and Harald Hendrix, Turnhout, Brepols, 2012, pp. 125-156.

100. Ermanno Orlando, *Venezia e il mare nel Medioevo*, Bologna, Il mulino, 2014, pp. 69-90.

101. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, p. 42; Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Vene-*

Greek scholars fled to Crete from Constantinople or other major Byzantine cultural centres, in turn contributing to making the island an important cultural hub in itself. Many eventually sought their fortune in Italian cities.¹⁰² Crete was also important in the Greek book trade. No printing press operated on the island (not even later in the modern era, unlike in other Greek islands such as Corfu, Zakynthos, and Chios).¹⁰³ However, manuscripts were copied in large quantities and at a high quality, a fact recognised by Italian humanists, and Cretans also entered the printing business in Italy.

The best known scriptorium on the island is that of the Apostolis family, Micheal (*ca.* 1422-1478) and his son Aristoboulos (1468/69-1535).¹⁰⁴ Micheal was a Byzantine Greek from Constantinople and had been based there for his education (and possibly teaching) when the city fell into Ottoman hands.¹⁰⁵ After reaching Italy, he had Cardinal Bessarion as a patron, although their relationship was troubled.¹⁰⁶ His son Aristoboulos (later, as bishop of Monemvasia, Arsenios) was active as a scribe in Crete as well as in Florence and Venice.¹⁰⁷ Many humanists and prolific copyists, such as John Gregoropoulos, Marcus Musurus, and Manuel Adramyttenus collaborated with the Apostolis.¹⁰⁸

The production of bookbindings on the island is usually considered closely connected, in both structure and decoration, to that of the capital of the Byzantine Empire.¹⁰⁹ However, much remains to be understood about bookbinding in Crete and its

tian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000, pp. 100-132; Alexander Riehle, “Kreta: ein melting pot der frühen Neuzeit? Bemerkungen zum Briefnetzwerk des Michaelos Apostoles”, in *Inter graecos latinissimus, inter latinos graecissimus: Bessarion zwischen den Kulturen*, ed. by Claudia Märtil, Christian Kaiser and Thomas Ricklin, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter, 2013, pp. 167-186.

102. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*; Monfasani, “L’insegnamento”, pp. 55-63.

103. Federica Ciccolella, “Greek in Venetian Crete: Grammars and Schoolbooks from the Library of Francesco Barocci”, in *Teachers, Students, and Schools of Greek in the Renaissance*, ed. by Federica Ciccolella and Luigi Silvano, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2017, pp. 371-393: 373. On printing in Greek islands in the modern period, see Konstantinos Sp. Staikos and Triantaphyllos E. Sklavenitis, *The Publishing Centres of the Greeks: From the Renaissance to the Neobellenic Enlightenment*, Athens, National Book Centre of Greece, Ministry of Culture, 2001, pp. 173-186.

104. RGK I, 278; RGK II, 379; RGK III, 454, and RGK I, 27; RGK II, 38; RGK III, 46. On the Apostolis family, see mainly Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, vol. I, pp. LVIII-LXX, vol. II, pp. 233-259, 337-347; Martin Wittek, “Pour une étude du scriptorium de Michel Apostoles et consorts”, *Scriptorium*, 7 (1953), pp. 290-297. On Cretan book culture, see Giuseppe De Gregorio, “Per uno studio della cultura scritta a Creta sotto il dominio veneziano: i codici greco-latini del secolo XIV”, *Scrittura e civiltà*, 17 (1993), pp. 103-202.

105. Antonio Rollo, “Sull’epistolario di Michele Apostolio: a proposito di una recente edizione”, *Medioevo greco*, 33 (2014), pp. 325-342.

106. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, pp. 86-88.

107. David Speranzi, “Tra Creta e Firenze: Aristobulo Apostolis, Marco Musuro e il Riccardiano 77”, *Segno e testo*, 4 (2006), pp. 191-210.

108. See Wittek, “Pour une étude du scriptorium”.

109. Canart, Grosdidier de Matons and Hoffmann, “L’analyse technique”, p. 763. On Cretan

connections with both the Byzantine and Venetian world.¹¹⁰ Greek-style bindings in Crete seem to have had some isolated characteristics, such as the use of green, red, and white silk in a specific pattern for secondary sewing in endbands,¹¹¹ and edge decoration in characteristic interlaces in dark red, on the basis of which three distinct binding workshops on the island have been identified.¹¹² At the same time, Venetian paper was commonly employed in Crete,¹¹³ and the Italian usage of beech boards also seems to have been borrowed (possibly an import from Venice¹¹⁴), despite cypress, oak, and hornbeam being much more common on the island.¹¹⁵

Crete remains an unresolved node of the transfer of Greek-style techniques in Italy, as exemplified, for instance, by the Barozzi collection at the Bodleian Library. Francesco Barozzi was born in Crete and educated there by Andrea Doni. He subsequently studied at the University of Padua, to return as professor of mathematics in 1559.¹¹⁶ He spent many years in Crete,¹¹⁷ where he acquired a wealth of manuscripts.¹¹⁸ In 1587, while in Venice to publish his mathematical and cosmological works, he was arrested by the Venetian Inquisition, on suspicion of being a necromancer and heretic.¹¹⁹ After his death, his nephew Jacopo Barozzi acquired his library, which he subsequently expanded.¹²⁰ Barozzi’s manuscripts, many of which

bindings, see also Jean Irigoien, “Un groupe de reliures Crétoises (XV^e siècle)”, *Κρητικά Χρονικά / Kretika Chronika*, 15-16 (1961/1962) (Πεπραγμένα του Α' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου), pp. 102-112; Hoffmann, “Reliures crétoises”; Hoffmann, “La collection de manuscrits grecs de Francesco Maturanzio”.

110. Nikolas Sarris, “Classification of Finishing Tools in Greek Bookbinding: Establishing Links from the Library of the St. Catherine’s Monastery Sinai, Egypt” (PhD Thesis, London, University of the Arts London, 2010, 3 vols.), vol. I, pp. 393-394.

111. Boudalis, *On the Edge*, pp. 213, 233.

112. Stefec, “Zur Schnittdekoration Kretischer Handschriften”; Stefec, “Weitere Beispiele Kretischer Schnittdekoration”.

113. Hoffmann, “Reliures crétoises”, p. 744.

114. See Angeliki Lymberopoulou, “Regional Byzantine Monumental Art from Venetian Crete”, in *Byzantine Art and Renaissance Europe*, ed. by Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Rembrandt Duits, Burlington, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 61-99: 79-81.

115. Anna Papageorgiou, “Ο ορεινός και ημιορεινός χώρος στην Κρήτη κατά τον 16ο αιώνα και τον 17ο αιώνα”, *Θησαυρίσματα/Thesaurismata*, 44 (2014), pp. 209-224: 211, 221.

116. See Paul Lawrence Rose, “A Venetian Patron and Mathematician of the Sixteenth Century: Francesco Barozzi (1537-1604)”, *Studi Veneziani*, 1 (n.s.) (1977), pp. 119-178: 120.

117. On the island, he also helped setting up the Accademia de’ Vиви; in Padua, he was connected with the Accademia dei Potenti, and possibly the Accademia Venetiana. See Rose, “A Venetian Patron and Mathematician”, pp. 121, 149.

118. Barozzi was also a friend of Pinelli (and had access to the library of the latter); Rose, “A Venetian Patron and Mathematician”, pp. 126-27; Angela Nuovo, “Filosofia e scienza nelle biblioteche del Cinquecento: una prospettiva pinelliana”, in *Biblioteche filosofiche private in età moderna e contemporanea*, ed. by Francesca Maria Crasta, Florence, Le Lettere, 2010, pp. 65-79: 66.

119. Fabio Forner, “Barozzi, Francesco”; Rose, “A Venetian Patron and Mathematician”, pp. 121-122.

120. See Ciccolella, “Greek in Venetian Crete”.

are in genuine Greek-style bindings, testify how complex it can be to assign a binding to Cretan or Venetian production. If some of his manuscripts have tooling that clearly indicates their Venetian manufacture, the decoration on others is more ambiguous.¹²¹ Cretan edge decoration also appears on manuscripts certainly made and bound in Italy, such as Vienna, ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 123, which also displays possibly Cretan tooling on its covers;¹²² as established by David Speranzi, the manuscript was copied by a scribe active in Florence and close to Janus Lascaris (the *Anonymus Florentinus*), and there is no indication that it was ever in Crete, thus indicating that there may have been Cretan bookbinders, using their local techniques, operating in Italy at the time.¹²³

Just like for binders' ethnicities, geographical attribution also does not respond to a polarity of Italy and Crete as opposed worlds: for instance, different binders with different backgrounds or abilities may have worked together on the same book, as demonstrated by the occasional association of specific Byzantine features with Italian decorative tools.¹²⁴ Already in 1986, Annaclara Cataldi Palau hypothesised the existence of a scriptorium and binding workshop where the legacy of Michael Apostolis was strongly felt, but which, based on the hands of the scribes who seem associated to it and the watermarks of the manuscripts, seems to have been located in Italy.¹²⁵ Some of Filippo Sauli's (ca. 1492-1528) manuscripts may have been produced there.

Sauli, Bishop of Brugnato between 1512 and 1528, had several books in Greek-style bindings in his collection. The Sauli, a prominent aristocratic family in Genoa, were bankers and held the monopoly for trading salt in Genoa, but also had commercial ties with Chios, from where they imported alum, gallnuts, and textiles.¹²⁶ Many of them were highly educated and patrons of the arts.¹²⁷ Filippo was well embedded

121. The bindings were included in De Marinis's survey indiscriminately. See De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, vol. III, pp. 38-47.

122. Silvia Pugliese is currently carrying out a study on Cretan bookbindings, which is due to be published in the proceedings of the conference "Greek Books in the sixteenth century between Venice and the Eastern Mediterranean" (Nicosia, Cyprus, 15-17 September 2023). I would like to thank Silvia for sharing details about her unpublished research with me.

123. See Stefec, "Weitere Beispiele Kretischer Schnittdekoration", pp. 39, 43 and Speranzi, *Marco Musuro*, pp. 66-69, with identification at pp. 362-363.

124. Boudalis and Gialdini, "One Binding, Two Binders?"

125. Annaclara Cataldi Palau, "Un gruppo di manoscritti greci del primo quarto del XVI secolo appartenenti alla collezione di Filippo Sauli", *Codices manuscripti*, 12 (1986), pp. 93-124.

126. Annaclara Cataldi Palau, *Catalogo dei manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Franzoniana (Genova) (Urbani 2-20)*, Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1990, pp. 12-28; Marco Bologna, *L'archivio della famiglia Sauli di Genova*, Rome, Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. Direzione generale per gli archivi, 2001, pp. 11-37; Maria Clelia Galassi, "An Addition to the Sauli Family's Commissions in Bruges: The Genoa 'Annunciation Triptych' Attributed to Jan Provoost", *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 40.1 (2018), pp. 8-17.

127. Helen Hyde, *Cardinal Bendinello Sauli and Church Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, London, Royal Historical Society, 2009, pp. 71-128.

in the scholarly networks of his time. He studied at the University of Pavia at the same time as Andrea Alciato, who held him in high esteem.¹²⁸ Lazzaro Bonamico, who had learnt Greek under Marcus Musurus, also frequented the Sauli household, as preceptor; he would later teach Greek at the University of Padua.¹²⁹ Paratextual evidence in the form of corrections and annotations by Bonamico appears on three of four of Filippo Sauli’s Greek manuscripts bound in the Greek style (Genova, Biblioteca Franzoniana, Urbani 18, 22, and 26).¹³⁰ Sauli also owned the Aldine Plato of 1513 that appeared in a Sotheby’s catalogue in 1989, bound in Venice (probably) or Lombardy.¹³¹ Filippo Sauli’s manuscripts came to him from Rome, Florence, Venice, and Greece;¹³² the provenance of the Greek-style bindings on them as well as on one of his printed books confirm that he put his wide-reaching network (which included, among others, Gregorio Cortese, Andrea Navagero, Christophe de Longueil) to good use, and did not have one trusted binder that he returned to, in Genoa or elsewhere. Some of Sauli’s manuscripts were copied in southern France, at Lérins Abbey, where a scriptorium was active in the sixteenth century;¹³³ the local circulation of Greek-style bindings is also confirmed by an *ex libris* inscribed in the title page of a copy of the 1519 Aldine Plutarch (Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, Rés. Q. 3) in a Venetian or Paduan Greek-style binding, which, though now barely legible, contains the word “Lerins” (or “Lerini”).¹³⁴

With the exceptions noted above, binders that have been identified as makers of Greek-style binders (or of parts thereof) are not from ethnically Greek areas (it cannot be shown that Paulos ever made bindings in this style, as we have seen).

128. Cataldi Palau, *Catalogo (Urbani 2-20)*, pp. 12-13.

129. Cataldi Palau, “Un gruppo di manoscritti greci”; Rino Avesani, “Bonamico, Lazzaro”, in *DBI*, 11 (1969); Francesco Piovan, *Per la biografia di Lazzaro Bonamico: ricerche sul periodo dell’insegnamento padovano (1530-1552)*, Trieste, LINT, 1988.

130. Cataldi Palau, “Un gruppo di manoscritti greci”; Cataldi Palau, *Catalogo (Urbani 2-20)*. Bonamico’s hand has also been identified in the *pinax* of Urbani 18. A full study of Bonamico’s own library is still lacking: see Stefano Martinelli Tempesta, “Prime osservazioni sulle note a Isocrate autografe di Lazzaro Bonamico nel codice *Ambr. O 122 sup.*”, in *Ambrosiana, Hagiographica, Vaticana: studi in onore di Mons. Cesare Pasini in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno*, ed. by Ambrogio M. Piazzoni, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2020, p. 409-428. The fourth manuscript is Urbani 27. Annaclara Cataldi Palau, *Catalogo dei manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Franzoniana (Genova) (Urbani 21-40)*, Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1996, pp. 49-65.

131. See Sotheby’s, *Continental Manuscripts and Printed Books, Science and Medicine: Including a Major Collection of Spanish Documents... 21 November 1989*, London, 1989, pp. 44-45.

132. Cataldi Palau, *Catalogo (Urbani 2-20)*, p. 27.

133. Cataldi Palau, “Un gruppo di manoscritti greci”, pp. 103-104.

134. The hypothesis is also supported by an annotation on an endleaf reading “Berault”; although this second inscription seems to date from later, it may indicate that the book belonged to the French humanist Nicolas Bérault (or Bérauld), who knew Christophe de Longueil.

One seems to be an Italian with strong ties to the Greek community in Venice: the so-called “Mendoza binder” (also known as “Wanderbuchbinder”),¹³⁵ who owes this name to the work he executed for Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. Mendoza was, however, just one of many customers, including Johann Jakob Fugger, Girolamo Fondulo of Cremona (†1540) (who procured Greek manuscripts for Francis I),¹³⁶ Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle,¹³⁷ and many other scholars and Venetian patricians.¹³⁸ He also had strong connections with the Aldine Press.¹³⁹ Anthony Hobson considered him “the leading Venetian craftsman”.¹⁴⁰ Identification of his work has so far greatly relied upon decorative motifs, despite the fact that, according to Hobson, his tools were later copied by Pierre Roffet, Jean Picard, and Gommard Estienne in France.¹⁴¹ Hobson proposed to identify the “Mendoza binder” with Andrea di Lorenzo, a binder and bookseller whose activity in Venice is attested from the 1530s to the 1550s; apart from his name, very little is known about him: he hailed from Verona and his wife’s name was Cecilia.¹⁴² In archival sources in which Andrea appears as a witness, he is named as a “ligator librorum”, “ligador de libri”, or “librer”, in the parishes of San Fantin or Sant’Angelo.¹⁴³ Andrea was given power of attorney by the scribe and scholar Andronikos Noukios¹⁴⁴ and given authorisation to claim debts owed to him when Noukios was about to embark on a trip to Constantinople (1545).¹⁴⁵ The trust Noukios was putting in Andrea the

135. Ilse Schunke, who first isolated his work and believed him to have been trained by a Milanese binder, then to have moved to Pavia, and finally to Venice. Schunke, “Venezianische Renaissanceeinbände”, pp. 163-169.

136. Hobson, “Les reliures italiennes”, pp. 413-414; Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, p. 179.

137. Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, p. 79.

138. Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, pp. 116, 244-250.

139. Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, pp. 106-107.

140. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, p. 179.

141. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, pp. 174, 271.

142. Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, p. 119. Cecilia is mentioned in a document in ASV, *Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Misericordia o di Valverde* according to the the *Ricerca Duca di Rivoli* (on which see Kikuchi, *La Venise des livres*, p. 338; Gialdini, “Bookbinders”), which may well have been Anthony Hobson’s source. The document, possibly moved when the series was rearranged, cannot currently be located.

143. “Andrea de Lorenzo Veronese ligator de libri”, in ASV, *Notarile*, Atti, b. 376, not. Domenico Bonamor, fols. 21r-22r; “Ser Andreas quondam Laurentii de Verona ligator librorum” in *Notarile*, Atti, b. 8094, not. Vettore Maffei, fols. 67r-68r; “Io Andrea ligador de libri a San Fantin fo de m. Lorenzo” in *Notarile*, Testamenti, b. 641, not. Marino Bonadeus, no. 368; “io Andrea q. m. Lorenzo da Verona libraro in contra de S. Fantin” in *Notarile*, Testamenti, b. 1084, not. Giovanni Lorenzo Zorzi, no. 7; “Andreas librarius quondam s. Laurentii de Verona” in *Notarile*, Atti, b. 10643, not. Agostino Pellestrina, fol. 129r; “Andreas q. Laurentii de Verona librarius de confinio Sancti Angeli Venetiarum” in *Notarile*, Atti, b. 8090bis, fol. 48v.

144. See Maria Kostaridou, “Nikandros Noukios, a Greek Traveller in Midsixteenth Century Europe”, *Journeys*, 6.1-2 (2005), pp. 3-23.

145. ASV, *Notarile*, Atti, b. 8091, not. Vettore Maffei, fol. 165v; see Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, pp. 119 and 251.

bookbinder, Hobson argued, could only be explained by a well-established professional partnership, as confirmed by a number of Greek manuscripts copied by Noukios for Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and all bound by the Mendoza Binder. Hobson made a compelling case that Andrea di Lorenzo had connections with the Greek community in Venice: and indeed, he was also a witness alongside Andreas Kounadis (son of Andreas, possibly the printer who worked with the Nicolini da Sabbio),¹⁴⁶ three years later.¹⁴⁷

The identity of the craftsman known as the “Fugger Binder”, “Venetianischer Fugger-Meister”, or “Venetian Apple Binder”¹⁴⁸ has not been discovered. He shared much of the same clientele with the “Mendoza Binder” – though the number of books he bound for Fugger and Granvelle far outnumber the others¹⁴⁹ – and also worked for the courtier Thomas Mahieu (*ca.* 1515/1527-after 1588), Marc Laurin, seigneur de Watervliet (1530-1581), and Edward Raleigh,¹⁵⁰ who were in Venice in the same years.¹⁵¹

Anthoni Lodewijk, conversely, is one of the few bookbinders of Renaissance Italy who have signed their work explicitly. The words “Antonius Lodoicus Flander ligavit Venetiis” are on a copy of the *Omnium Caesarum imagines* by Enea Vico (1553) now in Vienna (ÖNB, 22.N.2; not in a Greek-style binding).¹⁵² He possibly received his first training in Antwerp;¹⁵³ he then seems to have spent four years in Venice,¹⁵⁴ starting in 1553, possibly in the service of Johann Jakob Fugger and training in the workshop of the Fugger Binder. Finally, he appears to have moved to Augsburg, where his presence is attested by a receipt¹⁵⁵ and where he continued to bind books

146. Evro Layton, “Andreas Kounadis and the Nicolini da Sabbio”, in *The Printed Greek Book 15th-19th Century / Το έντυπο ελληνικό βιβλίο 15ος-19ος αιώνας. Acts of the International Congress, Delphi, 16-20 May 2001*, ed. by Triantaphyllos E. Sklaventitis and Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, Athens – New Castle, Kotinos – Oak Knoll, 2004, pp. 69-79.

147. ASV, *Notarile*, Atti, b. 10643, not. Agostino Pellestrina, fol. 20v.

148. The last name has been used in particular by Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift*. Vol. 1, pp. 309-22; Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift*. Vol. 3, pp. 354-60, nos. 293-298.

149. Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, pp. 119-124.

150. Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift*. Vol. 1, pp. 312-313; Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, p. 132.

151. Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, pp. 119-138 and a list of his bindings *ibid.*, pp. 255-259. See also Anthony Hobson and Paul Culot, *Italian and French 16th-Century Bookbindings / La reliure en Italie et en France au XVI^e siècle* Brussels, Bibliotheca Wittockiana, 1991, pp. 32-39; T. Kimball Brooker, “The Library of Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle”, *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1 (2015), pp. 23-72.

152. See Ilse Schunke, “Antonius Lodoicus Flander ligavit Venetiis”, *Fund og Forskning*, 5/6 (1958-1959), pp. 193-207: 195; De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, vol. II, pp. 64, 125 no. 2269; Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, p. 129.

153. Schunke, “Antonius Lodoicus Flander”, p. 195.

154. Foot, *The History of Bookbinding as a Mirror of Society*, p. 52.

155. Otto Hartig, *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger*, Munich, Abhandlungen – Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 1917, p. 304; Schunke, “Antonius Lodoicus Flander”, p. 202.

for Fugger using the techniques he had learned in Italy.¹⁵⁶ He influenced Jakob Krause, who would later be the court binder for Duke August, Elector of Saxony.¹⁵⁷ Lodewijk is also known for a small number of presentation copies bound for the printer Gabriele Giolito (*ca.* 1508-1578).¹⁵⁸

At the Vatican Library, bindings in the Greek style were made and repaired by a Frenchman, a German (?) and Italians. A payment to Niccolò Fery (known as Franzese), from Reims (†1570/1571), for instance, does not simply recognise the bindings he made anew: it also records his manufacture of 48 fastenings (“serrature” or “serrami”) in the Greek style (i.e. interlaced) which he then inserted into existing bindings (“et per haver posto serrature 48 alla greca alli libri greci”),¹⁵⁹ already in 1479 the Vatican Library issued payments to one “Johannes” for 83 “serami da libri a la grechessa” and 200 “serimi alla greca”,¹⁶⁰ which therefore were commissioned in large numbers from the bookbinders who knew how to craft them. Is it possible, then, that the relative difficulty in obtaining Greek-style bindings or replacements for their components contributed to their status as prestige product. Giuseppe Capobianco, *scriptor* and *instaurator* (a figure with various duties in conservation and repair of bookblocks and bindings) at the Vatican Library between 1564 and 1593/1606 (the date of his death is uncertain),¹⁶¹ also repaired Greek-style bindings.¹⁶²

Ultimately, it is difficult to say whether any Greek binders binding books in the Greek style were actually active in the Republic of Venice.¹⁶³ It is even possible,

156. Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift*. Vol. 1, p. 312; Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*.

157. Foot, *The History of Bookbinding as a Mirror of Society*, pp. 52-53.

158. Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, p. 129.

159. Léon Dorez, “Le registre des dépenses de la Bibliothèque Vaticane de 1548 à 1555”, in *Fasciculus Ioannis Willis Clark dicatus*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1909, pp. 142-185: 171 no. 33; see also p. 170 no. 23. For examples of the use of “serratura greca”, see De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, vol. I, pp. 30-31; Choulis, “La legatura dei manoscritti greci nel periodo bizantino e post-bizantino”, p. 183; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, p. 69.

160. Purchased respectively for 1 ducat, 8 bolognini, and 2 ducats, 50 bolognini (Eugène Müntz and Paul Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV^e siècle d'après des documents inédits: contributions pour servir à l'histoire de l'humanisme*, Paris, Ernest Thorin, 1887, p. 155; De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, vol. I, p. 32). See also the purchase of silk “to fasten several Greek books” (evidently as an alternative to interlaced fastenings), in Müntz and Fabre, *La Bibliothèque*, p. 152.

161. Daniele Arnesano, “Un nuovo codice di Giovanni Santamaura”, in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae XIII*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006, pp. 7-25: 14; Irena Backus and Benoît Gain, “Le cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514-1585), sa bibliothèque et ses traductions de saint Basile”, *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome*, 98.2 (1986), pp. 889-955: 924; Choulis, “Conservation Treatments”.

162. He signed his work on two Vatican manuscripts; see Choulis, “The Relationship”.

163. The Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini in Venice does not hold any records of bookbinders in the local Greek community, as confirmed by Despina Vlassi, whom I thank. See also Antonis D. Pardos, “Ἀλφαβητικός Κατάλογος των Πρώτων Μελών της Ελληνικής Αδελφότητας Βενετίας από το Κατάστιχο 129 (1498-1530). Α' Ἄντρες”, *Θησαυρίσματα / Thesaurisma-*

in fact, that no professional Greek binders immigrated to the area: after all, in the Byzantine world, book-making was often an activity carried out in religious communities, and the copying, decorating, and binding of books frequently took place in monasteries.¹⁶⁴ Many Greeks who relocated to Italy and engaged in the book trade, by contrast, were literate, educated men who used the local demand for Greek manuscripts to make a living or develop a career as scribes. They originally aimed at positions in universities or as educators, and for some, scribal activity constituted a fall-back, in which decent compensation could be found, but less recognition.¹⁶⁵ It is easy to imagine, but difficult to prove, that some may have had practical know-how, especially if they came from Crete, where bookbinding was carried out more frequently outside of monasteries; or they may have used their “passive” knowledge of bookbinding techniques to advise local craftsmen.

Another possibility is that in Italy, Greek binders may have disproportionately been involved in the early phases of the binding process (so-called forwarding)¹⁶⁶ so that they could “make” the book Greek by way of structure; and then, the finishing was left to western binders, more versed in the latest European fashions. After all, even when Greeks did get involved in the business of Italian printers, the balance of power generally remained tipped towards the Westerner, the owner of the enterprise; Greek scholars in the printing business found themselves in peculiar situations, possessing as they did skills that were essential in the industry, but often with the limited agency of foreigners.¹⁶⁷ The invisibility of dealers, peasants, and many other “anonymous actors” in the trade of antiquities in early modern Italy has also shadowed their agency.¹⁶⁸ In this sense, any Greek scribes who took up bookbinding jobs would be just as invisible as other binders,¹⁶⁹ if not more, as they might have been more likely to self-identify as scribes, a more prestigious activity (at

ta, 16 (1979), pp. 294-386; Antonis D. Pardos, “Αλφαβητικός Κατάλογος των Πρώτων Μελών της Ελληνικής Αδελφότητας Βενετίας από το Κατάστιχο 129 (1498-1530). Β' Γυναικες”, *Θησαυρίσματα / Thesaurismata*, 17 (1980), pp. 149-205.

164. See for instance Jean Irigoin, “Centres de copie et bibliothèques”, in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen: A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium*, ed. by Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko, Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Byzantine Studies, 1971, pp. 17-27; Boris L. Fonkic, “Scriptoria bizantini: risultati e prospettive della ricerca”, *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 17-19 (1980/1982), pp. 73-119; Annaclara Cataldi Palau, “Legature costantinopolitane del monastero di Prodroomo Petra tra i manoscritti di Giovanni di Ragusa (†1443)”, *Codices manuscripti*, 37-38 (2001), pp. 11-50.

165. See Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*; Monfasani, “L'insegnamento”.

166. The term ‘forwarding’ is used for all the processes in the making of a binding except for the decoration of the covers, which is known as finishing.

167. Kikuchi, *La Venise des livres*, pp. 122-126.

168. Barbara Furlotti, *Antiquities in Motion: From Excavation Sites to Renaissance Collections*, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2019.

169. On the invisibility of bookbinders in the Venetian book trade, see Gialdini, “Bookbinders”.

the Vatican Library, the monthly salary of a binder was about half that of a *scriptor Graecus* or *Latinus* in the second half of the sixteenth century).¹⁷⁰

Paulos's ties with the Aldine milieu were potentially impactful, as he moved in the circles of Zacharias Kalliergis and Marcus Musurus¹⁷¹ and collaborated with a scribe formerly known as "Anonymus Harvardianus", but recently identified by Luigi Orlandi as the physician and erudite Alessandro Bondino, whose connections with the Cretan milieu and the Aldine enterprise are both well attested, just like the key role he played in the making of the Aldine Aristotle.¹⁷² The extent of Paulos's contribution is impossible to gauge. But the fact that he was in Padua at the turn of the sixteenth century certainly appears to fit perfectly with the new, genuine trend that followed a first phase in which experimentation with hybrid practices was the norm (in Florence as in Venice). Genuineness prevailed exactly around the time Paulos was in Italy, and on books printed by Aldus of all printers.¹⁷³

170. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Greek scribes or correctors of Greek manuscripts were paid an average of 8-10 ducats monthly; Niccolò Fery, only 4 ducats. See Yvan Loskoutoff, "La copie de manuscrits à la Bibliothèque Vaticane sous saint Pie V (1566-1572) d'après les comptes de la Chambre Apostolique", *La Bibliofilia*, 117.2 (2015), pp. 159-180.

171. Speranzi, *Marco Musuro*, p. 22.

172. Luigi Orlandi, "Al fianco di Aldo, per Galeno e Aristotele: l'identità dell'*Anonymus Harvardianus*", *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 63 (2022), pp. 281-315; Hoffmann, "Un mystérieux collaborateur d'Alde Manuce", p. 128.

173. Mazzucco, "Legature rinascimentali".

3. The economy of Greek-style bindings in Italy

Recent historical research has highlighted the fascination of early modern European elites with processes of “making” and how this influenced consumption and manifestations of taste.¹ For Greek-style bindings, the relationship with luxury is quite strong. Primary sources mentioning “alla greca” bindings sometimes also include their monetary value. While interesting, this is not without its challenges: these sources do not provide information on what features individual bindings may have possessed, although they do reveal that the binding was at least somewhat Greek, and that this made it distinctive and was reason enough to identify it accordingly: the term employed by these sources is mostly “alla greca” or sometimes “al greco”, “alla grechessa”, “coperta greca” (“Greek cover”), or “more graeco” (“in the Greek manner”).

There is a wide consensus amongst historians about the interconnectedness of the history of the book and economic history; books have been understood to be commercial products – the objects of business transactions, dynamics of production and consumption, and demand and offer – for a long time.

A number of sources can be used when analysing book prices in early modern Italy: publishers’ catalogues,² booksellers’ lists and day-books (*zornali*), annotations in the books themselves, payments made to binders, book inventories, and correspondence. Most of them come with specific challenges: while the relationship between text and binding can often be a close one,³ early modern information is non-systematic; sources can frequently lack essential information that would allow for the quantitative analyses inherent to economic history.

1. See Ulinka Rublack, “Matter in the Material Renaissance”, *Past & Present*, 219.1 (2013), pp. 41-85.

2. Angela Nuovo and Francesca De Battisti, “The Price of Books in Early Modern Venice (1586-1600): A Statistical Analysis”, *De Gulden Passer*, 100.2 (2023) (= *Competition in the European Book Market: Prices and Privileges, Fifteenth-Seventeenth Centuries*), pp. 147-192.

3. Petrucci Nardelli, *Legatura e scrittura*.

Booksellers’ catalogues, day-books, and lists, for instance, only rarely mention bindings; as a rule of thumb, booksellers sold most of their ware unbound, so that the customer could choose a suitable style, decoration, or price range.⁴ Exceptions (so-called “trade bindings”) exist in situations where the market moved faster and books were guaranteed not to sit unsold on the shelves for too long; this must have been the case of Bartolomeo Zanetti (born *ca.* 1487), a printer from Castrezzato, near Brescia, active in Venice and Florence, who received commissions for large batches of “messali schiavoni” and “officietti schiavoni” (respectively missals and small prayer books marketed for the *Schiavone* market) in 1527-1528 in Venice; the price set for each copy of the missals was 50 soldi, to be supplied already “legadi indoradi che stiano bene et ben reguladi” (“bound and gilt and well-made and finished”); for the *officietti*, 10 soldi each, “legati et indoradi” (“bound and gilt”).⁵

Even when bindings are mentioned, one might find that these references are more of a source of frustration than insight, as information is often inconsistent in terms of vocabulary and details provided; as is the case for sources on Greek-style bindings, many of the specimens described no longer exist.

The values themselves are also difficult to compare. The data available for Greek-style bindings unevenly covers very different areas over a long stretch of time: Florence, Rome, the Venetian Republic, and Ferrara, from 1465 to 1609 (basically the entire period the style was in fashion). Some sources (inventories, some price lists, some price annotations) refer to the value of books with their bindings, while others, such as records of payments to binders, indicate the net price of the bindings only. It is sometimes said that a binding could raise the price of a book by

4. Amongst studies on the topic, see for instance Cristina Dondi and Neil Harris, “Oil and Green Ginger: The Zornale of the Venetian Bookseller Francesco de Madiis, 1484-1488”, in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World. Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*, ed. by Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2013, pp. 341-406; Ester Camilla Peric, *Vendere libri a Padova nel 1480: il Quadernetto di Antonio Moretto*, Udine, Forum, 2020. Methodological considerations can also be found in Mirjam M. Foot, *Studies in the History of Bookbinding*, Aldershot – Brookfield, Scholar Press, 1993, pp. 15-67; Goran Proot, “Shifting Price Levels of Books Produced at the Officina Plantiniana in Antwerp, 1580-1655”, in *Crossing Borders, Crossing Cultures: Popular Print in Europe (1450-1900)*, ed. by Massimo Rospocher, Jeroen Salman and Hannu Salmi, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019, pp. 89-108.

5. ASV, *Santa Maria dei Frari*, b. 106, fasc. XXXVII (several dates, 1527-1528); here, “gilt” may refer to tooling rather than edge decoration, and “che stiano bene” is probably a general comment about the finishing. The missals have been identified as Pavao Modrušanin’s missal (1528), in Petar Runje, “Izdavači i nakladnici glagoljskog Misala Pavla Modrušanina iz godine 1528”, *Slovo*, 41-42-43 (1993), pp. 227-240. Surviving copies of the missal have been digitised by the Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu (National and University Library in Zagreb), RIIA-8°-9 b (urn: nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:238:283842) and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 182243-B (onb.digital/result/109471F6). See also Diego Perotti, “Bartolomeo Zanetti alias Tolomeo Ianiculo: un vero caso di pseudonimia?”, *Tipofilologia: rivista internazionale di studi filologici e linguistici sui testi a stampa*, 14 (2021), pp. 31-105.

ca. 60-80%,⁶ but obviously that depended on the specific book and on the specific binding. One would also need to account for the different formats, thickness, and rarity of texts, as well as various factors that come into the making of a binding such as the patron providing the piece of skin for the covering at their own expense,⁷ or any undescribed features.⁸ Finally, coinage could change over time: in Florence, for instance, several coins existed, all known as florins (fiorini): in addition to the gold florin, several moneys of account circulated under that name despite their values (i.e. real values in the market) and prices (i.e. relations with the values of other coins circulating in the same period) fluctuating over time.⁹

These sources, however, still speak volumes about approaches to the materiality of these books; the values and prices attested in them can be compared with local, contemporary salaries and costs,¹⁰ or in the case of lists, internal comparison can be used to highlight characteristics and techniques; and more importantly, they allow us to glean perceptions of luxury and book materiality in early modern Italy.

1. *Identifying Greek-style bookbindings in early modern sources*

What seems to be the earliest occurrence of the term “alla greca” is particularly interesting because it pre-dates the earliest surviving, datable examples of Greek-style bindings made in Italy: the inventories of Piero di Cosimo de’ Medici the Gouty (1416-1469), a man of letters, politician, and patron.¹¹

6. Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara tra XV e XVI secolo: la bottega di Domenico Sivieri*, Florence, Olschki, 1998, p. 81; Peric, *Vendere libri*, pp. 289-291; Dondi and Harris, “Oil and Green Ginger”, p. 355.

7. See for instance Mazzucco, “Legature rinascimentali”, p. 136.

8. In fifteenth-century Rome, additional decorative aspects could increase the price of a book by 40% on average (see Paolo Cherubini *et al.*, “Il costo del libro”, in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento: atti del II Seminario, 6-8 maggio 1982*, ed. by Massimo Miglio, Vatican City, Scuola vaticana di paleografia, diplomatica e archivistica, 1983, pp. 323-553: 401).

9. See Richard A. Goldthwaite and Giulio Mandich, *Studi sulla moneta fiorentina (secoli XIII-XVI)*, Florence, Olschki, 1994, pp. 29-36; Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008, esp. pp. 609-614; Peter Spufford, “The Provision of Stable Moneys by Florence and Venice, and North Italian Financial Innovations in the Renaissance Period”, in *Explaining Monetary and Financial Innovation*, ed. by Peter Bernholz and Roland Vaubel, Cham, Springer International Publishing, 2014, pp. 227-251.

10. On this and other approaches to historical book prices, see Jeremiah Dittmar, “Book Prices in Early Modern Europe: An Economic Perspective”, in *Buying and Selling: The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Shanti Graheli, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2019, pp. 72-87.

11. On Piero’s patronage, see Alison Brown, *The Medici in Florence: The Exercise and Language of Power*, Florence – Perth, Olschki – University of W. Australia, 1992, pp. 23-24.

Two inventories of his book collection,¹² which largely repeat the same items, include sixteen Greek-style bindings in total; both the style of binding and the color of the covers are given: “fulva”, “rosso” (red); “azzurro”, “cerulea”, “celestina” (blue); “giallo”, “crocea” (yellow); “verde” (green). Colours were frequently mentioned in early modern book inventories, as they allowed quick identification of individual volumes.

The first list, compiled between 1456 and 1463, does not include any economic values:¹³

Ermafrodito legato alla greca azzurro
 Sandra dj Landino ala greca azzurro
 Lamento dj Jeremia alla greca azzurro
 Apocalis alla greca azzurro
 Volume della breviatione de Lucio Floro, Livio et Sexto Ruffo verde alla greca
 Papalisto verde alla greca
 De som(n)o Scipionis Ep(isto)le Bruti et Epith(ome) Sergii in uno volume greco et verde
 Vatrachomiomachia, Saphos et fabula cancrij in (uno) volume alla greca verde
 Vangelistario anticho alla greca giallo
 Tertium punicum bellum alla greca giallo
 [...]
 Epistole di S(an)c(t)o Paolo alla greca et rosso
 De rebus naturalib(us) I volume alla greca et rosso
 Ep(isto)le canonice alla greca et rosso.

The rest of the Greek-style bindings appear in a second inventory, compiled in January 1465, which also contains indications of economic value:¹⁴

Evangelistariu(m) licteris vetustissimis cop(er)ta greca fulva — f. 5
 Ep(isto)le Pauli licteris vetustissimis cop(er)ta greca crocea — f. 4
 Epistole canonice licteris vetustissimis cop(er)ta greca crocea — f. 3

12. Both lists have been published: Enea Piccolomini, “Ricerche intorno alle condizioni ed alle vicende della Libreria Medicea privata dal 1494 al 1508”, *Archivio storico italiano*, 19 (1874), pp. 102-112: 111-112; Eugène Müntz, *Les collections des Médicis au XV^e siècle: le musée, la bibliothèque, le mobilier: appendice aux précurseurs de la Renaissance*, Paris, Librairie de l’art, 1888, p. 48; Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Library and Manuscripts of Piero di Cosimo de’ Medici*, New York, Garland Pub., 1984, pp. 374-375 and 387-388.

13. ASF, *Mediceo avanti il Principato*, fil. 162, fol. 17rv.

14. ASF, *Mediceo avanti il Principato*, fil. 163, fol. 66r. An additional Greek-style binding was later added to the collection, a volume of Columella appearing in a list of loans (1480): “Columella antico, lettera longobarda, coperto di giallo, legato alla greca, de’ libri di Lorenzo” (ASF, *Mediceo avanti il Principato*, fil. 62, fol. 128r ff., in Enea Piccolomini, “Ricerche intorno alle condizioni ed alle vicende della Libreria Medicea privata dal 1494 al 1508”, *Archivio storico italiano*, 21 (1875), pp. 282-296: 285 no. 29). This ninth- or tenth-century manuscript is now at the BA (Ambr. L 85 sup.); it was heavily restored in 1953. See also Silvia Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti*, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1973, p. 124.

- Vite sanctorum patrum l(i)ct(eri)s vetustissimis cop(er)ta greca — f. 5
 Apocalissis Iohannis apostolis licteris vetustissimis cop(er)ta greca celestina — f. 3
 Lamentatio Yemie licteris vetustissimis cop(er)ta greca celestina — f. 3
 Cantica licteris vetustissimis cop(er)ta greca fulva — f. 3
 Abreviatio Lucii Florii, Sextus Ruffus et Epitoma Livii in uno volu(m)i(n)e licteris antiquis cop(er)ta greca cerulea — f. 6
 De Som(n)o Scipionis, Ep(isto)le Bruti et Epitoma Sergii in uno volumine cop(er)ta greca cerulea licteris antiquis — f. 3
 Tertium punicum bellum l(i)ct(eri)s antiq(ui)s cop(er)ta greca fulva — f. 3
 Leonardi Aretini de temporibus suis l(i)ct(eri)s antiq(ui)s cop(er)ta greca crocea — f. 3
 Vatrachomiomachia Omeri, Saphos et fabula canc(ri) in uno volumine cop(er)ta greca cerulea — f. 3
 Ermafroditus Antonij Panormite l(i)ct(eri)s antiq(ui)s cop(er)ta g(re)ca celestina — f. 3
 Sandra Christofori Landini l(i)ct(eri)s a(n)tiq(ui)s cop(er)ta greca celestina — f. 3

At a price range of 3 to 6 florins, the cheapest of these books was easily worth the equivalent of what an unskilled worker could earn in about 30 days.¹⁵ These volumes, like many others in the Medici library, were rebound at a later date,¹⁶ but it seems possible that these were hybrid Greek-style bindings, consistent with the local trend of the time.

Once again, it is easy to spot how loose the relationship between Greek-style bindings and Greek texts was early on when the style first came into fashion. Piero had received a humanistic education.¹⁷ He personally took part in the Council of Ferrara-Florence as a “young” member of the Florentine delegation¹⁸ and had strong connections with the Greek world; in 1455, he was responsible for bringing the scholar John Argyropoulos to Florence (where Argyropoulos then taught at the Studio Fiorentino),¹⁹ and commissioned the translation of Plutarch’s *Lives* by Guarino Veronese (1374-1460) and Donato Acciaiuoli (1429-1478) in the late 1450s.²⁰ But at the same time, Piero himself did not know any Greek.²¹

The books he had bound “alla greca” range widely in content: they were in Latin and vernacular; had diverse origins and had been produced at different times. There is no predominance of the Greek classics in translation, either: rather, a mix

15. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the value of 1 gold florin went from 85 to 140 *soldi* in Florence. Unskilled labourers earned *ca.* 10-16 *soldi* per working day at the time; see Goldthwaite, *The Economy*, p. 613; Sergio Tognetti, “Prezzi e salari a Firenze nel tardo Medioevo: un profilo”, *Archivio storico italiano*, 153 (1995), pp. 263-333: 332-333.

16. Ames-Lewis, *The Library and Manuscripts*, p. 32. On the Medicean collection of Greek manuscripts, see Edmund B. Fryde, *Greek Manuscripts in the Private Library of the Medici, 1469-1510*, 2 vols., Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 1996.

17. Ames-Lewis, *The Library and Manuscripts*, p. 3.

18. Ingeborg Walter, “Medici, Piero de”, in *DBI*, 73 (2009).

19. Brown, *The Medici in Florence*, pp. 19-20.

20. Ames-Lewis, *The Library and Manuscripts*, pp. 114-115.

21. Ames-Lewis, *The Library and Manuscripts*, p. 11.

of sacred texts “in very old script” and contemporary works, some of which had had Medici patronage, such as Leonardo Bruni’s *Memoirs* (*De temporibus suis*, ca. 1439-1441; Bruni had been Cosimo’s protégé) or Cristoforo Landino’s *Xandra*.²² The *Xandra*, dedicated to Piero in 1458, also provides a *post quem* date: the books were freshly bound when the inventories were compiled.

Later appearances of Greek-style bindings in inventories also refer to currently replaced bindings, but they reinforce the idea that just like colour, the specific style of binding was distinctive. Two copies of the Florentine *editio princeps* of Lucian (1496), the only two printed on parchment known to survive today, are both listed in the Vatican Library inventory (1525?) of the library of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi (1501-1550), one as “ligato al greco”, the other “similis ligato”,²³ a lover of Greek culture, Ridolfi had been taught in his youth by Janus Lascaris.²⁴ Neither is listed with a price.²⁵

A total of 123 bindings listed as “alla greca” appear in the inventory of books belonging to Cardinal Fulvio Orsini, a scholar and collector of books and antiquities whose library was celebrated in Europe. He was librarian to the Farnese and a *corrector* at the Vatican Library, which absorbed his collection according to his own wishes.²⁶ Orsini, in his own words, “held [his] books the dearest”,²⁷ and indeed his love for books is evident in his collection. The large majority of Orsini’s books bound in the Greek style, primarily Greek texts, both manuscripts and printed,²⁸

22. On the dating of Bruni’s works, see James Hankins, “The Chronology of Leonardo Bruni’s Later Works (1437-1443)”, *Studi Medievali e Umanistici*, 5-6 (2008), pp. 11-50. On Cosimo’s patronage of Bruni, see Brown, *The Medici in Florence*, p. 32. On Landino’s *Xandra*, see Simona Foà, “Landino, Cristoforo”, in *DBI*, 63 (2004).

23. See Muratore, *La biblioteca del cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi*, vol. I, 2009, pp. 98-112. For the dating of this inventory, see Donald F. Jackson, “A First Inventory of the Library of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi”, *Manuscripta*, 45-46 (2001), pp. 55-77.

24. Muratore, *La biblioteca*, pp. 96, 110 n. 61A, 181-182.

25. The first, whose binding was explicitly described as “lig(ato) al graeco”, can be identified as American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Gennadius Library, B/GC 4034q (rebound in the twentieth century). See Muratore, *La biblioteca*, pp. 181-182. The other copy listed in the same inventory, “another Lucian bound in the same manner”, “Lucianus alter similis ligato” (Muratore, *La biblioteca*, p. 110, no. 61b) might correspond to the only other copy printed on parchment surviving to this day, i.e. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, D’Elci 670 (Muratore, *La biblioteca*, pp. 181-182). This volume is currently in a velvet-covered binding; see Anna Rita Fantoni, “Le legature”, in *Incunaboli ed edizioni rare: la collezione di Angelo Maria d’Elci*, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1989, pp. 161-168: 164.

26. Pierre de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini: contributions à l’histoire des collections d’Italie et à l’étude de la Renaissance*, Paris, E. Bouillon et E. Vieweg, 1887, pp. 112-116.

27. “Spetialmente ho hauto amore alli libri”: Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, p. 165; Giuseppina Alessandra Cellini, *Il contributo di Fulvio Orsini alla ricerca antiquaria*, Rome, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 2004, p. 243.

28. Orsini’s library included two Latin books bound in the Greek style: one was a “very old” (“antichissimo”) Latin manuscript of Martial, dating from the twelfth century (Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, pp. 231, 358 no. 6); the other was a printed edition of Pliny, “annotated all over by a scholar” (“tutto tocco da huomo dotto”). Nolhac (Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*,

was rebound in the nineteenth century. Many of these Greek-style bindings, it has been suggested,²⁹ were the work of Giovanni Onorio da Maglie.³⁰ During his time in Rome, Giovanni Onorio also frequently restored Greek manuscripts for him, copying from other models and integrating missing parts of many of the oldest and most damaged books in his collection.³¹ Only two of these bindings survive. Detached from the bookblocks, both are still held in the Vatican Library.³² They show evidence of having been attached to their bookblocks with thread only, in the genuine Greek manner.³³

It is difficult to know how exactly the term “alla greca” was being used in these sources, but its meaning seems to be less than univocal. A letter (1589) addressed to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli contains a reference to a Greek-style binding.³⁴ The author of the letter, Cesare Rovida (*ca.* 1549-1592), a scholar and physician in Milan,³⁵ wrote to Pinelli in an attempt to locate a manuscript that had belonged to his teacher, Ottaviano Ferrari (1518-1586), who had died a few years earlier.³⁶ Describing the features of the volume to Pinelli, Rovida added that the book was bound “in boards, half of which is covered in dark leather, and not bound in the Greek style” (“non è legato alla \foggia/ greca”), but “in a different manner, which is unlike those that we use in our time”.³⁷ The word “foggia” (“manner”) was added later, perhaps because the term was not as transparent as one might think.

It is however interesting to note that it was used at least once in Greek, as well: the adverb ἑλληνιστῖ generally refers to the Greek language, but it can also mean “in the Greek fashion”. A letter (1501?) addressed to the Greek printer Zacharias Kalliergis³⁸ by an otherwise-unknown³⁹ Ἰωάννης Ἰάκωβος Ἀρηγών (Gian Giacomo Arri-

p. 385, no. 49) identified it as the 1510 edition of the *Epistolae* printed in Paris by François Regnault and Gilles de Gourmont.

29. Agati, Canart and Federici, “Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, *instaurator*”.

30. See Franca Petrucci Nardelli, “Legatori Vaticani”, in *Mercurius in Trivio: studi di bibliografia e di biblioteconomia per Alfredo Serrai nel 60° compleanno (20 novembre 1992)*, ed. by Maria Cochetti, Rome, Bulzoni, 1993, pp. 153-161.

31. Agati, Canart and Federici, “Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, *instaurator*”.

32. Leg. Vat. gr. 190 and Leg. Vat. gr. 1292.

33. Agati, Canart and Federici, “Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, *instaurator*”, p. 368, pl. 36a, 40-41.

34. BA, Ambr. S 107 sup., fol. 6r.

35. On Cesare Rovida, see mainly Rita Ferrari and Ugo Rozzo, “Un filosofo e bibliofilo milanese del '500: Cesare Rovida”, *Stasimon*, 3 (1984), pp. 81-115.

36. Gialdini and McLaughlin, “A Fragmented History”.

37. “Coperto di asse, la mettà delle quali è coperta di corame negro, non è legato alla \foggia/ greca, ma con altro modo, et diverso da quelli, che a nostri tempi s'usano.”

38. On Zacharias Kalliergis, see Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, “The Printing Shop of Nikolaos Vlastos and Zacharias Kallierges: 500 Years from the Establishment of the First Greek Press”, *La Bibliofilia*, 102.1 (2000), pp. 11-32.

39. The manuscript has not been identified, and neither has the author of the letter, who may have been a member of the Mantuan noble family Arrigoni.

goni?) asked Kalliergis to copy the text of Hesiod’s *Georgica* and have the manuscript bound in the Greek style (“Ἀντιγράψας δὲ τὰ Γεωργικὰ ἵνα ἑλληριστὶ συνδεθῆσεται ἐπιμελήσεις”).⁴⁰

2. *Prices: know-how and materials*

Greek-style bookbindings have often been described as top-of-the-range in the literature, and to this day they have been regularly priced accordingly in booksellers’ catalogues. At this point, we can start to draw some conclusions about the distinctiveness of Greek-style bindings within the landscape of the early modern Italian book world: a first consideration is the frequency with which the term(s) appear in early modern sources, suggesting a binding in the style was a noticeable characteristic. Secondly, as already seen, Greek-style bindings also required specific skills: the know-how necessary to produce them was not familiar to western binders, who very frequently adopted (at times very creative) hybrid book structures to mimic the appearance resulting from Greek techniques; it makes sense to think that the rarity of these skills, together with desirability of the style, would create luxury. Finally, another feature of Greek-style bindings is not attested in sources, but can be assessed with a certain degree of certainty: binding books in this style was time consuming, possibly more so than producing an “average” binding (if such a thing even existed) in contemporary Italy. Many features of Greek-style bindings take time to achieve: the grooves running along the edges of the boards (none were cut in Italian bindings); Greek endbands, longer than endbands of the Italian tradition; and inherently time-consuming interlaced fastenings.

To summarise, Greek-style bindings were distinctive; they required specialist professional knowledge; and, on average, they may well have taken a longer time to produce. Did these factors translate into higher prices, as one would expect? After all, we have already explored the association of luxury materials (gold leaf, imported goatskins, silk threads) and techniques (plaquettes, grooved boards, gauffering), whether Greek or not, with Greek-style bindings. Were Greek-style bindings expensive compared to other bindings? And if so, what made them so?

One suggestion for a higher price tag for a book bound in the Greek-style is in a letter sent by Fulvio Orsini to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli:⁴¹

I was brought a manuscript copy of Plotinus, about one hundred years old, but correct in its text and revised by Giorgio Valla, to whom it belonged. It consists of 300 leaves,

40. See mainly Marino Zorzi, Maria Grazia Negri and Paolo Eleuteri, “Stampatori e umanisti nel periodo aldino”, in *Aldo Manuzio e l’ambiente veneziano, 1494-1515*, ed. by Susy Marcon and Marino Zorzi, Venice, Il Cardo, 1994, pp. 51-71: 64.

41. Gialdini, “Antiquarianism and Self-Fashioning”.

in folio format, and it should not be worth more than 15 scudi, but it is priced at 30 scudi. It is a rare text, not found elsewhere. If you wish to have it, let me know what I should do, as the book is currently in my hands; the librarians of the Pope [i.e. of the Vatican Library] say they do not own a copy. The book is bound in the Greek style (“alla greca”), and as I said, the script is good quality and polished.⁴²

A source such as this shows how complex it can be to parse the value of a book through its various textual, technical, and material components. Orsini stated this book was priced at twice its value; is this because the text was “rare”, not even held at the Vatican Library? Because it had belonged to, and had been corrected by, the humanist Giorgio Valla (1447-1500), who had ample expertise in ancient Greek science? Or because of its age, or “good”, “polished” script, or its format and size? Or finally, was it because of the style of its binding?

That expensive materials could be a determining factor in raising the value or price of a book is self-evident. If some features that are typical of Byzantine book-making are time consuming to achieve and may therefore be a contributing factor to their prices, for materials, it is, at times, the opposite – some materials associated with Greek-style bindings in western Europe are not typical of Byzantine techniques at all, and actually only became associated with them after western binders started imitating and effectively re-creating the style. Gilt covers could virtually double the price of a binding.⁴³ Another expensive material that is associated with Greek-style bindings in the West is the imported goatskins that were used as covers; goatskins are also the most common covering material for Byzantine bindings, but we can presume they would have been more expensive in Italy than in the Eastern Mediterranean as the ones used in Italy usually had to be imported from the Ottoman Empire (although there are no studies comparing prices in the two areas). Secondary sewing in silk thread is also perhaps more common as a feature in Italian-made bindings than in Byzantine bindings.

Finally, another expensive “material aspect” associated with Italian- and French-made Greek-style bindings is the type of books that was most commonly bound in this manner: fancy editions of Greek classics. Aldines, as seen, had a reputation for being overpriced, but Greek books in general were typically expensive

42. “Mi è stato portato un Plotino scritto à mano di antichità di un cento anni, ma corretta scrittura e riveduta da Giorgio Valla di chi fù il libro. Sono 300 carte in foglio, che non dovrebbero valere più di 15 scuti, et se ne dimanda trenta. Il libro è raro ne si trova altrove. Se V.S. Li vuole, scriva quello che hò da fare, perche è in mano mia, et questi della libreria del Papa mi dicono che non l'hanno. Il libro è legato alla greca, la scrittura buona et polita, come ho detto”. BA, Ambr. D 422 inf., letter to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, 26 June 1573, in Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, p. 168.

43. See the example of the Book of Hours for sale in the shop of Genoese stationer Bartolomeo Lupoto (active in the mid-fifteenth century) in Anna Melograni, “The Illuminated Manuscript as a Commodity: Production, Consumption and the Cartolaio’s Role in Fifteenth-Century Italy”, in *The Material Renaissance. Studies in Design and Material Culture*, ed. by Michelle O’Malley and Evelyn Welch, Manchester – New York, Manchester University Press, 2007, pp. 197-221: 206.

to produce, and expensive to purchase.⁴⁴ Sometime in the first half of the sixteenth century, a copy of Aldus’s Thucydides (the 1502 *editio princeps*) in a Greek-style binding was priced at 15 florins according to an annotation on its title page:⁴⁵ if the annotation refers to Florentine coinage, it seems the value of this book was several times that of any of the Latin and Italian manuscripts bound in the Greek style in Piero di Cosimo de’ Medici’s library half a century earlier, despite manuscripts being famously pricier than printed books.

