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GREEK BOOKS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY BETWEEN VENICE AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Conference Programme

15-17 September 2023

Ceremony Hall, University of Cyprus
Kallipoleos Avenue 75, Nicosia



**Greek Books in the Sixteenth Century
between Venice and the Eastern Mediterranean**
International Conference

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Ceremony Hall, University of Cyprus
Kallipoleos Avenue 75, Nicosia

Scientific / Organising Committee

Eirini Papadaki, Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, University of Cyprus
Rosa Maria Piccione, Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università degli Studi di Torino

**The conference will be broadcast online via the Zoom platform.
Those interested in attending should register by following the link below:**

<https://ucy.zoom.us/meeting/register/u5cudeqvqzMrGtKwIp7aePswP4N9ngXwDzyz#/registration>

PROGRAMME



Vincenzo Foppa, *The Young Cicero Reading*, c. 1464
@ The Wallace Collection, London

FRIDAY, 15 SEPTEMBER 2023

16.30 Registration

17.00 Welcome by the Rector of the University of Cyprus, Prof. Tasos Christofides

17.15 Welcome by the Chairperson of the Department of the Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, Prof. Marilena Karyolemou

Session 1

Chair: Federica Ciccolella

17.30 Caterina Carpinato, *Libri in greco volgare a Venezia nella prima metà del Cinquecento: questione della lingua e novità espressive. Un dialogo con il greco e i greci*

17.50 Ciro Giacomelli, *Writing Greek in the Venetian Renaissance. The letters of Vincenzo Querini*

18.10 Venetia Chatzopoulou, *The Greek Manuscript Book in the 16th century: a contribution*

18.30 Coffee break

Session 2

Chair: Caterina Carpinato

19.00 Raphaële Mouren – Rosa Maria Piccione, *Investigating 16th-century Greek Manuscripts from Venice: the case-study of Guillaume Pellicier's library*

19.20 Ian Richard Gartner, *Beyond the Catalogue: how ontologies can extend the boundaries of manuscript research*

19.40 Discussion

SATURDAY, 16 SEPTEMBER 2023

Session 3

Chair: Agamemnon Tselikas

9.30 Ottavia Mazzon, *Greek Scribes and the Libreria Nicena*

9.50 Riccardo Montalto, *Codicological and Palaeographic Materials for the Choniates Group: the case of Nikolaos*

10.10 Stauros Grimanis, *A Learned Greek Orthodox Cleric at the Centre of Book Circulation in Venice: the case of Gabriel Severus, 16th – early 17th century*

10.30 Christos Zambakolas, *Le edizioni del Cinquecento nella biblioteca privata di Tommaso Flangini*

10.50 Coffee break

Session 4

Chair: Iosif Hadjikyriakos

11.20 Irene Papadaki, *Cypriot Lyric Poetry in the Renaissance: the circle of Giandomenico Martoretta*

11.40 Zisis Melissakis - Giovanna Carbonaro, *Recentiores non deteriores: il cod. Atheniensis 701 (XVI sec.) del Poulologos*

12.00 Marina Toumpouri, *Issues in the Making of Stephanites and Ichnelates manuscripts: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 172, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 118*

12.20 Discussion

Session 5

Chair: Antonia Giannouli

17.00 Gregorios Ioannides, *The History of the Cypriot Archieratikon Euchologion. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini greco 390*

17.20 Teresa Martinez Manzano, *Manoscritti da Cipro in Spagna: censimento, origine, storia*

17.40 Dimitrios Skrekas, *MS Holkham Hall gr. 91: remarks on a 15th-century manuscript and an Aldine*

18.00 Coffee Break

Session 6

Chair:

18.30 Elisa Bianchi, *Demetrio Zeno, Bernardino Donato and the Nicolini da Sabbio Printers: a productive partnership*

18.50 Angelo Mecca, *Brescia e l'ars artificialiter scribendi in greco nel secolo XVI*

19.10 Discussion

SUNDAY, 17 SEPTEMBER 2023

Session 7

Chair: Spyridon Tzounakas

9.30 Eirini Lydaki, *Greek Books in Venetian Crete during the 16th century*

9.50 Silvia Pugliese, *Il corpus delle legature cretesi: prospettive di ricerca in alcune biblioteche italiane*

10.10 Panajota Tzivara, *Dalla regina dell'Adriatico a quella dell'Ionio: osservazioni sulla circolazione del libro greco a stampa nella Corfù del XVI secolo*

10.30 Agamemnon Tselikas, *Edizioni veneziane nelle biblioteche greche di Gerusalemme, Alessandria e Il Cairo, secoli XV-XVI*

