**The First Greek Printing Press in Constantinople (1625-1628)**

NIL OZLEM PEKTAS

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**at the University of London**

**(Royal Holloway and Bedford New College)**

**June 2014**

Candidate's declaration:

I confirm that this PhD thesis is entirely my own work. All sources and quotations have been acknowledged. The main works consulted are listed in the bibliography.

Candidate's signature:

Date:

## Abstract

The thesis is a study of the first Greek printing house established in Constantinople in 1627-1628 by the Greek monk Nikodemos Metaxas, who began his printing venture in London's Fleet Street in 1625. The aim of the thesis is to explore the history of Metaxas's press and examine the intricate web of relations behind the establishment and closure of his printing house. The study follows Metaxas's arrival in London, his printing activities in England, the transportation of the printing device to the Ottoman capital, the books produced in Constantinople and the events leading to the confiscation of the press and its subsequent release. The research is based on published and unpublished material, including the diplomatic reports and the correspondence between English, French, Venetian and Dutch ambassadors, letters exchanged between George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cyril Loukaris, the Patriarch of Constantinople; the letters of Sir Thomas Roe, English ambassador to the Porte, and other contemporary accounts of the event such as those collected by the clergymen Thomas Smith and Antoine Leger; and the extant copies of all printed volumes containing the treatises published by Metaxas in London, Constantinople and Cephalonia between 1624-1628 and various manuscripts dispersed around the world relating to his publications.

In terms of structure, the thesis comprises an **Introduction**, two **Parts (I-II)**, and a **Conclusion**. The **Introduction** presents the aim and scope of the thesis, the material examined, the approach and methodology adopted, and a survey of previous research on the subject. **Part I** examines the historical evidence of Metaxas's printing activities. It consists of three **Chapters (1-3)**. **Chapter 1** focuses on Nikodemos Metaxas's earlier life. **Chapter 2** investigates Metaxas's printing activities in London, concentrating on the printed volumes he produced and the manuscripts he used. **Chapter 3** examines Metaxas's arrival in Constantinople,

the political and diplomatic reverberations of the mutual understanding between Loukaris and Roe, the establishment and the subsequent closure of his printing house, followed by his return to his native Cephalonia.

**Part II** is devoted to a description and analysis of the physical aspects of Metaxas's book production. This section comprises three **Chapters (4-6)** examining (**4**) the typefaces; (**5**) ornamentation including title-pages, initial letters, borders, head- and tail-pieces, bands, printer's flowers and other motifs; and (**6**) paper and ink.

The **Conclusion** summarises the findings of the research and suggests areas for further investigation. The thesis closes with full **bibliography**, **Appendices (I-III)** and **Plates** with facsimiles of selected folios of manuscripts and pages of books cited therein.

# Table of Contents

## Acknowledgments

## List of Plates

(The images are not to scale)

# List of Figures

(The images are not to scale)

**A Timeline of Events**

**1572** – Cyril Loukaris is born in Herakleion, Crete.

**1585** – Metaxas is born in Kerameies, Cephalonia.

**1589** – Kritopoulos is born in Veria, Northern Greece.

**1593** – Loukaris is ordained deacon in Constantinople, by Meletios Pegas

**1596** – Loukaris I is appointed Rector of the theological school in Vilnius and printed *Διάλογος Ὀρθόδοξος Χριστιανὸς* by Pegas.

**1601** – Loukaris is elected Patriarch of Alexandria.

**1602** – Loukaris meets the Dutch traveller Cornelius van Haga in Constantinople.

**1606** – Kritopoulos becomes a monk in Mt Athos (Iveron Monastery).

**1609** – Jesuits re-settle in Constantinople and setup a school in Galata.

**1612** – Haga is sent to Constantinople as the ambassador of the Netherlands to the Porte.

**1613** – Loukaris visits Iveron Monastery and meets Kritopoulos.

**1614** – Korydaleus starts teaching in Athens.

**1615** – Metaxas begins his studies in Athens under the supervision of Korydaleus.

**1617** – Kritopoulos is sent to England and starts at Gresham College in London, before moving to Balliol College in Oxford University in the autumn.

**1619** – Korydaleus begins teaching in Cephalonia and Zakhyntos upon the invitation of Metaxas.

**1620** – Loukaris is elected Patriarch of Constantinople for the first time.

**1621** – Sir Thomas Roe, English ambassador to the Porte, arrives in Constantinople.

**1622** – Kritopoulos arrives in London and begins his stay at Lambeth Palace. St Gerasimos, the patron saint of Cephalonia is canonised. *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* established.

**1623** – In January (?) Metaxas arrives in England. In April, Loukaris is deposed and banished to Rhodes, only to be restored in October. In July, Kritopoulos leaves Lambeth Palace and takes up residence in a room in London.

**1624** – Metaxas is in search of a Greek teacher. He learns the art of printing in Fleet Street. In July, Kritopoulos leaves London after 7 years of residence and, at the age of 35, travels to Hamburg. Korydaleus visits Constantinople to reform the curriculum at the Patriarchal Academy.

**1625** – Nikodemos publishes his first printed book, Legrand 144, in London.

**1627** – In July, Nikodemos arrives in Constantinople with his printing press. In August, Kritopoulos travels through Switzerland and on 1 December he arrives in Venice.

**1628** – Metaxas prints Legrand 166 and begins working on Loukaris' *Confession*. In January 1628, Metaxas's press is confiscated by Janissaries. In February Jesuits are imprisoned and exiled. In March Kritopoulos is invited to dine at the English ambassador Sir Isaac Wake's residence in Venice, where he learns about Metaxas's misfortune. In June, Metaxas is elevated to the archbishopric of his native island. Sir Thomas Roe returns to England. In September, Metaxas arrives in Venice to print Loukaris's exegesis.

**1629** – Korydaleus becomes the rector of the Patriarchal Academy. Loukaris's 'Calvinistic' Confession is printed in Geneva.

**1636** – Nikodemos is appointed the Metropolitan of Philadelphia.

**1636** – Kritopoulos is elected Patriarch of Alexandria.

**1638** – Loukaris is strangled by Turkish authorities. NT in Modern Greek is published in Geneva. The Council of Constantinople anathematizes Loukaris.

**1639** – Kritopoulos dies in Alexandria.

**1646** – Nikodemos dies in Kerameies, Cephalonia.

**Introduction**

The thesis explores the history of Greek printing at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, focusing on the printing venture of a Venetian subject, the Greek monk Nikodemos Metaxas of Cephalonia (1585-1646), in London and Constantinople. Metaxas began his printing career in 1625 in London's Fleet Street and collaborated with famous printers and printing houses of the age such as William Stansby and the Eliot's Court Press. He published three volumes in London, forming an exquisite collection of theological and rhetorical works from select Greek scholars and Orthodox clergy, before he moved to Constantinople with his press to provide the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople with a powerful tool to publish and disseminate Orthodox tracts in a language accessible to the Greek community of the city and beyond.

Undoubtedly, when Johannes Gutenberg developed the technology of movable type in Mainz around 1439, the Western world was to change rapidly and irreversibly. This shift from mainly handwritten production and the less popular xylographic printing (made from a single carved or sculpted block for each page) to typographic printing (made with movable type on a printing press in Gutenberg's style) made it possible to produce more books and pamphlets by considerably reducing the time and cost of production. Most of the concepts that now define Europe, including the Reformation, would have been unthinkable without this technology.[1] The fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453, which coincided with the printing of Gutenberg's Bible, forced a substantial number of scholars and scribes to migrate to the West, where they established workshops for the copying and printing of Greek liturgical, patristic and classical

---

[1] L. Febvre and H. Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London and New York: Verso, 1976); A. Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making History* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000); W. Chappell, *Short History of the Printed Word* (Point Roberts, W.A.: Hartley and Marks Publishers, 2000); D. McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

texts and grammars.[2] Thus Greek printers and printers of Greek texts were active mainly in Italy, but also in Germany, France, England, the Netherlands and Spain.[3]

Textbook histories of the Ottoman Empire reflect the mainstream misconception that it was very late to catch up with the European trend of mass production of written material and follow the conventional understanding that it was forbidden by law to print or disseminate printed books in the Ottoman Empire. Among numerous Western sources from this period that reflect on the Ottoman objection to printing, Robert Midgley makes the soundest comment:

> As for Printing, [Turks] would never endure it amongst them. A *Grand Vizir*'s judgment of it was remarkable, which shews rather their Prudence than any effect of their Ignorance. A famous Printer of *Holland*, by Religion a *Jew*, came to *Constantinople*, bringing Presses with him, with Characters of all Sorts of *Idioms*, particularly *Arabick, Turk, Greek*, and *Persian* Letters, with design to introduce the use of Printing into that great City. As soon as the *Vizir* was informed of it, he caused the *Jew* to be Hanged, and broke all his Engins and Millions of Characters which he had brought; declaring, it would be a great Cruelty, that One Man should, to enrich himself, take the Bread out of the Mouths of Eleven Thousand Scribes, who gained their Livings at *Constantinople* by their Pens.[4]

The story is fabricated, but the author has a point: the Ottoman copyists were a privileged community with strong ties to the seraglio. The possible economic threat that the technology of printing posed to the business of *müstensihs* (copyists), *hattats* (calligraphers) and *müzehhips* (illuminators) had a significant bearing on the fact that the Ottoman Sultans did not venture out to establish an official press until the eighteenth century, rather than an abhorrence of learning

---

[2] D.J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962); idem, *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966); idem, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance, 330-1600* (Yale University Press 1976).

[3] R. Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1900); E. Layton, 'The First Printed Greek Book', *Journal of the Hellenistic Diaspora* 5 (1979), 63-79; E. Layton, E. Koumarianou and L. Droulia, *Το Ελληνικό Βιβλίο 1476-1830* (Athens: Εθνική Τράπεζα της Ελλάδος, 1986); G.D. Matthiopoulos, *Greek Printing Types 1465-1927: Facsimiles from an Exhibition of Books Illustrating the Development of Greek Printing shown in the British Museum, 1927* (Thessaloniki: Typophilia, 1995).

[4] G.P. Marana, *The first volume of letters writ by a Turkish spy who lived five and forty years undiscovered at Paris* (London: Printed for Henry Rhodes, 1691), sig. A5v.

as suggested by many early modern authors. Yet, the Ottoman indifference to printing cannot be solely explained by the economic threat to local scribes. Printing in Western Europe flourished within the historical contexts of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. In Europe, the printing technology helped the immediate dissemination of propaganda material such as religious tracts, political treatises, periodicals and newpapers. There was no such grand-scale religious schism in the Muslim world in this period, hence no basis for widespread circulation of polemical texts.

Contrary to the common misbelief, however, the history of printing in the Ottoman Empire began almost as early as its European counterparts and printed material in various languages of the Empire circulated within the Empire's vast territory and beyond.[5] The invention and the proliferation of the printing technology in Europe were by no means unknown to Ottomans. Historian Peçevi İbrahim Efendi (b.1572– d.1650) mentions the use of printed material in the West, whereas geographer and bibliophile Katip Çelebi (b.1609– d.1657) in his *Cihannüma* mourns the lack of printing technology in his immediate proximity. Katip Çelebi complains that he could not include as many maps as he wished to in his work, fearing that they would be copied incorrectly.

There was no printing press in Constantinople catering to a Turkish-speaking audience until the official Ottoman press was founded in 1729. Nevertheless, books in Arabic script (in Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages) including copies of the Quran began to be imported for the use of the learned much earlier. The first books in Arabic type were printed in Fano in Italy in 1514.[6] The most famous printing house for Islamic books was the Typographia Medicea in Rome, founded in 1584.[7] Presumably as a result of the considerable variety and quantity

---

[5] T. Kut and F. Türe, *Yazma'dan Basma'ya: Müteferrika, Mühendishane, Üsküdar* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996), pp. 5-6.

[6] P. K. Hitti, 'The First Book Printed in Arabic', *The Princeton Library Chronicle* 4.1 (1942), 5-9.

[7] J.R. Jones, *The Medici Oriental Press (Rome 1584-1614) and Renaissance Arabic Studies*, Exhibition Catalogue (London: SOAS, 1983); idem., 'Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1584-1624)' (PhD thesis, University of London, 1988); idem., 'The Medici Oriental Press (Rome 1584-1624) and the Impact of its Arabic Publications on Europe' in G.A. Russell (ed.), *The 'Arabick' interest of*

of the output of this press, the merchants Brantoni and Orazio Bandini came to the Empire to sell books in Turkish, Arabic and Persian.[8] One of those books was *Kitab tahrir [al-]usul li-Uqlidis,* an Arabic redaction of Euclid's *Elements* attributed to Nasiruddin Tusi (1201-1274) and published in Rome in 1594.[9] The two Italians attached a copy of Sultan Murad III's *emirname*[10] allowing the circulation and trade of books in Arabic script as seen in Plate 1 below.[11]

---

*the natural philosophers in seventeenth-century England* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 88-108; A. Tinto, *La Tipografia medicea orientale* (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 1987); J. Balagna Coustou, *L'imprimerie arabe en Occident: XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve & Larose, 1984), pp. 34-41; A. Hamilton, *Europe and the Arab world: five centuries of books by European scholars and travellers from the libraries of the Arcadian Group* (Oxford: Arcadian Group in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 58-63; G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 22-24; F. de Nave (ed.), *Philologia arabica: Arabische studiën en drukken in de Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw*, Exhibition catalogue (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1986), pp. 73-75. Muhsin Mahdi has a very negative view of the efforts of this press. See M. Mahdi, 'From Manuscript Age to the Age of Printed Books', in G. N. Atiyeh (ed.), *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995), p. 1.

[8] H. Nuhoğlu, 'Mütferrika Matbaası ve Bazı Mülahazalar', in *Osmanlı*, vol. 7 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), pp. 223-24; J.P. Ghobrial, 'Printing', in G. Ágoston and B. Masters (eds), *Encyclopaedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2009), p. 471.

[9] C. Thomas-Stanford, 'Early Editions of Euclid's *Elements* 1482–1600', *The Library* 6.1 (1924), 42; R. Cassinet, 'L'aventure de l'édition des Éléments d'Euclide en arabe par la Société Typographique Médicis vers 1594', *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 78-79 (1993), 5-51. For an argument against this attribution, see G. de Young, 'Further Adventures of the Rome 1594 Arabic Redaction of Euclid's *Elements*', *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 66.3 (2012), 265-94.

[10] This document can be found at the end of the 1594 edition on the penultimate page (unnumbered), and is dated Evayil-i Zulhicce 996 A.H. (= the end of October or the beginning of November 1588 A.D.). A facsimile edition of this book is available in F. Sezgin, *Tahrîr al-Usûl li-Uqlîdis. Anonymous Commentary upon Euclid's* Elements *wrongly ascribed to Nasîraddîn at-Tûsî. Rome 1594*, Islamic Mathematics and Astronomy 20 (Frankfurt: Goethe-Universität, 1997). The *emirname* was first published in S.N. Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı I: Müteferrika Matbaası* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1939), pp. 23-4; A.R. Tosun, 'Sultan III. Murat'ın Arapça, Farsça ve Türkçe Basma Kitapların Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Sınırları İçinde Satılabileceğine Dair 1588 (996) Yılında Verdiği Emirnâme', *Belgeler* 30.34 (2009), 127-131. An English translation is published in Atiyeh, *The Book in the Islamic World*, p. 283.

[11] The famous nineteenth-century chronicler Mustafa Nuri Pasha in his *Netayic ül-vukuat (Consequences of Incidents)* reports that he observed a copy of this book with the *ferman* at the residence of Hüsameddin Efendi, the *şeyh-ül Islam*. See Mustafa Nuri, *Netayic ül-Vukuat: Kurumları ve Örgütleriyle Osmanlı Tarihi,* 4 vols (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1980), vol. III-IV, pp. 147-48; M.H. van den Boogert, 'The Sultan's Answer to the Medici Press? Ibrahim Müteferrika's Printing House in Istanbul', in A. Hamilton, M. van den Boogert and B. Westerweel (eds), *The Republic of Letters and the Levant* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p. 279.

هذه صورة امر بادشاه اسلام السلطان ابن السلطان السلطان مراد خان ﷽

مفاخر الامراء الكرام مراجع الكبراء الفخام اولو القدر والاحترام
المختصين بمزيد عناية الملك العلام ممالك محروسه مده واقع اولان سنجاق
بكلرى وقبودانلر دام عزهم ومفاخر القضاة والحكام معادن الفضايل
والكلام ذكر اولنان برلرده اولان تانبلر زيد فضلهم توقيع رفيع همايون
واصل اوليجاق معلوم اولاكه ممالك محروسه مده تجارت ايدن افرنج
تاجرلرنـدن دارندكان فرمان همايون برانتون واى راسپوله باندينى
نام بازركانلر دركاه معلامه كلوب ولايت فرنكستانـدن تجارت ايچون
بعض متاع وعربى وفارسى وتوركى باصما بعض معتبر كتابلر ورساله لر
كنوروب ممالك محروسه مده كنده وحالرنده بيع وشرا ايدرلر ايكن
بعض كمسنه لر يولده وايزده واسكله ومعبرلرده فضولى ديوكرين بيقوب
دنكلرين بوزوب اى ايجندن بكنـدن وكلرى اقمشه وساير امتعه قسمى اجمه
سوز وجزيى بها ايله جبرا الوب وسزده عربى وفارسى كتابلر نبلر ديو
تجارت ايچون كنورد وكلرى جميع كتابلرى الرندن الوب بهاسى
ويرمبيوب وكنده ولرك وكبللرينك وادملرينك بيع وتجارتلرينه مانع
اولد قلرين بلدروب من بعد ابن وامان اوزره كلوب كمدوب كنـده و
حالرنده تجارت اتدوكلرنده برنرد دخل المبيوب منت وبحسانا
متاعلرى الفبيوب ويوكلرى بوزلمبيوب منع اولـمقب باينده حكم همايوم
طلب اتدوكلرى اجلدن بيوزردم كه احكم شريـفم هر قنكزك تحت
حكومتنده داخل اولـولرلر ايسه يولده وايزده ومنازل ومراحلده
واسكازلر ومعبرده كله وحالرنده امن وامان اوزره بيع وشرا وتجارت
ايدرلركن خارجدن متاعلرينه برنرد متاعلرينـدن دخل اتد رمبيوب وصاحبنك
رضاسى اولمدين جبرا برنسنه لرين واول مقوله كتابلرين غصب
اتد رمبيوب هرنه الور لرايدسه حسن رضاولرله بيع ايد نلردن بتمام
دكردبها لريله الدروب الحه سوز ويا الكسوك بها ايله جزويدن وكلبدن
برنسنه لرين الد رمبيوب من بعد مذكوران بازركانلرو ووكبللرينه
وآد ملرينه شرع شريفه وعهدنامه همايونه مخالف اصلا وقطعا كمسنه دخل
وتجاوز اتد رمبه سز ممنوع اولميوب عناد ومخالفت ايلنلرى اسمـا
لريله يازوب عرض ايله سز بوخصوص ايچون تكرار شكايت
اتد رمبه سز شويله بلسز وبعد اليوم بوحكم شريفمى الرنده ابقا
ايد وب علامت شريفه اعتماد قلاسز ﷽ تحريرا فى اوايل ذى الحج سنه
ست وتسعين وتسعمايه ﷽     محروسه قسطنطينية ﷽

**Plate 1** – Sultan Murad III's *emirname* printed in the 1594 Euclid (Copy from the British Library)

Furthermore, there were a number of printing presses established by the non-Muslim *millet*s of the Empire.[12]

The first printing press to be set up in Constantinople was a Hebrew one, established by the brothers David and Samuel Nahmias. It is highly probable that the pair fled from the Iberian Peninsula to Constantinople after the expulsion of Jews in 1492 by the Catholic Monarchs Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon. It is widely known that Sephardic Jews were well received in the Ottoman Empire,[13] and the printers seem to have secured a *ferman* from Sultan Beyazid II (r. 1481-1512) sanctioning their printing activities.[14] This printing house's first publication was Rabbi Jacob ben Asher's fourteenth-century work *Arba'ah Turim* (*Four Orders of the Code of Law*), which came out on 13 December 1493.[15] This was a rather large work consisting of over 800 folio

---

[12] H. Ohme, 'Millet System', in *Religion Past and Present* (Brill Online, 2014): 'The word millet (from Arab. milla, 'religion') means 'religious nationality'; it was used in the Ottoman Empire for the national religious communities allowed self-government in ethnic, cultural, and religious matters on the basis of Islamic international law. It was based on the overriding identification of the peoples governed with their religion regardless of all ethnic bonds and differences, together with contact between the sultan and the communities regarding their religious leadership', available online at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/religion-past-and-present/millet-system-SIM_14121 (accessed on 1 May 2014). Also see 'Millet' Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (Brill Online, 2014) at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/millet-COM_0741 (accessed on 1 May 2014). For a discussion of the cultural, political and spiritual function of *millets* in this period, see D. Goffman, 'Ottoman Millets in the Early Seventeenth Century', *New Perspectives on Turkey* 11 (1994), 135-158.

[13] On resident Jews in Ottoman territory and Jewish emigres to the Empire from Catholic Europe, see B. Lewis, *The Jews of Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984); S.J. Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991); W.F. Weiker, *Ottomans, Turks and the Jewish Polity: A History of Jews of Turkey* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1992); A. Levy (ed.), *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); M. Rozen, *A History of the Jewish Community of Istanbul: The Formative Years, 1453-1566* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); A. Levy, *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth Through the Twentieth Century* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002); M. Rozen, 'The Ottoman Jews', in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 3, Suraiya N. Faroqhi (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 256-271.

[14] H. Nuhoğlu, 'Müteferrika Matbaası ve Bazı Mülahazalar', p. 221; A. Rıza, *Batının Doğu Politikasının Ahlaken İflası* (Istanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1982), p. 119.

[15] This short account of the first Hebrew press in Constantinople owes greatly to/is based on the following studies: A. Marx (ed.), *The first book printed in Constantinople: an original leaf of Jacob ben Asher's 'Arba'ah Turim', Constantinople, 1493* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946); R. Posner and I. Ta-Shema, *The Hebrew Book* (Jerusalem, 1975); A. Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1992); A.K. Offenberg, 'The First Book Produced at

pages, and its immediate appearance in a city where printing was hitherto unknown is rather curious. Codicological evidence helps us to identify the origin of the Nahmias brothers from their possible connection with a press in Hijar, the second most prominent Hebrew printing centre in Spain, and to reconstruct their journey to Constantinople via Naples, where they added further printing material to their inventory. There is a remarkable gap of twelve years between the first and the second output of the Hebrew press in Constantinople. The second book produced was a Pentateuch with commentaries, printed in 1505.[16] The Nahmias family were actively involved in printing until 1518. This early period of Hebrew printing in Istanbul was very prolific and more than 100 books of remarkable variety and quality were published until 1530, a number exceeding the entire production of İbrahim Müteferrika, the Empire's first Turkish printer, in the eighteenth century.[17]

---

Constantinople: Jacob ben Asher's *Arba'ah Turim*, December 13, 1493', in idem (ed.), *A Choice of Corals: Facets of Fifteenth-Century Hebrew Printing* (Nieuwkoop: Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica, 1992), pp. 102-132; G. Bornstein and T.L. Tinkle, *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1998); Y. Ben Naeh, 'Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire', in G. Nasi (ed.), *Jewish Journalism and Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2001), pp. 35–82; K. Kreiser, *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians and Muslims* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001); Z.M. Baker, *Judaica in the Slavic Realm, Slavica in the Judaic Realm: Repositories, Collections, Projects, Publications* (London: Routledge, 2003); M.B. Lehmann, *Ladino Rabbinic Literature and Ottoman Sephardic Culture* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005); R. Simon, 'The Contribution of Hebrew Printing Houses and Printers in Istanbul to Ladino Culture and Scholarship', *Judaica Librarianship* 16/17 (2011), 125-135.

[16] For a detailed account of the printing history and material assessment of this volume, see N. Allan, 'A Typographical Odyssey: The 1505 Constantinople Pentateuch', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1.3 (1991), 343-352.

[17] On İbrahim Müteferrika, the first printer of Turkish in Arabic type in Constantinople, see N. Berkes, 'İlk Türk matbaası kurucusunun dinî ve fikrî kimliği', *Belleten*, 104 (1962), pp. 715-37; J. Baysal, *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyet'e kadar Osmanlı Türklerinin bastıkları kitaplar* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1968); E. Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika basımevi ve bastığı ilk eserler* (Ankara: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği, 1979); A. Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından günümüze Türkiye'de matbaa, basın ve yayın* (İstanbul: Literatür, 2000); E. Afyoncu, 'İlk Türk matbaasının kurucusu hakkında yeni bilgiler', *Belleten* 243 (2001), 607-22; H.G. Topdemir, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Türk matbaacılığı* (Ankara: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002); E. İhsanoğlu and H. Aynur, 'Yazmadan basmaya geçiş: Osmanlı basma kitap geleneğinin doğuşu 1729-1848', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi* 22 (2003), 219-55; F. Babinger, *18. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Kitabiyat*, N. Kuran-Burçoğlu (trans.) (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004); K. Beydilli, 'Müteferrika ve Osmanlı matbaası: 18. yüzyılda İstanbul'da kitabiyat', *Toplumsal Tarih* 128 (2004), 44-52; O. Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da ilk Osmanlı matbaa serüveni 1726-1746* (Istanbul: Yeditepe, 2006); Y. Gencer,
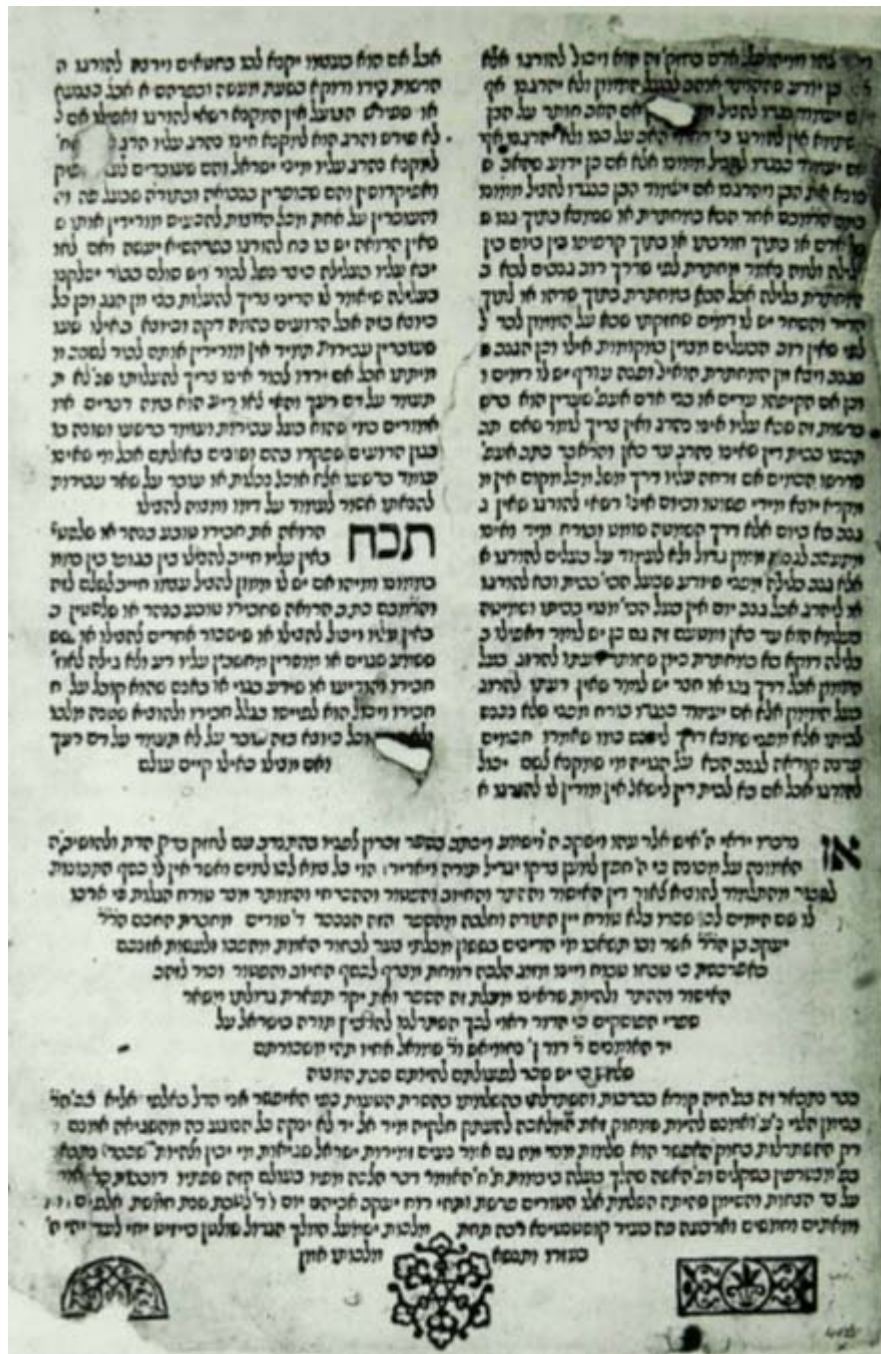
**Plate 2** – Colophon of *Arba'ah Turim* by Jacob ben Asher, printed in Constantinople on 13 December 1493. Reproduced in A.K. Offenberg, 'The Printing History of the Constantinople Hebrew Incunable of 1493: A Mediterranean Voyage of Discovery', *The British Library Journal* 22 (1996), p. 222 from British Library, shelfmark C.50.d.21, f. 150ᵛ.

---

'İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript', in C. Gruber (ed.), *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010), pp. 154-193.

The first Armenian printing press in Constantinople was established by Abgar Dpir Tokhatetsi of Sivas in 1567 in the Surp Nigogos Church (known today as Kefeli Mescid) in Edirnekapı. Abgar Dpir learned the art of printing in Venice, where he stayed for five years after his unsuccessful mission to Pope Pius IV in 1562. There he printed a broadsheet calendar titled *Kharnapntiur tomari (Confusion of the Calendar)* and a *Saghmosaran* (*Psalter*) as seen in Plate 3 below.[18]



**Plate 3** – *Saghmosaran* printed by Abkar Dpir in Venice, 1565. Detail from image reproduced in D. Kouymjian, *The Arts of Armenia* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1992), pl. 278.

---

[18] A.J. Hacikyan, G. Basmajian, E.S. Franchuk and N. Ouzounian, *The Heritage of Armenian Literature: From the Eighteenth Century to Modern Times* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2005), p. 44. Information on all Armenian prints, from Hakop Meghapart's 1512 Venice publication of a prayer book titled *Urbat'agirk'* (Friday Book) until the beginning of the nineteenth century, with a selection of images can be found in the Hakop Meghapart Project, National Library of Armenia, at: http://nla.am/arm/meghapart/index.htm (accessed on 24 March 2012). Another useful website regarding Armenian printing history is the Armenology Research National Center's database of e-books at: http://www.armenology.net/index.php?p=l (accessed on 24 March 2012).

In 1567, Abgar Dpir transferred his press to Constantinople and published the *Poqr qerakanutyun* (*Brief Armenian Grammar*) in collaboration with a monk by the name of Hotor. His enterprise ended when his work was interrupted by Ottoman officials in 1569, by which time he had printed five books including a liturgy, a prayer book and a Church calendar.[19]

The establishment of the first Greek printing press in Constantinople, on which the present thesis concentrates, is an interesting chapter in the history of the Ottoman capital. The Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople Cyril Loukaris (b. 1572-d. 1638; r. October 1612 (*locum tenens*), 4 November 1620-12 April 1623; 22 September 1623-4 October 1633; 11 October 1633-25 February 1634;  April 1634-March 1635; March 1637-20 June 1638), the head of the Orthodox people (*Rum milleti*) in the Ottoman Empire, himself allegedly of Calvinist sympathies,[20] joined forces with Protestant England and the Netherlands, cultivating close relations with their ambassadors, Sir Thomas Roe and Cornelis Haga, respectively. In the context of a rapprochement with the Anglican Church, a number of Greek students, including Metrophanes Kritopoulos (b. 1589-d. 1639; later Patriarch of Alexandria, 1636 -1639), were invited by the Archbishop of Canterbury George Abbot (b. 1562-d. 1633) to Oxford, in order to receive a sound theological education, free from the influence of Roman Catholics, who were active at the centres of learning for Greek. Despite his professed intentions to the contrary, it seems, Metaxas did not attend Oxford or Cambridge along with his compatriot, as we learn from the correspondence of Kritopoulos. In any case, he escaped all college records. What is clear, however, is that at a later stage Metaxas joined his merchant brother, who traded currants from Cephalonia, in London. He

---

[19] R.H. Kévorkian, 'Le livre imprimé en milieu arménien ottoman aux XVIe-XVIIIe siècles', *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 87-88 (September, 1999), available online at: http://remmm.revues.org/302 (accessed on 31 August 2012). See also V. Nersessian, *Catalogue of Early Armenian Books, 1512-1850* (London: The British Library, 1980).

[20] A French Catholic tract concerning the opinions of the patriarch dating from 1620s implies that Cyril has been synodical and has ceased to honour the Holy Sacrament under the influence of his 'heretical' friends: Paris, BnF, MS *fr.*, 16160, ff. 157r-v, 158r, 160v, quoted in D. Harai, 'Une chaire aux enchères: Ambassadeurs catholiques et protestants à la conquête du patriarcat grec de Constantinople (1620-1638)', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 58.2 (2011), 51.

mastered the art of printing there, subsequently publishing various titles bound in three volumes produced in two different printing houses. In response to Loukaris' wish to establish a publishing house in Constantinople under the auspices of the Patriarchate, Metaxas purchased a printing press at his own expense and brought it to Constantinople, having acquired the necessary knowledge, training and skills in the trade.

Metaxas arrived in Constantinople, carrying with him a hand-press device and some printing material, in June 1627, on board *Royal Defence*, a vessel that belonged to the Levant Company. Metaxas unloaded his cargo under the privileges of the English ambassador Sir Thomas Roe (b.1581-1644; in office 1621-1628). He was welcomed ashore by Loukaris, whose long-held wish of maintaining a printing press at the service of his Orthodox flock was finally to be fulfilled. Metaxas intended to employ the press for use at the Orthodox Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople to educate and rejuvenate the Orthodox flock by printing and disseminating Byzantine theological texts, as a response to the intense Catholic propaganda. Metaxas's first publication in his new surroundings was the *Σύντομος πραγματεία κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐν ἁπλῇ διαλέκτῳ* (*Brief Discourse against the Jews, in Vernacular Dialect*) by Loukaris himself. Metaxas's attempt to aid the Patriarch's flock was met with a clamour from the Jesuits, who felt antagonised by the circulation of his books.

During the production of a second work by Maximos Margounios (b. 1549–d.1602), Metaxas's print workshop was shut down, and his press was confiscated by Ottoman officials provoked by the incessant complaints of the French Jesuit priests. Numerous charges were levelled against Metaxas, including accusations that he wished to stir up a rebellion among Cossacks, that he published tracts against Muhammad and that he was an English agent.

# ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩ:
## ΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΩ
### ΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΠΑΠΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑ-

10  τειάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας τὰ νῦν δὲ οἰκουμ[εν]ικοῦ Κωνσταντινουπό-
λεως ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ σύντομος πραγματεία κ[ατὰ]
Ἰουδαίων ἐν ἁπλῇ διαλέκτῳ πρὸς Γεώργιον.

✳ ✳ ✳

15  ΙΣΧΥΣΕ κ[αὶ] πολλὰ ἡ εὔνοια ὁποῦ ἔχομεν πρὸς
τοῦ λόγου σου ἥμιε κύριε Γεώργιε ✳ ✳ ✳
νὰ μὴν παραβλέψωμεν τὴν αἴτησιν ὁποῦ μᾶς
ἔκαμες. ἡ ὁποία ἄλλη δὲν ἦτον παρὰ νὰ σημειώ-
σωμεν εἰς ἁπλὴν διάλεκτον μερικὰ τινὰ κ[ατὰ]
20  Ἰουδαίων. τὰ ὁποῖα νὰ τὰ χρειάζεσαι εἰς ταῖς
καθημεριναῖς κ[αὶ] συχναῖς διαλέξαις ὁποῦ κάμνεις μὲ κάποιούς σου φί-
λους Ἰουδαίους. μάλιστα διὰ νὰ τοὺς λύῃς ταῖς ἀπειλίαις ἐκείναις, μὲ ταῖς
ὁποίαις ἐκεῖνοι θαῤῥοῦσι, πῶς νὰ νικοῦσι κ[αὶ] σὲ, κ[αὶ] κάθε ἄλλον χριστια-
νόν.    Καλὰ λοιπὸν κ[αὶ] ἡ πρὸς σὲ εὔνοια νὰ μᾶς ἔκαμε νὰ ἀποδεχ-
25  θῶμεν τὴν αἴτησίν σου, ἀλλὰ μὲ περισσοτέραν ὄρεξιν ἐκλίναμεν εἰς
τοῦτο, γνωρίζοντας (ἂν δὲ σφάλῃ ἡ κρίσις ἡ ἡμετέρα) ὅτι πολλῶν
ἀνθρώπων ὁποῦ θέλουν ἀναγνώσει τὰ ὅσα περιέχει ἡ πραγματεία
αὔτη, κ[αὶ] ἡ καρδία κ[αὶ] ὁ λογισμὸς θέλει πληροφορηθῆ, ὅτι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι
εὑρίσκονται εἰς πλάνην, κ[αὶ] μάξη ὅσοι ἐκεῖνοι δὲν πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸν κύ-
30  ριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. τὸν ὁποῖον αὐτοὶ οἱ ἄθλιοι διὰ νὰ μὴν τὸν δεχθοῦσι

Α

Plate 4 – First page of Cyril Loukaris' *Σύντομος πραγματεία κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐν ἁπλῇ διαλέκτῳ* printed by Nikodemos Metaxas in Constantinople in 1627. Reproduced from Harvard University Library copy.

Metaxas managed to escape and take refuge at the English ambassador's residence adjacent to his print workshop. Upon trial, he was found innocent. Thanks to the mediation of Sir Thomas Roe, the Jesuit conspiracy was revealed, and the printing equipment returned to its rightful owner. Nevertheless, the press ceased its activities, as Metaxas was subsequently ordained Bishop of Cephalonia, Zakynthos and Ithaca, possibly as a compensation for his financial loss, and he left Constantinople to assume his episcopal throne. He then took his printing equipment and large collection of books to his native island.

A number of studies on seventeenth-century Greek history and early modern printing have mentioned the first Greek press of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The most influential articles on Nikodemos Metaxas are by Roberts and Layton, both of which appeared in 1967. These two articles introduced Metaxas to the English speaking world. Roberts made good use of Roe's *Negotiations*, and his was the first attempt to look into the material aspects of the printed books. He did not have access to all the editions, however, so his study was incomplete. Layton was very successful in matching the initial letters employed by Metaxas with those already in use at the London printing houses. There is a big gap, though, in terms of typefaces, paper and ink. Both articles suffer from serious shortcomings since neither of the authors conducted field research in search for the output of the press or any remains of its printing type-set and other equipment at the Patriarchal Library in Istanbul or in Cephalonia. Consequently, these accounts are either incomplete or partial, if not misleading.

After a gap of two decades, Dimitrios Grammatikos's unpublished thesis (University of Johannes Gutenberg, Mainz, 1988) shed further light on Metaxas's activities and ascertained the dates of his travels. Grammatikos gives a general introduction to the Ottoman history, without however making full use of the rich archival material available, thus leaving many questions unanswered. This thesis is not very well written and inaccurate at times.

More recently, Letterio Augliera's book-length study *Libri, politica, religione nel Levante del Seicento* (Venice, 1998) follows Metaxas's journey to his native island and scrutinises his printing activities there. Augliera made excellent use of the archival material in Venice and concentrated on Metaxas's activities in Cephalonia and the reverberations of his printing in the *Serenissima*, while leaving gaps as to the details of his stay in London and Constantinople.

None of these studies adopt a purely material perspective by focusing on the books themselves as objects, nor do they take into account the texts and the editing process. The present study differentiates itself in terms of methodology and perspective, focusing both on textual (contents of the tracts) and non-textual (material qualities of the prints) aspects of Metaxas's output. The aim of the thesis is to explore in greater depth the account of the first Greek printing press in Constantinople and its development in the wider context of the intricate web of relations behind its establishment and closure, and its shared history with other printing houses in Constantinople.

This study is based on published and unpublished material, including the diplomatic reports and the correspondence between European ambassadors to the Ottoman Porte; the correspondence between George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Patriarch Cyril Loukaris; the letters and official reports of Sir Thomas Roe preserved in the National Archives; George Abbot's book collection in Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), among which are the manuscript that were sent to him from Constantinople; copies of all the volumes published by Metaxas in London, Constantinople and Cephalonia housed in various libraries including the British Library, the National Library of Greece, the Bodleian Library and the Library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. My research in Cephalonian archives located a contemporary document bearing Metaxas's hand, but the private library of the printer, reportedly housed at the St Gerasimos Monastery, is no longer in existence.[21]

---

[21] A nineteenth-century local source suggests that the library was intact at the time; see I. Loverdos-Kostes, Ἱστορία τῆς Νήσου Κεφαλληνίας: Δοκίμιον συγγραφέων ἰταλιστί,

I have not been able to discover any Ottoman documents directly related to the setting up and closure of Metaxas's print shop in Constantinople. There is no mention of Metaxas's arrival and his printing activities, the Jesuit accusations levelled at him or his trial by the *kaymakam* and the *mufti* in any of the catalogues of Ottoman registers I examined so far. The practical difficulties of conducting research in Turkish archives posed by non-existent or poorly written catalogues, inadequate research facilities and time-related limitations stunted the development of the thesis in certain respects. The scarcity of substantial studies concerning contours of social and intellectual life in the Ottoman Empire in this period should also be noted.

The present study is the first attempt to match manuscripts with printed texts produced by Metaxas, portraying him not merely as a printer but as an editor-publisher, who prepared the paratextual material (foreword, letter to the reader, contents, index, *errata* etc.),[22] and compiled the texts for his editions. Furthermore, I have attempted to link the private libraries of Metrophanes Kritopoulos, George Abbot and Cyril Loukaris to the printed texts produced by Metaxas in an unprecedented fashion. The present study is the first of its kind to conduct an in-depth examination of the possibility that Metaxas might have used previously

---

ἐξελληνισθὲν ὑπὸ Π.Κ. Γρατσιάτου. Ἐκδίδεται ἐπιμελείᾳ Γερασίμου Ἀ. Λοβέρδου Κόστη (Cephalonia: Τυπογραφία Προόδου, 1888), p. 138.

[22] Gérard Genette coined the term 'peritext' to specify these type of presentation material, which is 'the direct and principal responsibility of the publisher (or the publishing house)'. The publisher's peritext forms the paratextual space together with the 'epitext'. He explains:

> Within the same volume are such elements as the title or the preface and sometimes elements inserted into the interstices of the text, such as chapter titles or certain notes. I will give the name peritext to this first spatial category...The distanced elements are all those messages that, at least originally, are located outside the book, generally with the help of the media (interviews, conversations) or under cover of private communications (letters, diaries, and others). This second category is what, for lack of a better word, I call epitext...As must henceforth go without saying, peritext and epitext completely and entirely share the spatial field of the paratext. In other words, for those who are keen on formulae, paratext = peritext + epitext.

G. Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of interpretation*, translated by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 4-5

printed material in Europe as his source texts. This argument is supported by evidence from older editions available to Metaxas in England, as well as the correspondence between David Höschel, the editor-publisher of Greek texts in Frankfurt, and Greek intellectuals of the age such as Margounios and Loukaris. This investigation of the early modern interactions between European publishers and Greek intellectuals sheds further light on the subject and links Metaxas's printing activities with those of other printing houses producing Greek texts elsewhere in Europe. Thus it offers an original viewpoint in terms of unearthing the intellectual network between Western Europe and the Levant linked by an exchange of letters, ideas, information, references, gifts, printed books and manuscripts for publication.

This thesis is the first study to put the Greek press into the context of printing history in Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire in general, answering the age-old question of whether it was illegal to print in the Empire. It links the first Greek press with the Jewish, Armenian and the first official Ottoman Press in the Empire, providing a short account of the apparition of the printed text in Constantinople. Furthermore, the thesis explores the press in its historical continuum, in other words, it investigates how the Greek Patriarchate got access to printed books before and after Metaxas's arrival in Constantinople. The subject-matter of the thesis is not only those books printed by Metaxas which survived, but also the texts intended for print which never got printed or were lost.

As one of the earliest printing presses to be set up in Constantinople under the Ottoman rule, the Greek press deserves greater attention than it has previously received. The thesis sheds light on an important chapter of early modern printing history, in particular, and Ottoman cultural history and the history of the Greek community in Constantinople, in general.

**PART I**

**CHAPTER 1**

**The Early Life of Nikodemos Metaxas**

The Metaxases were a prominent family, whose ancestry could be traced to a Byzantine lineage. The three Metaxas brothers, Sergios, Marcantonio and Nikolaos, immigrated to Greece after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. [1] They set sail from Constantinople to Crete via Chios, where they parted, and each brother went his own way: Sergios settled in Corfu, Nikolaos went to Leukas and Marcantonio continued to the town of Fratzata in Cephalonia, which was later named Metaxata, after the noble family. Metaxas's father, Valianos, was the fifth generation in Marcantonio's line. [2]

The material available for mapping out the early life of Nikodemos Metaxas is extremely scanty, and very little is known about his activities before he arrived in Constantinople. Born in the village of Kerameies in Cephalonia in 1585, [3] he was christened Nikolaos and took the monastic name Nikodemos[4] sometime before 1619. [5]  He had three brothers by the names of Ioannes Baptistes, Iacovos

---

[1] Loverdos-Kostes, *Ἱστορία τῆς Νήσου Κεφαλληνίας*, p. 138.

[2] D. Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas: Die erste griechische Druckerei in Konstantinopel und auf Kephalonia', (PhD thesis, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, 1988), pp. 107-108.

[3] K.N. Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία: Βιογραφίαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι διαλαμψάντων Ἑλλήνων, ἀπὸ τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς Βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μέχρι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐθνεγερσίας (1453-1821)* (Athens: ἐκ τῆς τυπογραφίας τῶν τέκνων Ἀνδρέου Κορόμηλα, 1868), p. 274; E. Metaxas, *Ἱστορία τῆς οἰκογενείας Μεταξᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ 1081 μέχρι τοῦ 1864 ἔτους* (Athens: Εκ του Τυπογραφείου Αλεξ. Παπαγεωργίου, 1893), p. 32; E.A. Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακὰ Σύμμικτα: συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ λαογραφίαν τῆς νήσου Κεφαλληνίας εἰς τόμους τρεῖς*, vol. II (Athens: Π. Λεωνής, 1960), p. 101; E. Layton, 'Nikodemos Metaxas, the First Greek Printer in the Eastern World', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 15 (1967), p. 140; G. Bokos, *Τὰ πρῶτα Ἑλληνικὰ Τυπογραφεῖα στὸ χῶρο τῆς 'Καθ' Ἡμᾶς Ἀνατολῆς', 1627-1827* (Athens: Ἑλληνικὸ Λογοτεχνικὸ καὶ Ἱστορικὸ Ἀρχεῖο, 1997), p.  32.

[4] According to Orthodox monastic tradition, monks and nuns took new monastic names beginning with the same letter as their baptismal names.

[5] Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 109; L. Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione nel Levante del Seicento: La tipografia di Nicodemo Metaxas, primo editore di testi greci nell'Oriente ortodosso* (Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1996), p. 10; Layton, 'Nikodemos Metaxas', pp. 140-141.

and Angelos.[6] He received his primary education from his uncle Nikodemos Metaxas (the Elder), who held the position of Bishop of Cephalonia and Zakynthos between 1591 and 1600.[7] Metaxas's uncle was a well-connected clergyman in the region, known for his scholarly interests. [8]

Metaxas later became a student of Theophilos Korydaleus (b. 1563-d. 1646) in Athens, at the school the latter had established. Korydaleus was one of the most eminent Greek thinkers of seventeenth century. He studied at the *Collegio Greco di St Atanasio* in Rome and subsequently graduated from the University of Padua with a doctorate in philosophy and medicine. From 1609 onwards, he taught in Venice, before returning to Athens in 1613.[9] Then in 1620, most probably at Metaxas's invitation, he went to Cephalonia. Korydaleus devoted much of his life to teaching, only interrupted by a brief interval when he took up the monastic habit between 1622 and 1625. He was later invited to Constantinople by Loukaris to reform the Patriarchal School.[10] Since Korydaleus taught in Athens for six years between 1614 and 1620, Metaxas, then in his early thirties, must have been in the city at around the same time. Metaxas studied in Athens for two years.[11] However, it is difficult to tell where those two years fall

---

[6] Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 109.

[7] E.A. Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακὰ Σύμμικτα*, vol. II, p. 408, n. 1. G. Pentogalos, *Παΐσιος Μεταξᾶς (Στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν Ἱστορία τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Φιλοσοφίας τοῦ δεκάτου ἕκτου καὶ δέκατου ἑβδόμου αἰώνα)* (Athens: [s.n.], 1972), p. 523, gives the dates of his term as 1590-1600, while Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', pp. 109-110, as January 1591/2 and March 1592.

[8] Pentagalos, *Παΐσιος Μεταξᾶς*, pp. 523-524.

[9] G.P. Henderson, *The Revival of Greek Thought 1620-1830* (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Academic Press, 1971), p. 13; Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, p. 10, n. 7.

[10] His reforms in the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople are discussed below, p. 107. For a detailed biography of Korydaleus, see C.D. Tsourkas, *Les débuts de l'enseignement philosophique et de la libre pensée dans les Balkans: La vie et l'œuvre de Théophile Corydalée, 1570-1646* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1967).

[11] Veniero's original report is preserved in Venice, Archivio di Stato, Senato Dispacci Constantinapoli, Filza 105, no. 47. Relevant parts are quoted in Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, pp. 44-8; Layton, 'Nikodemos Metaxas', pp. 147-8, gives a partial English translation. An earlier and somewhat erroneous translation of this letter was published in 'Venice - September 1627, 1-10', *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, vol. 20 (1914) pp. 348-365. For a Greek translation of Veniero's reports concerning the activities of Metaxas, see K.D. Mertzios, *Πατριαρχικά, ἤτοι ἀνέκδοτοι πληροφορίαι σχετικαὶ πρὸς τοὺς Πατριάρχας*

within this six year period, or to ascertain the exact dates of his enrolment and graduation.[12] Metaxas's fellow students in Athens[13] included his cousin Paisios Metaxas[14] and his friend Angelos Venizelos, with whom he was to be re-united in Venice later.[15]

Another important figure associated with the early life of Nikodemos is Metrophanes Kritopoulos, later Patriarch of Alexandria (b. 1589–d.1639, r. 1636–1639).[16] Kritopoulos was born in 1589 in Veria, Western Greece.[17] At the age of twelve, he was appointed *protapostolarios* by the Metropolitan of Veria.[18] Like Nikodemos, Kritopoulos received his primary education from his uncle and

*Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ 1556-1702* (Athens: Γραφεῖον Δημοσιευμάτων τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 1951), pp. 29-78.

[12] Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 111; Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione,* p. 10.

[13] Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', builds up his entire argument that Kritopoulos was also amongst the students in Athens simply on the grounds that two young Greek men were known to each other. Uninhibited by the lack of evidence, he states (p. 113): 'Since Metrophanes arrived in London in 1617, and if we add the preparations for the journey, Metaxas and he must have studied together in 1616.' This assumption is incorrect, since Kritopoulos never studied in Athens.

[14] Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακὰ Σύμμικτα*, vol. I, p.408; Pentogalos, *Παΐσιος Μεταξᾶς*, p. 524.

[15] Venizelos wrote an encomium on the life and achievements of Metaxas, published in A. Krabari, 'Ἀγγέλου Μπενιζέλου ἀνέκδοτο ἐγκώμιο στὸν Νικόδημο Μεταξᾶ', *Κεφαλληνιακὰ Χρονικὰ* II (1977), 291-318; for their schooling in Athens, see p. 296.

[16] For a short biography of Kritopoulos, see Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, p. 297 and Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellenique,* vol. 5, pp. 192-218. Full length studies on Kritopoulos include: A.K. Dimitrakopoulos, *Δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων Μητροφάνους τοῦ Κριτόπουλου Πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας* (Leipzig: Τύποις Μέτζγερ καὶ Βίττιγ, 1870); G.G. Mazarakis, *Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τοὺς κώδικας τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ ἄλλας πηγάς* (Cairo: Μιχαήλ Κ. Νομικός, 1884); M. Renieres, *Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ καὶ Γερμανίᾳ φίλοι αὐτοῦ, 1617-1628* (Athens: Ἀδελφοὶ Περρή, 1893); K.I. Diovouniotes, *Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος* (Athens: Τυπ. Βλαστοῦ, 1915); I.N. Karmiris, *Μητροφάνης ὁ Κριτόπουλος καὶ ἡ ἀνέκδοτος ἀλληλογραφία αὐτοῦ, νῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδιδομένη* (Athens: Τύποις Παρασκευᾶ Λεώνη, 1937); K.I. Diovouniotes, *Ἡ φιλοδίκη τοῦ Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου* (Athens: Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, 1938); I.N. Karmiris, *Ἡ ὁμολογία μετὰ τῶν πρὸς Γῶδον ἀποκρίσεων τοῦ Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου καὶ ἡ δογματικὴ διδασκαλία αὐτοῦ* (Athens: Τύποις Φοίνικος, 1948); C. Davey, 'Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου κατὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ διαμονὴν αὐτοῦ', *Θεολογία* 41.1 (1970), 116-136; A. Tillyrides, 'Συμβολαὶ καὶ διορθώσεις εἰς τὴν ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ Μητροφάνους Κριτόπουλου, 1589–1639', *Θεολογία* 45.2 (1974), 360-404; C. Davey, *Pioneer for Unity: Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589-1639) and Relations between the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches* (London: The British Council of Churches, 1987).

[17] Dimitrakopoulos, *Δοκίμιον,* p. 4.

[18] Dimitrakopoulos, *Δοκίμιον,* p. 4; F.H. Marshall, 'An Eastern Patriarch's Education in England', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 46.2 (1926), 187; Davey, *Pioneer for Unity,* p. 15.

travelled to Thessaloniki with him.[19] In 1606, following in the footsteps of his uncle, he became a monk at Mount Athos. Kritopoulos remained on Mount Athos until the day Cyril Loukaris, then Patriarch of Alexandria (and later of Constantinople), visited the Iveron Monastery in 1613. Kritopoulos impressed the Patriarch with his skills and piety. 'Desiring to further [his] studies and education', he left his uncle to join Loukaris's company and travelled with him. [20] This visit was a turning-point in Kritopoulos's life, as it introduced him to a wider world of opportunities.

In a letter to Johannes Braun, Kritopoulos details the itinerary of his peregrinations with Loukaris through Moldavia, Wallachia, Constantinople and Cairo, finally to Alexandria.[21] In the same letter, Kritopoulos narrates how he was sent to England and gives details of his journey to London. By this time, Loukaris was already in correspondence with George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, through Sir Paul Pindar, the English ambassador in Constantinople (1611–1620) and his chaplain Revd. William Foord.[22] Abbot communicated King James I's offer to sponsor the education of Greek students in England to the Patriarch.  Four places with scholarships were allocated, but Loukaris chose to send only one student, who was no other than Metrophanes Kritopoulos from Veria.[23]  On 1 March 1616, Cyril wrote to Abbot from Egypt:

> We received the greatest comfort from the reply of your Blessedness, by which, acting under the command of your King, you advised us to send some of our country-men to study Theology amongst you with diligence. Here then is a Greek, by rank a Presbyter, possessing a good knowledge of Greek literature, a child of our Alexandrian Church, of noble birth and talents, prepared to receive deeper learning.[24]

---

[19] Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 15.

[20] Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 33.

[21] Karmiris, *Μητροφάνης ὁ Κριτόπουλος*, p. 197.

[22] J.B. Pearson, *A Biographical Sketch of the Chaplains to the Levant Company* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1883), p. 47.

[23] C. Davey, 'Fair Exchange? Old Manuscripts for New Printed Books', in R. Cormack and E. Jeffreys (eds), *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes* (London: Ashgate Variorum, 2000), pp.127-8; J. Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox: unity and subversion 1559-1725* (Herefordshire: Gracewing Publishing, 2003), pp. 13-15.

[24] J.M. Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church: The Patriarchate of Alexandria*, (London: Printed by Joseph Masters, 1847), vol. 2, p. 384; English translation reproduced in Marshall, 'An

IMAGO VERA REVERENDI ET CLARISSIMI
VIRI DÑI METROPHANIS CRITOPULI,
Berrœensis Macedonici Hieromonachi et
Sigilliferi Patriarchalis Primarii.

Aetatis suæ Anno 38
Nativitatis Christi 1627

Μηδὲν καλ᾿ τ᾿ῷ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων

Phidiaca pictum quem cernis imagine, Lector,
    Vultum METROPHANES sic CRITOPULUS habet.
Hunc genuit BERRHŒA, sacris laudata libellis;
    Vir Patriâ dignus, Patria digna Viro.
Namq, Patres quicquid Latii et scripsere Pelasgi,
    Biblia quicquid alunt, callet et unus amat.
Quem postquam octo annos Germania et Anglia vidit,
    Jam videt ad Græcos mæsta redire Lares.

Is. Heyde pinxit.
Ia. Heyden sculpsit.

Φιλίας χ᾿ εὐνοίας ἕνεκα f.
M. Samuel Glonerus, Argentinensis Poeta Laureatus

**Plate 5** — Metrophanes Kritopoulos in Strasbourg in 1627.
Reproduced in Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 146.

Eastern Patriarch's Education', pp. 186-187; Latin original printed in J. Aymon, *Monuments authentiques de la religion des grecs et de la fausseté de plusieurs confessions de foi des chrétiens orientaux* (The Hague: Charles Delo, 1708), pp. 44-48.

Rome was not unaware of this alliance. On 23 January 1624, Pope Urban VIII complained of 'this heretic Calvinist' sending his monks to the University of Oxford in England.[25]

Furnished with a reference letter from Cyril addressed to James I,[26] Kritopoulos arrived in England in the summer of 1617. He was sent to Gresham College in London for a short time.[27] In September, he enrolled at Balliol College, Oxford, where he studied for five years before returning to London.[28] Kritopoulos took courses in theology, learning Latin and English during his stay. Like most young men who studied at a university at the time, he left Oxford without a degree. Nevertheless, he appears on the lists of the notable personalities of Oxford University and Balliol College.[29]

From a series of undated letters sent by Kritopoulos to his contacts in London and Cambridge, we learn that the two Greek men met during their stay in England and possibly worked together in editing the works Nikodemos published. Kritopoulos's itinerary as detailed by himself leaves no doubt that he was not among the students of Korydaleus in Athens. Earlier, I had established that Korydaleus taught in Athens between 1614 and 1619.[30] Since Kritopoulos was a resident monk on Mount Athos until he joined the Patriarch's retinue in 1613 and remained with Cyril up to the year 1617, when

---

[25] Quoted in Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, p. 29, from *Istruzioni date d'ordine di N. S. Papa Urbano VIII a Nuntij nel principio del suo Pontificato* (Roma, 23 gennaio 1624): Venice, Archivio di Stato, Miscellanea Codici, Diversi, II, 55, c.32v.

[26] This letter is published in Dimitrokopoulos, *Δοκίμιον*, pp. 9-10.

[27] Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 75; Marshall, 'An Eastern Patriarch's Education', p. 188.

[28] Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 73; Karmiris, *Μητροφάνης ὁ Κριτόπουλος*, p. 197.

[29] W. Fulman, *Notitia Oxoniensis Axademiae*. Londini: Typis T.R. Impensis Ric. Davis, 1675, p. 53; H. Savage, *Balliofergus, or, A commentary upon the foundation, founders and affaires of Balliol Colledge* (Oxford: A.&L. Lichfield, 1668), pp. 119-120; the same text with *Balliofergus* is partly reproduced in A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops Who have had their Education in the most Ancient and Famous University of Oxford*, vol. I (London: Printed for Tho. Bennet, 1691-1692), p. 634; 'Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714: Covert-Cutts', *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714: Abannan-Kyte* (1891), pp. 338-365, available online at: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=117054 (accessed on 9 May 2011); J. Jones, *Balliol College: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 96.

[30] See above, pp. 33-34.

he was sent to England, there is no chance that he might have spent this time in Athens.

A letter from Korydaleus to Metaxas dated 17 August 1619 addressing him as 'ἱερομόναχος' (priest-monk) indicates Metaxas had left Athens by that time in order to take up a monastic position. In this letter, which was later published in London by Metaxas,[31] Korydaleus gives an account of his discontentment with his life in Athens and the likelihood that he might have to move to Crete, where he had been invited to teach. Metaxas, on the other hand, insists that Cephalonia would benefit greatly from his ministration; therefore he should consider teaching there. Being uncertain where to go, Korydaleus replies that he needs time to consider his options. He concludes his letter with good wishes to Ioannes Baptistes, Metaxas's eldest brother, and Ioannes' son, Hierotheos. Ioannes Baptistes also studied in Venice and Padua. Belonging to the same privileged and well-educated circle of Greeks, it is more than likely that he was also personally known to Korydaleus.[32] All the evidence indicates that Metaxas was in Cephalonia among family and friends at the time this letter was written.[33] He remained there at least until 13 September 1621, when we find his name mentioned in a legal document written by his relative Paisios Metaxas and signed by Nikodemos as a witness.[34]

The question of whether Metaxas visited Constantinople prior to his arrival in 1627 is difficult to answer with certainty. One erroneous assumption is that Metaxas was appointed πρωτοσύγκελος —or 'μυστικὸς σύμβουλος', as Grammatikos terms it— during Cyril's first term as Patriarch of Constantinople,

---

[31] *Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων. Ἔκθεσις περὶ ῥητορικῆς τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυρίου Θεοφίλου Κορυδαλλέως τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, τοῦ ὕστερον διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος Θεοδοσίου μετονομασθέντος* (Londonii: Ex Officina G. S. Typographi, 1625), p. 65. For more information on this letter, see M. Karpozilou, 'The Epistolarion of Theophilos Korydaleus', *Ἑλληνικά* 49 (1999), 289-303. See also Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 111; Layton, 'Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 141.

[32] Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακὰ Σύμμικτα*, vol. I (Athens: Π. Λεωνής, 1904), p. 428.

[33] Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 112, n. 19.

[34] Pentogalos, *Παΐσιος Μεταξᾶς*, p. 525. The MS in question is part of the Greek State Archives, Γ.Α.Κ., Ἀρχεία Νομοῦ Κεφαλληνίας, Ἀρχεῖο Θρησκείας, Μονές, Ἅγιος Γεράσιμος Ὁμαλῶν, Κώδικας Δ', 1601-1688, Φ. 12, f. 59ʳ.

which falls between 4 November 1620 and 17 April 1623.[35] Both Katephores and Grammatikos confuse Nikodemos with his cousin Paisios Metaxas, who held this post. Grammatikos further argues that Metaxas entered the Mandra Monastery in Constantinople at some point after leaving Cephalonia and before setting out for England.[36] Grammatikos must have overlooked the fact that his source, Katephores, actually refers to a later incident in Constantinople, when the Jesuits were agitated by the humble revolt Metaxas's printing establishment in Pera stirred up, and contacted Mandra Monastery to summon him to their cloister.[37] Their intention was to undermine his printing activities by relegating Metaxas to a monastic habit in the suburbs of Constantinople, away from Pera, where all the political tumult was taking place. There is no evidence whatsoever that Metaxas resided at Mandra at any point.

Scholars offer differing opinions on the date of Metaxas's arrival in England. The earliest suggestion comes from Sathas, who places his arrival in London in the year 1620, but this theory is already proved to be superfluous by the documentary evidence in the Cephalonian archives.[38]

In England, Nikodemos stayed with his elder brother Iacovos, who was a London merchant.[39] Iacovos had strong ties to the Levant Company in London, and was most probably trading currants from Cephalonia, though there is no documentary evidence to support this, as Iacovos Metaxas escaped the Levant Company records.[40] The assumption that he was importing currants is based on the fact that this type of raisin was the chief export of Cephalonia and Zakynthos in the seventeenth century, and almost all of the produce was

---

[35] P. Katephores, Ὁ Χάρτης καὶ αἱ Γραφικαὶ Τέχναι (Athens: [s.n.], 1965), p. 99; Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 113.

[36] Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p.112.

[37] Katephores, Γραφικαὶ Τέχναι, p. 103.

[38] Sathas, Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία, p. 274.

[39] Tsitseles, Κεφαλληνιακὰ Σύμμικτα, vol. II, p. 102.

[40] National Archives, State Papers 105, incorporates a vast collection of documents related to the Levant Company to the year 1796. The series includes records of the Levant Company's London-based governing body, the General Court, and its officers, including minute books of the General Court (1611 to 1706); letter books of instructions to ambassadors, consuls and other agents (1606 to 1825) and treasurer's accounts.

bought by English tradesmen.[41] According to the report of English ambassador Sir Thomas Roe, who made a station at Zakynthos on his way to Constantinople, the islands of Cephalonia and Zakynthos obtained an annual revenue of £7,000,000 out of currants, 'two thirds whereof carried to his majesties dominions'.[42] Around the time Nikodemos arrived in England, on 11 November 1624, the Privy Council gave the Venetians permission to bring in currants, which meant that they no longer needed to sell them to English merchants at the port of departure.[43]

Layton and Roberts suggest that Metaxas arrived in London in 1623 or at the end of 1622 at the earliest.[44] Being a Venetian subject in London, he was known to the ambassadors Alvise Valleresso (24.VI.1622-4.X.1624) and Zuanne Pesaro (27.IX. 1624-29.V.1626), according to Veniero's report. The fact that Metaxas was never mentioned by Girolamo Lando, the predecessor to Valleresso, indicates that he had not arrived before July 1622.

Two letters written by Kritopoulos also offer clues to Metaxas's date of arrival. Kritopoulos wrote to Matthias Turner, an Oxford friend of his, who became a clergyman in London after graduating from Balliol. He started exchanging letters with Kritopoulos, who was at the time longing to move to London. Eight letters out of this correspondence survive. On 10 April 1622, Kritopoulos informs Turner that Archbishop Abbot gave him permission to visit Cambridge

---

[41] M. Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1908), p. 109 and pp. 116-117. See also A. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935).

[42] T. Roe, *The negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe, in his embassy to the Ottoman porte, from the year 1621 to 1628 inclusive* (London: Printed by Samuel Richarson, 1740), p. 11, describes the English craze for currants as follows:

> […] only I will tell you that people here think wee cannot liue without
> them, and therefore, value them at gold; yet others have thought we fedd
> hoggs with them; so great is the quantity aboue all Europe aside.

The trade became so lucrative with the increasing demand in England that the traders began not to accept any other payment type than cash, which meant the Company traders spent their Spanish *real*s in these islands rather than trading English goods. Resolute that the kingdom should put an end to 'these superfluities', Roe requests George Calvert, Secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, to inform the King of the situation.

[43] Epstein, *Levant Company*, p. 93, n. 75.

[44] R.J. Roberts, 'The Greek Press at Constantinople and its Antecedents', *The Library* 22.1 (1967), p. 16; Layton, 'Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 144.

but he would have to come back to Oxford after this trip. Kritopoulos also passed on the good news that he would soon be able to move to London. In October 1622, he was summoned to Lambeth, marking the beginning date of his two-year stay in London. From there, he wrote to Turner, who was back in Oxford this time. He reminds Turner of a previous conversation on the subject of Nikodemos Metaxas: 'the Greek Nikodemos I mentioned to you, who has recently arrived in England'. Then he reveals that Nikodemos intends to publish an epistolary manual by Korydaleus, which is no other than *Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων (On Epistolary Types)* printed in London in 1625.[45] He assures Turner that Nikodemos is very knowledgeable 'in the method of letter writing worked out by Korydaleus' and he 'wants to make it available to those who love learning by having it printed.' Kritopoulos also writes that Nikodemos is still undecided whether he will study in Cambridge or Oxford. This letter is undated, but chronologically falls between November 1622 and July 1623.[46]

Not having decided where to study, Nikodemos seems to have approached a Cambridge scholar through Kritopoulos. The latter wrote to Andrew Downes (1549-1625), fellow of St John's College and professor of Greek, to seek his advice on the issue of Metaxas's studies.[47] Downes was involved in the translation of the Authorised Version of the Bible in 1605 with his pupil John Bois, and both men were engaged in Sir Henry Savile's highly praised but commercially unsuccessful edition of the works of John Chrysostom.[48] This 1612 Eton edition of Chrysostom in eight volumes was a colossal work, indeed.[49] The production costs amounted to an enormous £8,000, while the sale price for each

---

[45] See above, note 52.

[46] Quoted in Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 116; Letter is published in Davey, 'Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία', pp. 123-5. Layton, 'Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 145, dates this letter to late 1623 or early 1624, and Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, pp. 31-33, between 1622 and 1624.

[47] E. Leedham-Green and N.G. Wilson, 'Downes, Andrew (*c*.1549–1628)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7972 (accessed on 8 June 2011).

[48] This was mainly because a pirate edition with facing Greek and Latin texts appeared in 1614, published by Savile's collaborator Fronton du Duc in Antwerp.