In these cases, it does help when a price annotation includes a specific date, as in the case of NYPL, Spencer Collection Ital. 1528, a copy of the bilingual *Divina missa Sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi* printed in Latin and Greek (and in black and red ink) in Venice in 1528. On the *verso* of the last endleaf, a purchase annotation reports that the book was bought in 1561 (a second-hand purchase of this book, printed 33 years earlier) at the price of 10 lire (presumably Venetian lire, as the edition was printed in Venice and the binding shows every sign of having been made there, as well).⁴⁶ Ten lire were equivalent to just over 1.5 ducats:⁴⁷ a rather high price for a slim *quarto* volume, which is tempting to attribute, at least in part, to its beautiful genuine Greek-style binding, covered with brown goatskin and tooled in blind and gold, with gilt and gaufered edges, and endbands with secondary sewing in silk thread (Pl. 12). In the same period in Venice, a maidservant would have had to save her wage for about four months to buy this little used book;⁴⁸ for the same price, she could have bought somewhere in the region of 400 printed pamphlets or other items from the “cheap print” range.⁴⁹

In 1549 in Rome, Niccolò Franzese was paid for binding four books in the Greek style and covering them in tanned goatskin,⁵⁰ in addition to supplying the binding for one Hebrew Bible, and fastenings and added endleaves to other books.

44. See the comparative price per printing sheet calculated for the Giunta in Andrea Ottone, “The Giunta’s Publishing and Distributing Network and Their Supply to the European Academic Market”, in *Publishing Sacrobosco’s De Sphaera in Early Modern Europe: Modes of Material and Scientific Exchange*, ed. by Matteo Valleriani and Andrea Ottone, Cham, Springer International Publishing, 2022, pp. 255-288, tab. 2. See also Nuovo and De Battisti, “The price of books”, pp. 150, 173-175.

45. *Sokol Books Ltd. Catalogue LXIII* (London, 2013), no. 91.

46. “Iste liber emptus est an(n)o 1561 p[re]cio £ 10”. As the leaf is conjoined with the paste-down pasted onto the right board, this was the price for the book in its current binding.

47. A ducato corrente was then worth 6 lire and 4 soldi, or 124 soldi (Franco Rossi, “*Melior ut est florenus*”: note di storia monetaria veneziana, Rome, Viella, 2012, pp. 95-97).

48. On wages in Venice at the time, see Anna Bellavitis, “Family and Society”, in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. by Eric Dursteler, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2013, pp. 319-351.

49. Rosa Salzberg, *Ephemeral City: Cheap Print and Urban Culture in Renaissance Venice*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2014, p. 20.

50. See Hobson, *Apollo and Pegasus*, pp. 76-86; Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift*. Vol. 3, pp. 364-367 nos. 303-305: “4 libri ligati alla greca coperti di cordovano”. Although the text literally reads the payment is for “books bound...”, this is to be understood as payment for “(having) bound books...”.

For all these services, he received 7 scudi.⁵¹ It is difficult to extrapolate how much each binding made in the Greek style was worth: probably between half and 1.5 scudi,⁵² a price consistent with the 11 giulii (a little over 1 ducat) paid to Maestro Luigi,⁵³ another binder who regularly worked for the Vatican Library, for binding one Greek manuscript written on parchment in the Greek style in 1551.⁵⁴

Moving on to Ferrara, about 50 years earlier the printer, bookseller, stationer, and binder Lorenzo Rossi (active 1482-1521)⁵⁵ registered a similar payment of *ca.* 1-2 Ferrarese lire marchesane for each Greek-style binding within a long list of items dated 1499-1500.⁵⁶ He regularly received commissions from Alberto Pio, the patron of the arts and former pupil of Aldus Manutius whom we have already met as the recipient of the El Escorial Aldine Aristotle volume bound in the Greek style. Alberto Pio's interest in the fashion is confirmed by several among the frequent purchases he made in Rossi's shop for new bindings for his books during his sojourn in Ferrara,⁵⁷ as well as for new volumes. He was charged for eleven Greek-style bindings made or remade for him by Rossi:

Item de dare per la ligadura de uno officio dorato ala moderna et poi reduto alla greca – 10 –

[...]

Item de dare per la ligatura de sei volumi greci a la grecha coperti de coramo torchesco cum fornimenti in ottone 9 – –

Item de dare per la ligatura di uno libro greco legato ala grecha coperto de coramo verde turchesco in quarto 1 – –

[...]

Item per dare per la ligatura de tre libri greci ala grecha cum fornimenti 6 – –⁵⁸

51. Hobson, *Apollo and Pegasus*, p. 215.

52. The cost of each binding could change depending on whether the binder or customer provided the skin for covering. In this case, Niccolò probably did, as his business also included leather, which he sold, among others, “to make cushions for the Pope's chairs”; see Hobson, *Apollo and Pegasus*, p. 77.

53. On Maestro Luigi, see also Foot, *Studies in the History of Bookbinding*, pp. 182-183; Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift*: Vol. 3, pp. 378-379, no. 316. One giulio was worth 10 baiocchi, and each scudo was composed of 100 baiocchi.

54. “Et più un Theophilatto greco scritto in carta buona, legato alla greca [...] ho ricevuto da mastro Luigi, ligatore li soprascritti libri”. Dorez, “Le registre des dépenses de la Bibliothèque Vaticane de 1548 à 1555”, p. 175.

55. Lorenzo Rossi (Lorenzo de Rubeis) was the father of the Francesco de Rossi, also a bookseller and bookbinder in Ferrara. On the Rossi family, see Nuovo, *Il commercio librario*, pp. 57-86.

56. The lira used in Ferrara was called lira di marchesani and was worth 20 soldi or 240 denari. On Ferrarese coinage, see Vincenzo Bellini, *Dell'antica lira ferrarese di marchesini detta volgarmente marchesana: dissertazione*, Ferrara, B. Pomatelli, 1754.

57. See Fabio Forner, “Pio, Alberto”, *DBI*, 84 (2015); Elena Svalduz, *Da castello a città: Carpi e Alberto Pio (1472-1530)*, Rome, Officina, 2001.

58. Most recently in Nuovo, *Il commercio librario*, pp. 75-77; Paolo Tinti, “‘Emptus Ferrarie’: i

The first mention is of particular interest as it reveals an awareness, on the part of the bookseller, that the techniques used for forwarding the book were Greek (“reduto alla greca”), but the use of gold was not: this was done, conversely, “alla moderna”, evidence that at this point, about 30 years after the introduction of gold leaf in Italian bookbinding, gilding covers was considered, generically, a fashionable innovation, and no longer associated with the Islamic world. The Greek techniques, on the other hand, remained Greek in his eye (despite having circulated for half a century by this point).

Since 1 lira marchesana was equivalent to 20 soldi, it can be calculated that prices ranged from 10, to 20, 30 or 40 soldi (0.5 to 2 lire marchesane) for each binding, the cheapest (the *officiolo*) possibly a smaller book than the rest. Around a time when a professor of the Studio Ferrarese earned about 200 lire a year and the rent of a house could come at 50 lire a year,⁵⁹ these sums seem relatively affordable: each binding cost less than it cost to illuminate each single page of the (admittedly exceptional) Bible of Borso d’Este two generations earlier.⁶⁰

3. *Making sense of prices*

A 1609 Ambrosiana Library catalogue of the books of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli drawn up for evaluation in Naples (BA, Ambr. B 311 suss., fols. 181-193)⁶¹ records six books that, despite the lack of binding descriptions in the inventory, can be identified as six Greek manuscripts in hybrid Greek-style bindings, made with top-quality materials in the 1570s or 1580s. The value of these *quarto* books varied from 1 to 10 ducats, presumably on the basis of the contents or paratextual elements not connected with the bindings, which are all quite similar.⁶²

What is more important, however, is that the costs of books in Greek-style bindings can be compared with the numerous other books in the inventory, which are generally priced in the lower single digits. If Greek-style bindings were among the most valuable items in this collection, that was mainly composed of cheap-

prezzi del libro a stampa nella città estense fra Quattro e primi del Cinquecento”, in *Printing R-Evolution and Society, 1450-1500: Fifty Years that Changed Europe*, ed. by Cristina Dondi, Venice, Edizioni Ca’ Foscari, 2020, pp. 681-700. Rossi’s list also includes Greek books for which he provided the binding, but with no mention of the style.

59. Anna Melograni, “The Illuminated Manuscript as a Commodity”, p. 210.

60. It is estimated that each page of the Bible cost 3 lire, 15 soldi to illuminate in the mid-fifteenth century. See Anna Melograni, “Quanto costa la magnificenza? Il caso della ‘Bibbia bella’ di Borso d’Este”, *Bollettino d’arte*, 6th series, 144 (2008), pp. 7-24: 9.

61. These prices are taken from EMoBP. On the database, see Giliola Barbero *et al.*, “The Database of the EMoBookTrade Project: A Proposal to Encode Early Modern Book Prices and Privileges”, *JLIS.It*, 11.2 (2020), pp. 108-132. On the sale of Pinelli’s books after his death, see Anthony Hobson, “A Sale by Candle in 1608”, *The Library*, 26.3 (1971), pp. 215-233.

62. Gialdini, “Antiquarianism and Self-Fashioning”, p. 8.

ly-bound and parchment-covered books (Pinelli famously considered himself to be above the fashions of the time),⁶³ the same cannot be said of bindings in the same style in collections of a different nature. A more visually and materially impressive library like that of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici seen above, for instance, presents a completely different relationship between the value of books bound in the Greek style and those in other styles. The prices recorded there range from 3 to 6 fiorini for each book in a Greek-style binding: not even remotely as high as those, also listed in the same inventory, of books that had been extensively illuminated or featured silver furniture. For instance, three “very beautiful” (“pulcherrimus”) books covered in blue silk (“in veste siricea celestina”) and decorated with silver fastenings (“fibulis argenteis”) were worth 50, 100, and 150 fiorini respectively.⁶⁴ Several other books across the inventory were valued at 10 to 70 fiorini with no material description given – their bindings may not have been in a distinctive, exotic or antiquarian style, but clearly, they were luxurious, more so than books bound in the Greek style.⁶⁵

If Greek-style bindings seem more pricey than average in the context of Pinelli's library, and less so in Piero di Cosimo de' Medici's, a third source makes them look just about average: Lorenzo Rossi's Greek-style bindings made for Alberto Pio were no less, but also no more expensive than other bindings made using the same materials, such as “corame turchesco” (Ottoman imported leather) in various shades, silk, metal furnishings, and gold leaf; but they were indeed more expensive than other bindings in styles that called for the use of cheaper materials, such as those with a “fondello lavorato”, which presumably indicates sometimes elegant, but certainly simpler, quarter covers.

Comparison of prices within inventories indicates that when Greek-style bindings were at the higher end of the spectrum within a group of books, this depended on the materials conventionally associated with the style, rather than the techniques: Greek-style bindings were expensive compared to most bindings, but not pricier than bindings made with similar materials. As important as these commodities were to their owners, who used them to display their refined tastes, culture, and proximity to the world of Greek letters, and as much as materiality of these books depended on technical and professional knowledge that was sought after and far from commonplace, in economic terms ultimately gold leaf and imported skins could be valued a good deal more than professional “know-how” in the book world of early modern Italy.

63. On Pinelli, see also below, p. 122, and *passim*.

64. Ames-Lewis, *The Library and Manuscripts*, p. 387 nos. 78-80.

65. Ames-Lewis, *The Library and Manuscripts*, pp. 380-390.

4. Daniele Barbaro: “*alla greca*” and “*alla latina*”

We close this chapter with a case study regarding conjoined ownership of Greek-style and Latin-style bindings by the same owner, their different treatment, and the owner’s willingness to spend higher amounts on the former rather than the latter. Daniele Barbaro’s collection presents the perfect opportunity to do so, even though, unlike other cases we have looked at so far, the prices of the books themselves are not known.

Born into an ancient patrician family that deeply valued learning, Daniele Barbaro received his education under the guidance of Benedetto Lampridio (1478-1539) and at the University of Padua,⁶⁶ studying the texts of Aristotle in the original language. Aristotelian philosophy informed his whole intellectual life and remained one of his main interests.⁶⁷ His strengths ranged from the sciences (he oversaw the creation of the Orto Botanico in Padua) to philosophy: to him, both were tools to better understand the world and actively perform in it.⁶⁸ He is most famous for a translation and commentary on the entire work of Vitruvius, which was published for the first time in 1556.

Daniele Barbaro’s antiquarian collecting practices encompassed books, statues, and coins. One of his agents was Francesco Barozzi.⁶⁹ Among the books and astronomical instruments (some of which he had built himself) that he left to his brother Marcantonio (1518-1595) in his last will,⁷⁰ were volumes in Greek-style bindings close to Byzantine practices.⁷¹ The manuscripts Barbaro selected to re-

66. On Benedetto Lampridio, see mainly Guido Rebecchini, “Le biblioteche di Battista Fiera e Giovan Benedetto Lampridio”, *Civiltà mantovana*, 134 (2012) (= *Scritti in memoria di Clifford Malcolm Brown*), pp. 109-124.

67. See Branko Mitrovic, “Paduan Aristotelianism and Daniele Barbaro’s Commentary on Vitruvius”, in *Daniele Barbaro and the University of Padova: Architecture, Art and Science on the Occasion of the 450th Anniversary of His Death*, ed. by Cosimo Monteleone and Kim Williams, Cham, Birkhäuser, 2023, pp. 191-213.

68. See Paula Findlen, “The Market and the World: Science, Culture, and Collecting in the Venetian Republic”, in *Il collezionismo a Venezia e nel Veneto ai tempi della Serenissima*, ed. by Bernard Aikema, Rosella Lauber and Max Seidel, Venice, Marsilio, 2005, pp. 55-68.

69. Deborah Howard, “I Barbaro come collezionisti rinascimentali”, in *Il collezionismo d’arte a Venezia: dalle origini al Cinquecento*, ed. by Michel Hochmann, Rosella Lauber and Stefania Mason, Venice, Marsilio, 2009, pp. 199-201.

70. Bruce Boucher, “The Last Will of Daniele Barbaro”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 42 (1979), pp. 277-282; Howard, “I Barbaro”, p. 199. See also Marino Zorzi, “I Barbaro e i libri”, in *Una famiglia veneziana nella storia: i Barbaro. Atti del convegno di studi in occasione del quinto centenario della morte dell’umanista Ermolao, Venezia 4-6 novembre 1993*, ed. by Michela Marangoni and Manlio Pastore Stocchi, Venice, Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1996, pp. 363-396.

71. Canart, *Les Vaticani Graeci 1487-1962*; Paul Canart, “Reliures et codicologie: les manuscrits grecs de la famille Barbaro”, in *Calames et cahiers: mélanges de codicologie et de paléographie offerts à Léon Gilissen*, Brussels, Centre d’Étude des Manuscrits, 1985, pp. 13-25; Pugliese, “Le legature ‘Barbaro’”.

ceive Greek-style bookbindings are all – as is to be expected at this time in Italy and from a man of his erudition – Greek books, with a certain degree of consistency in terms of the topics, which seems to reflect Barbaro's interest in theology in his mature years. Although some manuscripts have been acquired on the second-hand market, most seem to have been commissioned personally by Barbaro. Almost all of the books falling into the latter category were copied by two rather prolific scribes of the second half of the sixteenth century, namely Konstantinos Rhesinos (*fl.* 1555-1575)⁷² (BAV, Vat. gr. 1655, BOD, Laud gr. 63, and ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 10 and Suppl. gr. 14) and Manouel Malaxos (†1581) (who between 1559/1560-1570, during one of his sojourns in Venice, copied ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 24, 25, 26, and 27,⁷³ as well as, probably, BOD, Laud gr. 38 and BAV, Vat. gr. 1661).⁷⁴

It seems that Barbaro obtained the manuscripts at around the same time and had them all bound in one Venetian workshop. Two of the bindings, on manuscripts currently held at the Bodleian Library (Laud gr. 38 and 63), display the genuine structure that had come to be common in Greek-style bindings in Italy in the sixteenth century. The asymmetrical bridling, clearly discernible in the zig-zag pattern on the inner face of the boards, stands out under the thin pastedowns and indicates an unsupported sewing structure. The two Greek-style bindings both have overall textile linings, pasted on the outside of 7-mm wooden boards. They have projecting endbands which extend onto the edges of the boards with cord cores (probably), primary sewing in plain thread and secondary sewing in ochre (once red?) and white silk thread with a front bead. The bookblock edges were stained blue before endbanding and covering. Unusually among Greek-style bindings made in Italy, the board edges are not grooved. The boards have been covered with beautiful pieces of reddish-brown goatskin, which were then tooled all over in blind only. Triple interlaced straps serve as fastenings (Pl. 13a).

These characteristics are particularly interesting if one considers three bindings that Daniele Barbaro clearly commissioned at the same time and very possibly from the same workshop, and which can also be found at the Bodleian Library, but which are not in the Greek style (Pl. 13b). These bookbindings – which have been sewn on three raised sewing supports – also contain Greek theological texts (BOD, Auct. E. 2. 17, Auct. E. 2. 18, and Auct. F. 3. 23).⁷⁵ Their provenance from the same Venetian bindery as the genuine Greek-style bindings is indicated mainly

72. RGKI 227, II 317, III 365.

73. Giuseppe De Gregorio, "Studi su copisti greci del tardo Cinquecento: I. Ancora Manuel Malaxos", *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 37 (1995), pp. 97-144.

74. RGKI 250, II 347, III 415. See mainly Giuseppe De Gregorio, *Il copista greco Manouel Malaxos: studio biografico e paleografico-codicologico*, Vatican City, Scuola vaticana di paleografia, diplomatica e archivistica, 1991; De Gregorio, "Studi su copisti greci".

75. On the last two manuscripts, see also Dorit Raines, "La biblioteca manoscritta di Daniele Barbaro: raccolta, uso e dispersione di una collezione veneziana", in *Daniele Barbaro (1514-70): lette-*

by the use of the same leather, silk (for the endbands), and finishing tools, suggesting that the manuscripts may have been bound around the same time, despite the dissimilar styles.

The presence of books bound “alla greca” and “alla latina” in the same library is not surprising; in fact the same atelier could cater to both demands,⁷⁶ as seen, and the funeral effigy to Alvise Trevisan discussed further on (in which he lies surrounded by books in both the Greek and Latin style)⁷⁷ shows that the two types of bindings could cohabitate the same spaces. In Barbaro’s collection, however, the differences in the materials used are striking. Whereas the two Greek-style bookbindings at the Bodleian Library, as seen above, have wooden boards, bright coloured edges, and triple interlaced fastenings, the books bound following Venetian practices lack all three characteristics. Their projecting boards are made of paste boards.⁷⁸ The edges of the bookblock have no decoration. And finally, in lieu of more expensive leather fastenings, the binder used simple ribbons, now lost, and only two pairs of them on each binding, on the fore-edge. There is nothing preventing a western-style binding from having wooden boards, leather fastenings, or decorated edges: these absences indicate a deliberately lower price point, both in terms of the materials employed and in the time the binder dedicated to the job and for which the customer was charged.

For his translation and commentary of Vitruvius, Barbaro travelled to Rome to study ancient architecture,⁷⁹ and he also sought the help of Andrea Palladio (1508-1580),⁸⁰ his approach to the *antico* shows rigorous philological work on the sources, an awareness of his duties towards his social class, and a belief that art and architecture reflected the order of the world.⁸¹ He believed that architectural styles ought to “suit the requirements of its owner or to show off his rank”;⁸² this was an essential aspect of the harmony and co-existence of things. It is possible that he felt similarly about texts and commissioned bindings for his Greek classics that bore the marks of refined antiquarianism. Evidence of conscious choices such as Barbaro’s support the interpretation of Greek-style bookbindings not as the default op-

ratura, scienza e arti nella Venezia del Rinascimento, ed. by Laura Moretti and Susy Marcon, Crocetta del Montello, Antiga, 2015, pp. 101-113: 104.

76. See above, pp. 73-74.

77. See below, p. 118, and Pickwoad, “How Greek”, p. 178.

78. See LoB, *s.v.* “Couch-laminated boards” (w3id.org/lob/concept/1264).

79. Laura Moretti, “Daniele Barbaro: la vita e i libri”, in *Daniele Barbaro (1514-70): letteratura, scienza e arti nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, ed. by Laura Moretti and Susy Marcon, Crocetta del Montello, Antiga, 2015, pp. 13-29: 22.

80. Louis Cellauro, “Daniele Barbaro and Vitruvius: The Architectural Theory of a Renaissance Humanist and Patron”, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 72 (2004), pp. 293-329.

81. Antonio Foscarini, “Daniele Barbaro: Venezia, Vitruvio e Palladio”, *Studi Veneziani*, 81 (2020), pp. 201-224.

82. Cellauro, “Daniele Barbaro and Vitruvius”, p. 327.

tion for Greek books, but rather as a symbol of prestige, connected to scholarship, elegance, exoticism, antiquarianism, self-affirmation. In other words, these objects had specific functions in the expression of social identities. They put collectors on the chart of early modern global culture.

4. Collecting Greek-style bindings

The social nature of book collecting is a well-known phenomenon; long before libraries existed as the (mostly) public institutions we know them to be today, books circulated amongst social circles of friends or like-minded scholars, so that they could be studied or copies could be made of them (although books were often slow to be returned or were not returned at all – a frequent reproach to borrowers in the early modern era). In the Renaissance, Venetian private libraries were not yet the highly codified, grand displays they would become in the eighteenth century;¹ yet sixteenth-century *studioli* with the book collections they contained were also not just places to meet and discuss, but to negotiate and reinforce one's place in the cultural environment,² often through the display of remarkable books.³

One paratextual element makes the social nature of bookbindings particularly evident, by way of its absence: lack of decoration within a book, i.e. the inconsistent level of luxury in the binding of a book and in its other, internal decorative elements. This is true of many early modern styles of bookbinding, but particularly noticeable in the case of Greek-style bindings. Mantua, Biblioteca Teresiana, XLVII.D.13, for instance (the Aldine Demosthenes and Ulpianus, 1504 and 1503, bound together) has a hybrid Greek-style binding with grooved boards covered in richly gold-tooled goat-skin, Greek endbands with blue and pink secondary sewing, and now-lost interlaced fastenings.⁴ Whoever had this volume bound (possibly in Florence, a short time after

1. Dorit Raines, "La biblioteca-museo patrizia e il suo capitale sociale: modelli illuministici veneziani e l'imitazione dei nuovi aggregati", in *Arte, storia, cultura e musica in Friuli nell'età del Tiepolo: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Udine 19-20 dicembre 1996*, ed. by Caterina Furlan, Udine, Forum, 1997, pp. 63-84.

2. See Brian Richardson, "Isabella d'Este and the Social Uses of Books", *La Bibliofilia*, 114.3 (2012), pp. 293-325; Thornton, *The Scholar in His Study*, pp. 103-125; Mirella Ferrari, "Tra libri, testi e documenti: luogo e strumenti di scrittura personale", in *I luoghi dello scrivere da Francesco Petrarca agli albori dell'età moderna: atti del Convegno internazionale di studio (Arezzo, 8-11 ottobre 2003)*, ed. by Caterina Tristano, Marta Calleri and Leonardo Magionami, Spoleto, CISAM, 2006, pp. 431-466.

3. Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance*, New York – London, W.W. Norton, 1998, p. 194; Maria Ruvoldt, "Sacred to Secular, East to West: The Renaissance Study and Strategies of Display", *Renaissance Studies*, 20.5 (2006), pp. 640-657.

4. Federici and Macchi, *Le materie dei libri*, pp. 94-95.

its printing) did not bother to make its interior as luxurious as its exterior: the space left for initials was not decorated in either edition. This is not infrequent, and is telling of an unequal level of interest in the different parts of a book. Many book owners seem to have been mainly preoccupied with the parts of a book that were displayed socially in erudite and other refined circles. It is suggestive to think that they might have even obtained as much “return” on social and cultural capital from the conspicuousness of the bindings as they did from leaving its pages undecorated, showing that text and binding were subject to slightly different cultural norms;⁵ but this would need further evidence to prove convincingly, and it is possible, more simply, that they felt that the sum they were willing to allocate for a book was better spent on its most visible part when the book was in its “at rest” position, and closed.

Either way, bindings clearly have the potential to be noticed. At the same time, it should be remembered that Greek-style bookbindings were never meant for large audiences: they were popular, but not pervasive; well over half surviving specimens were made for non-Italian bibliophiles who put together large collections of books in the style in the second half of the sixteenth century. Those who could decode them were always, inevitably, a minority. They were, however, quite diverse in their common, varied “interest” in Greek material culture, just as antiquarians varied in their social and intellectual profiles.⁶ We are now going to turn our attention to some of these collectors, to explore how they approached Greekness through their books.

Hybridism in itself is an indication of the complexity of interactions with Greek material culture. The framework of which Greek-style bindings were part was not, for most, a quest for authenticity: as seen above, western book collectors did not aim for books materially as close as possible to their Byzantine originals, which could be Greek by Greek standards, but rather for books that could be recognised as Greek by other European scholars. The collecting practices around them were clearly varied and diversified, and so were the identities of those who owned Greek-style bindings.

If few Greek owners of bindings in this style can be identified is not because Greeks were absent altogether from the processes of book production and consumption in early modern Venice: we would probably have a better picture if more of their books had retained their original (or previous, anyway) sewing and covers, now obscured by extensive repairs or later bindings. A number of Greeks who lived in the Venetian Republic owned libraries, including for instance the Byzantine aristocrat Anna Notaras⁷ and scholar Michael Sophianos (*ca.* 1530-

5. At least on a figurative level; these books often still have many paratextual indications of luxury, such as expensive paper, wide margins, and a generous supply of endleaves.

6. Furlotti, *Antiquities in Motion*, pp. 83-116.

7. Donald M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady: Ten Portraits, 1250-1500*, Cambridge – New York, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 105; Silvia Ronchey, “Un’aristocratica bizantina in fuga: Anna Notaras Paleologina”, in *Donne a Venezia: vicende femminili fra Trecento e Settecento*, ed. by Susanne Winter,

1565).⁸ Many of the bindings in these collections have been lost over time, so we cannot say whether they were in the Greek style. We can presume that those in Byzantine bindings contributed to making an impression on those Westerners who saw, read, and borrowed these volumes.⁹ Cardinal Bessarion, for instance, put together a rich library which included many luxurious books,¹⁰ and after his death his books were available for loan to Venetian humanists.¹¹ They were rebound in the eighteenth century,¹² and we are left to wonder how the Uniate Cardinal chose to have his books bound.

1. *The gift of Greekness: San Zanipolo, Marcus Musurus, and the Eupatrides*

One vital institution in the Venetian Greek community was the Dominican monastery of San Zanipolo (San Giovanni e Paolo), in the *sestiere* of Castello in Venice.¹³ Its Greek library attracted many humanists;¹⁴ the collection, which was for the most part acquired by the Biblioteca Marciana,¹⁵ largely retains its early modern

Rome – Venice, Edizioni di storia e letteratura – Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, 2004, pp. 23-42: 35-36.

8. See mainly Anna Pontani, “La biblioteca di Manuele Sofianòs”, in *Paleografia e codicologia greca: atti del II Colloquio internazionale (Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17-21 ottobre 1983)*, ed. by Dieter Harlfinger and Giancarlo Prato, Alessandria, Edizioni dell’Orso, 1991, pp. 551-569.

9. On borrowing books from the Biblioteca Marciana in the early modern era, see Ottavia Mazzon, “Knocking on Heaven’s Door: The Loan Registers of the Libreria di San Marco”, in *Greeks, Books and Libraries in Renaissance Venice*, ed. by Rosa Maria Piccione, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter, 2021, pp. 259-284.

10. See mainly Carlotta Labowsky, *Bessarion’s Library and the Biblioteca Marciana: Six Early Inventories*, Roma, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1979; Zorzi, “Bessarione e i codici greci”; Brigitte Mondrain, “Le cardinal Bessarion et la constitution de sa collection de manuscrits grecs – ou comment contribuer à l’intégration à patrimoine littéraire grec et byzantin en Occident”, in *Inter graecos latinissimus, inter latinos graecissimus: Bessarion zwischen den Kulturen*, ed. by Claudia Märkl, Christian Kaiser and Thomas Ricklin, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter, 2013, pp. 187-202.

11. Robert S. Nelson, “The Italian Appreciation and Appropriation of Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts, ca. 1200-1450”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 49 (1995), pp. 209-235: 210.

12. Pugliese, “Byzantine Bindings”, p. 219.

13. The monastery also had political relevance. See for instance Massimo Firpo, *Artisti, gioiellieri, eretici: il mondo di Lorenzo Lotto tra Riforma e Controriforma*, Rome, Laterza, 2001, pp. 73-74.

14. Donald F. Jackson, *The Greek Library of Saints John and Paul (San Zanipolo) at Venice*, Tempe, ACMRS, 2011, p. VII. On the library, see also Alessio Pasian, “La biblioteca”, in *La Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo: Pantheon della Serenissima*, ed. by Giuseppe Pavanello, Venice, Marcianum Press, 2013, pp. 484-489.

15. The Biblioteca Marciana acquired a total of 303 codices and 78 printed books (Susy Marcon, “Per la biblioteca a stampa del domenicano Gioacchino Torriano”, *Miscellanea Marciana*, 1 (1986), pp. 223-248: 225). Another part of Torriano’s library is now part of the Biblioteca dei Redentoristi di Santa Maria della Consolazione (or “della Fava”) in Venice. See Riccardo Quinto, *Manoscritti medievali nella Biblioteca dei Redentoristi di Venezia (S. Maria della Consolazione, detta “Della Fava”), catalogo dei*

bindings, including about 30 in the Greek style. These include both hybrid and genuine bindings mostly made in two distinct periods – the hybrid bindings, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century; the genuine ones, in one ingeniously-funded rebinding campaign in the 1510s, as we shall see. The pattern confirms the trend we have seen of prevailing hybridism in the fifteenth century, with a genuine turn after *ca.* 1500. The patron (or at least the owner) of the hybrid bindings was the Priore of San Giovanni e Paolo, Gioacchino Torriano (or Della Torre),¹⁶ who had received a humanistic education under Paolo della Pergola (†1455).¹⁷ A Venetian native, he also lived in Padua and Rome, and held various roles, including that of prior of San Giovanni e Paolo, inquisitor, and Maestro Generale dell’Ordine, an office he held until his death in Rome.¹⁸ Erudite and proficient in the ancient languages,¹⁹ Torriano composed a Greek-Latin vocabulary; he was also a prolific author of treatises.²⁰ His Greek books went on to build the core of the library of San Giovanni e Paolo, though it is not always easy to distinguish between the collection Torriano initially put together for his own personal use and the volumes that entered the monastery at other times. The identification of the books commissioned by Torriano relies on two inventories,²¹ and on paratextual elements such as his coat of arms (a red or blue crenellated tower in a green or purple laurel wreath), which he had illuminated onto the pages of sixteen incunables.²² He was willing to purchase his books from afar, when necessary; in 1494 the Venetian Senate observed that Torriano had collected “a large quantity of books, which he had been accumulating for a long time, with great dedication and expense, from various parts of the world”²³

Torriano owned nine Greek manuscripts copied by John Argyropoulos in the 1460s²⁴ and bound in the Greek style at the end of the century in one unidentified

manoscritti, catalogo dei sermoni, identificazione dei codici dell’antica biblioteca del Convento Domenicano dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo di Venezia, Padua, Il Poligrafo, 2006, p. 351-378.

16. See Carlo Longo, “I registri di Gioacchino Torriani maestro generale dei Domenicani (1487-1500)”, in *Studi Savonaroliani: verso il V centenario. Atti del primo Seminario di studi (Firenze, 14-15 gennaio 1995)*, ed. by Gian Carlo Garfagnini, Florence, SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1996, pp. 67-84: 69-70.

17. Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*, p. 32. On Paolo della Pergola, see Dino Buzzetti, “Della Pergola, Paolo”, in *DBI*, 81 (2015).

18. Longo, “I registri”, pp. 69-75.

19. Marcon, “Per la biblioteca a stampa”, p. 223; Longo, “I registri”, p. 75.

20. Marcon, “Per la biblioteca a stampa”, pp. 224-225.

21. Marcon, “Per la biblioteca a stampa”, pp. 231-236.

22. A full list of the books and descriptions of the individual designs can be found in the “Archivio dei possessori” database: marciana.venezia.sbn.it/immagini-possessori/91-torre-gioacchino-della.

23. “ingentem quantitatem librorum, quos ingenti studio et impensis, jam longo tempore, in diversis orbis partibus recuperavit”, in Rinaldo Fulin, “Vicende della libreria in SS. Giovanni e Paolo”, *Atti dell’Ateneo Veneto*, s. II, 5 (1868), p. 273-294: 276.

24. See most recently Ciro Giacomelli, “Dal manoscritto alla stampa. Codici Veneziani e *editiones principes* di Aristotele e i suoi commentatori”, in *Le livre manuscrit grec: écriture, matériaux, histoire*.

workshop by a binder known as the “Master of John Argyropoulos” (Fig. 7): Marc. gr. IV, 6 (=1327), IV, 13 (=1329), IV, 15 (=1187), IV, 16 (=1330), IV, 17 (=1331), IV, 18 (=1332), IV, 19 (=1188), IV, 20 (=1189), XI, 9 (=1232).²⁵ The manuscripts were already in their current bindings by *ca.* 1500, when they were listed in an inventory as having the same cover colours they still do today.²⁶

Whether Torriano showed a fine discernment in books: the manuscripts, copied on good quality paper, and in a folio format, are all carefully sewn onto three or four split-strap, fairly thin tawed skin supports;²⁷ the supports enter the beech boards in tunnels and are subsequently accommodated in channels in the outer face of the boards, where they are secured with nails. The attention to detail of the artisan is shown in the device he adopted to make the spine smooth. If in Florence binders were happily leaving the ridges from sewing supports visible on the spines of the books, around the same time the “Master of John Argyropoulos” came up with a different strategy: he concealed the supports by inserting two layers of panel or transverse linings on the spine, one made of tanned skin (the external layer) and one of coarse linen-type textile²⁸ (the internal layer), which therefore compensated for the thickness of the supports themselves and created smooth spines. This is the first attested use of this rare technique,²⁹ also adopted a century later by the binder who made a group of bindings for Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: a perfect example of how two craftsmen came up with the same ingenious solution when pursuing the common aim of making a book look a certain way. The books are otherwise the usual mix of Greek and Italian: narrow squares, grooved board edges, and Greek-style but recessed endbands,³⁰ traces of double interlaced straps on the fore-edge, and blind-tooled covers. The right boards still carry evidence of the chains the books bore during their time at the library of the Monastery of San Giovanni e Paolo.

Gioacchino Torriano’s taste for Greek-style bindings is confirmed by other examples, unfortunately all re sewn or rebound, but showing evidence of having been

Actes du IX^e Colloque international de paléographie grecque (Paris, 10-15 septembre 2018), ed. by Marie Cronier and Brigitte Mondrain, Paris, Association des Amis du Centre d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2021, pp. 723-753: 747. Gabriele Mazzucco (Mazzucco, “Il maestro legatore”) included Marc. gr. IV, 14 (= 935) in the group, although it is a modern binding.

25. Mazzucco, “Il maestro legatore”, p. 117.

26. Marcon, “I libri del generale domenicano Gioacchino Torriano”, pp. 102-106. See also Pugliese, “Byzantine Bindings”.

27. Split-strap sewing supports are supports, most commonly in tanned or alum-tawed skin, a section of which has been split in (typically) two elements to create double supports. The splits can extend for the width of the spine or the entire length of the supports themselves. They are a very common element of Italian bindings in the late Middle Ages and early modern period. See LoB, *s.n.* “Split-strap sewing supports” (w3id.org/lob/concept/1626).

28. In Marc. gr. XI, 9 (=1232) only the textile was used, and in Marc. gr. IV, 20 (=1189), only tanned skin.

29. Pickwood, “How Greek”, p. 191.

30. See LoB, *s.n.* “Board-edge squares” (w3id.org/lob/concept/2834).

bound in the Greek style:³¹ BNM Marc. gr. X, 17 (=1338) (a copy of the Greek-Latin vocabulary by Gioacchino Torriano in his own hand),³² XI, 15 (=1273), and VIII, 3 (=1193) (a copy of Demosthenes’s *Orationes* dated to 1461 in the colophon³³ by its scribe, George Tsangaropoulos).³⁴

The involvement of the library of San Giovanni e Paolo in the production of Greek-style bindings did not end with Gioacchino Torriano. Some of Torriano’s Greek manuscripts remained unbound (“desligati”, “non ligati”) at the time of his death³⁵ and until Marcus Musurus entered the picture.

Marcus Musurus was a native of Crete, born from one of the noble families of the island. He first travelled to Italy to complete his education; he later returned and settled in Venice.³⁶ Upon his arrival in Venice in 1494, after spending time in Florence, he found himself in the promising intellectual *milieu* and book market of the city right at the time when Aldus Manutius was establishing his printing press.³⁷ Musurus collaborated with him as well as with Zacharias Kalliergis, before moving to Carpi in 1499-1500³⁸ as the teacher of Alberto Pio (a position that Aldus himself had previously held).³⁹ There, his financial situation improved slightly with the gift of some ecclesiastical property (though he made a point of noting that other Greeks who had made a career of teaching in Italian cities earned better money).⁴⁰ By his return to Venice, he was fully established as a key figure in the world of printing in the city,⁴¹ and starting from 1503 he taught Greek in Padua.⁴²

He spent his first years in Italy as a copyist.⁴³ However, the manuscripts he had (re)bound in the Greek style in the 1510s, now all part of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana collections, were not copied by Musurus (in fact some were copied in

31. See Pickwoad, “How Greek”, p. 180-181; Pugliese, “Byzantine Bindings”, p. 251; Jackson, *The Greek Library*, p. 11.

32. As confirmed by an inscription on fol. Ir. See Elpidio Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices graeci manuscripti. Indices omnium codicum Graecorum. Praefatio supplementa addenda*, Rome, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1985, p. 68.

33. See Pickwoad, “How Greek”, pp. 180-181; Pugliese, “Byzantine Bindings”, p. 251.

34. RGKI 72, II 93, III 121.

35. Speranzi, *Marco Musuro*, p. 136.

36. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, pp. 111-113, 123; Annaclara Cataldi Palau, “La vita di Marco Musuro alla luce di documenti e manoscritti”, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 45 (2004), pp. 296-303.

37. Cataldi Palau, “La vita”, pp. 309-310.

38. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, pp. 116-122.

39. Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, p. 52.

40. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, pp. 125-127.

41. *Lattinità editoriale dei Greci durante il Rinascimento italiano (1469-1523)*, ed. by Manoussos I. Manoussakas and Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, Athens, Ministero Greco della Cultura, 1986, pp. 102-107.

42. Cataldi Palau, “La vita”, pp. 318-327.

43. Cataldi Palau, “La vita”; Speranzi, *Marco Musuro*, pp. 11-25.

Florence and Rome)⁴⁴ nor were they prepared under his supervision.⁴⁵ It is another element that bonds these manuscripts to one another: they all bear dedications in Musurus's hand to young men from high-profile families of the Venetian patriciate who were carrying out their studies under his guidance. The dedicatees were all his students at the School of the Cancelleria Ducale in Venice, where starting in 1446, the offspring of noble Venetian families had been taught philology, grammar, and rhetoric at the expense of the government.⁴⁶ With a curriculum focusing on the teaching of rhetoric and elegant Latin (and Greek, until 1524),⁴⁷ the main goal of the school was to shape each new generation of the city's civil servant body, but there was no want of patrician pupils, and the teachers were selected among non-Venetians and appointed by the Senate.⁴⁸

As a case study, that of the Greek-style bindings on manuscripts dedicated to the Eupatrides (as Musurus called them) is unusual as it did not involve physical ownership, while still affording the dynamics of cultural self-fashioning. The books were, and remained, property of the library of the Monastery of San Giovanni e Paolo. In the 1510s, as the Monastery faced a time of financial difficulties, Musurus appealed to his pupils.⁴⁹ He acted, in other words, as intermediary for the binding (or re-binding, in the case of BNM Marc. gr. VIII, 7 (=1069)) of the manuscripts. San Giovanni e Paolo was a key institution for the promotion of Greek culture in Venice, home to both Greek refugees and to manuscripts that were employed as models in printing enterprises;⁵⁰ the peculiarity of this situation lies in how consumption was experienced without the books actually changing hands.

Judging from his strategy, Musurus seems highly aware of the potential of materiality not just as a way to display and visualise cultural identities, but also as a precious tool in cross-cultural gift-giving: in addition to the access (and prestige) bestowed upon the carrier, a gift carries additional meaning if the giver (or the recipient, as an exchange is often then prompted) occupies a high status or is an

44. See Speranzi, *Marco Musuro*, pp. 134-135.

45. An early theory in Elpidio Mioni, "La biblioteca greca di Marco Musuro", *Archivio Veneto*, 93 (1971), pp. 5-28: 21-24.

46. See Vittore Branca, "Ermolao Barbaro e il suo circolo tra azione civile, fede religiosa, entusiasmo filologico, presperimentalismo scientifico", in *La sapienza civile: studi sull'Umanesimo a Venezia*, Florence, Olschki, 1998, pp. 59-127: 62-65.

47. See Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, *Venetia auctoritate notarius: storia del notariato veneziano: 1514-1797*, Milan, Giuffrè, 1996, p. 60. On Venetian schools, see also Anna Calia, "Il *Liber Graecus* dell'Archivio dei Frari di Venezia e la diplomazia veneziano-ottomana in lingua greca tra XV e XVI secolo", *Byzantion*, 82 (2012), pp. 17-55.

48. James Bruce Ross, "Venetian Schools and Teachers Fourteenth to Early Sixteenth Century: A Survey and a Study of Giovanni Battista Egnazio", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 29.4 (1976), pp. 521-566: 529.

49. Speranzi, *Marco Musuro*, pp. 133-139; Jackson, *The Greek Library of Saints John and Paul*, pp. 43-48.

50. Giacomelli, "Dal manoscritto alla stampa".

insider of a desired social group; the political undertones of the process must not have been lost on Musurus.⁵¹ The style of the bindings itself may have not mattered; but the combination of the Greek style that half of the bindings display (with the usual Italian decorative patterns) and the elegant, carefully worded dedications in classical Greek, can hardly be considered casual.

Table 1: List of books dedicated to the Eupatrides by Marcus Musurus

| Shelfmark | Scribe | Dedicated to | Bookbinding |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| Marc. gr. IV, 8 (=1152) | Aristoboulos Apostolis, Caesar Strategus | Lorenzo Priuli (fol. I _r) | Heavily restored, previous structure unknown |
| Marc. gr. IV, 10 (=833) | Caesar Strategus | Antonio Mocenigo (fol. I _r) | Rebound in the second half of the sixteenth century |
| Marc. gr. IV, 26 (=1442) | Demetrios Damilas, Caesar Strategus | Giovanni di Giorgio Cornaro (fol. I _r) | Genuine Greek-style |
| Marc. gr. IV, 29 (=1063) | Demetrios Damilas | Niccolò Sagundino (fol. I _r) | Rebound |
| Marc. gr. V, 4 (=544) | Caesar Strategus | Gasparo Contarini (fol. I _r) | Genuine Greek-style |
| Marc. gr. V, 5 (=1053) | Caesar Strategus | Antonio Brocardo (fol. I _r) | Genuine Greek-style |
| Marc. gr. VII, 6 (=1096) | Caesar Strategus | Bertucci Soranzo (fol. I _r) | Genuine Greek-style |
| Marc. gr. VII, 7 (=1078) | Caesar Strategus | Girolamo Zeno (fol. I _r) | Resewn, but originally western-style |
| Marc. gr. VII, 8 (=1097) | Caesar Strategus | Giovanni Abrame (no longer legible) | Rebound |
| Marc. gr. VII, 9 (=1098) | Caesar Strategus; Marcus Musurus | Antonio Marsilio (left pastedown) | Rebound in the second half of the sixteenth century |
| Marc. gr. VIII, 1 (=1159) | Aristoboulos Apostolis | Paolo and Ladislao Priuli (?) (no longer legible) | Resewn, probably previously bound in the Greek-style |
| Marc. gr. VIII, 6 (=1101) | | Paolo and Ladislao Priuli | Western-style (Venetian), restored |
| Marc. gr. VIII, 7 (=1069) | 12th century, integrated by Caesar Strategus | Urbano Bolzanio (fol. I _r) | Genuine Greek-style |
| Marc. gr. VIII, 10 (=1349) | Caesar Strategus | Marino and Domenico Grimani (fol. II _r) | Rebound; probably previously bound in the Greek style |
| Marc. gr. IX, 5 (=1336) | Demetrios Damilas | Giovanni Andrea, Girolamo, and Perino (Pietro) Contarini (fol. I _r) | Genuine Greek-style |
| Marc. gr. IX, 8 (=1039) | Caesar Strategus | (paid for by Marcus Musurus) | Rebound; possibly previously bound in the Greek style |

51. On materiality and the use of gift-giving in early modern cross-cultural political contexts, see most recently Lily Arad, *Gifts from Jerusalem Jews to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchs: Identities, Otherness, and Belonging*, Berlin, De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2022; Micheline White, “Katherine Parr’s Giftbooks, Henry VIII’s *Marginalia*, and the Display of Royal Power and Piety”, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 76.1 (2023), pp. 39-83.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| Marc. gr. IX, 10 (=1160) | Marcus Musurus | Iacopo Semitecolo (f. IIr) | Genuine Greek-style |
| Marc. gr. X, 1 (=1374) | Aristoboulos Apostolis; <i>Anonymus Florentinus</i> | Alvise Bembo (f. Ir) | Western-style (Venetian), on supports |
| Marc. gr. XI, 12 (=1084) | Marcus Musurus; Caesar Strategus | Priest Alessandro of Bergamo (f. IIr) | Rebound; previous structure uncertain |
| Marc. gr. XI, 13 (=1009) | Caesar Strategus | Girolamo Zeno (f. Ir) | Rebound |
| Marc. gr. XI, 14 (=1233) | Caesar Strategus | Alvise Bembo (left paste- down) | Western-style (Venetian), on supports |

With the exception of a manuscript dedicated to the humanist Urbano Bolzanio (or Dalle Fosse; 1442-1524), who was a friend of Musurus and closer in age to him, the rest of the dedicatees were younger members of some of the wealthiest and oldest families of Venice. The name “Eupatrides” itself⁵² referred to the socio-economic status that their families enjoyed within the Republic; by praising their qualities, he called the young men to respond to the duty imposed by their intellectual aristocracy. Not all of the members of the group can be identified: one Ladislao Priuli⁵³ and a “Priest Alessandro of Bergamo” are not known. Most, however, went on to attain fame because of their political achievements or intellectual merits.

Iacopo Semitecolo, for instance, became Capo dei Quaranta, Savio agli Ordini, a member of the Quarantia Criminal, as well as a bursar of Padua, and a captain in the Venetian fleet.⁵⁴ Marin Sanudo called him “a lover of knowledge and Greek literature” (“amator di doctrina e di lettere greche”),⁵⁵ using words not far from Musurus’s dedication, “well-born from the Muses and nursling of the Graces” (“εὐγενεῖ μουσῶν τε τροφίμῳ καὶ χαρίτων”). In 1511, Alvise (Luigi) Bembo was already a Savio agli Ordini, an office connected with maritime trade often considered a first step towards a political *cursus honorum*.⁵⁶ By 1516, Paolo Priuli was one of the Ten;⁵⁷ Girolamo Zeno

52. He also used the term in a letter to Lazzaro Bonamico in 1513. See Speranzi, *Marco Musuro*, p. 131.

53. The only information available about Ladislao Priuli is his kinship with Paolo.

54. See Curt F. Bühler, “Some Documents Concerning the Torresani and the Aldine Press”, *The Library*, 25.3-4 (1944), pp. 111-121: 113-114.

55. Marin Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol. XXIII, col. 593, 19 February 1517 and col. 604, 25 February 1517 (= 1516 *m.v.*); see also Mioni, “La biblioteca greca”, p. 18.

56. Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol. XIII, col. 293, 5 December 1511: “Da poi disnar, noto, el signor Alberto da Carpi vene a veder il mio studio e il mapamondo insieme con tre savii ai ordeni sier Alvise Bembo, sier Mafio Lio, sier Daniel Barbarigo”. See also *ibid.*, vol. XIV, col. 57, 28 March 1512. He can probably be identified with the Alvise Bembo, son of one Polo, of San Zulian, who was called “a man experienced in war” (“homo pratico in guerra”) by Marin Sanudo and was Provveditor ed Esecutor in campo in 1512, and was later Capitano dei cavalli leggeri. See for instance *ibid.*, vol. XIV, col. 15, 5, col. 32, 15 March 1512; col. 489, 18 July 1512; col. 509, 24 August 1512; col. 618, 25 August 1512. See also Martin Sicherl, “Musurus-Handschriften”, in Serta Turyniana: *Studies in Greek Literature and Palaeography in Honor of Alexander Turyn*, ed. by John Kevin Newman and John Lewis Heller, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1974, pp. 564-608: 592.

57. ASV, *Segretario alle Voci*, b. 9, fol. 24r.

(†1551) was Capitano of Vicenza in 1526 and Procurator di San Marco in 1530,⁵⁸ Antonio Marsilio was Cancelliere Ducale,⁵⁹ and Bertucci Soranzo (†1530) entered the Maggior Consiglio in 1468 and was later a Senatore.⁶⁰ One of the Eupatrides briefly rose to the highest honours: Lorenzo Priuli (1489-1559) became Doge in 1556.⁶¹

Political attainments and scholarly activities went together for the Eupatrides, as they typically did for patricians. Marino Grimani (*ca.* 1488-1546) is named in a dedication beside his uncle, Domenico Grimani (1461-1523), the owner of one of the most refined book collections in Italy, amounting to about 15,000 volumes,⁶² later partly inherited by Marino, who further developed it.⁶³ From 1508, he was Bishop of Ceneda, and also became Patriarch of Aquileia and cardinal.⁶⁴ Like his uncle, he was also a patron of book arts.⁶⁵

Several other Eupatrides were keen bibliophiles and patrons: the Commissione Ducale made upon appointment of Antonio Mocenigo as Procuratore di San Marco⁶⁶ in 1523⁶⁷ was beautifully bound in a style that is markedly reminiscent of Islamic decorative language (now much more sophisticated than fifteenth-century imitations), with a central almond, filigrees, and abundant gold.⁶⁸ Musurus dedicated one manuscript to the sons of one of the wealthiest merchants in Venice and a patron of the arts, Taddeo Contarini (1466-1540):⁶⁹ one of them, Pietro Francesco (1502-1555), a young boy at the time,⁷⁰ became a polyglot with a love of philosophy⁷¹

58. Mioni, “La biblioteca greca”, p. 15; Sicherl, “Musurus-Handschriften”, pp. 587-588.

59. Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 6 vols., Venice, Tipografia Andreola, 1824, vol. IV, p. 588.

60. Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, “Intorno la vita e le opere di Marcantonio Michiel, patrizio veneto della prima metà del secolo XVI”, *Memorie dell'Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 9 (1860), pp. 359-425.

61. Andrea da Mosto, *I Dogi di Venezia nella vita pubblica e privata*, Milan, A. Martello-Giunti editore, 1977, p. 262.

62. Martin Lowry, “Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 57.1 (1974), pp. 128-166: 147.

63. Giuseppe Gullino, “Grimani, Marino”, in *DBI*, 59 (2002).

64. Mioni, “La biblioteca greca”, p. 17.

65. See Pio Paschini, “Il mecenatismo artistico del Cardinal Marino Grimani”, in *Miscellanea in onore di Roberto Cessi*, 3 vols., Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1958, vol. II, pp. 79-88.

66. On this magistracy, see mainly Alfredo Viggiano, “I Procuratori di S. Marco”, in *Le Procuratie Vecchie in piazza San Marco*, Rome, Editalia, 1994, pp. 13-56.

67. See D. S. Chambers, “Merit and Money: The Procurators of St Mark and Their *Commissione*”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 60 (1997), pp. 23-88: 39, 44, 86.

68. Also reproduced in Richard R. Holmes, *Specimens of Royal Fine and Historical Bookbinding, Selected from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle*, London, W. Griggs & Sons, 1893, no. 130.

69. Monika Schmitter, “The *Quadro da portego* in Sixteenth-Century Venetian Art”, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 64.3 (2011), pp. 693-751: 722-723.

70. For this reason, he is called “Perino” in the dedication.

71. Anton Francesco Doni, *I marmi del Doni, academico peregrino*, Vinegia, F. Marcolini, 1552, p. 69.

and the Patriarch of Venice (1554).⁷² Antonio Brocardo became a poet of some fame,⁷³ while Giovanni Abrame's (or Avramis) family owned a renowned library in Corfu. He was Giovanni Bembo's son Modestino's godfather.⁷⁴ Family connections with the Greek world, whenever present, are mentioned in the dedications, such as in the case of Giovanni Cornaro, son of Giorgio, who was a nephew of Caterina, Queen of Cyprus (1454-1510) (his branch of the Cornaro family, the Cornaro della Regina, of San Polo, was one of the wealthiest in Venice),⁷⁵ or Nicolò Sagundino (†1551), whose grandfather by the same name had been a famous Greek humanist.⁷⁶

Gasparo Contarini's (1483-1542) path probably provides the strongest case for the massive impact of Greek culture on the personal and political self-fashioning of the Eupatrides. Contarini was slightly older than the rest of the group. At the University of Padua, he had studied Greek with Musurus and philosophy with Pietro Pomponazzi (1462-1525); by the time his former Greek teacher dedicated a copy of Galen to him, he had recently returned to Venice.⁷⁷ Contarini embodied many of the beliefs and civic values upon which the Republic of Venice was founded. His love of classical culture was political: in his *De magistratibus et Republica Venetorum libri quinque*, published in 1543, Contarini described the Venetian regime as the heritage of Sparta and Rome, which created a most perfect state.⁷⁸ Shying away from the spotlight, he saw himself as a servant of the Republic. When he was created Cardinal in 1535, he reportedly loudly protested that he was no cardinal, but rather a councillor of the Republic of Venice (that year he had, for the third time, been elected into the Minor Consiglio); Alvise Mocenigo, a fellow councillor, lamented that thus, "the priests had stolen Venice's best nobleman".⁷⁹

72. Renzo Derosas, "Contarini, Pietro Francesco", in *DBI*, 28 (1983). Often, the names of four brothers are reported, as Gianandrea's name appears as Ἰωάννη Ἀνδρέα in the dedication.

73. The Brocardo were not patricians, but the family was ancient and enjoyed citizen status. See Daria Perocco, "Biblioteca nazionale Marciana: il ms. It. XI, 109 (=7409)", *Quaderni Veneti*, 2 (2013), pp. 271-277: 275.

74. See Speranzi, *Marco Musuro*, p. 251. On the Avramis library in Corfu, see Basile Markesinis, "Janos Lascaris, la bibliothèque d'Avramis à Corfou et le Paris, gr. 854", *Scriptorium*, 54 (2000), pp. 302-306. On Giovanni Bembo, see Erin Maglaque, *Venice's Intimate Empire: Family Life and Scholarship in the Renaissance Mediterranean*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2018.

75. Aldo Berruti, *Patriziato veneto: i Cornaro*, Turin, La Nuova grafica, 1952, pp. 79-81.

76. See *Ad serenissimum principem et invictissimum regem Alphonsum Nicolai Sagundini oratio*, ed. by Cristian Caselli, Rome, Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2012, pp. IX-LXX. He was also known as Ἐξαυδίνος (Exaudi nos); Mioni, "La biblioteca greca", p. 14.

77. Gigliola Fragnito, "Contarini, Gasparo", in *DBI*, 28 (1983).

78. See mainly Myron P. Gilmore, "Myth and Reality in Venetian Political Theory", in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. by John Rigby Hale, London, Faber and Faber, 1973, pp. 431-444: 431-433; Debra Pincus, "Venice and the Two Romes: Byzantium and Rome as Double Heritage in Venetian Cultural Politics", *Artibus et Historiae*, 13.26 (1992), pp. 101-114: 109.