10.50 Coffee break

Session 8

Chair: Angel Nicolaou Konnari

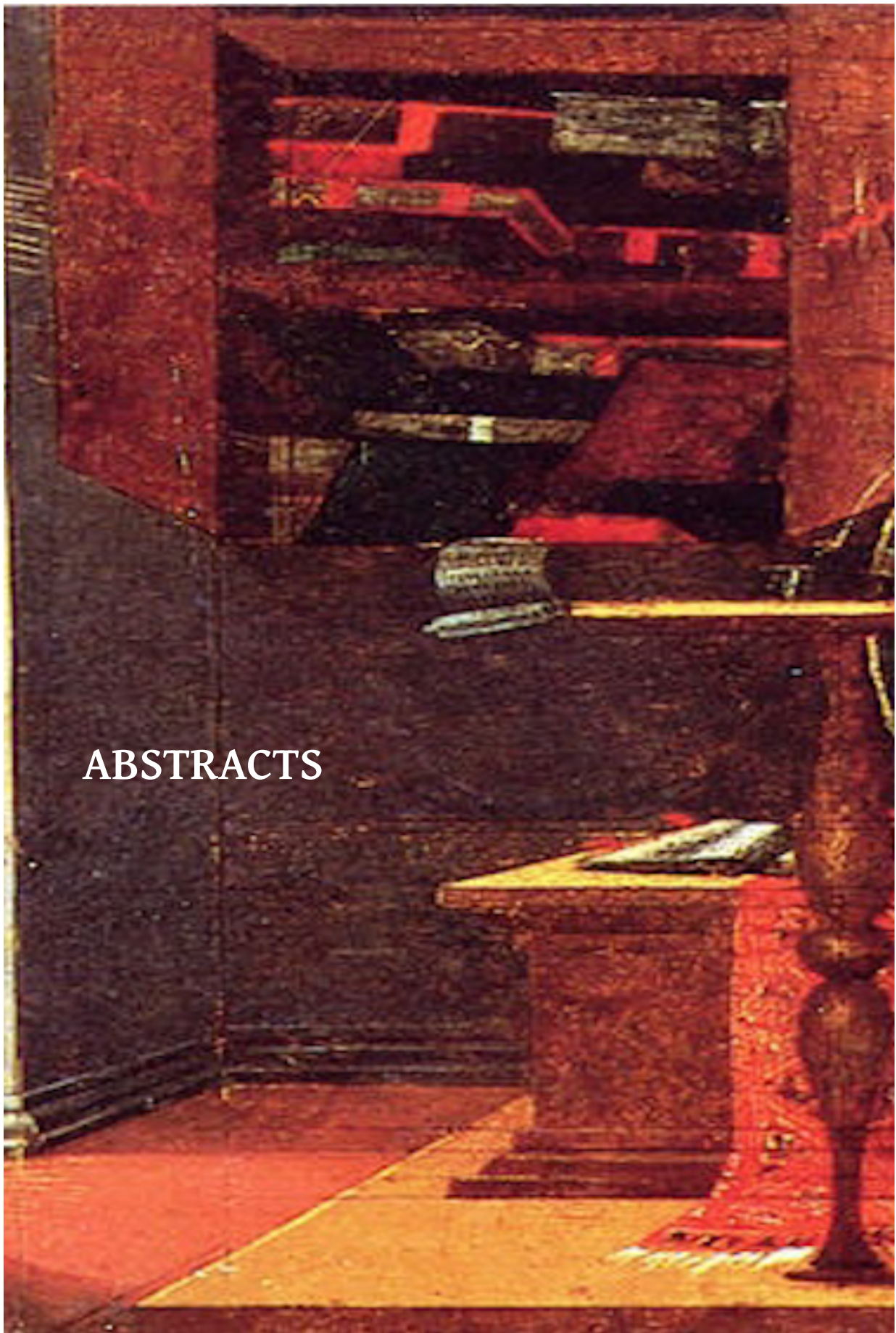
11.20 Natasha Constantinidou, *Can we differentiate between books printed for Greeks and books for non-Greeks in 16th-century Venice?*

11.40 Federica Ciccolella, *Maximos Margounios (1549-1602) and the Printing of Byzantine Texts in Early Modern Germany*

12.00 Discussion

12.30 Conclusions





ABSTRACTS

Sandro Botticelli, *Saint Augustine in his study*, 1488-1490 (detail)

@ Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

Elisa Bianchi

Demetrio Zeno, Bernardino Donato and the Nicolini da Sabbio Printers: a productive partnership

La tipografia dei Nicolini da Sabbio era attiva a Venezia nella produzione di libri greci sin dai primissimi anni '20 del Cinquecento, e si rivolgeva innanzitutto al mercato locale veneziano e ai Greci delle colonie. Per assicurare la qualità filologica dei testi mandati alle stampe i fratelli Nicolini si affidavano a collaboratori specializzati, come Demetrio Zeno e Bernardino Donato, coinvolti entrambi anche nel progetto editoriale del vescovo Gian Matteo Giberti a Verona. Queste figure di studiosi, consulenti letterari e correttori di bozze rappresentavano il trait d'union tra il mondo dei libri manoscritti e di quelli a stampa, come si evince dai codici Druckvorlagen, adoperati in bottega per apprestare testo e mise en page delle opere a stampa.