[49] *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου, Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου* (Eton, 1612).

of the 1,000 sets was fixed at £9.[50] It is no wonder Archbishop Abbot feared the loss of these valuable volumes when he entrusted Kritopoulos with what was intended as a gift to Patriarch Cyril. He wrote:

> I bought [Kritopoulos] new out of the shoppe many of the best Greeke authors, and among them Chrysostomes eight tomes. I furnished him also with other books of worth, in Latin and in English; so that I may boldly say, it was a present fit for mee to send to the patriarke of Constantinople. [51]

The Archbishop feared the loss of these books because, when the time for his departure finally arrived, Kritopoulos preferred to travel over land to visit the Reformed churches of Europe, rather than embarking on a ship bound for Constantinople. To his eminence's great displeasure, 'hee fell into the company of certaine Greeks' whom he considers to be 'counterfeits and vagabonds'.[52] Nikodemos must have been among this group of Greeks in London, with whom Kritopoulos was in close contact. Another 'certaine Greek' was Christopher Angelos, for whose work Kritopoulos was in search of a Latin translator.[53]

Abbot's fear that the books would be lost on the way was unfounded since the future Patriarch of Alexandria was known to be a great bibliophile.[54] Kritopoulos had already arranged with his friends in London for his books to be sent to Venice, and he received them during his stay in the city. He never conveyed the books to their intended recipient; however, the complete works of Chrysostom eventually reached Kritopoulos' library in Alexandria. The

---

[50] R.D. Goulding, 'Savile, Sir Henry (1549–1622)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24737 (accessed on 8 June 2011)

[51] Letter from Abbot to Roe, dated Croydon, 12 August 1623; Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 172.

[52] Ibid.

[53] On Angelos' printing activities and his probable collaboration with Metaxas, see below, p. 59.

[54] Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 140; Karmiris, p.80.

collection is not entirely intact, but several volumes are extant today, while others were probably lost or stolen after the Patriarch's death.[55]

The late sixteenth century was a period when a strong dialogue flourished between Eastern Christians and Protestants. The original goal was to unite the Orthodox and Protestant Churches, for Lutherans needed the support of the Greek theologians to strengthen their position against the Catholics. To this end, Jeremias II, Patriarch of Constantinople (b.1530-d.1595, in office 1572-1579, 1580-1584, 1587-1595), seems to have made quite an effort. He assigned theologians from the Holy Synod to correspond with scholars in Tübingen in 1573. However,

after seven years of doctrinal dispute, he became resolute that the divide between the Protestants and the Eastern rite was irreconcilable and abruptly ended the dialogue in 1581.[56] But, even after the failure of that goal, the friendly correspondence between Tübingen and Constantinople continued. Martin Crusius (1526–1607),[57] a philhellene and historian at Tübingen University and

[55] Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 287. See T.D. Moschonas, *Κατάλογοι τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης* (Alexandria: Τυπογραφεῖον Ἀνατολή, 1946), vol. 2, p. 44, no. 109 (Τόμος Τρίτος); p. 45, no. 112 (Τόμος Δεύτερος); p. 46, no. 113 (Τόμος Τέταρτος), no. 115 (Τόμος Πέμπτος); p. 47, no. 116 (Τόμος Ὄγδοος); pp. 47-48, no. 118 (Τόμος Πρῶτος); p.51, no. 124 (Τόμος Ἕκτος), no. 125 *etc*.

[56] P. Schaff, *The creeds of Christendom* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1819), vol. I, pp. 50-52; G.E. Zachariades, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel im 16. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1941); H. Schaeder (ed.), *Wort und Mysterium: Der Briefwechsel über Glaube und Kirche 1573 bis 1581 zwischen den Tübinger Theologen und dem Patriachen von Konstantinopel* (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1958); D. Wendebourg, *Reformation und Orthodoxie: Der ökumenische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der Württembergischen Kirche und Patriarch Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1573-1581* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986); S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968) pp. 238-58; G. Mastrantonis, *Augsburg and Constantinople: The Correspondence between the Tübingen Theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1982); C.N. Tsirpanlis, *The Historical and Ecumenical Significance of Jeremias II's Correspondence with the Lutherans* (New York: The American Institute for Patristic and Byzantine Studies, 1982); J.H. Reumann and H. Paul (eds), *East-West Church Relations in the Sixteenth Century: Jeremias Tranos and the Lutherans of Tübingen* (Kingston, NY: Patristic and Byzantine Review, 1985).

[57] S. Karouzou, *Μαρτίνος Κρούσιος. Ὁ πρῶτος φιλέλλην* (Athens: Ἐκδόσεις Ἕσπερος, 1973); G.P. Wolf, 'Martin Crusius (1526–1607). Philhellene und Universitätsprofessor', in E. Schneider (ed.), *Fränkische Lebensbilder*, vol. 22 (Würzburg: Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte, 2009), pp. 103-119.

the celebrated author of *Turco-Graecia*,[58] was interested in everything Greek (both ancient and modern). Documents such as travel reports, detailed descriptions of places, churches and monasteries, lists of clergymen, scholars, academies, libraries and codices, which he received from Constantinople, bear testimony to his interests.[59] Crusius obtained this information through various contacts in the city, including Ioannes Zygomalas and his son Theodosios, high-ranking officials at the Patriarchate, and Stephan Gerlach, Crusius' former student and chaplain to the Imperial Ambassador in Constantinople.[60]

To give an idea of the extent of interconnectedness between early modern scholarly communities, it should be pointed out that Maximos Margounios, a Greek scholar and calligrapher, at that time, resident in Venice and engaged in editing numerous Greek works, also collaborated with Savile on his edition of Chrysostom.[61] Margounios will appear later in this study as the author of nine sample letters extant in *Περὶ Ἐπιστολικῶν Τύπων* and the two tracts within Legrand 167, all printed in London, *Ὁμιλία τῇ Πρώτῃ Κυριακῇ τῆς Μεγάλης Τεσσαρακοστῆς* printed in Constantinople and the previous possessor of a manuscript (hereafter: MS) of George Scholarios' *Σύνταγμα* (or *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, as it is widely known), used as a correction copy by

---

[58] M. Crusius, *Turco-Graeciae libri octo: Quibus Graecorum status sub imperio Turcico, in politia & ecclesia, oeconomia & scholis, iam inde ab amissa Constantinopoli* (Basileae: per Leonardum Ostenium, Sebastiani Henripetri impensa, 1584).

[59] A. Rhoby, 'Theodosios Zygomalas and his report on a journey to the Aegean', in A. Argyriou (ed.), *Η Ελλάδα των νησιών από τη Φραγκοκρατία ως σήμερα: Ιστορία και Κοινωνία* (Athens: Ελληνικά Γράμματα, 2004), p. 113.

[60] M. Kreibel, 'Stefan Gerlach. Deutscher Evangelischer Botschaftsprediger in Konstantinopel 1573-1578. Diasporafürsorge in der Türkei und die ersten Beziehungen zur Griechischen-orthodoxen Kirche im 16. Jahrhundert', *Die Evangelische Diaspora* 29 (1958), 71-96; A. Rhoby, 'The Letter Network of Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas', in S. Perentidis and G. Steiris (eds), *Ο Ιωάννης και Ο Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς και η εποχή τους* (Athens: Daedalus, 2009), pp. 125-153; G. Steiris, '"We engaged a Master of Philosophy like other Teachers": John and Theodosius Zygomalas and some Philosophical Discussions in the Second Half of the 16th century', in S. Perentidis and G. Steiris (eds), *Ioannnes et Theodosios Zygomalas, Patriarchatus – Institutiones – Codices* (Athens: Daedalus, 2009), pp. 167-186.

[61] H.F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1891), pp. 135-136. For more on Margounios see D.J. Geanakoplos, 'An Overlooked Post-Byzantine Plan for Religious Union with Rome: Maximos Margounios the Cretan Humanist-Bishop and his Latin Library Bequeathed to Mt. Athos', in *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), pp. 165-193.

Metaxas for his edition in London. Another Greek scholar who contributed to the Chrysostom collection was Gabriel Severus, Metropolitan of Philadelphia.[62] Severus was in practice the bishop of the Greek colony in Venice. Margounios, Severus and Meletios Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria, all of whose works were published by Metaxas, were in fact contemporaries, and they all studied at the celebrated University of Padua in the late sixteenth century.[63] There was a bitter dispute between Margounios and Severus concerning the *filioque* question. They exchanged strongly worded letters between 1583 and 1590.[64] Jeremias II and Meletios Pegas tried in vain to reconcile these two eminent scholars. Severus held the traditional Greek view that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father, whereas Margounios sympathised with the Latin doctrine that it proceeds from the Son, as well.[65] Margounios wrote extensively on the issue. His first work on the Procession of the Holy Spirit was dedicated to Jeremias II (in a letter dated 16 August 1583).[66] His second treatise on the same subject was dedicated, in another letter, to the Prince of Wallachia.[67] Even after his troubles with the Venetian government in 1587, Margounios wrote an additional small tract on this question, published by his German friend David Höschel in Frankfurt in 1591.[68] This tract is reproduced by Metaxas in London as a prefatory epistle to Margounios' *Dialogue between a Latin and an Orthodox*.[69]

In his letter to Andrew Downes, Kritopoulos informs him that Metaxas 'has recently arrived in England to study here'. Nikodemos was in search of a tutor

---

[62] Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, p. 176.

[63] Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, p. 167.

[64] Margounios' treatise consists of three Books (I-III), of which only the first has been published: see Efstathios Lianos-Liantis, *An annotated edition of Maximos Margounios' unpublished treatise* On the Procession of the Holy Spirit, Book I (Unpublished MA dissertation, Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2012).

[65] Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, pp. 169-72.

[66] London, BL, *Add.* MS 22909, ff. 194-196.

[67] P. Nikolopoulos, 'Μάξιμος Μαργούνιος, Δύο ἐπιστολές χωρίς διορθώσεις', Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 20 (1950), 331-339.

[68] Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου, Κυθήρων Ἐπισκόπου, Ἐπιστολαὶ δύο, α' Περὶ τοῦ, Τίνα τρόπον ἐν τοῖς οὖσι παρακεχώρηται τὰ κακά· β' Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως. Francofvrdi, Apud Ioannem Wechelum. MDXCI [1591], pp. 24-30. See E. Legrand. *Bibliographie Hellenique (15ᵉ-16ᵉ siecle)*, vol. 2, pp. 420-421; Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, p. 171, n.12.

[69] Maximos Margounios, Διάλογος [London: N. Metaxas, 1624], pp. 1-6.

who speaks Greek, 'since he has never studied Latin'. Downes kindly replies by saying he is 'very ready to do this favour'. He assures Kritopoulos that he will gladly accept Nikodemos as a student, since he is a Greek and naturally inclined to the language of classical Greece. Downes suggests a curriculum of logic, rhetoric and 'as much philosophy as is useful' but not 'too much', since excess in this pursuit is 'unwise'. Towards the end of the letter, however, it is revealed that this 'favour' comes at a price, and Downes makes an enquiry as to how the fees and other expenses will be settled.[70] The approximate date of this letter is August/September 1623. Taking these two pieces of correspondence into account, we can pinpoint the arrival date of Metaxas in England as the summer of 1623.

The French ambassador in Constantinople later commented that the Greek monk had studied 'a few years in Auxford'.[71] However, Metaxas escaped all records in both English universities. Downes' letter and the lack of any evidence of matriculation in either university make it more likely that Metaxas gave up on his hopes to attend university in England due to financial and practical difficulties. *Bailo* Veniero's report, suggesting that he studied in the city of London for four years (which tallies perfectly with other evidence that he arrived in England in the summer of 1623 and left for Constantinople in 1627), proves more reliable at this point. It is a possibility that he might have attended some public lectures at London's Gresham College, just as Kritopoulos did when he first arrived in the country. Gresham College is a public institution established in 1597 by the Royal Agent Sir Thomas Gresham, who conceived the idea of building the Royal Exchange in London after Antwerp's Bourse. The college boasted eminent professors, yet being an entirely non-profit endeavour, provided free lectures at its founder's splendid mansion in Bishopsgate until 1768. New Gresham College still continues its contribution to London's

---

[70] Davey, Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία', pp. 128-131; idem, *Pioneer for Unity*, pp. 92-93, 117 n.152.

[71] G. Hofmann, *Griechische Patriarchen und römische Päpste, Orientalia Christiana,* 52 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum,1929), p. 67.

education scene in Barnard's Inn Hall today.[72] London's Gresham College was considered by contemporaries one of the best places to study:

> [besides other subjects such as grammar, rhetoric, logic and philosophy] the chiefest Science, the Science of Sciences, and the key of all knowledge (to wit) the Science and Art of serving of Almightie God (called Theologie and Divinitie) is no where better nor more plentifully taught then in this Cittie; many and dayly lectures being read thereof, nat onely in the chiefe and Cathedrall Churches of S. Paul, and Saynt Peter, but also in all the parish Churches, and Temples: and particularly and academically also in Gresham Colledge. So that these places are nothing els but Schooles of Theologie, and Colledges of Divines. [73]

Unfortunately, even if Metaxas attended lectures there, it would be impossible to trace any affiliation since Gresham did not have a matriculation policy.

A question still remains unanswered: what was the Greek monk's intention in coming to England? If it was to further his studies, as expressed by Kritopoulos, the circumstances Metaxas found himself in did not favour his eagerness to receive formal education. If his intention was to learn the art of printing, his choice of location would seem most unusual. Historians of printing will agree that Italy is the first region that springs to mind when we think about Greek and other foreign-language book publishing during the Renaissance. Venice, it seems, or Rome would have been a more likely place for a Greek to search for his fortunes in the printer's art, [74] considering the geographical immediacy and the Greek-speaking population already settled and active in the city.[75] However,

---

[72] R. Chartres, *A Brief History of Gresham College 1597-1997* (London: Gresham College, 1998); J. Ward, *Lives of the Professors of Gresham College* (London: Printed by J. Moore for the author, 1740); I. Adamson, 'The Foundation and Early History of Gresham College', (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1975).

[73] *The annales, or a generall chronicle of England, begun first by maister Iohn Stow, and after him continued and augmented with matters forreyne, and domestique, auncient and moderne, vnto the ende of this present yeere 1614. by Edmond Howes, gentleman* (Londini: impensis Thomae Adams, 1615), p. 965.

[74] W. Pettas, 'Nikolaos Sophianos and Greek Printing in Rome' *The Library Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 5.29 (1974), pp. 206-213

[75] For more on Greek printing in Italy see D.J. Geanakoplos. *Greek Scholars in Venice*; N. Barker, *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script and Type in the Fifteenth Century*, (Connecticut, 1985); E. Koumarianou, L. Droulia and E. Layton, *Το Ελληνικό Βιβλίο, 1476-1830* (Athens: Εθνική Τράπεζα της Ελλάδος, 1986); E. 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).

the Venetian censorship policy harboured a degree of animosity towards non-Catholic publications. Our perception of Italy as the main hub of humanist printing may be flawed. In fact, the latest data analyses indicate that after 1600 England, together with France and Netherlands, took the leadership in the printing trade, when the centre for European publishing shifted northwards from Italy.[76]

Metaxas might well have been interested in printing from an early age, since Cephalonians were no strangers to the technology of printing. A Hebrew press had already been established on the island by the Venetian governor of Cephalonia, Marcantonio Giustiniani, and his son and successor Antonio in 1565.[77] Giustiniani began printing in 1545, and he soon became a well-known publisher of Hebrew books in Venice. His house published about eighty-five titles until 1553, the Babylonian *Talmud* of 1551 being the most significant. However, the mid-sixteenth century was marked by the strong grip of the Inquisition, censorship and anti-Semitism in Venice. The printing of Jewish texts was banned. Among other titles in Hebrew that were thought to be blasphemous, the Giustiniani *Talmud* was burnt in Piazza San Marco on a Sabbath day, 21 October 1553, by the *Esecutori contro la bestemmia* by order of the Council of Ten. Twenty years later, Antonio reported that his father suffered a loss of 24,000 *ducati* as a result of the oppression. After being appointed Governor of Cephalonia, the father and son moved their press to the governor's palace in the fortress of St George (Κάστρο Αγίου Γεωργίου Κεφαλονιάς), since the printing of Hebrew books was banned in the capital.[78] Printing continued there at least until 1574, six years before the birth of Metaxas, when

---

[76] E. Buringh and J.L. van Zanden, 'Charting the "Rise of the West": Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe, A Long-Term Perspective from the Sixth through Eighteenth Centuries', *The Journal of Economic History* 69.2 (2009), 424-425.

[77] N.M. Panayotakis, 'Prolegomena', in Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, p. xxvii.

[78] P.F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press 1540-1605* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 90-93. For Hebrew printing in Venice, see D.W. Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (Philadelphia: Edward Stern & Co., 1909); J. Bloch, 'Venetian Printers of Hebrew Books', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 36 (1932), 71-92; C. Roth, *History of the Jews in Venice* (Philadelphia, PA: Schocken Books, 1946).

the Inquisition forced them to cease their activities.[79] A second wave of destruction of Hebrew books came in 1568, when thousands of books were burnt in Venice.[80]

Metaxas might have been well aware of the risks publishing Greek Orthodox tracts would entail in Venetian territory, since the Senate always tried to keep a fine balance between papal influence and its Greek subjects. Besides, the Senate would not allow any public Orthodox propaganda that might carry the potential to incite a rebellion among Greeks. Nor would any other city in Italy have been a safe place for this kind of publishing activity, given Metaxas's connection with Loukaris, who was denounced as a Calvinist in these parts by the members of *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. Therefore, Metaxas must have thought Protestant England, where his compatriots Kritopoulos and Angelos had already settled and received a cordial welcome, a safe haven for printing Greek books. And it was there that he accomplished what Lucaris had strived for since his youth.

These facts bring us back to the assumption that Metaxas's choice of England as a base for his printing activities could well have been a deliberate one. Despite the distance of the island from his native country, it seems that Metaxas preferred England on account of the freedom he would be allowed, and of the presence of his brother and friends already settled in London. Whatever his intention was, Nikodemos soon found himself in London among the typographical crowd in Fleet Street and began printing Orthodox tracts.

---

[79] Apart from his Hebrew publications, Marcantonio Guistiniani also tried to publish Hadji Ahmed's cordiform map for the Ottoman market in 1568. The Council of the Ten intervened again and suspended the publication. See B. Arbel, 'Maps of the World for Ottoman Princes? Further Evidence and Questions concerning The Mappamundo of Hajji Ahmed', *Imago Mundi*, 34 (2002), pp. 19-29.

[80] P.F. Grendler, 'The destruction of Hebrew Books in Venice, 1568', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 45 (1978), 103-130.

# CHAPTER 2

## London

This chapter explores Metaxas's London connections and publications in the context of the London printing trade.[1] It attempts to ascertain places and dates of publication for each of the tracts edited and printed by Metaxas and reunite them with their source texts in Greek manuscripts (hereafter, MS=manuscript and MSS=manuscripts) scattered around the globe and with those housed in public and private collections worldwide, if and when possible. Since MSS and printed books co-existed as methods of textual record, replication and transmission, it is necessary to investigate evidence in both forms. In terms of production and use, MS and print were intimately related. Some MSS consciously imitated the layout and conventions of printed texts, whilst every printed book was first a MS; and even when a book had been printed, it might well be corrected by hand or annotated, rendering the book a composite document. Moreover, many aspects of the written production such as decorated initials, rules and rigid margins remained essentially the same in print, only reproduced by different technical means. While shared characteristics outweighed differences, print production involved new techniques and methods, which required new ways of thinking. Space, for instance, was the absence of writing on the page from the scrivener's point of view. The reverse was true of print: the compositor had to physically insert a solid piece of type into the line to render a space on the printed page. Metaxas learnt the art of printing during the process of producing the five volumes studied in this thesis. No doubt our printer concerned himself with the dynamic relationship between manuscript and print production, acknowledging both similarities and differences.

---

[1] Following convention, references to Metaxas's editions appear under Legrand's *Bibliographie hellénique* (*e.g.* Legrand 168). For all other early editions, the English Short Title Catalogue numbers (*e.g.* STC 4567) are employed.

Studies on printed texts often pay little attention to the manuscript tradition, since bibliographers tend to focus only on the circumstances and materials pertaining to the making of an edition, often overlooking the manuscript aspect. Sometimes it is presumed that the MS was destroyed when a printed edition appeared. This is very unlikely in Metaxas's case as Greek manuscripts, ancient or modern (as a result of the new-found interest of English clergy in Greek Orthodox Christianity), were in great demand in England at the time. The first thing to remember is that just because something does not survive today, it does not mean that it did not once exist, or that it was discarded as soon as it ceased to be used. The printed book is a result of a complex manuscript activity; therefore MSS were vital to the publisher and constituted a crucial part of the printing process.

Matching MSS to their printed counterparts is no easy task. The linking evidence is often weak or limited since most Greek MSS from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century were copied by anonymous and largely unidentifiable scribes.[2] We must also bear in mind that for every Greek MS that survives today there are probably hundreds which have perished.

Lost libraries have been a dynamic field of study in recent years, and the resonances of the loss and destruction of books have been articulated widely.[3] One relevant example of a complete library lost to us is the invaluable manuscript

---

[2] Sources on this period are scarce, but there is a catalogue of Greek MSS datable to 1600-1800: see Linos and Maria Politis, 'Βιβλιογράφοι 17ου-18ου αἰῶνα. Συνοπτικὴ Καταγραφή', *Μορφωτικὸ Ἴδρυμα Ἐθνικῆς Τραπέζης, Δελτίο τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ καὶ Παλαιογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου Ϛ' 1988-1992* (Athens, 1994), pp. 313-645. See also S. Patoura (ed.), *Η Ελληνική Γραφή κατά τους 15ο και 16ο αιώνες* (Athens: The National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2000); D. Holton, T. Lendari, U. Moenning and P. Vejleskov (eds), *Κωδικογράφοι, συλλέκτες, διασκευαστές και εκδότες: Χειρόγραφα και εκδόσεις της όψιμης Βυζαντινής και πρώιμης νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας* (Herakleion: Crete University Press, 2009); unfortunately the papers in these two volumes do not cover the MSS and printed volumes discussed in this chapter.

[3] J. Raven (ed.), *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections since Antiquity* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

collection of Cyril Loukaris,[4] which sunk to the bottom of the sea in Holland. As reported by the English Orientalist Edward Pococke (b.1604-d.1691), who made use of the extensive collection during his stay in Constantinople, Cyril's library was renowned for its 'choicest Greek volumes' collected by the learned patriarch over the years.[5] These may well have included those which were sent to England for publication. After his death in 1638, Cyril's library was obtained by Cornelius Haga, the first Dutch ambassador in Constantinople (b.1578-d.1654; in office 1612-1639).[6] Fearing the new patriarch's attempts to recover them, Haga sent the collection to the Netherlands with the first shipment returning there. The vessel arrived at the intended harbour, but there it was caught up in an extraordinary storm and sunk with all its cargo.[7]

---

[4] For a biography of Cyril Loukaris, see Germanos (Metropolitan of Thyateira), *Kyrillos Loukaris, 1572-1638: a struggle for preponderance between Catholic and Protestant powers in the Orthodox East* (London: S.P.C.K., 1951); G.A. Hadjiantoniou, *Protestant Patriarch: The Life of Cyril Lucaris, 1572-1638* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1961).

[5] See G.J. Toomer, 'Pococke, Edward (1604–1691)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition (January 2008) at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/ article/22430 (accessed on 6 July 2012).

[6] Cornelius Haga first met Cyril Loukaris on the island of Paros during his Grand Tour. From that date onwards, Haga maintained an active correspondence with the Patriarch until he was appointed Dutch envoy to Constantinople in 1611. There they enjoyed a long-standing friendship until Loukaris's death in 1638. See G.A. Maloney, *A History of Orthodox Theology since 1453* (Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing, 1976), p. 126; M. Hoenkamp-Mazgon, *Palais de Hollande in Istanbul: The Embassy and the Envoys of the Netherlands since 1612* (Moerkapelle: Van Marle Printers, 2002), p. 24. For further information on Cornelius Haga, see A. Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic, A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations 1610-1630* (Leiden and Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut, 1978); B. Arı, 'İlk Osmanlı-Hollanda Münasebetleri', in G. Eren (ed.), *Osmanlı*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), pp. 493-501; idem, 'Early Ottoman-Dutch Relations', in G. Eren (ed.), *The Great Ottoman-Dutch Civilization*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2000), pp. 317-324; idem, 'Early Ottoman – Dutch Political and Commercial Relations after 1612 Capitulations', *Bulgarian Historical Review* 3.4 (2004), 116-144; idem, 'Early Ottoman Diplomacy: *ad hoc* Period', in N. Yurdusev (ed.), *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); idem, 'İstanbul'da *Corps Diplomatique* ve Hollanda Elçisi Haga'nın İlk Günleri', *Levant Report Series*, 3 (2009), 7-15. A contemporary source alluding to this friendship is S. Richard, *Histoire critique de la creance & des coûtumes des nations du Levant* (A Francefort: chez Frederic Arnaud, MDCLXX [1684]), p. 53. This work was translated into English a year later by a certain A. Lowell. S. Richard, *The Critical History of the Religions and Customs of the Eastern Nations* (London: Printed by J. Heptinstall, for Henry Faithorne and John Kersey at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-Yard, MDCLXXXV [1685]), p. 47.

[7] L. Twells, *The theological works of the learned Dr. Pocock, containing his Porta Mosis, and English commentaries* (London: printed for the editor, and sold by R. Gosling, 1740), pp. 11-13.

The task of matching MSS to printed texts also calls for an investigation of owners of these MSS and how they circulated within the network of European intellectuals known as *respublica literaria* or the Republic of Letters.[8]

There are differing opinions on the question of the first book printed by Metaxas in London. Roberts gives Legrand 144[9], comprising a bi-partite epistolary manual, *Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων* (*On Epistolary Types*, 1625), and another essay on rhetoric *Ἔκθεσις περὶ Ῥητορικῆς* (*Composition on Rhetoric*, 1625)[10] as his first publication, followed by the collection of tracts by Palamas, Scholarios and Margounios,[11] and by a third volume containing the works of Kabasilas, Barlaam, Pegas, Koressios and Severus.[12] On the other hand, Augliera chronologically sets the publication of the rhetorical works by Theophilos Korydaleus at the end of Metaxas's printing activities in London.[13] Similarly, Layton argues that Legrand 167 and 168 were published first.

The publication date and place of *Βιβλίον τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου* (*Book of the Correct Word*)[14] has sparked much debate. The title-page indicates that the book was published in London in 1625, at the house of John Haviland, with expenses paid by Jeremias, Bishop of Maini. Layton thinks Legrand 143 was Metaxas's last

---

[8] On the Republic of Letters see R. Tuck, 'The context of seventeenth-century philosophy: The institutional setting', in D. Garber and M. Ayers (eds), *Cambridge History of Seventeenth-century Philosophy*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 23-26; A. Hamilton, M. van den Boogert and B. Westerweel (eds), *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*.

[9] Roberts, 'The Greek Press', p. 16.

[10] These two works (henceforth: Legrand 144) are found bound together with separate title-pages bearing the same imprint and device.

[11] Henceforth: Legrand 167. Although these books have separate title-pages and pagination, they clearly were meant to be bound together as a single volume. More often than not they are found in libraries around the world in this collective format with a few bound as single tracts.

[12] Henceforth: Legrand 168. Although this collection is generally found as a single bound volume, the British Library has a single Severus tract, and Trinity College, Dublin houses the Kabasilas, and Severus tracts separately bound. There is a rare instance of Legrand 167 and 168 bound together as a single volume at the library of Φιλεκπαιδευτικὸς Σύλλογος Ἀδριανουπόλεως (Educational Association of Adrianople), first moved from Edirne to Thessaloniki in 1922 and now housed in the Greek town of Orestiada, close to the Turkish border. See K.A. Bakalopoulos, *Φιλεκπαιδευτικός Σύλλογος Ἀδριανουπόλεως 1872-1996* (Thessaloniki and Athens: Ἐκδοτικὸς Οἶκος Ἀδελφῶν Κυριακίδη, 1996).

[13] Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, pp. 34-36.

[14] Henceforth: Legrand 143.

publication in London.[15] Roberts admits that he had no chance to study Legrand 143, since a microfilm of this book was acquired by the British Museum (now the British Library) only after the proofs of his paper had been corrected. Having examined an imperfect copy in the Venetian archives, Augliera argues that the imprint is false. He believes this could be the first Greek book published in Cephalonia. According to his hypothesis, Metaxas printed this volume after he left London and before he arrived in Constantinople in 1627. He argues that Metaxas made a long station in Cephalonia, long enough to unload his cargo, set up a press and publish a small book. There is hardly any evidence of such activity in Cephalonia before 1628. Michaelides's article, though published after Augliera, does not acknowledge the latter's work. Michaelides adheres to the conventional view and takes the date and place of publication on the title-page of Legrand 143 at face value, and accepts that the book was published in London in 1625.[16] The coat-of-arms of England featured on the title-page of Legrand 143 was used by the London printer Augustine Matthews *c*.1625 for a proclamation relating to a new cure for the epidemic that swept across England that year. Even so, the information on the title-page is not entirely convincing. Both Augliera's and Michaelides's approaches beg the obvious questions: if the book was printed in London, why are there no surviving copies in Britain, or a single mention of a Cephalonian saint named Gerasimos in contemporary sources related to Metaxas's printing activities? In contrast, all other London publications of Metaxas have survived. Moreover, books on Greek Christianity penned by English clergy are rife with references to published Greek authors such as Scholarios, Barlaam, Neilos Kabasilas or Maximos Margounios. If, indeed, this book was published before Metaxas's arrival in Constantinople, why do the reports of European dignitaries in the Porte describing all the other volumes, either by reference to their author or content, make no mention of Legrand 143?

---

[15] Layton, 'Nikodemos Metaxas's, p. 156.

[16] C. Michaelides, 'Greek Printing in England, 1500-1900', in B. Taylor (ed.), *Foreign Language Printing in London, 1500-1900* (London and Bath Spa: The British Library, 2002), p. 209.

Augliera also argues —admittedly without any substantial written evidence in the dedicatory epistles or any other testimonial in written form from either party— that Metaxas and Kritopoulos collaborated in the quest for printing books to aid Loukaris against the Jesuits in Constantinople. Regarding the openly polemical and anti-papal nature of the two collections, Augliera assumes that Metrophanes induced Metaxas to publish these two collections to be sent to Constantinople since Loukaris is likely to be the promoter of the publication and the provider of the MSS. Augliera presumes Metaxas was not personally involved in the controversy between the patriarch and the Jesuits, and that this opposition was brought to his attention by Kritopoulos, who was a favourite of Loukaris. Therefore, Augliera argues, Kritopoulos must have used his personal influence on English authorities and those close to the court to secure patronage, and that the publication of these volumes was accomplished prior to his departure in July 1624. There are a few gaps in this theory. Augliera admittedly finds it impossible to trace the activities of Metaxas in London after the publication of Legrand 144 in 1625, while he accounts for this period of inactivity with the suggestion that between 1625 and 1627 Metaxas was in the process of acquiring the printing device, the initials and the typefaces he brought with him to Constantinople.[17] Still, it would be curious if he condensed all his printing activity into the years 1624 and 1625, and travelled to Constantinople in 1627 with crates of books containing Legrand 167 and 168 and part of Legrand 166. Consequently, according to Aguilera's theory, Metaxas must have published three volumes comprising twelve tracts in the first year of his four-year sojourn in England. That is overambitious even by seventeenth-century standards, especially for a single publisher-editor who had just arrived in a foreign country.[18] Moreover, Metaxas's working language was Greek, a tricky typeface for Renaissance printing, notorious for the huge number of sorts resulting from

---

[17] Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, p. 38.

[18] For a more realistic calculation of the time it would have taken Metaxas to prepare the books for publication and print them, see below, p. 196.

accents and breathings,[19] in addition to the use of hundreds of ligatures and abbreviations, in an attempt to imitate the Greek handwriting of humanist scholars.[20]

It is reasonable to assume that it took Metaxas longer to prepare the editions than it would take a regular printer not only because of the technical difficulties that Greek printing entailed, but also because Metaxas was more of an editor-publisher, as mentioned earlier, than simply a printer. Contrary to the general presumption that he was merely acting as an agent for the Patriarch and publishing the texts from the MSS he was sent from Constantinople, Metaxas compiled his material from different sources and made the editions his own with the dedicatory epistles he penned and other paratextual material he added. He published the first printed edition of Korydaleus' *Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων*, a contemporary epistolary manual, and Scholarios' *Σύνταγμα*, an important theological treatise composed in 1444.[21] The *Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων*, which was the first ever epistolary manual printed in Greek,[22] became a standard textbook in the Patriarchal School in Constantinople immediately after Metaxas's publication and enjoyed a significant popularity in the Balkans through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[23] Tsourkas notes that no other Greek

---

[19] Layton, 'The First Printed Greek Book'; V. Scholderer, *Greek Printing Types 1465-1927: Facsimiles from an Exhibition of Books Illustrating the Development of Greek Printing shown in the British Museum* (Thessaloniki: Typophilia, 1995), pp. 2-3.

[20] For a detailed account of the fonts employed by Metaxas, see below, pp. 128-152. On Greek typography see W. Savage, *A Dictionary of the Art of Printing* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1841), pp. 300-302; W. Wallace, 'An Index of Greek Ligatures and Contractions', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 43 (1923), 183-93; W.H. Ingram, 'The Ligatures of Early Printed Greek', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 7.4 (1966), 371-389; G.F. Ostermann and A.E. Giegenack, *Abbreviations in Early Greek Printed Books* (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1974); V. Kooy, 'The Three Dimensional Character of Early Printed Greek', at http://philonoeses.org/3DCharacter EarlyGreek.pdf (accessed on 12 December 2011).

[21] The *Ἐπιστολάριον* of Korydaleus was published in Moschopolis (1744), Halle (1768) and Venice (1786) in a similar format with some of the exemplary letters omitted or some others added.

[22] A. Ransmayr, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zur neugriechischen Epistolographie anhand der Briefe von Konstantinos M. Koumas* (Unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Vienna, 2008), p. 17.

[23] For an in-depth study of the epistolary trends of the seventeenth to nineteenth century, set primarily by the publication of the *Ἐπιστολάριον* and derived from the correspondence of contemporary authors, see G. Stavropoulos, 'Νεοελληνική επιστολογραφία 17ος-19ος αιώνας' (PhD thesis, Aristotle University Thessaloniki, 2008).

publication enjoyed such a '*succès de tirage*' in that period.[24] Remarkably, Metaxas's edition of Korydaleus' epistolary manual remained so popular, despite subsequent editions by other publishers, that it was copied in manuscript format more than once in later periods.[25] The scribe of the Paris MS went so far as to slavishly reproduce the line divisions and the ornaments in the 1625 edition. This was a common trend in the Renaissance among Greek copyists; hence the term *Druckminuskel*.[26] These attempts to disseminate the work by manuscript production were due to the limited access to Greek printing technology in the Balkans, the Greek Islands, Constantinople and the rest of the Ottoman Empire, in addition to the high demand for this particular work as a textbook in Greek schools. This is an interesting example of the co-existence of manuscript production and printing and the dialogue between the copied and printed texts that was witnessed throughout the early modern period.