79. See Chambers, "Merit and Money", p. 73.

Texts and paratexts contribute to the same story-telling. Musurus dedicated manuscripts of Galen to Gasparo Contarini (who was influenced by Galen’s theories)⁸⁰ and to Antonio Brocardo (whose father, Marino Brocardo, was also interested in such matters).⁸¹ Marino and Domenico Grimani had their names inscribed on a manuscript containing treatises by Greek rhetors – a specific interest of Domenico’s, who purchased their texts to fill a gap in Pico della Mirandola’s (1463-1494) collection, which he had acquired in 1498.⁸²

Musurus also carefully chose his words,⁸³ reinforcing his own instrumental role and his dynamic with his pupils. While he “dedicated” one book to himself, humbly self-identifying as a “teacher” (καθηγητής), the virtues of the Eupatrides, conversely, are spelled out in superlatives and associated with an inclination towards characters that were particularly appreciated in the Venetian elites: harmony and order (κόσμιος), measuredness (ἐπιεικής), and eloquence (“εὐφυνεῖ λόγῳ τε καὶ ἦθει κεκοσμημένῳ”). They are held in high repute (ἐλλόγιμος), illustrious (ἐκλαμπροτάτος) and magnificent (μεγαλοπρεπής), wise (πάνσοφος) and sharp-minded (νονεχής). Their merits make them beloved by gods and men alike (“θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις πεφιλημένους”).

The materiality of the manuscripts, *in primis* the Greek-style bindings on many of them, reproduces, materially, the same language, to the same narrative aims. Half of the binding structures that have survived to this day⁸⁴ are in the genuine Greek style; did Musurus supervise their making, by involving Greek binders in the operation, or instruct Italian binders? The endbands are also in the Greek style, with or without secondary sewing; the primary sewing was sometimes carried out in blue thread, a rare occurrence in Byzantine endbands.⁸⁵ Some have cores of cord wrapped in parchment, which was also extremely rare in the Greek world, even in the post-Byzantine period.⁸⁶ Bookblock edges are coloured, or gilt and gauffered. Fastenings are double or triple, always interlaced, either only on the fore-edge or on

80. See Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993, pp. 85-86.

81. Jon Arrizabalaga, John Henderson and Roger French, *The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1997, pp. 256-263.

82. Lowry, “Two Great Venetian Libraries”, p. 151.

83. The texts have been reproduced most recently in Speranzi, *Marco Musuro*.

84. Marc. gr. XI, 13 (=1009) was completely rebound in the eighteenth century; there is no trace of previous structures or decorations. Marc. gr. XI, 12 (=1084) has been rebound, and the covers of the binding paid for by Musurus’s pupils were pasted upon the new binding; the area of the fastenings is disturbed. Marc. gr. IV, 10 (=833) and VII, 9 (=1098) were rebound about half a century later, as the tools suggest (the centrepiece is similar to that of the manuscripts bound for Pinelli in the 1570s-1580s, for which see pp. 45, 122) and as material evidence clearly indicates: in both manuscripts, and only in these two manuscripts, the endleaves with the dedications to the Eupatrides were pasted down onto the board. Marc. gr. VIII, 1 (=1159) and IX, 8 (=1039) have been restored, but some evidence of Greek-style structures is still visible.

85. See for instance Boudalis, *On the Edge*, pp. 49, 274.

86. Boudalis, *On the Edge*, p. 37.

all three edges. It therefore seems that they were bound by several individuals, with no consistent programme, as confirmed by tooling.⁸⁷

Two of the books bound in the Greek style preserve price annotations referring to their bindings on their pastedowns, amounting to 7 lire (“libras επτά”); both manuscripts, i.e. BNM, Marc. gr. V, 4 (=544) and Marc. gr. V, 5 (=1053), were copied by Caesar Strategus.⁸⁸ These prices are consistent with those seen previously, and in particular with the 10 lire for the NYPL *Divina missa Sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi* paid 15 years later (albeit for the whole book, not just its binding).⁸⁹

These books, with their material Greek features, completed and reinforced the message that the Eupatrides’s competence in the Greek language, their love of Greek culture, and their efforts to preserve both – ultimately, their identification as “nurslings”, τρώφιμοι, of Hellenism – was recognised in a visual, material, and textual manner. The other half of the bindings paid for by the Eupatrides are in the western style, with no Greek components: a good reminder that Greek-style techniques were one of many choices, not the default option, even for a Greek manuscript copied by a Greek and bound through the mediation of a Greek: hence the reason it is interesting to look at *why* they were chosen, when they were.

There is no reason to believe that the Eupatrides would be aggravated by not being able to call the books their own. In fact, their patronage would be all the more conspicuous as the books, with their dedications, were kept available for “public” use; not unlike the artificial, but compelling, sense of ownership that patrons feel when called to contribute to modern adopt-a-book campaigns. A Greek-style binding was an appropriate way to “package”, so to say, the message. Commodifying Greek material culture proved, ultimately, to be a reliable strategy.⁹⁰

2. Scholars and ambassadors

It goes without saying that the circulation of Greek-style bindings is tied very closely to scholarly and diplomatic circles, but it is worth looking at some of the names of their collectors to highlight the interconnectedness between them and printers and scribes who operated at the same time.

87. Mazzucco, “Il maestro legatore”; Mazzucco, “Legature rinascimentali”.

88. Speranzi, *Marco Musuro*, pp. 248-249. On Venetian coinage in this period, see Rossi, “*Melior ut est florenus*”, pp. 79-80, 95-97.

89. See above, p. 96.

90. Musurus had also previously written *ex libris* on the Greek codices of Alberto Pio di Carpi, whom he had taught. The *ex libris* on these manuscripts (in the name of his pupil, not his own) are also in Greek. See Giovanni Mercati, *Codici latini Pico Grimani Pio e di altra biblioteca ignota del secolo XVI esistenti nell’Ottoboniana e i codici greci Pio di Modena*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938, pp. 62-74.

Some of the evidence of popularity of the style with students comes, once again, from San Giovanni e Paolo, where the funeral effigy of Alvise Trevisan sculpted by Bartolomeo Terrandi (known as Bartolomeo Bergamasco) is located (Pl. 14).⁹¹ Trevisan was a student at the University of Padua when he died in 1528.⁹² He was “erudite in Greek and Latin letters”, according to the inscription, and because of his bequest of “many Greek books” to the convent, his monument occupies a prominent place in the church.⁹³ Dressed in the *vestis oblonga* typical of the students in Padua,⁹⁴ he is surrounded by books recognisably bound in the Greek style (with visible smooth spines, triple interlaced straps on the fore-edges, and grooved board edges) and in the Latin style (with ridges on their spines, squares, and western-style fastenings).⁹⁵ In addition to serving as a reference to his studies, these books hint at the early modern practice of displaying the bodies of scholars with books during funeral rites, as also attested in documentary sources.⁹⁶

As we have seen with the case of the Eupatrides, scholarly networks were key in the diffusion and circulation of Greek-style bindings. Pietro da Portico, humanist and Camaldolese monk, owned three printed books in Greek-style bindings: two Milanese incunables printed by Buono Accorsi (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, inc. Magl. C.5.7. and I.2.14) and the Aldine Dioscorides (Arezzo, Biblioteca Comunale, Inc. 35-41); he had lived in Crete and Corfu and worked in Aldus’s own printing shop.⁹⁷

91. See Pickwood, “How Greek”, p. 178. On visual sources depicting Greek-style bindings, see also Boudalis, “The Interaction between East and West”.

92. Anne Markham Schultz, “Scultura del secondo Quattrocento e del primo Cinquecento: il Rinascimento (I)”, in *La Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo: Pantheon della Serenissima*, ed. by Giuseppe Pavanello, Venice, Marcianum Press, 2013, pp. 123-201: 125, 197-200 no. 44.

93. Anne Markham Schultz, “The Cenotaph of Alvise Trevisan in SS. Giovanni e Paolo”, in *Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, ed. by Andrew Morrogh *et al.*, 2 vols., Florence, Giunti Barbera, 1985, vol. II, pp. 413-436: 414.

94. Markham Schultz, “Scultura”, pp. 197-200.

95. Pickwood, “How Greek”, p. 178.

96. See the case of Aldus Manutius’s funeral (Tiziana Plebani, “Perché semo certi che chi nasce debbe morire: Aldo di fronte alla morte. I testamenti come fonte”, in *Aldo Manuzio: la costruzione del mito*, ed. by Mario Infelise, Venice, Marsilio, 2017, pp. 39-57) and of the physician Tommaso Giannotti Rangoni (1493-1577), who requested that eight clerics should each hold an open book around his body. See Sabrina Minuzzi, “Il medico Tommaso Giannotti Rangone (1493-1577) nell’economia della cura ovvero un trionfo di libri, segreti e *regimen sanitatis*”, *Medicina & storia*, n.s., 1 (2013), pp. 29-66.

97. Scapecchi, *Aldo Manuzio*; Scapecchi, “Legature ‘alla greca’ dal circolo di Aldo Manuzio”; Piero Scapecchi, “Manoscritti ed edizioni a stampa appartenuti alla raccolta libraria del camaldolese Pietro da Portico”, in *Aldo Manuzio tipografo, 1494-1515*, ed. by Luciana Bigliuzzi *et al.*, Florence, Franco Contini Editore, 1994, pp. 193-196. On Pietro da Portico’s Cretan manuscripts, see David Speranzi, “Praeclara Librorum Suppellectilis: Cretan Manuscripts in Pietro da Portico’s Library”, in *Teachers, Students, and Schools of Greek in the Renaissance*, ed. by Federica Ciccolella and Luigi Silvano, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2017, pp. 155-212.

Lorenzo Benivieni (1495/1496-1547) owned two Greek-style bindings. A member of the anti-Medicean faction in the city, he was still given a delicate cultural and political role by Cosimo I in 1541, when he was made Console of the Accademia Fiorentina (which carried forward the vernacular translation of many Latin and Greek classics).⁹⁸ Benivieni's Greek-style bindings appear on copies of two Greek works: the Isocrates printed by Ulrich Scinzenzeler and Sebastianus de Ponte Tremulo in 1493 (Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum, Incun. 493I) and Bartolomeo Zanetti and Filippo Giunta's 1514 edition of the *Encheiridion grammatices eisagoges* (London, British Library, C.66.d.9), both of them in typical hybrid Florentine bindings. The bindings do not appear to be related and it is likely that Benivieni acquired the books already bound. He had a sensitivity to the tropes of antiquarianism; his *ex libris* appears in Greek and with the formulaic “καὶ τῶν φίλων” (“and their friends”) not just in Greek books such as these, but also in Latin- and Italian-language editions, such as the works of his great-uncle Girolamo's (a famous poet) or of Tacitus.⁹⁹ The Latin and Greek variants “et amicorum”/ “καὶ τῶν φίλων”¹⁰⁰ that owners frequently penned in their books (and occasionally had tooled on covers) had a particular resonance in early modern educated circles as they hinted at shared values and a common language: the expression seems to have originated from Euripides's *Orestes*.¹⁰¹

Books also changed hands in groups, and their cultural value could be increased for having been in the possession of another scholar of the previous generation. Piero Vettori (1499-1585) is known for having had an interest in the libraries

98. Nicola De Blasi, “Benivieni, Lorenzo”, in *DBI*, 8 (1966); Michel Plaisance, “Il principe e i “letterati”: le accademie fiorentine nel XVI secolo”, in *Firenze e la Toscana: genesi e trasformazioni di uno stato (XIV-XIX secolo)*, ed. by Jean Boutier, Sandro Landi and Olivier Rouchon, Florence, Mandragora, 2010, pp. 289-301.

99. Lonato del Garda, Biblioteca Ugo da Como, Incunaboli 84 (MEI 02004068); Bruce McKittrick Rare Books, *Catalog 69* (Narberth, s.d.), p. 44 no. 80.

100. Jean Grolier and Marc Laurin had “et amicorum” added to their names on the covers. See Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift*. Vol. 1, p. 176. See also Enrico Valseriati, “Un giovane studioso di Cicerone e Terenzio: Daniele Sala”, in *Profili di umanisti bresciani*, ed. by Carla Maria Monti, Travagliato – Brescia, Torre d'Ercole, 2012, pp. 343-347: 346, for an overview of its use by Italian humanists, and Wilson, *The Greek Classics*, pp. 284-285 for its use in a letter by William Grocyn to Aldus.

101. “Communal indeed is what belongs to friends”, “Κοινὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν φίλων”. See for instance the inscription “Hic liber est mei Ciri Sonzoni et amicorum, quia amicorum omnia sunt comunia (sic)” on a copy of the Aristophanes printed in Basel in 1532, now at the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana: *Bibliothèque de Madame G. Whitney Hoff: catalogue des manuscrits, incunables, éditions rares, reliures anciennes et modernes*, Paris, 1933, pp. 27-28 no. 33; De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, vol. III, 48, no. 2833 bis; and that on Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Rari L. 2827 (*Horologion*), which contains the entire citation in its left endleaves. The owner was possibly the son of Piero Sonzoni Beroldi, a Veronese physician and philosopher, on whom see Claudio Bismara, “Pietro Sonzoni Beroldi, medico e filosofo del Rinascimento veronese e Padre dell'Accademia Filarmonica”, in *Magna Verona vale: studi in onore di Pierpaolo Brugnoli*, ed. by Andrea Brugnoli and Gian Maria Varanini, Verona, La grafica, 2008, pp. 113-124. Both copies are in Greek-style bindings.

of other humanists; he had at least two Greek editions in Greek-style bindings of the early Florentine production in his library (BSB, ESLg/2 A.gr.b. 442 and ESLg/4 A.gr.a. 760) that may have come from one collection – sadly, the name of this previous owner is not known.¹⁰² It must have been someone with a taste for the style, and it is interesting that Vettori, so intentional in acquiring and donating books, had them among his books.

From Venice, the main centre of production of Greek-style bindings in Italy, books frequently travelled quite extensively. The cross-border interest in Greek-style bookbindings is testified by their presence in the libraries of some of the best educated cultural brokers of the early modern world, diplomats and ambassadors. Ambassadors’ knowledge of languages and of the political and geographical world made them primary players in the games of information and power, especially at delicate junctures such as European powers often found themselves over the course of the late fifteenth and sixteenth century.¹⁰³ As cultural mediators, they navigated foreign environments with the help of broad skill sets and tools such as gift-exchange.¹⁰⁴ In early modern Venice, ambassadorships were some of the most important offices of the Republic.¹⁰⁵

European ambassadors were often in charge of tracking down Greek manuscripts in the East.¹⁰⁶ Many had a taste for foreign art and archaeology; in their portraits, they were often depicted surrounded by antiquities, books, prints, and writing implements,¹⁰⁷ which was of course also the case for other types of portrait-sitters. After all, the value of physical books as props in portraits and other instances of self-representation has lasted well into the present, even contributing in shaping reading preferences: a 2023 American Library Association report stated that “printed books make good props in visual media [...]. There are no TikTok videos of ebooks!”¹⁰⁸

102. Raphaële Mouren, “La fabrique d’une bibliothèque au coeur de la République des Lettres: Piero Vettori, ses amis et ses livres”, in *Bibliothèques et lecteurs dans l’Europe moderne (XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, ed. by Gilles Bertrand *et al.*, Geneva, Droz, 2016, pp. 181-203. On the two bindings, see De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, vol. III, p. 39 no. 2709 bis and p. 48 no. 2827 bis; Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, p. 221, no. 151.

103. Elena Bonora, *Waiting for the Emperor: Italian Princes, the Pope and Charles V*, Rome, Viella, 2022.

104. Deborah Howard, *Venice & the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100-1500*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2000, p. 60.

105. Peter Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Élités*, London, Temple Smith, 1974, pp. 17, 34-35.

106. See Jean Irigoien, “Les ambassadeurs à Venise et le commerce des manuscrits grecs dans les années 1540-1550”, in *Venezia, centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente (secoli XV-XVI): aspetti e problemi*, ed. by Hans-Georg Beck, Manoussos Manoussacos and Agostino Pertusi, 2 vols., Florence, Olschki, 1977, pp. 399-416; Bonora, *Waiting for the Emperor*, pp. 65-70.

107. Lydia Rosía Dorn, *Diplomatenporträts der Frühen Neuzeit: Botschafter und Gesandte in der Malerei von Titian über Van Dyck bis Aved*, Berlin – Munich, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2017.

108. Kathi Inman Berens and Rachel Noorda, “Gen Z and Millennials: How They Use Pub-

Greek-style bindings were commissioned and bought by several early modern ambassadors, especially starting in the early sixteenth century. In their political and social roles, one of the crucial abilities of ambassadors was their communication skills. Not only were foreign languages an essential tool of the trade; ambassadors also needed to be proficient in non-verbal communication, which they are known to have consciously included in their dispatches.¹⁰⁹ Their skills extended to material culture – a language in its own right, which can be read and has a grammar and syntax: we have seen how discrete, modular elements of Greek-style bindings could be combined to articulate meanings, much like morphemes, lexemes, and other units can be combined to articulate language.¹¹⁰

Vincenzo Querini, for instance, owned two books in Greek-style bindings (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 118, a manuscript of Gregorius Nazianzenus's *Orationes*, and Poppi, Biblioteca Rilliana, Inc. 124, the Aldine Theocritus) which later were part of the collection of the Eremito di Camaldoli: after many ambassadorships across Europe, Querini joined the monastery in 1512.¹¹¹ Foreign ambassadors in Venice also took advantage of their access to the local market to add Greek-style bindings to their collections. Reginald Pole owned two;¹¹² Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla (or Bovadilla) (1508-1566), diplomat and Cardinal of Burgos, and the French Georges de Selve, ambassador of Francis I, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Charles V's and Philip II's powerful minister who conducted many of the Empire's foreign affairs and whose political influence was felt in Italy, Flanders, and Spain alike, owned or procured several.¹¹³

lic Libraries and Identify through Media Use", American Library Association, 2023, p. 11: ala.org/advocacy/sites/ala.org/advocacy/files/content/tools/Gen-Z-and-Millennials-Report%20%281%29.pdf (last accessed 27 January 2024).

109. Filippo de Vivo, "Archives of Speech: Recording Diplomatic Negotiation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy", *European History Quarterly*, 46.3 (2016), pp. 519-544.

110. Federici and Houlis, *Legature bizantine vaticane*, p. 67; Pickwood, "Reading Bindings".

111. Scapecchi, "Tommaso Giustiniani e Vincenzo Querini". On Querini, see also Stephen D. Bowd, *Reform before the Reformation: Vincenzo Querini and the Religious Renaissance in Italy*, Leiden, Brill, 2002.

112. In addition to BOD, Canon. gr. 78, in his youth Pole probably owned a copy of the third volume of the Aldine Aristotle, BA, Inc. 372/1, bound in the Greek style. See p. 67.

113. On the bindings of Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla, see Martínez Manzano, "Las encuadernaciones". On Georges de Selve's, see Hobson, "Les reliures italiennes"; Philippe Hoffmann, "Sur quelques manuscrits vénitiens de Georges de Selve, leurs reliures et leur histoire", in *Paleografia e codicologia greca: atti del II Colloquio internazionale (Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17-21 ottobre 1983)*, ed. by Dieter Harlfinger and Giancarlo Prato, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 1991, pp. 441-462. On Perrenot de Granvelle's bindings, see especially Jean-Marc Chatelain, "Les reliures italiennes de la bibliothèque d'Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle", in *Les Granvelles et l'Italie au XVI^e siècle: le mécénat d'une famille. Actes du Colloque international organisé par la Section d'Italien de l'Université de Franche-Comté, Besançon, 2-4 octobre 1992*, ed. by Jacqueline Brunet and Gennaro Toscano, Besançon, Cêtre, 1996, pp. 79-94; Brooker, "The Library of Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle". On Granvelle, see also Marco Legnani, *Antonio Perrenot de Granvelle: politica e diplomazia al servizio dell'impero spagnolo (1517-1586)*, Milan, Unicopli, 2013.

Diplomatic activities and the procurement of Greek manuscripts often went hand in hand: Guillaume Pellicier, bishop of Montpellier (ca. 1490-1568), and Girolamo Fondulo were key to both French intelligence and the construction of Francis I's library.¹¹⁴ Most of Pellicier's Greek books were bound in parchment,¹¹⁵ but amongst his manuscripts now held at the Meerman-Phillips-Sammlung in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek some Greek-style bindings can be found. It may be that they were not made for Pellicier specifically: Phill. 1639 (a copy of Nicetas Choniates's *Historia*), for instance, may have been gifted to him by a member of the Strozzi family, whose arms the binding bears.¹¹⁶ Then again, Greek-style bindings seem to have exercised a degree of fascination even with those scholars who normally rejected book-making fashions: Gian Vincenzo Pinelli is the perfect example of this. An extremely well-connected bibliophile, it has often been said that he treasured texts above their material features. He had little patience when asked to show off his large library to those he thought undeserving, and clearly stated he preferred the simpler parchment bindings in which he had most of his books bound;¹¹⁷ the only exception he made, it seems, he made for six elegant, sober, and ingeniously hybrid Greek-style bindings.¹¹⁸ Pinelli also had keen ethnographic interests, both in the customs of extra-European populations and in those of antiquity.¹¹⁹

The modalities by which Pellicier acquired his manuscripts in Venice match those of other bibliophiles who lived in the city around the same time; he had his books copied by many of the same scribes who worked for Diego Hurtado de Mendoza when he assembled his collection.¹²⁰ Mendoza, from one of the highest-ranking aristocratic families in Spain, was Charles V's ambassador in Venice between 1539 and 1546. He owned a “bibliotheca ornatissima” which included a number

114. Laffitte and Le Bars, *Reliures royales*, pp. 15-18. On ambassadors and the collecting of Greek books, see *Scambi mediterranei: diplomatici e libri in età moderna*, ed. by Elena Valeri, Daniele Bianconi and Emmanuelle Chapron, special issue of *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines*, 134.1 (2022).

115. Annaclara Cataldi Palau, “Les vicissitudes de la collection de manuscrits grecs de Guillaume Pellicier”, *Scriptorium*, 40.1 (1986), pp. 32-53; Annaclara Cataldi Palau, *Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts from the Meerman Collection in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, 2011, pp. 17-19.

116. Cataldi Palau, *Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts from the Meerman Collection*, p. 19.

117. Anna Maria Raugé, *Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la sua biblioteca*, Geneva, Droz, 2018, pp. 27-28, 72-73.

118. Gialdini, “Antiquarianism and Self-Fashioning”. On Pinelli's social circles, see most recently Dennj Solera, “Un principe per testimone: Gian Vincenzo Pinelli alle lauree padovane”, in *Conoscere il passato per progettare il futuro: studi per l'ottavo centenario dell'Università di Padova*, ed. by Gian Paolo Brizzi and Massimo Donattini, Bologna, Il mulino, 2022, pp. 53-76.

119. Taylor, “Ancients and Moderns”.

120. Brigitte Mondrain, “Copistes et collectionneurs de manuscrits grecs au milieu du XVI^e siècle: le cas de Johann Jakob Fugger d'Augsbourg”, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 84-85 (1991-1992), pp. 354-390: 381. On these scribes, see most recently Rosa Maria Piccione, “The Greek Library of Guillaume Pellicier: The Role of the Scribe Ioannes Katelos”, in *Greeks, Books and Libraries in Renaissance Venice*, ed. by Rosa Maria Piccione, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter, 2021, pp. 177-196.

of Greek-style bindings made in Venice and, probably, even Byzantine bindings newly covered in Italy, such as those of El Escorial, Σ III 4 and T III 14;¹²¹ the way Mendoza's books were bound may have even dictated the organisation of his collection.¹²² For the last 70 years, Mendoza's library has attracted the attention of book historians for its material characteristics (it was a keen interest of Anthony Hobson, amongst others), but much remains unknown to this day, including the level of his actual proficiency in the Greek language.¹²³ Again in this case, not all his Greek-style bindings were made for him, which of course does not diminish his appreciation for the style, in which over 60 of his books were bound.¹²⁴ His interest in both fashionable book-making trends and antiquarian taste is confirmed by the fact that he collected a number of plaquette bindings (including El Escorial, 54 IV 3 8 itself);¹²⁵ he also had one Armenian book bound in the Greek style and covered in a piece of black silk.¹²⁶

An Italian education in general contributed to Spanish Hellenists gaining an interest in the Greek style of binding. Salm. Inc. 209, owned by Hernán Núñez de Guzmán (El Pinciano), represents a peculiar case, with its genuine structure and uncovered boards. Núñez had studied at the Spanish College of San Clemente in Bologna until 1490. His books are now held in Salamanca, where he became professor of Greek after he faced problems at the University of Alcalá due to his Erasmian sympathies; as part of the deal with the University of Salamanca, the latter absorbed his book collection.¹²⁷

121. Teresa Martínez Manzano, "Actualización científica del *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de El Escorial* de Alejo Revilla", *Estudios Bizantinos*, 10 (2022), pp. 123-207: 163, 186.

122. Teresa Martínez Manzano, "La biblioteca manuscrita griega de Diego Hurtado de Mendoza: problemas y perspectivas", *Segno e Testa*, 16 (2018), pp. 315-433: 340-342.

123. Henry Thomas, "Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and His Plaquette Bindings", in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle Da Costa Greene*, ed. by Dorothy Miner, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1954, pp. 474-480; Anthony Hobson, "Two Venetian Bindings for Diego Hurtado de Mendoza", *The Book Collector*, 24.1 (1975), pp. 33-36; Anthony Hobson, "The 'Iter Italicum' of Jean Matal", in *Studies in the Book Trade in Honour of Graham Pollard*, ed. by Richard William Hunt, Ian Gilbert Philip and Richard Julian Roberts, Oxford, Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1975, pp. 33-61; Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*; Anthony Hobson, *Libros, manuscritos y encuadernaciones de la biblioteca de Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*. XVIII Congreso internacional de bibliofilia, Madrid, Lunes, 20 de septiembre de 1993, Madrid, 1993; Anthony Hobson, "Diego Hurtado de Mendoza", in *Great Bindings from the Spanish Royal Collections, 15th-21st Centuries*, ed. by María Luisa López-Vidriero, Madrid, El Viso, 2012, pp. 123-148; Martínez Manzano, "Las encuadernaciones"; Teresa Martínez Manzano, "Towards the Reconstruction of a Little-Known Renaissance Library: The Greek Incunabula and Printed Editions of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza", in *Greeks, Books and Libraries in Renaissance Venice*, ed. by Rosa Maria Piccione, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter, 2021, pp. 163-176.

124. Martínez Manzano, "Las encuadernaciones". On Esc. 54 IV 3 8, see also pp. 67-68.

125. Thomas, "Diego Hurtado de Mendoza"; Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, pp. 70-92.

126. Martínez Manzano, "Las encuadernaciones", p. 271.

127. Malvadi and Codoñer, "Hernán Núñez de Guzmán y el incunable 3".

We can return to visual sources to show how varied the (imagined and real) erudite audience of Greek-style bindings could be:¹²⁸ the *Portrait of an Astronomer* by Giovanni Cariani (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), and *Saint Paul Writing*, by Pier Francesco Sacchi (National Gallery, London) both depict one.

The *Portrait of an Astronomer* has been tentatively dated *ca.* 1520. Attributed to Giovanni Cariani (1485/1490-1547), also known as Giovanni Busi and active in the Republic of Venice, it shows a man holding an armillary sphere in his left hand and resting his right hand on a closed book on a slab of marble (Pl. 15). The artist included several of the characteristics that make it possible to identify the binding as Greek-style: the heavily rounded spine, grooved edges, and triple interlaced straps; and, more conspicuously, the Cretan decoration on the edges.¹²⁹ The man has not been identified, though on account of the objects he holds he can be presumed to be a man of science and possibly a teacher, as armillary spheres were used to learn the respective positions of celestial bodies.

The context of the *Saint Paul Writing* (Pl. 16) could not be more different: not only does it present a Greek-style binding in a religious setting, but it also recalls the atemporality we have already seen enabled in the reception of Greek heritage in early modern Europe. Pier Francesco Sacchi (*ca.* 1485-1528),¹³⁰ who is thought to have painted it in the 1520s,¹³¹ represented Saint Paul gazing at a crucifix while sitting at his desk and writing, with a closed book lying, only partially visible, on the table. Its Greek-style endband, grooved edges, and one interlaced fastening can be seen. The natural instinct of the painter was that of giving the book squares, even though the latter cannot comfortably coexist with projecting endbands; he was probably not familiar with Greek-style bindings and their typical shape. It is not completely clear if the binding is hybrid: the spine is not visible from the observer’s point of view. In this case, the choice of a Greek-style binding must owe to Saint Paul being a Hellenised Jew in the act of writing in Greek.

3. *Bibliophile or bibliotaphos? Johann Jakob Fugger*

Johann (or Hans) Jakob Fugger’s (1516-1575) personal collection of Greek-style bindings was certainly the largest to ever be amassed: it consisted of about 250 specimens. Johann Jakob Fugger had both Greek and Hebrew manuscripts bound in the Greek style, on books that, on a textual, palaeographical, technical, and decorative level, are generally of very high quality. To this day, however, no complete

128. Georgios Boudalis has identified another binding showing Greek features depicted in a western visual source (a portrait of Erasmus): see Boudalis, “The interaction between East and West”.

129. See p. 53.

130. I would like to thank Alexis Hagadorn for pointing out Sacchi’s painting to me.

131. Gianluca Zanelli, “Sacchi, Pietro Francesco”, in *DBI*, 89 (2017).

list of these “compactiones Fuggerianae” or “Fuggereinbände” exists.¹³² The only other comparable collection of Greek-style bindings is that of Fontainebleau, a royal library.

Fugger had many of his books copied or bought, and bound, in Venice, and then shipped to him. The bindings made in Venice for him have usually been attributed to a handful of binders (Fugger Binder, Mendoza Binder, and Praetura-Venona-Meister) on the basis of the tooling; it is now becoming increasingly clear that underneath the common layout and tools, many technical features reveal the presence of a number of craftsmen who worked in their workshops to forward the genuine Greek-style bindings for him,¹³³ some of them perhaps Greek. Only at a later time did he hire someone to bind their books in the Greek style locally; Fugger sent the Flemish Anthoni Lodewijk to Venice to be trained before calling him back to Augsburg. Anthoni Lodewijk only bound a small portion of the books, which are very similar in technique and decorative layout to those made in Venice (with the exception of some materials and finishing tools, which, however, closely imitate the Venetian style).

The most remarkable peculiarity of this collection, however, is the large presence of manuscripts in Hebrew (approximately 60), the only differences in the bindings consisting in the colour of their coverings (red for Greek, green for Hebrew) and in the titling in each language. Fugger could probably read just as much Hebrew as he did Greek: that is to say, none. And even if he could, there is no evidence that he did read these books, which do not seem to bear any annotations that can be attributed to him. The *marginalia* in the manuscripts that he acquired second hand all date from before they came into his possession; in the case of books copied anew, the hand of other scribes or philologists who corrected the texts has been often identified.¹³⁴ Why did Johann Jakob Fugger – a member of the most influential banking family of early modern Europe – commit so much money into putting together a collection of beautiful books he could not read, and why did he have them finely and expensively bound?

It has been pointed out that for the Fugger family, a concern in assembling a library followed financial success by a couple of generations. Until the 1540s, the Fuggers did not show much interest in book collecting. Johann Jakob's brother Ulrich (1526-1584) spent as much as 126,000 florins on books in the period 1546-1553, and patronised the French printer Henri Estienne.¹³⁵ The core of Johann

132. Hajdú, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*. Bd. 10, 1. *Die Sammlung griechischer Handschriften in der Münchener Hofbibliothek bis zum Jahr 1803*, p. 53. Tammaro De Marinis recorded 192 bindings (De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, vol. III, pp. 48-49), including Cod.hebr. 14, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, and 76 which, however, have no Greek features.

133. Pickwood, “How Greek”, p. 178-179.

134. See Mondrain, “Copistes et collectionneurs”.

135. Mark Häberlein, “Merchants as Bibliophiles: The Fuggers of Augsburg and Their Libraries in the Sixteenth Century”, in *International Association of Bibliophiles: Transactions, XXVIIIth*

Jakob's antiquarian collection came as an inheritance from his father Raymund (1489-1535), which mostly consisted of coins and sculptures, but also contained a number of books.¹³⁶ Raymund also had his sons, Johann Jakob and Georg, study at the universities of Bourges, Padua, and Bologna.¹³⁷ In the 1550s, Johann Jakob's uncle Anton (1493-1560) financed the printing of several works in Greek, including texts from manuscripts that had been purchased in Constantinople. The editions were edited by the humanist Hieronymus Wolf (1516-1580), who was also the Fugger's librarian starting in 1551.¹³⁸

Over the course of his life, Johann Jakob was able to accumulate an impressive number of volumes, which reportedly consisted of as many as 12,000 books. The time, money, and effort put into the pursuit of his collection are said to have taken him away from managing the Fugger firm, which he did from 1560 to 1563 after his uncle Anton's death. At that point their financial situation had been made critical by the outstanding loans to the Spanish crown – about 3 million ducats in 1563, which their debtors would not pay off, despite his creditor's repeated pleading – and by the Dutch financial crisis.¹³⁹ Johann Jakob soon started relying upon the friendship and generosity of Duke Albrecht V (1528-1579), elector of Bavaria, who eventually even paid for the expenses of Johann Jakob's funeral in 1575; the relationship between Johann Jakob and his family had deteriorated since he had entered the services of the Bavarian court.¹⁴⁰ Already in 1571, at any rate, the Duke had purchased Fugger's whole library, which is regarded as “one of the foundation stones” of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.¹⁴¹

Congress, Munich, Post-Congress, Nuremberg = Association Internationale de Bibliophilie: actes et communications, XXVIIIth Congrès, Munich, post-congrès, Nuremberg, ed. by T. Kimball Brooker, [s.l.], Association Internationale de Bibliophilie, 2019, pp. 135-159: 143-145.

136. Paul Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken*, 2 vols., Tübingen, Mohr, 1956-1960, vol. I, pp. 11-40; Wolfgang E. J. Weber, “Das Vermächtnis des Wassermann: Hans Jakob Fugger und die Münchener Hofbibliothek”, in *Die Anfänge der Münchener Hofbibliothek unter Herzog Albrecht V.*, ed. by Alois Schmid, Munich, C.H. Beck, 2009, pp. 132-145: 137.

137. Mark Häberlein, “Merchants as Bibliophiles”.

138. Mark Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany*, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2012, pp. 166-167.

139. Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, pp. 102-103.

140. Helmut Zäh, “Hans Jakob Fugger, der “Wassermann” in der Korrespondenz Hans Fuggers”, in *Die Welt des Hans Fugger (1531-1598)*, ed. by Johannes Burkhardt and Franz Karg, Augsburg, Wissner, 2007, pp. 61-70; Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, p. 103. Johann Jakob Fugger had several roles there – he handled Albrecht V's Italian correspondence, accompanied his son on travels to Italy, was the court's musical director and held appointments in financial institutions; Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, p. 214.

141. Häberlein, “Merchants as Bibliophiles”, p. 142. See Kerstin Hajdú, “Johann Jakob Fugger und seine Bibliothek”, in *Kulturkosmos der Renaissance: die Gründung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2008, pp. 125-127: 125.

The way Fugger went about building his collection is very similar for both Greek and Hebrew manuscripts. Most of them were commissioned from scribes working in Venice, who in most cases completed the work in a concerted effort; it is not rare for a single book to contain text copied by four or five scribes, either as a result of the copyists alternating in the process or of the assembling of different sections, copied separately, into a single bookblock. A small percentage of Greek manuscripts he acquired were second-hand, usually bulky codices on thick parchment, written between the tenth and fourteenth century.¹⁴² The same goes for his Hebrew manuscripts, which were the result of the work of 42 different scribes under three supervisors; up to five copyists could contribute to the copy of a single book.¹⁴³ Most of the copies were completed in Venice by Ashkenazi scribes, but a minority of manuscripts was transcribed elsewhere (Mantua, Rome, Udine) and by Italians.¹⁴⁴

Many of the manuscripts purchased by Fugger as second-hand books must have been individual purchases on the rich Venetian market; he was also able to get hold of the library of Nuremberg physicians Hermann (1410-1485) and Hartmann (1440-1514) Schedel.¹⁴⁵ Some have been identified as originally belonging to Domenico Grimani; these had been disbound for easy copying, so they were rebound once they reached Augsburg,¹⁴⁶ which also allowed the collection to maintain its visual consistency.

In the acquisition of manuscripts, but also and more prominently printed books and antiquities, Fugger could count on collaborators based in Italy, like the professional art dealer Jacopo Strada (1507-1588), the librarian of the Vatican Onofrio Panvinio (1529-1568) and Cornelio Adelkind (Yisrā'el ben Bārūk, active 1519-1555), who acted as his agent for the copying of Hebrew texts, facilitating the operation for his gentile patron; although viewed more favourably than in previous times, in the sixteenth century intellectual exchange between Jews and Christians was still frowned upon. This is also the reason why the Jewish scribes who copied Fugger's manuscripts never mentioned him in their colophons – a rare occurrence in Hebrew manuscripts and a possible indication that they were not aware of the identity of their patron.¹⁴⁷

The cross-cultural dynamics between the patron and his Jewish scribes is no different from what has been delineated for Greeks and Italians; Ilona Steimann has

142. BSB, Cod.graec. 118, 119, 132, 179, 20, 21, 222, 225, 24, 44, 80, 184, 191, 229, and 230.

143. On the practices of Hebrew scribes in Renaissance Italy, see Nurit Pasternak, "Who Were the Hebrew Scribes in Renaissance Italy? A Short Review of Their Manifold Roles", in *Manuscrits Hébreux et Arabes: mélanges en l'honneur de Colette Sirat*, ed. by Nicholas de Lange and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, Turnhout, Brepols, 2014, pp. 29-37.

144. Ilona Steimann, "Jewish Scribes and Christian Patrons: The Hebraica Collection of Johann Jakob Fugger", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 70.4 (2017), pp. 1235-1281.

145. Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, p. 167.

146. Steimann, "Jewish Scribes and Christian Patrons", pp. 1255-1256.

147. See Steimann, "Jewish Scribes and Christian Patrons".

remarked that “the character and purpose of Christian Hebraica was determined not by Jews but by Christian users”.¹⁴⁸ In this case, the books were even further removed from their context, as the bindings have no element of Hebrew binding. Then again, Jewish bookbinding practices were not as distinctive as the Byzantine tradition was in early modern western Europe and were never subject to processes of imitation in the same way; they are mostly associated with cut-leather (*cuir ciselé*) work, a technique in which leather covers, rather than being tooled, are decorated first by outlining a design with a pointed implement, then (after the leather has been dampened) by bringing it into relief by depressing the remaining surfaces.¹⁴⁹

Greek-style bindings were better candidates for imitation; but Fugger’s interest in classical Greek culture is rather difficult to pin down. He knew a wealth of languages, most of which he had learnt while travelling Europe in his youth: in addition to German, he could certainly speak French, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish. When it comes to Greek, however, doubts can be expressed about his proficiency in the language. As said, he does not seem to have annotated his Greek manuscripts at all, although he had them corrected to a high standard of scholarship.¹⁵⁰ Most probably, corrections were carried out before binding; in some cases, portions of leaves, where *marginalia* were situated in areas otherwise trimmed, were saved by folding the page before the bookblock was trimmed to its current size.¹⁵¹ Once in Augsburg, the manuscripts were then catalogued; Hieronymus Wolf took care of the Greek manuscripts and noted their content on the endleaves. The books also served Wolf’s own philological activities.¹⁵²

Nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century historiography has often painted Johann Jakob Fugger as a sophisticated scholar, skilled in multiple languages learned during his travels and studies across Europe, who contributed to the ruin of the family firm by pursuing his passion for books, but apart from a 1552 letter to the printer Johann Oporinus (1507-1568) in which Wolf mentioned Fugger’s Latin and Greek in hyperbolic (and for this very reason, perhaps less convincing) terms,¹⁵³ the evidence

148. Steimann, “Jewish Scribes and Christian Patrons”, p. 1263.

149. LoB, *s.v.* “Cut-leather work” (w3id.org/lob/concept/1280). See Ilona Steimann, “Beautiful Books with Beautiful Covers: The Bindings of Hebrew Manuscripts in Late Medieval Ashkenaz”, *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies*, 7.1 (2023), pp. 76-103.

150. Mondrain, “Copistes et collectionneurs”.

151. For instance, fol. 7, in Munich, BSB, Cod.graec. 14 and fol. 384 in Cod.hebr. 59.

152. See Fritz Husner, “Die *Editio princeps* des ‘Corpus Historiae Byzantinae’, Johannes Oporin, Hieronymus Wolf und die Fugger”, in *Festschrift Karl Schwarzer. Beiträge zur schweizerischen Bibliotheks-, Buch- und Gelehrtengeschichte. Zum 60. Geburtstag am 22. November 1949 dargebracht*, Basel, Schwabe and Co., 1949, pp. 143-162.

153. Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Frey-Gryn Mscr I 11, fols. 165-168, fol. 166v (27 November 1552) (available at doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-7921), in Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken*, vol. I, p. 43.

that he knew Greek is actually quite weak:¹⁵⁴ the “Fugger-Chronik” composed at the end of the sixteenth century by Clemens Jäger (1500-1561), which praised Johann Jakob as a polyglot who knew, among other languages, “Greek just as well as his native German”, is known for its bias.¹⁵⁵ The humanist and *poeta laureatus* Marcus Tattius Alpinus (1509? -1562)¹⁵⁶ dedicated his translation of the *Ephemeris Belli Trojani* (1536), a narration of the Trojan War transmitted under the name of Cretan Dictys,¹⁵⁷ to Hieronymus Fugger (1533-1573); in the preface, he remembers his time as a tutor to Raymund Fugger’s children, but no specific information is given.¹⁵⁸

It is, perhaps, inconsequential to determine whether Fugger could read his Greek manuscripts or not; his interest in Greek books should probably be framed in a different context, one of worldliness and sophistication.¹⁵⁹ By the 1530s and 1540s, the Fugger had gained an awareness of the importance of the social and cultural capital deriving from classical learning alongside competences in the business and banking areas of expertise.¹⁶⁰ Johann Jakob Fugger’s collection had a clear “antiquarian, humanistic, and scientific” connotation;¹⁶¹ he seems to have been sensitive to the idea of a “universal library”, a trend that took traction in the second half of the sixteenth century, much in the same way as *Wunderkammern* augmented and testified to their owners’ knowledge of the world.¹⁶² Fugger’s *image de soi* was more political in nature than scholarly, although it did colour his patronage strategies. Agostino Pertusi has pointed out how a survey of the prefaces of the editions that the Fugger family backed financially reveals preoccupations with the political reality of Hungary, a territory that remained under pressure from the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶³

154. Mondrain, “Copistes et collectionneurs”, pp. 354-355.

155. “ebener massen durch seinem herrn vatern mit seinem *preceptores* in den Teutschlanden, Italia, Hispania, Frankreich und in den Niederlanden so lang gestutirt, daß er zu seinem teutschen noch mer sprachen als italiänisch, französisch, hispanisch, niederlantisch, lateinisch und kriechisch ergriffen, auch dise wol erlernt und so fertig gered, als ob er auf denselben allen und jedes in sonderhait erborn” (Christian Meyer, *Chronik der Familie Fugger vom Jahre 1599*, Selbstverl., 1902, p. 39). Hermann Kellenbenz, “Hans Jakob Fugger, Handelsherr, Humanist, Diplomat (1516-1575)”, *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben*, 12 (1981), pp. 48-104: 49-50.

156. On Alpinus see John L. Flood, *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire: A Bio-Bibliographical Handbook*, 4 vols., Berlin – New York, De Gruyter, 2006, vol. IV, pp. 2056-2058.

157. Frederic Clark, “Authenticity, Antiquity, and Authority: Dares Phrygius in Early Modern Europe”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 72.2 (2011), pp. 183-207.

158. Wilhelm Maasen, *Hans Jakob Fugger, 1516-1575: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, F.P. Datterer, 1922, p. 4.

159. Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken*, vol. I, p. 43.

160. Häberlein, “Merchants as Bibliophiles”.

161. Agostino Pertusi, *Bisanzio e i Turchi nella cultura del Rinascimento e del Barocco*, ed. by Carlo Maria Mazzocchi, Milan, Vita & Pensiero, 2004, p. 47.

162. Mark A. Meadow, “Hans Jacob Fugger and the Origins of the Wunderkammer”, in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce and the Representation of Nature*, ed. by Paula Findlen and Pamela H. Smith, London, Routledge, 2001, pp. 182-200.

163. Pertusi, *Bisanzio e i Turchi*, pp. 47-57.

His main engagement with his manuscripts seems to be from a material perspective. Interestingly, a letter by the scholar Roger Ascham (1515-1568), who was a house guest of Johann Jakob Fugger in 1551, at the peak of his purchasing campaign, to the printer Hieronymus Froben (1501-1563) expressed some frustration at the private quality of his host’s library:

I have seen the Greek library of [Johann] Jakob Fugger, and I have obtained a list of the authors it contains; it includes many books that have not yet been released to the world [i.e. printed]. This man would deserve a much higher praise, if he had given these many, illustrious authors a life and the world, like some sort of god, rather than a city [to inhabit], like a consul; [a higher praise] than he has for collecting them in perpetual darkness, as a burier of books (*bibliotaphos*), not a lover of knowledge (*philologos*). May he be inspired to act for the common good in addition to his own private glory!¹⁶⁴

Ascham’s mastery of the Greek language was so refined that already as a student at St John’s College, Cambridge, his letters were described as “fit to have been written at Athens”; he later taught Elisabeth I (1533-1603) Greek.¹⁶⁵ His criticism of Fugger’s is scathing (and in stark contrast, for instance, with the praise dedicated to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza by his librarian, Arnoldus Arlenius):¹⁶⁶ Ascham marked Fugger’s consumption of Greek manuscripts as that of a *bibliotaphos*, as opposed to the positively-connotated approach of the *philologoi*, who made their libraries available to the printing industry and more in general, “opened” their libraries to other scholars.¹⁶⁷ In his *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* (1572), the printer and scholar Henri Estienne (1528-1568) defined *bibliotaphoi* as “those who bury books, i.e. leave them in the darkness, as if buried, refusing them any light”, and added: “There exist many of these men to this day, which I can very well testify; but the art of printing, which is rather that of a gifter of books (βιβλιόδωρος, *bibliodoros*), spares me this accusation”.¹⁶⁸ Even though Fugger’s manuscripts provided the model for copies

164. “Vidi ego Graecam bibliothecam Jacobi Fuggeri, et habeo indicem scriptorum librorum; multi libri sunt nondum in lucem divulgati. Quanto maior laus esset huius viri, si tot praeclaris auctoribus non civitatem ut potens consul, sed mundum et vitam, ut aliquis deus daret, quam compingens eos in perpetuas tenebras, non φιλόλογος, sed βιβλιοτάφος merito quidam haberi. Utinam hic vir ad hanc et privatam gloriam et communem utilitatem excitari possit!” (quoted in Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken*, vol. I, p. 50).

165. DNB, *s.n.* Ascham, Roger.

166. Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, p. 78.

167. Paola Molino, “Il mestiere dei libri nel tardo Rinascimento: edizione e commento del *Consilium* di Hugo Blotius a Rodolfo II del 1579”, *Bibliothecae.it*, 2 (2013), pp. 23-77.

168. See Luigi Pirovano, “Per bibliotaphos quosdam?: Pierio Valeriano e le *Interpretationes Vergilianae* di Tiberio Claudio Donato nella Roma del Cinquecento”, *ACME*, 62.2 (2009), pp. 135-155; 148-150; Guglielmo Cavallo, “Il libro come oggetto d’uso nel mondo bizantino”, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 31 (1981), pp. 395-423; Daniele Bianconi, *Cura et studio*, pp. 8-9. The concept was also elaborated by Aldus, who proposed his enterprise as “liberating good books from their harsh and gloomy prisons” (“e duris ac tetrus carceribus liberandi bonos libros”) (Wilson, *The Greek Classics*, pp. 98-99).

for others and he appointed Hieronymus Wolf (who was a prolific Byzantinist) as librarian,¹⁶⁹ socially, Fugger clearly did not have a reputation for being generous with his collection.

His library was effectively incorporated into the self-fashioning agenda of Duke Albrecht V, who bought it. For his book and art collection, the duke had a magnificent building constructed, called the “Antiquarium”, which served as a space for display as much as for work.¹⁷⁰ The duke stated that “all priceless, foreign or strange things noticed or heard of, particularly objects fostering joy and pleasure, are desired and must be acquired, they are sent for, enquired for and acquired one after another and pursued without previous calculating or meditating”.¹⁷¹

Collecting, by its nature, usually requires expenditure; or in fact, may be an artifice employed to flaunt one’s ability to spend. Collecting the foreign, the exotic, the ancient, because of limited access or supply, is often intended as a mark of luxury: it demonstrates an ability to play with space and time.¹⁷² Luxury could also be a complicated matter, as we shall see as we turn our attention back to Venice. As shown, there was more than one way to make one’s scholarship conspicuous.

169. *Letters of Roger Ascham*, ed. by Alvin Vos, trans. Maurice Hatch, New York, P. Lang, 1989, 191-193.

170. Dorothea Diemer and Peter Diemer, “Das Antiquarium Herzog Albrechts V. von Bayern: Schicksale einer fürstlichen Antikensammlung der Spätrenaissance”, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 58.1 (1995), pp. 55-104; Franz Georg Kaltwasser, “The Common Roots of Library and Museum in the Sixteenth Century: The Example of Munich”, *Library History*, 20.3 (2004), pp. 163-181: 169.

171. Kaltwasser, “The Common Roots”, p. 165.

172. Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994; Paula Findlen, “Possessing the Past: The Material World of the Italian Renaissance”, *American Historical Review*, 103.1 (1998), pp. 83-114; Peter McNeil and Giorgio Riello, *Luxury: A Rich History*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016.

5. The legacy of Byzantium

In the sociology of collecting, geographical and temporal distance elevate the luxurious connotation of items because they hinder their reproducibility: an object created in a time that no longer exists can no longer be reproduced. Their attractiveness increases further if the past they recall into existence bears a desirable religious or cultural association. This applies to art (which is generally desirable at the point of creation, as well), but also to objects whose original place in the world was mostly functional.¹

Bookbindings, by their own nature, sit at the boundary of functionality and art: they protect, decorate, are suitable for bearing designs, symbols, and names, and make books durable and portable. Like with many other objects, the passage of time and the ageing of a binding could determine its shift from one category to another: this is also noticeable when looking at the changes that conservation has undergone as a discipline over the last half a century. Bindings that, when damaged, were replaced in archives and libraries until the twentieth century are now repaired as important historical witnesses, reflecting a different sensitivity; but the idea is not new.

A Greek manuscript in a Greek-style binding at the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome (Gr. 3) bears an eighteenth-century inscription on an endleaf that reads: “This codex has not received a new binding since the latter is in good condition, and in order to show how books were bound in ancient times”, proving that the materiality of the binding was considered to be, at least in some cases, significant historical evidence.² It is somewhat ironic then, that the book seems to have been extensively repaired after the note was placed in it, to the point where it was at least re-covered. Its current, undecorated tanned skin cover shows marks from “tying up”, a process through which a thin cord was wrapped tightly around a bookblock to make the skin properly adhere to it:³ but the structure of the binding suggests

1. McNeil and Riello, *Luxury*, pp. 12-15; Howard, “Cultural Transfer”, p. 141.

2. “Questo codice non fu fatto rilegare, perché è ben conservato, ed acciò apparisca il modo, come si legavano anticamente li libri” (fol. VIIr).

3. LoB, *s.v.* “Tying-up cord impressions” (w3id.org/lob/concept/4573).

that by then, it was already in some kind of Greek-style binding. Oddly, tying up is a technique that became common only after Greek-style bindings were in fashion in Europe, and is normally associated with raised bands (which this unsupported structure does not possess), and in this case seems to have been done quite clumsily, as well. But, even before conservation as a discipline concerned itself with the preservation of bindings, someone understood this specimen to be representative of past practices.

The cultural underpinnings of the imitation of Greek book materiality are quite evident. Greek-style bookbindings were coded to be signs of antiquarianism, inconspicuous consumption, alterity and universalism, and magnificence by different owners. The collecting of books bound in the Greek-style in western Europe in the early modern period has even been linked to nineteenth-century Greek irredentism.⁴ These objects were in-betweens, forms migrating from one place to another, their meanings transformed in the process:⁵ they can only be understood in a perspective that accounts for cultural and political contact across the area of the Mediterranean. Greek-style bindings started being produced in Italy at a time of transformation: shortly after the attempt at reunifying the Catholic and Orthodox Churches through the Council of Ferrara-Florence, the traumatic end of Byzantium (perceived by Europeans as the “end of the world”) with the resulting waves of migratory movement, new patterns of consumption in European society, and the rebirth of Greek letters in western Europe.

1. *The new Romes*

The Council of Ferrara-Florence was a declared attempt to heal the fracture between the Catholic and Orthodox Church; while it failed to have any long-term effect in this sense, and despite being a profoundly political event, its consequences on a cultural level reverberated across western Europe for a long time. The Council offered Italians new contact with the Greek world, its appearance, and its materiality.⁶ Although Greek manuscripts had sporadically reached Europe earlier, the books that the Greek delegation that travelled to Italy to take part in the Council carried with them certainly influenced Italian illumination; some manuscripts remained there.⁷

A fragile new unity between the Catholic and Orthodox Church was built by the time the Greek delegation left Italy; it was eventually repealed in 1472. In the

4. Quilici, “Legature greche”, p. 108.

5. Howard, *Venice & the East*, pp. 158-159.

6. Nelson, “The Italian Appreciation”, p. 221.

7. See Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, pp. 57-58; Donald F. Jackson, “The Greek Manuscripts of Jean Hurault de Boistaillé”, *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 2.2 (2004), pp. 209-252: 230.

meantime, however, on 29 May 1453, Constantinople had fallen to the Ottomans – the moment the last expression of the Roman Empire ceased to exist, with tremendous consequences on a political, economic, and cultural level. Western Europeans did not acknowledge the event merely as the end of an era, but as the very end of the world. They reacted to the news with utter horror dictated both by a profound fear of the Ottoman territorial expansion and by cultural factors.⁸ Byzantium had been the stronghold of Christianity in the East, in stark religious and political contrast with Mehmed II's empire. However small its territory had become by that point, the Byzantine Empire held a great significance in shared (though fluid) European religious and cultural identities,⁹ and news of the capture of the city had a commensurate echo in the West, where news of the prodigies that accompanied its fall spread quickly.¹⁰

In spite of the continuity to which Mehmed II's reign would subsequently be oriented, in Europe a narrative of millenarianism prevailed. Shortly after the fall of Constantinople, the Venetian scholar and book collector Lauro Quirini (1420-1479) stated that “the very name of the Greeks was obliterated” and that as many as 120,000 Greek books had been destroyed.¹¹ Testimonials such as these show how the Byzantine Empire had remained, until its end, a very conscious localisation of the classical roots of Europe. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Italian elites still sent their youths to Byzantine cities to learn Greek.¹²

Several powers took to using Byzantine symbols in the second half of the fifteenth century. At some point, several powers considered themselves the rightful heirs of Byzantium. The Republic of Venice, however, did not try to present itself in this way: what was, effectively, originally a Byzantine outpost, chose a much more complex narrative, as we shall see.

In terms of political and economic power, the Byzantine Empire had represented a gigantic force. Although the crusades impacted the economy of the Empire, its position in the Mediterranean and on the Black Sea, with important port cities, gave it leverage on the global commercial scene.¹³ Not less importantly, as said above, the Byzantine Empire was unanimously accepted as the last remnant of

8. Agostino Pertusi and Enrico Morini, *Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo: significato e ruolo storico delle profezie sulla caduta di Costantinopoli in Oriente e in Occidente*, Rome, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1988.

9. Chalarambos Dendrinou, “Reflections on the Failure of the Union of Florence”, *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*, 39 (2007), pp. 131-148: 136.

10. Agostino Pertusi and Antonio Carile, *Testi inediti e poco noti sulla caduta di Costantinopoli*, Bologna, Patron, 1983.

11. “Adde quod a saevissimis barbaris [...] nomen Graecorum deletum”. Letter by Lauro Quirini to pope Nicholas V, 15 July 1453 (in Agostino Pertusi, “Le epistole storiche di Lauro Querini sulla caduta di Costantinopoli”, in *Lauro Quirini umanista*, ed. by Vittore Branca, Florence, Olschki, 1977, pp. 163-259: 227).