Venetia Chatzopoulou

The Greek Manuscript Book in the 16th century: a contribution

This paper focuses on the Greek manuscript book of the 16th century (first half) and aims at contributing to the existing knowledge related to its production, and the people (scribes, correctors, collectors) who were actively involved in it. It is based on the study of a number of *codices* nowadays preserved in various European libraries, which reflect, on the one hand, the competence and erudition of those who created them, and on the other hand, the special interests and the level of culture of those who included them in their collections.

Caterina Carpinato

Vernacular Greek Books in Venice in the first half of the 16th century: language issues and expressive novelties. A Dialogue with the Greek and the Greeks (1509-1551)

Attempting to broadly trace the historical, cultural, economic, and political context within which the Greeks lived in the first half of the 16th century is a topic that has kept me company since the time of my doctoral thesis: *Venetian Prints in Demotic Greek (1509-1549). Proposals for the Re-edition of the Batrachomyomachia and the Teseida*, discussed back in 1994.

I will attempt to tell the story of the books in vernacular Greek of the first half of the 16th century, using other 'ingredients', searching for other words and other elements, in order to reconstruct the overall context within which that extraordinary experience developed, an experience that those present at this conference are familiar with, and that has been enriched with new contributions and research ideas over the last thirty years.

Federica Ciccolella

Maximos Margounios (1549-1602) and the Printing of Byzantine Texts in Early Modern Germany

In 1601, David Hoeschel (1556-1617) published in Augsburg the *editio princeps* of Photius's *Library*; an important contribution to the *constitutio textus* came from a manuscript that Maximos Margounios had prepared (presently Paris, BNF, Suppl. gr. 471) using two manuscripts from Cardinal Bessarion's library (Venice, BNM, gr. 450 and 451) and a manuscript that belonged to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (Milan, BA, gr. C 127 inf.). While the history of Photius's edition is well known, this paper analyses other examples of cooperation between Margounios and Hoeschel in editing Byzantine texts (in particular, Gregory of Nyssa, George Scholarios, and Matthaëus Camariotes) as documented by a collection of texts and letters preserved in Munich, BSB, gr. 538. The goal of this paper is to shed light on the fundamental role that Maximos Margounios played as a cultural mediator between Venice and Germany during the last decades of the 16th century.

Natasha Constantinidou

Can we differentiate between books printed for Greeks and books for non-Greeks in 16th-century Venice?

This paper will consider the production of Greek books in Venice in the 16th century, offering an assessment on the similarities and differences of books published for a Greek audience and books published for a Western audience. Venice was a major printing centre throughout the 16th century and from early on, it also became a major printing centre for Greek books. The existence of disciplinary boundaries, however, means that this production has, thus far, not been examined as a whole. This inquiry will highlight similarities and differences of

Greek books for the two audiences by assessing aspects such as their content, format, style of printing, and use. It will also present a timeline of the book production, and an analysis of the people involved in the business, in order to identify further points of similarity or distinction – or indeed, cases of editions intended for a dual audience. Through this discussion, the paper will shed light on a series of exchanges that were constantly taking place in the production of these books. It will thus emphasise the importance of studying these works as products of a process of transcultural interaction and osmosis between Greeks and non-Greeks.

Richard Gartner

Beyond the Catalogue: how ontologies can extend the boundaries of manuscript research

The long-established practices of manuscript cataloguing elaborate in great detail the content, history and physical makeup of handwritten primary sources. It is inevitable, however, that their focus is primarily on the unitary object and its immediate context. This results in each record acting as an island which would gain immeasurably by extending its scope to encompass the environment surrounding its creation and history as a whole.

This may be done by creating semantic linkages between records and their constituent components. A cross-reference in a traditional catalogue entry serves this function to some degree but much more powerful linkages, at much greater degrees of granularity, may be achieved when a record moves from a paper medium to a digital one. The primary method by which this may be achieved is one commonly employed in the field of digital humanities, the *machine-readable ontology*.

An ontology is a method for describing a sphere of knowledge in a way that can be understood and processed by computers. It contains two main features: a set of concepts, real or abstract, known as *classes* and a complementary set of linkages between these, known as *properties*. The crucial feature of an ontology is that these properties are *semantic*, conveying meanings which describe the relationship between the classes that they link. A relationship between a class titled ‘manuscript’ and another titled ‘copyist’, for instance, may be established by a link titled ‘was copied by’.