During the first year of his stay in London, the budding printer Metaxas is likely to have collaborated with Christopher Angelos (d.1608) regarding the latter's 1624 publication of *Περὶ τῆς ἀποστασίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας* (*On the Apostasy of the Church*). According to his own account, Angelos fled Athens and came to Yarmouth in 1608. He matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge with the help of John Overall (b.1559–d.1619; Bishop of Norwich, 1618-1619), but two years

---

[24] Tsourkas, *Théophile Corydalee*, p. 101. See also K.T. Dimaras, *Ἱστορία της Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας* (Athens: Εκδόσεις Γνώση, 2000), pp. 74-76.

[25] The manuscripts following the text of 1625 edition include Bucharest, Academia Republicii Socialiste Romania MS 587 (18th c.); Paris, BnF MS suppl. gr. 1334 (18th c.); Athos, *Lavra* M30 (17th-18th c.); Thessaloniki, University Library MS 96 (18th c.); Alexandria, Patriarchal Library, MS 368 (19th c.): see K. Snipes. 'A Letter of Michael Psellus to Constantine the Nephew of Michael Cerularios', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 22.1 (1981), 89-105. There is yet another nineteenth-century MS copied from Metaxas's edition, which Snipes overlooked, deposited at the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria, which also houses a copy of the edition itself: see Moschonas, *Κατάλογοι τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης*, vol. 1, MS 368.

[26] H. Hunger, *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur. I: Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch und Schriftwesen,* vol. 1 (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1962), pp. 105-106; L. de Faveri, 'Minuscule (print)', in H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds), *Brill's New Pauly,* available online at: *http://www.paulyonline.brill.nl/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/minuscule-print-e324500* (accessed on 26 October 2012).

later he transferred to Oxford due to health concerns.[27] He became acquainted with Kritopoulos at Balliol College, and the two men were certainly known to each other by 1620, when Metrophanes wrote to Patrick Young (b.1584-d.1652), the king's librarian and a great patron of Greek learning, to recommend Angelos.[28]

Angelos' *Περὶ τῆς ἀποστασίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας* was published in London in Greek followed by a Latin translation (STC 637).[29] It consists of three sections and twelve chapters in 24 pages. The first section (Κεφ. α′-ε′) is on the 'Apostasy of the Church', namely the 'apostasy' of the Latin Church from Orthodox Christendom, the second section (Κεφ. ϛ′-η′) is on the 'Man of Sin namely the Anti-Christ' and the third section (Κεφ. θ′-ιβ′) is on the 'Numbers of Daniel'.[30] In a similar vein to his previous works recounting the torture he allegedly suffered at the hands of the Ottoman officials in Athens, in the *Περὶ τῆς ἀποστασίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας* Angelos touches upon the Turkish invasion of Hungary in 1482 and refutes Muhammad as the Antichrist.[31] However, there is more to it. As anti-Islamic as it is, Angelos' exegesis is also fervently anti-Latin, and certainly of a different nature compared to his previous publications. Angelos undertook the expenses for printing this tract himself rather than dedicating it to a patron. The contents of the book suggest that he did not count on the profits he might have reaped from the publication. Most importantly, his exegesis has a substantial

---

[27]For monographs on Angelos, see S. Makrumichalos, *Χριστόφορος Ἄγγελος, ὁ ἑλληνοδιδάσκαλος τῆς Ὀξφόρδης, 1575-1638* (Athens, 1957); K. Garitses, *Ὁ Χριστόφορος Ἄγγελος (†1638) καὶ τὰ ἔργα του: Πόνησις, Ἐγκώμιον, Ἐγχειρίδιον καὶ Ἀποστασία* (Thera: Θεσβίτης, 2008). See also S. Gibson, 'Christopher Angel, Teacher of Greek', in H. Hughes (ed.), *The Glory that is Greece* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1944), pp. 57-61.

[28] See J. Kemke, *Patricius Junius (Patrick Young) bibliothekar der könige Jacob I. und Karl I. von England* (Leipzig: M. Spirgatis, 1898), p. 125; Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 96.

[29] Christopher Angelos, *Πόνος Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Ἀγγέλου ἕλληνος. Περὶ τῆς ἀποστασίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῆς ἁμαρτίας δηλαδὴ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν τοῦ Δανιήλ, καὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως, οὓς οὐδεὶς ὀρθῶς μεθερμήνευσεν ἐξ οὗ προεφητεύθησαν* (Ἐκδόθη ἐν λοντίνῳ ͵αχκδ′ [1624]).

[30] For more on the contents of this tract, see A. Argyriou, *Les exégèses grecques de l'Apocalypse à l'époque turque, 1453-1821* (Thessaloniki: Εταιρεία Μακεδονικών Σπουδών, 1982), pp. 219-248.

[31] Angelos, *Περὶ τῆς ἀποστασίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, p. 14.

theological concern, which hints at a newly formed alliance with Metaxas, who primarily had a pedagogical approach to printing as opposed to a financial one. Angelos' publications and the printed books associated with Metaxas share certain typographical features.[32] All of Angelos' printed works in England have a common typographical character that is best observed in a rare copy of his complete works bound together, currently housed in the British Library.[33] Angelos published seven tracts between 1617 and 1624 and his works bear different imprints. However, the border ornaments, head- and tail-pieces used are common across all the prints and some are also used by Metaxas for Legrand 144. Some of these ornamental elements —especially the detachable floral blocks used as headpieces— were far too prevalent among early modern printers of the age to provide a clue as to their owners. However, the initials and rarer types of ornaments shared by *Περὶ τῆς ἀποστασίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, other works of Angelos and Legrand 144 make them worthy of closer investigation. The most striking common feature of these two early Greek prints is the typeface employed.[34]

The following section (pp. 61-66) sheds light on the printing history of Legrand 144. As I established above (p. 41), Metrophanes had written to his Oxford friend Matthias Turner in July 1623 at the latest about the recent arrival of Metaxas and his intention to publish *Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων* from the MS he brought with him from Cephalonia. Metrophanes states:

> You will soon be hearing about the book on epistolary types. … [Metaxas] wants to make it available to those who love learning by having it printed. But if this is impossible, I shall ask him to let you have it whenever you want, so that you can make a copy.[35]

---

[32] See below, pp. 140-147.

[33] Shelfmark G.8893.

[34] See below, pp. 140-147.

[35] Davey, 'Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία', pp. 123-5:
> Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων ἀκούεις ἐν συντόμῳ. … Βούλεται δὲ διὰ τυπογραφίας κοινὴν τοῖς φιλομαθέσι παραθεῖναι. εἰ δὲ μή, ἰδού ἐντέλλομαι αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν σοι εἰς τὸ ἀντιγράψαι, ἡνίκ' ἐν ἐθέλῃς.
> Translated into English by Davey, see his *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 116.

The dedicatory epistle to John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, found in the copies of Legrand 144 housed at British libraries was written by Metaxas in London and is dated 21 March 1624. The alternate dedication to Pachomios Doxaras, Bishop of Cephalonia and Zakynthos, was written earlier, on 24 January 1624. Penned in an elaborate Attic style, these two pieces of writing attest to the rhetorical skills of their author. In this letter to Turner, Kritopoulos gives no indication that he would collaborate with Metaxas in his printing venture, nor did he make any attempt to publish his own work in England. One thing is certain though: Kritopoulos did provide some of the source texts for Metaxas both in the form of MSS and earlier prints.

The *Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων* is the first printed epistolary manual in the Greek language. In the very beginning of his text Korydaleus explains the motivation behind this work, namely the lack of sources in Greek for letter-writing, since 'the old collections on the subject were damaged and those that survived were too brief'.[36] His work follows the conventions of the genre, and, in that respect, it is very similar in format and content to Erasmus' celebrated work *De conscribendis epistolis*, first published in Basel in 1522. Just as Erasmus did, Korydaleus divides the types of epistles into three main genres as classified by Aristotle, namely epideictic (ἐπιδεικτικόν), deliberative (συμβουλευτικόν) and forensic (δικανικόν). Then, he divides these main categories into sub-divisions and provides examples for each type of letter and samples of replies in case one receives them. Archaic in style, the work was no doubt intended for a learned audience and was later used as a textbook. Letter-writing manuals existed in Byzantium; however those which circulated in Renaissance Europe differed from their earlier Greek counterparts in some respects. Manousakkas lists those characteristics that emerged in Renaissance Italy free of Byzantine influence: (a)

---

[36] Legrand 144, p. 1:

Ἀλλά πως ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος τὰ νῦν κατημελεῖσθαι δοκεῖ, ὑπὸ τοῦ διεφθάρθαι τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων περὶ τούτων συγγράμματα. ὅσα δὲ καὶ σώζεται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, παρ' ἐκείνοις κομιδῇ ἐν παρόδῳ εἰρῆσθαι δοκεῖ.

Aristotle's classification of three main genres of rhetorical expression, (b) instructions and sample letters, (c) samples of replies for each type.[37] The existence of all three suggests that Korydaleus was influenced by the Western works he studied and the literary traditions of the country in which he lived and taught while writing his manual. One such example and a likely influence for Korydaleus is the Ἐπιστολικοῦ χαρακτῆρος σύνοψις (*Synopsis of the Epistolary Style*), an epistolary manual in manuscript form copied by a certain Ginos in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century.[38]

Legrand 144 was the *editio princeps* of Korydaleus' Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων and Ἔκθεσις περὶ Ῥητορικῆς. However, some of the sample letters most likely to have been compiled by Metaxas himself by no means appeared in print for the first time with this publication. It is evident that Metaxas brought the MSS of these two tracts and part of the illustrative letters with him from Cephalonia and added some newly acquired material to his edition in London. The first five letters that form the first part (pp. 60-67) following Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων are from Korydaleus and addressed to Cyril Loukaris, Dionysios Makris, Nikodemos Metaxas and finally Michael Sophianos, professor of philosophy at Padua. The manuscript copies of these letters, dating from 1615 to 1621, were either Metaxas's own or borrowed from Korydaleus, given the close relationship of the monk with his teacher. This section is followed by another collection of sample letters entitled 'Ἐπιστολαὶ Ἑλλήνων μεταγενεστέρων καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἠκμασάντων' ('Letters of later Greeks who flourished in our own times') comprising thirty-seven epistles penned by eminent Greek scholars of the age such as Maximos Margounios and Frangiskos Kokkos,[39] in addition to some

---

[37] M. Manoussacas, 'Contribution à l'étude de l'épistolographie néohellenique' (PhD thesis, Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, 1951), p. 131.

[38] Vatican, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinus gr*. 71, fols. 46ᵛ- 61ᵛ: V. Capocci, *Codices Barberiniani graeci,* vol. I (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1958), pp. 78-79. See also H. Rabe, 'Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften, 9. Griechische Briefsteller', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 53 (1909), 288-89.

[39] On Frangiscos Kokkos, see S. K. Oikonomos, Περὶ Φραγκίσκου τοῦ Κοκκοῦ Ἐπιστολή (Athens: Τύποις Φ. Καραμπίνου, ΑΩΞΓ' [1863]); Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique (17ᵉ siècle)*, vol.

earlier examples such as Libanius' letter to Chrysostom, and the correspondence between Basil of Caesarea and Emperor Julian. This section appears to be Metaxas's own editorial effort and the fruit of his rhetorical education, which — not undeservedly— received much laudation from Kritopoulos. This is reinforced by the fact that the Ἐπιστολικοῦ χαρακτῆρος σύνοψις, the sixteenth-century MS which essentially formed the basis of Korydaleus' text, does not contain the collection of illustrative letters. This part, therefore, was most likely devised by Metaxas, partly compiled from the printed books at his disposal and partly from MSS he brought with him.[40] The main body of the texts, we are informed by Kritopoulos, was brought to England by Metaxas. Those letters reproduced from earlier printed editions are relatively easy to trace since they were already available in print. Martha Karpozilou sheds much light on the printing history of Legrand 144 by matching letters 6-7, 8, 10-14 and 16-18 to the 1591, 1593, 1601 and 1602 publications respectively. She argues that Metaxas departed from the tradition of employing MSS for print and derived the sample letters from the paratextual material of published sources. She emphasises that the letters appear in their order of previous publication date. Karpozilou's claim, however, is only partially true. Letter no. 42 from Libanius to Chrysostom, for instance, although included in *Contra Iudeos*,[41] appears at the end of the collection separated from the other letters she thought Metaxas copied from this edition.[42] Karpozilou not only failed to detect this letter in the edition, but also overlooked the textual variations between the earlier edition and Metaxas's copy. The letters numbered 14, 16-18 in Metaxas's edition, allegedly copied from *Contra Iudeos*, do not feature the places and dates of composition extant in the 1602 edition. There is no reason why Metaxas would have omitted such vital information had it been

5, pp. 222-23; C.H. Tsiter, *Τρεῖς μεγάλοι Διδάσκαλοι τοῦ Γένους* (Athens: Τύποις Ἀθανασίου Α. Παπασπύρου, 1934), pp. 36-76.

[40] A table indicating the authors, recipients, dates and source texts of the letters is given below, Appendix III.

[41] *D. Ioannis Chrysostomi Contra Iudaeos Homiliae VI* (Augustae: E typographeio Joannis Praetorij. Anno MDCII [1602]), p. 256.

[42] M. Karpozilou, 'The Epistolarion of Theophilos Korydaleus', *Ἑλληνικά* 49 (1999), 299.

available to him in his source copy. Therefore, it is clear he did not use this edition, but another source lacking information on date and place.

In the case of Margounios' letters in Metaxas's collection, the texts are traceable to three earlier editions and a handful of MSS. Margounios wrote an immense number of epistles and was actively engaged in correspondence throughout his life. Nevertheless his letters are scattered among numerous MSS, and there seems to be no 'complete' collection of his correspondence in either manuscript or edited form.[43] The 'Metaxas's collection as a group of nine letters dated between 1590 and 1600 does not appear uniformly in any MS that survives today.[44] Letter no. 7 addressed to David Höschel (b.1556–d.1617), along with which Margounios sends 'a little gift',[45] seems to be a very popular epistle, appearing in all MSS (see above note 145), save for Athos, *Panteleimon* MS 750; [46] whereas the letters numbered 8, 9, 12, 15 and 17 appear in none of the extant MSS. Their appearance in the editions, on the other hand, is remarkably regular and Metaxas's access to the printed texts traceable. The 1601 edition of Margounios's hymns was certainly owned by Kritopoulos.[47] Others were published by Höschel, a long-standing

---

[43] Other manuscript collections of Margounios' correspondence include: Athens, *Library of Parliament*, MS 79 and MS 101; Vatican, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, MS *gr*. 206; Athos, *Lavra* MS 30, *Panteleimon* MS 793; Trebizond, *Seminary Library*, MS 23 (18th c.); Istanbul, *Hellenikos Syllogos*, MS 10. For Margounios' correspondence see M. Paranikas, ʽἘπιστολαὶ Μαξίμου Μαργουνίου', *Σαββατιαία Ἐπιθεώρησις*, 1.20 (Constantinople, 1878), 314-24; A. Papadapoulos-Kerameus, ʽΣυμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Φιλολογίας', *Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* 17 (1882-3), 50-60; C. Astruc, 'Maxime Margounios et les recueils parisiens de sa correspondance', *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 3 (1949), 211-61; P.K. Enepekides, 'Der Briefwechsel des Maximos Margounios, Bischof von Kythera', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 1 (1951), 13-66; E. Litsas, ʽΣχετικά με την χειρόγραφη και έντυπη παράδοση των επιστολών του Μαξίμου Μαργουνίου', *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 51 (1997), 277-295.

[44] The MSS that contain one or more letters published in Legrand 144 are as follows: Athos, *Panteleimon*, MS 750 (16th-17th c.), London BL, *Add*. MS 19551 (17th c.), Athens, *National Library of Greece*, MS 449 (17th c.) and MS 1126 (18th c.), Vienna, *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, MS *Suppl. gr.* 115 (17th c.), *Suppl. gr.* 124 (18th c.), Paris, BnF, MS *Suppl. gr.* 621, f. 133 and MS *Suppl. gr.* 1310 (18th c.).

[45] ʽ…οὐ πρὸς τοῦ δῶρον μικροπρεπὲς…' Legrand 144, p. 78. Possibly a book for publication.

[46] This is an autograph and the text differs from other MSS considerably. For a discussion of the importance of Athos, *Panteleimon* MS 750 in the corpus of Margounios' letters, see E. Litsas, ʽΣχετικά', pp. 287-95.

[47]*Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου Ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων Ὕμνοι ἀνακρεόντειοι* (Augustae: Ex officina typographica Ioan. Praetorij. Anno S.N. MDCI [1601]). See T.D. Moschonas, *Κριτοπούλεια*, p. 25.

friend and correspondent of Loukaris, who belonged to a large network of eminent German scholars of the age who were in close contact with the Greek intellectuals including Margounios, Severos and Loukaris.[48] Höschel was deeply interested in Greek learning and collected MSS from all over the Mediterranean through his extensive connections. For instance, the MS for the 1602 *editio princeps* of Chrysostom's *Contra Iudeos* was sent to him from Cyprus by Leontios Eustratios, a student of Margounios and the author of an epistle (no. 18 in the Appendix III, below p. 280).[49] Höschel received another from Margounios with his autograph letters extant therein, which he employed as a working copy for his 1591 publication.[50] This edition was subsequently used by Metaxas as a source text for his own publication.

The manuscript sources, Michael Psellos's letters for instance, are more problematic. Cambridge, Trinity College MS 1485, a seventeenth-century manuscript that was inserted into a volume of Greek miscellanea that belonged to Patrick Young is no doubt linked to the 1625 edition. This MS features the six letters of Psellos, and is the only one to contain exactly the same letters as the selection in Legrand 144 in the same order, and not accompanied by the main

---

[48] On the German interest in Greek texts in this period, see H.G. Beck, 'Die byzantinischen Studien in Deutschland vor Karl Krumbacher', in *CALIKES: Festgabe für die Teilnehmer am XI. internationalen Byzantinistenkongreß, München 15.-20. September 1958* (Freising: F. Datterer, 1958), pp. 66-119; D. Harlfinger and R. Barm (eds), *Graecogermania: Griechischstudien deutscher Humanisten: die Editionstätigkeit der Griechen in der italienischen Renaissance (1469-1523)* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1989); D.R. Reinsch, 'Editionen und Rezeption byzantinischer Historiker durch deutsche Humanisten', in H. Eideneier (ed.) *Graeca recentiora in Germania: Deutsch-griechische Kulturbeziehungen vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1994), p. 47; A. Ben-Tov, '*Turco-Graecia*: German Humanists and the End of Greek Antiquity', in C. Norton, A. Contadini and A. Chong (eds), *Crossing Boundaries: New Perspective on Cultural Encounters in the Mediterranean before 1700* (Pittsburgh, PA: Periscope, 2009).

[49] C.N. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*, Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus, 18; Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 30 (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC, and Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia, 1993), p. 22. As discussed above, Metaxas employed a different source for his edition.

[50] Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monac.* 583: see I. Hardt, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*, vol. 5 (Munich: Typis I.E. Seidelii Solisbacensis, 1812), pp. 348-53. On the basis of this manuscript Höschel edited Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου, Κυθήρων Ἐπισκόπου, Ἐπιστολαὶ δύο, α´ Περὶ τοῦ τίνα τρόπον ἐν τοῖς οὖσι παρακεχώρηται τὰ κακά, β´ Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως (Francofvrdi, Apud Ioannem Wechelum. MDXCI [1591]).

text, as in the MSS of later periods copied from Metaxas's edition. This MS is no doubt linked with the 1625 appearance of Legrand 144 in print, not only because of the date and the provenance of the manuscript, but also because the hand that copied it did not belong to Young and was free from the usual corrections he made on his assistants' scripts, which are extant on the other folios of this volume. The hand is a Greek one other than Metrophanes' own and remains unidentified to date. Only a close comparison of this hand with the Cephalonian document that Metaxas signed can confirm the likely association of Metaxas with the Trinity College MS. Moschonas reports that Metrophanes owned a printed book with some notes and a manuscript copy of Psellos' letter (incip. 'καὶ ποταπὸς παπᾶς ὁ παπᾶς ὁ ἐμός').[51] This is letter no. 36 in Metaxas's edition. Athos, *Esphigmenou* MS 315 (Lampros 2328), a seventeenth-century codex, on the other hand, also contains several letters of Psellos in addition to the correspondence of Korydaleus including one addressed to his students (τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ).[52] The correspondence between Basil and Julian consists of two letters, nos 40 and 41 in the Basilian corpus, both considered to be spurious since Byzantine times.[53] The dubious nature of these letters renders the question of Metaxas's sources even more intriguing. Both letters were available in print before Metaxas's edition came out.[54] However, the textual variations between the letters published

---

[51] T.D. Moschonas, *Κριτοπούλεια*, p. 23, no. 833: Ἐπιστολαὶ (Venice: Ἔκδοσις Ἄλδου', 1498). *Incipit.* 'Ἄρχονται Βασιλείου πρὸς Λιβάνιον ἐλλείπει ἡ ἀρχή. Σημείωσις διαφόρων καὶ ἐπιστολή τις Ψελλοῦ ἐν χειρογράφῳ ἀρχομένη «καὶ ποταπὸς παπᾶς ὁ παπᾶς ὁ ἐμός…'

[52] S.P. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. I (Cambridge: CUP, 1895), p. 199.

[53] P. Schaff, *Basil: Letters and Select Works* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1895), p. 142, n. 4; R.J. Deferrari, *Saint Basil: The Letters* (London: William Heinemann, 1926), vol. 1, p. 230, n. 2; A.C. Way, *The Language and Style of the Letters of St. Basil* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 1927), p. 7; idem, 'The Authenticity of Letter 41 in the Juliobasilian Correspondence', *The American Journal of Philology* 51.1 (1930), 67-69.

[54] These editions are: *Theophylacti Simocatæ Quæstiones physicæ nunquam antehac editæ. Eiusdem, Epistolæ morales, rusticæ, amatoriæ. Cassii Quæstiones medicæ. Iuliani imp. Cæs. Basilij, & Greg. Nazianzeni Epistolæ aliquot nunc primum editæ*; opera Bon. Vulcanii Brugensis (Lugduni Batavorum: ex officina Ioannis Patij, 1597) and *Sancti patris nostri Basilii Magni opera omnia, quæ reperiri potuerunt* (Parisiis: Apud. M. Sonnium, 1618).

earlier and Metaxas's edition leave no doubt that Metaxas employed a manuscript source.[55]

As already discussed above, Metrophanes had long served as a possessor of MSS and provider of texts for print in England. The pattern he followed was the one devised by Loukaris: exchanging sought-after Greek MSS from the Orthodox East for printed books unavailable to his flock in Constantinople. It was a proven method and continued to be the preferred arrangement for the Greeks in Constantinople to acquire printed books for the use of Orthodox Churches scattered throughout the Ottoman Empire. When the first edition of the New Testament in vernacular Greek, translated by Maximos Kallipolites[56] under the supervision of Loukaris, was ready to be published, Cornelius Haga, the first Dutch envoy in the Ottoman capital, took the initiative. At the request of Panagiotis Nicousios, the influential dragoman of the Porte,[57] Haga had the book printed in Geneva, in 1638.[58] A similar case of alliance between the Protestant Dutch and the Constantinopolitan Greeks occurred in 1666, involving the

---

[55] For the manuscript tradition of Basil's letters, see M. Bessières, 'La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Saint Basile', *The Journal of Theological Studies* 21 (1919), 9-50; R.J. Deferrari, *Saint Basil: The Letters*, pp. xli-xlii; P.J. Fedwick, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Vniversalis: a study of the manuscript tradition of the works of Basil of Caesarea*, I: *The letters*, Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993).

[56] For a discussion of a possible identification of Maximos of Kallipolis/Gallipoli (translator of the first Modern Greek NT) with Maximos of Peloponnese (author of letters 25-32 in *Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων)*, see E.C. Colwell, *The Elizabeth Day McCormick Apocalypse*, vol. 2 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1940), pp. 21-40.

[57] Panagiotis Nicousios was a member of an eminent Phanariot family. He first served at the embassy of the Holy Roman Empire in Constantinople and later became the grand dragoman to the Ottoman court. He maintained a decades-long friendship with foreign dignitaries, especially the Venetian *baili*. See N. Rothman, 'Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51.4 (2009), 781-782; C. Çiftçi, 'Bâb-ı Âlî'nin Avrupa'ya Çevrilmiş İki Gözü: Eflak ve Boğdan'da Fenerli Voyvodalar (1711-1821)', *Uluslararası İlişkiler* 7.26 (2010), 27-48.

[58] Maximos Kallipolites (trans.), Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ([Genève: Pierre Aubert], 1638). I would like to thank Mrs Eirene Harvalia-Crook for kindly allowing me to consult her private copy. See J. Townley, *Illustrations of biblical literature exhibiting the history and fate of the sacred writings from the earliest period to the present century, including biographical notices of translators and other eminent biblical scholars*, vol. I (New York: G. Lane & P.P. Sanford, 1842), p. 65. See also K. Papoulidis, *Problèmes de traduction et d'interprétation du Nouveau Testament en grec moderne: le cas de Maxime de Gallipoli, 1638* (Thessaloniki: Εκδοτικός Οίκος Αδελφών Κυριακίδη, 2004).

publication of the first edition of Peter Mogila's *Orthodox Confession* in Amsterdam.[59] Levinus Warner (b.1619-d.1665; in office 1655-1665), envoy of the Dutch Republic in Constantinople, like his predecessor Cornelius Haga, maintained close relationships with the Greek community in the city. At the request of the same Panagiotis, Warner took steps to get Mogila's creed printed in the Netherlands. Warner died in 1665 and never had the opportunity to see the fruit of his endeavour. Panagiotis, who translated the work from Russian into Greek and Latin, had conceived the idea of publishing a bilingual edition of the *Confessio* as early as 1622, as is evident from the epistle written that year by Patriarch Nectarios of Jerusalem (b.1605-d.1680; in office 1660-1669).[60] However, the MS was not sent until 1665.[61] The expenses were undertaken by the Dutch authorities, and the volume was prepared for publication –in Greek only– by Joan Blaeu. When the book was finally printed in 1666, almost the entire stock was sent along with the new envoy, Joris Croock (b.1631-d.1667). Ill fate struck yet again, and Croock lost his life in the 1667 earthquake in Ragusa (mod. Dubrovnik) on his way to Constantinople. The books were temporarily stored in Venice, and through a second shipment the books finally arrived safely in Constantinople on 25 May 1668, where they were distributed to the faithful by Patriarch Methodios III of Constantinople (b.1668-d.1679; r.1668-1671). Only a few copies of Mogila's *Orthodox Confession* were left in the West. The Leiden copy, for instance, was only acquired in 1961, and it made the whole journey to Istanbul

[59] P. Mogila, Ὀρθόδοξος ὁμολογία τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀνατολικῆς [Amsterdam: Joan Blaeu, 1666]. See K. Rozemond, 'Een aanwinst van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek orthodoxa confessio catholicae et apostolicae ecclesiae orientalis', *Het Boek* 36 (1963-1964), 25-52; D. Mîrşanu, 'Old news concerning Peter Mogila's Orthodox Confession: The first edition revisited', *Archaevs* 10 (2006), 273-86.

[60] The colophon reads: 'Constantinople, from our monastery, 20 November 1622.' ('Ἐν Κωσταντινουπόλει, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ μονῇ. ἔτει αχξβ, Νοεμβρίῳ κ'.) This letter confirms that the work was 'distributed free for the spiritual benefit' of Panagiotis. ἵν' ἕκαστος τῶν εὐσεβεῖν βουλομένων, δίχα δαπάνης (ἀμισθὶ γὰρ πάσι τὰς βίβλους δίδοσθαι παρεσκεύασε) κτᾶσθαι ταύτην δύναιτο κἀντεῦθεν, ὡς ἀπὸ καθαροῦ καὶ ζῶντος ὕδατος, καὶ ἀπὸ πηγῶν.'

[61] The MS is housed in the library of the Archbishop of Reims: see R. Simon, *La créance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la transsubstantiation* (Paris: Thomas Moette, 1687), p. 269; A. Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673)*, 2 vols (Paris: E. Leroux, 1881), p. 18, n. 1.

and back, via the Vatican and England.[62] Therefore, even when there are very few surviving copies in the West — as is the case with Legrand 143 and Legrand 166 — the possibility that a Greek book may have been published in Western Europe from a MS sent from Constantinople for that purpose should not be dismissed.

Back in 1621, while he was still at Balliol, Metrophanes had written to Patrick Young, the King's librarian and celebrated patron of Greek scholarship in England, to inform him of the completion of the two MSS he had prepared for publication by the King's press.[63] In return, Metrophanes was promised an edition of John of Damascus with an autograph dedication by Young, which he received soon afterwards and eventually brought with him to Alexandria.[64] A year later he bequeathed to Young a MS containing the works of Gregory of Nyssa.[65] As the correspondence of Sir Thomas Roe indicates, Kritopoulos and Loukaris exchanged letters and books throughout his stay in England and his subsequent travels in Europe. In a letter dated 24 January 1623, Roe writes, in reply to Abbot's complaints that Metrophanes had been treading awry in 'vagabond company' since his return to London from Oxford that the Patriarch's affection towards the monk prevailed despite his errors.[66] The Patriarch had informed Roe that 'hee had given him in charge to provide books'.[67] The correspondence of the two Greeks was facilitated by the ambassador and the archbishop: a letter from Cyril to Metrophanes was enclosed with the previous dispatch from Constantinople.

---

[62] Shelfmark 755 H 43.

[63] Kemke, *Patricius Junius*, p. 125.

[64] This edition is *Τὰ τοῦ Μακαρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ ἔργα* (Basileae: Ex officina Henric Petrina, 1575) listed in the catalogue of the books owned by Metrophanes Kritopoulos: see T.D. Moschonas, *Κριτοπούλεια*, p.9.

[65] London BL, *Royal* MS 16.C.v.1: see D. Casley, *A catalogue of the manuscripts of the King's Library* (London, 1734), p. 251. James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland (1625-1656), also confirms that Metrophanes was the owner of this MS in a letter to Dr Samuel Ward: see R. Parr, *The Life of the Most Reverend Father in God, James Usher* (London: Nathaniel Ranew, 1686), p. 342.

[66] This 'vagabond company' allegedly included Metaxas and a 'convertite Jew' from Constantinople, who became an Orthodox Christian and fled to England. In his letter to Thomas Goad dated 7/17 July 1627, Roe makes a case for the troubles caused by 'wandring Greekes' seeking alms and 'how such vagabonds did discreditt [Loukaris's] church': Roe, *Negotiations*, pp. 663-4.

[67] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 213.

Metrophanes' role in supplying the press with MSS is further confirmed by Sebastiano Veniero, the Venetian *bailo*, who interrogated Metaxas upon his arrival in Constantinople. According to his report to the Senate, dated 4 September 1627:

> … as [Metaxas] told me, when he was in England, the Greek Patriarch here sent to his *hieromonakos* in London, who was studying there, a book by Saint Isidore, Bishop of Thessaloniki,[68] and one by famous Greek elder, who was the Patriarch of this city when it was taken by emperor Sultan Mehmed and took part in the Council of Florence,[69] dealing with the Holy Spirit and Purgatory,[70] controversial matters with us Catholics, and another, the composition of one who had long studied in Padua,[71] with another composition of this Patriarch against the Jews; these [books] he brought here in certain quantities along with the press that was extracted from that kingdom by a great favour …[72]

These MSS sent to Kritopoulos, as we shall see, were used by Metaxas to produce the printed editions.

Kritopoulos was very interested in Metaxas's printing venture, helped him in terms of securing resources —both textual and financial— and followed his progress from London to Constantinople intently. In a letter of gratitude addressed to Sir Thomas Roe and dated 22 March 1628, Metrophanes informs

---

[68] Isidore Glabas. There is no printed tract of his published in England; therefore it is widely accepted to be a slip on Gregory Palamas, who preceded him as Archbishop of Thessaloniki.

[69] George Scholarios (Gennadios II, Patriarch of Constantinople).

[70] It refers to his work Σύνταγμα.

[71] This could be any of Meletios Pegas, Maximos Margounios or Gabriel Severus, all of whom studied in Padua and were published by Metaxas.

[72] A.S.V., Senato, Dispacci Constantinopoli, filza 105, no. 47, f. 68r; published in Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, pp. 44-48:

> …mi narrò come essendo egli in Inghilterra questo Monsignor Patriarca Greco mandò in Londra ad un suo geromonico che ivi attendeva alli studij un libro di un Santo Isidoro che fu Vescovo di Tessalonica et di un tal secolare Greco famoso che fu Patriarca di questa città quando se ne impatronì Sultam Meemet et intervene nel Concilio di Fiorenza, che trattano del Spirito Santo e del Purgatorio, materie controverse con noi altri cattolici, et in oltre una compositione di un tale che lungamente ha studiato in Padoa con un'altra compositione di questo Patriarca contro li hebrei; che di questi ne haveva portati seco certa quantità e che la stampa similmente per gran favour si era estratta da quell regno…

Although these reports are published in English in A.B. Hinds, *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice*, vol. 20 (1914), pp. 248-365, and Layton, 'Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 147, also provides a translation, I felt obliged to provide a clearer translation, since Hinds, for instance, erroneously translates 'un suo geromonico' as 'a cousin of his', while Layton omits 'his', thus undermining the close relationship between Kritopoulos and Loukaris.

Roe that, on 19 March, he had dined with the English ambassador in Venice, Sir Isaac Wake (b.1580/81-d.1632; in office 1624-1630), with whom Roe was in regular correspondence during his stay in Constantinople. After the dinner, the 'heroic deeds' of Roe protecting Metaxas against the Jesuits —whom Metrophanes deems the 'bane of the whole world, full of lies and slander, the brethren of the devil'— are unveiled.[73] The letter closes with a request from Metrophanes for travel expenses from Venice to Constantinople. It is uncertain whether his pompous letter provoked any sympathy on the part of the ambassador; however, Metrophanes did not leave Venice until after Loukaris' death in 1638. And when he attempted to leave the city earlier, it seems, he wrote a note to the Hegoumenos brothers, George and Epiphanios, acknowledging his outstanding debt relating to his purchase of books published by Metaxas.[74]

First, we need to establish that the presence of Kritopoulos in London would not have been needed for the publication of the tracts unless he were actively involved in the editorial process; of such direct collaboration we have no evidence so far. Kritopoulos left England to make contacts with the Reformed Churches of the Continent in July 1624. However, he entrusted four large crates of books to the care of his Greek friends in London. These books were duly forwarded to Metrophanes through Ambassador Isaac Wake, once he arrived in Venice. The books arrived by the spring of 1629.[75] There is no reason why Metaxas should not have access to these during the period they were kept in London, and why he could not have published the printed editions of these texts while Metrophanes was on his long journey to the East. Therefore, building a chronology of the printed editions of Metaxas according to the dates of Metrophanes' travels is far too restrictive to successfully reconstruct his venture.