12. Annaclara Cataldi Palau, *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*, Spoleto, CISAM, 2008.

13. For an overview of the economic history of the Byzantine Empire, see Angeliki E. Laiou,

the Roman Empire, after the dissolution of the Western Roman Empire in 476. The Byzantines were vocal about the legitimacy of their descent from the Roman Empire,¹⁴ and about the fact that, unlike the western Rome, Constantinople had never fallen. For almost 1,000 years, Byzantine Greeks had called themselves “Romans”, a term that was embraced or rejected in the West, betraying its implications in the medieval and early modern world:¹⁵ Constantinople was only the first in what would become a series of “new Romes”, an idea that would continue exercising a strong pull on global political cultures for centuries to come.¹⁶

Even after the Byzantine Emperor Constantine XI (1405-1453) died during the final Ottoman attack on Constantinople, there remained in the Greek and European imagination a hope for a renaissance of the Byzantine Empire. This idea found expressions in different political entities across the Mediterranean: among the Greeks, it took the form of a desire for retributive justice, often taking shape in the legend of Constantine XI as the “Marble King” (μαρμαρωμένος βασιλιάς), who would return Constantinople to his people.¹⁷ The Ottoman Sultans, the French and Spanish kings, and the Russian tsars all, at one point or another, laid claims to the legacy of Byzantium (and by extension, of Rome), attempting to acquire the title of Emperor of Constantinople often via the last descendants of the Palaiologan dynasty: the children of Constantine’s brother, Thomas, Despot of Morea, and especially his elder son, Andreas Palaiologos (1453-1502).

The conflict between Christian Constantinople and the Ottomans was more nuanced than crusading literature of the time made it out to be.¹⁸ Since the mid-twentieth century, and much under the influence of Fernand Braudel,¹⁹ historians have unveiled the complexity of cross-cultural brokerage, political propaganda, commercial agreements, personal gain, and military operations across the Mediter-

The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century, 3 vols., Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007.

14. See Chris Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000*, London, Allen Lane, 2009, pp. 298-317 for a discussion of the dynamics of new and old powers in the Byzantine Empire.

15. Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks*.

16. *Les Rome nouvelles de l'époque moderne*, ed. by Martin Wrede and Gilles Montègre, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2022.

17. The accounts of the death of Constantine XI during the final attack by the Ottomans were numerous and often filled with fabrications. See Donald M. Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor: The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans*, Cambridge – New York, Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 81-102.

18. For a detailed survey of crusading literature in the fifteenth century, see James Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 49 (1995), pp. 111-207.

19. Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris, Colin, 1949.

anean basin,²⁰ which has been described as an “interimperial space” where trade was supported by diplomacy.²¹

After Mehmed II conquered Constantinople, he made it his new capital. Among his titles, the Sultan was also called “Kaiser-i-Rum”, i.e. Roman Caesar, choosing to align his authority with, rather than in opposition to, the Byzantine Empire.²² The Ottomans adopted the denomination in conjunction with a number of policies that granted significant freedom to the Byzantine Greeks, Italians, Armenians, and Jews who lived under the Ottoman rule²³ and who constituted a wealth-producing presence in Constantinople.²⁴ The Sultan’s court welcomed members of the Byzantine aristocracy,²⁵ and Greek remained the language of international diplomacy.²⁶

It is quite remarkable how recent history has seen an overturn in this sense: in the last few years, Byzantine heritage in Turkey (and especially Christian churches, which had often undergone museumification processes in the twentieth century) are now being turned into mosques, in a process of suppression of Byzantine heritage that, if anything, shows its continued relevancy and weight today.²⁷

In the late fifteenth century, Charles VIII (1470-1498) and Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452-1516) also advanced claims on the inheritance of the Byzantine Empire, although through a distinctly different mechanism: by purchasing the title from its lawful possessor.

20. Francesca Trivellato, “Renaissance Italy and the Muslim Mediterranean in Recent Historical Work”, *The Journal of Modern History*, 82.1 (2010), pp. 127-155; Eric R. Dursteler, “On Bazaars and Battlefields: Recent Scholarship on Mediterranean Cultural Contacts”, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 15.5 (2011), pp. 413-434; Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2008.

21. Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2010, p. 17.

22. Molly Greene, “Rumeli”, in *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition*, London – Chicago, Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000.

23. Under certain fiscal conditions, non-Muslims enjoyed the same rights as Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. See Halil Inalcik, “The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23-24 (1969/1970), pp. 229-249.

24. Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006. On the multi-racial composition of the Ottoman Empire, see also Giancarlo Casale, “The Ethnic Composition of Ottoman Ship Crews and the ‘Rumi Challenge’ to Portuguese Identity”, *Medieval Encounters*, 13 (2007), pp. 122-144.

25. Greene, *The Edinburgb History of the Greeks*, pp. 23-25; Speros Vryonis Jr., “The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23-24 (1969/1970), pp. 251-308.

26. Isabella Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict: Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350-1520*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 242-243; Calia, “Il Liber Graecus”.

27. Pınar Aykaç, “Contesting the Byzantine Past: Four Hagia Sophias as Ideological Battle-grounds of Architectural Conservation in Turkey”, *Heritage & Society*, 11.2 (2018), pp. 151-178. On the continuity of Byzantine heritage in the *longue durée*, see also Michel Kaplan, *Pourquoi Byzance? Un empire de onze siècles*, Paris, Gallimard, 2016, pp. 13-48.

Andreas Palaiologos was the elder nephew of Constantine XI. Following the death of his uncle (1453) and father (1465), Andreas acquired both titles; he had never set foot in Constantinople.²⁸ The young Palaiologos had often been represented by historians as incompetent, his behaviour unfit for an Emperor;²⁹ as Jonathan Harris has shown, however, he was not so much a “worthless prince” as a man overwhelmed by his own role as the heir of a long and politically crucial bloodline.³⁰ Andreas and his siblings lived in Rome on a meagre pension provided by the Pope, under the protection of Cardinal Bessarion;³¹ the young Palaiologoi had few assets to their name – except for, of course, their names.

By the 1490s Andreas, who signed official documents as “Andreas Palaeologus Dei gratiae despotēs Romeorum”,³² was in dire need of both money and friends. Charles VIII, whom Andreas visited in 1491, paid off part of his debts, and in September 1494, he officially bought Andreas’s only possession of any worth: his rights to the thrones of Constantinople, Trebizond, and Serbia.³³

As early as 1475, Andreas had been looking around for potential buyers: transactions were discussed with the king of Naples, the Duke of Milan, and the Duke of Burgundy, but none went through.³⁴ Andreas seems to have received some kind of compensation from Charles VIII,³⁵ but found himself in debt once again a few years later. He therefore set out to sell his titles again, this time to Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile (1451-1504), in 1502. They must not have honoured their debts, as when Andreas died, in June of the same year, his widow had to beg the Pope for the money to cover his funeral expenses.³⁶

28. Jonathan Harris, “A Worthless Prince? Andreas Palaeologus in Rome, 1465-1502”, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 61.2 (1995), pp. 537-554: 538.

29. See especially George Finlay, *A History of Greece: From Its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time, B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864*, 4, *Mediaeval Greece and the Empire of Trebizond, A.D. 1204-1461*, New ed., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1877, p. 267.

30. Harris, “A Worthless Prince?”

31. Spyridon P. Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια και Πελοποννησιακά*, Athens, Επιτροπή εκδόσεως των καταλοίπων Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου, 1923, vol. IV, pp. 284-291; Jonathan Harris, “Greeks at the Papal Curia in the Fifteenth Century: The Case of George Vranas, Bishop of Dromore and Elphin”, in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History, 1204-1500*, ed. by Martin Hinterberger and Chris Schabel, Leuven, Peeters, 2011, pp. 423-438.

32. Dionysios Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée. Tome 1. Histoire politique*, Paris, Le Belles Lettres, 1932, p. 292. See also Giorgio Vespignani, “Andrea Paleologo, ultimo ‘imperator Constantinopolitanus’, nella Roma dei papi di fine Quattrocento e il progetto di una Crociata”, in *Dopo le due cadute di Costantinopoli (1204, 1453): eredi ideologici di Bisanzio. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 4-5 dicembre 2006*, ed. by Marina Koumanoudi and Chryssa A. Maltezos, Venice, Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 2008, pp. 201-214.

33. Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1959, p. 184.

34. Harris, “A Worthless Prince?”, p. 539. See also Richard J. Walsh, “Charles the Bold and the Crusade: Politics and Propaganda”, *Journal of Medieval History*, 3.1 (1977), pp. 53-86: 73-74.

35. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée. Tome 1*, p. 295.

36. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople*, p. 184.

After his death, the Palaiologan blood line disappeared.³⁷ A claim to the crown still came, however, from Russia. Zoe (†1503), Andreas's sister, was married to Ivan III of Russia (1440-1505) in 1472 and took the name of Sophia.³⁸ From that point, the Russian tsars claimed that the title of the Palaiologoi for themselves.³⁹ The idea of Moscow as the "Third Rome" started spreading in Russia,⁴⁰ consolidated by the Orthodox religious identity that it shared with Byzantium.⁴¹

2. *Conversations with antiquity: genealogies, myths, and collecting practices*

The fall of the Byzantine Empire clearly had a profound impact on the political balance of the Mediterranean world, offering fertile ground for the demand of material culture objects that reflected and enabled a *translatio imperii* narrative. Yet the political relevance of Greekness was not limited to the role of the Byzantine Empire in European geopolitical spaces, and in fact went much further back in history than that; early modern states and cities, royal lines, and aristocratic families regularly engaged in claiming genealogy (often ancestry or a founding episode from a Roman or pre-Roman hero) on which they drew in order to legitimise their authority, autonomy, or social status.⁴² Antiquarian discourse used a number of sources to confirm or disprove lineages, and in turn iconography and material heritage were instrumental in complementing documentary, literary, and antiquarian evidence.

In France, the extensive collecting of Greek-style bindings in the Royal Library was a further step in a long-lasting trend of imitation and fascination with Greek imagery and material culture. A manifestation of this is in the prophecies that circulated in the turbulent years of the Italian Wars,⁴³ which worked as a sounding board of people's fears and hopes, their texts frequently modified to adapt to the developing political situation. Such was the case with the prophecy of the "Second Charlemagne", originally composed for Charles VI (1368-1422), printed in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century, and then adapted for Charles VIII⁴⁴ and for

37. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople*, p. 184; Harris, "A Worthless Prince?", p. 540.

38. Harris, "A Worthless Prince?", pp. 538 and 542.

39. Franz Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit: Weltstürmer einer Zeitenwende*, Munich, F. Bruckmann, 1959, p. 191; Averkiou Th. Papadopoulos, "Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259-1453", Inaugural-Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1938, pp. 68-69.

40. Gérard Minaud, "D'une tradition chrétienne à une idéologie politique: le cas de Moscou et la troisième Rome", *Revue de la recherche juridique – Droit prospectif*, 3 (2009), pp. 1543-1568.

41. Paul Pierling, *La Russie et l'Orient: mariage d'un Tsar au Vatican, Ivan III et Sophie Paléologue*, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1891, pp. 143-144.

42. Roberto Bizzocchi, *Genealogie incredibili: scritti di storia nell'Europa moderna*, New ed., Bologna, Il Mulino, 2009.

43. Ottavia Niccoli, *Profeti e popolo nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, Rome, Laterza, 1987.

44. Lorenza Tromboni, "La leggenda del secondo Carlomagno: il percorso di una profezia tra

Charles IX (1550-1574).⁴⁵ This popular work announced the coming of one Charles, son of a father by the same name, who would subjugate continental Europe, cross the Mediterranean Sea and become King of the Greeks.⁴⁶

Material culture trends also show how the French sought a connection with classical Greek, Roman, and Byzantine ideas of power: Charles VIII apparently loved being depicted in “Byzantine imperial accoutrements”.⁴⁷ Yet the process had begun much earlier. Some attempts to adopt Byzantine imperial clothing were made by the Merovingian dynasty, with the turning point at the rise of the Carolingian bloodline.⁴⁸ The Byzantine dress of power had deep roots: the colour purple was worn by the Roman military during the Republican Era and was used as a symbol of royal power even before that.⁴⁹ Charles the Bald (823-877) wore Byzantine garments,⁵⁰ Louis the Pious (778-840) was crowned with what was thought by contemporaries to be the diadem that had originally sat on the brow of Constantine the Great.⁵¹

The choice of recognisable Byzantine iconographic apparatus extended to other forms of art. Charles VIII’s interest in Roman art, for instance, found its main expression in architecture and sculpture.⁵² Charles IX was still very much aware of the power of classical culture, as shown in his use of the image of Hercules in triumphal entries.⁵³ By the reign of Francis I, who was an avid collector of Greek-style bindings, these themes were well established in art and political performance alike, and they would continue throughout most of the sixteenth century, during which the style of binding enjoyed alternating success at court. He was a keen user of antiquarian iconography: in 1515, the year he ascended to the throne, he was

Francia e Italia (sec. XIV-XV)”, in *Profezia, filosofia e prassi politica*, Pisa, ETS, 2013, pp. 79-92: 81-82; Kenneth M. Setton, *Western Hostility to Islam and Prophecies of Turkish Doom*, Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1992, p. 20.

45. Tromboni, “La leggenda del secondo Carlomagno”, p. 89.

46. Tromboni, “La leggenda del secondo Carlomagno”, pp. 82-84; Niccoli, *Profeti e popolo nell’Italia del Rinascimento*, pp. 82-84.

47. Setton, *Western Hostility*, p. 20; Ricci, Giovanni, *Rinascimento conteso: Francia e Italia, un’amicizia ambigua*, Bologna, Il mulino, 2024, p. 55.

48. Michael Moore, “The King’s New Clothes: Royal and Episcopal Regalia in the Frankish Empire”, in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. by Stewart Gordon, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, pp. 95-136: 97.

49. The use of purple came into the Roman customs by way of trade with the Etruscans or, more probably, the Phoenicians. See Luigi Bessone, “La porpora a Roma”, in *La porpora. Realtà e immaginario di un colore simbolico: atti del Convegno di studio, Venezia, 24 e 25 ottobre 1996*, ed. by Oddone Longo, Venice, Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1998, pp. 149-202.

50. Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome*, p. 400.

51. Moore, “The King’s New Clothes”, p. 109.

52. See Richard Cooper, *Roman Antiquities in Renaissance France, 1515-65*, Burlington, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 130, 245-281.

53. Marta Francia, “De l’appropriation de héros lointains: le cas d’Hercule et d’Hector dans les entrées triomphales de Charles IX”, *Seizième siècle*, 18.4 (2021), pp. 83-117.

depicted on a medal on the verso of which an inscription read: “unus non sufficit orbis” (“one globe is not enough”), a reference to Alexander the Great, and another medal, made by Benvenuto Cellini, shows him dressed “all’antica”.⁵⁴

Francis I’s Greek-style bindings can be understood in the same terms, as part of a communicative strategy that made material culture a powerful self-fashioning tool. The royal library in Paris had already fed into legitimisation of power since the late Middle Ages, when illuminated books, courtly literature, and liturgical books were mostly collected; on miniated pages, the monarchs were depicted in dress recalling their imagined or real heritage.⁵⁵ The Trojan ancestry of the French was persistently revisited in text and image from the early Middle Ages to the seventeenth century.⁵⁶ One scene from a manuscript of the time of Charles V of France (1338-1380) shows Trojan descendants defeating the army led by Emperor Theodosius, with the Trojan king and his horse clad in textiles with fleur-de-lis patterns.⁵⁷

Neither Francis I, the “père des belles lettres”,⁵⁸ nor Mehmed II, “King of the Greeks”,⁵⁹ could read any Greek. But, as seen with Johann Jakob Fugger, Greek-style bindings did not require language skills to be used to convey meanings. If the Byzantines were the “librarians of antiquity”,⁶⁰ what better instrument, then, to appropriate their political significance and the idea of imperial power they carried with them, than their libraries?

As seen, Greek-style bindings first entered Francis I’s library during the 1530s and 1540s, with the acquisition of the library of the diplomat Georges de Selve and the missions to Greece of Girolamo Fondulo and Guillaume Pellicier.⁶¹ These first

54. Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2000, pp. 47-49.

55. On the topic, see mainly Vanina Kopp, *Der König und die Bücher. Sammlung, Nutzung und Funktion der königlichen Louvrebibliothek am spätmittelalterlichen Hof in Frankreich*, Ostfildern, Thorbecke Verlag, 2016.

56. Tiphaine Karsenti, “From Historical Invention to Literary Myth: Ambivalences and Contradictions in the Early Modern Reception of the Franco-Trojan Genealogy”, in *Early Modern Medievalisms: The Interplay between Scholarly Reflection and Artistic Production*, ed. by Alicia Montoya, Sophie van Romburgh and Wim van Anrooij, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2010, pp. 93-110; Ricci, *Rinascimento conteso*, pp. 136-141.

57. In Anne Dawson Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991, pp. 99-102.

58. In 1519, Francis I even funded a college for young Greeks in Milan, under his own patronage and supported by Guillaume Budé and involving Janus Lascaris, but very soon stopped his subsidy altogether: Laffitte and Le Bars, *Reliures royales*, pp. 12-14.

59. Mehmed’s inability to read Greek has been demonstrated by Christos G. Patrinelis, “Mehmed II the Conqueror and His Presumed Knowledge of Greek and Latin”, *Viator*, 2 (1972), pp. 349-354.

60. Börje Knös, *Un ambassadeur de l’Hellénisme – Janus Lascaris – et la tradition Greco-Byzantine dans l’humanisme français*, Uppsala – Paris, Almqvist & Wiksells – Les Belles Lettres, 1945, p. 10.

61. Laffitte and Le Bars, *Reliures royales*, pp. 15-18.

bindings had been made in Greece and in Venice (which unfailingly reappears as the city from where the style irradiated to the rest of western Europe). After the Cretan Angelos Vergikios took up a position as a scribe at the court in 1539,⁶² hundreds of Greek-style bookbindings were made in Paris and Fontainebleau for the French kings, over the course of several decades.⁶³

Significantly, once Francis I started commissioning Greek-style bindings for his books, he followed a rather consistent pattern: Italian-made Greek-style bindings were preserved (though many had decoration added); Byzantine Greek-style bindings were replaced with French imitations.⁶⁴ The age and bad shape of some Byzantine bindings might have played a role in this decision, but there is no indication of selectivity; it is evident that to Francis I, pure Greekness, which might even have appeared rather crude to a sophisticated French audience, could and should be sacrificed to a more fashionable general appearance, as long as the books still appeared “Greek”. As the French, according to the French humanist Geoffroy Tory (*ca.* 1480-before 1533), were “more Italian” than the Italian, more “Doric and Ionian” than the Ancients,⁶⁵ it follows that Francis I’s bookbindings were more apt to represent Greekness than the actual Byzantine bindings in which the books came in the first place. These were undoubtedly not meant to “pass” as Byzantine objects, themselves, but rather appreciated for their ability to both convey a specific cultural code and adhere to current fashions.

It is also interesting to note that, unlike the early, fifteenth-century Greek-style bindings made in Italy, the first bindings made in France were wholly genuine, both in their unsupported sewing structures and more “cosmetic” features. Angelos Vergikios perhaps influenced this early production,⁶⁶ or the French had yet to develop a taste and language for their Greek-style bindings. Starting in the early 1540s, however, the production seems to have passed entirely into the hands of the *reliieurs du roi*, bookbinders who succeeded each other fairly rapidly in the service of the kings.⁶⁷ These craftsmen introduced more typically French elements,⁶⁸ such as sewing the bookblocks and boards with thin supports; the decoration became busier, with extensive use of gilding. As books were displayed on lecterns so that the expensive bindings could be shown off, binders also added “sabots”, metal studs

62. Laffitte and Le Bars, *Reliures royales*, p. 27.

63. For an overview, see Marie-Pierre Laffitte, *Reliures royales du Département des manuscrits: 1515-1559*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2001.

64. Hobson, “Les reliures italiennes”, p. 409.

65. “Ut non modo Italos, imo Dores et Iones, Italorum magistros, ipsi Galli vincere videantur et iudicentur manifestissime.” Text and translation in Cooper, *Roman Antiquities in Renaissance France, 1515-65*, pp. 10-11.

66. Pickwood, “How Greek”.

67. Laffitte and Le Bars, *Reliures royales*.

68. Pickwood, “How Greek”, pp. 194-196.

attached to the tail edge of the boards to prevent the projecting endbands from being crushed.⁶⁹

Far from being the result of a whim or personal taste, through its cultural references and luxury, the Greek book collection of Fontainebleau was part of a political plan. A great variety of texts, ranging from theology to medical science to ancient philosophy to politically-relevant writings such as Pierre de Paschal's (1522-1565) *Henrici II Galliarum Regis elogium* were bound in the Greek style (BNF, Rés.Fol. Lb31.103). A number of books in languages other than Greek were also bound in the same style for the monarchs.

Art was regularly used for its political value in early modern Europe.⁷⁰ The French royals understood this quite well. Rather than being his personal library,⁷¹ Francis I's Greek books were instrumental to sociability and political communication. He discussed translations of Greek texts and possibly showed his library to visiting ambassadors,⁷² a sign that Greek books were meant and received as a compelling symbol, and that their display fulfilled a precise meaning. Impressing foreign guests and ambassadors with one's magnificence and collections was a strategy through which respect and honours could be obtained.⁷³ Material culture could be used to signify knowledge and intellectual understanding of a wider "distance" (into the past, or geographically) than was available to the common man, setting the collector apart.⁷⁴

Catherine Kovesi has convincingly challenged the idea of luxury as a tool of differentiation between the elites and the rest of society in the Renaissance, at a time when new, broader forms of consumption swept across Europe and luxury acquired complex meanings:⁷⁵ then again, books are a particular kind of luxury. Bibliophiles need cultural capital; those who do not have it, or do not have the right kind or amount, risk incurring the criticism of their contemporaries, as we have seen for Fugger. The early modern period may have meant availability of a wider range of products to broader sections of society, but the material culture of the book still actively engaged in the construction of eliteness.

69. See pp. 49-50.

70. Jardine and Brotton, *Global Interests*, pp. 83-84.

71. Roger Chartier, *Culture écrite et société: l'ordre des livres (XIV^e-XVII^e siècle)*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1996, pp. 82-85.

72. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*, pp. 184-185.

73. See for instance Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, p. 401.

74. Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988, p. 264; Deborah Howard, "The Status of the Oriental Traveller in Renaissance Venice", in *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East*, ed. by Gerald Maclean, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 29-49.

75. Catherine Kovesi, "Luxus: How Luxury Acquired Its Lustre", in *Luxury and the Ethics of Greed in Early Modern Italy*, ed. by Catherine Kovesi, Turnhout, Brepols, 2018, pp. 3-20.

3. *Interacting with the body of the book*

Dress is, in general, a powerful medium to communicate identities, ethnic and professional alike, a fact of which the early modern individual was well aware. The material culture of a book, its binding, or “dress”, in a way, was also relevant. In one of the earliest studies of Greek-style bookbindings, Berthe van Regemorter stated that “humanists [...] could not conceive of a Greek book in a binding like that of a Latin one”.⁷⁶ This has proven to be an overgeneralization, as countless Greek manuscripts and editions were collected and read in the West in a variety of “alla latina” bindings.⁷⁷ The relationship between Greek books and Greek-style bindings was a complex one, and the choice deliberate.

We have seen in the *Introduction* how bindings have often been compared to dress in historiography.⁷⁸ The metaphor has been used to underline how the binding is separate and “other” than the book, how it can be changed without changing the nature of the text, and that it is “on the margins”. Yet in fact, dress is everything but peripheral.

Early modern society made a wide use of anatomical metaphors in cultural and political contexts;⁷⁹ a correspondence between the human body and that of books also existed. This analogy produced medical metaphors,⁸⁰ but also images of desire and seduction. Some examples: a letter written by Fulvio Orsini to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli in 1582 referred to a book so beautiful “one could make love to it”.⁸¹ A poem by Gianfrancesco Maia Materdona (1590-after 1649), dedicated to a “beautiful bookbinder/bookseller” (“bella libreria”) compares the poet’s own heart and flesh to the leaves beaten and sewn by the woman.⁸² In Byzantine culture, the analogy between the body of the author and that of the book was regularly ex-

76. English translation in Berthe van Regemorter, *Binding Structures in the Middle Ages: A Selection of Studies*, transl. Jane Greenfield, Brussels, Bibliotheca Wittrockiana, 1992. Tammaro de Marinis’s position on this matter was similar (De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, vol. III, p. 32).

77. See, for instance, Pickwoad, “Books Bound after What Manner You Please” in the case of Aldine editions of the Greek classics.

78. See p. 14.

79. Alessandro Pastore, *Le regole dei corpi: medicina e disciplina nell’Italia moderna*, Bologna, Il mulino, 2006, pp. 17-35.

80. Alfonso Gallo, *Le malattie del libro: le cure ed i restauri*, Milan, Mondadori, 1935.

81. “Il Podiano m’ha donato quel Onosandro et Mauritio che fu del Matarantio [*sic*], che è libro da farci l’amore”; Hoffmann, “La collection de manuscrits grecs de Francesco Maturanzio”, p. 119. The book had been offered to Orsini by Prospero Podiani (1535?-1615), founder of the Biblioteca Augusta in Perugia, who, incidentally, also owned several Greek-style bindings.

82. “In hammering the leaves, she hammers my heart / she binds them, and I, too, am bound in with them” (“Martella i fogli & il mio cor martella; / Legagli, e son tra lor legato anch’io”). See Marianne Tidcombe, *Women Bookbinders, 1880-1920*, New Castle – London, Oak Knoll Press – British Library, 1996, pp. 15-16. Early printed books were often beaten before being sewn to correct the distortion in the leaves that printing on damp paper caused. See LoB, *s.v.* “Beating” (w3id.org/lob/concept/1207).

plored, and the image was often revisited in a religious key, playing on the idea that the “word became flesh” (John 1:14) and on that of the Virgin giving birth to the “word of God”.⁸³ Cassiodorus described miscellanies of texts contained “in a single body” (“in uno corpore”);⁸⁴ Romance languages have preserved the late antique idea of the codex as a body: in Italian book terminology, the bookblock is still called the “corpo del libro” (“body of the book”).⁸⁵

Bodies get dressed; dress for the human body and for that of the book were also similar in that they both were subject to disciplining. While the policing of texts was common in early modern Europe, it appears that no formal regulations were enacted against luxury in bookbindings, as they were, for instance, in the realms of dress or jewellery,⁸⁶ which were regularly subjected to sumptuary laws. And yet one could not escape harsh judgement from fellow bibliophiles. In his *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (1627), Gabriel Naudé (1600-1653) felt it necessary to advise against luxury in bookbinding and to reject the correspondence with human dress, maintaining that “books are not like men, who are not known and respected if not through their dress and garb”⁸⁷ – a clear sign that the importance of dress for self-fashioning was not lost on him, and that book collectors *did* in fact use bookbindings quite like early modern society, in general, used dress.

4. Civic humanism and Greekness in Venice

We circle back to Venice: the main centre of production of Greek-style bindings in western Europe, “quasi altera Byzantium” according to cardinal Bessarion, home to several thousand Greeks in the sixteenth century,⁸⁸ primary commercial

83. See Enrico Magnelli, “Immagini del libro nella letteratura di Bisanzio”, *CentoPagine*, 4 (2010), pp. 107-133: 119-125; Daniele Bianconi, “Et le livre s’est fait poésie”, in “*Doux remède...: poésie et poétique à Byzance: actes du IV^e Colloque international philologique “EPMHNEIA”, Paris, 23-24-25 février 2006*, ed. by Paolo Odorico, Panagiotis A. Agapitos and Martin Hinterberger, Paris, Centre d’études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes – École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2009, pp. 15-35.

84. See Lorenzo Baldacchini, “‘In uno corpore continentur’: le miscellanee. Per un approccio unitario ad un problema della biblioteconomia del libro antico”, *Bollettino AIB*, 45.2 (2005), pp. 203-210: 203.

85. Maniaci, *Terminologia del libro manoscritto*, pp. 79, 336.

86. The luxury of the Commissioni made for the Procuratori, and in particular the great expense with which their illumination came, did not attract much criticism until the 1570s. See Chambers, “Merit and Money”, pp. 61-71.

87. Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, Paris, François Targa, 1627, pp. 80-81: “[...] la relieure n’est rien qu’un accident & maniere de paroistre, sans laquelle, au moins si belle & somptueuse, les liures ne laissent pas d’estre vtils, commodés & recherchez: n’estant iamais arriué qu’à des ignorans de faire cas d’un liure à cause de sa couverture, parce qu’il n’est pas des volumes comme des hommes, qui ne sont cognus & respectez que par leur robe & vestement.”

88. Burke, *The Greeks of Venice*, p. 19.

centre for Greek books in Europe (to the point it supplied Greece with printed books), and “queen” of her kingdoms throughout the Eastern Mediterranean.⁸⁹

Venice never used the Palaiologan ancestry to fashion itself as the heir to Byzantine power; its political form did not allow for that (no dynasty held power the way they did elsewhere), nor did it need to. Venice had been, to all effects, originally a duchy of the Byzantine Empire,⁹⁰ whose propensity for a close relationship with the sea it had embraced, reaping the commercial benefits that came from it. Venice’s progressive emancipation from Constantinople throughout the Middle Ages⁹¹ had not meant losing sight of the power of Byzantine symbols and rituals;⁹² drawing on them and revisiting them for its own purposes, the Republic had fashioned its own ceremonials, encoded into performances and actions that validated the Republic’s own image. Such processes, which are far from being unique to Venice, are investigated for their value in deciphering the complexities of political practice, but also of daily life across social groups.⁹³

A nuanced system of values and ideas, which aimed to preserve the social order of the Republic through specific ceremonial and cultural practices, came to form the so-called “myth of Venice”, through which the exceptional character of Venice was celebrated, and both domestic harmony and relationships with the mainland and the *terra da mar* were negotiated.⁹⁴

Whether the myth was true or not is not quite as important as the fact that “Venetians evidently believed and acted on their myths”.⁹⁵ Stability, peace, good government, and moderation were all considered to be key to Venetian politics; it is not by chance that the vocabulary used by Marcus Musurus on his dedications to

89. Gaetano Cozzi, “Venezia Regina”, *Studi Veneziani*, n.s., 17 (1989), pp. 15-25.

90. Stefano Gasparri, “The First Dukes and the Origins of Venice”, in *Venice and Its Neighbors from the 8th to 11th Century: Through Renovation and Continuity*, ed. by Sauro Gelichi and Stefano Gasparri, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2017, pp. 5-26.

91. Orlando, *Venezia e il mare nel Medioevo*.

92. Gherardo Ortalli, “Venise et Constantinople: une ‘byzantinité latine’”, in *Venezia e Bisanzio: aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V-XIV secolo)*, ed. by Clementina Rizzardi, Venice, Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 2005, pp. 417-430.

93. *Rituali civici e continuità istituzionale nelle città italiane in età moderna*, ed. by Gian Maria Varanini, Rome, Viella, 2023.

94. See Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, *Venise triomphante: les horizons d’un mythe*, Paris, Albin Michel, 2004; Giovanni Florio, “Inchini e carte bollate: iconografia delle dedizioni alla Repubblica di Venezia (secoli XVI-XVII)”, *Annali dell’Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento / Jahrbuch des italienisch-deutschen historischen Instituts in Trient*, 47.2 (2021) (= *Le immagini del diritto: cultura visuale e normatività tra età moderna e contemporanea / Bilder der Rechts: Visuelle Kultur und Normativität von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Maurizio Cau and Enrico Valseriati), pp. 69-92.

95. James S. Grubb, “When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography”, *The Journal of Modern History*, 58.1 (1986), pp. 43-94: 51. On the idea of cultures “believing in their myths”, see above all Paul Veyne, *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes? Essai sur l’imagination constituante*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1983.

the Eupatrides drew on them, and on the beneficial aspects of the young patricians' virtues on social order. The language of Venetian celebrative literature insisted on the same values, as well as on comparing Venice to Rome, Athens, and Sparta.⁹⁶

An important aspect in this sense was the very origin of the city: Venice had not been a *civitas*; it lacked a Roman foundation.⁹⁷ Unable to trace its history back to classical times, it did not develop a body of literature on the topic; Venice's subject cities in the *terraferma* state that did, and leaned on their foundation myths to position themselves in their relationships with the *Dominante*, such as Padua and Bergamo, often found that this was met with pushback, or at least varying degrees of approval, on the part of Venetian authorities.⁹⁸

Throughout the Middle Ages and up to the end of the twelfth century, during the slow phase of detachment of Venice and Byzantium, the titles, rituals, and symbols of the Byzantine world retained a strong degree of relevancy in Venetian politics and society;⁹⁹ even later, throughout the early modern period, Venetian elites were well aware of the connected importance of Greek-Roman heritage,¹⁰⁰ which was re-functionalised across the city's public spaces, for instance through the reuse of ancient and Byzantine elements in the urban landscape.¹⁰¹ If we turn to architecture, we find distinctive Byzantine elements mediated and harmonised with the "Latin" tradition.¹⁰² Yet Venice did not make use of its Byzantine past in the way that the rest of Europe used their (further removed) Roman heritage; it did not glorify it. Rather, in the context of public spaces and of public performance of civic rituals, elements of Byzantine heritage were selected and re-semanticised as needed.

The relics of Saint Mark the Evangelist, transferred to the city from Alexandria in 828 CE, were a conceptual, religious, and cultural focus in medieval and early modern Venice, as their cult allowed the city to validate both its ancient ori-

96. Maria Luisa Doglio, "La letteratura ufficiale e l'oratoria celebrativa", in *Storia della cultura veneta. 4: Il Seicento*, ed. by Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi, Vicenza, Neri Pozza, 1983, pp. 163-187; Giuseppe Cambiano, *Polis: un modello per la cultura europea*, Rome – Bari, Laterza, 2007, pp. 51-59. See also Enrico Valseriati, "The Changing Nature of Brescia's Romanitas: Political Rhetoric and Material Culture in the Early Modern Venetian Mainland", forthcoming in *Renaissance Studies*.

97. Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice & Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1996, p. 13.

98. Sante Bartolami, *Urbs antiquissima et clara: studi su Padova nell'età comunale*, ed. by Marco Bolzonella, Padua, CLEUP, 2015, pp. 203-225; Enrico Valseriati, *Figli di Ilio: mitografia e identità civica a Bergamo nel primo Cinquecento*, Bergamo, Centro Studi e Ricerche Archivio Bergamasco, 2017, pp. 52-64.

99. Giorgio Ravagnani, "Insegne del potere e titoli ducali", in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima. 1, Origini, Età ducale*, ed. by Lellia Cracco Ruggini, Rome, 1992, pp. 829-846.

100. See especially Pincus, "Venice and the Two Romes".

101. *Pietre di Venezia: spolia in se, spolia in re. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Venezia, 17-18 ottobre 2013)*, ed. by Monica Centanni and Luigi Sperti, Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2015. See also Desi Marangon, "Il fascino delle forme greche a Venezia: Andrea Dandolo, l'arte e l'epigrafia", *Hortus artium medievalium*, 22 (2016), pp. 157-164.

102. Manfredo Tafuri, "La 'Nuova Costantinopoli': la rappresentazione della 'renovatio' nella Venezia dell'Umanesimo (1450-1509)", *Rassegna*, 4.9 (1982), pp. 25-38.

gins and its Christian roots;¹⁰³ Saint Mark was not the only saint from the Eastern Christian tradition to be worshipped in Venice, but became the most important, turning into the very personification of the state.¹⁰⁴ When the Byzantine delegation of the Council of Ferrara-Florence visited Venice in 1438, its members expressed mixed feelings – of both sorrow and admiration – at the sight of the Byzantine *spolia* added to the treasure of Saint Mark in the years after the Latin conquest of Constantinople (1204).¹⁰⁵ Greek elements (such as greetings) were used in Easter celebrations in Venice, which “places an emphasis upon the doge’s position both as equivalent to that of a Byzantine emperor and as the principal and first witness of the resurrection”.¹⁰⁶ Material evidence played a significant part in the story Venetians told themselves about their past and their present, though the strategies put in place to do so changed over time.¹⁰⁷ Art, urban landscapes, rituals, all echoed Byzantine elements devoid of ideas of submission to Constantinople – in fact, they were instrumental in elevating Venice, its former colony.

Early reuse of Byzantine bindings also happened, over a century before the imitation of Greek-style bindings became common in Venice: in the fourteenth century, three illuminated liturgical manuscripts in Latin were specifically commissioned by the Procurator di San Marco (and, later, Doge) Andrea Dandolo (1306-1354), specifically to be fitted into two precious Byzantine bindings and one thirteenth-century Venetian imitation.¹⁰⁸

The European fascination with the Roman Empire and its inheritor, the Byzantine Empire, was closely connected with the idea that civil law (and therefore, to a degree, civilisation itself) had been a fruit born of classical Rome. Early modern Europe therefore looked at Rome not just as an expression of power, but also as an embodiment of what was Roman (and therefore civilised, cognizant, capable of reason), as opposed to what was not (provincial, barbarian, and ultimately, non-Roman).¹⁰⁹

103. Fortini Brown, *Venice & Antiquity*, p. 13.

104. Cecilia Cristellon and Silvana Seidel Menchi, “Religious Life”, in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. by Eric Dursteler, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2013, pp. 379-419: 394.

105. Holger A. Klein, “Refashioning Byzantium in Venice, ca. 1200-1400”, in *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, ed. by Robert S. Nelson and Henry Maguire, Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010, pp. 193-225: 193-196.

106. Iain Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007, p. 148.

107. Filippo de Vivo, “Historical Justifications of Venetian Power in the Adriatic”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64.2 (2003), pp. 159-176.

108. Marc. lat. I, 100 (=2089), Marc. lat. I, 101 (=2260), and Marc. lat. III, 111 (=2116). The two Byzantine bindings had been produced in Constantinople in the ninth and eleventh century; the Venetian imitation had been made in the thirteenth century after a tenth-century Byzantine model. See Klein, “Refashioning Byzantium”, pp. 200-204.

109. Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c. 1800*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995, p. 20.

Venice laid profound importance on its civic values, which defined its republican nature, its durability, and its sovereignty. In the social and political system of the Venetian Republic, genealogies consolidated not so much in the search for a single hero, in whom the source of a dynasty could be identified and authority could be found, but in the (perhaps more credible) history of peace in the Republic, which was understood both as a distinctive political trait and as evidence of its antiquity: Venetian genealogies were grounded in a different sense of historical self-awareness than they were elsewhere on the continent.¹¹⁰ In Venice, where humanism was considered a “training in values”,¹¹¹ individuals could be introduced to the moral standards and code of behaviour of the patriciate by means of the *studia humanitatis*.

Self-fashioning and collecting practices were also inevitably different from the rest of Europe. In Venice, dress was of critical importance for outlining social identities and behaviours, so much so that in times of crisis authorities kept it under strict surveillance.¹¹² Such control over the visual and material aspects of public appearance and interaction was overseen by the patrician class, within which even the doge was a *primus inter pares*.¹¹³ The long robes of patricians were intended both as an equaliser and as a symbol of their gravity and frugality,¹¹⁴ and exceptions were only made in the cases where ostentation represented a way to signify the prestige of the state, such as senatorial dress.¹¹⁵ (Venetians were quite sensitive to the idea of the stability of dress as connected to the longevity of government).¹¹⁶ The richest non-patricians of Venice, on the other hand, were quick at attempting to imitate the elites;¹¹⁷ sumptuary laws were thus intended as a gatekeeping measure as well as a way to preserve the equilibrium between social classes.¹¹⁸

110. Bizzocchi, *Genealogie incredibili*, pp. 242-246.

111. See mainly Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1986, pp. 23-49.

112. Evelyn Welch, “Signs of Faith: The Political and Social Identity of Hair in Renaissance Italy”, in *La fiducia secondo i linguaggi del potere*, ed. by Paolo Prodi, Bologna, Il mulino, 2008, pp. 371-386: 380.

113. Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, p. 133; Alberto Tenenti, “Il potere dogale come rappresentazione”, in *Stato: un'idea, una logica, dal comune italiano all'assolutismo francese*, Bologna, Il mulino, 1987, pp. 193-216.

114. De Vivo, “Walking in Sixteenth-Century Venice”, p. 131.

115. Jola Pellumbi, “The Pressures of Magnificence: Senatorial Dress in Sixteenth-Century Venice”, in *Luxury and the Ethics of Greed in Early Modern Italy*, ed. by Catherine Kovesi, Turnhout, Brepols, 2018, pp. 137-166.

116. Wilson, *The World in Venice*, p. 71.

117. Isabella Cecchini, “Collezionismo e cultura materiale”, in *Il collezionismo d'arte a Venezia: dalle origini al Cinquecento*, ed. by Michel Hochmann, Rosella Lauber and Stefania Mason, Venice, Marsilio, 2008, pp. 164-191: 164-165.

118. Patricia Fortini Brown, “Behind the Walls: The Material Culture of Venetian Elites”, in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297-1797*, ed. by John Jeffries Martin and Dennis Romano, Baltimore – London, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000, pp. 295-338.

In general, expenditure was a key requisite of collecting practices, and libraries were not exempt from conspicuous consumption;¹¹⁹ European elites regularly ran into debt,¹²⁰ and took pride in owning and displaying their art and possessions, both to guests and through portraiture.¹²¹ But such practices were not as common in the Venetian Republic, where frugality was a virtue, display was mediated through civic values and in the built environment, and, at least in theory, a *cauta mediocritas* approach prevailed.¹²²

The celebration of territorial expansion (mainly for commercial purposes, and including expansion into ethnically-Greek areas) and economic success could, however, sanitise ostentation. Prints depicting Venice or the Lion of Saint Mark could be found in the liminal, private-public spaces of homes across social classes.¹²³ Objects that fit within these boundaries and that worked within the system could also be used for the promotion of the image of individuals or families: they signified magnificence, rather than luxury.¹²⁴ Such was also the case with maps, which frequently hung on the walls of the most “public” spaces in private Venetian homes, where sociability took place. Maps served the construction of public personas,¹²⁵ and fashioned their owners as cosmopolitan men and successful servants of the Republic, while also hinting at their wealth and personal prestige. At the same time, printed maps complemented news of recent military events and served as reminders of past ones.¹²⁶ Books could also be fashioned (sometimes in hybrid forms) to show one’s service to the Republic: in Venice, it was not unusual for patricians to have their Commissioni Ducali luxuriously bound and to include Islamic decorative motifs,¹²⁷ which can also appear in a powerful combination with the Lion of Saint Mark, such as in the binding of the Commissione for Giorgio Emo (1538-1605),¹²⁸ Console in Egypt in 1580-1584.¹²⁹

119. Raines, “La biblioteca-museo patrizia”.

120. Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, pp. 93-132.

121. Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, p. 15.

122. Enrico Valseriati, “I Deputati alle pubbliche fabbriche e gli architetti comunali (1538-1597)”, in *Brescia nel secondo Cinquecento: architettura, arte e società*, ed. by Filippo Piazza and Enrico Valseriati, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2016, pp. 93-126.

123. Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, p. 247. On the lion of Saint Mark in public spaces, see also Alberto Rizzi, *I leoni di San Marco: il simbolo della Repubblica Veneta nella scultura e nella pittura*, San Giovanni Lupatoto, Arsenale, 2001.

124. For this distinction, see Kovesi, “Luxus”; Pellumbi, “The Pressures of Magnificence”.

125. See Genevieve Carlton, “Making an Impression: The Display of Maps in Sixteenth-Century Venetian Homes”, *Imago Mundi*, 64.1 (2012), pp. 28-40; Fortini Brown, “Behind the Wall”.

126. Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, p. 246.

127. On the bookbindings of the Commissioni, see Laura Nuvoloni, “Commissioni dogali: Venetian Bookbindings in the British Library”, in *For the Love of the Binding: Studies in Bookbinding History Presented to Mirjam Foot*, ed. by David Pearson, London, The British Library – Oak Knoll Press, 2000, pp. 81-109.

128. *Bibliothèque de Madame G. Whitney Hoff*, no. 96.

129. Roberto Zago, “Emo, Giorgio”, in *DBI*, 42 (1993).

Books and maps were both displayed in parts of Venetian houses.¹³⁰ Book-bindings seem to have occupied a special position in the scheme of Venetian society and its use of material culture: as the physical manifestation of culture, they could signify an awareness of foreignness, as maps and indeed many items that were collected did.¹³¹ As the carriers of text, however, they could do so in an elevated manner: they constituted a privileged tool for the objectification of culture, display of wealth, and self-fashioning strategies. In Venice, we do not find large collections with dozens or hundreds of Greek-style bindings like those that Johann Jakob Fugger, the French royals, or even scholars like Diego Hurtado de Mendoza amassed: at most, Venetians furnished their libraries with a dozen or so of these (often luxurious, or at least expensive) bindings. And yet, in these three cases and in others, Venice remained a key production and supply centre for them.

Venice's relationship with the Greek world was different from that of Florence and France. Venetian control over *stato da mar* territories (which developed from the Adriatic all the way to the Ionian and Aegean islands, parts of the Greek mainland, and to the Black Sea) meant both exposure to, and the creation of, ethnically hybrid communities,¹³² although stark differences exist between Greek territories under the *Venetocrazia*. The Venetian economic prosperity and commercial dominance in the Mediterranean was first and foremost a geographical fact: as Edward Muir noted, Venice "only existed as a metropolis because its location made it an ideal entrepôt, a convenient place between other places".¹³³ The Republic's expansion efforts concentrated in the Mediterranean earlier than they did in the mainland, and even later, in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century,¹³⁴ Greek islands constituted important military and commercial bases for the economic prosperity of Venice;¹³⁵ the city looked at commerce as a "quasi-sacred, ritualised activity",¹³⁶ as seen in the magnificent attributes of the doge¹³⁷ or in the ceremony of the "Sposalizio del mare", during which Venice was married to the sea each year on Ascension Day (*Sensa*).

130. Fortini Brown, "Behind the Wall".

131. On the anthropology of collecting practices, see Paul van der Grijp, *Passion and Profit: Towards an Anthropology of Collecting*, Berlin, Lit, 2006.

132. See Howard, "The Status of the Oriental Traveller".

133. Edward Muir, "The Anthropology of Venice", in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. by Eric Dursteler, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2013, pp. 487-511: 487; Ugo Tucci, "La Grecia e l'economia veneziana", in *L'eredità greca e l'ellenismo veneziano*, ed. by Gino Benzoni, Florence, Olschki, 2002, pp. 139-156.

134. Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire".

135. Maria Fusaro, *Political Economies of Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England, 1450-1700*, Cambridge – New York, Cambridge University Press, 2015, p. 6.

136. Howard, *Venice & the East*, p. 113.

137. Agostino Pertusi, *Quedam regalia insignia: ricerche sulle insegne del potere ducale a Venezia durante il Medioevo*, Florence, Olschki, 1965.

Venice, then, had a multifaceted relationship with the Greek world in its many forms and implications: a Byzantine origin from which a long-surviving autonomy had been earned; the embodiment of classical Greek political forms and virtues; Venetian dominion over ethnically Greek territories. It is not surprising to see this in the shapes of the books themselves: the approach to learning in Venice was markedly pragmatic.¹³⁸ In Venice, the learning of Greek itself started out from commercial and political necessities, as Venice intensively traded with the Greek-speaking populations of the Eastern Mediterranean, especially up until the mid-sixteenth century. Port-cities in the Eastern Mediterranean basin served as infrastructure for commercial activities¹³⁹ and information hubs. While some subject cities gave themselves over spontaneously to the Republic, these areas were not necessarily easy to govern, and they resisted the “benevolent” rule of Venice; but we have already seen how Greek-style bindings in the West are, first and foremost, a story told by westerners.

The chronology of Greek-style bookbindings follows the fortune of Venice in the Mediterranean. Up to the first three decades of the sixteenth century, maritime commercial routes retained their importance for the Republic and accordingly, naval offices were among the most prestigious one could hold.¹⁴⁰ This is also when Venetian elites actively sought Greek books and often had them bound in the Greek style. In the 1530s and 1540s, the Venetian commercial system began to change; the cost of maintaining a commercial fleet rose due to piracy; land routes acquired new pre-eminence, and as a consequence so did the mainland; Venetian trade in the Eastern Mediterranean gradually decreased in favour of foreign ships.¹⁴¹ At the same time as these changes took place, the collecting of Greek-style bindings started to decline gradually: by the time Gian Vincenzo Pinelli commissioned his, they were starting to become old-fashioned.

The myth of Venice did not make the success of Greek-style bookbindings, but the same premises that were helpful in upholding the former, created the circumstances for the latter. The story that Venice told about itself and about its role within the system that it inhabited was a composite one, to which a number of elements contributed; Greek immigration, Byzantine symbols and rituals, Greek

138. Gherardo Ortalli, *Scuole e maestri tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: il caso veneziano*, Bologna, Il mulino, 1996.

139. Arbel, “Venice’s Maritime Empire”, p. 138.

140. Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam*, pp. 33-34.

141. See mainly Alberto Tenenti, *Piracy and the Decline of Venice, 1580-1615*, trans. Janet Pullan and Brian Pullan, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1967; Claire Judde de Larivière, *Naviguer, commercer, gouverner: économie maritime et pouvoirs à Venise (XV^e-XVI^e siècles)*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2008; Fusaro, *Political Economies*, pp. 39-57. On the Venetian *terraferma* state, see Michael Knapton, “The Terraferma State”, in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. by Eric Dursteler, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2013, pp. 85-124; Sandra Toffolo, *Describing the City, Describing the State: Representations of Venice and the Venetian Terraferma in the Renaissance*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2020.

studies in the context of civic humanism, and the ability to function in, and rule over, a large dominion in the Mediterranean, all factored into Venice becoming the cradle for the rebirth of Greek material book forms in western Europe. Once again, the main characteristic of Greek-style bindings in the West is configured as diversity, variety, and hybridism, both of forms and of meanings.

Conclusion

In analysing Greek-style bookbindings in Venice and Italy more in general, we have proceeded in a way similar to that of a binder in their work: from the “inside out”. Starting from bookblocks and their sewing, to endbands, boards, covering, tooling and other decorative elements, we have moved on to consider the individuals at the forefront of the production of the bindings – the bookbinders themselves – and then to their consumers. Finally, we have looked at the wider cultural contexts that created the conditions for their existence and prolonged success over a century and a half in Italy and Europe, and at the circumstances that placed the Venetian Republic at the perfect conjuncture to bring the practice of Greek bookbindings to its highest expression in the West.

I have tried to make this work an argument in favour of a history of book-binding that, much like the history of the book, has cultural and social history at its heart, and offers an opportunity to examine how individuals interacted to affirm their identities within socio-cultural frameworks. Collecting is, according to Russell Belk, “a passionate form of consumption”.¹ Collecting Greek-style bindings had strong political and cultural subtexts, which made for strong “passions”, in the quest to attain the prestige that came, within certain circles, with Greek (but also, at times, Roman and Byzantine) culture.

There is an idea that material culture does not lie; that it is “unmediated” and that being the expression of a need, it privileges function. But as Jules David Prown has noted, artefacts ought to be analysed “as fictions”:² they are infused not just with the needs, but with the mentality, desires, and ideas of those who practiced agency over them and for whom they are a form of conscious or unconscious expression. Fiction is, in fact, no less informative than truth (if we can even draw a line between the two): in fact, it offers us the chance to decode the filter through which these in-

1. Russell W. Belk, “Collecting as Luxury Consumption: Effects on Individuals and Households”, *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 16.3 (1995), pp. 477-490: 483.

2. Jules David Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2002, p. 224.

dividuals saw their truths,³ and how they offered their truths for display, in this case in their libraries. These are truths and fictions at play, articulated by readers (and non-readers) of Greek texts, and embodied not just in these bindings, but in their very materiality. That these are not plain truth, is easily shown by the fact that in western Europe, Greeks for the most part did not have Greek-style bindings made: they did not need to. There is no simple equation indicating that Greek books went into Greek bindings. And even when they did, there were as many “Greek” bindings as there were “Greek” and “hellenised” identities.

Throughout its history, western European scholarship has often placed negative connotations on imitations, fakes, and forgeries:⁴ not here. “Original”, Byzantine bindings could even be discarded and replaced with their more modern, often hybrid mimics.

The history of Greek-style bindings is not one of a search for authenticity, but rather of the many different ways through which identities could be fashioned, using a spectrum of shapes for different goals (it is not by chance that the term set against “genuine” is not “fake”, but “hybrid”).⁵ It is also a history of objects in which the relation between functionality and aesthetics was reconfigured to transmit a message. Transverse linings “do not make sense” with unsupported structures; and yet we find the two features in combination. Supported bookbinding structures don’t “need” the extra stability provided by Greek-style endbands; and yet, overall, endbands shaped the Greek way are perhaps the most-frequently reproduced Byzantine feature in Greek-style bindings made in western Europe in the Renaissance. Their original, structural meaning got “lost in translation”: but they acquired a new one, that of the most common indication of a binding “being Greek”, to the point where the shape of the endband can be the only Greekness materially displayed by a book. Skeuomorphic designs have everything to do with expectations, and expectations can only be satisfied where a common cultural code is in place. The rules of “*alla greca*” material culture in early modern Italy, however, were nuanced, something that those who engaged in this cultural practice seem to have been aware of.

Those who wanted their books to appear physically Greek had to look for a craftsman who could and was willing to reproduce the features of Byzantine bindings. This has brought about the idea that Greek bookbinders must have operated in Venice and introduced Italian craftsmanship to Byzantine techniques. But that proved difficult to demonstrate, and indeed Greek binders in Venice could be as

3. Bert De Munck, “Artisans, Products and Gifts: Rethinking the History of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe”, *Past & Present*, 224 (2014), pp. 39-74.

4. Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1990; Carlo Ginzburg, *Il filo e le tracce: vero, falso, finto*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 2015; Paolo Preto, *Falsi e falsari nella Storia: dal mondo antico a oggi*, ed. by Walter Panciera and Andrea Savio, Rome, Viella, 2020, pp. 109-126 (on fake antiquities in the early modern period).

5. Although Jean Irigoien, for instance, wrote of “fausses reliures byzantines, ou reliures ‘*alla greca*’” (Irigoien, “La reliure byzantine”, p. 30).

rare as lovers of Greek books found Greek booksellers to be in Rome.⁶ Due to the scarcity of signatures, the possibility that they are more likely than others to be the result of collaborative work, or several phases for which several craftsmen are responsible, their identities remain elusive. In this sense, the fact that tooling is often applied with tools rather than by free hand is both a blessing and a curse, as while it allows more precise comparison, it also opens the question of whether tools could be sold or inherited. Attributing Greek-style bindings to individual binders would have required an overall survey of Venetian finishing tools, as no bindery has been proven to produce Greek-style bindings exclusively. Additionally, belonging to the world of material culture and applied arts as much as to that of art, the history of bookbinding suffers from the same methodological biases: craftsmen are often nameless, if not “invisible”.

Material evidence does not provide sufficiently convincing evidence in this sense, as genuine Greek-style bindings could be made by local craftsmen who had had the chance to observe a Byzantine book, without the need to be Greek, or to have been taught by a Greek binder. In fact, material evidence effectively shows a great variety of situations: binders who, mistrusting Byzantine techniques, not fully understanding them, or attempting and failing to reproduce them, made visibly hybrid bindings; others who obtained apparently genuine structures, but whose work reveals hybrid solutions nonetheless, such as thick panel spine linings, thin sewing supports, or bridling-with-nails; fully genuine structures, embracing Greek techniques entirely, but stopping short of reproducing Byzantine decorative patterns and techniques, abandoning them in favour of more fashionable trends, also partly imported, but from the Islamic world. Even so, hybrid and genuine Greek-style bindings are not homogeneous groups. Some genuine Greek-style bindings show a revealing degree of continuity with Cretan practices, which in turn were significantly close to the Constantinopolitan tradition; this is telling of how nonlinear working patterns must have been, with craftsmen whose identity may well, in some cases, have been ethnically mixed, working with others, bridging geographical distances, or partially re-working finished or unfinished bindings that had already been in other craftsmen’s hands.

The uses of Greek-style bindings on the part of their owners are just as diverse. Greeks in Italy showed little interest in having their books bound in the style; conversely, Venetians and more in general Europeans collected them in considerable quantities (overall and, at times, in individual collections), often sparing no expense. The semiotic ambiguity of Greek-style bindings is evident. They shifted from luxury to alterity to exoticness to antiquarianism over time and on a case-by-

6. “Nor are there any Greek booksellers in Rome, except one who can hardly satisfy the cupidity of one prelate, avid for Greek things to which he has become addicted” (Janus Lascaris in Anthony Hobson, “Two Early Sixteenth-Century Binder’s Shops”, pp. 96-97).

case basis. The collectors valued them for their ability to spell out their own qualities and the selves they wished to project as members of different elites: students of Greek letters and scholars, worldly diplomats, savvy bankers, monarchs chasing a genealogical symbology, and other hellenophiles all had something to gain from consorting with Greekness. The nature of their association with Greek culture could be markedly transactional: Marcus Musurus’s invitation to patronage to the Eupatrides, Aldus Manutius’s gift of a vellum copy of the first volume of the Aristotle in a Greek-style binding to Alberto Pio show that Greek-style bindings could be used to elicit an economic return; in many other cases, the investment in Greek-style bindings meant an increase in cultural capital. Collecting practices show that people moved in a microcosm of shared and well-understood values, even though they negotiated them differently.