These linkages may be simple in themselves but, when combined with others, create a complex web of meanings describing an area of knowledge in detail. A crucial feature of an ontology is that it can be encoded in a machine-readable format: once this has been done, it can form the raw material for further research. It may be searched, processed, analysed, and

enhanced further by researchers using a variety of tools: some of these reside in the domain of digital humanities specialists but others are easily accessible to any scholar.

The Pellicier project aims to create such an ontology to describe the sphere of activities that surround the creation, transmission, and history of a collection of manuscripts. It will link a manuscript to its scribes, patrons, owners, and the repositories in which it has been held. It will cover its creation, sale, commissioning, and the philological activities that it has undergone. It will be created from detailed catalogue records being produced as part of the project, which will also be used to generate printed and online catalogues and records for the digitised copies of each manuscript to be held in digital libraries in London and Berlin. It will also be available as a research resource for scholars on an accessible platform based at the British Museum.

This paper will introduce the ontology and its features and demonstrate how it is created from the catalogue records produced by the project's researchers. It will also show how it may seed future research when made available to scholars.

Ciro Giacomelli

Writing Greek in the Venetian Renaissance. The letters of Vincenzo Querini

In my paper I will present for the first time an unpublished collection of Greek letters (all fictitious) written as a school exercise by the Venetian nobleman and ambassador Vincenzo Querini (1478/9-1514). These epistles were crafted during the final months preceding Querini's voluntary seclusion from the world and his subsequent entry into monastic life in September 1511. This profound decision was inspired by the pious example of his close companion, Tommaso (Paolo) Giustiniani, who had already embraced the reclusive path of a Camaldolese hermit a few months prior. This collection of 30 letters is a potentially unparalleled document for unravelling the linguistic training of a learned man of the Renaissance. At the time the letters were written, Querini had already achieved remarkable success in his public career, attaining the stature of an accomplished intellectual and public servant. Some of these letters, still unpublished and, so far, almost completely ignored by the scholarly community, were corrected and revised by Marcus Musurus, a Cretan scholar that, at the time, held a post as professor of Greek in Padua.

Stauros Grimanis

A Learned Greek Orthodox Cleric at the Center of Book Circulation in Venice: the case of Gabriel Severus, 16th - early 17th century

This presentation will explore the relationship between books and individuals in early modernity by analysing the case of the learned Greek Orthodox prelate in Venice, Gabriel Severus (1540/1-1616). Focusing on the movement of manuscripts, books and other printed matter between East and West, we will investigate Severus's various roles by examining his interactions with individuals and objects. Sometimes as an intermediary, other times as a copyist, still other times as a writer, donor, and gift recipient, and even as a borrower, buyer and seller of books, Severus assumed multiple and different roles, depending on the specific network in which he participated on each occasion. He did so by using the book not only as an intellectual product, but also as a material object. All the while, Severus formulated or recalibrated his own persona, always in connection to the specific positions he assumed or that were assigned to him in the networks of books circulation. Utilising published and unpublished sources, we will attempt to reconstruct the main lines of Severus' specific case. In this way, we hope to contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between books and individuals in the context of Eastern Orthodoxy in early modernity.

Gregorios Ioannides

The History of the Cypriot Archieratikon Euchologion. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini greco 390

The most important Cypriot Archieratikon Euchologion, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini greco 390 (henceforth Barb. gr. 390), was copied in Cyprus between the years 1575-1580 by the scribe Hilarion for the Bishop of Lefkara, Amathous, Limassol and Kourion, Germanos Kouskounaris (+1610). Around the end of 1579 or the beginning of 1580, Bishop Germanos left Cyprus for the West, seeking refuge in Italy, with Venice as his first stop. By 1 June 1581 he was already in Rome, where he met with the Pope and during the following months, he had renounced his Orthodox faith and submitted to the authority of

Pope Gregory XIII, entering also the ranks of the Roman Catholic Church (before 23 October 1581).

The learned bishop Germanos has carried a number of manuscripts with him to Italy. To this day, we know with certainty two manuscript Euchologia, Barb. gr. 390, and one more, which is still being searched.

In less than five years following the arrival of its owner Germanos in Rome (1581), Barb. gr. 390 was found in the library of Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (+ 6 October 1585) with the shelfmark "248". The Cypriot Euchologion Sirleto "248" will end up via Leon Allatios in the library of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, where it will initially receive the shelfmark 416 and afterwards the additional "III.109" (first half of the 19th century). Finally, the Vatican Library in 1902 will manage to buy the Barberini family library. The Euchologion of the Bishop of Amathous Germanos entered the collection of the Vatican Library at the beginning of the 20th century and received the shelfmark "Barberini greco 390".