---

[73] Public Record Office, State Papers 97, Bundle 14, fol. 258: '…Heroicum opus…Jesuitas putos, qui pernicies totius orbis, mendaciis et calumniis pleni, fratres diaboli…'

[74] This letter, dated 28 October 1630, was first published by I. Veloudis in *Ποικίλη Στοά* 4 (1884), 378-379, reproduced in K.D. Mertzios, 'Τὸ ἐν Βενετίᾳ ἠπειρωτικὸν ἀρχεῖον', *Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ*, II (1936), pp. 49-50, and in English in Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 282.

[75] Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 267.

Although Legrand 144 was the first edition Metaxas started working on upon his arrival in England, Legrand 167 and Legrand 168 might have appeared in print earlier. Many early modern sources point to the year 1624.[76] Emile Legrand pinpoints their publication date at 1627, but this is merely because he was mistaken regarding the place of publication.[77] He thought these volumes were printed in Constantinople; therefore, his account of Metaxas's printing venture is entirely misconstructed. Regarding the printing history of Legrand 167, the most significant feature of this volume is that the individual title-pages of the three tracts specify no date or imprint. They all bear the same device, an anchor with foliage, with the motto *Floreat in aeternum* inscribed around the image, identifiable as McKerrow no. 423.[78] The collection opens with a dedicatory epistle presumably written by Metaxas and addressed to the four patriarchs of the Eastern Church: Cyril of Constantinople, Gerasimos of Alexandria, Athanasios of Antioch and Theophanes of Jerusalem. In this letter, Metaxas mentions the names of all the Greek authors he intends to publish in Legrand 167 and Legrand 168. The inventory of authors indicates that these two publications were intended to be issued together, perhaps in two volumes, or even in a single volume, just as the copy in the Educational Association of Adrianople suggests. This copy contains Legrand 167 bound together with Legrand 168 and is followed by the *errata* of Legrand 167. In his lengthy foreword, Metaxas lingers on the subject of the importance of defending the truth. Towards the closing of the dedication, he emphasises that these tracts were written in the vernacular language so that all Greeks could read or understand these texts when they were read aloud. This part grasps the *Zeitgeist* of progressive seventeenth-century Greek scholarship perfectly, since the notion of educating the masses in vernacular is at the core of the majority of religious literature of the age. Here we witness the first seeds of a

---

[76] T. Smith, *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario, Patriarcha Constantinopolitano* (Londini: Typis Gul. Bowyer & impensis Galfridi Wale, 1707), p. 5; A. Fabricii, *Bibliothecae Graecae* (Hamburgi: Sumtu Viduae Liebezeitiae et Theodori Christophori Felginer, 1721), p. 784.

[77] Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique 17ᵉ siècle*, vol. I, pp. 237-243.

[78] McKerrow, *Printers' Devices*, p. 158.

Greek Renaissance with the establishment of a press publishing tracts in vernacular Greek[79] for the first time in London and later in Constantinople with Metaxas's efforts.

The first tract in the first collection is the *Λόγοι ἀποδεικτικοὶ δύο* (*Two Apodeictic Orations*) by Gregory Palamas. The manuscript sources for the Palamas tract containing the full text are Athos, *Iveron* MS 386 (Lampros 4506), *Dionysianus* MS 138 (Lampros 3672) and *Dionysianus* MS 249 (Lampros 3783); Paris, BnF, MS *Coisl*. 100, MS *gr*. 1247 and MS *gr*. 1284; Vatican, BAV, MS *gr*. 790; Venice, MS *Marcianus gr*. app. II. 186; Madrid, BN, MS 4802; Modena, *Bibl. Estense*, MS a.T.7.4. In Britain, Oxford, Bodleian, *Canon. gr*. 52 contains both parts of the tract; whereas *Laud gr*. 87 and *Lincoln Coll., gr*. 7 preserve only the first part. The most interesting MS that contains the complete tract is Athens, NL, MS 449, which is a seventeenth-century Greek miscellany, written on 'Turkish paper' (*ἐπὶ χάρτου τουρκικοῦ*), namely bombycine.[80] Not only the date and the provenance but also the contents of this codex strongly suggest that this was a MS utilized by Metaxas. It includes seven of the works published by Metaxas in London, and these tracts and letters form a substantial 65% of the whole textual content of the MS. A list of corresponding parts is given below (Appendix II, pp. 273-280).

Palamas' work is followed by the *editio princeps* of the *Σύνταγμα* by George Scholarios. This is the first tract Scholarios wrote on the subject of the procession of the Holy Spirit, and it focuses on the differences between the Greek and Latin

---

[79] Studies on the Greek language in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries include: G.N. Chatzidakis, *Μεσαιωνικά καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά*, 2 vols (Athens: Π. Δ. Σακελλαρίου, 1906); idem, *Σύντομος ἱστορία τῆς νεοελληνικῆς γλώσσης* (Athens: Σύλλογος πρὸς διάδοσιν ὠφελίμων βιβλίων, 1915); R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (London: Hutchinson, 1969); G. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*, 2nd edition (Chichester: Blackwell-Wiley, 2010).

[80] G. Kremos, *Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Βιβλιοθήκης ἀλφαβητικὸς καὶ περιγραφικὸς μετ᾽ εἰκόνων καὶ πανομοιοτύπων κατ᾽ ἐπιστήμας κατατεταγμένων, τ. Α´: Θεολογία* (Athens: [s.n.], 1876), 85-86. For early papermaking in Turkey, see M.A. Kagitci, *Historical Study of Paper Industry in Turkey* (Istanbul: Grafik Sanatlar Matbaası, 1976); idem, 'A Brief History of Papermaking in Turkey', *The Paper Maker* 34 (1965), 41-51; İ. Güleç, 'Osmanlılarda Kâğit ve Kâğıtçılık', *Müteferrika* 2 (1994), 85-94; J. Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

views regarding the *filioque* doctrine. The procession of the Holy Spirit was a major polemical issue between the Greeks and the Latins during the Byzantine period, and Scholarios' work laid the theological basis for future polemics on this subject. His long treatise was written as a result of the meetings convened at the Imperial Palace in Constantinople between the Dominican Barthelemy Lapacci, the pontifical legate, and Scholarios.[81] The MSS associated with this tract are discussed below (pp. 75-78).

The third tract of Legrand 167 is by Maximos Margounios and is in the form of a dialogue between a Greek and a Latin over the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit. This is preceded by another small tract by Margounios on the same subject, written in Venice 'on the 22nd of the month of Poseidon (December/January)[82] 1587' and previously printed in Frankfurt in 1591.[83] This tract is also included in Athens, NL, MS 449; however, the MS used for the 1591 publication is *Mon. gr.* 538, owned by David Höschel with autograph letters from Margounios addressed to him.[84]

Legrand 167 ends with an *errata* list. A regular feature of early modern printing, devised to correct the typographical errors that naturally occur, this list serves quite a different purpose here. In the beginning of the section allocated to the unusual amount of errors in the tract authored by Scholarios, there is an interesting note, in which Metaxas reports that, after the printing, he found another MS with the same text, which is a more accurate copy and a proof that his former copy was full of gaps and false readings. He apologises for the number of corrections in the list. These are not merely a list of typographical errors but,

---

[81] Maloney, *A History of Orthodox Theology*, p. 94.

[82] For more information on the Attic calendar, see S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3rd edition, 2003), *sv* 'Calendar, Greek'. For the revival of the use of Attic calendar in the Renaissance, see P. Botley, 'Renaissance Scholarship and the Athenian Calendar', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 46.4 (2006), 395-431. For a contemporary source from England, see W. Camden, *Institutio Graecae grammatices compendiaria in vsum regiae scholae Westmonasteriensis: scientiarum ianitrix grammatica* (Excusum Londini: Per assignationem Johannis Battersbie, 1615), pp. 94-96.

[83] Margounios, Ἐπιστολαὶ δύο, pp. 24-30. See also Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique (15e-16e siècle)*, vol. 2, pp. 420-421; Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East,* p. 171, n. 12.

[84] Hardt, *Catalogus codicum,* vol. 5, pp. 348-53.

more importantly, a collation of the variations of the original MS from the good copy that Metaxas discovered after the publication. Such an analysis of two MSS gives us substantial clues as to the identification of the source texts for this tract. In the introduction to the 1929 edition, Louis Petit and Martin Jugie identified one of the MSS as Athos, *Dionysinianus* MS 246 and argued that this volume was printed by Metaxas in Constantinople in 1627. Xenophon Siderides, who undertook the colossal task of editing the complete works of Scholarios with Petit and Jugie, expressly refutes this introduction and immediately disassociates himself from it, and he has good reason to do so. Not only did Petit and Jugie wrongly attribute this work to the Constantinople printing house, but they also took no notice of the *errata* list, as they admit

> Metaxas has reason to complain of his manuscript, assuming that he always read correctly. What is certain is that false readings, sometimes resulting not only in contradiction but also real nonsense, abound in his edition. Variants with our text were so numerous in the pages after the first that we had to abandon the idea of a complete collation. We merely noted from time to time some significant blunders. Moreover, we did not address the corrections taken from the other manuscript: they would in no way improve our edition, and would constitute an unnecessary burden.[85]

The *errata* list, on the other hand, is essential for determining Metaxas's source texts. The first variation recorded is crucial: it indicates that the title of the Τμῆμα Πρῶτον (First Part) should read 'Περὶ τῶν αἰτίων τοῦ σχίσματος κατ'ἐπιδρομήν. καὶ ὅτι τὰ κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὴν τρίτην σύνοδον σαφὴς ἀπόδειξις, *τοῦ Λατίνους κακῶς φρονεῖν*' ('On the causes of the schism in brief, and that in the

---

[85] L. Petit, M. Jugie and X.A. Sidéridès, *Oeuvres completes de Gennade Scholarios*, vol. 2 (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1929), pp. III-IV:

> Métaxas a bien raison de plaindre de son manuscript, à supposer qu'il l'ait toujours bien lu. Ce qui est sûr, c'est que les fausses lectures, aboutissant parfois non seulement à des contresens mais aussi à de véritables non-sens, abondent dans son edition. Les variants avec notre texte étaient si nombreuses qu'après les premières pages nous avons renoncé à faire une collation complete, nous contentant de signaller de temps en temps quelque bévues remarquables. Par ailleurs, nous n'avions pas à relever les corrections empruntées à l'autre manuscrit: elles n'auraient en rien amélioré notre édition, et n'auraient constitué qu'une surcharge inutile.

Third Synod there is clear proof that *the Latins hold erroneous beliefs'*) instead of the main text's 'τοῦ Γραικοὺς ὀρθῶς φρονεῖν.' (… *the Greeks hold correct beliefs*). In other words, the short ending phrase in the latter case stresses the orthodoxy of the Greeks rather than the heretical views of the Latins (a subtle but important point).

The complete or near-complete manuscript copies of this tract as listed by Petit and Jugie are: Vatican, BAV, *gr.* 1145 (15th c.), *Palatinus* 359 (15th c.); Athos, *Pantocratoros* 127 (15th c.), *Dionysianus* 246 (16th c.), *Dionysianus* 330 (15th c.); Paris, BnF, *gr.* 1290 (15th c.), and Oxford, *Barocci* 92 (16th c.). They all bear the phrase 'τοῦ Λατίνους κακῶς φρονεῖν' in the title of the first section. However, textual evidence in another theological miscellany, Athos, *Iveron* 600 (Lampros 4720), which preserves the Σύνταγμα, indicates that this MS may have been produced from the deficient source copy Metaxas employed. Datable to the seventeenth century, this codex does not contain the beginning of the text, and the remainder is full of lacunae; it also contains part of Margounios' *Διάλογος*, namely Κεφάλαιον ι′, incip. 'Ὁ Ὀρθόδοξος. Οὐκ ἔστιν ὦ οὗτος ληπτὴ ἡμῶν ἡ θεία οὐσία', not extant in the rest of the MSS quoted above.[86]

Legrand 167 has separate pagination for each individual tract. The Scholarios tract has 292 numbered pages in addition to 14 pages which lack page numbers, inserted between pages 30 and 31 in all copies of the volume save one.[87] The 14 extra pages were originally part of the main text and discussed the conflict between Nestorius and Cyril of Alexandria centring on the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit.[88] The *errata* list features no corrections for this section, since this part was undoubtedly copied from the second MS, which

---

[86] S.P. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), p. 181.

[87] The BL copy has this section between pages 22 and 23. This is clearly an error on the part of the binder or the owner of the book, who thought the section fitted there.

[88] A related public discussion took place between Cardinal Bandini's agent Canacchio Rossi and the Jesuit Father Denis Guiller in Constantinople, in September 1627: see G. Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik, 1620-1638* (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 170; Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 148.

Metaxas discovered in England. The quire system in the unpaginated section is different from the rest of the volume. Another typographical variation is that the κεφάλαια (chapters) are not specified, probably to avoid confusion on the part of the reader, for if Metaxas chose to do otherwise the pages corresponding to chapter headings numbered in Greek numerals (Κεφ. α′, β′, γ′, δ′, ε′…) would either have had to be duplicated or corrected by hand prior to the dissemination of printed volumes. The printer apparently found either of these methods too laborious and consequently dismissed them. The fact that in the British Library copy of Legrand 167 the additional unnumbered pages are wrongly inserted between pages 22 and 23 suggests that this section of additional fourteen pages was printed later and sent to the subscribers to be bound together after the release of the publication, which was not an uncommon practice in early modern printing. What is certain though is that this part was produced in the same printing house with the remainder of the main text, since it employs the same typeface. Moreover, the initial O opening Τμῆμα Δεύτερον (Second Part) of the unnumbered section is reproduced on page 200 of the main text.[89] The *errata* however, might have been printed elsewhere, most likely along with Legrand 168, for three reasons: first of all Metaxas employed the same typeface in both Legrand 168 and the *errata*; secondly, the *errata* have no pagination, and the quire numbers are separate from the rest of the volume; and finally, the initial A that appears in the *errata* does not occur elsewhere in the volume. Athos, *Iveron* 600 also features κεφάλαια; and all the chapter headings extant in the manuscript today, namely those numbered ιθ′, κ′, μβ′ and μγ′, correspond to those in the edition. If this text were not copied from the erroneous MS Metaxas complained of, it would have been quite impossible for such a correspondence to have occurred, since the chapter headings correspond to different numbers in the 'good' copies.

---

[89] See below, Plates 6-7.

Τμῆμα δεύτερον· περὶ τῶ μακαρίω Ἀυγεϛίνω, καὶ
καθόλου περὶ τῶ πῶς δεῖ χρῆϛαι ἑκάϛω τῆ διδα-
σκάλων ἡμᾶς, κỷ ἀντιπαϛεϛᾶσιν. ... περὶ τῶ
κπϛῶν εἰκόγων καθολικὴ θεωρία. Σινέχεια τῶ
προηγουμένων πρὸς τὰ ἑπόμένα, κỷ προ-
κατάϛαϛις τῶ τῆς ἀντιπραγματεϛεως
λόγων. Περὶ Ἀυγουϛίνω ὅτι οἱ
Λατῖνοι πρὸς ἀπολογίαν
προβάλλονται.



Ἵμ οὖ τὸ σύμβολον τῇ ἐκ τῶ υἱοῦ προϛθήκῃ με-
ταποιήσαντες, ἕνεκά τε τῶ εἰρημένων ἐπὶ τοῦ τὸ
ἐβάλοντο τιμωαρχίω, ᾗ τὸ σχῆμα εἰς ... ἤνεγ-
καν. ἡμῶν γὰρ σωφρονικωϛων, καὶ μήτε τῶ προϛ-
θεν ἐπαινουμένων, μήτε τὸ προϛϛεθημένον εἰληϛαι πό-
θεν ὅτι, μήτε μόνον τὸν Πάϛα διωϛϛαι λύειν οἰκουμενικῶς σινδέειν
δεσμοὺς κρινόντων καλῶς, ἀπεχομένων δ᾽ ὅμως τῶ τολμήματος, ... ὃ
μεταβαλλομένους τὰς αἰτίας τῶ σχήματος, τῆς εἰρήνης δικαίως ϛϛι
μελήσεϛθαι, καὶ διὰ τῶτο μηδὲν φορτικὸν εἰς ἀυτοὺς πεπραχόϛαι, ἐκεῖνοι
δεικνύϛϛες, ὡς πάντα πρὸς ἔϛιν καὶ φιλονεικίαν ... πατϛι-
ἀρχας τε κεχειροτονήκασι τόπους, ἄλλων πὼς θέϛιους ἔχϛϛαι. ᾗ περι-
βαλλόντες ἑαυτοῖς τὸ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκληϛας ἀξίωμα, ... ἤ-
ξαντο πλείω καινοτομεῖν, καὶ πᾶν ἔϛος τῆς ἐκκληϛας, καὶ ... μοντι-
ειον, ὡς ἀπὸ μείζονος ἢ πρόϛθεν ἐξουϛίας μεταποιήϛϛι, τελευτῶντ
ἐν τοῖς πλείϛοις ἡμῶν ἀπηλλοτριῶϛϛαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς πατϛικῆς πα-
ραδόϛεως, ὃ δὲν ἱερώτερον, ὃ δὲν σοφώτερον εἶναι διωϛϛαι πεπειϛϛμένοι,
καὶ
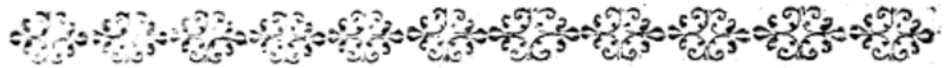
Τμῆμα πέμπτον. ἐν ᾧ δείκνυται κỳ ῥητοῖς ἁγίων κỳ λόγοις, μὴ εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τῦ πνεύματος αἴτιον. καὶ ὡς ἐπανα- λήψει τῶ προειρημῴων, ςαφηνεία τῦ δι' ὗ τίποτε βούλεται. ῥήσεις τῶ διδασκάλων, ἀποφάσκυσαι τῦ υἱῦ τὴν αἰτίαν τῦ πνεύματος.

## ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ μδ´.

Τι δὲ κỳ ἀδύνατον αἴτιον εἶναι τῦ πνεύματος τ̇ υἱὸν, πρῶ- τον μ̇ ἐξ αὐτῶ τ̈ διδασκάλων δῆλον ἐςι, αὐτῇ λέξει τῦ ἀρχεμυθῶν. ὁ μ̇ γὰρ θεῖος Δαμασκηνὸς, ἐν τῷ περὶ θείαν ὀνομάτων φησὶ. Πνεῦμα τῦ πατρὸς, ὡς ἐκ τῦ πατρὸς πορευόμῳον. οὐδεμία γὰρ ὁρμὴ ἄνευ πνεύματος. καὶ υἱῦ δὲ πνεῦμα, οὐχ ὡς ἐξ αὐτῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς δι' αὐτῦ ἐκπορευόμῳον. μόνος γὰρ αἴτιος ὁ πατήρ. Οὐκῦν ἐκ ἔςιν ὁ υἱὸς αἴτιος τῦ πνεύματος καθ' αὐτὸν. ἐκ ἐν οὐδὲ ᾗ, διὰ. ἀρόθεσις ἐν ταῦτα τ̇ αἰτίαν σημαίνει. ὁ δὲ θεῖος Μάξιμος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μαρῖνον ἐπιςολῇ, Ἐξ ὧν φησὶν ἐκ αἰτίαν ποιουῦται τὸν υἱὸν τῆς τῦ ἁγίυ πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπέδειξαν. μίαν γὰρ ἴσασιν υἱῦ καὶ πνεύματος τὸν πατέρα αἰτίαν. τοῦ μὲν κατ̇ γέννησιν, τοῦ δὲ κατ̇ ἐκπόρευσιν. ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸ δι' αὐτῦ προϊέναι δηλώσωσι, καὶ ταύτη τὸ συ- ναφὲς τῆς οὐσίας καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον παραςήσωσιν. Οὐκοῦ ἢ, διὰ πρό- θεσις, ὡσπερ συνάφειαν, ὅκ αἰτίαν σημαίνει. ὃ δὲ ἐςιν ὁ υἱὸς αἰτία τῆς τῦ ἁγίυ πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως. καὶ μία αἰτία υἱῦ τε καὶ πνεύματος ὁ πατὴρ μόνος. εἰ τι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς θείοις ἐν ἐςι, καὶ μόνον τῦτο ἐςίν. εἰ δέ τις εἴπη αἴτιη μὲρ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τῦ πνεύματος μὴ εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν, ἄρχὴ δὲ τῦ πνεύματος εἶναι, ἀρχὴ μὲν γὰρ ἑκάςου πράγματος δύνα- ται λέγεσθαι πᾶσα ἀρχή. ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς ὑπάρξεως αὐτῦ οὐ δύναται λέγεσθαι, εἰμὴ ἡ πρώτη αἰτία, οὕτω δὲ ἐςιν ὁ πατὴρ μόνος αἰτία τῆς τοῦ
πνεύμα-

Plate 7 —The initial 'O' in the main text of Legrand 167.

In addition to an incomplete text of the *Σύνταγμα*, another tract from the printed volume, part of Margounios' *Διάλογος* (Κεφάλαιον ι΄ being the only surviving chapter) is also extant in Athos, *Iveron* 600.[90]

This brings us to the question of the correction copy that Metaxas discovered after the book's publication. This has to be a MS that was made available to him in England, and the text it contains has to agree with the variations as noted by Metaxas in the *errata*. There are two extant MSS containing the first tract *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* in British libraries. The first of the two, Oxford, *Barocci* 92, belongs to the Venetian collection of the humanist Francesco Barozzi (1537–1604).[91] The collection was brought to England in 1628 by the printer and bookseller Henry Featherstone, who acted as an agent for the Bodleian. In 1629 this substantial collection of Greek manuscripts was bequeathed to Archbishop William Laud (in office 1633-1645).

It was subsequently purchased by William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke (b.1580-d.1630), and donated to the Bodleian Library. [92] The well-documented history of this collection proves that it would have been impossible for Metaxas to have access to this codex prior to his departure from England.

A MS more worthy of interest is preserved in London, Lambeth Palace Library (LPL). One of the most important 'public' libraries of the period, it was founded by Archbishop Bancroft, when he bequeathed his personal collection to the future Archbishops of Canterbury in 1610. His successor Archbishop Abbot, an avid collector and bibliophile, enlarged the collection considerably.[93] The MS in question, LPL 461, is a mid-fifteenth century codex of the *Σύνταγμα* of

---

[90] See above, pp. 74-75.

[91] G. Barocci, *Indice de' libri greci antichissimi scritti a penna, che si trouano nella libraria del Sig. Giacomo Barocci* (Venice: [s.n.], 1617).

[92] See Bodleian Library, www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/barocci /barocci.html (accessed on 26 May 2014).

[93] J. Raven, 'Liberality and Librolarceny: The Archbishops and their Libraries in the Seventeenth Century', *Lambeth Palace Library Annual Review 2010* (London: Lambeth Palace Library, 2011), pp. 59-76.

Constantinopolitan provenance.[94] It was once a treasured possession of George Scholarios, whose autograph notes and corrections are extant throughout the manuscript. It was later owned by Meletios Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria (b.1549-d.1601; in office 1590-1601), [95] as his monocondyle signature on f. 1 (trimmed in the bottom margin) and autograph scholia throughout the codex indicate. This codex came to LPL through the personal collection of Archbishop Abbot, who —as discussed above (pp. 24-29) — was engaged in a long-term correspondence with Loukaris. It appears that this volume was sent to Abbot as a token of amity, before or while Metaxas was in England. More importantly, the text of MS 461 corresponds to the corrections in Metaxas's *errata* save for a few minor mistakes that might have occurred while the sorts were set.

Petit and Jugie pleaded for the association of Athos, *Dionysianus* 246 with the edition. This MS was definitely not the original source text for the publication for the following reasons: Τμῆμα Δεύτερον (Second Part) on page 31 of the edition is entitled 'ἐν ᾧ ἐξέτασις τῶν τεσσάρων κινητικῶν Ἀυγουστίνου. καὶ πρῶτον τοῦ δευτέρου. καὶ δείκνυται ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐξηγήσει τῶν ῥητῶν ἐκείνων τῆς γραφῆς, οὐ δεῖ Ἀυγουστίνῳ πείθεσθαι ὡς εἰ διαφωνοίη καθάπαξ τοῖς

---

[94] H.J. Todd, *Catalogue of the Archiepiscopal Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace* (London: Law and Gilbert, 1812), p. 59; M.R. James, *The Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge: Antiquarian Society Publications, 1900), p.48; idem, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932); E.G. Bill, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 49; E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800-1600*, vol. III (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1997), no. 71; C. Brown, J. Chrysostomides and Ch. Dendrinos (eds), *Greek Manuscript Collection of Lambeth Palace Library: An Exhibition held on the occasion of the 21st International Byzantine Congress London 22-23 August 2006* (Trowbridge, Wiltshire: The Cromwell Press, 2006), Plate 2, p. 35; C. Brown, 'Greek Manuscripts' in R. Palmer and M. P. Brown, *Lambeth Palace Library: Treasures from the Collection of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (London: Scala, 2010), p. 37.

[95] For biographies of Meletios Pegas, see A. Ninolakis, *Μελέτιος ὁ Πηγᾶς ὁ Κρῆς, Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ ἐπιτηρητὴς τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου, 1545-1602* (Chania: Ἐμ. Δ. Φραντζεσκάκης, 1903); Ch. Paraskevaidis, *Μελέτιος ὁ Πηγᾶς* (Athens: Ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ ἐκδόσεις ἐθνικῆς ἑκατονταετηρίδος, 1971). See also E. Litsas, *Το ομιλητικό έργο του Μελετίου Πηγά, Πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας (1590-1601) και η χειρόγραφη παράδοσή του* (Thessaloniki: Λιθογραφία, 1992). A large number of Pegas' letters are published in E. Legrand, *Lettres de Mélétius Pegas antérieures à sa promotion au patriarcat: publiées d'après les minutes autographes* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1902). Legrand's edition, however, does not feature the group of four letters published by Metaxas.

ἡμετέροις διδασκάλοις' ('in which Augustine's four kinetics are examined, and the first of the second, and it is proven that insofar as the interpretation of those sayings in the Scripture is concerned we should not be persuaded by Augustine if he disagrees once and for all with our own teachers'). This section corresponds to LPL 461, f. 55ᵛ, where it is not entitled Τμῆμα Δεύτερον but instead constitutes a lesser subdivision of the text, without any chapter heading. The additional fourteen pages come with another Τμῆμα Δεύτερον which bears the title 'Περὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀυγουστίνου καὶ καθόλου περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ χρῆσθαι ἑκάστῳ τῶν διδασκάλων ἡμᾶς κατὰ ἀντιπαράστασιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ τῶν κτιστῶν εἰκόνων καθολικὴ θεωρία' ('On the blessed Augustine and generally on how *we* should use each of our teachers in juxtaposition, including a general theory on the created images'). This mostly agrees with the chapter heading in Athos, *Dionysianus* 246. However, this manuscript still cannot be the correction copy either, since yet another variation exists between the edition and the MS. Athos, *Dionysianus* 246 reads ὑμᾶς, while Metaxas's text reads ἡμᾶς, agreeing in that respect with LPL 461, which also reads ἡμᾶς. This may be merely a spelling mistake since these words are homophones; however, this simple error causes much trouble, for the former means 'you', while the latter means 'we'.

The original manuscripts for Legrand 167 arrived from Constantinople, sent by Loukaris to Metrophanes, as the Venetian ambassador's report indicates. The sources of Legrand 168, however, are more diverse.[96] First of all, four tracts by Neilos Cabasilas and Barlaam the Calabrian, forming a separately numbered section (pp. 1- 40 in the Metaxas edition), had already been published by Ioannis Wechel in Hannover in 1608 in a facing Latin and Greek edition.[97] Metrophanes' inventory of books does not feature this volume, but it must have circulated

---

[96] For a discussion of the contents of Legrand 168, see S.P. Lampros, 'Ἱστορικὴ πραγματεία περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ προόδου τῆς τυπογραφίας ἐν Ἑλλάδι μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 1821', *Χρυσαλλίς* 3.60 (1865), 361-64.

[97] *Nili Cabasilae de primatu Papae Romani Lib. duo item Barlaam Monachi* (Hanoviae: Typis Wechelianis, apud Claudium Marnium & heredes Ioannis Aubrii, 1608).

widely in England at the time since five copies survived in British libraries including those in Cambridge and Oxford. Moreover, the *editio princeps* of Barlaam's Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάπα ἀρχῆς (*On the primacy of the Pope*) had appeared earlier in 1592 in England (STC 1430).[98] This publication was listed in the Roman index.[99] Barlaam's other tract on Purgatory was also controversial and provoked a counter-publication from the press of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*.[100] Neilos' *Βιβλία δύο* (*Two Books*) is formed of two parts: α. Περὶ τῶν αἰτίων τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διαστάσεως ('On the causes of the ecclesiastical division') and β. Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάπα ('On the primacy of the Pope'),[101] followed by two tracts in the form of dialogues between a Greek and a Latin bearing the titles 'Ἀρχὴ διαλέξεως τινὸς Γραίκου και Καλδηναρίων τινῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης' ('Beginning of a dialogue between a certain Greek and certain cardinals from the elder Rome') and 'Ἐκ διαλέξεως τινὸς τῶν Λατίνων μετὰ Ἑλλήνων' ('From a dialogue between a certain Latin and Greeks') respectively. The order of the dialogues in the 1608 edition is vice-versa. Barlaam's tracts are entitled 'Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάπα ἀρχῆς' ('On the primacy of the Pope') and 'Περὶ τοῦ καθαρτηρίου πυρός' ('On Purgatory'). They were written after the period Barlaam was condemned in the East, retired to Calabria and joined himself to the Latins,[102] although the tracts speak out against the Latin tradition.

The order of the tracts is different in various complete copies of Legrand 168. It is difficult to determine what the original or intended volume looked like since the pagination of the tracts is extremely irregular. For instance the Cambridge and Adrianople copies both begin with Meletios Pegas' *Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ*

---

[98] J. Lloyd (ed.), Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Βαρλαὰμ λόγος Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάπα ἀρχῆς (Oxoniae: Excudebat Iosephus Barnesius, 1592).

[99] J.M. de Bujanda, *Index Librorum Prohibitorum 1600-1966* (Montreal: Mediaspaul, 2002), p. 106.

[100] P. Arcudius, Περὶ τοῦ καθαρτηρίου πυρὸς κατὰ Βαρλαὰμ (Romae: Typis & impen. Sac. Cong. de Propag. Fide, 1637).

[101] Both parts of Βιβλία δύο are extant in Istanbul, *Patriarchal Library*, *Panaghia* 36, fols. 9-15. For a detailed catalogue entry, see M. Kouroupou and P. Géhin, *Catalogue des manuscrits conserves dans la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat Œcuménique: Les manuscrits du monastère de la Panaghia de Chalki*, vol. I (Paris: Brepols, 2008), p. 140.

[102] A. Chalmers, *The General Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3 (London: Printed for J. Nichols, 1812), pp. 478-480.

Πάπα (*On the primacy of the Pope*) (pp. 1-10) followed by three epistles (pp. 10-34). Then comes Georgios Koressios' Διάλεξεις μετά τινος τῶν Φράρων (*Dialogue with a certain friar*) (pp. 1-9).[103] This tract is followed by Severus' Περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς, τὴν ὁποῖαν ἔχει ἡ Ἀνατολικὴ ἐκκλησία μὲ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἤγουν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάπα (*On the difference between the Eastern Church and the Roman <Church>, namely on the primacy of the Pope): A.* (pp. 1-52), and *B., Γ., Δ.* and *E.* (pp. 1-56), and tracts by Neilos and Barlaam (pp. 1-40) in the Cambridge copy. In the Adrianople copy, however, Severus is preceded by Neilos and Barlaam. The separate pagination indicates that different sections of this volume were printed at different times.

Reports indicate that Metaxas took either one or two Dutch workmen with him to Constantinople.[104] Various sources point to the possibility that Metaxas might have visited the Netherlands en route to Constantinople to recruit the operators, albeit without producing any solid evidence.[105] Moreover, it was not hard to come by Dutchmen working in the printing trade in seventeenth-century London.[106] The Dutchmen reportedly worked in his Constantinopolitan printing house and were present at the time when Janissaries confiscated Metaxas's printing material upon the complaints of Jesuits.[107] Metaxas's and his printing venture's impact in

---

[103] There is relatively little work on George Koressios. See N. Spoudakis, 'Γεώργιος Κορέσσιος (1570c.-1659/60): η ζωή, το έργο του και οι πνευματικοί αγώνες της εποχής του' (PhD thesis, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 1992).

[104] Veniero states one, whereas Roe reports two: 'Venice - September 1627, 1-10', *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, vol. 20 (1914) pp. 348-365; Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 663; Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, p. 44, n. 13.

[105] Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, p. 274; Metaxas, *Ἱστορία τῆς οἰκογενείας Μεταξᾶ*, p. 32; Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακὰ Σύμμικτα*, vol. 2, p. 101; Layton, 'Nikodemos Metaxas', pp. 140-141; Bokos, *Τὰ πρῶτα Ἑλληνικὰ Τυπογραφεῖα*, p. 32; Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, p. 10; K. Rosemond, 'De Drückerij van Nikodemos Metaxas in Konstantinopel (1627-8)', *Het Boek* 37 (1964/1965), p. 85; Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 116.

[106] W. Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants to England* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1897), pp. 143, 182-183; J. Murray, 'The Cultural Impact of the Flemish Low Countries on Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England', *The American Historical Review* 62.4 (1957), 843-845; D.W. Davies, *Dutch Influences on English Culture 1558-1625* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1964), pp. 21-22.

[107] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 663. Veniero's report, dated 4 September 1627, Venice, Archivio di Stato, Dispacci, Constantinopoli, Filza 105, quoted in Mertzios, *Πατριαρχικά*, p. 37. See also Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 163. See also below, p. 109.

the Netherlands, however, seems to go beyond the intervention of those unidentified Dutchmen who came to work in an Istanbul printing house. A curious publication unquestionably linked to Metaxas came out in Amsterdam in 1726.[108] This is a Dutch translation of Legrand 168, and it seems that it was Metaxas's London publication that the publishers not only employed but followed in minute detail from the biblical quotations in the beginning of the tracts to the division of chapter headings and use of ornamental initials. The dedication to Jeremias II, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the epistle to the reader, both penned by Andreas Köning, do not reveal much as to the origin of the source text other than describing it as a compilation of tracts on an 'old conflict' between the Eastern and the Western Churches. Both pieces mention that the originals are in Greek and that these texts had not yet been translated into any other language, most probably in order to draw attention to the translator himself, who rendered Metaxas's publication into the 'Netherdutch' language in full. Of Andreas Köning, which is the 'Dutchised' name of a Greek 'originally from the province of Ephesus', as he describes himself, virtually no information exists in the immediate soures. A further investigation into the printing history of this publication, though of great interest to the early modern book historian, is beyond the scope of this study.