These values – humanism, antiquarianism, patrician “harmony”, personal and civic identities – were the core of the self-fashioning strategies not just of men of letters, but also of important figures of the political and economic worlds of early modern Europe. Their environments, of course, were deeply intertwined, and many individuals moved in multiple circles. The interest in associating oneself with Greek culture (and with an elevated one at that, the book, which was a sophisticated tool, and in a way more expressive than dress or language, since it combined matter and text) extended a lot further than scholars’ agendas. Transculturation – the phenomenon in which cultures meet and create hybrid ideas and practices, often because people’s experience of another culture makes them rethink how they see their own⁷ – could serve different narratives and different people. The phenomenon, in fact, was ripe in the early modern era and massively affected material culture in Europe at large. At the point in time when Greece and Rome, in their afterlives as the Byzantine Empire, were ceasing to exist, their culture started exercising its symbolical strength over Europe. The power of Byzantium in its last centuries did not come from military supremacy, but rather from its strategic presence in the Mediterranean, its ability to provide an uninterrupted continuation with the Roman Empire, and the use of the Greek language.

These narratives were not lost on Greeks; they may not have been collectors of bindings in the styles, but their agency filters through. Greek-style bookbindings, then, are part of a broader conversation, in which European cultures reflected on, and made use of, cultural alterity (whether through geographical or temporal distance): these objects tell us about how Florentines, French, and especially Venetians looked at themselves, how they looked at the “other”; and what image of themselves this gaze returned to them, thus negotiating individual and collective identities.

Greeks appear marginal in this story, be it as scribes who might also have lent their knowledge of bookbinding practices to existing systems (such as Paulos with the Aldine enterprise or Angelos Vergikios in France) or scholars who acted as

7. Rublack, *Dressing up*.

intermediaries such as Marcus Musurus between San Giovanni e Paolo and the Eupatrides. With this last chapter, these individuals and their attitudes towards Greek material book culture have been put in the context of a very western desire to appropriate “Greekness”. The active interest and investment on the part of Venetian elites and French royalty has been analysed – a pursuit of the Greek and Byzantine cultural and societal values that found much of its expression in material culture, but grew from strong political and economic concerns.

Political agendas and commercial interests could also help explain why other locales, such as Florence, had no lack of Greek studies but never developed as strong a production of Greek-style bindings. As an international emporium, Florence was no weaker than Venice. Its network, however, developed in the western Mediterranean and in northern Europe⁸ more than it did in the Greek islands, mainland, or the Levant, large parts of which were under the control or influence of the Venetian Republic. Likewise, there was no attempt on the part of the Florentine authorities to organise and push a self-fashioning narrative in which they figured as the Emperors of Byzantium, as did the French.

Ultimately, are Greek-style bookbindings made in early modern Venice and Europe “*alla greca*”, and if so, in what way?

They are, indeed, “Greek” in the sense that they were deliberately so for those who commissioned, bought, and owned them. Greek-style bindings were made in the West with a number of combinations, compromises, and variations, in the very large majority an Italian and western intellectual project into which Greeks could tap but not partake as equal partners. Interestingly, there is no indication that genuine Greek-style bindings were considered in any way superior to hybrid Greek-style bindings, that Greek binders (if indeed they operated in the Venetian Republic) were more sought after than Italian ones, or that different names were given to different structures in the realm of Greek-style bindings.

The term “*alla greca*”, which was used in the early modern era for objects and behaviours belonging to classical, Byzantine, post-Byzantine, and hybrid cultures, cannot be taken at face value. Yet, it is by examining how “Greekness” appeared in material and textual language that we can, ultimately, understand what its complex meanings were.

8. Goldthwaite, *The Economy*.



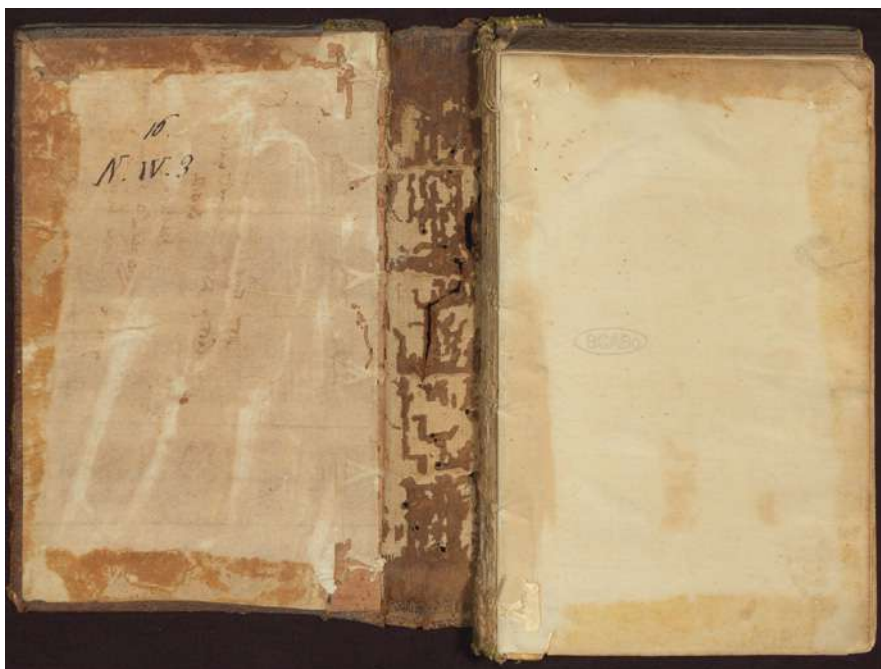
Pl. 1a. Oxford, All Souls College Library, Great Lib. Gallery b.10.5. This Greek-style binding also served as the model for the structure shown in Fig. 1. The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford.



Pl. 1b. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ald. 505. The unsupported sewing of the bookblock is visible under the partially detaching spine lining and covering. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Divieto di riproduzione. Reproduced by permission of the Italian Ministry of Culture – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Pl. 2a. Oxford, The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Laud gr. 38, asymmetrical bridling (S-shaped) on the inner face of the boards. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.



Pl. 2b. Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna, 16.N.IV.3, left endleaves, showing V-shaped bridling board attachment. Reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna.



Pl. 3. Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana e dei Lincei, 43. D. 32. Right board, inner face: the Greek manuscript waste pastedowns (now lifted, with text transferred on the inner face of the boards) and Latin manuscript waste transverse lining are visible, as well as the recesses cut into the boards to accommodate the fastening straps.



Pl. 4a. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. IV, 33 (=1190), displaying blue textile lining. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Divieto di riproduzione. Reproduced by permission of the Italian Ministry of Culture – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pl. 4b. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ald. 505. Boards cut flush with the bookblock; the grooves on the edges of the boards are also visible. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Divieto di riproduzione. Reproduced by permission of the Italian Ministry of Culture – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Pl. 4c. Milan, Biblioteca Braidense, Braid. AO.XII.71, a rare example of an Italian-made Greek-style binding with paper boards; the Saint Lawrence grill design on the covers is also visible. Su concessione del Ministero della cultura – Pinacoteca di Brera – Biblioteca Braidense, Milano. Divieto di riproduzione. Reproduced by permission of the Italian Ministry of Culture – Pinacoteca di Brera – Biblioteca Braidense, Milan. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Pl. 5a. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. VII, 50 (=1100). A Cretan Greek-style binding with the typical endband (some of the secondary sewing in green, red and white silk remaining) and edge decoration. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Divieto di riproduzione. Reproduced by permission of the Italian Ministry of Culture – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Pl. 5b. Salamanca, Biblioteca General Histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca, Inc. 209, uncovered board with the textile spine lining visible. Image courtesy of the Salamanca University Library.



Pl. 6a. Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana e dei Lincei, 43. D. 32. Right board.



Pl. 6b. Mantua, Biblioteca Teresiana, XLVII.D.13. Image courtesy of Biblioteca Teresiana.



Pl. 7a. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. IV, 33 (=1190). A simplified imitation of Cretan-style edge decoration in an Italian-made Greek-style binding. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Divieto di riproduzione. Reproduced by permission of the Italian Ministry of Culture – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Pl. 7b. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, A.V.X.XVI.11. Apollonius Dyscolus, *De constructione Magni Basilij. De grammatica exercitatione*, Florentiae, in aedibus Philippi Iuntae Florentini bibliopolae, 1515 (detail of the edge and endband). Reproduced by permission of Alma Mater Studiorum Università di Bologna – Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Pl. 7c. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Special Collections 5421 – Aldine 79 (1), gilt and gauffered edges; the red-coloured ground (possibly Armenian bole) is also visible in streaks underneath the gold. Copyright of the University of Manchester.



Pl. 7d. Oxford, The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Laud gr. 38, interlaced fastenings; the blue-coloured edge of the book is also observable. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.



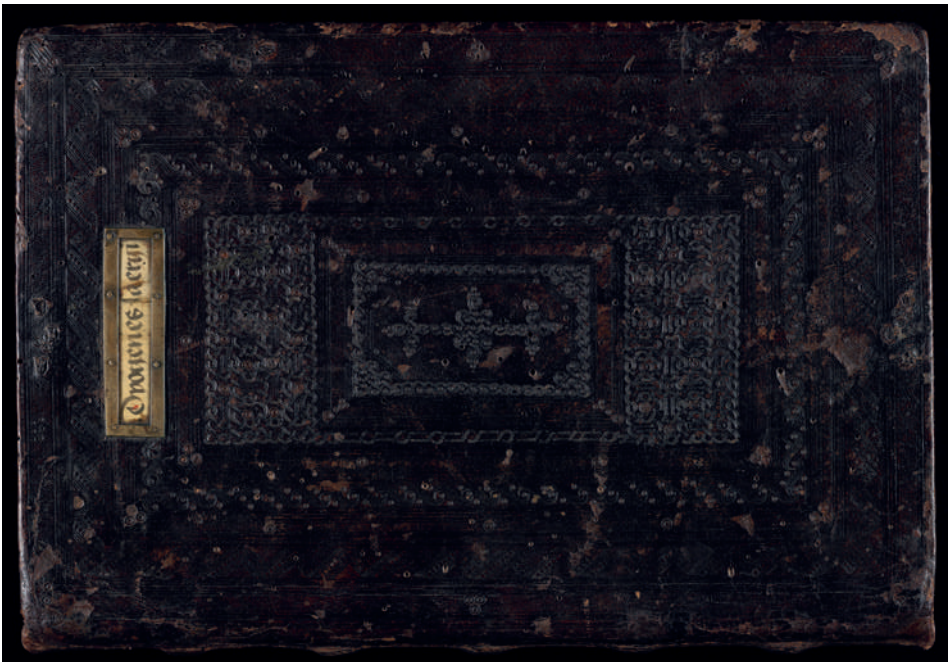
Pl. 9a. New Haven, Beinecke Library, Marston MS 38, fol. 1r. Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae et Sententiae Philosophorum*. General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.



Pl. 9b. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Strozzi 100, fol. 1r. Su concessione del MiC. È vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo. Reproduced by permission of the Italian Ministry of Culture. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Pl. 10a. Princeton, Special Collections, Princeton University Library, MS. 30, left board and tail endband. Courtesy of Princeton University Library.



Pl. 10b. New Haven, Beinecke Library, Ms Marston 38, left board. Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae et Sententiae Philosophorum*. General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.



Pl. 11a. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Strozzi 100, binding. Su concessione del MiC. È vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo. Reproduced by permission of the Italian Ministry of Culture. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Pl. 11b. Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, MS A VI 21, left board. Image courtesy of Biblioteca Queriniana.



Pl. 12. New York, New York Public Library, Spencer Collection Ital. 1528, right board.



Pl. 13a. Oxford, The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Laud gr. 38 (right board). Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.



Pl. 13b. Oxford, The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Auct. F. 3. 23 (left board). Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.



Pl. 14. Bartolomeo di Francesco Terrandi (Bartolomeo Bergamasco) (?-1528), *Funerary effigy of Alvise Trevisan*, 1528. Venice, Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo (San Zanipolo). Image courtesy of the Dominican community of San Giovanni e Paolo.



Pl. 15. Giovanni Cariani (1485/90-1547), *Portrait of an Astronomer*, ca. 1520 (Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin). Digital Image 2023 © BPK, Berlin/Photo Scala, Florence.



Pl. 16. Pier Francesco Sacchi, about 1485-1528. *Saint Paul Writing*, 1520s. Mond Bequest, 1924. © The National Gallery, London.

Appendix:
Census of Greek-style bookbindings
made in western Europe

Note to the Appendix

The following is a census of all Greek-style bindings made in western Europe known to the author; for volumes that have undergone repairs, only bindings in which Greek features are still visible are listed (such as, at the very least, holes for interlaced fastenings in the covers, and/or the marks left by their straps onto end-leaves).

The bindings are listed in alphabetical order by city and holding institution. Copies in private collections appear at the end of the list. Each entry is composed of the shelfmark of the specimen (as it appears in secondary literature, for copies not examined book-in-hand); the contents of the book; an indication of whether it is a manuscript (**M**) or a printed book (**P**) or both; available details on the production of the book – place, scribe(s) or printer(s), date – and unique identifiers in Pinakes (Diktyon no., for manuscripts), or ISTC or USIC (for printed books); for manuscripts copied by multiple hands, information on the date and place of copy or the name(s) of the scribe(s) may refer to only a section of the textblock. For legibility purposes, places, names, and dates pertaining to processes of copying, printing, and binding are not provided in square brackets even in cases where the information on a specific edition or copy is interpolated from other sources.

This is followed by information, if known, about the place and date of binding (BIND) and provenance (OWN) of the volume (including any ownership preceding the current binding), as well as secondary literature (LIT). Recorded secondary literature focuses on the binding itself rather than the book in general, and is listed in short form; full references are given in the bibliography (for manuscripts with a Diktyon number, full secondary literature is listed in their Pinakes entry). Finally, bindings which I was able to examine book-in-hand are indicated by ♦ at the end of each entry; indexing references from within the book are also provided in this section, following an arrow (→).

Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes

Inc. F. 12

Etymologicum magnum Graecum (P; Venice, Zacharias Kalliergis for Nikolaos Vlastos and Anna Notaras, 1499; ISTC ie00112000)

OWN: Zacharias Monet; Abraham Monet; Bénédicte Turrettini

◆ | → pp. 51n, 71, 71n-72n

Rés. Q. 3

Plutarchi quae vocantur Parallela (P; Venice, heirs of Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1519; USTC 849958)

BIND: Venice or Padua, “shop specialized in alla greca binding of Aldines”, Venice (Hobson 1989); “Paduan Greek Shop” (Hobson 1999b), 1510-1530

OWN: Lérins Abbey?; Nicolas Bérault?

LIT: Hobson 1989, 66; Hobson 1999b, 416

◆ | → p. 80

Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek

I A 14

Athanasius; Arrianus (M; Emmanouel Bembaines, 1548; Diktyon 163)

OWN: Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle

LIT: Szirmai 1999, 84, 86; Cataldi Palau 2000, 350

◆

I A 15

Photius (M; Georgios Tryphon, 1548; Diktyon 164)

OWN: Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle

LIT: Szirmai 1999, 84, 86

◆

I A 16

Photius (M; Georgios Tryphon, 1548; Diktyon 164)

OWN: Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle

LIT: Szirmai 1999, 84

◆

I A 17

Acta Oecumenici Concilii; Photius; Clemens Romanus; Basilus Magnus (M; 16th c.; Diktyon 165)

OWN: Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 42 no. 2750 bis; Szirmai 1999, 84, 86

◆ | → p. 42

Arezzo, Biblioteca Comunale

Inc. 35-41

Dioscorides, De materia medica (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, after 8 July 1499; ISTC id00260000)

BIND: 15th c.

OWN: Pietro da Portico?

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 38 no. 2696 bis;

Scapecchi 1994a, 9; Scapecchi 1994b, 49 no. 6 → p. 118

Athens, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Gennadius Library

B/GC 2992 q

Omnia Platonis opera (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1513; USTC 849832)

BIND: Padua, after 1550

OWN: Tobias Wind; Zabarella family

LIT: Pickwoad 2008, 185-187

GC 245 B

Homeri Ilias (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC 835811)

BIND: Venice?

T 73.1/843

Psalterion (Υαλτήριον τοῦ θείου Δαβὶδ) (P; S.l., s.n., 1584; NA)

→ p. 72

T 615 B

Eirmologion (P; Venice, Andreas Kounadis, 1584; NA)

BIND: Venice

OWN: Leo Olschki

LIT: Pickwoad 2008, 181

**Austin, TX, Harry Ransom Center,
University of Texas at Austin**

PA 3949 A2 1504

Demosthenes, Orationes duae et sexaginta (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC 826496)

BIND: Germany

OWN: Santa Maria di Canepanova

Barnabite Monastery (Pavia)

LIT: Kallendorf – Zelevecchi Wells 1998, 106-107 no. 79; Pickwoad 2008, 193

◆

**Baltimore, MD, The Walters Art
Museum**

92.177 A6.12

Novum Testamentum (P; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1546; USTC 149681)

BIND: France

OWN: “ex libr. Jacob. Ecclesiae 1582”

LIT: *The History of Bookbinding* 1957, 132 no. 303

◆

92.248

Homeri Ilias (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC 835811)

BIND: Venice, 16th c. (first quarter)

LIT: *The History of Bookbinding* 1957, 95 no. 213

◆

92.330 B5.32

Ioannes Stobaeus, Sententiae, Ex Thesaurum Graecorum (P; Paris, Martin Le Jeune, 1552; USTC 151200 or 196582)

BIND: Paris, ca. 1560s

LIT: *The History of Bookbinding* 1957, 131 no. 299

◆

W. 461

Polybius, Historiae (M; ca. 1550)

BIND: Paris, ca. 1550

OWN: Anne de Montmorency; Thomas Martin Uster

LIT: *The History of Bookbinding* 1957, 122 no. 275

◆

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek

Inc. 2989

Anthologia Graeca Planudea (P; Florence, Lorenzo di Alopa, 1494; ISTC ia00765000)

BIND: 15th c.

OWN: Matteo Battiferri

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 33, 38 no. 2692; Bühler 1960, 64-65; Hobson 1989, 100-103, 219 no. 12C; Daniotti 2022, 178; Boudalis – Gialdini 2022

◆ | → pp. 59, 69

Phill. 1476

Theological miscellany (M; 16th c. (first quarter); Diktyon 9377)

BIND: Venice, 16th c. (first quarter)

OWN: Guillaume Pellicier; Jesuits of

Clermont (Paris); Sir Thomas Phillips

LIT: Schunke 1964b, 378-379; Cataldi Palau 2011, 18, 42

Phill. 1581

Bassus Cassianus, De re rustica; Oribasius, Ad Eunnapium (M; 16th c. (first quarter); Diktyon 9483)

BIND: 16th c.

OWN: Guillaume Pellicier; Jesuits of

Clermont (Paris); Sir Thomas Phillips

LIT: Cataldi Palau 2011, 15, 18-19, 48

Phill. 1639

Nicetas Choniates, Historia (M; Camillo Zanetti, 1541; Diktyon 9541)

BIND: Venice, ca. 1560

OWN: Jean Le Bel; Strozzi family;

Guillaume Pellicier; Jesuits of Clermont (Paris); Sir Thomas Phillips

LIT: Schunke 1964b, 382; Cataldi Palau 2011, 18-19, 28, 56

→ p. 122

Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale

Ms. 168

Cyrillus Alexandrinus, De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate (M; Petros Karnabaka (Karneades); Diktyon 9622)

BIND: 16th c.

OWN: Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 42 no. 2754

(erroneously as ms. 169); *Manuscripts... Granvelle* 1951 no. 107; Piquard 1964, 13 no. 84

Ms. 169

Theodoretus Cyrensis, Interpretatio in XIV epistulas Pauli (M; Petros Karnabaka (Karneades); Diktyon 9623)

BIND: 16th c.

OWN: Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 42 no. 2751;

Piquard 1964, 12-13 no. 83

Ms. 409

Sextus Empiricus, Aduersus mathematicos (M; Petros Karnabaka (Karneades); Diktyon 9627)

BIND: 16th c.

OWN: Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 42 no. 2752;

Piquard 1964, 13 no. 86

Ms. 846

Dio Cassius, Historiae Romanae (M; Petros Karnabaka (Karneades); Diktyon 9634)

BIND: 16th c.

OWN: Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 42, no. 2753;

Piquard 1964, 12 no. 82

Blickling, Blickling Hall

II.2 [7097]

Luciani Opera (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 762915)

BIND: Bologna, ca. 1520

LIT: Pickwoad 2008, 191

Psalterium (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, not after 1 October 1498; ISTC ip01033000)

BIND: 1520s

LIT: Pickwoad 2008, 181

Horae: ad usum Romanum (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1497; ISTC ih00391000)

BIND: Italy

Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio

4.PP.II.20

Ermeneia eis ta tessara Euaggelia (P; Rome, Antonio Blado, 1542; USTC 858975)

BIND: Northern Italy?, 16th c. (second or third quarter)

◆

16.N.IV.3

Omeroy Ylias (P; Venice, heirs of Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1524;

USTC 835806)

BIND: Rome?, 16th c. (first half)

OWN: Società Medico-Chirurgica di

Bologna; Dr Vertari

◆ | Pl. 2b

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria

A.V.X.XVI.11

Apollonii Alexandrei De constructione Magni Basilii De grammatica exercitacione (P;

Florence, Filippo Giunta, 1515; USTC 809797)
 BIND: Bologna?, “Secondo legatore di Achille Bocchi”, 1508(?)–1539
 LIT: *Legature bolognesi* 1998, 14, 65 no. 13; Macchi 2011, 34–35
 ♦ | → pp. 42, 53–54, Pl. 7b

Brussels, KBR

Brux. 11344
Aristophanes, Ploutos, Clouds; Vita; Scholia (M; Georgios Chomatas, 1460–1480; Diktyon 9953)
 BIND: Italy?
 LIT: Omont 1885, 26 no. 79; Regemorter 1954, 8; Hoffmann 1982, 750–751; Martinelli Tempesta 2015; Boudalis – Gialdini 2022; Boudalis 2023, 242, 309
 ♦

Brux. 11368
Thucydides, Extraits (M; ca. 1470; Diktyon 9966)
 OWN: Pierre Pantin; Jesuits (Antwerp)
 LIT: Omont 1885, no. 92
 ♦

Cairo, Saint Catherine’s Cairo Metochion

Constitutiones sanctorum Apostolorum doctrina catholica (P; Venice, Giordano Ziletti, 1563; USTC 804256)
 LIT: Pickwood 2008, 181

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

MS 42–1950
Ps. Aristotle, Secreta Secretorum (translated by Leonardo Bruni) (M; London, Milo de Carrara)
 BIND: Italy? (structure), England (decoration), 15th c. (third quarter)?

OWN: Eugenio Minutoli Tegrini
 LIT: Scott 1980, 41–44; Pickwood 2008, 183
 → p. 58

Cambridge, Wren Library, Trinity College

N. 2. 54
Epistolae diversorum philosophorum, oratorum, rhetorum (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1499; ISTC ie00064000)
 BIND: Padua or Venice, “shop specialized in alla greca binding of Aldines” (Hobson 1989); “Paduan Greek Shop” (Hobson 1999b), 1510–1530
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 66; Hobson 1999b, 416
 ♦

N. 5. 94
Thucydides; Georgii Gemisti, qui & Pletho dicitur... (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1502; Venice, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1503; USTC 859004; 832180)
 OWN: Meteora monasteries; Richard M. Milnes
 ♦ | → p. 42

Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University

Inc. 5549 (Goff T-144)
Theocritus, Idyllia (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, February 1495/1496; ISTC it00144000)
 BIND: England?
 ♦

Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana

Plut. D. XXVII. 2
Homer, Odyssea (M; 1311; Diktyon 12367)
 BIND: Cesena, 15th c. (second half)

OWN: Nikephoros Moschopoulos;
Cyriacus of Ancona?
LIT: Pontani 1997



Chantilly, Bibliothèque Condé

VIII-D-018

Homeri Ilias (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC 835811)

BIND: Paris, Étienne Roffet's workshop
OWN: Francis I; Jean-Baptiste Colbert;
Ambroise Firmin-Didot; Henri d'Orléans,
duc d'Aumale
LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 40

VIII-D-019

Homeri Ilias (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC 835811)

BIND: Paris, Étienne Roffet's workshop
OWN: Francis I; Jean-Baptiste Colbert;
Ambroise Firmin-Didot; Henri d'Orléans,
duc d'Aumale
LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 40

VIII-D-035

Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum (P;
Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC
800004)

BIND: Rome, Cardinals' Shop, 16th c.
OWN: Joseph?; Lilly; Henri d'Orléans, duc
d'Aumale
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39, no. 2700;
Hobson 1984, 89-98; Agati – Canart 2009, 13

Coleraine, Ulster University (formerly New University of Ulster) Library

Anthologia Graeca Planudea (P; Florence,
Lorenzo di Aloga, 1494; ISTC ia00765000)
BIND: Florence, ca. 1494

LIT: Sotheby's 1948, 10 no. 7; De Marinis
1960, III, 38 no. 2691; Hobson 1989, 100-
103, 219 no. 12B

Cologne, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana

Aristophanes, Facetissimi comoediae undecim.

(P; Basel, Andreas Cratander and Johann
Bebel, 1532; USTC 612851)

BIND: 16th c.

OWN: Ciro Sonzoni

LIT: *Bibliothèque... G. Whitney Hoff* 1933,
27-28 no. 33; De Marinis 1960, III, 48 no.
2833 bis
→ p. 119

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek

16-191

Isocrates nuper accurate recognitus et auctus

(P; Venice, heirs of Aldus Manutius and
Andrea Torresano, 1534; USTC 836615)

BIND: France

OWN: Henry II and Diane de Poitiers
LIT: Kyster 1938, 82 no. 68; Foot 1978,
172, 181

73:1-66

Ilias, metabletheisa palai eis koinen glossan...

(P; Venice, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio
for Damiano Santa Maria, 1526; USTC
835805)

BIND: 16th c. (second quarter)

→ p. 71

GKS 6, 2°

Biblia Graeca: Iob; Proverbia Salomonis... (M;
11th-12th c.; Diktyon 37136)

BIND: Venice, Rosettenmeister
(Benedetto detto Padoana), 15th c.

OWN: Urbano Bolzanio; Fridericus
Rostgaard

LIT: Kyster 1938, 54 no. 42; De Marinis
1960, III, 38 no. 2695 ter; Schunke 1964a,
154; Hobson 1989, 67

GKS 490, 2°

Thucydides, Historiae (M; 14th-15th c.;
Diktyon 37160)

BIND: Padua?, 15th c.
 OWN: Fridericus Rostgaard
 LIT: Kyster 1938, 52 no. 41 (as Gl. Kgl. Saml. 490 fol.); De Marinis 1960, III, 36 no. 2667 bis; Schunke 1964a, no. 127; Hobson 1989, 70; Pickwood 2008, 182

Thott 59, 2°
Chants royaux en l'honneur de la sainte vierge (M; 16th c.)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Diane de Poitiers
 LIT: Kyster 1938, 84 no. 69

Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek

Hs-1638
Theodorus Gaza, Grammaticae introductio (M; 1492; Diktyon 13202)
 BIND: Florence?, 15th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 36 no. 2670

Derry/Londonderry, Derry and Raphoe Diocesan Library

G.II.e.4
Hesychius Alexandrinus, Dictionarium (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1514; USTC 835703)
 BIND: Oxford
 OWN: John Fox
 LIT: Pickwood 2008, 198

Dublin, Edward Worth Library

L. 4. 22
Isocrates, Orationes (P; Milan, Uldericus Scinzenzeler and Sebastianus de Ponte Tremulo, 24 January 1493; ISTC ii00210000)
 LIT: Boudalis – Gialdini 2022

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana

Conv. Soppr. 118
Gregorii Nazianzjani Orationes (M; Diktyon 15844)
 BIND: before 1511
 OWN: Vincenzo Querini; Monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli (Florence); Tommaso Giustiniani; Eremo di Camaldoli
 LIT: Scapocchi 1994d, 198
 ◆ | → p. 121

Conv. Soppr. 169
Plutarchus, Vitae Parallelae (M; Andrea Leantinus, 1394; Diktyon 15871)
 BIND: Florence, 15th c.
 OWN: Antonio Corbinelli
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2678 bis; *Mostra di legature* 1978, 9 no. 12
 ◆ | → p. 66

Plut. 69. 18
Xenophon, Anabasis (M; 15th c.; Diktyon 16545)
 BIND: Florence
 LIT: *Mostra storica... Palazzo Pitti* 1922, 26 no. 80; *Mostra di legature* 1978, 19 no. 59; Cirignano 1993, 190
 ◆

Strozzi 100
Carlo Marsuppini, translation of Iliad, Batracomiomachia, Carmina (M)
 BIND: Florence, 15th c.
 OWN: Medici family?
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 36 no. 2665 bis; *Poggio Bracciolini* 1980, 46 no. 76; Pierini 2010, *passim*; Pierini 2014, 4
 ◆ | → pp. 57-58, Pl. 9b, 11a

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

Inc. Magl. C.5.7.

Psalterium cum canticis (**P**; Milan, Bonus

Accursius, 1481; ISTC ip01035000)

BIND: Venice, 1481-1500

OWN: Pietro da Portico; Eremiti di Camaldoli

LIT: Scapecchi 1994a, 9; Scapecchi 1994c, 196; Speranzi 2017

◆ | → p. 118

Inc. Magl. I.2.14

Johannes Crastonus, Lexicon Graeco-latinum

(**P**; Milan, Bonus Accursius, not after 28 March 1478; ISTC ic00958000)

BIND: Venice, 15th c. (last quarter)

OWN: Pietro da Portico; Eremiti di Camaldoli

LIT: Scapecchi 1994a, 9

◆ | → p. 118

Rari.22 A 5. 13

Sophoclis Tragaediae septem cum commentariis (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1502; USTC 857020)

BIND: 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39 no. 2699 bis (as Legature, 13)

◆

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana

Ricc. 18

Simplicius, In Aristotelis Physicorum libros I-IV (**M**; Antonios Damilas; Diktyon 17019)

BIND: Rome, Cardinals' Shop, 16th c. (second half)

OWN: Giovanni Salviati; Giovanni Battista Doni

LIT: *Legature riccardiane* 2008, 36-37; Hobson 1984, 89-98; Agati – Canart 2009, 10

Ricc. 19

Simplicii in quintum Aristotelis librum de phisica auditione (**M**; Gallipoli, Antonios Damilas;

Diktyon 17020)

BIND: Rome, Cardinals' Shop, 16th c. (first quarter)

OWN: Giovanni Salviati; Giovanni Battista Doni

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2684; *Legature riccardiane* 2008, 38-39; Agati – Canart 2009, 10-11

Ricc. 20

Simplicius, In Aristotelis Physicorum libros V-VIII (**M**; Rome, Zacharias Kalliergis;

Diktyon 17021)

BIND: Rome, Cardinals' Shop

OWN: Giovanni Salviati; Giovanni Battista Doni

LIT: *Legature riccardiane* 2008, 40-41; Hobson 1984, 89-98; Agati – Canart 2009, 12-13; Chatzopoulou 2012, 32

Ricc. 22 (K. I. 26)

Euclides, Elementa geometrica cum scholiis (**M**; Diktyon 17023)

BIND: Republic of Venice

LIT: *Legature riccardiane* 2008, 42-43

Ricc. 33 (K. II. 6)

Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica (**M**; Diktyon 17033)

BIND: Republic of Venice

LIT: *Legature riccardiane* 2008, 46-47

Ricc. 34 (K. II. 20)

Sophocles (**M**; Zacharias Kalliergis; Diktyon 17034)

BIND: Republic of Venice, 15th c. (last quarter)-16th c. (first quarter)

LIT: De Marinis 1955, no. 31; De Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2685; Hobson 1989, 67; *Legature riccardiane* 2008, 48-49

→ p. 59

Ricc. 35 (K. II. 17)
Apollonius Rhodius (**M**; Greece, Zacharias
 Kalliergis; Diktyon 17035)
 BIND: Republic of Venice
 LIT: *Legature riccardiane* 2008, 50-51

Ricc. 52 (K. II. 14)
*Orpheus, Epistula ad Musaeum; Homerus,
 Hymna* (**M**; John Scutariotes, 15th c. (last
 quarter); Diktyon 17052)
 BIND: Republic of Venice, 15th c. (last
 quarter)
 OWN: Giovanni Salvati
 LIT: *Legature riccardiane* 2008, 56-57
 → p. 59

Ricc. 53 (K. II. 13)
Orpheus; Moschus; Homerus; Proclus (**M**; John
 Rhosos, 15th c. (third quarter); Diktyon
 17053)
 BIND: Venice, 15th c. (third quarter)
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2677;
Legature riccardiane 2008, 58-59

Ricc. 93 (K. I. 15)
De processione Spiritus Sancti ex auctoritate Patrum
 (**M**; 15th c. (first half); Diktyon 17092)
 BIND: 15th c.
 LIT: *Legature riccardiane* 2008, 64-65

Ricc. F. M. 477
Antologia Graeca Planudea (**P**; Florence,
 Lorenzo di Alopa, 1494; ISTC ia00765000)
 BIND: 15th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 37-38 no. 2689

Genoa, Biblioteca Franzoniana

Urbani 18
Basilus Magnus (**M**; 10th-11th c.; Diktyon 17233)
 BIND: Italy, 16th c.
 OWN: Filippo Sauli
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 1986; Cataldi Palau
 1990, 105-109
 → pp. 80, 80n

Urbani 22
Theodoretus (**M**; before 1521; Diktyon
 17237)
 BIND: Italy, 16th c.
 OWN: Filippo Sauli
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 1986; Cataldi Palau
 1996, 11-17
 → p. 80

Urbani 26
Theological miscellany (**M**; Crete,
 Christophorus Contoleo, before 1521;
 Diktyon 17241)
 BIND: Italy, 16th c.
 OWN: Filippo Sauli
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 1986; Cataldi Palau
 1996, 38-48; Stefec 2012, 504
 → p. 80

Urbani 27
Theological miscellany (**M**; 11th c.; Diktyon
 17242)
 BIND: Italy
 OWN: Filippo Sauli
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 1986; Cataldi Palau
 1996, 49-65
 → p. 80n

Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library

Sp Coll Hunterian Bg.3.1
Isocrates, Orationes (**P**; Milan, Uldericus
 Scinzenzeler and Sebastianus de Ponte
 Tremulo, 24 January 1493; ISTC
 ii00210000)
 BIND: Venice, 1493-1525

Ivion Monastery (Mount Athos), Ivion Monastery Library

Several copies: 28, 28d, 28f, 28g, 28i, A 28.4
Opera quaedam b. Basilii Caesariensis episcopi
 (**P**; Venice, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio for
 Damiano Santa Maria, 1535; USTC 812756)

BIND: Italy
→ p. 72

A 8
Thesaurus Cornu copiae et Horti Adonidis
(P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1496; ISTC
it00158000)
BIND: Italy

A 22
*Ulpianus, Enarrationes saneque necessariae in
tredecim orationes Demosthenis* (P; Venice,
Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 861591)
BIND: Italy

A 33
Snida (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius and
Andrea Torresano, 1514; USTC 800455)
BIND: Italy

Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken

Scal. gr. 15
Ptolemaeus, Syntaxis mathematica, graece (M;
Diktyon 37976)
BIND: 16th c.
OWN: Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle?
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 43 no. 2756;
Szirmai 1999, 84

Voss. gr. F° 45
Basilius Caesariensis minimus, Opera (M;
Konstantinos Palaiokappa, 1542-1551;
Diktyon 38055)
BIND: France
OWN: Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle
LIT: Meyier 1955, 50; Szirmai 1999, 84;
García Bueno 2013, 202

Vulcanius 93
Miscellany (M; Gerardos of Patras; Diktyon
38266)
BIND: Italy

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek

Re. I 17
*Constantinus Porphyrogenitus VII, De
Caerimoniis* (M; Diktyon 38418)
BIND: Buda, Corvinusmeister, 1485-1490
OWN: Matthias Corvinus
LIT: Rozsondai 2002, 251, 259 no. 16;
Rozsondai 2008, 144; Németh 2011, 195

Leuven, Universiteitsbibliotheek

R3A20705
*Constantini Lascaris Byzantini de octo partibus
orationis...* (P; Florence, Filippo Giunta,
1515; USTC 837408)
BIND: 16th c.
OWN: Monastery of San Andrea della
Certosa (or di Lido) (Venice); Frédéric
Villot
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2817 bis



Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal

Inc. 1389
Aristoteles, Opera (P; Venice, Aldus
Manutius, 1495-1498; ISTC ia00959000)
BIND: Venice

Inc. 1421
Aristoteles, Opera (P; Venice, Aldus
Manutius, 1495-1498; ISTC ia00959000)
BIND: Venice

London, British Library

(P 573) Davis 449
*Bernardino Ochino, Prediche; Sermones D.
Bernardini Ochini Senensis; Epistole di
Bernardino di Ochino, alli molto Magnifici
Signori, li Signori di Balia, della Citta di Siena;*

Epistola Magistri Hieronimi Lvcensis, ad Bernardinum Ochinem Senensem (**P**; [various works printed in Geneva])
 BIND: France, after 1587
 OWN: Jacques Auguste de Thou
 LIT: Pickwoad 2008, 195; Foot 2010, 163-164 no. 115

(P 990) Davis 379
Epistolae diversorum philosophorum (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1499; ISTC ie00064000)
 BIND: France, Claude de Picques, 16th c. (third quarter)
 OWN: Marx Fugger
 LIT: Foot 1978, 176; Foot 2010, 101-102 no. 66; Hobson 1989, 210; Marks 1998, 36; Pickwoad 2008, 194

(P 1263) Davis 430
Synesius, Hymni vario lyricorum versuum genere (**P**; Alcalá de Henares, Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 1514-1517; USTC 450572)
 BIND: France, ca. 1560
 OWN: R.C.D.L.J.(?); Narcissus Luttrell
 LIT: Foot 2010, 146 no. 100

(P 1379) Davis 351
Terentius, Comoediae (**P**; Venice, Paulus Manutius, 1545; USTC 858730)
 BIND: France, Gommar Estienne, ca. 1550
 OWN: Berruyer
 LIT: Foot 1978, 177; Hobson 1989, 189-211; Foot 2010, 98-100 no. 64

(P 1491) Davis 396
Leon Battista Alberti, L'architecture et l'art du bien bastir (**P**; Paris, Robert Masselin for Jacques Kerver, 1553; USTC 24330)
 BIND: France, Claude de Picques?
 Gommar Estienne?
 LIT: Foot 1978, 177; Foot 2010, 105-107 no. 69

Add. MS 6791
Hierocles, In aureum carmen; Michael Psellos, De omnifaria doctrina; Matthaeus Blastares, Collectio alphabetica (**M**; Antonios Eparchos; Camillo Zanetti, 16th c. (second or third quarter); Diktyon 48260)
 BIND: Venice?
 OWN: Cardinal François de La Rochefoucauld; Jesuits of Clermont (Paris); Gerard Meerman; Johan Meerman
 ♦

Add. MS 11727
Thucydides, Historiae (**M**; Italy, 11th and 14th c.; Diktyon 38860)
 BIND: Florence?
 OWN: Antonio Corbinelli; Benedictine Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Florence)
 ♦

Add. MS 11886
Aratus, Phaenomena (**M**; Demetrios Damilas; Diktyon 38880)
 BIND: Florence
 OWN: Medici family
 ♦

C.20.d.12
Historiae Augustae scriptores sex (**P**; Paris, Ambroise Ambroise and Jérôme Drouart, 1603; USTC 6016074)
 BIND: Paris, 16th c. (first quarter)
 OWN: Jacques Auguste de Thou and Gasparde de la Châtre
 LIT: Pickwoad 2008, 195; Macchi 2011

C.20.f.11
Jacques-Auguste de Thou, Historiarum sui Temporis pars prima (**P**; Paris, Robert Estienne for the widow of Mamert Patisson, 1604; NA)
 BIND: France, 1604-1625
 OWN: Henry IV

C.46.h.11

Moschopoulos, De ratione examinandae orationis libellus (P; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1545; USTC 149493)
 BIND: France
 LIT: Foot 1998, 97; Macchi 2011

C.65.bb.5

Psalterion (P; Venice, Melchiorre Sessa and Pietro Ravani, 1525; USTC 820186)
 BIND: 16th c. (first quarter)

◆

C.66.d.9.

Encheiridion grammatikes eisagoges (P; Florence, Bartolomeo Zanetti and Filippo Giunta, 1514; USTC 800287)
 BIND: Florence, ca. 1515
 OWN: Lorenzo Benivieni
 LIT: Horne 1894, 94-95; Thomas 1954, 477; De Marinis 1960, II, 84 no. 1682; Hobson 1989, 221 no. 15n
 ◆ | → p. 119

I.B.28002

Anthologia Graeca Planudea (P; Florence, Lorenzo di Alopa, 1494; ISTC ia00765000)
 BIND: Florence, ca. 1494
 OWN: Francesco...?; Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 38 no. 2690; Hobson 1989, 100-103, 219 no. 12A; Jensen 2011, 143-144; Boudalis – Gialdini 2022
 ◆ | → p. 59

London, National Art Library

SC Drawer 50 (A.M. 549-1864)

Epistolae diversorum philosophorum (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1499; ISTC ie00064000)
 BIND: Venice? Augsburg?, Fuggermeister
 LIT: Harthan 1950, 21 no. 21; De Marinis 1960, 48 no. 2828 bis (as G 207)

◆

Los Angeles, CA, UCLA Library

Z 233 A4A62 c.1

Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 800004)
 BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea di Lorenzo), 1515-1535
 OWN: Templeton Crocker
 LIT: Naiditch – Barker – Kaplan 2001, 33, 87 no. 79

◆

Z 233 A4A78

Artemidorus Daldianus, De interpretatione libri quinque (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1518; USTC 811190)
 BIND: Rome, 1518-1527
 LIT: Naiditch – Barker – Kaplan 2001, 33, 141-142 no. 169

◆

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España

I-828(2) (olim I-772(2))

Musaens, Opusculum de Herone et Leandro (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, before November 1495-1497?; ISTC im00880000)
 BIND: 15th c
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 38-39 no. 2698; Abad 2010, I, 558

Mss. 4709

Sextus Empiricus (M; Rome, Ioannes Mauromates, 1549 and ca. 1550; Diktyon 40185)

BIND: Rome, 16th c.

OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla; Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 43 no. 2757; Andrés 1987, 274-276; Cataldi Palau 2000, 348, 350, 365, 383, 392 no. 31

◆

- Mss. 4710
Theodoretus Cyrensis, Quaestiones et responsiones (**M**; Nikolaos Malaxos?, ca. 1524; Diktyon 40186)
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla; García de Loaysa Girón; Monastery of San Vicente Ferrer (Plasencia)
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2820; Andrés 1987, 276-277
 ◆
- Mss. 4712
Iohannes Cantacuzenus, Historia (**M**; Bologna, Ioannes Mauromates, 1555; Diktyon 40188)
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 383, 392 no. 32
- Mss. 4716
Catena in Iob (**M**; ca. 1550; Diktyon 40192)
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla; Felipe de Auxy; García de Loaysa Girón; Monastery of San Vicente Ferrer (Plasencia)
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2821; Andrés 1987, 286-288
 ◆
- Mss. 4717
Catena sanctorum Patrum in Isaiam, Geremiam, Baruch, Ezechielem et David (**M**; Venice, Camillo Zanetti, ca. 1554; Diktyon 40193)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla; García de Loaysa Girón; Monastery of San Vicente Ferrer (Plasencia)
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2818; Andrés 1987, 288-290
 ◆
- Mss. 4718
Olympiodorus; Damascius, Commentarii in Platonem (**M**; Rome, Ioannes Mauromates, 1553; Diktyon 40194)
 BIND: 1553-1600
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla; Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; García de Loaysa Girón; Monastery of San Vicente Ferrer (Plasencia)
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2816 (with the earlier shelfmark O.43); Cataldi Palau 2000, 348, 350, 365, 383, 392 no. 35
- Mss. 4719
Asclepius Trallianus, In Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libros Commentarius (**M**; Ioannes Mauromates, 1549; Diktyon 40195)
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 383, 392 no. 34
- Mss. 4721
Photius, Bibliotheca, vol. I (**M**; Rome, Ioannes Mauromates, 1552; Diktyon 40197)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla; Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; García de Loaysa Girón; Monastery of San Vicente Ferrer (Plasencia)
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2816 (with the earlier shelfmark O.43); Cataldi Palau 2000, 348, 350, 365, 383, 392 no. 35
- Mss. 4722
Photius, Bibliotheca, vol. II (**M**; Rome, Ioannes Mauromates, 1552; Diktyon 40198)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla; Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; García de Loaysa Girón; Monastery of San Vicente Ferrer (Plasencia)
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2816 (with the earlier shelfmark O.44); Cataldi Palau 2000, 348, 350, 365, 383, 392 no. 36
- Mss. 4728
Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Commentarius in Isaiam (**M**; Florence, Ioannes Mauromates, 1554; Diktyon 40204)
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 383, 392 no. 37

- Mss. 4741
Polybius, Historiae (**M**; 16th c.; Diktyon 40217)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2774
 (with the earlier shelfmark O.64)
- Mss. 4744
Maximus Confessor (**M**; Ioannes
 Mauromates; Kornelios Mourmouris;
 Camillo Zanetti; Andreas Darmarios;
 Diktyon 40220)
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 383, 392 no. 38
- Mss. 4745
Theological miscellany (**M**; Francesco Zanetti,
 1552 ca; Diktyon 40221)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2810;
 Gaspari 2010, 164
- Mss. 4746
Theological miscellany (**M**; 16th c.; Diktyon
 40222)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2815
- Mss. 4751
Proclus, In Platonis Parmenidem (**M**; Rome,
 Ioannes Mauromates, 1550; Diktyon
 40227)
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla;
 García de Loaysa Girón; Monastery of San
 Vicente Ferrer (Plasencia)
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 43 no. 2758;
 Cataldi Palau 2000, 348, 350, 365, 383, 392
 no. 39
 ◆
- Mss. 4752
Georgius Pachymeres, Historia (**M**; Rome?, ca.
 1550; Diktyon 40228)
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla;
 García de Loaysa Girón; Monastery of San
 Vicente Ferrer (Plasencia)
- LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2819;
 Andrés 1987, 345-346
 ◆
- Mss. 4768
Dionysius Aeropagita; Theophilus Alexandrinus
 (**M**; 1545 ca; Diktyon 40243)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: Martin Pérez de Ayala; Monastery
 of Uclés (Uclés)
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2717 bis;
 Andrés 1987, 361-362
 ◆
- Mss. 4801
Acta Concilii Florentini (**M**; Nikolaos
 Malaxos?, ca. 1550; Diktyon 40276)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla;
 García de Loaysa Girón; Monastery of San
 Vicente Ferrer (Plasencia); Johann Jakob
 Fugger?
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 48 no. 2832;
 Andrés 1987, 412-414
 ◆
- [Shelfmark unknown] (possibly Mss. 4671;
 De Marinis 1960 recorded Mss. 4717 twice)
Catena sanctorum Patrum in Isaiam (**M**)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2812
- Manchester, John Rylands Research
 Institute and Library**
- 5421 – Aldine 79 (1)
Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum (**P**;
 Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC
 800004)
 ◆ | Pl. 7c
- 10635 – Aldine 160 (1)
Oppiani De piscibus libri V (**P**; Venice, heirs
 of Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano,
 1517; USTC 845399)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop



18705 – Aldine 293 (1, 2, 3)

Cicero, Orationum volumen primum [-tertium]

(P; Venice, Paulus Manutius, 1540; USTC 822228)

BIND: France



Mantua, Biblioteca Teresiana

XLVII.D.13

Demosthenes, Orationes duae et sexaginta;

Ulpianus, Commentarioli in ... Demosthenis

orationes (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504;

Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC

826496; 861591)

BIND: Florence, 16th c.

OWN: Carmelite Monastery (Mantua)

LIT: Federici – Macchi 2014, 95 no. 2

◆ | → pp. 105-106, Pl. 6b

Medford, MA, Tisch Library, Tufts University

PA4279 .A2 1513 v.1

Omnia Platonis opera (P; Venice, Aldus

Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1513;

USTC 849832)

BIND: England, 16th c. (first quarter)

OWN: Thomas Colm; Hendricus Feld



Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana

Ambr. A 91 sup.

Mathematical miscellany (M; 15th c. (second quarter); Diktyon 42204)

BIND: Venice, 16th c. (first quarter)?

OWN: Gian Vincenzo Pinelli

LIT: Martinelli Tempesta 2021

→ p. 66

Ambr. B 165 sup.

Proclus, In Platonis Parmenidem (M; 15th c.

(second quarter); Diktyon 42382)

BIND: Republic of Venice?, Pinelli Binder, 1562-1600

OWN: Basilios Bessarion; Niccolò

Leonico Tomeo; Gian Vincenzo Pinelli

LIT: Martini-Bassi 1906, no. 159;

Labowsky 1961, 118-121; Labowsky 1979,

486; Eleuteri 1994, 420-421; Pontani 2000,

350; Gentile 2002, 426; Gialdini 2017

◆ | → p. 65n

Ambr. C 151 inf.

Porphyrius and Plotinus (M; 16th c. (first

quarter); Diktyon 42462)

BIND: Republic of Venice?, Pinelli Binder, 1562-1600

OWN: Gian Vincenzo Pinelli

LIT: Martini-Bassi 1906, no. 863; Gialdini

2017



Ambr. C 253 inf.

Simplicius, In Aristotelis de caelo commentarius

(M; 16th c. (first quarter); Diktyon 42492)

BIND: Republic of Venice?, Pinelli Binder, 1562-1600

OWN: Gian Vincenzo Pinelli

LIT: Martini-Bassi 1906, no. 893; Jackson

2011, 17; Gialdini 2017



Ambr. C 258 inf.

Commentarii in Platonem (M; Manuel Moros;

Camillo Zanetti, 16th c. (first quarter);

Diktyon 42497)

BIND: Republic of Venice?, Pinelli Binder, 1562-1600

OWN: Theodoros Rhentios?; Gian

Vincenzo Pinelli

LIT: Martini-Bassi 1906, no. 898; Meschini

1982, 64; Gialdini 2017

◆ | → p. 64n

Ambr. D 166 inf.

Hermias in Phaedrum Platonis (M; Diktyon 42597)

BIND: Republic of Venice?, Pinelli Binder

OWN: Bessarion; Gian Vincenzo Pinelli

LIT: Martini-Bassi 1906, no. 938;

Labowsky 1961, 118, 128; Eleuteri 1994, 420-421; Gentile 2002, 426; Gialdini 2017



Ambr. E 8 sup.

Herodianus Alexandrinus; Pindarus (M;

“Jean”; Lapo di Castiglionchio il Giovane; Diktyon 42672)

OWN: Francesco Filelfo

LIT: Serventi 2004, 33

Ambr. E 19 inf.

Music miscellany (M; Padua, Manuel Moros, 1562; Diktyon 42680)

BIND: Republic of Venice?, Pinelli Binder, 1562-1600

OWN: Gian Vincenzo Pinelli

LIT: Martini-Bassi 1906, no. 1013; Pasini 2007; Gialdini 2017



Ambr. L 33 sup.

Phalaridis Epistulae (M; John Plousiadenos, 15th c. (second half); Diktyon 42944)

BIND: 15th c.

OWN: Gian Vincenzo Pinelli

LIT: Martini-Bassi 1906, no. 474; De

Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2678; Cipriani

1968, 80; Pasini 1997, 58; Muratore 2006, 75-76; Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 139

◆ | → pp. 58-59

INC. 372/1

Aristoteles, Opera, v. III (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495-1498; ISTC ia00959000)

BIND: Venice?

OWN: Cesare Rovida

LIT: Valsecchi 1972, 77 no. 168; Ferrari –

Rozzo 1984, 98; Gialdini – McLaughlin 2016

◆ | → pp. 67, 121n

S. Q. E. IV 40

Homeri Ilias (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC 835811)

BIND: 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39-40 no. 2711



S. Q. S. III. 8

Ammonius Hermiae, In quinques voces

Porphyrii commentarius (P; Venice, Giovanni

Antonio and Pietro Nicolini da Sabbio for Melchiorre Sessa, 1545; USTC 809133)

BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea di Lorenzo)

LIT: Macchi 2012, 275

Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense

Braid. AD. III. 35

Vita & fabellae Aesopi (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1505; USTC 807828)

BIND: 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2717

Braid. AF.X.47

Ius canonicum, Concilia (M; Emmanouel Kousios; Diktyon 43286)

BIND: Republic of Venice?

LIT: De Marinis 1960, II, 102 no. 1928;

Arte della legatura a Brera 2002, 116 no. 26



Braid. AN.XI.3

Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica (P; Florence,

Lorenzo di Alopa, 1496; ISTC ia00924000)

BIND: Republic of Venice? Rome?

LIT: *Arte della legatura a Brera* 2002, 117 no. 27



Braid. AO.XII.71

Psalterium (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, not after 1 October 1498; ISTC ip01033000)

BIND: Milan? Padua?

LIT: *Arte della legatura a Brera* 2002, 118 no. 28

◆ | → pp. 45, 53, Pl. 4c

Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana

Inc. C. 224

Epistolae diversorum philosophorum, oratorum, rhetorum (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1499;

ISTC ie00064000)

BIND: 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2716



Rari L 2827

Horologion (P; Venice, Bartolomeo Zanetti for Giovanni Francesco Trincavelli, 1535; USTC 833016)

BIND: Venice?, 16th c.

OWN: Giovanni Agostino Cerato; Saverio Tomaso Biasio (?)

LIT: *Arte della legatura a Brera* 2002, 118 no. 28

◆ | → pp. 71, 119

Triv. 652

Euclides, Elementa (M; Rome, Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, ca. 1550; Diktyon 42157)

BIND: Rome, ca. 1550

OWN: Farnese family?; Jacopo Facciolati; Giovanni Vezzi; Gian Giacomo Trivulzio di Musocco

**Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria**

alfa.&.3.4

Sacrae Scripturae veteris, novaeque omnia (P; Venice, heirs of Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1518; USTC 800225)

BIND: France, 16th c.

OWN: Alfonso II d'Este

LIT: Fumagalli 1913, 8 no. 9; Gnoli 1939, 31 no. 52; Regemorter 1954, 23

alfa.x.4.1

Appianus, Romanarum historiarum... (P; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1551; USTC 150747)

BIND: France, 16th c.

OWN: Alfonso II d'Este

LIT: Fumagalli 1913, 7 no. 10; Gnoli 1939, 31 no. 51; Regemorter 1954, 23

alfa.x.4.2

Dionis Romanarum historiarum libri XXIII (P; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1548; USTC 160110)

BIND: France, 16th c.

OWN: Alfonso II d'Este

LIT: Fumagalli 1913, 7 no. 11; Gnoli 1939, 31-32 no. 53; Regemorter 1954, 23

alfa.x.4.3

Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Antiquitatum Romanarum libri X (P; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1547; USTC 160160)

BIND: France, 16th c.