A comparative study of Barb. gr. 390 with the other 22 known Cypriot Euchologia, permits to classify it in the group of the 5 pontifical Euchologia of the 16th century, which encompass almost all the ecclesiastical provinces of the island. The comparative liturgical study of the content of the five Cypriot pontifical Euchologia demonstrates, on the one hand, the close relationship between them, and on the other, the close relationship of the following three: Barb. gr. 390, Larnaka, Holy Bishopric of Kition 18 and Athos, Monastery of Dionysiou, 489.

The well-known French Dominican monk Jacques Goar, in his research about the history of the Orthodox liturgical tradition, studied and used the Cypriot Euchologion Barb. gr. 390 as his third main source for his well-known *Euchologion* (1647). He was the first to incorporate a significant number of rites from Barb. gr. 390.

The incorporation of several rites and prayers of Barb. gr. 390 into the *Euchologion* of Goar, has led to their inclusion in several liturgical books printed in Venice and Rome (*Euchologia* and *Archieratika*), present in those editions until this day.

The liturgical study of Barb. gr. 390 demonstrates, on the one hand, the rich liturgical tradition of the periphery of Cyprus. On the other hand, it proves the very close and permanent relations of the Church of Cyprus with the important liturgical centres of Constantinople and the Orthodox Churches of the Middle East (Jerusalem, Sinai, Alexandria, and Antioch).

Eirini Lydaki

Greek Books in Venetian Crete during the 16th century

Venetian Crete, since the 14th century, constituted an important centre of philological and codicographical activity, study of Greek language and education, attracting scholars from other regions of the Greek and Western world. Within the circles of copyists and teachers who cultivated the Greek letters on the island, personalities were formed who worked as copyists, curators, and editors in Renaissance Europe, primarily in the prosperous city of Venice – it was from Venetian printing houses that editions of Greek literature texts were produced from the late 15th to the 16th century.

The earliest historical evidence on the existence of Greek manuscript book collections in Crete is traced to this same period, while the interest shown in Greek printed books will contribute to the formation of book collections in the 16th century, due to the economic growth observed on the island, especially the social and economic rise of the middle stratum in urban centres, the improvement of literacy levels, close communication with the West, and the possibility for Cretans to seek opportunities for acquiring university education there.

This presentation will discuss the testimonies regarding Greek manuscript and printed books circulated in Crete during the 16th century – some of these titles are also included in catalogues of private, monastic, and church book collections. The primary, but not sole, source of these testimonies consists of documents held at the Venetian State Archive, where the valuable archival material related to the history of the period is preserved. This material was transferred to Venice in September 1669, as a term of the surrender treaty of Chandax, the capital of the Venetians' *Regno di Candia*, to the Ottoman Turks.

These testimonies mainly concern religious books intended for priests, monastic communities, and a broader readership of believers, but also books of ancient Greek and Byzantine literature. Regarding printed books, their exact publication date, or the printing house from which they originated could only be determined approximately, and in a few cases, since religious books (especially liturgical ones), as known, could be simultaneously published by different printers in Venice. The books procured by the island's residents through the domestic market or from Venice, or those copied, thus continuing the long tradition of manuscript production, were mainly texts produced for the needs of ecclesiastical education. They were directly linked to practical needs but, if we also take into account the extant Greek language teaching contracts, they also aimed at raising the educational level; other books are associated with the period of university studies of their

holders, who, after permanently settling on the island, had the opportunity to enrich their collections with books they could acquire either from the local market or through orders from Venice.

During the more than twenty-year-long Cretan War, many manuscripts and printed books circulating on the island were destroyed, while others, latent to date, were transferred after the end of the war to other Venetian possessions and to the city of Venice, along with precious relics.

Teresa Martinez Manzano

Manoscritti da Cipro in Spagna: censimento, origine, storia

Questo intervento si propone di raccogliere tutte le informazioni sui manoscritti greci di origine cipriota conservati nelle biblioteche spagnole. L'obiettivo è fornire un inventario di questi libri, collocarli in specifiche coordinate cronologiche, analizzarne il contenuto e spiegare le modalità con cui questi codici sono giunti in Spagna e nelle biblioteche che li conservano. Sono stati presi in considerazione un codice della Biblioteca Universitaria di Salamanca e dieci del monastero di San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Ottavia Mazzon

Greek Scribes and the Libreria Nicena

Despite the increasing popularity of the printing press, Venice hosted a flourishing industry for the production of Greek manuscripts well into the 16th century: the ateliers of Greek scribes active in the city worked on commission from wealthy patrons like the ambassadors Guillaume Pellicier and don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, but they were also actively offering books on the existing market for Greek manuscripts. The book collection formerly belonging to Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472), which had been donated to the Republic of Venice in 1468, represented an important source of transcription exemplars for these Greek scribes: the analysis of their presence in the loan registers of the *Libreria Nicena* sheds light on their

working habits, the collaborative relationships, and the support they received from Venetian noblemen and state authorities.