There is yet another book, one intended for publication but which never came out of Metaxas's Greek press, entitled Ἐξήγησις εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ὑψηλωτάτου Θεολόγου ἀποκάλυψιν (*Exegesis by Zacharias Gerganos of John the Supreme Theologian's Book of Revelation*). This is Oxford, Bodleian MS *Laud. gr.* 77, once in the possession of Archbishop Laud, which reveals many intricacies of book production from MS to print.[109]

---

[108] Meletios Pegas, Georgios Koressios, Neilos Kabasilas, Baarlam of Calabria, *Verscheidene verhandelingen rakende voornamendlyk de verschillen so van ouds als nog heden ten dage swevende tusschen de Oostersche Kerk ende de Westerschen* (Amsterdam: Johannes de Ruyter, 1726).

[109] *Laud. gr.* 77 is the sole known copy of Gerganos' work and features autograph notes. For a detailed description of the MS see A. Argyriou (ed.), Z. Gerganos, Ἐξήγησις εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου θεολόγου Ἀποκάλυψιν (Athens: Εκδόσεις Ἁρτος Ζωής, 1991), pp. 32-35. It is

Zacharias was invited to Germany in 1619 by the Elector of Saxony and sympathised himself with Lutherans.[110] He published a catechism in Wittenberg in 1622. [111] Two years later, in 1624, Philippe Harlay, the French ambassador to the Porte, sent to Rome a copy of this volume with this note attached: 'Christian instructions that the Patriarch Cyrille had printed at Wittenberg, under the name of one of his students named Zacarye, and had it distributed throughout that Empire.'[112] The *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* felt that this book, allegedly induced by Loukaris, needed to be refuted; hence a counter-publication was issued by Matthaios Ioannes Karyophylles in Rome in 1631.[113] This man had good reason to have such a negative opinion of Zacharias and his mentor Loukaris, since his cousin Matthaios Karyophylles was lured by Cyril to become one of his most fervent supporters in Constantinople.[114]

Zacharias shared with Loukaris and Metaxas the idea that the flock of the Greek motherland was in dire need of education in the vernacular. He wrote the Ἐξήγησις, a boldly anti-Latin work, upon his return to Arta and sent out an autograph MS containing the Ἐξήγησις for publication.[115] The MS eventually reached England, but only after Metaxas had left the country. The MS might have been sent directly to England, as Argyriou suggests,[116] or more likely still, it might

---

also described in H.O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, vol. I (Oxford: e Typographeo academico, 1852), pp. 561-562.

[110] Roberts, 'The Greek Press', p. 35, n. 3; D.A. Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 343, n. 3; Gerganos, Ἐξήγησις, p. 14.

[111] Z. Gerganos, Χριστιανικὴ κατήχησις εἰς δόξαν τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ Πατρός, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ τιμὴν βοήθειάν τε τῶν φιλοθέων Ῥωμαίων ἐγράφη (Ἐν τῇ Οὐιττεμβέργῃ [Wittenberg] ἐν τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου Βόρεκ Χαλκογραφίᾳ ἐτυπώθη τῷ τῆς θεανθρωπωγονίας 1622 ἔτει). See also Papadopoulos, Κύριλλος Λούκαρις, p. 36; Simon, *Eastern Nations*, p. 51.

[112] Harlay to Louis XIII, 21 February 1624, Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr., 16150, fol. 239, quoted in Harai, 'Une chaire aux enchères', p. 58:

> …instruction chrestienne que le patriarche Cyrille a faict imprimer à Wittenberg, soubs le nom d'un de ses escholiers nommé Zacarye, et le faict distribuer par tout cet Empire.

[113] M.I. Karyophylles, *Refutatio pseudochristianae catechesis editae a Zacharia Gergano Graeco* (Romae: Typis & impensis Sac. Congreg. de Prop. Fide, 1631).

[114] Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 258.

[115] Gerganos, Ἐξήγησις, p. 37

[116] Gerganos, Ἐξήγησις, pp. 37-38.

have reached England via Constantinople through one of Laud's agents who collected MSS. In any case, it was in Laud's possession by 1633, when he signed the first folio of the MS: 'Liber Guilielmi Laud. Archiepiscopi Cantuar(iae) et Cancellarii Universitatis Oxon(iensis) 1633'. The main body of the text is preceded by two epistles.[117] The first epistle is addressed 'to the unknown reader'. Before sending the MS for publication, Zacharias reviewed his text and added this epistle to the reader, dated 20 August 1626. The second letter was written earlier and was addressed to the Christian Church. Three lines in this letter refer to Loukaris's 'troubles and sufferings' ('πάθη καὶ βάσανα').[118] The letter is accordingly datable to 1622/3, some time after Loukaris' exile (April 1622-October 1622), with other supporting evidence from the text.[119] In this letter Zacharias expresses his desire that his work should be 'edited and set in type' ('ἐπιμεληθῆτε νὰ βαλθῇ εἰς τὸν τύπον'). This desire, however, was not fulfilled until the end of the twentieth century when a modern critical edition appeared.[120]

The next chapter continues with scrutinising the printing history and manuscript sources of Metaxas's later publications associated with his journey to Constantinople and his subsequent return to Cephalonia.

---

[117] These letters are published in Gerganos, Ἐξήγησις, pp. 53-59.

[118] Gerganos, Ἐξήγησις, p. 56.

[119] For a discussion of the supporting evidence concerning the date of the dedicatory letter, see Gerganos, Ἐξήγησις, pp. 35-38.

[120] See above p. 86, n. 205.

# CHAPTER 3

## Constantinople

Nikodemos Metaxas arrived in Constantinople in June 1627 on Royal Defence, an English trade vessel.[1] The city he found was embroiled in a fierce rivalry between the Greek clergy and the Jesuit missionaries. The antagonism between the Orthodox Greek and the Catholic missionaries extended to, and was even led by the ambassadors that protected each faction. This friction between the two confessions of Christianity added to the ambassadors' existing competition to secure diplomatic precedence in the Ottoman court, which was a complex issue and often led to ostentatious demonstrations of power. The French ambassador Philippe Harlay, Comte de Césy claimed precedence over all the other European ambassadors due to the capitulations conferred by the Ottomans, which granted French merchants security of people and goods, extraterritoriality, freedom to transport and sell goods in exchange for the payment of the customs fee.[2] The

---

[1] There is ample archival evidence of Metaxas's arrival and subsequent activities in Constantinople, including the report of the Venetian *bailo* Sebastiano Veniero: Venice, Archivio di Stato, Dispacci, Constantinopoli, Filza 105; the French ambassador Harlay's letter dated 27 June 1627: Paris, Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères, Correspondance politique, Turquie 3, f. 457; and Sir Thomas Roe's report: London, The National Archives, Public Record Office, I/ 17, Bundle 14. Secondary accounts of Metaxas's printing venture in Constantinople include: T. Smith, *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario, Patriarcha Constantinopolitano* (Londini: Typis Gul. Bowyer & impensis Galfridi Wale, 1707), pp. 100-109, reprinted in *Lettres anecdotes de Cyrille Lucaris, patriarche de Constantinople, et sa confession de foi: avec des remarques* (Amsterdam: L'Honoré & Châtelain, 1718), **p**p. 201-210; Dositheos II, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Ἱστορία περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Πατριαρχευσάντων, vol. 2 (Bucharest, 1715), p. 1174; J.M. Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, vol. 2, pp. 423-31; Sathas, Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία, pp. 274-287; Ch. Papadopoulos, Κύριλλος Λούκαρις (Trieste: Αὐστροουγγρικοῦ Λόϋδ, 1907), pp. 46-48; Roberts, 'The Greek Press', 13-43; Layton, 'Nikodemos Metaxas', pp. 140-168; Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, pp. 161-176; S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 259-289; M.J. Brown, *Itinerant Ambassador: The Life of Sir Thomas Roe* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), pp. 172; Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, pp. 270-274; Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', pp. 140-176; Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, pp. 38-77; Bokos, Τὰ πρῶτα Ἑλληνικὰ Τυπογραφεῖα, pp. 38-43; C. Michaelides, 'Greek Printing in England, 1500-1900', pp. 203-26; B. Masters, 'Christians in a Changing World', pp. 276-277; S. Tarinas, Συμβολή στην Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Τυπογραφίας στην Κωνσταντινούπολη (Istanbul: Istos, 2013), pp. 5-10.

[2] S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), vol. 1, p. 97. For general studies on the capitulations and the Ottoman

French obtained several *ahdname*s throughout the sixteenth century, based on those previously given to Venetian and Genoese merchants.[3] The English also gained trade privileges in 1580, and the Dutch did so, too, in 1612.[4]

Harlay was confident that he had the upper hand against the other European representatives, which, according to his account, was clearly demonstrated in the way he was received at the seraglio. In his letter to King Louis XIII (r. 1610–1643) written in 1620, Harlay states that when he was invited, along with the English and the Dutch ambassadors, to the 'vizier's residence' he was offered a 'chair', while the others were merely given 'stools', which marked a 'reasonable difference'.[5]

Despite the self-proclaimed supremacy of the French, the customs tax rates from this period tell a different story. Since 1580, the tax levied on English merchandise was tantamount to 3% of the value of goods imported into the Ottoman Empire; the Dutch secured a similar deal, while the ships travelling under the French flag had to pay 5% until 1673.[6]

---

Empire, see S. Faroqhi, 'The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman Empire (1600-1630)', *The Journal of European Economic History* 15.2 (1986), 345-384; H. İnalcık, 'Osmanlı'nın Avrupa ile Barışıklığı: Kapitülasyonlar ve Ticaret' *Doğu Batı* 24 (2003) 55-81; M.H. van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005).

[3] H. İnalcık, 'Imtiyāzāt, ii. The Ottoman Empire', in P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition (Brill Online, 2012), at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/ encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/imtiyazat-COM_0371 (accessed on 1 May 2014). See also H. İnalcık, 'Ottoman Galata, 1453–1553', in E. Eldem (ed.), *Première Rencontre Internationale sur l'Empire Ottoman et la Turquie Moderne* (Istanbul and Paris: Isis, 1991), pp. 17-105.

[4] S.A. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578-1582: A Documentary Study of the First Anglo-Ottoman Relations* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1977), p. 91.

[5] Harlay to Louis XIII, Péra, 26 February 1620, Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr., 16149, fol. 138r, quoted in Harai, 'Une chaire aux enchères', p. 53, n. 18:

> L'ambassadeur en rapporta un exemple dans sa correspondance. Lorsque Césy était invité au 'logis du vizir' en compagnie des ambassadeurs d'Angleterre et des Provinces-Unies, le vizir 'avoit préparé une chaise' pour l'ambassadeur français et 'des tabourets pour les deux autres, ceste raisonnable différence' ayant été 'suivye de beaucoup d'autres'.

[6] H. İnalcık and D. Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 368-377.

Sir Thomas Roe, c. 1640, after
Michiel Jansz van Mierevelt
oil on panel, 72.4 x 59.7 cm.
Courtesy of the National Portrait
Gallery, London.

Cornelius Haga, c. 1645, by
anonymous Dutch painter. Oil on
panel, 62 x 46.5 cm. Courtesy of
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



**Plate 8** – Portraits of Roe and Haga

King James I of England would no longer tolerate French diplomatic superiority in the Levant. Therefore, he gave instructions to Roe to take an aggressive stance, which he followed. Harlay complained to Paris of Roe's attitude. Subsequently, the French ambassador in London raised the issue with the English authorities; yet the quarrel over diplomatic precedence between the French and the English remained a serious issue despite numerous attempts to resolve the situation.[7] This important issue re-surfaced in 1624, when the four Christian ambassadors attempted to constitute a joint delegation complaining to the sultan of the recent breaches of the capitulations. The French ambassador insisted that his king's and his names should have precedence over those of the other representatives and their respective rulers and that this ought to be clearly demonstrated by the order in which their names were cited and their signatures placed. A skilful diplomat with a perspicacious mind, Roe finally suggested that none of the names should appear on the main text of the document, thereby avoiding the delicate issue of precedence. And, only a small space were to be left for signatures, which meant no signature could be positioned higher on the page.[8] It took a good deal of effort on the part of the Dutch and Venetian ambassadors to break the obstinacy of Harlay; but, in the end, he accepted the proposed layout. Still, this did not offer the perfect solution, because the left-hand side of the page on the document could be perceived as more authoritative by Christians, while from the Ottoman perspective the right-hand side would appear to be the prime spot.[9] Having been given the chance to sign the document first, Roe reasoned that no matter which side he chose, Harlay would place his signature on the opposite side and thus claim supremacy. Therefore, he 'took a compasse and exactly in the middle signed and sealed it according to the forme.'[10] Roe says nothing further

---

[7] G.R. Berridge, 'Notes on the Origins of the Diplomatic Corps: Constantinople in 1620s', *Discussion Papers in Diplomacy* 92 (2004), pp. 8-9; Brown, *Itinerant Ambassador,* pp. 134-137.

[8] Roe, *Negotiations*, pp. 148-149.

[9] As is well known, the Ottoman script (like the Arabic and Semitic languages) is written from left to right.

[10] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 270.

concerning the document, but expresses his wish to minimize future contact with the French ambassador, whom he deeply and openly despised. This incident demonstrates that even though rivalry between the English and the French was deeply ingrained in their struggle to obtain the larger share of the mercantile activity in the Levant, the reverberations of their hostilities were manifested in various forms ranging from official documents to theatrical performances. The tension between the French and the English agents in Constantinople escalated throughout 1620s, as is evident in the reports of both ambassadors.[11]

The Constantinopolitan Greeks, who chose to remain in their homeland after the fall of Byzantium to the Ottomans in 1453, were placed under the care and protection of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch. The Patriarchate was the sole authority for the legal matters between the Greek-speaking Orthodox people. The Patriarch and his ministers were also in charge of all ecclesiastical affairs, religious conduct and education of the Greek *millet* by the Sultan's decree.[12]

---

[11] Roe, *Negotiations*, passim; G. Tongas, *Les relations de la France avec l'empire ottoman durant la première moitié du XVIIe siècle et l'ambassade à Constantinople de Philippe de Harlay, Comte de Césy (1619-1640)* (Toulouse: F. Boisseau, 1942).

[12] H. İnalcik, 'The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans', *Turcica* 11.13 (1991), 407-436; V. Roudometof, 'From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 16 (1998), 11-48; B. Masters, 'Christians in a Changing World', in S.N. Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 273-76.

**Plate 9** – Cyril Loukaris, Patriarch of Constantinople. Engraving by Michael van der Gucht. Reproduced from T. Smith, *Collectanea De Cyrillo Lucario, Patriarcha Constantinopolitano* (Londini: Typis Gul. Bowyer & impensis Galfridi Wale, 1707).

The Jesuits, who were to play a crucial part in the plot to end Metaxas's printing activities, arrived in Constantinople as early as 1583.[13] They were based in the Church of St Benedict (*San Benedetto*), in Karaköy, where the *Lycée de St Benoit* stands today. Their first attempt to settle failed due to an epidemic of plague that swept through Constantinople that year. Another group of Jesuits arrived in late 1609, and they took up residence in the Church of St Benedict, once again. Their services —conducted in Italian in the morning and French in the evening— began to attract large congregations.[14] At the time of the Jesuits' arrival in Constantinople, the Greek Orthodox Patriarch was Neophytos II (in office 1602-1603 and 1607-1612).[15] Raphael II (in office 1603-1607), who occupied the throne between Neophytos' two terms, had shown an interest in Church union and even started a secret correspondence with Rome. Neophytos, now in his second term, continued in his footsteps by secretly sending a profession of faith to Rome, wishing to register his nephew at the Jesuit school and inviting Catholic priests to celebrate the Eucharist at the Greek Church during Epiphany.[16] Neophytos not only cultivated peaceful relations with the Jesuits but also promoted the union publicly. In the spring of 1611, a Greek priest from Southern Italy preached a sermon openly advocating submission to Rome at the Church of St George in Fener. Loukaris, Patriarch of Alexandria at the time, was in Constantinople and was asked by the Synod to preach a counter-sermon. Having seen the staunch opposition to Roman influence, Neophytos conceded to the Synod's opinion and repudiated the Roman priest.[17] Neophytos' successor, Timothy II (1613-1620),

---

[13] E. Legrand, *Relation de l'établissement des P.P. de la Compagnie de Jésus en Levant* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1869), pp. 5-8; C.A. Frazee, *Catholics and the Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 67-103; E.R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), p. 146.

[14] Frazee, *Catholics and the Sultans*, p. 82.

[15] A. Komnenos Hypsilantis, Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ Πολιτικῶν: ἤτοι τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν 1453-1789 (Istanbul: Τυπογρ. Ἰ. Ἀ. Βρετοῦ, 1870), pp. 121-122.

[16] Frazee, *Catholics and the Sultans*, p. 82.

[17] Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, p. 232.

was yet another patriarch to build rapport with Catholics.[18] He even sought the protection of the French ambassador. Harlay, in return, supported him for election to the Patriarchal throne against Loukaris. Harlay, who maintained a 'secret' correspondence with Timothy II, found the patriarch very agreeable: 'a person of great piety and orthodox in doctrine' as opposed to the 'heretic' Loukaris who enjoyed the company of Protestant ambassadors.[19] Harlay went as far as to suggest that Cyril instigated the poisoning of Timothy II at a dinner given at the residence of the Dutch ambassador, in order to depose him. This allegation, like many other accusations against Loukaris, was never substantiated.[20] More importantly, Harlay also accused Loukaris of 'Calvinism', a heresy he allegedly acquired through contact with Protestant theologians and ambassadors, and sought to spread through his agents, who studied in Western Europe. Harlay wrote to Pierre Brulart, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Louis XIII:

> [Loukaris] was no sooner established, than he began to spread the regrettable doctrines of Calvin and several other heresies, which since that beginning have not ceased to be recommended to the weak and ignorant souls of the poor Greeks by the entire Eastern Church; and there are to be found here six or seven ambassadors […] whom Cyril invited to a solemn feast along with the ambassadors of England and Holland, all of whom together attended a mass with chairs, seats, and places, and after the gospel, which was brought to them, when the Holy Sacrament was elevated, they did several things to the accompaniment of laughter, and this was a great scandal for all the Greeks who could not approve of their Patriarch's affinity for these heretics, nor of the preaching of several caloyers [Greek monks] who had come from studying at the university of Oxford in England, and at the university of Heidelberg, to fill the seats of Constantinople and Galata.[21]

---

[18] The relations of these patriarchs with Rome have been fully explored, with the relevant documents, by G. Hofmann, *Griechische Patriarchen und römische Päpste: Untersuchungen und Texte, Orientalia Christiana 47, 52, 63-64, 76, 84, 97* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1928-1934).

[19] Harai, 'Une chaire aux enchères', p. 53.

[20] Harai, 'Une chaire aux enchères', p. 53.

[21] Letter from Césy to Pierre Brulart (notes), BnF, Ms. Fr., 16160, fol. 141v-142r, quoted in Harai, 'Une chaire aux enchères', p. 52 :

> Il ne fut pas plustost establi qu'il ne commancast à semer les malheureux dogmes de Calvin et plusieurs aultres Hérésies, lesquelles depuys ce temps-là n'ont pas manqué de se glisser dans les foibles et ignorants esprits des pauvres Grecs par

Harlay did everything he could to convert Orthodox prelates who were inclined towards Catholicism. It was he who managed to depose Loukaris in 1621 and attempted to replace him with Gregory, Metropolitan of Amasya, paying 20,000 thalers to this effect, which proved short of the *peşkeş*[22] demanded by the Sultan.[23] Moreover, Gregory had not been canonically elected by the Holy Synod, therefore creating dissatisfaction among the bishops and metropolitans. Cyril's supporters finally nominated Anthemius II, Metropolitan of Adrianople, who agreed to leave his place to Cyril for 40,000 thalers. This sum was allegedly provided by the English and Dutch ambassadors.[24] Loukaris was able to reclaim the patriarchal throne within the same year of his deposition, but this came at a great deal of struggle and cost. Harlay once again plotted against Loukaris in 1623 and offered the Ottoman authorities an equally large sum of 40,000 thalers. The English and the Dutch were again more successful, for they raised a sum of 45,000, which finally satisfied the Ottomans.[25] Cyril triumphed once again, but this was a Pyrrhic victory at best: the never-ending struggles of Loukaris had put the Greek Church into no less than 120,000 thalers of debt by 1623.[26]

Money was always a primary force in matters of diplomatic rivalry in Constantinople. Opulence was the way to promote one's cause, and showering

toute l'Église d'Orient et se trouvant icy six ou sept Ambassadeurs de Bohesme, de Moravie, Silésie, Transylvanie et du prince palatin, ledit Cyrille convia à un festin solemnel lesdits Ambassadeurs avec ceulx d'Angleterre et de Hollande lesquels tous ensemble assistèrent à la messe dans des chayses, assis et couverts, et après l'évangile qu'on leur porta, ils firent à l'élévation du Saint Sacrement plusieurs actions de risée au grand scandalle de tous les Grecs quy ne pouvoient approuver cette affinité de leur Patriarche avec les Hérétiques non plus que les prédications de plusieurs caloyers religieux grecs lesquels venant d'estudier à l'université d'Oxford en Angleterre et à celle de Heidelberg remplissoient les chayres de Constantinople et Galata.

[22] Peşkeş (or pīshkesh): 'A gift presented to a superior as a symbol of recognition of his authority and protection': see İnalcık and Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, p. l, 'Glossary'.

[23] Harai, 'Une chaire aux enchères', p. 62; Frazee, *Catholics and sultans*, p. 85

[24] Aymon, *Monumens Authentiques*, p. 207; quoted in Harai, 'Une chaire aux enchères', p. 55.

[25] Aymon, *Monumens Authentiques*, p. 209; quoted in Harai, 'Une chaire aux enchères', p. 57.

[26] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 214.

officials with extravagant gifts was a centuries-old tradition in the city, as Roe observed: 'Dollars are more weighty here, than reasons'.[27] Both Protestants and Catholics did not hesitate to spend enormous sums in order to keep Loukaris in office, or indeed to remove him. According to Harai's estimates, the expenditure of the Protestant ambassadors (Haga, Roe and Roe's successor Wyche) between 1620 and 1638 amounted to 23,600,000 *akçe* (silver coins), whereas Catholics spent 30,880,000 *akçe* against Loukaris in the same period.[28] In the unstable climate of Ottoman politics, the dynamics changed rapidly as viziers came and went. During the five terms of Loukaris between 1620 and 1638, the Porte saw three sultans and seventeen grand viziers. While the payment of the *peşkeş* and *maktu*[29] to the sultan was an official obligation, numerous other payments in the form of gifts to the grand vizier and other high ranking officers were also made. Furthermore, there were always rival candidates for a single office, who were eager to offer more. Each candidate was supported by opposing groups of Greek clergy. So the incumbent of the patriarchal throne had to outbid any other potential rival candidate in order to keep the throne and the authority attached to it. The Ottomans indeed realized a considerable sum out of this struggle. For this reason, the Porte tolerated the quarrels between the Catholics and Protestants in Constantinople so long as it posed no threat to the security of trade and continued to line the pockets of the officials. In the larger scheme of things, the divide offered the Empire an advantage both in foreign and internal politics, as good relations with the representatives could translate into alliances with their kings.

The religious, theological, ecclesiastical and political divide is clearly demarcated in the writings of both sides. To wean the support of the Orthodox flock away from Loukaris, the Jesuits and Rome spread through pamphlets the rumour that

---

[27] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 352.

[28] Harai, 'Une chaire aux enchères', p. 68, document 1.

[29] *Maktu* (or *makṭū'*): 'A lump sum agreed upon for payment of rent or taxes': see İnalcık and Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, p. xlviii, 'Glossary'.

he was a Calvinist. On the other hand, Meletios Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria and Loukaris's mentor, openly expressed his discontent with the Jesuit attempts to approach and ultimately convert the Greek Orthodox population in a letter he addressed to the inhabitants of Chios, written in Constantinople and later printed by Metaxas in London.[30] The Jesuit fathers, who 'came in the habit of perverted teachings', Pegas acknowledged, showed some goodwill: they 'baptised [children], conducted funerals, visited the sick, comforted the sorrowful, helped the oppressed, gave all kinds of support [to the community], and participated in the Eucharist'. All of these indeed created a 'bond of fellowship' between the Greeks and the Latin clergy, albeit with a different aim, that is to attract Orthodox to the Catholic Church rather than cultivating a genuine reconciliation. [31] Pegas only 'hoped' that the Orthodox would ever embrace the 'knowledge of truth' again, namely the Orthodox faith, since they have been 'seized by deception for so long'.[32] The amiable relations of the Greek community with the Jesuits continued at the cost of assimilation until Cyril Loukaris ascended the patriarchal throne.

The Jesuits soon set up a school in Galata, the cosmopolitan quarter of Istanbul, where foreign diplomatic agents, clergymen, Genoese, Greek, Armenian and Jewish subjects and merchants, and European tradesmen settled.[33] The status of Latins in Constantinople was different from that of the Greeks and Armenians, who had an official and established presence:

---

[30] Legrand 168, p. 26. Also see Ch. Papadopoulos, *Κύριλλος Λούκαρις* (Athens, 1949), p. 19; Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 40.

[31] Legrand 168, Part I, p. 28:
> … εἰς συνήθειαν ἦλθον τ(ῆς) διεστραμένης διδασκαλίας… τὶ γὰϱ κ(αὶ) ποιήσωσι βαπτίσματα παϱ' ἐκείνων, προπομπαὶ τῶν ἐξοδευόντων, ἐπισκέψεις τῶν ἀσθενούντων, παρακλήσεις τῶν λυπουμένων, βοήθειαι τῶν καταπονουμένων, ἀντιλήψεις παντοδαπαί, μυστηρίων κοινωνίαι ἃ πάντα δι' ἐκείνων ἐπιτελούμεθα, σύνδεσμος γίνεται τοῖς πολλοῖς, τῆς πρὸς αὐτὰς ὁμονοίας;

[32] Legrand 168, Part I, p. 28:
> …ἐλπίδα λοιπὸν εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ τὰς χρονίας ἀπάτης κατασχεθέντας, πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀνακληθεῖναι.

[33] L. Mitler, 'The Genoese in Galata, 1453-1682', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10.1 (1979), 71-91; E. Eldem, 'The Ethnic Structure of Galata', *Biannual Istanbul* 1 (1993), 28-33.

> Since there is no officially recognised religious head (reʾīs) or specific Church for the Latin subjects of the Ottoman Empire living in Istanbul, they used to go to the churches belonging to the foreign communities for their religious services, and their religious affairs were dealt with by the foreign priests. The settlement of their daily affairs (masālih-i ʿādiyye) was entrusted to an agent (vekīl) who contacted the Ottoman authorities when need be … and they do not have an organisation like the Greek and the Armenian patriarchates … but rather an agency (Latin Vekāleti) similar to a district community representative (mukhtarlık).[34]

The Jesuits soon inaugurated their educational activities, which proved extremely popular among the locals.[35] Many Greeks, including monks, bishops and deacons, were attending lectures at the Jesuit College — indeed, they outnumbered the Catholic pupils[36] — so much so that Loukaris was induced to circulate an encyclical advising his flock to remove their children from Jesuit schools in order to protect their impressionable minds from potential 'heresy'.[37] Jesuits provided free education. The languages of instruction at their schools and services were Italian and Greek. The curriculum spanned grammar, liberal arts and languages.[38] As well as the regular classes, the Jesuits organised extra-curricular activities such as mystery plays. These were popular among both the Catholics of Galata and the Greek Orthodox. Theatrical performances enacting the lives of early Christian martyrs or tragedies often portraying 'a sinner converted to Catholicism' were staged in vernacular Greek, and these dramatic genres thrived thanks to Jesuit efforts in the early seventeenth-century Levant.[39] The themes and language of the plays make it clear that the Jesuit theatrical performances were aimed at the Greek-speaking population. A good example is the reported staging of a play about the childhood of St John Chrysostom in Constantinople on 13 November 1624, the very day the Orthodox celebrate the

---

[34] İnalcık, 'Ottoman Galata', p. 29.

[35] E.R. Dursteler, 'Education and Identity in Constantinople's Latin Rite Community, c.1600', *Renaissance Studies*, 18.2 (2004), 298.

[36] Dursteler, 'Education and Identity', p. 298.

[37] Papadopoulos, *Κύριλλος Λούκαρις*, p. 37.

[38] T. Smith, *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario*, **pp. 85-86**; Della Valle, *Viaggi*, 53; Dursteler, 'Education and Identity', p. 299.

[39] T. Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), p. 140.

feast of the venerated saint.[40] This particular play is tied intricately to the antagonism between Loukaris and Harlay. The French ambassador's eight-year-old son played the leading role, and he reportedly acted in such an admirable way that the Orthodox Patriarch requested to be invited to the performance to see him reciting the long and complex soliloquies in Greek.[41] This seems extraordinary, given that Loukaris had strongly rebuked the Jesuit theatrical performances just a few years earlier, denounced them as unsuitable for a Greek audience, and warned parents against such 'traps' designed to lure Orthodox children to Jesuit schools.[42] Loukaris' apprehensiveness of theatre is not surprising in the light of the early Church's stance against theatrical performances. Theatre continued to be frequently excoriated by the clergy throughout the Byzantine period.[43] What is striking in this case is Loukaris' willingness to offer an olive branch to the Jesuits and their protector, the French ambassador. Loukaris' diplomatic move to reinstate peaceful relations with the French in Constantinople, however, was not reciprocated. The resident consul of the Netherlands, the Venetian *bailo* and the ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire were all among the audience, yet the French ambassador refused to invite Loukaris and Roe.[44] Very rarely in the history of drama did such an intimate and quotidian performance become the centre point of a diplomatic game between the great powers of Europe!

The incidents discussed above demonstrate how strongly religion and diplomacy were intertwined in Constantinople, not only in the minds of their Ottoman

---

[40] W. Puchner, 'Θεατρική παράσταση στην Κωνσταντινούπολη το 1623 με έργο για τον Άγιο Ιωάννη Χρυσόστομο', *Θησαυρίσματα* 24 (1994), 235-262; idem, 'Jesuit Theatre on the Islands of the Aegian Sea', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 21 (2003), 213; Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, p. 140.

[41] Puchner, 'Jesuit Theatre on the Islands of the Aegean Sea', p. 214.

[42] Puchner, 'Jesuit Theatre on the Islands of the Aegean Sea', p. 214.

[43] Perhaps the most famous piece of animadversion against performances was put forward by Chrysostom. See his homily *Against those who have abandoned the church and deserted it for hippodromes and theatres* (*Contra ludos et theatre*), *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 56, cols. 261-270.

[44] Puchner, 'Jesuit Theatre on the Islands of the Aegean Sea', p. 214.

hosts, who classified their subjects and visitors on the basis of their religion, but also for the European residents, who built their alliances accordingly.

Loukaris repeatedly complained of the deplorable level of literacy among his flock.[45] The discontentment was mutual as suggested by an earlier letter from Pasqual Navon, Venetian dragoman and the prior of the Franciscan school at Sant'Anna in Galata, addressed to the pope. Navon also complained of the children's incompetency and the present threats to their faith.[46] The Jesuit school was hailed as an answer to the lack of education among the Constantinopolitan youth. Loukaris was aware that there was a potential danger of exposure to 'false doctrine' by none other than the proponents of the Latin rite. His vigilance was not unfounded: on several occasions the Jesuits were accused of trying to convert Greek children. For instance, in the Church of St Benedict, the fathers forced Greeks to kneel, which is against their rite. [47] According to Logothete Chrysosculos, proselytising did indeed occur, albeit in subtle forms, and only wise men such as Loukaris and his circle, who were 'a cut above the rest' recognized 'the serpent hidden in the grass'.[48]

Jesuits were not alone in their quest to lure Greek pupils to their school. Rome was always an intimate ally, but the year 1621 saw the ascension of the first Jesuit-educated Pope, Gregory XV (1621–1623).[49] He established the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* in 1622. This organisation was made up of a college for training missionaries and a printing house to disseminate Catholic tracts in various languages.[50] It acted as the papacy's propaganda machine, sending to

---

[45] Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, vol. II, p. 382.

[46] Dursteler, 'Education and Identity', p. 295.

[47] Dursteler, 'Education and Identity', p. 297.

[48] Letter from Chrysosculos, the Logothete of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to David de Leu de Wilhem, printed in Aymon, *Monuments authentiques*, p. 204; reprinted, idem., *Lettres anecdotes de Cyrille Lucar Patriarche de Constantinople, et sa confession de foi, evec des remarques* (Amsterdam, 1718), p. 204: 'Interea viri melioris notae & paulo sagociores prae caeteris (Cyrillus Patriarcha, & Provinciae eius Episcopi) anguem in herbâ subolebant, …'

[49] Papadopoulos, *Κύριλλος Λούκαρις*, p. 36

[50] For historical accounts of the Congregation, see J.A. Griffin, 'Sacred *Congregation* de *Propaganda* Fide, Its Foundation and Historical Antecedents', *Records of the American Catholic*

Constantinople and other prominent cities with a substantial Greek-speaking population Catholic Greek priests educated at the Greek College of St Athanasios or counter-literature published by their press in Rome. The English ambassador in Constantinople was alarmed at the unwelcome appearance of *Congregatio* agents in the city. He took a dim view of the society, commenting 'they ayme at nothing but to change the patriarch from his conversation and frends, and to curse the Protestants'.[51] In January 1623, an unnamed Catholic archimandrite arrived in Constantinople and stayed at Harlay's residence. *Propaganda Fide* promised a generous sum to those who might succeed in deposing Loukaris, adding fuel to the ongoing efforts of the French ambassador.[52] In February 1624, another Greek Jesuit priest named Beryllus arrived, this time to accuse Cyril of treason. In October 1625, the most formidable attack of all came in the form of an agent named Canaccio Rossi, whose arrival distressed Loukaris so deeply that he had to seek the advice of Sir Thomas Roe the very same day.[53] Rossi was a 'young Greeke, Roman and Jesuite bredd, subtle, cunning and learned' sent to challenge Loukaris and turn his flock against him. He carried seven instructions from Cardinal Bandini, the head of the Society, diligently recorded in the *Cancelleria* of Roe.[54] Rossi conveyed the papal wish for Loukaris to issue a confession that would be agreeable to Rome. The same day Loukaris visited the English ambassador's residence in Pera, situated on 'the top of a hill, within a large field and pleasant gardens surrounded by a wall.'[55]  In his letter to Abbot, Roe reports that Loukaris, fearing further agitation, was inclined to set down a confession of

*Historical Society* 41 (1930), 289; P. *Guilday*, 'The *Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide* (1622-1922)', *The Catholic Historical Review* 6 (1921), 478-494. On the Congregation's press, see M. Galeotti, *Della Tipografia poliglotta di propaganda Discorso* (Torino: Pietro di G. Marietti, 1866); G. Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 162; W. Henkel, *Die Druckerei der Propaganda Fide: eine Dokumentation* (Munich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1977); H.J. Martin, *The History and Power of Writing* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994), p. 389.