OWN: Alfonso II d'Este

LIT: Fumagalli 1913, 7 no. 15; Gnoli 1939, 30-31 no. 50; Regemorter 1954, 23

Morlanwelz, Musée Royal de Mariemont

12.581 Rel. 14

Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica (P; Florence, Lorenzo di Alopa, 1496; ISTC ia00924000)

BIND: Rome, Cardinals' Shop, 15th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 38 no. 2695 (with incorrect shelfmark); Hobson 1984, 89-98

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

From Johann Jakob Fugger's collection:

Cod.graec. 2, Cod.graec. 5, Cod.graec. 6, Cod.graec. 7, Cod.graec. 8, Cod.graec. 10, Cod.graec. 11, Cod.graec. 12, Cod.graec. 13, Cod.graec. 14, Cod.graec. 15, Cod.graec. 17, Cod.graec. 18, Cod.graec. 19, Cod.graec. 20, Cod.graec. 21, Cod.graec. 22, Cod.graec. 23, Cod.graec. 24, Cod.graec. 25, Cod.graec. 26, Cod.graec. 27, Cod.graec. 28, Cod.graec. 29, Cod.graec. 30, Cod.graec. 31, Cod.graec. 32, Cod.graec. 33, Cod.graec. 34, Cod.graec. 35, Cod.graec. 36, Cod.graec. 37, Cod.graec. 38, Cod.graec. 39, Cod.graec. 40, Cod.graec. 41, Cod.graec. 42, Cod.graec. 43, Cod.graec. 44, Cod.graec. 45, Cod.graec. 46, Cod.graec. 47, Cod.graec. 48, Cod.graec. 49, Cod.graec. 50, Cod.graec. 51, Cod.graec. 52, Cod.graec. 53, Cod.graec. 54, Cod.graec. 55, Cod.graec. 56, Cod.graec. 57, Cod.graec. 58, Cod.graec. 59, Cod.graec. 60, Cod.graec. 61, Cod.graec. 62, Cod.graec. 63, Cod.graec. 64, Cod.graec. 65, Cod.graec. 66, Cod.graec. 67, Cod.graec. 68, Cod.graec. 69, Cod.graec. 70, Cod.graec. 72, Cod.graec. 73, Cod.graec. 74, Cod.graec. 75, Cod.graec. 76, Cod.graec. 77, Cod.graec. 78, Cod.graec. 79, Cod.graec. 80, Cod.graec. 81, Cod.graec. 82, Cod.graec. 83, Cod.graec. 84, Cod.graec. 86, Cod.graec. 87, Cod.graec. 88, Cod.graec. 92, Cod.graec. 93, Cod.graec. 94, Cod.graec. 95, Cod.graec. 96, Cod.graec. 97, Cod.graec. 98, Cod.graec. 99, Cod.graec. 100, Cod.graec. 101, Cod.graec. 102, Cod.graec. 103, Cod.graec. 104, Cod.graec. 105, Cod.graec. 106, Cod.graec. 107, Cod.graec. 108, Cod.graec. 114, Cod.graec. 115, Cod.graec. 116, Cod.graec. 117, Cod.graec. 118, Cod.graec. 119, Cod.graec. 121, Cod.graec. 123, Cod.graec. 124, Cod.graec. 125, Cod.graec. 127, Cod.graec. 131, Cod.graec. 132, Cod.graec. 138, Cod.graec.

139, Cod.graec. 143, Cod.graec. 145, Cod.graec. 146, Cod.graec. 152, Cod.graec. 153, Cod.graec. 154, Cod.graec. 155, Cod.graec. 177, Cod.graec. 179, Cod.graec. 180, Cod.graec. 184, Cod.graec. 189, Cod.graec. 191, Cod.graec. 192, Cod.graec. 194, Cod.graec. 195, Cod.graec. 196, Cod.graec. 197, Cod.graec. 198, Cod.graec. 199, Cod.graec. 200, Cod.graec. 201, Cod.graec. 202, Cod.graec. 204, Cod.graec. 207, Cod.graec. 208, Cod.graec. 209, Cod.graec. 210, Cod.graec. 211, Cod.graec. 212, Cod.graec. 214, Cod.graec. 215, Cod.graec. 216, Cod.graec. 219, Cod.graec. 221, Cod.graec. 222, Cod.graec. 225, Cod.graec. 229, Cod.graec. 230, Cod.graec. 240, Cod.graec. 255, Cod.graec. 256, Cod.graec. 263, Cod.graec. 266, Cod.graec. 270, Cod.graec. 274, Cod.graec. 275, Cod.graec. 276, Cod.graec. 281, Cod.graec. 282, Cod.graec. 286, Cod.graec. 287, Cod.graec. 288, Cod.graec. 297, Cod.graec. 299, Cod.graec. 303, Cod.graec. 308, Cod.graec. 311, Cod.graec. 314, Cod.graec. 316, Cod.graec. 317, Cod.graec. 318, Cod.graec. 319

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LIT: De Marinis 1960; Mondrain 1991-1992; Cataldi Palau 2000; Hajdú 2002; Hajdú 2003; Tiftixoglu 2004; *Kulturkosmos der Renaissance* 2008; Hajdú 2012; Molin Pradel 2013; Steimann 2017; Molin Pradel – Hajdú 2019

◆ (mostly) | → pp. 42n, 64n, 74, 124-131

Copies that were not (or are not known to have been) in Johann Jakob Fugger's collection:

Cod.graec. 1

Iohannes Chrysostomus, In Matthaeum homiliae (M; Diktyon 44444)

BIND: Venice

LIT: Tiftixoglu 2004, 27-31

Cod.graec. 120

Gregorius Nazianzenus (M; Constantinople, Ephrem scriptorium; Diktyon 44564)

BIND: Italy?

LIT: Mossay 1993, 81; Hajdú 2003, 74-83

◆

Cod.graec. 140

Gregorius Nazianzenus (M; Diktyon 44586)

OWN: Stephan Gerlach; Ludwig von Württemberg

LIT: Hajdú 2003, 173-178

Cod.graec. 220

Athanasius Alexandrinus (M; Manuel Probatas, ca. 1550; Diktyon 44667)

BIND: Rome?, ca. 1550-1570

OWN: Guglielmo Sirleto

LIT: Hajdú 2012, 219-220

◆

Cod.graec. 248

Andreas Caesariensis, Commentarius in Apocalypsin (M; Giovanni Onorio da Maglie; Diktyon 44695)

OWN: Guglielmo Sirleto

LIT: Hajdú 2012, 326-328

Cod.graec. 269

Iohannes Potbus Pediasimus, Scholia in Aristotelis Analytica (M; Andreas Darmarios; Diktyon 44716)

Cod.graec. 300

Iohannes Potbus Pediasimus, Scholia in Aristotelis Analytica (M; Andreas Darmarios; Diktyon 44747)

Cod.graec. 331

Theological miscellany (M; 9th c.; Diktyon 44779)

BIND: 16th c.

OWN: Giovanni Salviati; Karl Theodor; Hofbibliothek (Mannheim)

LIT: Molin Pradel – Hajdú 2019, 392-396

Cod.graec. 334

Poetical miscellany (M; 1315-1345; Diktyon 44782)

BIND: 16th c.

OWN: Giovanni Salviati; Hofbibliothek (Mannheim)

LIT: Molin Pradel – Hajdú 2019, 401-407

Cod.graec. 452

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus VII, Tactica De Acie Terra Instruenda (M; Diktyon 44900)

Cod.graec. 504

Theophylactus Bulgariae archiepiscopus, In Pauli Epistulas (M; Diktyon 44952)

OWN: Antonios Eparchos

ESlg/2 A.gr.b. 442

Demosthenes, Orationes duae et sexaginta (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC 826496)

BIND: Florence, 16th c.
 OWN: Piero Vettori
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39 no. 2709 bis;
 Hobson 1989, 221 no. 15i; Mouren 2016,
 187-188
 ◆ | → p. 120

ESlg/2 A.gr.b. 1129
Xenophon (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius,
 1503; USTC 863986)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 OWN: Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2763
 (erroneously as 1229)
 ◆

ESlg/4 A.gr.a. 426
Ilias, metabletheisa palai eis koinen glossan...
 (P; Venice, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio
 for Damiano Santa Maria, 1526; USTC
 835805)
 BIND: 16th c. (second quarter)
 OWN: Ioannis <M...>
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2739 bis
 (as 246)
 ◆ | → p. 71

ESlg/4 A.gr.a. 760
Pindarus, Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia (P;
 Rome, Zacharias Kalliergis for Cornelio
 Benigno, 1515; USTC 848779)
 BIND: Florence?, 16th c.
 OWN: Piero Vettori
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 48 no. 2827 bis
 ◆ | → p. 120

ESlg/Asc. 3905 a
*Precationes aliquot celebriores e Sacriis Bibliis
 desumptae* (P; Paris, Martin Le Jeune, 1554;
 USTC 151639)
 BIND: Augsburg, Anthoni Lodewijk,
 ca. 1560
 LIT: Hobson 1954, 257; *Kulturkosmos der
 Renaissance* 2008, 129

Nelahozeves, Roudnická Lobkowiczká knihovna, Nelahozeves Castle

VI Fe 45
Dionysius Periegeta; Eustathios (M; Thomas
 Bitzimanos; Diktyon 46473)
 OWN: Bohuslav Hasištejnský z Lobkovic
 LIT: Olivier – Monégier du Sorbier 1983,
 146-147
 ◆

New Haven, CT, Beinecke Library, Yale University

Gfd. 31+a504b
Demosthenes, Orationes duae et sexaginta (P;
 Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC
 826496)
 BIND: Padua or Venice, “shop specialized
 in alla greca binding of Aldines” (Hobson
 1989); “Paduan Greek Shop” (Hobson
 1999b), 16th c.
 LIT: *The History of Bookbinding* 1957, 95 no.
 214; De Marinis 1960, III, 39 no. 2710;
 Hobson 1989, 66; Hobson 1999b, 416
 (often as Gfd. 31+a5046 cop. 2)
 ◆

Marston MS 38
*Diogenes Laertius (transl. by Ambragio
 Traversari)* (M; Florence, 1451-1470)
 BIND: Florence?, 15th c.
 OWN: Ludovicus de Bancis; Frater Bogart
 LIT: *The History of Bookbinding* 1957, 87-88
 no. 197; Shaylor 1992, 66-67
 ◆ | → pp. 57-58, Pl. 9a, 10b

New York, NY, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library

LODGE 1513 Or1, v.1-3
Orationes horum rhetorum (P; Venice, Aldus
 Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1513;
 USTC 800362)

BIND: Venice
 OWN: Prospero Podiani
 ◆ | → p. 55

**New York, NY, New York Public
 Library**

Spencer Collection Ital. 1528
Divina missa Sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi (P;
 Venice, Giovanni Antonio Nicolini da
 Sabbio and his brothers for Demetrios
 Zenos and Menandros Noukios, 1528;
 USTC 819874)
 ◆ | → pp. 96, 117, Pl. 12

**New York, NY, The Morgan Library &
 Museum**

PML 434 (ChL 1012)
Epistolae diversorum philosophorum (P; Venice,
 Aldus Manutius, 1499; ISTC ie00064000)
 BIND: Venice, 16th c.
 OWN: James Toovey
 LIT: *Catalogue of a Collection of Books Formed
 by James Toovey* 1901, 25; De Marinis 1960,
 III, 39 no. 2707; Hobson 1989, 62
 ◆

PML 1151 (001151)
Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum (P;
 Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC
 800004)
 BIND: Venice, 1510s
 OWN: Archibald Acheson, Earl of
 Gosford; James Toovey
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39 no. 2704;
 Hobson 1989, 62
 ◆

PML 1484 (001484)
*Iohannes Philoponus, In posteriora resolutoria
 Aristotelis Commentarii* (P; Venice, Aldus
 Manutius, 1504; USTC 762308)
 BIND: Padua?, "Paduan Greek Shop", 16th c.

OWN: James Toovey; Archibald Acheson,
 Earl of Gosford
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2712;
 Hobson 1999b, 416
 ◆

PML 15435 (015435)
*Joannis stobei sententiae ex thesauris Graecorum
 delectae* (P; Zürich, Christoph Froschauer,
 1543; USTC 669748)
 BIND: France, Claude de Picques, ca.
 1550-1555
 OWN: Thomas Mahieu; Guyot de
 Villeneuve
 LIT: *The History of Bookbinding* 1957, 119-
 120 no. 270; Nixon 1971, 76-80 no. 20;
 Needham 1979, 189-191 no. 58; Laffitte
 2001, 98; Pickwood 2008, 194
 ◆

PML 16168 (016168)
Pausanias (P; Venice, heirs of Aldus
 Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1516;
 USTC 847200)
 BIND: Florence? Padua?
 OWN: Filippo Strozzi the younger /
 Clarice de' Medici?; Leonard Cocqueau;
 Santo Spirito Augustinian Monastery
 (Florence)
 ◆ | → pp. 41-42

PML 34896 (ChL998a)
Aristoteles, Opera, v. IV (P; Venice, Aldus
 Manutius, 1495-1498; ISTC ia00959000)
 BIND: Paris, Claude de Picques, ca. 1550
 OWN: Henry II; Quaritch; Robert Hoe;
 Mortimer Schiff
 LIT: Nixon 1971, 72-76 no. 19; Needham
 1979, 191-194 no. 59
 ◆

PML 42590 (042590)
Platonis omnia opera (P; Basel, Johann
 Walder, 1534; USTC 661590)
 BIND: Paris, ca. 1550
 OWN: Marx Fugger; Ernst Kyriss

LIT: *The History of Bookbinding* 1957, 124-125 no. 282; Nixon 1971, 98-101 no. 26; Needham 1979, XXVII and 204-205; Pickwoad 2008, 194



Olomouc, Státní Vědecká Knihovna

M 531

Platonis dialogi cum prolegomenis (M; Michael Souliardos, 15th c. (last quarter); Diktyon 46839)

LIT: Olivier – Monégier du Sorbier 1983, 35-39

Oxford, All Souls College Library

Great Lib. Gallery b.10.5

Anthologia Graeca Planudea (P; Florence, Lorenzo di Alopa, 1494; ISTC ia00765000) BIND: 15th c.

◆ | → p. 11, Pl. 1a

Great Lib. Gallery i.3.8

Aristoteles, Opera (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495-1498; ISTC ia00959000)



Oxford, Bodleian Library

Auct. 1 R 2.11

Alexander Aphrodisiensis, In Topica Aristotelis commentarii (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1513; USTC 808634) BIND: Venice?, 16th c.

◆ | → p. 46n

Auct. R. 5.19

Dioscorides; Nicander (P; Venice, heirs of Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1518; Venice, heirs of Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1523; USTC 827004; 844516)

BIND: Venice or Padua, “shop specialized in alla greca binding of Aldines” (Hobson 1989); “Paduan Greek Shop” (Hobson 1999b), 1510-1530

OWN: “Io. Baptistae d(e) libris”

LIT: Hobson 1989, 66; Hobson 1999b, 416



Barocci 6

Manuel Chrysoloras, Erotemata (M; Andrea Doni; Diktyon 47292)

BIND: Italy or Crete, 15th c.

OWN: Barozzi family

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 38 no. 2697 bis



Barocci 7

Thucydides (M; Antonios Episkopopoulos; Diktyon 47293)

BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea di Lorenzo)

OWN: Barozzi family

LIT: Hobson 1999a, 108, 250 no. 305



Barocci 45

Grammatical miscellany (M; Andrea Doni; Diktyon 47331)

BIND: Italy or Crete, 16th c.

OWN: Barozzi family

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2822 E



Barocci 62

Pindarus (M; Andrea Doni; Diktyon 47349)

BIND: Venice

OWN: Barozzi family



Barocci 67

Philostorgius, Historia Ecclesiastica (M; Andrea Doni; Diktyon 47354)

BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea di Lorenzo)

OWN: Barozzi family

LIT: Hobson 1999a, 108, 250 no. 307



Barocci 68

Miscellaneous Greek texts (M; Iohannes

Chortasmenos; Diktyon 47355)

BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea di Lorenzo)

OWN: Barozzi family

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 43 no. 2755 K

◆ | → p. 43

Barocci 72

Grammatical miscellany (M; Michael Lygizos;

Andrea Doni; Diktyon 47359)

BIND: Italy or Crete

OWN: Barozzi family

Barocci 74

Euripides (M; 15th c.; Diktyon 47361)

BIND: Italy or Crete, 16th c.

OWN: Barozzi family

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2822 F



Barocci 103

Grammatical miscellany (M; 15th c.; Diktyon 47390)

BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea di Lorenzo)

OWN: Barozzi family

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 43 no. 2755 L;

Hobson 1999a, 110 fig. 59



Barocci 104

Manuel Moschopoulos; Matthaens Camariota

(M; Andrea Doni; Diktyon 47391)

BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea di Lorenzo)

OWN: Barozzi family

LIT: Hobson 1999a, 108, 250 no. 310



Barocci 124

Ptolemaeus, Harmonica (M; 15th c.; Diktyon 47411)

BIND: Italy or Crete, 16th c.

OWN: Barozzi family

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2822 D



Barocci 127

Aristophanes (M; 13th c.; Diktyon 47414)

BIND: Italy or Crete, 16th c.

OWN: Barozzi family

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2822 A



Barocci 147

Theological miscellany (M; Michael Lygizos; Diktyon 47434)

BIND: Italy or Crete, 16th c.

OWN: Barozzi family

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2822 B



Barocci 154

Commentarii in Psalmos (M; 15th c.; Diktyon 47441)

BIND: 16th c.

OWN: Barozzi family

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 43 no. 2755 M;

Hobson 1999a, 108, 250 no. 311



Barocci 162

Procli in Alcibiadem (M; Crete, Andrea Doni; Diktyon 47449)

BIND: Italy or Crete, 16th c.

OWN: Andrea Doni; Francesco Barozzi

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2822 C;

Rose 1977, 126-128; RGK I A, 32-34



Barocci 208

Iohannes Chrysostomus (M; 16th c.; Diktyon 47496)

BIND: Italy or Crete, 16th c.

OWN: Barozzi family

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2822 G
◆

Buchanan e.13

Epistolae diversorum philosophorum (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1499; ISTC ie00064000)
BIND: Rome, 1505-1515
LIT: Hobson 1989, 221 no. 15J
◆

Canon. gr. 18

Psalter and Canticles (M; 15th c.; Diktyon 47568)
BIND: Italy
LIT: *Greek Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* 1966, 51 no. 103

Canon. gr. 78

Strabo, Geographia (M; Konstantinos Mesobotes; Diktyon 47628)
BIND: Venice or Rome, 16th c.
OWN: Reginald Pole; Matteo Luigi Canonici
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2683 bis
◆ | → p. 121n

Laud gr. 21

Theological miscellany (M; Theodoros, 16th c.; Diktyon 48242)
BIND: Venice, Fuggermeister, 16th c. (second quarter)
OWN: Johann Jakob Fugger; Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria; William Laud
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 43 no. 2755 I; Hobson – Culot 1991, 39 no. 12; Pickwoad 2008, 189
◆

Laud gr. 24

Nicephorus Gregora, Byzantina Historia (M; 15th c.; Diktyon 48245)
BIND: 15th c.
OWN: Johann Jakob Fugger; Elias Ehinger; William Laud
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 38 no. 2694 bis; Hobson – Culot 1991, 39 no. 12
◆

Laud gr. 38

Manuel Glykas, Epistulae (M; Manouel Malaxos, 1551-1580; Diktyon 48260)
BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
OWN: Daniele Barbaro
LIT: Coxe 1853, 519; Canart 1985, 15; De Gregorio 1991, 28; Pugliese 2015; Raines 2015, 108
◆ | → pp. 42, 101-102, Pl. 2a, 7d, 13a

Laud gr. 62

Medical miscellany (M; Ioannes Nathanael; Diktyon 48283)
BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea di Lorenzo), 16th c.
OWN: Johann Jakob Fugger (according to Hobson – Culot 1999); William Laud
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 42 no. 2751 bis; Hobson – Culot 1991, 39 no. 12; Pickwoad 2008, 189
◆

Laud gr. 63

Iohannes Zonaras; Prodrromus Theodoros (M; Konstantinos Rhesinos; Diktyon 48284)
BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
OWN: Daniele Barbaro
LIT: Coxe 1853, 544-543; Canart 1985, 15; Pugliese 2015; Raines 2015, 108
◆ | → pp. 42, 101-102

Oxford, Brasenose College

UB/S I.58

Aristoteles, Opera, v. IV (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495-1498; ISTC ia00959000)
BIND: Venice?

Oxford, New College

Ms 230

Alexander Aphrodisiensis; Aristoteles (M; Zacharias Kalliergis, ca. 1500; Diktyon 48743)

BIND: London?, ca. 1480-1520

LIT: Canart 1963, 63; Oldham 1990, 42;

Pickwoad 2008, 197-198



Ms 231

Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Commentarii in Aristotelem (M; Italy, 15th c.; Diktyon 48744)

BIND: Cambridge, Oxford “Athos binder”, ca. 1500

LIT: Oldham 1990, 20; Pickwoad 2008, 195-198



Ms 232

Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Commentarii in Aristotelem (M; 15th c. (last quarter)-16th c. (first quarter); Diktyon 48745)

BIND: “Foliaged Staff Binder”, ca. 1500

LIT: Oldham 1990, 30-31; Pickwoad 2008, 195-198



Ms 236

Iohannes Philoponus, In Aristotelem (M; Zacharias Kalliergis; Diktyon 48748)

BIND: Cambridge, Oxford “Athos binder”, ca. 1500

LIT: Oldham 1990, 20; Pickwoad 2008, 195-198



Ms 237

Iohannes Philoponus; Alexander Aphrodisiensis (M; Italy, 14th c. (last quarter)-15th c. (first quarter); Diktyon 48749)

BIND: Cambridge, Oxford “Athos binder”, ca. 1500

LIT: Oldham 1990, 20; Pickwoad 2008, 195-198



Ms 243

Themistius rhetor; Simplicius (M; Italy, 14th c. (last quarter)-15th c. (first quarter); Diktyon 48752)

BIND: Cambridge, Oxford “Athos binder”, ca. 1500

LIT: Oldham 1990, 20; Pickwoad 2008, 195-198



Ms 244

Simplicius, In Aristotelis physicorum libros commentarius (M; Paulos, 15th c. (last quarter)-16th c. (first quarter); Diktyon 48753)

BIND: “Foliaged Staff Binder”, ca. 1500

LIT: Oldham 1990, 30-31; Pickwoad 2008, 195-198

◆ | → pp. 76, 76n

Ms 246

Simplicius, In Aristotelis de caelo commentarius (M; Italy, ca. 1500; Diktyon 48755)

BIND: ca. 1500

LIT: Pickwoad 2008, 196-198



MS 259

Aelius Aristides (M; Antonios Damilas; Diktyon 48761)

BIND: England

OWN: Antonios Damilas

LIT: Agati – Canart 2009, 37



Ms 270

Iohannes Stobaeus, Anthologium (M; Rome, Zacharias Kalliergis, 1523; Diktyon 48761)

BIND: Rome, Cardinals’ Shop, ca. 1525

OWN: Richard Pace; Thomas Master

LIT: Hobson 1984, 89-98; Pickwoad 2008, 197; Agati – Canart 2009, 11-12; Chatzopoulou 2012, 21-22



Palermo, Biblioteca Centrale della Regione Siciliana

Rari 1090

Typikon kai ta aporreta (**P**; Venice, Giovanni Antonio & Pietro Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano Santa Maria, 1545; USTC 819968)
 BIND: Venice, 1545-1600
 LIT: *Legature di pregio* 2002, 58-59

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École normale supérieure

L P gr 17 12°

Constantinus Lascaris, Grammaticae compendium (**P**; Venice, Paulus Manutius, 1557; USTC 837421)
 OWN: Gregorius Sopranus Senogallensis
 LIT: Irigoien 1978, 30-31

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine

Rés. 2833

Digestorum seu Pandectarum libri quinquaginta, vol. I (**P**; Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino, 1553; USTC 803599)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur du roi, 16th c.
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 206

Rés. 2834

Digestorum seu Pandectarum libri quinquaginta, vol. II (**P**; Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino, 1553; USTC 803599)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur du roi, 16th c.
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 206

Rés. 2835

Digestorum seu Pandectarum libri quinquaginta, vol. III (**P**; Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino, 1553; USTC 803599)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur du roi, 16th c.

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Hobson 1989, 206

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Par. Coislin. 14

Expositio in Psalmos et Cantica (**M**; Nikolaos Lichinas Monembasiotes; Emmanuel Bembaines, 1547; Diktyon 49156)
 BIND: 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 42 no. 2755

Par. franc. 944

[Not known] (**M**)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop
 OWN: Diane de Poitiers
 LIT: Laffitte 2001, 98

Par. franc. 954

[Not known] (**M**)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1560
 OWN: Henry II; Charles IX
 LIT: Laffitte 2001, 97

Par. franc. 5290

Historical and law miscellany (**M**; 15th c.)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, 1560
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 224-225 no. 114

Par. gr. 35

Proverbia Salomonis (**M**; 13th c.; Diktyon 49596)
 BIND: France

Par. gr. 73

Evangelia IV (**M**; 11th c.; Diktyon 49634)
 BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi
 OWN: Giovanni Gaddi; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426

Par. gr. 106

Acta Apostolorum, Evangelia, Epistulae (M; Nikolaos (Damenos?); Diktyon 49671)
 BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi
 OWN: Saint Mary of Popsi monastery (Hobson 1982; probably Sanctuary of Our Lady of Popsi); Giovanni Gaddi; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426

Par. gr. 146

Commentarius in Psalmos et Cantica (M; Constantinople, Ephrem scriptorium?; Diktyon 49714)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545
 OWN: Palla Strozzi?; Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 83 no. 30

Par. gr. 240

Andreas Caesariensis, Synopsis Apocalypsis (M; Christophorus Auer, 1543; Diktyon 49812)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263

Par. gr. 413

Gelasius Cyzicenus, Historia Ecclesiastica (M; Camillo Zanetti, 1561; Diktyon 49987)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: Jean Hurault de Boistaillé; Philippe Hurault de Cheverny
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2762; Jackson 2004, 242-251

Par. gr. 433

Philo Judaeus, Opera (M; Venice, Nikolaos Sophianos; Konstantinos Mesobotes; Diktyon 50007)
 BIND: Rome?
 OWN: Georges de Selve; Bibliothèque royale
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 418-421

Par. gr. 449

Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita, Opera (M; Diktyon 50023)

OWN: Niccolò Ridolfi? via Niccolò Maiorano da Melpignano?
 LIT: Hoffmann 1985, 68; Arnesano 2011, 109-111

Par. gr. 452

Clemens Alexandrinus; Iobannes Climacus (M; Ferrara, Valeriano Albini; Konstantinos Mesobotes, 16th c. (first half); Diktyon 50026)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1546-1547
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 90 no. 36

Par. gr. 464

Eusebius Caesariensis; Palladius Helenopolitanus episcopus (M; Ioannes Mauromates, before 1547; Diktyon 50038)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 381, 394 no. 61

Par. gr. 467

Eusebius, Praeparatio evangelica (M; Michael Damaskenos; Nikolaos Damaskenos; Bartolomeo Zanetti; Diktyon 50041)
 BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea di Lorenzo)
 OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Bibliothèque royale
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 414-418; *Les tranchefiles brodées* 1989, 60-61 no. 20

Par. gr. 468

Eusebius, Praeparatio evangelica (M; Venice, 16th c.; Diktyon 50042)
 BIND: Rome?
 OWN: Georges de Selve; Bibliothèque royale
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 418-421

Par. gr. 490

Basilus Caesariensis (M; Christophorus Auer; Diktyon 50064)
 BIND: France, 16th c.

OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I
LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263

Par. gr. 516

Gregorius Nazianzenus (M; 11th c.; Diktyon 50091)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545

OWN: Francis I

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 83 no. 31

Par. gr. 518

Gregorius Nazianzenus (M; 11th c.; Diktyon 50093)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545

OWN: Francis I

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 84 no. 32A

Par. gr. 534

Gregorius Nazianzenus (M; 10th c.; Diktyon 50109)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-1547

OWN: Francis I

LIT: Laffitte 2001, 32, 35

Par. gr. 587

Theological miscellany (M; Ioannes

Mauromates; Petros Karnabakas

(Karneades); Diktyon 50402)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop

OWN: Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola;
Francis I

LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 381, 394 no. 62

Par. gr. 604

Iobannis Chrysostomus, Homiliae in Genesim
(M; Venice, 10th c.; Diktyon 50185)

BIND: Venice

OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Henry II

LIT: Hobson 1982, 412-414

Par. gr. 697

Iobannes Chrysostomus, Homiliae in Mattheum
(M; 11th c.; Diktyon 50278)

BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi

OWN: Giovanni Gaddi; Francis I

LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426

Par. gr. 741

*Iobannes Chrysostomus, In Epistulam 2
ad Corinthios argumentum et homiliae* (M;

Diktyon 50323)

BIND: France, 16th c.

OWN: Matthias Corvinus; Henry II

LIT: Hobson 1989, 189

Par. gr. 750

Iobannes Chrysostomus (M; Diktyon 50333)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-
1547

OWN: Francis I

LIT: Laffitte 2001, 38, 88

Par. gr. 777

Iobannes Chrysostomus (M; Diktyon 50361)

BIND: France, 16th c.

OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I

LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263

Par. gr. 778

Iobannes Chrysostomus; Blastares Matthaens;

Theophanes Nicaenus; Georgios Scholarios

(M; Venice?, Ps.-Constantius, 1501-1550;

Diktyon 50363)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, ca. 1547

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 105 no. 44;

Petrucci Nardelli 2007, 117

Par. gr. 798

Iobannes Chrysostomus (M; Christophorus

Auer; Diktyon 50383)

BIND: France, 16th c.

OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I

LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263

Par. gr. 809

Iobannes Chrysostomus (M; Aristoboulos

Apostolis; Diktyon 50394)

BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi

OWN: Giovanni Gaddi; Francis I

LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426

Par. gr. 817

Theological miscellany (**M**; Venice, Ioannes Mauromates; Petros Karnabakas (Karneades), before 1542; Diktyon 50402)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1542
 OWN: Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola; Henry II
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 380-381, 394 no. 63

Par. gr. 819

Iohannes Chrysostomus; Proclus, Homiliae (**M**; 16th c.; Diktyon 50404)
 BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi
 OWN: Giovanni Gaddi; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426

Par. gr. 833

Epiphanius, Panarion (**M**; Demetrios Zenos², 16th c.; Diktyon 50419)
 BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea di Lorenzo)
 OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Bibliothèque royale
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 414-418

Par. gr. 835

Epiphanius Constantiensis (**M**; Demetrios Zenos; Diktyon 50421)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 189

Par. gr. 836

Cyrillus Alexandrinus (**M**; Diktyon 50422)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-1547
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte 2001, 40-42

Par. gr. 840

Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Thesaurus de Sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate (**M**; Diktyon 50427)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 189

Par. gr. 851

Theodoretus Cyrensis, Graecarum affectionum curatio (**M**; Diktyon 50438)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 189

Par. gr. 887

Theological miscellany (**M**; Fontainebleau or Paris, Konstantinos Palaiokappa, ca. 1547-1548; Diktyon 50475)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, ca. 1547-1548
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 107 no. 46

Par. gr. 909

Nicephorus (**M**; Diktyon 50497)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, ca. 1552
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte 2001, 94, 95

Par. gr. 938

Theological miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 50527)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-1547
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte 2001, 40-42, 45

Par. gr. 946

Methodius Olympius, Conuiuium Decem Uirginum (**M**; Diktyon 50535)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: Jules Mazarin
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39 no. 2708 bis

Par. gr. 958

Theological miscellany (**M**; Konstantios; Michael Souliardos; Diktyon 50547)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 189

Par. gr. 990

Gregorius Nazianzenus, Carmina (**M**; Greece?, 1049; Diktyon 50581)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, ca. 1546-1548
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 99 no. 41
 → p. 51n

Par. gr. 1029
Iohannes Chrysostomus, Eclogae (**M**;
 Christophorus Auer; Diktyon 50622)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263

Par. gr. 1037
Theological miscellany (**M**; 14th c.; Diktyon
 50630)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 189

Par. gr. 1044
Nemesius Emesenus; Iohannes Damascenus (**M**;
 14th c.; Diktyon 50638)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 189

Par. gr. 1052
Theodoretus Cyrensis (**M**; Theodoros
 Notarios; Diktyon 50646)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 189

Par. gr. 1054
Gregorius Nazianzenus (**M**; Theodoros
 Notarios; Diktyon 50648)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 189

Par. gr. 1091
Theological miscellany (**M**; 14th c.; Diktyon
 50687)
 BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi
 OWN: Giovanni Gaddi; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426

Par. gr. 1109
Iohannes Damascenus, Expositio fidei (**M**;
 Diktyon 50705)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 185, 263

Par. gr. 1119
Theological miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 50715)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 185, 263

Par. gr. 1120
Iohannes Damascenus (**M**; Greece?, 15th c.;
 Diktyon 50716)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545
 OWN: Jean de Pins; Georges d'Armagnac;
 Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 185, 263; Laffitte – Le
 Bars 1999, 92 no. 40A

Par. gr. 1121
Iohannes Damascenus (**M**; Diktyon 50717)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 185, 263

Par. gr. 1122
Iohannes Damascenus (**M**; Diktyon 50718)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 185, 263

Par. gr. 1173
Theological miscellany (**M**; 11th c.; Diktyon
 50774)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop
 OWN: Grottaferrata monastery; Giovanni
 Gaddi; Francis I
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 36 no. 2669;
 Hobson 1982, 421-426; *Les tranchefiles
 brodées* 1989, 64-65 no. 22; Laffitte 2001, 92

Par. gr. 1177
Homiliae (**M**; Venice; Diktyon 50779)

- BIND: Venice
 OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 412-414
- Par. gr. 1184
Philagathus Ceramens, Homiliae (M; Nikolaos Mourmouris, 1540; Diktyon 50788)
 OWN: Girolamo Fondulo / Guillaume Pellicier; Bibliothèque royale
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 418-421
- Par. gr. 1197
Theological miscellany (M; 12th c.; Diktyon 50802)
 BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi
 OWN: Giovanni Gaddi; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426
- Par. gr. 1230
Euthymius Zigabenus, Panoplia dogmatica (M; Diktyon 50836)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-1547
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte 2001, 32, 35
- Par. gr. 1231
Euthymius Zigabenus, Panoplia dogmatica (M; Diktyon 50837)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-1547
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte 2001, 32, 38
- Par. gr. 1240
Prochorus Cydones; Iohannes Cantacuzenus (M; Rome, Christophorus Auer, 1544; Diktyon 50847)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1546-1547
 OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263; Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 88 no. 34
- Par. gr. 1243
Iohannes Cantacuzenus (M; Christophorus Auer, 1542; Diktyon 50850)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263
- Par. gr. 1250
Nicephorus patriarcha Const. (M; Greece?, 14th c.; Diktyon 50858)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1546-1547
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 90 no. 37
- Par. gr. 1258
Theological miscellany (M; Italy, 16th c.; Diktyon 50866)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 93 no. 40B
- Par. gr. 1260
Georgius Metochites; Gregorius papa I (M; Georgios Baiophoros; Diktyon 50869)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 190
- Par. gr. 1305
Iohannes Beccus, Epigraphae (M; Venice, Nikolaos Sophianos, 1533; Diktyon 50914)
 OWN: Lazare de Baïf
- Par. gr. 1322
Theological miscellany (M; Demetrius Zenos, 16th c.; Diktyon 50931)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 412-414
- Par. gr. 1337
Canonica (M; 15th c.; Diktyon 50946)
 BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea di Lorenzo), 16th c.
 OWN: Raphael Trichet du Fresne

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 42 no. 2749;
Hobson 1999a, 111, 250 no. 339

Par. gr. 1343
Miscellany (**M**; Demetrios Zenos, 16th c.;
Diktyon 50952)
BIND: Venice
OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Henry II
LIT: Hobson 1982, 412-414

Par. gr. 1347
Novellae constitutiones (**M**; Venice, 16th c.;
Diktyon 50956)
BIND: Venice
OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Henry II
LIT: Hobson 1982, 412-414

Par. gr. 1361
*Constantinus Harmenopulus, Hexabiblos,
Epitome Canonum* (**M**; Italy or Greece, 15th
c.; Diktyon 50972)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545
LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 86 no. 33

Par. gr. 1363
Constantinus Harmenopulus (**M**;
Christophorus Auer; Diktyon 50974)
BIND: France, 16th c.
OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I
LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263

Par. gr. 1364
Iustinianus, Institutiones (**M**; 11th c.; Diktyon
50976)
BIND: Florence, ca. 1494
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 38 no. 2693;
Hobson 1989, 105, 225 no. 28B

Par. gr. 1397
*Makaros Ancyrensis, Traités polemiques contre le
Patriarche Matthieu Ier* (**M**; 15th c.; Diktyon
51013)
BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi
OWN: Giovanni Gaddi; Francis I
LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426

Par. gr. 1401
Claudius Ptolemaeus, Geographia (**M**;
Constantinople or Italy, 15th c. (last
quarter)-16th c. (first quarter); Diktyon
51017)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, after
1552
OWN: Palaiologian family?; Henry II
LIT: Hobson 1989, 204; Laffitte – Le Bars
1999, 142-143 no. 73

Par. gr. 1405
Scientific miscellany (**M**; Venice, Aristoboulos
Apostolis; Ioannes Mauromates; Petros
Karnabakas (Karneades), before 1542;
Diktyon 51021)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1542
OWN: Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola;
Henry II
LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 380-381, 394 no.
69

Par. gr. 1417
Philosophical miscellany (**M**; Georgios
Scholarios; Diktyon 51033)
BIND: France, 16th c.
OWN: Henry II
LIT: Hobson 1989, 189

Par. gr. 1420
Flavius Iosephus, Antiquitates Iudaicae (**M**;
Christophorus Auer, 14th c.; Diktyon
51036)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545
OWN: Guillaume Pellicier; Francis I
LIT: Hobson 1989, 185, 263; Laffitte – Le
Bars 1999, 81 no. 28b

Par. gr. 1422
Flavius Iosephus, Antiquitates Iudaicae (**M**;
Venice, 16th c.; Diktyon 51038)
OWN: Girolamo Fondulo / Guillaume
Pellicier; Bibliothèque royale
LIT: Hobson 1982, 418-421

- Par. gr. 1434
Ensebius Caesariensis (M; Diktyon 51051)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 189
- Par. gr. 1439
Ensebius Caesariensis, Vita Constantini (M;
 Fontainebleau or Paris, Angelos Vergikios,
 ca. 1539-1540; Diktyon 51056)
 BIND: France, Étienne Roffet's workshop,
 1540?
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 40, 46 no. 7;
 Hobson 1989, 182
- Par. gr. 1442
Theodororus Cyrensis (M; Diktyon 51059)
 BIND: Fontainebleau, Jean Picard, 1545-
 1547
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte 2001, 46
- Par. gr. 1444
Sozomenus; Evagrius, Ecclesiasticae historiae (M;
 Venice, 16th c.; Diktyon 51061)
 BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea
 di Lorenzo)
 OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Bibliothèque
 royale
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 414-418
- Par. gr. 1481
Hagiographical miscellany (M; 11th c.; Diktyon
 51098)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: Jean-Baptiste Colbert
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2823
- Par. gr. 1522
Hagiographical miscellany (M; 13th c.;
 Diktyon 51140)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 186; Laffitte 2001, 38,
 88
- Par. gr. 1524
Hagiographical miscellany (M; Diktyon 51142)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-
 1547
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte 2001, 82
- Par. gr. 1542
*Passio Eudoxiae; Gregorius Nyssenus, De opificio
 hominis* (M; 10th-13th c.; Diktyon 51160)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 80 no. 28A
- Par. gr. 1601
Flavius Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae (M;
 Antonio Malaspina; Diktyon 51221)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-
 1547
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte 2001, 32, 37
- Par. gr. 1649
Polybius, Historiae (M; Fontainebleau or
 Paris, Angelos Vergikios, 1547; Diktyon
 51272)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi,
 1549-1550
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 194; Laffitte – Le Bars
 1999, 160 no. 80
- Par. gr. 1653
Themistius (M; Venice, Ioannes
 Mauromates; Petros Karnabakas
 (Karneades); Diktyon 51276)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1542
 OWN: Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola;
 Henry II
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 380-381, 394 no. 71
- Par. gr. 1654
*Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Antiquitates
 Romanae* (M; Angelos Vergikios, 1535;
 Diktyon 51277)
 BIND: Venice, "de Selve binder", 16th c.

- OWN: Robert Estienne; Georges de Selve; Henry II
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2742; Hobson 1982, 410-411; Hoffmann 1991
- Par. gr. 1655
Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Antiquitates Romanae (**M**; Angelos Vergikios, 1540; Diktyon 51278)
BIND: France, Jean Picard's workshop, ca. 1540
OWN: Robert Estienne; Francis I
LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 60 no. 19
- Par. gr. 1659
Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica (**M**; Venice, 16th c.; Diktyon 51282)
BIND: Venice
OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Henry II
LIT: Hobson 1982, 412-414
- Par. gr. 1660
Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica (**M**; Bartolomeo Zanetti, 16th c.; Diktyon 51283)
BIND: Venice
OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Henry II
LIT: Hobson 1982, 412-414
- Par. gr. 1681
Appianus, Romanae Historiae (**M**; Venice, Christophorus Auer, 16th c.; Diktyon 51305)
OWN: Girolamo Fondulo / Guillaume Pellicier; Bibliothèque royale
LIT: Hobson 1982, 418-421
- Par. gr. 1693
Aelianus Claudius, Variarum historiarum (**M**; Rome?, Demetrios Damilas; Diktyon 51317)
BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi, 1542
OWN: Giovanni Gaddi; Niccolò Gaddi; Francis I
LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426; De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2792; Hobson 1989, p. 180; Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 69 no. 26
- Par. gr. 1702
Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis (**M**; Ioasaph; Christophorus Auer; Diktyon 51326)
BIND: France, 16th c.
OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I
LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263
- Par. gr. 1703
Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis (**M**; Theodoros Notarios; Diktyon 51327)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-1547
OWN: Francis I
LIT: Laffitte 2001, 42-43
- Par. gr. 1707
Georgius Hamartolus; Nicetas Choniates (**M**; Ioannes Mauromates, before 1547; Diktyon 51331)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop
OWN: Francis I
LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 381, 394 no. 72
- Par. gr. 1712
Historical miscellany (**M**; Andrea Doni; Diktyon 51336)
OWN: Raphael Trichet du Fresne; Francis I
LIT: Hoffmann 1991, 447
- Par. gr. 1718
Iohannes Zonaras, Epitome historiarum (**M**; Venice, 16th c.; Diktyon 51343)
BIND: France, 16th c.
OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Henry II
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2744; Hobson 1982, 412-414
- Par. gr. 1721
Georgius Cedrenus, Historiarum Compendium (**M**; Christophorus Auer, 1545; Diktyon 51346)
BIND: France, 16th c.
OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I
LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263

Par. gr. 1724

Nicephorus Gregoras, Historia Byzantina (**M**;
Christophorus Auer, 1543; Diktyon 51349)
BIND: France, 16th c.
OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I
LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 186, 263

Par. gr. 1727

Laonicus Chalcocondyles, De rebus Turcicis (**M**;
Diktyon 51352)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-
1547
OWN: Francis I
LIT: Laffitte 2001, 94, 96

Par. gr. 1731

Herodotus; Thucydides (**M**; Demetrios
Kantakouzenos; Diktyon 51356)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-
1547
OWN: Francis I
LIT: Laffitte 2001, 42-43

Par. gr. 1735

Thucydides, Historiae (**M**; Venice?, 15th c.;
Diktyon 51361)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1546-
1547
OWN: Antonios Eparchos; Francis I
LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 89 no. 35A

Par. gr. 1737

Thucydides, Historiae (**M**; 16th c.; Diktyon
51363)
BIND: 16th c.
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 42 no. 2747

Par. gr. 1817

*Theon Smyrnaeus; Olympiodorus; Maximus
Tyrius* (**M**; Venice, Ioannes Mauromates;
Petros Karnabakas (Karneades); Diktyon
51443)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1542
OWN: Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola;
Henry II
LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 380-381, 394 no. 74

Par. gr. 1822

*Olympiodorus; Damascius, Commentarii in
Platonem* (**M**; Angelos Vergikios, 1535;
Diktyon 51448)
BIND: Venice, “de Selve binder”, 16th c.
OWN: Georges de Selve; Henry II
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no.
2741; Hobson 1982, 410-411; Canart –
Grosdidier de Matons – Hoffmann 1991,
767; Hoffmann 1991

Par. gr. 1827

*Hermias Alexandrinus, In Platonis Phaedrum
scholia* (**M**; Angelos Vergikios, ca. 1539-
1547; Diktyon 51453)
BIND: Paris, Étienne Roffet
LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 40; Laffitte
2001, 19

Par. gr. 1829

Proclus, Theologia Platonica (**M**; Venice,
Bartolomeo Zanetti; Diktyon 51455)
BIND: Venice, “de Selve binder”, 16th c.
OWN: Georges de Selve
LIT: Hobson 1982, 410-411; Hoffmann
1991

Par. gr. 1830

Proclus, Theologia Platonica (**M**; Valeriano
Albini, 1539; Diktyon 51456)
BIND: Venice
OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Henry II
LIT: Hobson 1982, 412-414

Par. gr. 1836

Proclus; Georgius Pachymeres, In Parmenidem
(**M**; Angelos Vergikios, 1536; Diktyon
51462)
BIND: Venice, “de Selve binder”, 16th c.
OWN: Georges de Selve
LIT: Hobson 1982, 410-411; Hoffmann
1991

- Par. gr. 1841
Proclus, Commentarii in Platonis Timaeum (**M**;
 Giovanni Onorio da Maglie; Diktyon
 51467)
 BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi
 OWN: Giovanni Gaddi; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426
- Par. gr. 1843
Aristoteles, Varia (**M**; 13th c.; Diktyon
 51469)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545
 OWN: Antonios Eparchos; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 185, 263; Laffitte – Le
 Bars 1999, 81 no. 28b
- Par. gr. 1857
Aristoteles, Politica, Oeconomica (**M**; Venice?,
 John Rhosos, 1492; Diktyon 51483)
 BIND: Paris, Claude de Picques, before
 1552
 OWN: Antonios Eparchos; Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 159 no. 79
- Par. gr. 1859
Aristoteles, Opera (**M**; Matthaios
 Kamariotes; Diktyon 51485)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, ca. 1546
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 91 no. 38
- Par. gr. 1899
*Asclepius Trallianus, In Aristotelis
 Metaphysicorum Libros Commentarius* (**M**;
 Christophorus Auer; Diktyon 51526)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263
- Par. gr. 1912
*Iohannes Philoponus; Syrianus; Alexander
 Aphrodisiensis* (**M**; Venice, Michael
 Damaskenos, 16th c. (first half); Diktyon
 51539)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, ca. 1548
- OWN: Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola;
 Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 100 no. 42a
- Par. gr. 1931
*Georgius Pachymeres, In Uniuersam Aristotelis
 Philosophiam Epitome* (**M**; 16th c.; Diktyon
 51558)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 190
- Par. gr. 1936
Theodorus Metochites, In Aristotelem commentarii
 (**M**; Christophorus Auer, 1545; Diktyon
 51563)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263
- Par. gr. 1938
*David Philosophus, In Porphyrii Isagogen
 Commentarius; In Aristotelis Categorias
 Commentarius* (**M**; Venice?, 16th c.; Diktyon
 51565)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1546-
 1547
 OWN: Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola?;
 Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 93 no. 40C
- Par. gr. 1943
Philosophical miscellany (**M**; Venice, Angelos
 Vergikios, 1535-1536; Diktyon 51570)
 BIND: Venice, "de Selve binder", before
 1537
 OWN: Georges de Selve; Francis I;
 Henry II
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2743;
 Hobson 1982, 410-411; Hoffmann 1991;
 Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 66 no. 22
- Par. gr. 1964
*Sextus Empiricus, Hypotyposes, Aduersus
 mathematicos* (**M**; 15th c.; Diktyon 51591)
 BIND: 16th c.

- OWN: Jean Hurault de Boistailé
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2761;
Jackson 2004, 243
- Par. gr. 1970
Plotini Enneades (**M**; John Argyropoulos;
Diktyon 51597)
BIND: Verona?, 15th c.
OWN: John Argyropoulos; Gioacchino
Torriano; de Mesmes family; Jean-Baptiste
Colbert
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2681;
Jackson 2011, 14
→ p. 65
- Par. gr. 1981
Iamblichus philosophus (**M**; Diktyon 51608)
BIND: France, 16th c.
OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I
LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263
- Par. gr. 1995
Constantinus Porphyrogenitus VII, Geoponica
(**M**; Diktyon 51622)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-
1547
OWN: Antonios Eparchos; Francis I
LIT: Laffitte 2001, 32, 36
- Par. gr. 1996
*Alexander Aphrodisiensis; Gemistus Georgius
Pletho* (**M**; Theoleptos monachos; Diktyon
51623)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-
1547
OWN: Francis I
LIT: Laffitte 2001, 32, 39
- Par. gr. 2052
*Ammonius; Themistius, Commentarii in
Aristotelem* (**M**; Michael Souliardos;
Diktyon 51680)
BIND: 15th c.
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 36 no. 2664
- Par. gr. 2129
Iohannes Stobaeus, Anthologium (**M**; 15th c.;
Diktyon 51758)
BIND: Venice, 16th c. (first decade)
OWN: Janus Lascaris; Niccolò Ridolfi;
Piero Strozzi; Catherine de' Medici
LIT: Hobson 1989, 62; Muratore 2009, 163
→ p. 65
- Par. gr. 2149
Medical miscellany (**M**; Georgios Kokolos;
Nikolaos Kokolos; Diktyon 51778)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-
1547
OWN: Francis I
LIT: Laffitte 2001, 32
- Par. gr. 2157
Galenus (**M**; John Plousiadenos; Demetrios
Moschos; Emmanuel Zacharidis;
Alessandro Bondino (*Anonymus
Harvardianus*) (*marginalia*); Diktyon 51786)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop
OWN: Niccolò Ridolfi; Catherine de'
Medici; Niccolò Leoniceno
LIT: Hoffmann 1986; Orlandi 2022, 290,
297
- Par. gr. 2170
Galenus (**M**; Konstantinos Mesobotes;
Nikolaos Pachys; Diktyon 51799)
BIND: France
OWN: Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola
- Par. gr. 2173
Galenus (**M**; Crete, ca. 1500; Diktyon
51802)
BIND: Italy
OWN: John Clement; Jean-Baptiste
Colbert
LIT: Stefec 2013, 45
- Par. gr. 2199
Aetius Amidenus, Libri medicinales (**M**;
Venice?, Georgios Kokolos; Nikolaos
Kokolos; Diktyon 51828)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 120 no. 57

Par. gr. 2228
Medical miscellany (**M**; Greece?, 11th-14th c.;
 Diktyon 51857)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, ca. 1547-
 1548
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 106 no. 45

Par. gr. 2240
Medical miscellany (**M**; Fontainebleau or
 Paris, Iakobos Diassorinos, 1548-1549;
 Diktyon 51869)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, ca. 1548
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 190; Laffitte – Le Bars
 1999, 101 no. 42C

Par. gr. 2249
Alchemical miscellany (**M**; Venice, Demetrios
 Zenos; Diktyon 51878)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 412-414

Par. gr. 2269
Galenus; Medica (**M**; Demetrios Damilas;
 Diktyon 51899)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c. (first quarter)
 OWN: Antonios Eparchos; Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 426; Laffitte – Le Bars
 1999, 66 no. 23

Par. gr. 2323
Medical miscellany (**M**; Christophorus Auer;
 Diktyon 51954)
 BIND: Rome?
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 426;

Par. gr. 2327
Chemical miscellany (**M**; Theodoros
 Pelekanos; Diktyon 51958)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-1547
 OWN: Antonios Eparchos; Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte 2001, 82

Par. gr. 2338
Georgius Pachymeres, Quadrivium (**M**; Venice,
 Bartolomeo Zanetti; Diktyon 51970)
 BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea
 di Lorenzo), 1539
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 414-418; Hobson 1989,
 180; Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 66 no. 24

Par. gr. 2352
Proclus; Euclides (**M**; John Rhosos, 1487-
 1488; Diktyon 51984)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: Gioacchino Torriano?; San
 Giovanni e Paolo; Jean Hurault de
 Boistaillé
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 43-44 no. 2760;
 Jackson 2011, 15

Par. gr. 2361
Archimedes; Eutocius Ascalonita (**M**; 1545;
 Diktyon 51993)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I;
 Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263

Par. gr. 2362
Mathematical miscellany (**M**; Venice, 16th c.;
 Diktyon 51998)
 BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea
 di Lorenzo)
 OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Bibliothèque
 royale
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 414-418

Par. gr. 2373
Mathematical and philosophical miscellany (**M**;
 Diktyon 52005)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-
 1547
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte 2001, 26, 46, 82

- Par. gr. 2374
Nicomachus Gerasenus, Institutiones arithmeticae
 (M; Giovanni Onorio da Maglie; Diktyon 52006)
 BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi
 OWN: Giovanni Gaddi; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426
- Par. gr. 2376
Miscellany (M; Valeriano Albini;
 Konstantinos Mesobotes; Diktyon 52008)
 BIND: France, 16th c.
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 189
- Par. gr. 2412
Miscellany (M; 1540; Diktyon 52044)
 BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi
 OWN: Giovanni Gaddi; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426
- Par. gr. 2417
Military and astrological miscellany (M; 13th c.;
 Diktyon 52049)
 BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi
 OWN: Giovanni Gaddi; Francis I
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426
- Par. gr. 2443
*Aelianus, Tactica; Onosander, Strategica; Aeneas
 Tacticus, Poliorvetica* (M; Angelos Vergikios,
 1549; Diktyon 52075)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, ca. 1550
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1989, 194; Laffitte – Le Bars
 1999, 166-167 no. 84
- Par. gr. 2456
Mathematical and musical miscellany (M;
 Venice, Konstantinos Mesobotes; Diktyon
 52088)
 BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea
 di Lorenzo)
 OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Bibliothèque
 royale
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 414-418
- Par. gr. 2465
Synesius, Opera; Pindarus (M; 14th c.;
 Diktyon 52097)
 BIND: France
- Par. gr. 2479
Nicomachus Gerasenus, Arithmetica introductio
 (M; Diktyon 52111)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, ca. 1552
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte 2001, 82
- Par. gr. 2509
Mathematical and alchemical miscellany (M;
 Diktyon 52141)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop?
 OWN: Antonios Eparchos; Francis I
 LIT: *Les tranchefiles brodées* 1989, 62-63 no.
 21
- Par. gr. 2636
Suidas (M; Italy?, 15th-16th c.; Diktyon
 52271)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, ca. 1548
 OWN: Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola;
 Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 111 no. 49
- Par. gr. 2648
Literary miscellany (M; Nikolaos Sophianos;
 Diktyon 52283)
- Par. gr. 2714
Euripides; Gregorius Nazianzenus (M; Venice,
 Ioannes Mauromates, 1541; Diktyon
 52349)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1542
 OWN: Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola;
 Henry II
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 380-381, 394 no. 77
- Par. gr. 2726
Poetry miscellany (M; Georgios Tribizias;
 Diktyon 52361)
 BIND: Rome?
 OWN: Fulvio Orsini; Charles de

Montchal; Charles-Maurice le Tellier;
Nicolas Fouquet
LIT: Canart – Grosdidier de Matons –
Hoffmann 1991, 767

Par. gr. 2733
*Eustathius Tessalonicensis, Commentarius in
Dionysium Periegetam* (M; Giovanni Onorio
da Maglie; Diktyon 52368)
BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi
OWN: Giovanni Gaddi; Francis I
LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426

Par. gr. 2736
Oppianus, Cynegetica (M; Venice, Bartolomeo
Zanetti, ca. 1540; Diktyon 52371)
BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, ca.
1550
OWN: Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola;
Henry II
LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 163 no. 82

Par. gr. 2737
*Oppianus, Cynegetica; Xenophon, Cynegetica;
Manuel Philes, De animalium proprietate* (M;
Angelos Vergikios, 1554; Diktyon 52372)
BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, ca.
1554
OWN: Henry II
LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 215 no. 112

Par. gr. 2773
*Iohannes Tzetzes, Glossae in Hesiodi Opera
et dies; Hesiodus, Opera et dies; Scutum* (M;
Diktyon 52409)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop
OWN: Ferdinand I of Aragon

Par. gr. 2779
Proclus, In Hesiodi Opera et dies (M; Diktyon
52415)
BIND: Venice, 16th c. (first decade)
OWN: Janus Lascaris; Niccolò Ridolfi;
Piero Strozzi; Catherine de' Medici
LIT: Hobson 1989, 62
→ p. 65

Par. gr. 2812
Euripides (M; Theodoros Notarios;
Diktyon 52449)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1545-
1547
OWN: Francis I
LIT: Laffitte 2001, 42, 44, 82

Par. gr. 2843
Aratus; Dionysius Periegeta; Hermes Trismegistus
(M; Zacharias Kalliergis; Diktyon 52481)
BIND: 15th c.
OWN: Jean-Baptiste Colbert
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 36 no. 2667

Par. gr. 2850
Oracula Sibyllina (M; Demetrios Laskaris
Leontaris; Diktyon 52488)
BIND: Italy, 15th c.
OWN: Aragonese Kings; Francis I
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2676;
Hobson 1982, 426

Par. gr. 2858
*Eustathius Thessalonicensis, Commentarius in
Dionysium Periegetam* (M; Christophorus
Auer; Diktyon 52496)
BIND: France, 16th c.
OWN: Georges d'Armagnac; Francis I
LIT: Hobson 1989, 184, 263

Par. gr. 2895
*Longus; Achilles Tatius; Eustathius
Macrembolita* (M; Venice, 16th c.; Diktyon
52533)
BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea
di Lorenzo)
OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Bibliothèque
royale
LIT: Hobson 1982, 414-418

Par. gr. 2896
Heliodorus, Aethiopica (M; Venice?, 16th c.;
Diktyon 52534)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, before
1552

OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Henry II
LIT: Hobson 1989, 189; Laffitte – Le Bars
1999, 120 no. 56

Par. gr. 2919
Georgios Monos, Commentarius in Hermogenem
(**M**; 10th c.; Diktyon 52558)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop?
OWN: Henry II
LIT: *Les tranchefiles brodées* 1989, 66-67 no.
23

Par. gr. 2920
Aphthonius; Hermogenes (**M**; Theodorus Gaza;
Diktyon 52559)
BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi
OWN: Giovanni Gaddi; Francis I
LIT: Hobson 1982, 421-426; *Les tranchefiles*
brodées 1989, 56-57 no. 19

Par. gr. 2927
Aphthonius; Hermogenes (**M**; Demetrios
Moschos; Diktyon 52566)
BIND: 16th c.
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2825

Par. gr. 2953
Aelius Aristides; Libanius; Lucianus; Plato (**M**;
14th c.; Diktyon 52593)
BIND: Valerio Belli, 16th c.
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39 no. 2699;
Hoffmann 1982, 750

Par. gr. 2996
Demosthenes; Aeschines; Aelius Aristides (**M**;
Greece?, 13th c.; Diktyon 52640)
BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, 1546-
1547
OWN: Antonios Eparchos; Francis I
LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 89 no. 35B

Par. gr. 3031
Joseph Pinarus Rhacendytes; Iobannes
Damascenus; Cyrillus Alexandrinus (**M**;
Demetrios Damilas; Charitonymos
Hermonymos; Diktyon 52676)

BIND: 15th c.
OWN: Charles-Maurice le Tellier
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2682

Par. gr. 3050
Miscellany of Epistles (**M**; Demetrios
Moschos; Diktyon 52695)
BIND: 15th c.
OWN: Jules Mazarin
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2679

Par. lat. 2835
Saint Julian of Toledo, Prognosticon (**M**; 11th c.)
BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur du roi, *ca.*
1561
OWN: Charles IX
LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 235 no. 122b

Par. lat. 2918
Hugues de Saint-Victor, De sacramentis
Christianae Fidei (**M**; 12th c.)
BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur du roi, *ca.*
1561
OWN: Charles IX
LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 235 no. 122a

Par. lat. 4645A
Arresta varia in materia regalium (**M**)
BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur du roi,
1560
OWN: Charles IX; Francis II
LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 228 no. 116b

Par. lat. 5060
Flavius Josephus, Bellum Judaicum (**M**;
Johannes Baptista ex marchionibus
Palavicinis, 1435-1437)
BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur du roi, *ca.*
1561
OWN: Charles IX
LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 234 no. 121

Par. lat. 5825 E
Notitia dignitatum omnium civilium et
militariorum (Orientis) (**M**; 16th c.)
BIND: Valerio Belli, 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 48 no. 2831

Par. lat. 7297

Beda, De temporibus; Boethius, De Musica (**M**;
Fleury-sur-Loire?, 10th c.)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur du roi, *ca.*
1561

OWN: Charles IX

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 237 no. 124b

Par. lat. 7328

Astronomica (**M**; 15th c.)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur du roi,
1560

OWN: Francis II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 230-231 no.
119

Par. lat. 8527

Cicero, Epistulae (**M**; Florence, 15th c.)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur du roi, *ca.*
1561

OWN: Charles IX

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 237 no. 124a

Par. Rés. R.253

Niccolò Machiavelli, L'art de la guerre (**P**; Paris,
Jean Barbé, 1546; USTC 20838 or 60814)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur du roi, *ca.*
1554-1555

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Hobson 1989, 201; Laffitte – Le Bars
1999, 184 no. 93

Par. Rés. V.164

Vitellionis mathematici doctissimi peri optikes (**P**;
Nürnberg, heirs of Johann Petreius, 1551;
USTC 701538)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur du roi, *ca.*
1546

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Hobson 1989, 206

Par. Rés. Yb.85

Epigrammatum Graecorum libri VII (**P**;

Basel, Hieronymus Froben and Nikolaus
Episcopus, 1549; USTC 651071)

BIND: 16th c.