Angelo Mecca

Brescia e l'ars artificialiter scribendi in greco nel secolo XVI

L'intervento ha come focus l'attività degli stampatori a Brescia durante il 1500 con particolare attenzione alla stampa dei libri in greco da loro curata durante tutto questo arco temporale, mirando ad evidenziare la mole produttiva e la ratio alla base delle singole scelte editoriali.

Zisis Melissakis - Giovanna Carbonaro

Recentiores non deteriores: il cod. Atheniensis 701 (XVI sec.) del Poulologos

Prendiamo qui in prestito il provocatorio noto enunciato di Giorgio Pasquali *recentiores non deteriores* che, a distanza di più di settant'anni, non può non fare riflettere l'editore che si accosti ad un testo dall'articolata tradizione manoscritta e tramandato, fra gli altri, anche da codici del XVI sec.

È questo il caso del *cod. Atheniensis 701*, che ci ha restituito una versione tarda del *Πουλολόγος* greco medievale, troppo spesso liquidato dalla critica come copia pressoché inutile di più autorevoli manoscritti. Peccato, però, che l'*Atheniensis* sia l'unico codice a recare un titolo che non ricorre altrove: *Λόγος τοῦ Ἰχνηλάτου περὶ τῶν πουλίων*. Per non dire del fatto che si tratta di un codice miniato, vergato in una bella grafia del XVI sec., cosa di per sé già sufficiente ad attirare l'attenzione, visto che sulle scritture greche umanistiche e rinascimentali il campo di indagine è ancora in gran parte da esplorare.

Da queste prime riflessioni nasce il nostro studio che, oltre all'analisi codicologica e paleografica del manoscritto, ha come obiettivo proprio quello di porre all'attenzione di filologi e paleografi greci, con particolare riferimento agli specialisti di testi in greco demotico, un codice che potrebbe arricchire il repertorio dei tanti *recentiores non deteriores*, cui Pasquali faceva a suo tempo riferimento.

Riccardo Montalto

Codicological and Palaeographic Materials for the Choniates Group: the case of Nikolaos

The so-called Nikolaos Choniates' *atelier*, operating in Venice during the 16th century, participated in the blooming end of the Greek manuscript book's history. Due to its prolific activity, characterised by a great number and similarity of the anonymous hands that can be found in its production, there is still much uncertainty for researchers coming across this matter. A systematic analysis of the codicological and palaeographic data derived from the manuscripts attributable to the group's leader, Nikolaos, aims to provide a useful model, a benchmark for the rest of the production.

Raphaële Mouren – Rosa Maria Piccione

Investigating 16th-century Greek Manuscripts from Venice: the case-study of Guillaume Pellicier's library

We are beginning, in October 2022, a 4-year project aimed at describing, studying, and making available the Pellicier collections of Greek manuscripts. One of the objectives is to understand the working organisation of the ateliers by structuring the data. We will detail our project and the tools we are planning to use.

Irene Papadaki

Cypriot Lyric Poetry in the Renaissance: the circle of Giandomenico Martoretta

The renowned collection of lyric poetry from Renaissance Cyprus, transmitted by codex Marc. Gr. IX 32 (=1287), has engaged the international scholarly community since the late 19th century. However, crucial philological issues, such as the authorship of the poems, remain unresolved. Their differences in style and their distinct Italian models strongly suggest that these poems may have originated from more than one poet, who operated

between Cyprus and Northern Italy from the late 15th to the third quarter of the 16th century. The recent discovery of a sheet music for one of the Cypriot love poems, along with its Italian prototype, has opened new research horizons. The sheet music is included in the third book of madrigals by the Calabrian composer Giandomenico Martoretta, published in 1554. The entire book is dedicated to the Cypriot nobleman Petros Synklitikos, while individual poems set to music are dedicated to members of both the same and other noble families of Cyprus (De Nores, Podocataro, Costanzo, Palol), whom Martoretta met during his stay on the island.

This evidence confirms the circulation of Greek and Italian Petrarchan poetry among the aristocratic circles in Cyprus. Moreover, it can be assumed that these nobles played an active role in its production. What do we know about the literary interests of members of these specific families? What were their connections to Italian universities and intellectual circles? Are there any testimonies of the interconnection between individuals from the aforementioned families and Italian academies? By utilising unpublished material primarily sourced from archives and libraries in Northern Italy, we will endeavour to trace the channels through which Italian literary production was received in Cyprus, enriching local artistic and intellectual pursuits.