[51] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 487.
[52] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 758.
[53] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 758; Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, vol. II, pp. 418-420.
[54] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 470; Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, vol. II, pp. 418-419.
[55] Moryson, *Itinerary*, p. 141.

faith.[56] Roe claims that he dissuaded the Patriarch, since 'hee could write nothing to satisfy them … and that he could publish nothing which they would not confute, hauing aduantage of meanes, men and bookes'.[57] He advised the Patriarch to take his time, to stall and delay the vicious agent. But Rossi would not put up with it; he soon changed tactics and persuaded local Greeks, laymen and clergy alike, to complain to the vizier about the Patriarch. Roe was convinced, or purported to be, that it was he who had saved the Patriarch and the Greek Church from another catastrophe by mediating with the vizier.[58]

In addition to agents, books from the *Propaganda* Press found their way into Constantinople. In his letter to the Dutch humanist David le Leu de Wilhem,[59] detailing the troubles the Jesuits inflicted on Loukaris, Logothete Chrysosculos reports that the Jesuit college possessed a formidable library with editions from Venice, their own press in Rome and other publishers in Europe. In this way, the priests and the students could peruse rare editions and expensive volumes, at a time when the Greek Patriarchate had no access to printed books.[60] As a result, the Greek Church for want of scholars and printed books, found itself greatly disadvantaged in its doctrinal disputes with Rome. The Eastern Church possessed treasures of a different order, though, much sought after in Western Europe — ancient MSS. These texts were considered to provide a direct link to the early Christian world. From an Anglican point of view, these writings could be utilised in the process of restoring the original tenets of Christianity and most

---

[56] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 487.

[57] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 487.

[58] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 487.

[59] David le Leu de Wilhem (b. 15 May 1588—d. 27 January 1658) was a scholar of oriental languages and law in Leiden. From 1617 to 1629 he worked as a merchant in Syria and Egypt, where he probably met Loukaris while the latter occupied the Patriarchal throne of Alexandria. See E. Jorink, 'Noah's Ark Restored (and Wrecked): Dutch Collectors, Natural History and the Problem of Biblical Exegesis', in S. Dupré and C.H. Lüthy (eds), *Silent Messengers: The Circulation of Material Objects of Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2011), p. 166. Loukaris wrote a number of letters to de Wilhem, fourteen of which, penned in the years 1618-1619, survive. The originals are now preserved in the Library of the University of Leiden, Shelfmark BPL 26 B, ff. 5-36. These were published by Aymon, *Monuments authentiques*, pp. 172-200.

[60] Aymon, *Monuments authentique*, pp. 202-203.

necessarily to refute the Roman doctrine. Roe considered these volumes 'weapons fit for champions, and not for colloyres (*kalogerous*, monks)' and persuaded Cyril that early Christian MSS should not gather dust in libraries, but be made available to scholars in the West.[61] Cyril indeed became Roe's foremost aid in acquiring valuable MSS for affluent patrons, who sent incessant requests to the ambassador to act as an agent.[62]

In a letter to Abbot dated 30 June/9 July 1625, Roe's arguments to prove the righteousness of his actions border on the preposterous. He writes:

> I have begunne to deale playnly with the Patriarch, who hath made a great collection that, his old books rott and rust by him, among ignorant Greeks, that will never understand, nor make use of them […] I find [Loukaris] scarce knows the names of many, I am sure not their contents, nor the reputation of their authors; many histories, ecclesiastical and civill, that may bee great lights unto us of the darker tymes; and have motioned to make an exchange, and to furnish him with a compleate library of all classique authors, and bodyes of learning, which the Greeke Church have not, which will be use to him, and his successors, to leave to his see, from whence those learning may bee drawne, of which they are nowe wholly ignorant, in exchange of such of his, which doe no good, being buried in obscurity.[63]

Contrary to Roe's belief, not only did Loukaris know his books and authors extremely well, but he had first-hand experience in education and publishing. Having devoted most of his youth to improving ecclesiastical schools in Eastern Europe, Loukaris had strong views on how to reform the Orthodox Church.[64] In 1594 he was sent to Poland with letters from Constantinople and Alexandria. He first stayed in Lwów, then moved to Vilnius, where he was appointed Archimandrite of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, and in 1596 he became the rector of the monastic school. He also began printing Orthodox tracts to counteract Catholic propaganda.[65] There he published the *Διάλογος Ὀρθόδοξος*

---

[61] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 414.
[62] Roe, *Negotiations*, pp. 16, 386-7; M. Strachan, *Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 170.
[63] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 414.
[64] Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 162.
[65] Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 161.

*Χριστιανὸς* by Meletios Pegas on 31 July 1596.[66] Loukaris later founded a new school in Lwów and continued printing there. In 1601, he was in Iasi in Moldova, another major centre for the printing of Greek tracts. Loukaris was adamant that the best way of bettering the education of young Greeks in Constantinople was to provide them with books and to appoint innovative teachers to the monastic schools. In 1614 he recommended the Orthodox brotherhood in Lemberg to use printed material as a powerful tool to counteract the Catholic propaganda.[67] Finally, in 1622 he invited Theophilos Korydalleus to inject new life into the Patriarchal Academy.

Korydaleus was educated in the Greek College of St Athanasios in Rome and studied philosophy and medicine at the University of Padua, at a time when Cesare Cremonini was a dominant figure. Cremonini defended Aristotelianism both against the new science of his colleague there, Galileo Galilei, and the Jesuits.[68] Korydaleus taught in Venice and later in Athens, where he became Metaxas's mentor. Korydaleus went to Cephalonia in 1619, upon Metaxas's invitation, and taught there until 1621.[69] Then he travelled to Constantinople at Loukaris' request. He ran the Patriarchal Academy until 1640, when he became the Metropolitan of Arta and Naupaktos for a brief period.[70]

---

[66] Papadopoulos, *Κύριλλος Λούκαρις*, pp. 16-9; Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, pp. 37-40.

[67] Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 162.

[68] Cesare Cremonini (1550-1631) was an eminent Italian philosopher and professor of natural philosophy at the University of Padua. An ardent defender of Aristotelian logic, he ran into a dispute with the Jesuits in the city, as he disapproved of their school and their teaching methods. For monographs on Cremonini, see L. Mabilleau, *Étude historique sur la philosophie de la Renaissance en Italie: Cesare Cremonini* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1881); C.B. Schmitt, *Cesare Cremonini, un aristotelico al tempo di Galilei* (Venice: Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, 1980); H.C. Kuhn, *Venetischer Aristotelismus im Ende der aristotelischen Welt: Aspekte der Welt und des Denkens des Cesare Cremonini, 1550-1631* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1996). For a discussion of his anti-Jesuit oration, see P.F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 480-483; E. Muir, *The Culture Wars of the Late Renaissance: skeptics, libertines, and opera* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 13-61.

[69] Pentogalos, *Παΐσιος Μεταξᾶς*, p. 526.

[70] There is only a single book-length study available on Korydaleus, which is C.D. Tsourkas, *Les débuts de l'enseignement philosophique et de la libre pensée dans Balkans: la vie et l'œuvre de Théophile Corydalee (1570-1646)* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1967). For a history of the Patriarchal Academy, see M.I. Gedeon, *Χρονικὰ τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Ἀκαδημίας* (Constantinople: Ἐκ τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Τυπογραφείου, 1883).

Korydaleus' predecessor as the head of the Academy, Frangiskos Kokkos, had to be brought to Constantinople with threats and coercion. Patriarch Raphael II actually forced Kokkos to take up this challenging position. Kokkos's unwillingness may be explained to a large extent by the deplorable level of the students in Constantinople at the time.[71] In 1624, when Korydaleus arrived, the level of education at the Academy had not improved much, especially in the disciplines of logic and philosophy. Korydaleus had penned articulate commentaries on Aristotle and had published a textbook on epistorlary styles and rhetoric. Many of his contemporaries praised him for his erudition in Greek philosophy, as we gather from the dedications by Paisios and Nikodemos Metaxas. Korydaleus's arrival in Constantinople made an impression. He was welcomed by crowds of prospective students as he embarked on the shore.[72] He was conferred the prestigious titles of Rector of the Patriarchal Academy and Grand Interpreter of the Great Church.[73] Korydaleus's teaching inaugurated a glorious era in the Patriarchal Academy. According to a certain Constantine, the chronicler of the academy, the general quality of teaching improved immensely with the implementation of systematic curricula for philosophy, grammar, rhetoric and mathematic.[74] However, Korydaleus was not without his shortcomings. He was inexperienced in politics, and this became immediately obvious, as he lost no time in making enemies for himself in Constantinople. Meletios Syrigos, the chiefest among them, an accomplished preacher, hated to share his privileged status with the newcomer. During a sermon at St George's Church in Phanar, Korydaleus defended Loukaris, stating that his writings represented the true Christian faith. Syrigos's reaction was immediate and forceful: Interrupting Korydaleus, he raised his voice and accused him of being a 'Calvinist' and a blasphemer. This incident was the beginning of a long and

---

[71] Gedeon, Χρονικὰ, p. 71.
[72] Gedeon, Χρονικὰ, p. 80.
[73] Gedeon, Χρονικὰ, p. 80.
[74] Gedeon, Χρονικὰ, pp. 83-86.

open conflict between the two.[75] Syrigos certainly differed in opinion from those in Cyril's coterie. He openly disapproved of the reforms introduced by the Patriarch, including the new Greek vernacular translation of the New Testament by the monk Maximos Kallipolites.[76] Syrigos also had personal reasons to dislike Korydaleus. According to Gedeon, Syrigos decided to study logic and philosophy under Korydaleus and agreed to pay a certain amount in tuition fees. Their relationship went sour when Korydaleus demanded the first instalment, and Syrigos declined to make any payment until the end of the course.[77] Moreover, Syrigos had opened a rival school in Galata, where he was teaching theology. This school, housed in the Church of Chrysopyge in Galata, was a private institution, competing with the Patriarchal Academy for students.[78] On a personal level, Korydaleus was known to be irritable, melancholic and bad-tempered. Gedeon notes that his students could not bear his company for longer than six months.[79]

The beginning of 1620s saw the Greek humanistic revival, based largely upon the new Aristotelianism that originated from Padua.[80] The leading figures of the period included Maximos Margounios, Theophilos Korydaleus, Zacharias Gerganos, Frangiskos Kokkos, Christophoros Kontoleon, Leon Allatius and Ioannis Kottounios, to name but a few. The Greek intelligentsia, scattered throughout an extensive geographical space across the Eastern Mediterranean, were particularly active in Italian centres for Greek scholarship such as Rome, Venice, Padua and Bologna, as well as the Greek mainland (especially Athens and Thessaloniki), the Ionian Islands, Crete, the Dodecanese (especially Chios) and Asia Minor (in major cities such as Constantinople and Smyrna). The Greek-speaking scholars often circulated their ideas through correspondence with

---

[75] Dositheos, Ἱστορία, p. 1172; Gedeon, Χρονικὰ, p. 77.
[76] Dositheos, Ἱστορία, p. 1173.
[77] Gedeon, Χρονικὰ, p. 77.
[78] Gedeon, Χρονικὰ, p. 82.
[79] Gedeon, Χρονικὰ, p. 83.
[80] Henderson, *The Revival of Greek Thought*, pp. 6-7.

Western scholars or tracts in MS form. Production of Greek books in subjects other than ancient philosophy and literature was limited (with the exception of liturgical books), and the printing of textbooks was not yet an economically viable business in this period — even in the active centres for printing of Greek such as Venice, Vienna, Leipzig and Halle. Direct access to printed Greek books was nearly impossible in the Eastern Mediterranean; therefore, scholars and benefactors brought from abroad as many books as they could.[81] A letter from Ioannes Zygomalas (1498–c.1585),[82] a high-ranking official of the Great Church and a teacher at the Patriarchal Academy, to Michael Hermodoros Lestarchos (c.1505–before 1577), a Greek scholar originating from the island of Zakynthos, presents evidence for the lack of printed books in Constantinople in this period. Ioannes makes at least two requests to Lestarchos for books for his son Theodosios. But even for a well-connected scholar like Lestarchos, who was teaching in Chios at the time, it was difficult to acquire the requested books. In a letter dated 1560, he informs Ioannes that he cannot send him the Aristophanes book for Theodosios, as he does not possess it. In another letter dated May 1562, Lestarchos promises that he will search for the requested Stobaios book in Chios, but if he is not successful, he will order it from Venice.[83]

Concerning schools, patriotism seems to be the main driving force behind Greek education. Wealthy merchants and patrons sponsored schools and the publication of instructive literature. One example is the Kottonian Greek College (Κωττούνιον Ἑλληνομουσεῖον), a boarding school for Greek boys, founded by Ioannis Kottonios in Padua in 1648. Kottonios was a fellow student of Korydaleus at the University of Padua. He succeeded his former teacher Cremonini in the

---

[81] Henderson, *The Revival of Greek Thought*, pp. 6-7.

[82] A. Rhoby, 'The Friendship between Martin Crusius and Theodosios Zygomalas: A Study of their Correspondence', *Medioevo Greco* 5 (2005), p.251

[83] M.K. Paranikas, ᾽Ιωάννης ὁ Ζυγομαλᾶς καὶ Μιχαὴλ Ἑρμόδωρος ὁ Λήσταρχος᾽, *Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος* 11 (1876-1877), 39-40; Rhoby, 'The Letter Network of Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas', p. 129.

Chair of Philosophy.[84] Kottonian College was a charitable institution offering free tuition and accommodation for Greek students in Italy. Metaxas, too, expressed an ambition to establish a similar college in his native Cephalonia.[85]

Amidst this bleak prospect of establishing a Greek presence in Constantinople's publishing and education scene arrived Metaxas with an all-expenses-paid press, crates of textbooks and printing material. Loukaris was so delighted that he came to the port of Galata escorted by Gerasimos Spartaliotes, Patriarch of Alexandria, and Daniel, Metropolitan of Corinth, to receive Metaxas.[86] As far as we know, this is the first time the Patriarch and the printer met in person. Roe informs us that Metaxas's main purpose was to bring a Greek press to Constantinople and make the Patriarch's wish to print books possible. In his letter to Thomas Goad, Archbishop Abbot's chaplain, on 7/17 July 1627 he states:

> Here is arriued a coloyre, that hath beene long in England, called Mataxa, of Cephalonia, […] His comming hither is principally to bring the Greeke stamp, and two Dutchmen to order it, and to teach the use, which are aboord an English ship, an wilbe difficult to land without discouery, and dangerous to be knowne to these haters of knowledge.[87]

Metaxas was unable to unload his cargo for at least several weeks due to customs regulations. In a letter to Archbishop Abbot, Roe proudly announced that he not only gained the Grand Vizier's and Kaymakam Recep Pasha's permission for unloading the goods soon, but also obtained a printing licence for Metaxas.[88] Actually, no other source mentions this licence, nor can this document be found in the archives so far. If such a licence existed in writing, would Metaxas not include it in his printed material, as the Bandini brothers did with their Arabic

---

[84] See I.K. Basdrabellis, Ἰωάννης Κωττούνιος ὁ ἐκ Βεροίας σοφός (Thessaloniki: Μακεδονικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 1943); A. Stregelis, 'Νέα βιογραφικά στοιχεία γιά τόν Ἰωάννη Κωττούνιο', Θησαυρίσματα 5 (1968), 249-254; G.K. Myaris, 'Ὁ φιλόσοφος του 17ου αιώνα Ιωάννης Κωττούνιος και η ιδεολογική προσέγγιση του έργου του', Πρακτικά Α΄ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κυθηραϊκῶν Μελετῶν (Kythera: Ανοικτό Πανεπιστήμιο Δήμου Κυθήρων, 2003), pp. 305-334.

[85] 'Venice - September 1627, 1-10', *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, vol. 20 (1914) pp. 348-365, available online at: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=89129 (accessed: 25 November 2010).

[86] Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 163.

[87] Roe, *Negotiations*, pp. 663-4.

[88] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 761.

Euclid edition?[89] In my view, it is very likely that what Roe refers to is an oral understanding rather than an official document.

We also have evidence from his own correspondence that Roe was, in fact, perturbed by Metaxas's arrival, since the presence of a press, a means to distribute knowledge freely, at the hands of the Patriarch could shift the balance of power. He wrote with contumely:

> What the dessigne may be, I cannot yet penetrate; it may hinder the patriarchs purposes to furnish mee [with ancient MSS], which were grounded upon a desire (as he pretended) to cause many unknowne authors to be printed, and to take the light from under the bushell of ignorance and obscuritye. If he can safely print, I will not enuye them; but I know their coppyes will neuer haue creditt, nor, I doubt truth. Himselfe cannot ouersee all, and few other are able, or fitt to be trusted. And my opinion is, that it may hinder mee for a tyme, and loose the oportunitye which I haue opened; but neuer take effect, but lye bye for a curiositye, like the great clocke sent the grand signor, which never went 24 howers, but stands up for a monument. I will obserue them as well as I can, and use them for my best aduantage.[90]

This passage makes it clear that Roe had almost been preying on the precarious position of Loukaris in a bid to obtain valuable MSS and artefacts from the local collections, and the Patriarch's attempt to establish an independent Greek press did not go down too well. Even so, Roe maintained his good relations with Loukaris, and when the authorities allowed Metaxas's goods to be taken ashore, they were transferred to the ambassador's residence. This took place sometime between 7/17 July and 3/13 August 1627.

Before Metaxas's workshop began producing books, the French were able to steal some books and MSS.[91] Harlay ordered the Jesuits to scrutinise Metaxas's books in order to find pretexts on the basis of which he would be reported to the Ottoman authorities.[92] Having inspected the books, Harlay found what he

---

[89] See above, p. 17.

[90] Roe, *Negotiations*, pp. 663-4.

[91] On 24 August 1627, Veniero reported that the 'Trojan boxes' which Metaxas brought from England were stolen by the Jesuits with the help of a Turk: Venice, Archivio di Stato, Dispacci, Constantinopoli, Filza 105; Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', pp. 140-144.

[92] Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 167.

wanted. In his letters to correspondents in France, he described the horrors he discovered in these 'heretical books': [93]

> … hither are printed, at this very moment as I write, [books] to poison the entire Great Eastern Church, with the effect that, once this venom joins that of the ancient schism, it might render the poor Greeks even more irreconcilable with the Roman Church.[94]

The Jesuits scrutinised Loukaris' treatise *Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* (*Against the Jews*) and succeeded in identifying comments against Islam.[95] Veniero was also able to get hold of a few printed books stolen from the crates, which he sent to Venice for inspection, along with a report dated 25 August/4 September 1627.[96]

It is evident that Metaxas's arrival had a profound impact in the city, even before his printing activities commenced. He rented the premises for his workshop in a building in close proximity to the English Embassy and not far from the French Embassy.[97] He began operating the press some time after 4 September 1627.[98] The first volume Metaxas began to work on in Constantinople was Legrand 166. This volume is preceded by a dedicatory letter by Nikodemos, addressed to a Constantinopolitan patron by the name of Skarlatos Vlasios,[99] dated 1 November 1627. The first part of the volume, which contains a collection of Margounios' Homilies, comprising six sermons on the six Sundays of Lent and a seventh sermon on the Good Friday, was printed by Metaxas by 3/13 November 1627.[100] Margounios was known for his stance against papal supremacy, which no doubt

---

[93] Harlay to d'Herbault, letter dated 23 July 1627, Archives du Ministère des *Affaires Etrangères*: Correspondance politique, Turquie 3, f. 491v (original); Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 16150, f. 698, quoted in G. Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 165.

[94] Philippe Harlay to Jacques de Harlay, letter dated August 1627, Paris, BnF, MS Fr., 16160, fol. 137r-v, quoted in D. Harai, 'Une chaire aux enchères', p. 61:
> …font icy imprimés, à l'heure que je vous escris de quoy empoysonner toute cette grande Esglise d'Orient, avec intention que, ce venin estant joint à celluy de l'antien schisme, cela puysse rendre les pauvres Grecs plus irreconciliables avec l'Esglise Romayne.

[95] Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 167.

[96] Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 144.

[97] Smith, *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario*, p. 100.

[98] Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 144.

[99] We do not posess any information about Vlasios other than that he was a most avid supporter of Korydaleus at the Patriarchal Academy: see Gedeon, *Χρονικὰ*, p. 80.

[100] Veniero's report dated the same: Venice, Archivio di Stato, Dispacci, Constantinopoli, Filza 105; Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 155.

angered the Jesuits. As soon as Metaxas completed the printing of this tract, the Jesuits tried to dissuade him from his purpose with threats and coercion. Metaxas received numerous threats, and on a daily basis he expected to be murdered in the street or in his bed.[101] His fear grew so much that at night he sought shelter at the English Embassy, and throughout the day he had a companion for protection. The news of the malicious attack of the Jesuits travelled fast: Roe informed King Charles I, while the Logothete Chrysosculos wrote to de Wilhem.[102]

The second part of this volume contains Loukaris' *Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων*, a tract that defends the Orthodox doctrine against the Jewish faith. Until this point in time, Metaxas's publications concentrated on the core points of disagreement between the Greek and Latin Churches, including the question over the *filioque* clause, the Latin claim of papal primacy, the doctrines of transubstantiation and purgatory, and the use of azymes in the Eucharist by the Latins, as these were the main obstacles for union between the two halves of Christendom. The choice to depart from the intercommunal controversy by publishing an anti-Jewish tract may seem surprising. On the contrary, anti-Semitic sentiments were prevalent among Christians in the Ottoman Empire, especially within the Greek Orthodox community. The Orthodox ecclesiastical tradition singled out Jews as the enemies of Christianity, while Greek and Balkan folksongs often portrayed Jews as cunning, evil and miserly.[103]

The first point of depature in the investigation is the circumstances of the composition of *Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων*. The title-page reads as follows:

> By our most blessed and wisest father Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, presently Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople Cyril, a brief tract against the Jews in common language [addressed] to George Pargas.[104]

---

[101] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 761.

[102] Letter dated 9 November 1628, quoted in Aymon, *Monumens authentiques*, pp. 201, 217-219.

[103] Rozen, 'The Ottoman Jews', pp. 262-263.

[104] Τοῦ μακαριωτάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πάπα καὶ Πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας τὰ νῦν δὲ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Κυρίλλου σύντομος πραγματεία κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐν ἁπλῇ διαλέκτῳ πρὸς Γεώργιον τὸν Πάργαν.

It is clear, therefore, that the *Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* was written while Cyril was still Patriarch of Alexandria (1601-1620), before he ascended the Patriarchal throne of of Constantinople. This information is confirmed by the colophon in the principal MS transmitting the tract, Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library MS 381, which records that the codex was copied in 1617.[105]

At the beginning of his career as Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyril witnessed the atrocities inflicted upon Christians by Jews, when Sultan Mehmet III (1595-1603) encouraged their uprising.[106] Against a backdrop of such violent disturbances, George of Parga suggested to Cyril that he write a tract in vernacular Greek deliniating the conceptual commonalities and differences between the Jewish and the Christian tradition.

> Our favour to you much prevailed, honourable sir George *** [Pargas], not to overlook the request you made, which is nothing else than to note in a simple dialect a few things against the Jews … which you need in your daily and frequent conversations with certain Jewish friends of yours.[107]

This treatise, which was accessible to the common people, served to open a platform for dialogue between Jews and Greeks and provided the Orthodox people with tools to defend their religion and beliefs in their daily conversations with members of the Jewish community.

The text is presented in the traditional question and answer form (*ἐρωταποκρίσεις*), in which Cyril answers likely questions from Jews with reference to the Old and New Testament and the creed. The topics addressed in the tract include the fundamental doctrine of the Trinitarian nature of the

---

[105] A. Papadapoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη* (Petroupoli: Εκ του τυπογραφείου Β. Κιρσπάουμ, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 512-515.

[106] Komnenos Hypsilantis, *Τα μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν*, p. 118.

[107] Legrand 166, p. 1:

> Ἴσχυσε κατὰ πολλὰ ἡ εὔνοια ὅπου ἔχομεν πρὸς τοῦ λόγου σου τίμιε κύριε Γεώργιε *** [Πάργα ex cod. London, BL, *Harley* 5643, f. 318r] νὰ μὴν παραβλέψωμεν τὴν αἴτησιν ὅπου μᾶς ἔκαμες. ἡ ὁποῖα ἄλλη δὲν ἦτον παρὰ νὰ σημειώσωμὲν [*leg.* σημειώσωμεν] εἰς ἁπλὴν διάλεκτον μερικὰ τινὰ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων … τὰ ὁποῖα νὰ τὰ χρειάζεσαι εἰς ταῖς καθημεριναῖς καὶ συχναῖς διάλεξαις ὅπου κάμνεις μὲ κάποιούς σου φίλους Ἰουδαίους.

Christian God (pp. 3-15), the nature of Christ (pp.15-16), a comparison of historical Moses and historical Jesus (pp.16-30), the Prophecy of Daniel concerning the end of the world (pp. 43-47), the Mosaic law vs. the Christian teachings (pp. 56-61), and the thorny issue of the Crucifixion (pp. 61-62).

The political importance of the subject matter of the tract should be stressed, because this text came under the scrutiny of the Ottoman officials, as we shall see below (pp. 120-122). On the other hand, the printing history of this tract presents important evidence on Metaxas's editorial interference in this particular work in the wider context of practices concerning self-censorship in religious and theological publishing in this period.

Certain scholars have argued that, before Metaxas set up his workshop, the Jesuits must have stolen an unbound printed copy of Cyril's *Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων*, in which they found anti-Islamic passages. On this assumption, it was suggested that this tract must have been printed in London *before* Metaxas's arrival in Constantinople. [108] Cyril's *Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* does contain an anti-Muhammadan passage in the extant codices. A parallel presentation of Metaxas's printed version with the text in the MSS (below) is revealing: [109]

---

[108] Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, vol. 2, p. 428; Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 167; Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', pp. 140-141; Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, p. 67; Bokos, *Τὰ Πρῶτα Ἑλληνικὰ Τυπογραφεῖα*, p. 39.

[109] London, BL *Harley* MS 1803, f. 212ʳ, available online at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_1803_f212r (accessed on 16 January 2014). The text is dated with a colophon on f. 283v, which reads: 'ἐν Αἰγύπτω ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν ζϱλς᾽ τοῦ δεκευρίου δεκάτη [10 December A.M. 7136 = A.D. 1627]'. The date suggests that the MS was produced shortly after the printed edition came out. London, BL *Harley* MS 5643, f. 351ʳ, available online at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_5643_f351r (accessed on 16 January 2014). It should be noted that in the second version of the tract preserved in BL *Harley* MS 5643, ff. 318r-341r: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_5643_f318r the passage mentioning the Prophet Muhammad is omitted together with other long sections (Legrand 166, pp. 3-69) discussing the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the nature of Christ and His humility as testified by His incarnation, life, teachings and suffering on the Cross, a comparison between Christ and Moses, and the interpretation of Daniel's Vision of the Seven Weeks. Athens, *University Library* MS 5, f. 93ᵛ, digitised by the Pergamon Project at: http://pergamos.lib.uoa.gr/dl/object/uoadl:183310 (accessed on 12 November 2013) transmits a different text, is full of errors and has a completely different and, at times inappropriate, tone. Although this codex looks very much like a printed book with impeccable margins and uniform letterforms, it clearly was not copied from Metaxas's edition, unlike some other MS examples from the eighteenth century discussed above, pp. 58-66.

| Metaxas, p. 16.11-24 | Harley 1803, f. 212r | Harley 5643, f. 351r | Athens 5, f. 93v |
|---|---|---|---|
| ΕΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ. Ἀλλ' ἂν τύχῃ ἤθελε ἐρωτήσῃ τινὰς νὰ εἴπῃ, καὶ **πῶς βλέπομεν** καὶ ἄλλοις ὁποῦ **ἔσυραν ἔθνη** εἰς τοῦ λόγου τοις, **ἆρα δύναμις θεϊκὴ** ἤτον καὶ εἰς ἐκείνοις; ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ. **Ἀποκρίνομαι** ὅτι ἀνίσως καὶ ἄλλοι **ἔσυραν ἔθνη** εἰς τοῦ λόγου τοις τὰ **ἔσυραν μὲ τὸ σπαθὶ**, καὶ μὲ ἄλλοις τρόποις, **ὄχι μὲ τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ με τὴν νουθεσίαν** κ(αὶ) μὲ τὰ θαύματα καθὼς ἔκαμεν ὁ **Χριστὸς**. | Ἀμὴ ἐδῶ μπορεῖ νὰ εἴπῃ κάθα εἷς **(καὶ) πῶς βλέπομεν** τὸν Μωάμεθ, πῶς **ἔσειρεν** καὶ αὐτὸς τόσα **ἔθνη, ἆρα δύναμῖς τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ** τὸν ἐβοήθα καὶ ἐκεῖνον; | Ἀμὴ ἐδῶ μπορεῖ νὰ εἴπῃ κάθε εἷς (καὶ) **πῶς βλέπομεν** τὸν Μωάμεθ, πῶς **ἔσειρεν** καὶ αὐτὸς τόσα **ἔθνη, ἆρα δύναμῖς τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ** τὸν ἐβοήθα καὶ ἐκεῖνον; | Ἀμὴ ἐδῶ ἠμπορῆ νὰ εἰπεῖ καθεὶς (καὶ) **πῶς βλέπωμεν** τὸν Μωάμεθ, πῶς **ἔσιρε** καὶ αὐτὸς τόσα **ἔθνη ἆρα δύναμις Θεοῦ** τοῦ ἐβοήθα τοῦ γαϊδάρου ἐκείνου; |
|  | ἀποκρίνομαι: Ὁ Μωάμεθ ἂν **ἔσειρ(εν)** ἔθνη εἰς τὴν ἀσέβειάν του, τὰ **ἔσειρεν μὲ τὸ σπαθῒ καὶ μὲ** τὴν πανουργίαν· καὶ **ὄχῑ με τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ με τὴν νουθεσίαν καθὼς ἔκαμ(εν) ὁ Χρ(ιστό)ς,** (καὶ) μαζῃ (καὶ) **μὲ τὰ θαύματα**· ὁποῦ ὁ Μωάμεθ ἤτον ἕνας ἄν(θρωπ)ος ἀσύνετος κ(αὶ) παραφρονῶν πλεῖστον ὅσον τῆς ἀλήθειας ἀποδέων, (καὶ) οὐδέπω δυνηθὴς δεῖξαι θαῦμα, ὡς ἀσθενὴς (καὶ) ἀνάξιος, εἰ κ(αὶ) χρησάμενος τῇ ἐμφύτῳ αὐτοῦ πονηρίᾳ, δόλους εἰργάζετο τοὺς οὐ τυχόντας εἰς τὸ πλανᾶν τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας, **ὁ δε λογαριασμὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ κ(αὶ) τῆς παραγγελίας του κ(αὶ) τῆς διδασκαλίας του** ἤτον θεϊκός, ὅλος ἀγάπης γέματος, (καὶ) ὑπόμονῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς, κ(αὶ) θαυμάτων, διατί αὐτὸς ἤτον δημιουργὸς ὁ γίὸς (καὶ) Λόγος, ὁ ἀληθινὸς σαρκωθεὶς κύριος. | Ἀποκρίνομαι· Ὁ Μωάμεθ ἂν **ἔσειρ(εν)** ἔθνη εἰς τὴν ἀσέβειάν του, τὰ **ἔσειρε μὲ τὸ σπαθῒ καὶ μὲ** τὴν πανουργίαν· καὶ **ὄχῑ με τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ με τὴν νουθεσίαν καθὼς ἔκαμ(εν) ὁ Χρ(ιστό)ς,** (καὶ) μαζῃ (καὶ) **μετὰ θαύματα**· ὁποῦ ὁ Μωάμεθ ἤτον ἕνας ἄν(θρωπ)ος κ(αὶ) ἀσύνετος κ(αὶ) παραφρονῶν πλεῖστον ὅσον τῆς ἀλήθειας ἀποδέων, (καὶ) οὐδέπω δυνηθὴς [leg. δυνηθεὶς] δεῖξαι θαῦμα, ὡς ἀσθενὴς (καὶ) ἀνάξιος, εἰ κ(αὶ) χρησάμενος τῇ ἐμφύτῳ αὐτοῦ πονηρίᾳ, δόλους εἰργάζετο τοὺς οὐ τυχόντας εἰς τὸ πλανᾶν τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας, **ὁ δὲ λογαριασμὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ κ(αὶ) τῆς παραγγελίας του κ(αὶ) τῆς διδασκαλίας του** ἤτον θεϊκός, ὅλος ἀγάπης γέματος, (καὶ) ὑπομονῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς, κ(αὶ) θαυμάτων, διατὶ αὐτὸς ἤτον δημιουργὸς ὁ Υἱὸς (καὶ) Λόγος, ὁ ἀληθινὸς σαρκωθεὶς Κύριος. | Ἀμὴ ἐδῶ ἠμπορῆ νὰ εἰπεῖ καθεὶς (καὶ) **πῶς βλέπωμεν** τὸν Μωάμεθ, πῶς **ἔσιρε** καὶ αὐτὸς τόσα **ἔθνη ἆρα δύναμις Θεοῦ** τοῦ ἐβοήθα τοῦ γαϊδάρου ἐκείνου; ἀποκρίνομαι: Ὁ Μωάμεθ ὁ χεσμένος ἀνέσιρε **ἔθνη** εἰς τὴν ἀσεβειάντου, τὰ **ἔσιρε μὲ τὸ σπαθὴ** καὶ μὲ τὴν πανουργίαν· **ὄχῒ με τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ με τὴν νουθεσίαν καθὼς ἔκαμε ὁ Χρ(ιστό)ς,** ὁ ἀληθεῖς Μεσίας· (καὶ) μαζῇ (καὶ) **μὲ τὰ θαύματα** κ(αὶ) μὲ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ· ὁποῦ ὁ Μωάμεθ ἤτον ἕνας ἄνθροπος ἐπιράστως κ(αὶ) παραφρονον πλήστου ὅσον τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποδέων, (καὶ) οὕτω δυνηθὴς δεῖξαι θαῦμα, ὡς ἀσθενὴς (καὶ) ἀνάξιος, εἰ καὶ χρεισάμενος τῇ ἐμφήτῳ αὐτοῦ πονηρίᾳ, δόλους εἰργάζετο τοὺς ὁτιχῶντας εἰς τὸ πλανῶν τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας, **ὁ δὲ λογαριασμὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἡσοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ κ(αὶ) τῆς παραγγελίας του κ(αὶ) διδασκαλίας του** ἤτον θεϊκῶς ὅλως ἀγάπη γεμάτος, (καὶ) ὑπομονῆς κ(αὶ) ἀρετῆς, κ(αὶ) θαύματα, διατὶ αὐτὸς ἤτον δημιουργὸς ὁ Υἱὸς (καὶ) Λόγος, ὁ ἀληθινὸς σαρκωθεὶς Κύριος. |
| διότι, **ὁ λογαριασμὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς παραγγελίας του κ(αὶ) τῆς διδασκαλίας του** ἤτον ὅλος θεικὸς, ὅλος ἀγάπης γεμάτος κ(αὶ) ὑπομονῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς, κ(αὶ) θαυμάτων. Διατὶ αὐτὸς ἤτον δημιουργὸς ὁ γίος κ(αὶ) λόγος ὁ ἀληθινὸς σαρκωθεὶς κύριος. |  |  |  |

As is evident, this section was considerably revised in the printed edition; Muhammad's name has been expunged and the argument has been adapted so that it applies to other cases where religious conversion is imposed by force. It is clear, therefore, that the text the Jesuits were referring to was not what Metaxas printed.[110] What the Jesuits laid their hands on must have been a MS, which Metaxas reworked before the printed version was produced. Our printer was prudent enough to remove an anti-Islamic reference in a book that he intended to print in the capital city of a predominantly Islamic empire. As we shall see later, the accusation levelled by the Jesuits was not substantiated when the Ottoman authorities scrutinised Metaxas's workshop and the printed books. In addition to the textual evidence from the edition, there is no physical proof that the tract was printed in London, for none of the ornaments used for Legrand 166 appear later in London's printing scene.