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Hobson 1989, 201

Par. Suppl. gr. 194

Philosophical miscellany (**M**; Bartolomeo
Zanetti; Diktyon 52964)

BIND: Venice?

LIT: Hoffmann 1982, 750

Par. Suppl. gr. 319

Iohannes Stobaeus, Anthologium (**M**; Zacharias
Kalliergis; Diktyon 53074)

BIND: Rome, Cardinals' Shop

OWN: Baldassarre Castiglione; Jesuit
College (Cologne)

LIT: Hobson 1984, 89-98; Agati – Canart
2009, 11; Chatzopoulou 2012, 22-23

Rés. A. 12 bis (1-6)

*Libri veteris et novi testamenti multiplici lingua
impressi* (**P**; Alcalá de Henares, Arnao

Guillén de Brocar, 1514-1517; USTC
344338)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, *ca.* 1548

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 108-109 no.
47B

Rés. A. 46 (bis)

Sacrae Scripturae veteris, novaeque omnia (**P**;
Venice, heirs of Aldus Manutius and

Andrea Torresano, 1518; USTC 800225)

BIND: Paris, Étienne Roffet's workshop,
ca. 1530-1540

OWN: Francis I

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 40, 45 no. 5

Rés. A. 513 (ter)

Novum Jesu Christi Domini Nostrum Testamentum
(**P**; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1550; USTC

150710)

- BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1550
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 168-169 no. 85
- Rés. A. 525
Novum testamentum omne (P; Basel, Johann Froben, 1519; USTC 678736)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, *ca.* 1548
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 100 no. 42B
- Rés. B. 1556 (2)
Nonnus Panopolitanus, Metabole tou kata Ioanne Agiou Evangeliou (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1501; USTC 844898)
 BIND: Paris, Étienne Roffet's workshop
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 40
- Rés. C. 45
Justinus, Zēna kai Serēno (P; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1551; USTC 150985)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, *ca.* 1551-1552
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 129 no. 64a
- Rés. C. 59
Clemens Alexandrinus, Euriskomena apanta ex Bibliotheca Medicea (P; Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550; USTC 822881)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1552-1553
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 174 no. 87
- Rés. C. 619 (2)
Gregorius Papa, Tomus secundus operum (P; Paris, Charlotte Guillard, 1542; USTC 200417)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, *ca.* 1549-1550
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 85 no. 32B
- Rés. C. 2626
Gregorius Nazianzenus, Orationes novem elegantissimae; Gregorius Nyssenus, Liber de Homine (P; Venice, heirs of Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1536; USTC 834173)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, *ca.* 1545
 OWN: Francis I
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 91 no. 39
- Rés. F. 148
Johannes Herold, Originum ac germanicarum antiquitatum Libri (P; Basel, Heinrich aus Basel Petri, 1557; USTC 681740)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1559
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 226 no. 115
- Rés. Fol. Lb31. 103
Pierre de Paschal, Henrici II Galliarum regis elogium (P; Paris, Michel de Vascosan, 1560; USTC 56310)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, 1561
 OWN: Charles IX
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 232-233 no. 120
 → p. 143
- Rés. Fol. T23. 59 (1-8)
Galenus, Opera (P; Basel, Hieronymus Froben and Nikolaus Episcopius, 1549; USTC 602640)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1556-1558
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 203-207 no. 106A-D
- Rés. G. 70
Sebastien Münster, La Cosmographie Universelle (P; Basel, Heinrich Petri, 1556; USTC 1129)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1559-1560
 OWN: Francis II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 230 no. 118

Rés. G. 300

De gentium aliquot migrationibus (P; Basel, Johann Oporinus, 1557; USTC 629892)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, ca. 1559-1560

OWN: Francis II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 229 no. 117

Rés. G. 1003

Dionysius Periegeta, De situ orbis libellus (P; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1547; USTC 149783)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, ca. 1547

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 103 no. 43a

Rés. g. Yc. 338

Horatius, Opera (P; Basel, Heinrich aus Basel Petri, 1555; USTC 679655)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, ca. 1556

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 192-193 no. 99

Rés. H. 34

Eusebius Caesariensis, Ekklesiastikes istorias biblia X (P; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1544; USTC 149157)

BIND: Paris, Étienne Roffet's workshop, before 1549

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 40

Rés. H. 38

Nicephorus Callistus, Ecclesiasticae historiae libri decem & octo (P; Basel, Johannes Herwagen and Johann Oporinus, 1555; USTC 677906)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, ca. 1557-1558

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 208 no. 107

Rés. H. 69

Bartholomaeus Platina, De vitis ac gestis summorum pontificum (P; Köln, Jaspas von Gennep, 1551; USTC 615105)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, ca. 1554-1555

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 182-183 no. 92

Rés. J. 49

Xenophon (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 863986)

BIND: Paris, Étienne Roffet's workshop

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 40

Rés. J. 192

Dionis Romanarum historiarum libri XXIII (P; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1548; USTC 160110)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, ca. 1548

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 104 no. 43b

Rés. J. 453 (bis)

Notitia utraque cum orientis tum occidentis (P; Basel, Hieronymus Froben and Nikolaus Episcopus, 1552; USTC 678431)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, ca. 1559-1560

OWN: Francis II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 227 no. 116a

Rés. J. 1240

Joannes Xiphilinus, Rerum Romanarum epitome (P; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1551; USTC 150860)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, ca. 1551-1552

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 131 no. 64b

Rés. J. 2028

Flavius Arrianus, De Ascensu Alexandri (P; Venice, Bartolomeo Zanetti for Giovanni Francesco Trincavelli, 1535; USTC 811126)

BIND: Paris, Etienne Roffet's workshop

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 40

Rés. J. 2427

Georg Fabricius, Roma, liber ad opt. autorum lectionem apprime utilis ac necessarius; Georg Fabricius, Antiquitatis aliquot monumenta insignia; Georg Agricola, De animantibus subterraneis; Georg Agricola, De peste (**P**; Basel, Johann Oporinus, 1551; Basel, Hieronymus Froben and Nikolaus Episcopus, 1549; Basel, Hieronymus Froben and Nikolaus Episcopus, 1554; USTC 659415; 600315; 600323)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1556

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 196 no. 101a

Rés. K. 20

Paolo Giovio, Illustrium virorum vitae; Paolo Giovio, Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium (**P**; Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino, 1551; USTC 833176; 833175)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1557-1558

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 209 no. 108

Rés. p. Yc. 1271

Plautus, Comoediae XX (**P**; Basel, Johann Herwagen, 1538; NA)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1556

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 195 no. 100

Rés. Q. 36

Conrad Gesner, Pandectarum sive partitionum; Id., Partitiones theologicae (**P**; Zürich, Christoph Froschauer, 1548; Zürich, Christoph Froschauer, 1549; USTC 682395; 682875)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1554-1555

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 179 no. 89b

Rés. Q. 48

Conrad Gesner, Bibliotheca Universalis (**P**; Zürich, Christoph Froschauer, 1545; USTC 616753)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1554-1555

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 178-179 no. 89a

Rés. R. 156

Petrus Veturius, In tres libros Aristotelis de arte dicendi (**P**; Basel, Johann Oporinus, 1549; USTC 683694)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1555

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 188 no. 97

Rés. R. 259

Vegetius, De re militari libri quatuor (**P**; Paris, Chrestien Wechel, 1532; USTC 203394)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1554-1555

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 182-183 no. 91

Rés. S. 446

Georg Agricola, De ortu et causis subterraneorum (**P**; Basel, Hieronymus Froben et Nikolaus Episcopus, 1546; USTC 600321)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1556

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 190-191 no. 98b

Rés. S. 447

Georg Agricola, De re metallica libri XIII (**P**; Basel, Hieronymus Froben et Nikolaus Episcopus, 1556; USTC 600324)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1556

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 192 no. 98c

Rés. S. 448

Georg Agricola, De mensuris et ponderibus Romanorum atque Graecorum (**P**; Basel, Hieronymus Froben et Nikolaus Episcopus, 1550; USTC 600319)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1556
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 190-191 no. 98a

Rés. Td.73.44

Jean Tagault, De chirurgica institutione libri quinque (**P**; Paris, Chrestien Wechel, 1543; USTC 140825)
 BIND: Paris, Jean Picard
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 54

Rés. V. 164

Vitellionis mathematici doctissimi peri optikes (**P**; Nürnberg, heirs of Johann Petreius, 1551; USTC 701538)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1554-1555
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 180 no. 90

Rés. V. 186

Julius Firmicus Maternus, Astronomicam libri VIII (**P**; Basel, Johannes Herwagen, 1551; USTC 602365)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1554-1555
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 186-187 no. 96

Rés. V. 215

Johann Schöner, Opera mathematica (**P**; Nürnberg, Johann VomBerg et Ulrich Neuber, 1551; USTC 679633)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1556
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 200-201 no. 104

Rés. V. 304

Guido Bonatti, De astronomia tractatus X (**P**; Basel, Jakob Kündig, 1550; USTC 601049 or 607341)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1554-1555
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 186 no. 95

Rés. V. 543

Heinrich Glarean, Dodecachordon (**P**; Basel, Heinrich Petri, 1547; USTC 553084)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1556
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 198-199 no. 103

Rés. V. 718

Nicolas Copernicus, De revolutionibus orbium coelestium (**P**; Nürnberg, Johann Petreius, 1543; USTC 678039 or 678038)
 BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, *ca.* 1556
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 197 no. 102

Rés. Velins. 466

Aristoteles, Opera, v. IV (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495-1498; ISTC ia00959000)
 BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea di Lorenzo), 1539 (tooled in Fontainebleau *ca.* 1550)
 OWN: Girolamo Fondulo; Henry II
 LIT: Hobson 1982, 414-418; Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 68-69 no. 25; Le Bars 2004, 55-56 no. 12; Macchi – Macchi 2007, 182 no. 68

Rés. X. 27

Theodorus Gaza, Grammatica introductiva (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495; ISTC ig00110000)
 BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, *ca.* 1548
 OWN: Henry II
 LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 109 no. 47C

Rés. X. 68

Guillaume Budé, Commentarii linguae graecae (P; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1548; USTC 149947)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, ca. 1554-1555

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 185 no. 94

Rés. Yb. 85

Epigrammatum Graecorum libri VII (P;

Basel, Hieronymus Froben and Nikolaus Episcopus, 1549; USTC 651071)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, ca. 1556

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 202 no. 105

Rés. Yb. 110

Eustathius Thessalonicensis, Parekbolai eis ten Homerou Iliada (P; Rome, Antonio Blado, 1542; USTC 828521)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, 1552-1553

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 175-176 no. 88a

Rés. Yb. 111

Eustathius Thessalonicensis, Parekbolai eis ten Homerou Iliada (P; Rome, Antonio Blado, 1542; USTC 828521)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, 1552-1553

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 175-176 no. 88B

Rés. Yb. 112

Eustathius Thessalonicensis, Parekbolai eis ten Homerou Iliada (P; Rome, Antonio Blado, 1542; USTC 828521)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, 1552-1553

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 175-176 no. 88C

Rés. Yb. 113

Eustathius Thessalonicensis, Parekbolai eis ten Homerou Iliada (P; Rome, Antonio Blado, 1542; USTC 828521)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, 1552-1553

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 175-176 no. 88D

Rés. Yb. 270-271

Sophocles, Tragoediae VII; Demetrius Triclinius, Eis ta tou Sophokleous epta dramata (P; Paris, Adrien Turnèbe, 1553; USTC 154217)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, ca. 1553-1554

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 211-212 no. 109

Rés. Yb. 479

Aesopus, Vita et Fabulae (P; Venice, Bartholomaeus Pelusius, Gabriel Bracius de Brisighella, Johannes Bissolus and Benedictus Mangius, ca. 1498; ISTC ia00097000)

BIND: Paris, Etienne Roffet's workshop, ca. 1540

OWN: Francis I

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 40, 46 no. 6

Rés. Yb. 950

Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 800004)

BIND: 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39 no. 2703; Mazzucco 1994, 162

Rés. Z. 2136

Cicero, Epistolae (P; Venice, Paulus Manutius, 1540; USTC 822255)

BIND: Paris, Atelier du relieur de roi, ca. 1556

OWN: Henry II

LIT: Laffitte – Le Bars 1999, 196 no. 101b

Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta

Inc. 571

Anthologia Graeca Planudea (**P**; Florence, Lorenzo di Alopa, 1494; ISTC ia00765000)
 BIND: 15th c.
 OWN: Alfano Alfani
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39 no. 2704 bis
 ♦ | → p. 69

Perus. 172 (C 55)

Aristoteles, Ethica in Nicomachum; Theodorus Gaza, De fato (**M**; Georgios Tribizias, ca. 1471; Diktyon 55394)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Francesco Maturanzio; Abbey of San Pietro (Perugia)
 LIT: Hoffmann 1982; Hoffmann 1983, esp. 110-111; Scapecchi 1994a, 5
 ♦

Perus. 173 (C 56)

Simplicius, Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion (**M**; Venice, John Rhosos, 1471; Diktyon 55395)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Francesco Maturanzio; Prospero Podiani; Abbey of San Pietro (Perugia)
 LIT: Hoffmann 1982; Hoffmann 1983, esp. 111; Scapecchi 1994a, 5; Boudalis – Gialdini 2022
 ♦

Perus. 495 (G 84)

Euripides (**M**; 1473; Diktyon 55413)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Francesco Maturanzio
 LIT: Hoffmann 1982; Scapecchi 1994a, 5; Stefec 2013, 41; Boudalis – Gialdini 2022
 ♦

Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum

Incun. 493I

Isocrates, Orationes (**P**; Milan, Uldericus Scinzenzeler and Sebastianus de Ponte Tremulo, 24 January 1493; ISTC ii00210000)
 BIND: Florence, 15th c. (last quarter)
 OWN: Lorenzo Benivieni
 LIT: Pickwoad 2008, 182
 → p. 119

Poppi, Biblioteca Comunale Rilliana

Inc. 113

Isocrates, Orationes (**P**; Milan, Uldericus Scinzenzeler and Sebastianus de Ponte Tremulo, 24 January 1493; ISTC ii00210000)
 BIND: 15th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2687; Scapecchi 1994a, 9; Scapecchi 1994b, 45 no. 1

Inc. 123

Theodorus Gaza, Grammatica introductiva (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495; ISTC ig00110000)
 LIT: Scapecchi 1994a, 9; Scapecchi 1994b, 46 no. 2

Inc. 124

Theocritus, Idyllia (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, February 1495/1496; ISTC it00144000)
 BIND: before 1511
 OWN: Vincenzo Querini; Eremo di Camaldoli
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2687 bis; Scapecchi 1994a, 9; Scapecchi 1994b, 47 no. 3; Scapecchi 1994d, 197
 → pp. 52n, 121

Princeton, NJ, Firestone Library

MS. 30

Horace (M; Siena?, 1455)

BIND: Florence?, 15th c.

LIT: Skemer 2013, 203-204

◆ | → pp. 57-58, Pl. 8, 10a

**Provo, UT, Brigham Young University,
L. Tom Perry Special Collections**

Aldine Collection 1497 no. 4

*Urbanus Bolzanus, Institutiones graecae
grammaticae* (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius,
January 1497/1498; ISTC iu00066000)

◆

Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale

Rés. Reliure MM1

*Iohannes Philoponus, In posteriora resolutoria
Aristotelis Commentarii* (P; Venice, Aldus
Manutius, 1504; USTC 762308)

BIND: Venice

LIT: Mazzucco 1994, 171-172

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica

Gr. 3

Harpocraton, Lexicon (M; Georgios

Moschos; Diktyon 55910)

◆ | → pp. 133-134, 133n

Gr. 98

Simplicius, In Aristotelis Physica (M; Michael
Damaskenos; Diktyon 56004)

OWN: Egidio da Viterbo

LIT: Whittaker 1977, 226-227

◆

Gr. 99

Simplicius, In Aristotelis Physica (M; Diktyon
56005)

OWN: Egidio da Viterbo

LIT: Whittaker 1977, 226-228

◆

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense

B. VI. 45

Ioannis Damasceni Editio orthodoxae fidei (P;
Verona, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio and his
brothers, 1531; USTC 836415)

BIND: Rome

LIT: Macchi – Macchi 2007, 130 no. 45

→ p. 51

I. XXII. 28

Epictetus, Flavius Arrianus (P; Venice,
Bartolomeo Zanetti for Giovanni
Francesco Trincavelli, 1535; USTC 828166)

BIND: Venice, 1535-1600

LIT: Quilici 1984, 107; Quilici 1995, I, 189
no. 268

L. V. 40

*Ammonius Hermiae, Commentaria in librum
peri Hermenias* (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius,
1503; USTC 809131)

BIND: Venice

OWN: Altemps family

LIT: Quilici 1984, 107-108; Quilici 1995, I,
178 no. 240

MS 199

*Iohannes Chrysostomus, Commentarius in
Evangelium Sancti Iohannis* (M; Demetrius
Zenon, 16th c. (first half); Diktyon 56045)

BIND: Venice

LIT: Quilici 1995, I, 181-182 no. 249

MS 408

*Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica; Demetrius
Moschus, Epigrammata* (M; Demetrius Moschos,
15th c. (last quarter); Diktyon 56056)

BIND: Venice?, 15th c. (last quarter)

LIT: Quilici 1995, I, 127 no. 131

◆ | → p. 26n

MS 1524

Hero Alexandrinus; Proclus (M; 16th c.;
Diktyon 56089)
BIND: Venice, Anthoni Lodewijk?
LIT: Quilici 1995, I, 190-191 no. 270

MS 1710

Grammatical miscellany (M; Petros Ypsilas;
Diktyon 56096)
BIND: Florence
LIT: Quilici 1995, I, 174 no. 230

O. IV. 34

Ovidius, Inerrantium stellarum significationes
(P; Basel, Heinrich aus Basel Petri, 1538;
USTC 682162)
LIT: Quilici 1984, 108

Rari 520/1

Euripidis Tragoediae septendecim (P; Venice,
Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 828498)
BIND: Venice
OWN: "Ioannes" ...?
LIT: Quilici 1995, I, 179 no. 242

Rari 520/2

Euripidis Tragoediae septendecim (P; Venice,
Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 828498)
BIND: Venice
LIT: Quilici 1995, I, 179 no. 243; Petrucci
Nardelli 2007, 91

Vol. Inc. 1960

Psalterium (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, not
after 1 October 1498; ISTC ip01033000)
BIND: Rome, Cardinals' Shop, 1498-1500
LIT: Quilici 1995, I, 115 no. 103; Agati –
Canart 2009, 13



Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana

43. D. 32 (Rossi 358)

Hippiatrica (M; 16th c.; Diktyon 56118)

BIND: 16th c.

OWN: Niccolò Rossi; Bartolomeo Corsini
LIT: Hobson 1984, 89-98; Sotgiu 2004;
McCabe 2007, 36-38; Agati – Canart 2009,
9, 11

◆ | → p. 44, Pl. 3, 6a

Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma

Ms. Gr. 9

Eustathius Thessalonicensis (M; Florence?,
15th c. (third quarter); Diktyon 56133)
BIND: Florence?, 15th c. (third quarter)
LIT: *Catalogo... Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
di Roma* 2016, 66-67



Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana

Vall. E 11

Lexicon Cyrilli (M; 10th c.; Diktyon 56320)
BIND: 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 43 no. 2756 bis



Salamanca, Biblioteca General Histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca

Salm. Inc. 209

Etymologicum magnum Graecum (P; Venice,
Zacharias Kalliergis for Nikolaos
Vlastos and Anna Notaras, 1499; ISTC
ie00112000)

OWN: Hernán Núñez de Guzmán (El Pinciano)

LIT: Codoñer – Merino – Malvadi 2001,
passim; Miguélez González 2009, 67, 563;
Martínez Manzano 2015, 231

→ pp. 50, 71-72, 123, Pl. 5b

Salm. 48

Manuel Chrysoloras, Georgius Choeroboscus (**M**;
Ferrara, Lianoro Lianori; Diktyon 56455)
OWN: Lianoro Lianori; Hernán Núñez de
Guzmán (El Pinciano)
LIT: Hernández de la Fuente – Lisi 2010,
540; Martínez Manzano 2015, 157, 229 and
passim

**San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca
del Real Monasterio de El Escorial**

54 IV 3 8

Aristoteles, Opera omnia, v. I (**P**; Venice,
Aldus Manutius, 1495-1498; ISTC
ia00959000)
BIND: Venice, 15th c. (last quarter)
OWN: Alberto III Pio of Carpi; Diego
Hurtado de Mendoza
LIT: Thomas 1954, 476-477; De Marinis
1960, III, 38 no. 2694; Hobson 1989, 83,
105, 221 no. 15B; Scapecchi 1994a, 7;
Hobson 1999a, 147 no. 89; Pickwood 2008,
179, 181; Hobson 2012, 140; Sachet 2016
♦ | → pp. 67-68, 123

71 VI 13

Guntherus von Pairis, Ligurinus (**P**;
Strasbourg, Johann Schott, 1531; USTC
661145)
BIND: Venice, Mendoza Binder (Andrea
di Lorenzo)
OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
LIT: Hobson 1999a, 171 no. 587

R I 13

*Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Commentarius in
Aristotelem* (**M**; Diktyon 15285)
BIND: Venice
OWN: Antonios Eparchos
LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016a; Martínez
Manzano 2016b; Martínez Manzano 2022,
133
→ p. 65

R II 4

Eusebius Caesariensis (**M**; Andronikos
Noukios, ca. 1541; Diktyon 15296)
BIND: Venice
OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez
Manzano 2022, 137

R II 5

Miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 15297)
LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez
Manzano 2022, 137

R II 6

Maximus Tyrius, Dissertationes (**M**; Petros
Karnabakas (Karneades); Andronikos
Noukios; Diktyon 15298)
BIND: Venice
OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez
Manzano 2022, 137-138

R II 8

Theodorus Metochites (**M**; Nikolaos
Mourmouris, ca. 1541; Diktyon 15300)
BIND: Venice
OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez
Manzano 2022, 138

R III 17

Constantinus Manasses, Compendium chronicum
(**M**; Diktyon 15322)
BIND: Venice?
OWN: Antonio de Covarrubias
LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez
Manzano 2022, 146

T I 8

*Hermias Alexandrinus philosophus, In Platonis
Phaedrum scholia* (**M**; Venice, ca. 1542;
Diktyon 15400)
BIND: Venice
OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez
Manzano 2022, 171

T I 9

Dio Chrysostomus (**M**; Venice, Nikolaos Moumouris, ca. 1542; Diktyon 15401)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez Manzano 2022, 171

T I 10

Danid philosophus; Nicephorus Blemmydes (**M**; Venice, Ioannes Mauromates, 1541; Diktyon 15402)
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 382, 391 no. 13; Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez Manzano 2022, 174

T I 13

Proclus, Commentarii in Platonis Parmenidem (**M**; Venice, Andronikos Noukios; Diktyon 15405)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez Manzano 2022, 173

T I 14

Astronomical miscellany (**M**; Venice, Andronikos Noukios, 1541; Diktyon 15406)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez Manzano 2022, 173

T I 16

Sextus Empiricus, Aduersus mathematicos (**M**; Venice, Andronikos Noukios, ca. 1540; Diktyon 15408)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez Manzano 2022, 174

T II 4

Appianus (**M**; Venice, Andronikos Noukios, 1542; Diktyon 15415)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez Manzano 2022, 176

T II 5

Julian the Apostate, Plutarchus, Atticus philosophus (**M**; Venice, Nikolaos Moumouris, 1541; Diktyon 15416)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez Manzano 2022, 176

T II 16

Syrianus philosophus, In Aristotelis metaphysica, Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Quaestiones et solutiones (**M**; Venice, Andronikos Noukios; Nikolaos Mourmouris, 1541-1544; Diktyon 15427)
 OWN: Philip II
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez Manzano 2022, 180

T II 19

Nonnus Panopolitanus, Dionysiaca (**M**; Manuel Glynzounios; Benediktos Episkopopoulos; Diktyon 15430)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Antonios Eparchos
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016a; Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez Manzano 2022, 181
 → p. 65

T III 1

Chrysobalantes Theophanes, Epitome de curatione morborum (**M**; Paris, Iacobus Diassorinus Rhodius, 1549-1555; Diktyon 15433)
 OWN: Philip II
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez Manzano 2022, 182

- X I 5
Miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 14963)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b
- X I 6
Hermias Alexandrinus, In Platonis Phaedrum scholia
 (**M**; Kornelios Mourmouris; Diktyon 14964)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Antonios Eparchos
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016a; Martínez
 Manzano 2016b
 → p. 65
- X I 7
Miscellany (**M**; Andronikos Noukios;
 Diktyon 14965)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Georgios Basilikos; Diego Hurtado
 de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b
- X I 9
Mathematical miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 14967)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b
- X I 10
Nicephorus Blemmydes (**M**; Nikolaos
 Mourmouris; Diktyon 14968)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b
- X I 12
Musical miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 14970)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b
- X I 14
Archimedes; Eutocius Ascalonita (**M**; Diktyon
 14972)
 BIND: Venice
- OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b
- Y I 6
Laonicus Chalcocondyles, De rebus Turvicis (**M**;
 Diktyon 15458)
 BIND: Venice?
 OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b
- Y I 10
Philosophical and military miscellany (**M**;
 Diktyon 15462)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b
- Y I 11
Iohannes Zonaras, Epitome historiarum (**M**;
 Diktyon 15463)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b
- Y I 14
Musical miscellany (**M**; Camillo Zanetti;
 Diktyon 15466)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Antonios Eparchos
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016a; Martínez
 Manzano 2016b
 → p. 65
- Y I 15
Olympiodorus philosophus (**M**; Georgios
 Basilikos; Diktyon 15467)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b
- y I 4
Dio Cassius, Historiae Romanae (**M**; Diktyon
 15510)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

y I 5

Philo Iudaens (**M**; Diktyon 15511)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

y I 8

Medical miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 15514)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

y I 10

Porphyrius (**M**; Georgios Basilikos; Diktyon 15516)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

y I 14

Flavius Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae (**M**; Diktyon 15520)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

Σ I 15

Iohannes Doxopatres, Commentarius in Hermogenis De inuentione (**M**; Andreas Darmarios, ca. 1550-1560; Diktyon 15346)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Antonios Eparchos
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016a; Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez Manzano 2022, 153
 → p. 65

Σ II 3

Medical miscellany (**M**; Andreas Darmarios; Manuel Glynzounios; Manuel Malaxos, 1570; Diktyon 15354)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Antonios Eparchos
 LIT: Pérez Martín – Bravo García 2003; Martínez Manzano 2016a; Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez Manzano 2022, 137
 → p. 65

Σ II 12

Proclus philosophus, Alcinous (**M**; Andreas Darmarios; Manuel Glynzounios; Benediktos Episkopopoulos; Diktyon 15363)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Antonios Eparchos
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016a; Martínez Manzano 2016b; Martínez Manzano 2022, 159
 → p. 65

Φ I 8

Iohannes Cantacuzenus VI, In Aristotelis Ethicam Nicomacheam (**M**; Diktyon 15140)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

Φ I 10

Scientific miscellany (**M**; Venice, Ioannes Mauromates; Petros Karnabakas (Karneades); Nikolaos Mourmouris; Arnoldus Arlenius, 1542; Diktyon 15142)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 382, 391 no. 20, Martínez Manzano 2016b

Φ I 11

Alchemical miscellany (**M**; Georgios Basilikos; Diktyon 15143)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

Φ I 12

Theophylactus Simocatta, Historiae; Laonicus Chalcocondyles, De rebus Turcicis (**M**; Diktyon 15144)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

Φ I 13

Georgius Pachymeres, Paraphrasis in Aristotelis Physicam (**M**; Venice, Nikolaos Moumouris, 1541-1543; Diktyon 15145)

BIND: Venice

OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza

LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

Φ I 15

Philosophical miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 15147)

BIND: Venice

OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza

LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

Φ I 17

Theodorus Metochites, In Aristotelem commentaria (**M**; Nikolaos Mourmouris; Diktyon 15149)

BIND: Venice

OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza

LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

Φ II 18

Iohannes Doxopatres, Commentarius in Hermogenis De inuentione (**M**; Andreas Darmarios; Manuel Glynzounios; Manuel Malaxos; Diktyon 15169)

BIND: Venice

OWN: Antonios Eparchos

LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016a; Martínez Manzano 2016b

→ p. 65

Φ III 19

Libanius (**M**; Andreas Darmarios; Manuel Glynzounios; Manuel Malaxos; Diktyon 15192)

BIND: Venice

OWN: Antonios Eparchos

LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016a; Martínez Manzano 2016b

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Ψ I 6

Miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 15199)

BIND: Venice

OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza

LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

Ψ I 9

Photius, Bibliotheca (**M**; Ioannes

Mauromates, 1543; Diktyon 15202)

BIND: Venice

OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza

LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Mazzon 2021, 279-280

Ψ I 10

Photius (**M**; Venice, Ioannes Mauromates; Petros Karnabakas (Karneades); Arnoldus Arlenius, 1543; Diktyon 15202)

BIND: Venice

OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza

LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 382, 392 no. 23, Martínez Manzano 2016b

Ψ I 13

Alchemical miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 15205)

BIND: Venice

OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza

LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

Ψ II 3

Cyryllus Alexandrinus (**M**; Diktyon 15210)

BIND: Venice?

OWN: Francisco de Mendoza y Bovadilla

LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

Ψ II 9

Epbrem Syrus, Homiliae (**M**)

OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza

LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b; Lo Conte 2016, 204

→ p. 123

Ψ IV 20

Nicephorus Blemmydes (**M**; Diktyon 15265)

BIND: Venice?

OWN: Francesco Patrizi

LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

Ω I 11

Historical and martial miscellany (**M**; Venice, Ioannes Mauromates; Petros Karnabakas (Karneades); Nikolaos Mourmouris; Arnoldus Arlenius; Andronikos Noukios; Diktyon 15061)
 OWN: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
 LIT: Cataldi Palau 2000, 382, 392 no. 25

Ω II 7

Homiletic miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 15073)
 OWN: Philip II
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

Ω II 9

Iohannes Chrysostomus (**M**; Georgios Basilikos; Diktyon 15075)
 OWN: Philip II
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

Ω IV 31

Nicephorus Blemmydes (**M**; Diktyon 15131)
 BIND: Venice?
 OWN: Francesco Patrizi
 LIT: Martínez Manzano 2016b

San Marino, CA, Huntington Library

Goff G38 (call number 87532)
Galenus, Therapeutica (**P**; Venice, Zacharias Kalliergis for Nikolaos Vlastos, 1500; ISTC ig00038000)

**Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca Xeral de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela**

ECM/5
Demosthenes, Orationes duae et sexaginta (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC 826496)
 OWN: Colegio de Monterrey
 LIT: Díaz-Redondo – Miguélez-González 2019, 9

Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery Library

Several copies: 6.3 α , 7.3 β , 8.3 γ , 10.3 ϵ , 11.3 $\sigma\tau$, 12.3 ζ , 14.3 θ , 16.3 $\iota\alpha$, 18.3 $\iota\gamma$, 19.3 $\iota\delta$, 20.3 $\iota\epsilon$, 21.3 $\iota\epsilon$, 22.3 $\iota\zeta$, 23.3 $\iota\eta$
Opera quaedam b. Basili Caesaricensis episcopi (**P**; Venice, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano Santa Maria, 1535; USTC 812756)
 LIT: Boudalis (forthcoming)
 → p. 72

221/105a

Divi Iohannis Chrysostomi In omnes Pauli apostoli epistolas accuratissima (**P**; Verona, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio and his brothers, 1529; USTC 836405)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Zabarella family
 LIT: Pickwoad 2008, 187; Boudalis (forthcoming)

2473-1774

Sophoclis Tragoediae septem cum interpretationibus vetustis & valde utilibus (**P**; Florence, heirs of Filippo Giunta, 1522; USTC 857021)
 LIT: Boudalis (forthcoming)

2591/1874

Aristotelus hapanta (**P**; Basel, Johann Bebel and Michael Isengrin, 1550; USTC 600154)
 BIND: Padua, after 1550
 OWN: Zabarella family
 LIT: Pickwoad 2008, 185-187; Boudalis (forthcoming)

2938-2149

Theodori Grammatices introductionis libri quatuor (**P**; Florence, Filippo Giunta, 1515; USTC 832082)
 LIT: Boudalis (forthcoming)

MS Greek 55

Psalter and Odes (**M**; 1344; Diktyon 58430)
 LIT: Boudalis (forthcoming)

MS Greek 117
Psalter (**M**; Ioannes Nathanael, Knossos, 1544; Diktyon 58492)
 LIT: Boudalis (forthcoming)

MS Greek 427
John Climacus (**M**; Diktyon 58802)
 LIT: Boudalis (forthcoming)

MS Greek 1072
Liturgical miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 59447)
 LIT: Boudalis (forthcoming)

MS Greek 1705
The Three liturgies (**M**; Diktyon 60080)
 LIT: Boudalis (forthcoming)

MS Greek 1747
Gospel commentary (**M**; Diktyon 60122)
 LIT: Boudalis (forthcoming)

MS Greek 1992
New Testament (**M**; Diktyon 60367)
 LIT: Boudalis (forthcoming)

MS Greek 2102
Iohannes Zonaras, Lexicon (**M**; Diktyon 60477)
 LIT: Boudalis (forthcoming)

Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek

Gb 579
Horologion (**P**; S.l., s.n., 1584; NA)
 OWN: Martin Crusius

Gb 580-OR
Horologion (**P**; S.l., s.n., 1584; NA)
 OWN: Martin Crusius

Ge 1179
Kartanos Ioannikios, Hē palaia te kai nea diatheke etoi to anthos kai anagaion antes (**P**; Venice, 1557; NA)
 OWN: Martin Crusius

Gi 288.4-OR
Damascenus Studites, Biblion onomazomenon thysaurus (**P**; Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1570; USTC 825368)
 OWN: Martin Crusius
 → p. 72

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria

B. I. 3
Sextus Empiricus, Opera (**M**; 15th c. (last quarter)-16th c. (first quarter); Diktyon 63623)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: Henri Estienne; David Colville
 LIT: Gulmini 1989, 55 no. 50



B. I. 6
Galenus medicus, De alimentorum facultatibus libri III; Meletius monachus medicus, De natura hominis; Origenes, Philocalia (**M**; 16th c.; Diktyon 63626)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: David Colville
 LIT: Gulmini 1989, 60 no. 59



B. I. 12
Porphyrius, De abstinentia; Eustathius, Commentarii in Dionysium Periegetam (**M**; ca. 1550; Diktyon 63632)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: David Colville
 LIT: Gulmini 1989, 62 no. 62



C. I. 13 [detached binding]
Simplicius In Aristotelis de caelo commentarius (**M**; Venice, Alessandro Bondino (Anonymus Harvardianus), 15th c. (last quarter); Diktyon 63836)

LIT: Hoffmann 1982, 373; Hoffmann 1985, 85-89; Elia 2021, 253; Orlandi 2022, 288, 293, 313
 ◆ | → p. 52

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Aldine I.1
Luciani Opera (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 762915)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: Fulvio Orsini
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39 no. 2701; Federici 2022

Aldine I.6
Thucydides; Xenophontis omissa (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1502; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 859004; 863986)
 LIT: Federici 2022

Aldine I.7
Libri novem quibus Musarum indita sunt (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1502; USTC 835663)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: Fulvio Orsini
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2714; Federici 2022

Aldine I.9
Luciani Opera (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 762915)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: Fulvio Orsini
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2719; Federici 2022

Aldine I.12
Demosthenes, Orationes duae et sexaginta; Ulpianus, Commentarioli in ... Demosthenis orationes (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 826496; 861591)
 LIT: Federici 2022

Aldine I.22
Plutarchus, Opuscula (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1509; USTC 849950)
 BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi
 OWN: Fulvio Orsini
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2791; Hobson 1982, 421-426

Aldine I.24-25
Plutarchus, Opuscula (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1509; USTC 849950)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: Fulvio Orsini
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2718; Federici 2022

Aldine I.26
Orationes horum rhetorum (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1513; USTC 800362)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2773; Federici 2022

Aldine I.27
Omnia Platonis opera (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1513; USTC 849832)
 BIND: 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2721; Federici 2022

Aldine I.31
Hesychius Alexandrinus, Dictionarium (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1514; USTC 835703)
 BIND: 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2817; Federici 2022

Aldine I.33
Athenaens, Deipnosophiston... (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1514; USTC 811383)

BIND: Rome, 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2765;

Federici 2022

Aldine I.35

Pausanias (P; Venice, heirs of Aldus

Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1516;

USTC 847200)

BIND: Rome, 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2769;

Federici 2022

Aldine I.62

Homerus, Ilias (P; Venice, heirs of Aldus

Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1517;

USTC 835802)

BIND: 16th c.

OWN: Fulvio Orsini

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2728

Aldine III.11

Sophoclis Tragaediae septem cum commentaris

(P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1502; USTC 857020)

BIND: Rome, Cardinals' Shop

LIT: Hobson 1984, 89-98; Agati – Canart 2009, 13

Aldine III.12

Sophoclis Tragaediae septem cum commentaris

(P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1502; USTC 857020)

LIT: Federici 2022

Aldine III.21

Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum (P;

Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 800004)

LIT: Federici 2022

Aldine III.22

Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum (P;

Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 800004)

LIT: Federici 2022

Aldine III.24

Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum (P;

Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 800004)

LIT: Federici 2022

Aldine III.25

Euripidis Tragoediae septendecim (P; Venice,

Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 828498)

LIT: Federici 2022

Aldine III.26

Euripidis Tragoediae septendecim (P; Venice,

Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 828498)

BIND: 16th c.

OWN: Fulvio Orsini

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39 no. 2702;

Hobson 1989, 215; Federici 2022

Aldine III.27

Euripidis Tragoediae septendecim (P; Venice,

Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 828498)

LIT: Federici 2022

Aldine III.63

Homerus, Ilias (P; Venice, heirs of Aldus

Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1517;

USTC 835802)

BIND: 16th c.

OWN: Fulvio Orsini

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2729

Aldine III.279

Quinti Calabri Derelictorum ab Homero libri

quatuordecim (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1505; USTC 851779)

LIT: Federici 2022

Inc. I.18

Lucianus, Dialogi, Epistolae (P; Florence,

Lorenzo di Alopa, 1496; ISTC il00320000)

BIND: Padua, "Paduan Greek Shop"

OWN: Niccolò Leonico Tomeo; Fulvio

Orsini

LIT: Nohac 1887, 172, 352; De Marinis 1960, III, 38 no. 2695 bis; Hobson 1999b, 415; Pontani 2000, 358

→ p. 65

Inc. I.21

Johannes Crastonus, Lexicon Graeco-latinum (P; Milan, Bonus Accursius, not after 28 March 1478; ISTC ic00958000)

LIT: Federici 2022

Inc. II.160

Dioscorides, De materia medica (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, after 8 July 1499; ISTC id00260000)

LIT: Federici 2022

Inc. II.178

Aristoteles, Opera (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495-1498; ISTC ia00959000)

BIND: Padua?, "Paduan Greek Shop"

LIT: Hobson 1999b, 415; Federici 2022

Inc. IV.125

Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica (P; Florence, Lorenzo di Alopa, 1496; ISTC ia00924000)

LIT: Federici 2022

Inc. IV.149

Epistolae diversorum philosophorum (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1499; ISTC ie00064000)

LIT: Federici 2022

Leg. Vat. gr. 103 [detached binding]

Hermogenes, Rhetorica (M; Demetrios, 1226; Diktyon 66734)

BIND: 15th c.

LIT: *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 95, 640, 664-665, 880-883

Leg. Vat. gr. 104 [detached binding]

Hermogenes, Rhetorica (M; Diktyon 66735)

BIND: 15th c.

LIT: *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 95, 640, 664-665

Leg. Vat. gr. 180 [detached binding]

Ptolemaeus, Syntaxis mathematica (M; Diktyon 66811)

OWN: Nicholas V

LIT: *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 102, 741

Leg. Vat. gr. 190 [detached binding]

Euclides, Elementa (M; Diktyon 66821)

BIND: Rome, Giovanni Onorio da Maglie

LIT: Agati – Canart – Federici 1996

→ p. 93n

Leg. Vat. gr. 1292 [detached binding]

Thucydides (M; Diktyon 67923)

BIND: Rome, Giovanni Onorio da Maglie

OWN: Fulvio Orsini

LIT: Agati – Canart – Federici 1996

→ p. 93n

Membr. I 4 (Vat. gr. 763)

Oecumenius, Catena in Pauli epistulas, Catena in acta apostolorum (M; Verona, 1532; Diktyon 67394)

BIND: Rome

LIT: Choulis 2013a, I, 170-171

Membr. I 5 (Vat. gr. 764)

Arethas, Commentarius in Apocalypsin (M; Verona, 1532; Diktyon 67395)

BIND: Rome

LIT: Choulis 2013a, I, 170-171

R. G. Classici V 1348

Arsenius Apostolios, Scholia in septem Euripidis tragoedias (P; Venice, Lucantonio Giunta, 1534; USTC 810067)

BIND: Rome, 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2795

R. I.I 344

Clemens Alexandrinus, Euriskomena apanta ex Bibliotheca Medicea (P; Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550; USTC 822881)

BIND: Rome, 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2813

R. I.II 407

Eusebius Caesariensis, Ekkelesiastikes istorias biblia X (P; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1544; USTC 149170)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: Fulvio Orsini
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 42 no. 2748

R. I.IV. 1644

Aeliani Variarum historiae libri XIII (P; Rome, Antonio Blado, 1545; USTC 807814)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 OWN: Farnese family
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2804

Stamp. Chig. II.744

Aristophanes, Comoediae novem (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1498; ISTC ia00958000)
 LIT: Federici 2022

Stamp. Chig. III.438

Iohannes Philoponus, In posteriora resolutoria Aristotelis Commentarii (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC 762308)
 BIND: 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2715

Stamp. Chig. V.564

Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 800004)
 LIT: Federici 2022

Vat. Barb. gr. 21

Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum (M; 16th c.; Diktyon 64569)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2775

Vat. Barb. gr. 123

Maximus Planudes, Anthologia Graecorum epigrammatum (M; Diktyon 64671)
 BIND: 15th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 36 no. 2665

Vat. Barb. gr. 273

Mathematical and musical miscellany (M; Diktyon 64819)
 BIND: “Bottega del no. 1119”, 15th c. (last quarter)
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2683; Hobson 1989, 219 no. 12D

Vat. Barb. Stampati AAA.IV.13

Etymologicum magnum Graecum; Simplicius, Hypomnemata in Aristotelis categorias (P; Venice, Zacharias Kalliergis for Nikolaos Vlastos and Anna Notaras, 1499; Venice, Zacharias Kalliergis for Nikolaos Vlastos, 1499; ISTC ie00112000; is00535000)
 BIND: 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2716 bis; Federici 2022

Vat. Barb. Stampati CCC.V.14

Plutarchi quae vocantur Parallela (P; Venice, heirs of Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1519; USTC 849958)
 BIND: Padua?, “Paduan Greek Shop”
 LIT: Hobson 1999b, 416

Vat. gr. 13

Theodorus Gaza, Introductio grammaticae (M; Andronikos Kallistos; Georgios Hermonymos; Demetrios Trivolis; Diktyon 66644)
 BIND: Rome, 1513-1534
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2781; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 153, 162

Vat. gr. 32

Scholia in Homeri Iliadem (M; 16th c.; Diktyon 66663)
 BIND: Rome, 1518-1533
 OWN: Nicholas V
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2779; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 162; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 733-735

Vat. gr. 36

Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica (**M**;
Georgios Tribizias; Demetrios Moschos;
Diktyon 66667)
BIND: Rome, 15th c.
OWN: Della Rovere family?
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 36 no. 2666;
Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
153, 173

Vat. gr. 37

Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica (**M**;
Demetrios Moschos; Diktyon 66668)
BIND: Venice?, 16th c.
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2720;
Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
173

Vat. gr. 67

Demosthenes (**M**; Isidore of Kiev; Diktyon
66698)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
LIT: Regemorter 1954, 22; Regemorter
1967, 110-111; De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no.
2767; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138, 169

Vat. gr. 69

Demosthenes; Libanius (**M**; 13th c.; Diktyon
66700)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
OWN: Nicholas V
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2793;
Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138; *I
codici greci di Niccolò V*, 641-643

Vat. gr. 80

Themistius (**M**; 16th c. (first half); Diktyon
66711)
BIND: Venice, 16th c.
OWN: Antonios Eparchos
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39 no. 2708;
Pascale 2011, 149; Choulis 2008, 185;
Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 172

Vat. gr. 125

Polybius, Historiae (**M**; 16th c.; Diktyon
66756)
BIND: Venice, 16th c.
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2782;
Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138, 172

Vat. gr. 126

Thucydides (**M**; Diktyon 66757)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
OWN: Nicholas V
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2789;
Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
170-171; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 785-787

Vat. gr. 145

*Iohannes Xiphilinus, Epitome Historiae
Romanae Cassii Dionis* (**M**; Georgios
Tribizias; Diktyon 66776)
BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi
OWN: Fulvio Orsini
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2790;
Hobson 1982, 421-426; Choulis 2008, 185;
Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 173

Vat. gr. 146

*Iohannes Xiphilinus, Epitome Historiae
Romanae Cassii Dionis* (**M**; Giovanni Onorio
da Maglie; Diktyon 66777)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
OWN: Farnese family; Paul III
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2803;
Agati 2009, 367; Choulis 2008, 185;
Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 163

Vat. gr. 158

Laonicus Chalcocondyles, De rebus Turcicis (**M**;
16th c.; Diktyon 66789)
BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi, 1553
LIT: Hobson 1975a, 75; De Marinis
1960, III, 46 no. 2811; Choulis 2008, 185;
Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 165

Vat. gr. 175

Science miscellany (**M**; Isidore of Kiev;
Ioannes Katrares; Diktyon 66806)
BIND: Rome
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185

Vat. gr. 183

Ptolemaeus, Phaseis, cum commentariis (**M**; 15th
c.; Diktyon 66814)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2780;
Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
170-171

Vat. gr. 189

Ptolemaei Harmonicorum libri I-III (**M**;
Antonios Eparchos; Ἰωάννης Κατελὸς
Ναυπλίας; Diktyon 66820)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 48 no. 2833;
Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138, 172

Vat. gr. 193

Science miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 66824)
BIND: Rome, 1533-1548
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2783;
Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
170-171; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 831-832

Vat. gr. 194

Theon Smyrnaeus; Ps. Longinus (**M**; Diktyon
66825)
BIND: Rome
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138, 172

Vat. gr. 195

Nicomachus Gerasenus; Claudius Aelianus
(**M**; Diktyon 66826)
BIND: Rome
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138

Vat. gr. 197

Miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 66828)

BIND: Rome

OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo
Sirleto
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138-139, 167

Vat. gr. 201

Iohannes Stobaeus, Anthologium (**M**; Manouel
Provataris; Diktyon 66832)
BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi, 1555
LIT: Hobson 1975a, 201; De Marinis 1960,
III, 44-45 no. 2777; Choulis 2008, 185;
Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 165

Vat. gr. 205

Apollonius Pergaeus; Serenus Antinoensis (**M**;
Diktyon 66836)
BIND: Rome
OWN: Paul III
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138, 162

Vat. gr. 209

Philosophical miscellany (**M**; 14th c.; Diktyon
66840)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2784;
Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
170-171

Vat. gr. 217

Sextus Empiricus (**M**; Diktyon 66848)
BIND: Rome
OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo
Sirleto
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138-139, 167

Vat. gr. 219

Military art miscellany (**M**; Georgios komes
ho Korinthios; Diktyon 66850)
BIND: Venice, 16th c.
OWN: Henry II
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2740;
Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
153, 173

- Vat. gr. 221
Musical miscellany (**M**; Giovanni Onorio da Maglie; Diktyon 66852)
BIND: Rome
OWN: Farnese family
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 163
- Vat. gr. 240
Grammatical miscellany (**M**; Ioannes Mauromates; Manouel Provataris; Diktyon 66871)
BIND: Rome
OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo Sirleto
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 167
- Vat. gr. 278
Galenus; Hippocrates (**M**; Marco Fabio Calvo; Diktyon 66909)
BIND: Rome
OWN: Marco Fabio Calvo
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 174
- Vat. gr. 281
Galenus (**M**; Georgios Moschos; Diktyon 66912)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
OWN: Antonios Eparchos
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2802; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 172
- Vat. gr. 298
Science miscellany (**M**; 1385-1389; Diktyon 66929)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 48 no. 2829; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138
- Vat. gr. 302
Theodorus Metochites (**M**; Diktyon 66933)
BIND: Rome
OWN: Gregory XIII
- LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 167
- Vat. gr. 323
Iamblichus, De mysteriis (**M**; Giovanni Onorio da Maglie; Diktyon 66954)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
OWN: Farnese family
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2808; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 163
- Vat. gr. 324
Iamblichus (**M**; 1536; Diktyon 66955)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
OWN: Paul III
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2799; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 162
- Vat. gr. 352
Evangeliarium (**M**; Diktyon 66983)
BIND: Rome, Niccolò Franzese
OWN: Paul III
LIT: Hobson 1975a, 80; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 162-163, 167
- Vat. gr. 371
Dionysius Aeropagita (**M**; 15th c.; Diktyon 67002)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
LIT: Regemorter 1954, 22; Regemorter 1967, 110-111; De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2770; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 169; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 102, 457-458, 884
- Vat. gr. 373
Dionysius Aeropagita (**M**; 15th c.; Diktyon 67004)
BIND: Rome, Niccolò Franzese
OWN: Paul III
LIT: Regemorter 1954, 22; De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2805; Hobson 1975a, 80; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 162-163; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 457-458

- Vat. gr. 388
Theological miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 67019)
BIND: Rome
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138
- Vat. gr. 396
Eusebius (**M**; 1537; Diktyon 67027)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
OWN: Paul III
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45-46 no. 2800; Agati 2009, 367; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 162
- Vat. gr. 397
Commentarii in Psalmos (**M**; Manouel Provataris; Diktyon 67028)
BIND: Rome
OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo Sirleto
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 167
- Vat. gr. 438
Theological miscellany (**M**; Bartolomeo Zanetti; Diktyon 67069)
BIND: Rome
OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo Sirleto
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 167
- Vat. gr. 449
Gregorius Nyssenus; epigrammata (**M**; Constantinople?; Diktyon 67080)
BIND: Rome?
OWN: Nicholas V
LIT: Regemorter 1954, 22; Regemorter 1967, 110-111; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 102, 299-300, 885
- Vat. gr. 480
Gregorius Nazianzenus, Carmina (**M**; Diktyon 67111)
BIND: Rome
- LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 164
- Vat. gr. 484
Gregorius Nazianzenus; Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita (**M**; Diktyon 67115)
BIND: Rome
OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo Sirleto
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 167
- Vat. gr. 494
Iohannes Damascenus (**M**; Diktyon 67125)
BIND: Rome
OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo Sirleto
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 167
- Vat. gr. 511
Theological miscellany (**M**; Giovanni Onorio da Maglie; Diktyon 67142)
BIND: Rome, Niccolò Franzese
OWN: Baptista Fulgosus
LIT: Hobson 1975a, 80; Agati 2009, 367; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 159, 162-163
- Vat. gr. 523
Iohannes Chrysostomus, Expositiones In Psalmos (**M**; Iohannes Franciscus; Diktyon 67154)
BIND: Rome
OWN: Paul IV
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 165
- Vat. gr. 541
Iohannes Chrysostomus, In Iohannem Homiliae (**M**; Ignatios; Diktyon 67172)
BIND: Rome, Niccolò Franzese
OWN: Pantokratoros Monastery (Mount Athos); Nicholas V; Paul III
LIT: Hobson 1975a, 80; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 162-163; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 200-202

Vat. gr. 558

Iohannes Chrysostomus, Homiliae (**M**; 11th c.;
Diktyon 67189)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
OWN: Nicholas V
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2768;
Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
169; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 102, 230-233

Vat. gr. 561

Theological miscellany (**M**; Φραγκίσκος
Συρόπουλος; Diktyon 67192)
BIND: Rome
OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo
Sirleto
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a,
I, 138-139, 167; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*,
209, 251

Vat. gr. 563

Theological miscellany (**M**; 14th c.; Diktyon
67194)
BIND: Rome
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138; Choulis 2013b, 165-167; *I codici greci di
Niccolò V*, 250-252

Vat. gr. 600

*Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Epistulae Sive Homiliae
Paschales* (**M**; Manouel Provataris; Diktyon
67231)
BIND: Rome
OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo
Sirleto
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138-139, 167

Vat. gr. 608

Gregorius papa; Michael Studita (**M**; Ioannes
Mauromates; Manouel Provataris; Diktyon
67239)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2809;
Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
174

Vat. gr. 625

*Theodoretus Cyrensis, Graecarum affectionum
curatio* (**M**; Diktyon 67256)
BIND: Rome
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138, 164

Vat. gr. 629

Theodoretus Cyrensis, Historia religiosa (**M**;
Diktyon 67260)
BIND: Rome
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138, 174

Vat. gr. 630

Theodoretus Cyrensis Epistulae (**M**; Diktyon
67261)
BIND: Rome
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138, 174

Vat. gr. 641

Theophylactus Bulgariae archiepiscopus (**M**;
Diktyon 67272)
BIND: Rome, Giuseppe Capobianco
(*instaurator*)
OWN: Nicholas V; Pius V
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185-186; Choulis
2013a, I, 138, 166; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*,
388-390

Vat. gr. 642

Theophylactus Bulgariae archiepiscopus (**M**;
Diktyon 67273)
BIND: Rome
OWN: Marcantonio Colonna
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138-139, 168

Vat. gr. 643

Theophylactus Bulgariae archiepiscopus (**M**;
Diktyon 67274)
BIND: Rome
LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
138, 164

- Vat. gr. 644
Theophylactus Bulgariae archiepiscopus (**M**;
 Theodoros Hagiopetrites, 1279-1280;
 Diktyon 67275)
 BIND: Rome
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138
- Vat. gr. 645
Theophylactus Bulgariae archiepiscopus (**M**;
 Diktyon 67276)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 OWN: Nicholas V
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 384-386
- Vat. gr. 659
Theological miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 67290)
 BIND: Rome
 OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo
 Sirleto
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138-139, 167
- Vat. gr. 687
Ps-Gregentius; Anastasius Antiochenus I (**M**;
 Diktyon 67318)
 BIND: Rome
 OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo
 Sirleto
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138-139, 167
- Vat. gr. 693
Theological miscellany (**M**; Matthaios Devaris,
 before 1581; Diktyon 67324)
 BIND: Rome
 OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo
 Sirleto
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138-139, 167
- Vat. gr. 708
*Constantinus Meliteniotes, De processione Spiritus
 Sancti* (**M**; Diktyon 67339)
 BIND: Rome
- OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo
 Sirleto
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138-139, 167
- Vat. gr. 718
Theodorus Heracleensis, Fragmenta in Psalmos
 (**M**; Diktyon 67349)
 BIND: Rome
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138
- Vat. gr. 722
Theological miscellany (**M**; Zacharias
 Kalliergis; Diktyon 67353)
 BIND: Rome
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138, 164
- Vat. gr. 723
Theological miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 67354)
 BIND: Rome
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138
- Vat. gr. 724
Theological miscellany (**M**; Manouel
 Provataris; Diktyon 67355)
 BIND: Rome
 OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo
 Sirleto
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138-139, 167
- Vat. gr. 725
Gregorius Cyprius Cpl. ptr. II (**M**; Diktyon
 67356)
 BIND: Rome
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138, 173-174
- Vat. gr. 727
Theological miscellany (**M**; Michael;
 Bartolomeo Zanetti; Diktyon 67358)
 BIND: Rome

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138

Vat. gr. 728

Theological miscellany (**M**; Manouel Provataris; Matthaios Devaris; Diktyon 67359)

BIND: Rome

OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo

Sirleto

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 167

Vat. gr. 730

Theological miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 67361)

BIND: Rome

OWN: Hesychios Chrysoloras; Nicholas V

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 152, 174; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 438-441

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Vat. gr. 760

Theological miscellany (**M**; Michael Louloudes; Diktyon 67391)

BIND: Rome

OWN: Nicholas V

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 174; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 421-423

Vat. gr. 767

Catena in Psalmos (**M**; Ioannes Santamaura; Diktyon 67398)

BIND: Rome

OWN: Marcantonio Colonna

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 168

Vat. gr. 769

Theological miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 67400)

BIND: Rome

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138

Vat. gr. 781

New Testament lectionary (**M**; Diktyon 67412)

BIND: Rome

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 164

Vat. gr. 783

Devotional miscellany (**M**; 15th c.; Diktyon 67414)

BIND: Rome, 1518-1533

OWN: Nicholas V

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2776; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 498-499

Vat. gr. 788

Theological miscellany (**M**; Neilos; 1170;

Diktyon 67419)

BIND: Rome

OWN: “Francisco a Pera”; Nicholas V

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 102, 493-495

Vat. gr. 793

Hagiographical and theological miscellany (**M**;

Diktyon 67424)

BIND: Rome

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 174

Vat. gr. 796

Hagiographical miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 67427)

BIND: Rome, 16th c.