Silvia Pugliese

Il corpus delle legature cretesi: prospettive di ricerca in alcune biblioteche italiane

Le legature dei manoscritti bizantini sono state oggetto di numerosi studi sia dal punto di vista della decorazione che degli aspetti strutturali, a partire dalle indagini pionieristiche di Berthe Van Regemorter. Uno dei gruppi più omogenei è quello delle legature realizzate a Creta nei secoli XV e XVI per i manoscritti copiati negli scriptoria dell'isola e per altri più antichi che vi venivano restaurati e/o integrati e quindi dotati di una seconda legatura. Le legature cretesi si distinguono facilmente per l'uso di ferri tipici impressi nelle coperte, la decorazione dei tagli delle carte e alcune caratteristiche tecniche: questi aspetti hanno reso possibile identificarne un buon numero nelle maggiori biblioteche che conservano manoscritti bizantini.

In Italia la collaborazione tra la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana e l'Istituto Centrale per la Patologia del Libro ha permesso il censimento delle collezioni vaticane, realizzando l'unica monografia finora dedicata esclusivamente alle legature bizantine e ai loro dettagli materiali (Carlo Federici e Kostantinos Houlis, 1988). Paul Canart, Philippe Hoffmann e Dominique

Grosdidier De Matons hanno studiato manoscritti con legature cretesi conservati in altre collezioni.

In questa sede si intende riprendere il filo di queste ricerche e segnalare ulteriori esemplari nelle biblioteche di Venezia, Padova, Milano, Brescia, Mantova e Roma per delineare meglio la tradizione delle botteghe cretesi e il loro rapporto col commercio librario in Italia.

Dimitrios Skrekas

MS Holkham Hall gr. 91: remarks on a 15th-century manuscript and an Aldine

With this paper, I will present a previously unknown copy of an Aldine which was bound in a 15th-century manuscript of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. I will first give an overview of the collection of manuscripts where this particular codex belongs (Holkham Hall Greek MSS) and then focus on particular aspects of both the Aldine and the manuscript.

Marina Toumpouri

Issues in the Making of Stephanites and Ichneutes Manuscripts: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 172, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 118

Stephanites and Ichneutes enjoyed an immense popularity during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period, translated into a staggering number of languages, including Greek. Of the 42 manuscripts of the text, dating from the 11th to the 18th century, four were planned to receive illustration, while the fifth one has sketches in its margins that were most probably added later.

This contribution will concentrate on the two 16th-century manuscripts that contain *Stephanites and Ichneutes*, namely Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 172 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 118. Although none of the manuscripts planned to receive illustrations was completed, the study of the traces relevant to the conception of the narrative cycles that were not executed remains nonetheless instructive, precisely because it could clarify the expectations of the text's readers, as well as the intentions and needs the designers of the manuscripts have tried to fulfil. More precisely, this paper will

discuss the pictorial “retelling(s)” of the frame narrative and the short fables encountered in the two 16th-century *Stephanites and Ichneutes* manuscripts through an examination of the different categories of paratextual features. It will consider issues of selection, placement, lacunae and omissions, iconographic formulations, as well as relationships between manuscripts, in order to reveal the processes of their creation, particularisations and shifts in attitudes towards the text through time, with particular focus on the 16th century.

Panajota Tzivara

Dalla regina dell'Adriatico a quella dell'Ionio: osservazioni sulla circolazione del libro greco a stampa nella Corfù del XVI secolo

Un quadro della circolazione del libro stampato a Corfù durante il dominio veneziano è stato delineato dopo il completamento della ricerca sulle collezioni librerie private, sulle biblioteche dei monasteri che esistono oggi sull'isola, così come sulle collezioni ecclesiastiche, di diritto privato o di confraternite. In particolare, nelle collezioni private sono stati registrati dieci casi di possessori, nelle biblioteche monastiche esistenti sono state annoverate finora trentatré edizioni, e ancora in una quarantina di chiese sono stati rinvenuti inventari cinquecenteschi. Il materiale archivistico raccolto, pur non essendo molto ricco, non fornisce informazioni sufficienti per definire il quadro con maggiore precisione. Tuttavia, a conclusione di una lunga ricerca siamo in grado di registrare alcune osservazioni, che verranno presentate nella comunicazione. Le osservazioni riguardano il trasporto dei libri da Venezia a Corfù, i loro prezzi, i loro contenuti, la preferenza per certe edizioni, i possessori/fruitori dei libri stampati nel XVI secolo, e infine la presenza di edizioni cinquecentesche nelle biblioteche corfiote dei secoli successivi.

Agamemnon Tselikas

Edizioni veneziane nelle biblioteche greche di Gerusalemme, Alessandria e Il Cairo, secoli XV-XVI

Le biblioteche dei Patriarcati greco-ortodossi di Alessandria, Gerusalemme e del Monastero di Santa Caterina al Sinai nel Mediterraneo sud-orientale, erano una solida base per la loro funzione e attività spirituale. Si è sempre sostenuto che tali istituzioni religiose, la cui

esistenza si fonda sulla tradizione scritta dei testi sacri del cristianesimo e conseguentemente sul rapporto con i fedeli, oltre all'uso di testi liturgici rendevano necessaria l'istituzione di biblioteche con un programma di produzione di testi e di libri. In quanto centri religiosi con enorme influenza in tutto il mondo cristiano, esse favorirono l'insediamento di monaci e di altri religiosi per la propria amministrazione, come anche per la formazione spirituale dei credenti.