OWN: Nicholas V

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 329-331

Vat. gr. 800

Hagiographical and theological miscellany (**M**;

Diktyon 67431)

BIND: Rome

OWN: Nicholas V

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 102, 469-470

Vat. gr. 801

Hagiographical miscellany (**M**; 12th c.;

Diktyon 67432)

- BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2807;
 Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 394
- Vat. gr. 802
Hagiographical miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 67433)
 BIND: Rome
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138
- Vat. gr. 804
Hagiographica (**M**; 13th c.; Diktyon 67435)
 BIND: Rome, 1533-1548
 OWN: Nicholas V
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2788;
 Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
 170-171; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 333-335
- Vat. gr. 805
Hagiographical miscellany (**M**; 14th c.;
 Diktyon 67436)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 OWN: Monê Sôtêros Christou Tou
 Kôphou (Nicaea); Nicholas V
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2772;
 Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
 169; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 102-103,
 405-406
- Vat. gr. 809
Hagiographical and theological miscellany (**M**;
 Georgios Galesiotes; Ioannes Holobolos;
 Diktyon 67440)
 BIND: Rome, Niccolò Franzese
 OWN: Monastery of Saint George of
 Mangana; Nicholas V; Paul III
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2806;
 Hobson 1975a, 80; Choulis 2008, 185;
 Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 162; *I codici greci di
 Niccolò V*, 186-188
- Vat. gr. 810
Hagiographical miscellany (**M**; 14th c.;
 Diktyon 67441)
 BIND: 15th c.
- LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 36 no. 2674;
 Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
 161; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 95, 338-339
- Vat. gr. 813
Hagiographica (**M**; Ignatios, 1369; Diktyon
 67444)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 OWN: Pantokratoros Monastery (Mount
 Athos)
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2785;
 Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
 170-171; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 340-341
- Vat. gr. 814
Hagiographical miscellany (**M**; 14th c.;
 Diktyon 67442)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2786;
 Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
 170-171
- Vat. gr. 815
Hagiographica (**M**; 11th-13th c.; Diktyon
 67446)
 BIND: Rome, 1512-1517
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2771;
 Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
 169; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 103, 338-339
- Vat. gr. 818
Hagiographical miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 67449)
 BIND: Rome, 1533-1548
 OWN: Nicholas V
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 326-327
- Vat. gr. 823
Hagiographical miscellany (**M**; 11th c.; Diktyon
 67454)
 BIND: 15th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 36 no. 2673;
 Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
 161; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 95, 397

Vat. gr. 825

Theological miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 67456)

BIND: Rome

OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo Sirleto

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 167; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 400-401

Vat. gr. 832

Acta Quinti Concilii Constantinopolitani (**M**; ca. 1555; Diktyon 67463)

BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi

OWN: Paul IV

LIT: De Marinis 1960, I, 76 no. 935; Hobson 1975a, 75; *Legature Papali* 1977, 61 no. 109; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 149, 165
→ p. 51

Vat. gr. 833

Theological miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 67464)

BIND: Rome

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 164

Vat. gr. 834

Theological miscellany (**M**; Giovanni Onorio da Maglie; Diktyon 67466)

BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi, 1549

LIT: Hobson 1975a, 75, 216; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 165

Vat. gr. 835

Theological miscellany (**M**; Giovanni Onorio da Maglie; Diktyon 67466)

BIND: Rome

OWN: Paul III

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 162

Vat. gr. 846

Miscellaneous Greek texts (**M**; 15th c.; Diktyon 67477)

BIND: Florence, ca. 1494

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2766; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 586-588

Vat. gr. 848

Theological miscellany (**M**; 16th c.; Diktyon 67479)

BIND: Rome, Niccolò Franzese

OWN: Paul III

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2801; Hobson 1975a, 80; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 162-163

Vat. gr. 863

Palladius Helenopolitanus ep. (**M**; Manouel, 1301; Diktyon 67494)

BIND: Rome

OWN: Miron (hegumen of a Monastery of Saint Barbaros); Nicholas V

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 400-402

Vat. gr. 864

Theological miscellany (**M**; Gerasimos; Diktyon 67495)

BIND: Rome

OWN: Pantokratoros Monastery (Mount Athos); Nicholas V

LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 398-399

Vat. gr. 870

Lexica (**M**; Diktyon 67501)

BIND: Central or Southern Italy, 15th c.

OWN: Bartolomeo de Columnis

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 36 no. 2672; Pickwoad 2008, 179-180; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 153, 161

Vat. gr. 873

Lexical miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 67504)

BIND: Central or Southern Italy, 15th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 36 no. 2668; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 161

Vat. gr. 902

Miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 67533)

BIND: Rome

LIT: Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 169; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 686-687

- Vat. gr. 948
Lucianus (**M**; 15th c.; Diktyon 67579)
 BIND: Rome?, 15th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 38 no. 2697;
 Choulis 2013a, I, 137; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 654
- Vat. gr. 994
Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica (**M**;
 Diktyon 67625)
 BIND: Rome
 OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo
 Sirleto
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138-139, 167
- Vat. gr. 998
Aelianus (**M**; 16th c.; Diktyon 67629)
 BIND: Venice, 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2738;
 Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
 172
- Vat. gr. 1011
Miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 67642)
 BIND: Rome
 OWN: Angelo Colocci
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138, 173; Cardinali 2022, 276, 280, 295-
 296, 332
- Vat. gr. 1017
Apollodorus, Bibliotheca (**M**; Manouel
 Provataris; Diktyon 67648)
 BIND: Rome
 OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo
 Sirleto
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013, I,
 138-139, 167
- Vat. gr. 1046
Ptolemaeus, Syntaxis mathematica (**M**; Diktyon
 67677)
 BIND: Rome? (less likely Venice or Milan)
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2722;
 Hoffmann 1985, 63-67; Orlandi 2022, 301
- Vat. gr. 1057
Astronomical miscellany (**M**; Nikolaos
 Mourmouris; Diktyon 67688)
 BIND: Venice, 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2739;
 Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
 153, 172
- Vat. gr. 1081
Iohannes Climacus, Scala paradisi (**M**; Diktyon
 67712)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 OWN: Nicholas V
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138, 164; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 353-355
- Vat. gr. 1089
Eusebius (**M**; 16th c.; Diktyon 67720)
 BIND: Rome, Maestro Luigi, 1552
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 46 no. 2814;
 Hobson 1975a, 75; Choulis 2008, 185;
 Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 165
- Vat. gr. 1124
Sylloge biblica et patristica per excerpta (**M**;
 Diktyon 67755)
 BIND: Rome, Giuseppe Capobianco
 (*instaurator*), 1573
 OWN: Nicholas V
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185-186; Choulis
 2013a, I, 138, 173-174; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 510-512
- Vat. gr. 1147
Theological miscellany (**M**; Nikolaos
 Sophianos; Diktyon 67778)
 BIND: Rome
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I,
 138, 166
- Vat. gr. 1148A
Miscellany (**M**; 15th c.; Diktyon 67779)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2787;
 Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138,
 159; *I codici greci di Niccolò V*, 529

Vat. gr. 1150

Miscellany (**M**; Ioannes Severos Lakedaimonios; Diktyon 67781)
 BIND: Rome
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138, 165

Vat. gr. 1161

Tetraevangelium (**M**; Diktyon 67792)
 BIND: Rome
 OWN: Antonio Carafa
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 149, 168

Vat. gr. 1163

Menologion (**M**; Giovanni Onorio da Maglie; Diktyon 67794)
 BIND: Rome
 OWN: Farnese family
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 163

Vat. gr. 1168

Ecloga privata (**M**; Diktyon 67799)
 BIND: Rome
 OWN: Marcantonio Colonna
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 168

Vat. gr. 1176

Synodal ekthesis of 1166 (**M**; Diktyon 67807)
 BIND: Rome
 OWN: Gregory XIII and Guglielmo Sirleto
 LIT: Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138-139, 167

Vat. gr. 1178

Acta Concilii Chalcedoniensis (**M**; Konstantinos Rhesinos; Manouel Provataris; Diktyon 67809)
 LIT: Canart 1964, 263, 270; Choulis 2008, 185; Choulis 2013a, I, 138

Vat. gr. 1321

Homerus (**M**; Aristoboulos Apostolis; Diktyon 67952)
 BIND: 16th c.
 OWN: Fulvio Orsini
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2723

Vat. gr. 1334

Xenophon, De equitatione; Aristoteles, De Insomnis (**M**; Theororus Gaza; Georgius Chrysococca; Diktyon 67965)
 BIND: 15th c.
 OWN: Francesco Filelfo; Fulvio Orsini
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2686

Vat. gr. 1342

Aristoteles (**M**; Nicolas d'Oria; Demetrios Skaranos; Diktyon 67973)
 BIND: 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2731

Vat. gr. 1344

Aristoteles, Index (**M**; 15th c.; Diktyon 67975)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 OWN: Fulvio Orsini
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2798

Vat. gr. 1364

Miscellany (**M**; Diktyon 67996)
 BIND: 15th c.
 OWN: Fulvio Orsini
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 36 no. 2675; Canart 1964, 264, 271

Vat. gr. 1371

Grammatical miscellany, Oracula (**M**; Diktyon 68003)
 BIND: Rome?
 OWN: Georgios komes ho Korinthios; Fulvio Orsini
 LIT: Canart – Grosdidier de Matons – Hoffmann 1991, 767

Vat. gr. 1377

Theodorus Gaza, Introductio grammaticae (**M**; Georgios Tribizias; Diktyon 68009)

- BIND: 15th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 36 no. 2666 bis
- Vat. gr. 1397
Gemistius Plethon; Maximus Planudes (**M**;
 Zacharias Kalliergis; Diktyon 68028)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2797
- Vat. gr. 1403
Musaens (**M**; 15th c.; Diktyon 68034)
 BIND: 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2822
- Vat. gr. 1505
Theodoretus Cyrensis, Historia Ecclesiastica (**M**;
 Nikolaos Tourrianos; Diktyon 68136)
 BIND: 1566-1568
 OWN: Daniele Barbaro
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2737;
 Canart 1979, 150-152; Canart 1985, 15;
 Cataldi Palau 2000, 380; Pugliese 2015;
 Raines 2015, 108
- Vat. gr. 1533
Tetraevangelium (**M**; Diktyon 68164)
 BIND: Republic of Venice, 16th c. (first
 quarter)
 OWN: Basilio Zanchi
 LIT: Canart 1979, 153
- Vat. gr. 1557
Epistulae (**M**; Diktyon 68188)
 BIND: Rome
 LIT: Canart 1979, 152
- Vat. gr. 1593
Quintus Smyrnaeus (**M**; Emmanuel Rousotas;
 Diktyon 68224)
 BIND: Venice, 16th c.
 OWN: Basilio Zanchi; Abbey of San
 Pietro (Perugia); Francesco Maturanzio;
 Prospero Podiani
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2824;
 Canart 1979, 152-153; Hoffmann 1983,
 101, 141-142
- Vat. gr. 1634
Cyrillus Alexandrinus (**M**; Diktyon 68265)
 BIND: Rome?
 OWN: Markos Mamounas; Georgios
 komes ho Korinthios; Lelio Ruini
 LIT: Canart 1979, 153
 → p. 64n
- Vat. gr. 1655
Athanasius Alezandrinus (**M**; Konstantinos
 Rhesinos; Diktyon 68286)
 BIND: 1566-1568
 OWN: Daniele Barbaro
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2733;
 Canart 1964, 265, 271; Canart 1979, 150-
 152; Canart 1985, 15; Pugliese 2015; Raines
 2015, 108
 → pp. 101-102
- Vat. gr. 1661
De sexta et septima synodo (**M**; Manouel
 Malaxos, 1559-1566; Diktyon 68292)
 BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
 OWN: Daniele Barbaro
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2735;
 Canart 1979, 150-152; De Gregorio 1991,
 126-127, 193-194; Canart 1985, 15; Pugliese
 2015; Raines 2015, 108
 → pp. 101-102
- Vat. gr. 1662
Commentarii in Psalmos (**M**; Ioannes
 Mauromates; Diktyon 68293)
 BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
 OWN: Daniele Barbaro
 LIT: Canart 1979, 150-152; Canart 1985,
 15; Cataldi Palau 2000, 380; Pugliese 2015;
 Raines 2015, 108
- Vat. gr. 1663
Andronicus Comnenus; Ps. Nonnus abbas
 (**M**; Michael Myrocefalites; Nikolaos
 Tourrianos; Diktyon 68294)
 BIND: 1566-1568
 OWN: Daniele Barbaro
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2732;

Canart 1979, 150-152; Canart 1985, 15;
Pugliese 2015; Raines 2015, 108

Vat. gr. 1664

Theological miscellany (**M**; Konstantinos

Rhesinos; Diktyon 68295)

BIND: Venice, 1566-1568

OWN: Daniele Barbaro

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2736;

Canart 1964, 265, 271; Canart 1979, 150-
152; Canart 1985, 15; Pugliese 2015; Raines
2015, 108

Vat. gr. 1665

Patristics miscellany (**M**; Ioannes

Mauromates; Diktyon 68296)

BIND: Venice

OWN: Daniele Barbaro

LIT: Canart 1985, 15; Cataldi Palau 2000,
380; Pugliese 2015; Raines 2015, 108

Vat. gr. 1668

Catena (**M**; Diktyon 68299)

BIND: Rome

LIT: Canart 1979, 153-154

Vat. gr. 1682

Catena (**M**; Bartolomeo Zanetti; Camillo

Zanetti?; Diktyon 68312)

BIND: Venice, 16th c.

OWN: Alvise Lollino

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2827;

Canart 1979, 154

Vat. gr. 1683

Catena (**M**; Bartolomeo Zanetti; Camillo

Zanetti?; Diktyon 68312)

BIND: Venice, 16th c.

OWN: Alvise Lollino

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2827;

Canart 1979, 154

Vat. gr. 1819

Theological miscellany (**M**; 16th c.; Diktyon

68448)

BIND: 1566-1568

OWN: Daniele Barbaro

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 4, no. 2734;

Canart 1979, 150-152; Canart 1985, 15;

Pugliese 2015; Raines 2015, 108

Vat. gr. 1952

Liturgica (**M**; ca. 1550; Diktyon 68581)

BIND: ca. 1550

LIT: Canart 1979, 149-150

Vat. L. D. M. 61

Arriani de expeditione sive rebus gestis Alexandri

Macedonum regis libri octo (**P**; Basel, Robert

Winter, 1539; USTC 613166 or 613169)

BIND: Basel

OWN: Filippo Strozzi the Younger and
Clarice de' Medici

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 48 no. 2834

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

390.D.49

Aristophanes, Comoediae novem (**P**; Venice,

Aldus Manutius, 1498; ISTC ia00958000)

LIT: Mazzucco 1994, 149-152



390.D.243

Sophoclis Tragediae septem cum commentaris

(**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1502; USTC

857020)

LIT: Mazzucco 1994, 148, 225-226 no. 64



Ald. 100

Thesaurus Cornu copiae et Horti Adonidis

(**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1496; ISTC

it00158000)

BIND: Venice?

OWN: Vittore Fausto; Girolamo Contarini

LIT: Mazzucco 1994, 139-140, 143



Ald. 113

Aristoteles, Opera, v. I (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495-1498; ISTC ia00959000)

BIND: Venice?

OWN: Giovanni Battista Rasario

LIT: Schunke 1964b, 379; Mazzucco 1994, 138-139

◆ | → p. 53

Ald. 118

Aristoteles, Opera, v. VI (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495-1498; ISTC ia00959000)

LIT: Mazzucco 1994, 138-139, 148-149 no. 23

◆

Ald. 129

Orationes horum rhetorum (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1513;

USTC 800362)

BIND: Venice?

LIT: Mazzucco 1994, 168, 241-242 no. 128

◆

Ald. 504

Homeri Ilias (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC 835811)

BIND: 16th c.

LIT: Regemorter 1954, 3 (as no. 38687);

De Marinis 1960, III, 39 no. 2706;

Mazzucco 1994, 138, 162-163, 235-236 no. 101

◆ | → p. 66

Ald. 505

Homeri Ilias (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC 835811)

BIND: 16th c.

LIT: Mazzucco 1994, 162, 235 no. 102

◆ | → p. 66, Pl. 1b, 4b

Ald. 509

Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 800004)

LIT: Mazzucco 1994, 144-145

◆

Marc. gr. I, 1 (=1274)

Psalterium et cantica (**M**; 13th c.; Diktyon 70097)

OWN: Gioacchino Torriano

LIT: Mioni 1967, 5; Marcon 1987-1989, 105 inv. 60B; Pugliese 2008, 249

◆

Marc. gr. IV, 1 (=542)

Plato, Opera (**M**; Ephrem?; John Rhosos; Caesar Strategus; Diktyon 70385)

OWN: Gioacchino Torriano

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 110 no. 3072;

Mioni 1972a, 199; Diller 1983, 254;

Mioni 1985, 45-46; Marcon 1987-1989,

102 inv. 1B; Pugliese 2008, 250; Jackson 2011, 7-8

◆

Marc. gr. IV, 6 (=1327)

Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Commentarius in Aristotelis Meteorologicorum libros quattuor (**M**;

John Argyropoulos; Diktyon 70390)

BIND: Venice, Master of John

Argyropoulos, 15th c. (last quarter)

OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San Giovanni e Paolo

LIT: Mioni 1972a, 202; Marcon 1987-1989,

104 inv. 41B; Mazzucco 1987-1989, 118;

Pickwoad 2008, 191; Pugliese 2008, 250;

Jackson 2011, 3

◆ | → p. 109

Marc. gr. IV, 12 (=1115)

Ammonius, Opera (**M**; Aristoboulos Apostolis?; Diktyon 70396)

OWN: San Giovanni e Paolo

LIT: Mioni 1972a, 205-206; Mazzucco

1994, 144; Pugliese 2008, 250

◆

Marc. gr. IV, 13 (=1329)

Themistius, In libros Aristotelis De Anima paraphrasis (**M**; John Argyropoulos;

Diktyon 70397)

BIND: Venice, Master of John
Argyropoulos, 15th c. (last quarter)
OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San
Giovanni e Paolo
LIT: Mioni 1972a, 206; Marcon 1987-1989,
104 inv. 43B; Mazzucco 1987-1989, 118;
Pickwoad 2008, 191; Pugliese 2008, 250;
Jackson 2011, 3, 13
◆ | → p. 109

Marc. gr. IV, 15 (=1187)
*Simplicius, Commentarii in Aristotelis
Physicorum; id., E philosphorum vitis excerpta*
(M; John Argyropoulos; Diktyon 70399)
BIND: Venice, Master of John
Argyropoulos, 15th c. (last quarter)
OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San
Giovanni e Paolo
LIT: Mioni 1972a, 207; Marcon 1987-1989,
104 inv. 36B; Mazzucco 1987-1989, 118;
Pickwoad 2008, 191; Pugliese 2008, 250;
Jackson 2011, 13
◆ | → p. 109

Marc. gr. IV, 16 (=1330)
*Simplicius, Commentarii in Aristotelis
Physicorum* (M; John Argyropoulos;
Diktyon 70400)
BIND: Venice, Master of John
Argyropoulos, 15th c. (last quarter)
OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San
Giovanni e Paolo
LIT: Mioni 1972a, 207; Marcon 1987-1989,
104 inv. 37B; Mazzucco 1987-1989, 118;
Pickwoad 2008, 191; Pugliese 2008, 250;
Jackson 2011, 13
◆ | → p. 109

Marc. gr. IV, 17 (=1331)
*Simplicius, Commentarii in Aristotelis
Physicorum* (M; John Argyropoulos;
Diktyon 70401)
BIND: Venice, Master of John
Argyropoulos, 15th c. (last quarter)
OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San
Giovanni e Paolo

LIT: Mioni 1972a, 208; Marcon 1987-1989,
104 inv. 38B; Mazzucco 1987-1989, 118;
Pickwoad 2008, 191; Pugliese 2008, 250;
Jackson 2011, 13
◆ | → p. 109

Marc. gr. IV, 18 (=1332)
*Simplicius, Commentarii in Aristotelis
Physicorum* (M; John Argyropoulos;
Diktyon 70402)

BIND: Venice, Master of John
Argyropoulos, 15th c. (last quarter)
OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San
Giovanni e Paolo
LIT: Mioni 1972a, 208; Marcon 1987-1989,
104 inv. 39B; Mazzucco 1987-1989, 118;
Pickwoad 2008, 191; Pugliese 2008, 250;
Jackson 2011, 13
◆ | → p. 109

Marc. gr. IV, 19 (=1188)
Simplicius, Commentarii in Aristotelis de Anima
(M; John Argyropoulos; Diktyon 70403)
BIND: Venice, Master of John
Argyropoulos, 15th c. (last quarter)
OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San
Giovanni e Paolo
LIT: Mioni 1972a, 208-209; Marcon 1987-
1989, 104 inv. 42B; Mazzucco 1987-1989,
118; Pickwoad 2008, 191; Pugliese 2008,
250; Jackson 2011, 3, 13
◆ | → p. 109

Marc. gr. IV, 20 (=1189)
*Iobannes Philoponus, Commentarius in
Aristotelis Physicorum librum IV* (M; John
Argyropoulos; Diktyon 70404)
BIND: Venice, Master of John
Argyropoulos, 15th c. (last quarter)
OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San
Giovanni e Paolo
LIT: Mioni 1972a, 209; Marcon 1987-1989,
104 inv. 40B; Mazzucco 1987-1989, 118;
Pickwoad 2008, 191; Pugliese 2008, 250;
Jackson 2011, 13
◆ | → pp. 109, 109n

Marc. gr. IV, 24 (=1132)
Joseph Pinarus Rhacendytes, Opera philosophica
 (M; 14th c.; Diktyon 70408)
 BIND: Venice, 15th c. (last quarter)
 OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San
 Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1972a, 211-212; Marcon
 1987-1989, 105 inv. 47B; Pickwoad 2008,
 182-183; Pugliese 2008, 250; Jackson 2011,
 3, 14-15
 ◆

Marc. gr. IV, 25 (=12385)
Luciani Opera (P; Venice, Aldus Manutius,
 1503; USTC 762915)
 OWN: Riccardo Hesios
 LIT: Mioni 1972a, 212-213; Mazzucco
 1994, 160-161, 230 no. 80; Speranzi 2013,
 291
 ◆ | → pp. 44, 51

Marc. gr. IV, 26 (=1442)
*Sextus Empiricus, Hipotyposeon, Adversos
 mathematicos, Adversos dogmaticos, Disputationes
 morales* (M; Caesar Strategus; Demetrius
 Damilas; Diktyon 70410)
 OWN: San Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1972a, 213-214; Mioni 1985, 47;
 Mazzucco 1994, 149, 178 no. 4.6; Pugliese
 2008, 250; Jackson 2011, 31, 45; Ferreri
 2014, 598-599
 ◆ | → pp. 111-117

Marc. gr. IV, 33 (=1190)
*Alexander Aphrodisiensis, In Aristotelis Topica
 Commentarii* (M; Venice, John Rhosos,
 1486; Diktyon 70417)
 BIND: Venice or Crete, after 1486
 OWN: Monastery of Saint Catherine
 (Crete); Giuseppe Nani
 LIT: Mioni 1972a, 224; Pugliese 2008, 250
 ◆ | → pp. 44, 44n, Pl. 4a, 7a

Marc. gr. V, 4 (=544)
Galenus, Opera varia (M; Caesar Strategus;
 Diktyon 70492)
 BIND: 1513-1516
 OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San
 Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1972a, 254-255; Pugliese 2008,
 250; Jackson 2011, 34, 46, 91-92; Speranzi
 2013, 248-249, *passim*; Ferreri 2014, 600-601
 ◆ | → pp. 111-117

Marc. gr. V, 5 (=1053)
Galenus, Opera (M; Caesar Strategus;
 Diktyon 70493)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San
 Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1972a, 255-258; Mioni
 1985, 49-50; Jackson 2011, 91-92, *passim*;
 Speranzi 2013, 249 no. 46
 ◆ | → pp. 111-117

Marc. gr. VII, 4 (=1155)
Polybius, Historiae (M; Florence, Caesar
 Strategus; Diktyon 70521)
 LIT: Mioni 1960, 21-23; Mazzucco 1994,
 144, 178 no. 4.4; Pugliese 2008, 250;
 Jackson 2011, 29
 ◆

Marc. gr. VII, 6 (=1096)
*Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Antiquitatum
 Romanarum quinque priores libri* (M; Caesar
 Strategus, 1480; Diktyon 70523)
 BIND: Venice?, 1513-1516
 OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San
 Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1960, 23; Mioni 1985, 52;
 Mazzucco 1994, 168-170, 179 no. 4.13;
 Pugliese 2008, 250; Jackson 2011, 32, 46;
 Speranzi 2013, 249-250, *passim*; Ferreri
 2014, 602
 ◆ | → pp. 111-117

Marc. gr. VII, 10 (=1099)
Appianus, Historiae (M; Caesar Strategus;
 Diktyon 70527)
 OWN: San Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1960, 25-26; Mazzucco 1994,
 141, 143; Pugliese 2008, 250; Jackson 2011,
 35
 ♦

Marc. gr. VIII, 1 (=1159)
Oratores Attici (M; Florence, Aristoboulos
 Apostolis with corrections by Marcus
 Musurus; Diktyon 70575)
 BIND: after 1500
 OWN: San Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1960, II, 121-123, 137; Mioni
 1985, 59; Marcon 1987-1989, 98 no. 139A;
 Mazzucco 1994, 140-141, 178 no. 4.1;
 Pugliese 2008, 250; Jackson 2011, 32;
 Speranzi 2013, 252, 284-285
 ♦ | → pp. 111-117

Marc. gr. VIII, 3 (=1193)
Orationes Demosthenis (M; Georgios
 Tzangaropoulos, 1461; Diktyon 70577)
 BIND: 1460s
 OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San
 Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1960, 124-126, 137; Marcon
 1987-1989, 102 inv. 10B; Hobson 1989, 66,
 181-182; Pickwoad 2008, 180-181; Pugliese
 2008, 251; Jackson 2011, 9
 ♦ | → p. 110

Marc. gr. VIII, 7 (=1069)
*Sopater, Vita Aelii Aristidis; Aelius Aristides,
 Orationes* (M; Georgius Tzangaropoulos;
 Caesar Strategus; Diktyon 70581)
 BIND: 1513-1516
 OWN: San Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1960, 130-132; Mioni 1985,
 60; Hobson 1989, 67; Pugliese 2008, 251;
 Jackson 2011, 19-20, 34, 46; Speranzi 2013,
 252-253, *passim*; Ferreri 2014, 605-606
 ♦ | → pp. 111-117

Marc. gr. VIII, 9 (=1038)
Libanius, Orationes (M; Demetrius
 Triclinius; Diktyon 70583)
 OWN: Gioacchino Torriano?; San
 Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1960, 132-135; Wilson 1981,
 397; Mioni 1985, 60; Marcon 1987-1989,
 103 inv. 22B; Pugliese 2008, 251; Jackson
 2011, 11
 ♦

Marc. gr. VIII, 10 (=1349)
Rhetorical and grammar miscellany (M; Caesar
 Strategus; Diktyon 70584)
 BIND: Venice
 OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San
 Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1960, 135-137; Mioni 1985, 60;
 Marcon 1987-1989, 107 inv. 89B; Jackson
 2011, *passim*; Speranzi 2013, 253-254 no. 54
 ♦ | → pp. 111-117

Marc. gr. VIII, 11 (=1350)
Epistles of Phalaris (M; Franciscus Vitalis;
 Diktyon 70585)
 BIND: 15th c. (last quarter)
 OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San
 Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1960, 137; Mioni 1985, 60;
 Marcon 1987-1989, 102 inv. 14B; Pickwoad
 2008, 182; Pugliese 2008, 251; Jackson
 2011, 10; Ferreri 2014, 545-546
 ♦

Marc. gr. IX, 5 (=1336)
Scholium in Homeri Iliadem (M; Rome,
 Demetrius Damilas; Diktyon 70457)
 BIND: 1513-1516
 OWN: San Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 112 no. 3091;
 Mioni 1972b, 8-9; Mioni 1985, 62; Pugliese
 2008, 251; Jackson 2011, 30, 46; Speranzi
 2013, 254, *passim*; Ferreri 2014, 607-608
 ♦ | → pp. 111-117

Marc. gr. IX, 8 (=1039)
Pindarus, cum scholiis (**M**; Caesar Strategus, 16th c. (first quarter); Diktyon 70460)
 BIND: Venice, San Zanipolo workshop no. 2
 OWN: San Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1972b, 11-12; Marcon 1987-1989, 97 inv. 121A; Mazzucco 1987-1989, 117; Mazzucco 1994, 141-144 (erroneously as no. 1038); Pugliese 2008, 251; Jackson 2011, 29, 46; Speranzi 2013, 254-255, *passim*; Ferreri 2014, 608
 ♦ | → pp. 111-117

Marc. gr. IX, 10 (=1160)
Euripides, Tragoediae (**M**; Florence, 1492-1495; Diktyon 70462)
 OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1972b, 12-13; Pugliese 2008, 251; Jackson 2011, 35, 46; Speranzi 2013, 92, 229-231, 255, and *passim*; Ferreri 2014, 608
 ♦ | → pp. 111-117

Marc. gr. IX, 11 (=1196)
Euripides, Tragoediae (**M**; John Rhosos; Diktyon 70463)
 OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1972b, 13-14; Marcon 1987-1989, 103 inv. 18B; Pugliese 2008, 251; Jackson 2011, 10
 ♦

Marc. gr. IX, 40 (=1288)
Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum (*P*); *Epigrammata* (*MS*) (**PM**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 80004; Diktyon 70486)
 OWN: Girolamo Contarini
 LIT: Mioni 1972b, 34-35; Mazzucco 1994, 162, 232 no. 88; Martinelli Tempesta 2021, 267
 ♦ | → pp. 53, 66, 68

Marc. gr. X, 6 (=1270)
Moschopoulos, Erotemata grammatica antiquiora (**M**; 15th c. (last quarter); Diktyon 70600)
 BIND: Venice, San Zanipolo workshop no. 1
 OWN: Gioacchino Torriano
 LIT: Mioni 1972b, 44; Marcon 1987-1989, 103 inv. 25B; Mazzucco 1987-1989, 11; Pugliese 2008, 251; Jackson 2011, 11
 ♦ | → p. 42

Marc. gr. X, 11 (=1337)
Theodorus Gaza, Grammatica (**M**; Franciscus Vitalis; Diktyon 70605)
 OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: Mioni 1972b, 47-48; Marcon 1987-1989, 103 inv. 26B; Pickwoad 2008, 182-183; Pugliese 2008, 251; Jackson 2011, 11
 ♦

Marc. gr. X, 17 (=1338)
Ioachinus Turrianus, Vocabolarium partim graecum partim latinum (**M**; Gioacchino Torriano; Diktyon 70611)
 BIND: Venice, 1460s
 OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San Giovanni e Paolo
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 111 no. 3079; Mioni 1972b, 51-52; Marcon 1987-1989, 103 inv. 15B; Pickwoad 2008, 180-181; Pugliese 2008, 251; Hobson 1989, 66, 181-182; Jackson 2011, 10
 ♦ | → pp. 110, 110n

Marc. gr. X, 31 (=1162)
Theodorus Gaza, Introductio grammaticae (**M**; Diktyon 70625)
 BIND: Italy or Crete
 OWN: Monastery of San Michele di Murano
 LIT: Mioni 1958, 340; Mioni 1972b, III, 65-66; Pugliese 2008, 251
 ♦

Marc. gr. XI, 9 (=1232)

Synesius; Medical miscellany; Anthologiae epigrammata (**M**; John Argyropoulos; Diktyon 70645)

BIND: Venice, Master of John Argyropoulos, 15th c. (last quarter)
OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San Giovanni e Paolo

LIT: Mioni 1972a, 89-91; Marcon 1987-1989, 105 inv. 49B; Mazzucco 1987-1989, 118; Pickwoad 2008, 191; Pugliese 2008, 251; Jackson 2011, 15

◆ | → pp. 109, 109n

Marc. gr. XI, 15 (=1273)

Epigrammata, epistulae, grammar miscellany (**M**; Theodosios Euphemianos, 15th c. (first quarter); Diktyon 70651)

BIND: Venice, 1460s
OWN: Gioacchino Torriano; San Giovanni e Paolo

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 111 no. 3080; Mioni 1972b, 97-100; Mioni 1985, 68; Hobson 1989, 66, 181-182; Pickwoad 2008, 180-181, 182; Pugliese 2008, 251; Jackson 2011, 11

◆ | → p. 110

Marc. it. I, 69 (=4975)

Gospels (Diatesseron) (**M**; 14th c.?)

BIND: Byzantine area or Republic of Venice

OWN: Pietro Gradenigo?; Benedictine Abbey of San Cipriano (Murano); Antonio de Martiis

LIT: Pugliese 2008, 242-248

◆ | → p. 54n

No shelfmark [detached binding]

LIT: Pugliese 2008, 252

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare

H. III. I

Girolamo Fracastoro, Opera omnia (**P**; Venice, heirs of Lucantonio Giunta, 1555; USTC 830465)

BIND: Rome, 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2794

◆

Verona, Biblioteca Civica

Cinq. B 161

Demosthenus logoi dyo kai hexekonta (**P**; Basel, Johannes Herwagen, 1532; USTC 632401)

OWN: Giovanni Antonio Campostrini

◆

Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana

D. 10.2.7

Aristophanes, Comoediae novem (**P**; Florence, heirs of Filippo Giunta, 1525; USTC 810845)

LIT: Boudalis – Gialdini 2022

◆ | → p. 50

G. 4.1.18

Thucydides (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1502; USTC 859004)

◆

G. 4.5.13

Homeri Ilias (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC 835811)

BIND: Rome, 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39 no. 2705;

Parole legate 2007, 56

◆ | → p. 53

I.15.2.10

Divina missa Sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi (**P**; Venice, Giovanni Antonio Nicolini da Sabbio and his brothers for Demetrius

Zenos and Menandros Noukios, 1528;
USTC 819874)
BIND: Venice
LIT: *Parole legate* 2007, 77
◆

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Nationalbibliothek**

51. J 22
Diodori siculi historiarum libri (P; Basel,
Johann Oporinus and Robert Winter,
1539; USTC 637606)
BIND: Rome, 16th c.
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 45 no. 2796;
Hobson 1989, 261 no. 17

CP.1.C.1.
*Enstratii et aliorum insignium Peripateticorum
commentaria in libros decem Aristotelis De
moribus ad Nicomachum* (P; Venice, heirs of
Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano,
1536; USTC 828525)
BIND: Republic of Venice, de Selve
Binder, 1536-1600
OWN: Georges de Selve?
LIT: Gottlieb 1910, 42 no. 20; De Marinis
1960, III, 41 no. 2745; Hoffmann 1991, 452

Hist. gr. 16
Iohannes Zonaras, Epitome historiarum (M;
Ioasaph monachos; Diktyon 70893)
OWN: Matthias Corvinus?; Willibald
Pirckheimer; Philipp Gundel; Collegium
Saint Nikolaus (Wien)
LIT: Németh 2011, 191-198

Ink. 13.F.15
Anthologia Graeca Planudea (P; Florence,
Lorenzo di Alopa, 1494; ISTC ia00765000)
BIND: 15th c.
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 37 no. 2688 (as
Inc. 13 F. 25); Hobson 1989, 260 no. 3

Suppl. gr. 4
Iohannes Chrysostomus (M; Diktyon 71465)
BIND: Buda, Corvinusmeister, 1480-1490
OWN: Matthias Corvinus
LIT: Rozsondai 2002, 259 no. 46; Németh
2011, 194-198

Suppl. gr. 10
*Gregorius Nyssenus; Iohannes Chrysostomus;
Theodorus Mopsuestenus* (M; Konstantinos
Rhesinos; Diktyon 71471)
BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
OWN: Daniele Barbaro; Apostolo Zeno
LIT: Canart 1985, 15; Pugliese 2015;
Raines 2015, 109
→ pp. 101-102

Suppl. gr. 11
Plutarchus, Vitae parallelae (M; Diktyon
71472)

Suppl. gr. 12
*Heron Alexandrinus, Pneumatica; Pappus
Alexandrinus mathematicus, Synagoge* (M;
Diktyon 71473)
BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
OWN: Daniele Barbaro
LIT: Canart 1985, 15; Cataldi Palau 2000,
380; Pugliese 2015; Raines 2015, 109

Suppl. gr. 14
*Cyrillus Hyerosolimitanus, Symeon
Thessalonicensis* (M; Ioannes Nathanael;
Konstantinos Rhesinos; Diktyon 71476)
BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
OWN: Daniele Barbaro
LIT: Canart 1985, 15; Pugliese 2015;
Raines 2015, 109
→ pp. 101-102

Suppl. gr. 15
Theological miscellany (M; Diktyon 71477)
BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
OWN: Daniele Barbaro
LIT: Canart 1985, 15; Pugliese 2015;
Raines 2015, 109

Suppl. gr. 16

Nicetas Heracleensis, Catena in Iob (**M**;
Konstantinos Rhesinos; Diktyon 71478)
BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
OWN: Daniele Barbaro
LIT: Canart 1985, 15; Pugliese 2015;
Raines 2015, 109

Suppl. gr. 17

Anastasius Sinaita; Theodoretus Cyrensis (**M**;
Konstantinos Rhesinos; Diktyon 71479)
BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
OWN: Daniele Barbaro
LIT: Canart 1985, 15; Pugliese 2015;
Raines 2015, 109

Suppl. gr. 24

Theological miscellany (**M**; Venice, Manouel
Malaxos, 1559-1570; Diktyon 71486)
BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
OWN: Daniele Barbaro; Apostolo Zeno
LIT: Canart 1985, 15; De Gregorio 1995,
131-134; Pugliese 2015; Raines 2015, 109
→ pp. 101-102

Suppl. gr. 25

Theological miscellany (**M**; Venice, Manouel
Malaxos, 1559-1570; Diktyon 71487)
BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
OWN: Daniele Barbaro; Apostolo Zeno
LIT: Canart 1985, 15; De Gregorio 1995,
131-134; Pugliese 2015; Raines 2015, 109
→ pp. 101-102

Suppl. gr. 26

Synopsis Basilicorum Maior (**M**; Venice,
Manouel Malaxos, 1559-1570; Diktyon
71488)
BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
OWN: Daniele Barbaro; Apostolo Zeno
LIT: Canart 1985, 15; De Gregorio 1995,
131-134; Pugliese 2015; Raines 2015, 109
→ pp. 101-102

Suppl. gr. 27

Synopsis Basilicorum Maior; law miscellany (**M**;
Venice, Manouel Malaxos, 1559-1570;
Diktyon 71489)
BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
OWN: Daniele Barbaro; Apostolo Zeno
LIT: Canart 1985, 15; De Gregorio 1995,
131-134; Pugliese 2015; Raines 2015, 109
→ pp. 101-102

Suppl. gr. 37

Gregorius Nazianzenus (**M**; Gallipoli, 1264-
1265; Diktyon 71499)
BIND: Venice, 1566-1568
OWN: Daniele Barbaro; Apostolo Zeno
LIT: Canart 1985, 15; Pugliese 2015;
Raines 2015, 109

Suppl. gr. 123

Iamblichus philosophus (**M**; Florence,
Anonymus Florentinus; Diktyon 71587)
BIND: Italy
OWN: Janus Lascaris; Niccolò Ridolfi;
Luigi Alamanni; Francesco Venturi
LIT: Stefec 2013; Speranzi 2013, 362-363
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Washington D.C., Library of Congress

Rosenwald 250 (Goff H-300)
Homerus, Opera (**P**; Florence, Printer of
Vergilius (C 6061) for Bernardus and
Nerius Nerlius and Demetrios Damilas,
not before 13 January 1488/1489; ISTC
ih00300000)
BIND: Florence?



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H: S 432b.2° Helmst
Triodion (P; Venice, Giovanni Antonio
Nicolini da Sabbio and his brothers for
Andrea Kounadis, 1522; USTC 819911)

Private collections

Current or last known owner: Alberto Falck
Sophoclis Tragaediae septem cum commentaris (P;
Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1502; USTC 857020)
LIT: Mazzucco 1994, 148

Current or last known owner: Anonymous
Euripidis Tragoediae septendecim (P; Venice,
Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 828498)
◆ | → pp. 51-52

Current or last known owner: B. Galanti
*Agostino Steuco, Recognitio veteris testamenti
ad hebraicam veritatem* (P; Venice, heirs of
Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano,
1529; USTC 857541)
BIND: 16th c.
LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 48 no. 2830

Current or last known owner: Bernard
Quaritch
Omnia Platonis opera (P; Venice, Aldus
Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1513;
USTC 849832)
BIND: 16th c. (first quarter)
OWN: King Edward School
(Birmingham)

Current or last known owner: Bernard
Quaritch
Omnia Platonis opera (P; Venice, Aldus
Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1513;
USTC 849832)
OWN: King Edward School
(Birmingham)
LIT: Pickwoad 2008, 198-199

Current or last known owner: Bruce
McKittrick Rare Books (currently for sale
as Item #10578)
Eirmologion (P; Venice, Giacomo Leoncini,
1584; NA)
BIND: Venice, 16th c. (last quarter)
LIT: Mediolanum 2016, no. 53
→ p. 72

Current or last known owner: Chatsworth
House
Johannes Crastonus, Lexicon Graeco-latinum
(P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1497; ISTC
ic00960000)
BIND: Republic of Venice
LIT: Hobson 1989, 66-67; Mazzucco 1994, 140

Current or last known owner: Christie's
Sophoclis Tragaediae septem cum commentaris
(P; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1502; USTC
857020)
BIND: Paris
OWN: Marc Laurin; Edward Herbert
LIT: Christie's 1988, 16 no. 1017

Current or last known owner: Christie's
Omnia Platonis opera (P; Venice, Aldus
Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1513;
USTC 849832)
BIND: ca. 1540
OWN: "F.B."; Jacopo Zabarella²; Minoïde
Mynas; Heribert Boeder
LIT: Christie's 2014, 55-56
◆ | → p. 52

Current or last known owner: Christie's
Suida (P; Basel, Hieronymus Froben and
Nikolaus Episcopus, 1544; USTC 694814)
BIND: Paris
OWN: Marx Fugger
LIT: Christie's 2015, 40 no. 72

Current or last known owner: Christie's
Acts and Letters of the Apostles (M; ca. 1050)
BIND: 16th c. (first quarter)
LIT: Christie's 2013

Current or last known owner: Christie's
Martialis (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1501;
 USTC 841150)
 LIT: Christie's 2001
 → p. 58

Current or last known owner: Conte
 Andrea Bocca
Psalterium (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, not
 after 1 October 1498; ISTC ip01033000)
 BIND: 15th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 38 no. 2696

Current or last known owner: David
 McKitterick
Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia (**P**;
 Frankfurt am Main, Peter Braubach, 1542;
 USTC 684127)
 OWN: Camuseus?
 ♦

Current or last known owner: E. Ph.
 Goldschmidt
Homerus, Odysseia. Batrachomyomachia.
Hymnoi. lb. Ulyssea. Batrachomyomachia. Hymni
 XXXII (**P**; Florence, heirs of Filippo
 Giunta, 1519; USTC 835803)
 BIND: 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 48 no. 2827 ter

Current or last known owner: George
 Holford
Euripidis Tragoediae septendecim (**P**; Venice,
 Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 828498)
 BIND: 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39, no. 2701 bis

Current or last known owner: Georges
 Heilbrun
Aristophanes, Facetissimi comoediae undecim.
 (**P**; Basel, Andreas Cratander and Johann
 Bebel, 1532; USTC 612851)
 BIND: 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 48 no. 2833 ter

Current or last known owner: Georges
 Heilbrun
Ulpianus, Enarrationes saneque necessariae in
tredecim orationes Demosthenis (**P**; Venice,
 Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 861591)
 BIND: Rome, 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 44 no. 2764

Current or last known owner: Gruel &
 Engelmann
Omeroy Ylias (**P**; Venice, heirs of Aldus
 Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1524;
 USTC 835806)
 BIND: 16th c.
 LIT: Gruel 1887, 40; Hobson 1998, 141

Current or last known owner: J. Rosenthal
Demosthenes, Orationes duae et sexaginta (**P**;
 Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC
 826496)
 BIND: 16th c.
 LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 39 no. 2709;
 Mazzucco 1994, 149

Current or last known owner: Minerva
 Auctions
Theodorus Gaza, Grammatica introductiva
 (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495; ISTC
 ig00110000)
 BIND: Venice?
 LIT: Minerva Auctions 2013, no. 349

Current or last known owner: Paul Hirsch
Dionis Romanarum historiarum libri XXIII
 (**P**; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1548; USTC
 160110)
 BIND: Venice?, Fuggermeister?, ca. 1550
 OWN: Johann Jakob Fugger; Albrecht V,
 Duke of Bavaria; Paul and Olga Hirsch
 LIT: Hobson – Culot 1991, 39 no. 12;
 Pickwood 2008, 188; Macchi – Macchi
 2007, 202 no. 78

Current or last known owner: PRPH Rare Books

Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503; USTC 800004)

BIND: Venice, 16th c.

OWN: Stelio Valentini

LIT: PRPH Rare Books 2013, 54

Current or last known owner: PRPH Rare Books

Breviarium Romanum (**P**; Lyon, Balthazar Arnoullet and heirs of Jean Barbou, 1544; USTC 153769)

BIND: Fontainebleau workshop, ca. 1550

LIT: PRPH Rare Books 2013, 25

Current or last known owner: Raphael Esmerian

Luciani Dialogi et alia multa opera (**P**; Venice, heirs of Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1522; USTC 838774)

BIND: France, Claude de Picques

OWN: Marx Fugger

LIT: *Bibliothèque Raphaël Esmerian* 1972, 132 no. 88; Devaux 1977, 88

Current or last known owner: Raphael Esmerian

Vies de Scipion, de Hannibal, de Pompée, de Ciceron (**M**; ca. 1530)

BIND: France, ca. 1555

OWN: Henry II or Diane de Poitiers;

Marquess of Lothian; Lucius Wilmerding

LIT: *The History of Bookbinding* 1957, 116-117 no. 263

Current or last known owner: Raphael Esmerian

Las horas de nuestra señora (**P**; Lyon, Pierre Fradin and heirs of Iacopo Giunta, 1560; USTC 343138)

BIND: France, ca. 1570

OWN: Marguerite de Valois?

LIT: *The History of Bookbinding* 1957, 135 no. 313

Current or last known owner: Sokol Books

Thucydides (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1502; USTC 859004)

LIT: Sokol 2013, no. 91; Gialdini 2016

♦ | → pp. 96, 96n

Current or last known owner: Sotheby's

Omnia Platonis opera (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1513; USTC 849832)

BIND: Venice or Lombardy

OWN: Filippo Sauli; Fr. Paulino

Turchi, O.P.

LIT: Sotheby's 1989, 44-45

→ p. 80

Current or last known owner: Sotheby's

Eustatbius Thessalonicensis, Parekbolai eis ten Homerou Iliada (**P**; Rome, Antonio Blado, 1542; USTC 828521)

BIND: Venice, ca. 1550

OWN: Marx Fugger

LIT: Sotheby's 2011

Current or last known owner: Stefano Bricarelli

Homeri Ilias (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1504; USTC 835811)

BIND: 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 42 no. 2746 bis

Current or last known owner: T. Kimball Brooker

Sophoclis Tragaediae septem cum commentaris (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1502; USTC 857020)

BIND: Venice, 16th c. (third quarter)

OWN: Baron Horace de Landau; Major John Roland Abbey

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 47 no. 2826

Current or last known owner: T. Kimball Brooker

Athenaeus, Deipnosophistou... (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano, 1514; USTC 811383)

Current or last known owner: T. Kimball
Brooker

Homeri Ilias (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius,
1504; USTC 835811)

Current or last known owner: The Earl of
Crawford and Balcarres

*Ammonius Hermiae, Commentaria in librum
peri Hermenias* (**P**; Venice, Aldus Manutius,
1503; USTC 809131)

BIND: 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41 no. 2728 bis

Current or last known owner: Sotheby's

Plutarchi quae vocantur Parallela (**P**; Venice,
heirs of Aldus Manutius and Andrea
Torresano, 1519; USTC 849958)

BIND: 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2727

Current or last known owner: Unknown
(last seen in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in
the 1920s)

Aristoteles, Opera, v. I and V (**P**; Venice,
Aldus Manutius, 1495-1498; ISTC
ia00959000)

BIND: Venice, 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 41-42 no. 2746

Current or last known owner: Unknown
(last seen in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in
the 1920s)

Aristoteles, Opera, v. II (**P**; Venice, Aldus
Manutius, 1495-1498; ISTC ia00959000)

BIND: 15th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 38 no. 2693 bis

Current or last known owner: Unknown
(last seen in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in
the 1920s)

Aristoteles, Opera, v. V (**P**; Venice, Aldus
Manutius, 1495-1498; ISTC ia00959000)

BIND: 16th c.

LIT: De Marinis 1960, III, 40 no. 2713

Current or last known owner: Wormsley
Library

Novum Jesu Christi Domini Nostrum Testamentum
(**P**; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1550; USTC
150710)

BIND: France

OWN: Marx Fugger

LIT: *The Wormsley Library* 2007, 78 no. 28

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Anna Gialdini

“Ligato alla greca”

Greek-style bookbindings in early modern Venice and beyond

Binding books “in the Greek manner” (“alla greca”, but also “al greco”, “alla grechessa”), imitating and replicating Byzantine techniques, was one of the practices associated with “Greekness” in Italy and other parts of western Europe in the early modern era. This book analyses the trends, patterns, and contexts associated with making Greek-style bindings in early modern Venice and elsewhere in western Europe between the 1450s and the end of the sixteenth century. It considers how techniques evolved over time as well as production and consumption practices: what kinds of manuscripts and printed books received Greek-style bindings, who made them, who collected them, and what meanings the bindings themselves conveyed. Coming into fashion at a time of major changes (coinciding with the fall of Constantinople, the Greek diaspora, and the coming of printing), in western Europe Greek-style bindings at times signified antiquarianism, exoticism, luxury, or a proximity to Greek culture. Through the analysis of several hundred specimens in the style and of documentary and visual sources, this book explores how a specific instance of material culture served a number of purposes and self-fashioning strategies for bibliophiles, collectors, and intermediaries alike within the context of Renaissance cultures; it also features a census of all known bindings in the style made in western Europe.

ANNA GIALDINI is a book historian and librarian based at the Library of the Fondazione Bruno Kessler (Italian-German Historical Institute, Trento, Italy). She has a background in Classics and Archival Science and holds a PhD in Book History from the Ligatus Research Centre (University of the Arts London). Her research focuses on the history of bookbinding in the medieval and early modern period, the social history of book professions, the materiality of archives, and modern special collections.



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