È anche evidente, come è testimoniato da una storia di oltre venti secoli, che il veicolo della loro esistenza e funzione spirituale erano principalmente la lingua greca e la letteratura cristiana in lingua greca, ma ciò non significa che siano state trascurate le corrispondenti tradizioni degli altri dogmi cristiani. Ancora, in quanto latrici dello spirito greco era impensabile che non abbracciassero la tradizione greca di età classica, ellenistica e greco-romana, come mezzo per sostenere la propria identità e promuovere la coltivazione delle lettere, e come motivazione per la produzione della cultura, come imposto dalla situazione politico-sociale dei paesi del Medio Oriente. Da questa prospettiva dovremo considerare l'esistenza di queste biblioteche come un'attività che procede in due direzioni: da un lato, verso la continuazione di produzione, coltivazione e diffusione di testi religiosi ma anche formativi, e dall'altro verso una diffusione in tutti i paesi ortodossi, sia nella penisola balcanica che al di fuori di essa.

L'allestimento dei cataloghi dei manoscritti di tali biblioteche è a buon punto, per soprattutto per quanto riguarda le informazioni sui testi, mentre per i corrispondenti cataloghi dei libri stampati c'è ancora molto lavoro da fare. Nella presente relazione verranno presentati dati relativi alla presenza di antiche edizioni a stampa dei sec. XV e XVI, con riferimento alle condizioni del loro ingresso in tali biblioteche, secondo le informazioni fornite dalle loro note di possesso. Per quanto riguarda la biblioteca del Patriarcato di Alessandria, nell'ambito del rinnovamento e della riclassificazione della sua biblioteca storica sono state registrate 16 edizioni veneziane per il XV sec. e 131 per il XVI. Ancora, nella biblioteca del Patriarcato di Gerusalemme sono state registrate una sola edizione per il XV sec. e dieci per il XVI, e in quella del Metochio del Monastero del Sinai al Cairo un'edizione del XV sec. e cinque del XVI. Per quanto riguarda i contenuti, la maggior parte delle edizioni riguarda testi profani in greco antico mentre meno numerosi sono i Padri della Chiesa, e non mancano libri in latino di età classica e medievale, come pure edizioni di Dante e Petrarca.

Tra i precedenti possessori e donatori dei libri si nota la presenza di figure significative: Meletios, patriarca di Alessandria; il bibliofilo Mitrophanis Critopoulos, ierodiacono del patriarcato di Alessandria; l'erudito ieromonaco Maximos Peloponnissios; Patrenio Sviros,

vescovo di Reontos e Prastos nel Peloponneso; Gabriele Seviros, arcivescovo di Filadelfia e capo della Confraternita dei Greci a Venezia; Ambrosio Aloisio Gradenigo, bibliotecario della biblioteca Marciana; Gioannicio Diodio, grande protosincello di Alessandria; l'arconte greco Belissario Donato; Ierax, grande Logoteta del Patriarcato Ecumenico, e infine Giovanni Donato, console di Venezia in Egitto nel 1632.

Christos Zampakolas

Le edizioni del Cinquecento nella biblioteca privata di Tommaso Flangini

Il famoso avvocato corfiota Tommaso Flangini, cittadino illustre di Venezia e noto uomo d'affari, ha vissuto una vita ricca di stimoli nella Serenissima del fine '500 - inizio '600. Cipriota d'origine, è diventato pubblico ministero in vari servizi dello stato veneziano, e allo stesso tempo fu membro attivo della Confraternita greco-ortodossa di San Nicolò dei Greci. Alla stessa Confraternita è stato donato un generoso lascito per la creazione di un collegio greco, di un ospedale e un monastero, e anche per attività filantropiche verso i compatrioti greci.

Uomo di mente acuta e soprattutto lettore assiduo, Flangini fu proprietario di una importante biblioteca "europea", che contava circa 1.300 volumi tra manoscritti e libri a stampa scritti in greco, latino e italiano. Sebbene oggi la biblioteca Flanginiana sia perduta, la ricerca d'archivio ha consentito di ricostruirne perfettamente il contenuto: molti volumi di scienze giuridiche, storia, letteratura greca e latina, teologia, ecc.

Questa relazione intende prendere in esame le edizioni cinquecentesche riconducibili alla biblioteca di Tommaso Flangini, commentarle soprattutto dal punto di vista del contenuto e degli autori, nonché del luogo di pubblicazione, precisandone la funzione all'interno della biblioteca Flanginiana.

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