Metaxas described Legrand 166 as 'ὡς πρόοιμον [*leg.* πρώϊμον] καρπὸν τῆς τυπογραφίας' ('an early fruit of the printing press') in the preface.[111] The expenses for this publication were paid by Metaxas himself, as stated in the title-page bearing the coat-of-arms of the Stuart dynasty. Roe and Veniero had previously mentioned the arrival of either one or two Dutch printer(s) in Constantinople with Metaxas,[112] but we hear nothing of them during their stay in Constantinople apart from a vague mention in Loukaris' letter to Festus Hommius (1576–1642) dated 13 November 1627.[113] Legrand 166 is the one and only complete work that came out of the first Greek press of Constantinople. The printing of the entire volume had certainly been completed by 29 December 1627/8 January 1628, as Veniero reported.[114]

---

[110] Were it included, this passage would have been on p. 16 of Legrand 166.

[111] Legrand 166, p. *3-4.

[112] See above p. 109.

[113] Roberts, 'The Greek Press', p. 29.

[114] Venice, Archivio di Stato, Dispacci, Constantinopoli, Filza 105; Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 154.

Metaxas's second project was to print Cyril Loukaris' Ἔκθεσις Ὀρθοδόξου Πίστεως (*Exposition of the Orthodox faith*). Scholars have often confused this work with the later and notoriously 'Calvinistic' *Confessio Fidei* printed in Latin in Geneva in 1629.[115] According to the colophon, this text was composed in Constantinople in March 1629.[116] The text was translated into Greek (incip.: Πιστεύομεν ἕνα Θεὸν ἀληθῆ, παντοκράτορα καὶ ἀόριστον, τρισυπόστατον, Πατέρα, Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα) only in January 1631.[117] Thus, this cannot have been the book Metaxas began printing in Constantinople in 1628. Hering noted, without giving any source, that Loukaris wrote a catechism in vernacular Greek in 1618 but was unable to get it printed and that the MS does not survive.[118] This was most probably the work Metaxas began printing in Constantinople. Hering, however, was unaware that Chrysostomos Papadopoulos had found, in Constantinople, the text of an earlier and allegedly 'more Orthodox' confession by Loukaris (incip.: Πιστεύομεν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν τὴν τρισυπόστατον θεότητα

---

[115] Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, p. 423; Roberts, 'The Greek Press', p.33; Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, p. 74; Harai, 'Une chaire aux enchères', p. 62.

[116] 'Confessio fidei reverendissimi domini Cyrilli Patriarchae Constantinopolitani nomine et consensu Patriarcharum Alexandrini et Hierosolymitani, aliarumque Ecclesiarum Orientalium Antistitum, scripta Constantinupoli mense Martio anni 1629.'
The confession was also published in English in London, and in French in Paris and Sedan in 1629. The Geneva confession was the source of great controversy in the Orthodox world and brought the destruction of Loukaris. See G.P. Michaelides, 'The Greek Orthodox Position on the Confession of Cyril Lucaris', *Church History* 12.2 (1943), 118-129. The authenticity of the confession has long been challenged, and suspicions apparently arose as soon as the first edition came out, as this title from 1629 suggests: E. Martin (ed.), *L'imposture de la pretendue confession de foy de Cyrille, patriarche de Constantinople* (A Poictiers: chez la vevfe d'Antoine Mesnier, 1629). In contrast, the earlier confession, as discovered by Papadopoulos, has been overlooked by generations of scholars and theologians.

[117] Printed with a facing French translation in Aymon, *Lettres anecdotes de Cyrille Lucaris*, pp. 237-254. The text employed 'an autograph MS' of which Aymon had confirmed the authenticity prior to printing. The colophon reads: 'Ἐδόθη ἐν κωνσταντινουπόλει μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίῳ, αχλα [1631]. Κύριλλος πατριάρχης κωνσταντινουπόλεως. οἰκεία χειρὶ ἄγραψα.' In the French translation the date is erroneously given as 1621, which must have contributed to the confusion. The Greek translation was reprinted in E.J. Kimmel, *Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiae Orientalis*, Part I (Genève: Apud F. Mauke, 1850), pp. 24-44.

[118] Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 183; Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 152.

ὁμοούσιον καὶ συνάναρχον εἶναι), together with his homilies.[119] The MS in question is Constantinople, *Metochiou Panagiou Taphou* 411, now housed in the National Library of Greece. The text of this confession, as reported by Papadopoulos, is contained in an insert of three folios attached to the beginning of the codex. The insert is copied in a different hand from that in the rest of the volume and bears no date, signature or colophon.[120] A report by Roe sheds light on the date. He informs us that Loukaris had written a piece that was 'only a declaration of the faith and tenetts of the Greeke church [i.e., the *Exposition of the Orthodox faith*] … which he had resolued to dedicate to his late majestie of blessed memorye'.[121] Here, Roe refers to James I of England. If the *Exposition of the Orthodox faith* was dedicated to James I, the text must have been in existence before the king's death in 1625. Loukaris' original plan was to send the MS to England and have it printed there.[122] 'But now, hauing the oportunitye to doe it [in Constantinople], he only changed the epistle from the father to the sonne.'[123] So, the dedication must have been emended during the reign of Charles I (27 March 1625 –30 January 1649), successor to James I. It seems, therefore, that Roe's report agrees with Hering's date of 1618.

According to Cornelis Haga's report to his superiors, Loukaris had began to prepare his 'catechism', namely the *Exposition of the Orthodox faith*, for print in November 1627,[124] while Veniero states that this text was ready for publication some time before 29 December 1627/8 January 1628.[125]

---

[119] The text of this earlier confession is published with a foreword by Ch. Papadopoulos, 'Κυρίλλου Λουκάρεως Πίναξ Ὁμιλιῶν καὶ Ἔκθεσις Ὀρθοδόξου Πίστεως', *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 10 (1912), 483-497.

[120] Ch. Papadopoulos, *Ἀπολογία Κυρίλλου τοῦ Λουκάρεως* (Jerusalem: Ἐκ τοῦ Τυπογραφείου τοῦ Ἰ. Κοινοῦ τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, 1905), p. 485.

[121] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 761. The catechism is also mentioned in Smith, *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario*, p. 102.

[122] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 761

[123] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 761

[124] Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 183; Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 152.

[125] Venice, Archivio di Stato, Dispacci, Constantinopoli, Filza 105; Grammatikos, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 153.

During the printing of the *Exposition of the Orthodox faith*, the Jesuits, having found offensive anti-Islamic remarks in Loukaris' Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων, commissioned Ibrahim Aga, the former governor of Galata, to report Metaxas's state-threatening activities to the Kaymakam Recep.[126] The accusations were abundant and varied from Metaxas being an English agent to a war-like criminal. One accusation, in particular, though, aimed to strike a chord with the Ottoman hysteria of rebellion among non-Muslims. The Jesuits claimed that Metaxas, through his publications, intended to start a rebellion among Cossacks and other Orthodox people at a critical time, when Sultan Murad IV was embarking on an Asian expedition.[127]

The Jesuits were well aware of the perils such an accusation can bring to any non-Muslim resident of Galata. Not long before, in August of 1616, six Jesuit fathers residing at the Church of St Benedict were apprehended by the *kadı* and *subaşı* of Galata under the pretext that they were plotting against the Sultan with the Cossacks and the Habsburgs. Their quarters were raided, materials confiscated and the prisoners were taken in for interrogation. The Jesuit fathers were found guilty of spying and subsequently imprisoned. Despite the efforts of Achille de Harlay de Sancy, the French ambassador to the Porte (1610-1619) for a reconciliation, the Jesuits were kept behind bars for two months, then ordered to leave Constantinople for good.[128] Therefore, it was no coincidence that the Jesuits chose to accuse Metaxas of particular offences that precisely tapped into the Ottoman fear of a minority uprising.

---

[126] Harlay's letter to Bethune, dated 27 April 1628, quoted in Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 167. Loukaris acknowledges Ibrahim Aga as their adversary in a letter to Roe, dated 8/18 January 1628, National Archives, Public Record Office, I/17, Bundle 14, f. 3, also quoted in Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, p. 67.

[127] Loukaris to Roe, dated 8/18 January 1628, National Archives, Public Record Office, I/17, Bundle 14, f. 3; Smith, *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario*, p. 103; Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 762; Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 167.

[128] Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Dispacci Constantinopoli, filza 82, f. 165; T. Krstić, 'Contesting Subjecthood and Sovereignty in Ottoman Galata in the Age of Confessionalization: The Carazo Affair, 1613-1617', *Oriente Moderno* 93 (2013), 438-439.

Upon hearing the accusations, the Grand Vizier, Damat Halil Pasha (1 December 1626—6 April 1628) was thrown into fury and gave orders that on Friday, 4/14 January 1627, 150 janissaries should break into Metaxas's workshop, catch the printer in action and confiscate his equipment.[129] Being a political opponent of the English ambassador, Philippe Harlay suggested a twist to the original plan to bring harm to Thomas Roe, as well. Roe had organised a party on Sunday, 6/16 January 1628, marking the Feast of Epiphany, on Twelfth Night, along with the performance of an English masque. Veniero and Loukaris were invited to this festive event.[130] Harlay vindictively suggested that the attack should be deferred until Sunday to 'make sauce to [Roe's] feast'.[131] On that very Sunday, at noon the janissaries raided Metaxas's workshop, confiscated his books, press and printing equipment, including typefaces and paper, and arrested the workmen.[132] Michael Kavakis, a Greek notable, was among those apprehended in Metaxas's workshop.[133] In the meantime, Metaxas was returning from Galata with the secretary and dragoman to the English Embassy, Domenico Timone,[134] a man of letters who befriended many learned men from England including Edward Pococke, the celebrated orientalist.[135] Apparently, Metaxas was wearing a hat at that moment, which helped him to pass through the guarded passages incognito, and the pair was able to slip into the English ambassador's residence.[136] Roe decided not to interrupt the entertainment, but insisted that Metaxas stayed in his residence until the dust settles. Loukaris, as we learn from the first in a series of hastily written notes to Roe, was unable to attend the feast at the English Embassy, because of the disruption at the printing house.[137]

---

[129] Smith, *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario*, p. 104; Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 762; Bokos, *Τὰ Πρῶτα Ἑλληνικὰ Τυπογραφεῖα*, p. 41.

[130] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 762.

[131] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 762.

[132] Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 167.

[133] Layton, 'Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 149; Bokos, *Τὰ Πρῶτα Ἑλληνικὰ Τυπογραφεῖα*, p. 41.

[134] Brown, *Itinerant Ambassador*, p. 153.

[135] G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning*, p. 135.

[136] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 762.

[137] Loukaris to Roe, dated 6/16 January 1628, NA, State Papers 9, Bundle 14, f. 1; Roberts, 'The Greek Press', p. 34.

The next day the books were examined by the Sadaret Kaymakami (deputy vizier) Recep Pasha and Hasan Efendi, the *mufti*, with the help of two Greek renegades, who translated the anti-Mohamedan passage in the printed book. According to Roe, 'ther was nothing found of consequence.'[138] Kaymakam Recep, also known as Topal Recep Pasha due to being lame, was of an avaricious and spiteful character.[139] He would not let it go, so he ordered another converted *çavuş* (Janissary captain) to inspect the book once again; but to no avail, nothing offensive could be found,[140]since Metaxas had expunged the openly anti-Muhammadan remarks from the printed edition. The *mufti* further remarked that 'Dogmas contrary to the precepts of Mahomet are not, on that account, necessarily blasphemous or criminal; since Christians are permitted by the Sultan to profess their doctrines, there can be no harm in writing than in preaching in their defence: it is not simple belief, but an overt act, which renders men amenable to laws'.[141]  Yet, the royal arms of England on the books and Metaxas's ambiguous identity (Albanian, English agent, Venetian subject) raised eyebrows and remained to be explained.

The next day, Roe requested an audience with the Kaymakam to clear his own name and prove Metaxas's innocence. He reminded Recep Pasha of the printing licence he obtained for Metaxas and assured him that the printer was a Venetian subject of Greek origin, a fact that could easily be verified by the *bailo*. Roe persuaded the Kaymakam that Metaxas had no intention of conspiracy against the Ottoman state, but was a member of a noble family, a man of letters and a

---

[138] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 761. See  also Loukaris' letter to Roe, dated 17 January 1628, in NA, State Papers 9 Bundle 14, f. 19; Smith, *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario*, pp. 104-105; M. Manousakas, *Ἡ ἀνέκδοτος μυστικὴ ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ Κυρίλλου Λουκάρεως πρὸς τὸν Ἄγγλον πρεσβευτὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Sir Thomas Rowe (1625-1628)*, (Athens: Τυπ. Μυρτίδη, 1955), p. 542; Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 168.

[139] I.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi,* vol. 3.2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011), p. 384.

[140] Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 168.

[141] Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, p. 430, gives no reference for his quotation, but he evidently translated it from Smith, *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario*, p. 106. Both sources claim that these were the *mufti*'s remarks, while Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 168 suggests that this was a *fetva* issued by the *şeyh-ül-Islam*, Zekeriya Yahya Efendi.

venerable cleric.[142] Roe also visited the *mufti*, to prove the innocence of himself, the Patriarch and the printer alike. Having found no basis for the accusations of the Jesuits, Kaymakam Recep apologised to Roe.[143]

On 9/19 January Canacchio Rossi, Cardinal Bandini's agent, paid a visit to Cyril threatening him and branding King Charles I, to whom the Patriarch had dedicated his *Exposition of the Orthodox faith*, 'the head of heretics'. This visit, however, cost Rossi and the Jesuits dearly. By 10/20 February 1628 Rossi and the Jesuit fathers once resident at the church of St Benedict were imprisoned.[144] As evident from his handwritten notes to the English ambassador, over these months Cyril, with the help of Roe and Haga, negotiated with a certain Tezkereci Ahmed Ağa to have the Jesuits expelled from Constantinople.[145] On 6/16 March 1628, Ahmed Ağa informed the Patriarch that their plea was successful and that the Jesuits would be banished. Soon all Jesuit settlements in Chios, Smyrna, Aleppo and Cyprus were dissolved, and all Constantinopolitan Jesuits but two, who stayed as chaplains to the French Embassy, were put on a vessel bound for Italy.[146]

Metaxas's innocence was proved as soon as the contents of his printed books were investigated. But the course of justice and the subsequent return of the goods to their rightful owner took an excruciatingly long time. Having held onto the device for much longer than necessary, Kaymakam Recep finally ordered the release of the printing press on 7/17 March 1628.[147] In the meantime Cyril was trying to find suitable premises for printing, before Yakup Çelebi, the Turkish

---

[142] Smith, *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario*, p. 104; Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 762; Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, p. 430.

[143] Harlay apparently claimed that this apology was owing to the 10,000 ducats Roe gave to the kaymakam as bribe. Harlay's letter to Louis XIII dated 7 February 1628; Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Correspondance politique, Turquie 3, fol. 549ᵛ; Paris, BnF, Fonds français 16153, fol. 9v; Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 169.

[144] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 762; Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, p. 77.

[145] Various notes from Loukaris to Roe dated between 16/26 January and 6/16 March 1628, NA, State Papers 97, Bundle 14, ff. 13-68; Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, p. 77.

[146] Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, p. 431.

[147] Loukaris to Roe dated 7/17 March 1628, NA, State Papers 97, Bundle 14, f. 72; Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, pp. 75-76.

officer who was supposed to transfer the press, brought it back to the Patriarchate.[148] Having suffered, however, such abuse and financial loss (amounting to 4,000 dollars according to the reports),[149] Metaxas decided not to print in Constantinople again. Possibly as compensation, he was ordained Archbishop of the titular see of Nafplion, which he declined, as his wish was to return to his native island.[150] This he succeeded in doing when the Archbishop of Zakynthos and Cephalonia Pachomios Doxaras died,[151] and the three islands of Cephalonia, Zakynthos and Ithaca were combined into a single archbishopric. Metaxas ascended the archiepiscopal throne on 8 July 1628.[152]

In the meantime, it seems, Metaxas made a visit to Venice with the intention of publishing Loukaris' *Exposition of Faith*, which he was unable to print in Constantinople due to the confiscation of his press by the authorities. On 20 September 1628, Metrophanes Kritopoulos wrote to a friend in Stuttgart that the Patriarch had commanded him to stay on in Venice since he had sent an Archbishop (Metaxas, now Archbishop of Cephalonia, Zakynthos and Ithaca) with a MS copy of the exegesis.[153] On 7 October, his friend replied requesting that

---

[148] Loukaris to Roe dated 8/18 March 1628, NA, State Papers 97, Bundle 14, f. 86; Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, p. 75.

[149] Smith, *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario*, p. 105; Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, p. 429.

[150] Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, p. 83, erroneously states that Metaxas was appointed Archbishop of Neapolis (in Romania).

[151] Further on Doxaras, see G. Pentogalos, 'Παρθένιος Δοξαράς, ζακύνθιος επίσκοπος Κεφαλονιάς-Ζακύνθου (1622-1628): Νεώτερες πληροφορίες για τη ζωή του και τη δράση του', in *Αγιοι και εκκλησιαστικές προσωπικότητες στη Ζάκυνθο. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου, Πνευματικό Κέντρο Δήμου Ζακύνθου, 6-9 Νοεμβρίου 1997*, vol. 1, (Athens: Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Ζακύνθου καὶ Στροφάδων, 1999), pp. 45-40.

[152] Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, p. 180; Loverdos-Kostes, *Ἱστορία τῆς Νήσου Κεφαλληνίας*, p. 139. Metaxas's term as archbishop of the three islands was not unproblematic. In November 1628, he visited Zakynthos and his arrival divided the locals. The nobility opposed Metaxas, while the people of Zakynthos vehemently supported him. See Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, pp. 95-151. Another item of interest regarding this period is Athens, *National Library of Greece* MS 2211, consisting of copies of documents pertaining to the conflict and the subsequent approval of Metaxas as the true and deserving archbishop of the islands. This seventeeth-century codex has a beautiful miniature of Agios Gerasimos, the patron saint of Cephalonia, in its first page and was possibly commissioned by Nikodemos or another member of the Metaxas family to serve as an eyewitness account of the incident.

[153] Karmiris, *Μητροφάνης ὁ Κριτόπουλος*, pp. 257-8; Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 277.

he sent three copies of the Patriarch's book when printed 'to adorn [their] libraries'.[154] On 5 November, Kritopoulos wrote back: 'I am trying to publish the Patriarch's books, but the Senate will not allow this. If they ever do, I will send you some copies'.[155] The Senate's refusal to print Orthodox tracts was very much in line with their policy of not giving way to occasions for hostilities between the Catholics and the Orthodox in the East. The Venetian authorities who monitored Metaxas's printing activities since his arrival in Constantinople continued to follow him closely.

Upon the closure of the shop and his new appointment, Metaxas transported the press to Cephalonia, to the village of Frangata (later renamed Metaxata after the Metaxas family).[156] No Greek printing materials were left in Constantinople after Metaxas's departure. The second printing press acquired by the Patriarchate of Constantinople produced its first output almost 130 years later, in 1756.[157] The origins of its press and typefaces remain unknown. The next time we hear of Greek printing in Constantinople is on 17 May 1833 with typefaces imported from Paris, at great cost.[158]

In Cephalonia, Metaxas operated the press at the governor's quarters, located in the castle of St George (Κάστρο Ἁγίου Γεωργίου Κεφαλονιᾶς).[159] It is highly likely that he published the *Βιβλίον τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου* (*Book of the Correct Word*) there and then.[160] Preceded by a dedicatory letter to Korydaleus penned by Metaxas's cousin and Cyril's *protosynkellos* Paisios Metaxas, dated Venice, 1625,

---

[154] Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 277

[155] Davey, *Pioneer for Unity*, p. 279.

[156] Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακὰ Σύμμικτα*, vol. II, p. 111; Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat*, p. 175.

[157] Bokos, *Τὰ Πρῶτα Ἑλληνικὰ Τυπογραφεῖα*, pp. 44-55. The books published that year were two tracts by Eustratios Argenti: *Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ βαπτίσματος καλούμενον χειραγωγία πλανομένων …* (*Manual on Baptism, entitled Guide of those in error...*) (Constantinople, 1756) and *Βιβλίον καλούμενον Ῥαντισμοῦ Στηλίτευσις* (*Book entitled Refutation of Sprinkling*), (Constantinople, 1756).

[158] J. Auldjo, *Journal of a Visit to Constantinople, and some of the Greek Islands* (London: Longman, 1835), pp. 84-85.

[159] The castle premises were used to print Hebrew books in the past: see above, p. 49.

[160] Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, pp. 161-168, was undecided whether Legrand 143 was printed before Metaxas arrived in Constantinople or afterwards.

and by another letter from Jeremias, Bishop of Maini, to Cyril Loukaris, this volume contains works on St Gerasimos. It begins with a short biography of the saint, signed by witnesses, followed by the synodal decision canonising him, an *Ἔκθεσις σύντομος τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως* (*Short Exposition of the Orthdodox Faith*) in dialogue form between Cyril Loukaris and Anastasios of Antioch, and finally the Canon of St Gerasimos. As we learn from the biography printed by Metaxas, Gerasimos led an ascetic life on Mount Athos for five years before founding the monastery bearing his name in Cephalonia. He was known as the healer of the possessed souls and of the insane. Gerasimos died on 15 August 1579. Two years later, in October 1581, his body was exhumed by the Bishop Jeremias. The legend goes that the remains were miraculously intact. It was Gabriel Severus who ordered the re-burial of the body. Some three decades later, in 1622, Gerasimos was canonised by the Synod chaired by Loukaris. It may not be a mere coincidence that this formerly overlooked saintly figure suddenly came to the forefront in the very year that Nikodemos moved to London and established connections with Metrophanes and Loukaris. Now Metaxas's native Cephalonia was conveniently blessed with a patron saint just a few years before the printer made a triumphant return to his homeland as its archbishop.

Metaxas's *Βιβλίον τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου* bears a false imprint, that of the London printer John Haviland. Metaxas's bitter experience with Loukaris' tract made him cautious about its possible political reverberations, this time with regard to the Venetians. The circulation of his previous publications was already under the close scrutiny of the Venetian authorities.[161] Veniero reported every move of Metaxas while the printer was active in Constantinople and sent copies of his editions to the Senate. The Venetian governors of the Ionian Islands, too, continued to monitor Metaxas closely in Cephalonia.[162]

---

[161] On the diffusion of Metaxas's printed editions, see Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, pp. 85-91.

[162] Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, pp. 159-160.

In January 1632, we catch a glimpse of Metaxas in Venice, where he held meetings with Severus, Korydaleus and his ex-schoolmate Angelos Venizelos.[163] After a short stay in Venice, Nikodemos returned to his native island, and on 21 April 1632, he succeeded Theophanes Xenakios as the Metropolitan of Philadelphia (mod. Alaşehir in Turkey).[164] Metaxas died on 29 March 1646 in the village of Kerameies, where he was born, completing a full circle of education, travels, contribution to society and Church service.[165] A tombstone detailing Metaxas's life, virtues and achievements existed in the village of Metaxata until recently. The locals in Cephalonia informed me that the tombstone was damaged during building work in 2010, but fortunately a record of it was kept as part of the research project 'Ἐπιγραφικά Μνημεία Ιονίων Νήσων' ('Epigraphical Monuments of the Ionian Islands') directed by Professor Theodoros G. Pappas (Ionian University).[166] Metaxas's rich library was passed on to his successor, Timotheus Sopramasaran.[167] The library was still intact in the nineteenth century, but the books have since been dispersed or lost. Nevertheless, the legacy of the Metaxas family is still strongly felt in modern day Cephalonia, and the good deeds of Nikodemos echo in the collective memory of the local population.

---

[163] Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, p. 169.

[164] London, British Library, Add MS 8239, f. 3ᵛ.

[165] Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, p. 285; Augliera, *Libri, politica, religione*, p. 178.

[166] Ιόνιο Πανεπιστήμιο, Τμήμα Αρχειονομίας και Βιβλιοθηκονομίας, Εργαστήριο Τεκμηρίωσης Πολιτιστικής και Ιστορικής Κληρονομιάς, 'Ἐπιγραφικά Μνημεία Ιονίων Νήσων', 071. A, B - Κεφαλληνία, Μεταξάτα, Άγιος Νικόλαος, available online at: http://tab.ionio.gr/culture/activities/projects/epigraphs/viewer.php?id=071 (accessed on 10 September 2013).

[167] Loverdos-Kostes, *Ἱστορία τῆς Νήσου Κεφαλληνίας*, p. 145.

**PART II**

# CHAPTER 4

## Fonts

This chapter presents and discusses the typefaces employed by Nikodemos Metaxas in the context of a wider collection of Greek typefaces that were in circulation in Europe and England in the early seventeenth century. The ramifications of printing in Greek in terms of the financial and labour-related costs have already been mentioned above (p. 57). Greek typefaces of the Renaissance featured a much larger number of sorts compared to the Latin script, on account of the accents and breathings. Moreover, numerous ligatures came into the picture in a rigorous attempt to imitate the Greek handwriting of humanists.[1] Three methods were pre-eminently employed to address the technical difficulties arising from the printing of the accents and breathings. The first approach was to cast the sorts with all the possible accents and breathings a letter could take, then scraping off the unwanted bits. So ω or ῶ was obtained from ὧ by removing the breathing or both the accent and breathing. As trimming was often done carelessly and ignorantly, the results were not always very accurate. No wonder that this method was a nuisance for the compositor, who had to decide whether that half-scraped accent was meant to be absent or present. Some printers abandoned accents and breathings altogether, to the relief of proofreaders and compositors who often had no idea where to use them. The result was not too impressive, since Ancient Greek cannot be read, pronounced or understood properly without diacritical marks.[2]

---

[1] Scholderer, *Greek Printing Types*, pp. 2-3; Layton, 'The First Printed Greek Book', pp. 63-79; W.H. Ingram, 'The Ligatures of Early Printed Greek', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 7.4 (1966), 371-389; G.F. Ostermann and A.E. Giegenack, *Abbreviations in Early Greek Printed Books* (Chicago: Ares Publishers 1974); W. Wallace, 'An Index of Greek Ligatures and Contractions', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 43 (1923), 183-93; V. Kooy, 'The Three Dimensional Character of Early Printed Greek'.
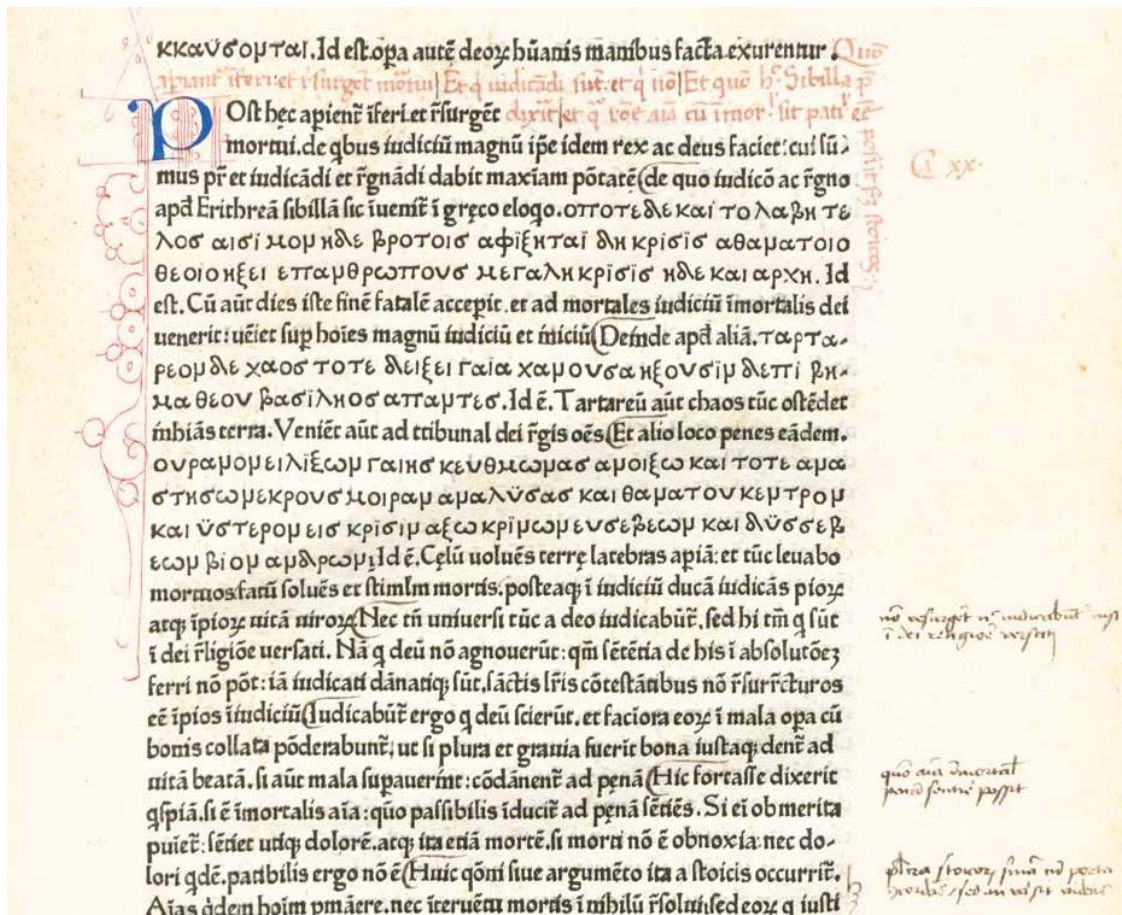
[2] See Plate 10.

*Plate 10* — Lactantius, *Opera* (Subiaco: Sweynheim and Pannartz), 1465, f. 140ʳ, showing Greek type without accents and breathings. Image from Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

The third method was to cast accents and breathings separately from the letters and set them up in a row above the text. This solution certainly reduced the number of sorts, but at the cost of a disturbing disproportion between the size of the letters and diacritical marks.[3] It also imposed additional labour on the compositor with regard to exacting and aligning the letters with their accents and breathings.[4]

The complications of Greek founts may be gathered from the statistics given by Robert Estienne, the exclusive printer of the *grecs du roi*, a series of Greek typefaces commissioned by King Francis I (r.1515-1547) and designed by Claude Garamond in 1541.[5] The number of punches in the matrices of the largest type was 430, 367 of them being ligatures and abbreviations. The medium type comprised 347 and the smallest 318 sorts, not counting the punctuation marks.[6] This may seem like an extreme example; however, Estienne's Greeks were far from being outside the norm.[7] Actually, French Royal Greeks were extremely popular. These typefaces are often accused of arresting the development of Greek fonts for nearly two centuries.

---

[3] Manuel Chrysoloras, Ἐρωτήματα [Vicenza, c. 1475/6].

[4] An excellent source on the earliest attempts of European printers to print Greek is Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century*.

[5] For a detailed view of early modern Greek printing in France before Estienne, see W.P. Greswell, *A View of the Early Parisian Press*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Printed by S. Collingwood, Printer to the University for D.A. Talboys, 1832), pp. 15-189.

[6] Scholderer, *Greek Types*, p. 11.

[7] Another example comes from the Plaintin-Moretus Museum's stock: there are 287 matrices in an Augustine Greek (MA 32 and MA 33), 386 matrices in a Garamond Greek (MA 51 and MA 52), 407 matrices in a Median Greek (MA 142 and MA 143), and 493 matrices in a Bible Greek (MA 59 and MA 60). Note that these numbers indicate the matrices as they have been preserved; some matrices may have been lost or replaced. See L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses: The History of the House of Plantin-Moretus*, vol. 2 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969-1972), p. 58, n. 2.

ΤΗΝ Ρωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν ἀρχόμενος συγ-
γράφειν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην προτάξαι
τοῖς ὅροις ὅσων ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσι Ρωμαῖοι.
εἰσὶ δ' οἵδε· ἐν μὲν τῷ ὠκεανῷ, Βρεττανῶν
τῷ πλείονος μέροις· διά τε τῶν Ἡρακλείων
στηλῶν ἐς τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσπλέοντί-
τε, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς στήλας περιπλέοντι,
νήσων ἄρχουσι πασῶν, καὶ ἠπείρων ὅσαι καθήκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θά-
λασσαν· ὧν εἰσὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ πρῶτοι Μαυρουσίων ὅσοι περὶ τὴν θά-

τὴν Σικελίαν ἀψιμαχιῶν πολλῶν, ἔργου δὲ μείζονος οὐδενός, ταῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔ-
πεμψε τὰς ἀγορὰς τῷ Πομπηίου περικόπτειν, καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς χορηγούσας προ-
καταλαμβάνειν. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα κάμνων ὁ Πομπήιος, ἔκρινε μάχῃ μείζονι κριθῆ-
ναι περὶ ἁπάντων. τὰ μὲν δὴ πεζὰ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐδεδίει, ταῖς τε ναυσὶν ἐπαιρόμενος,
ἤρετο πέμπων, εἰ δέχοιτο ναυμαχίᾳ κριθῆναι, ὁ δὲ, ἐρρώδει μὲν τὰ ἐν ἁλίᾳ πάντα,
οὐ σὺν τύχῃ μέχρι δεῦρο κεχρημένος αὖθις, αἰσχρὸν δὲ νομίσας ἀντειπεῖν, ἐδέχετο,
καὶ ὡρίζετο αὐτοῖς ἡμέρα, ἐς ἣν τριακόσιαι νῆες ἑκατέρῳ ἰδίᾳ παρεσκευάζοντο, βέλη
τε πολλὰ φέρουσαι, καὶ πύργοις καὶ μηχαναῖς ὅσαις ἐπενόουν· ἐπενόει δὲ καὶ ὃν κα-
λούμενον ἅρπαγα ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ξύλον πεντάπηχυ σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένον, κρίκους
ἔχον περὶ κεραίας ἑκατέρας, τῶν δὲ κρίκων εἶχετο, τοῦ μὲν ὁ ἅρπαξ, σιδήρειον καμ-

Τὸ προοίμιον μόνον τῆς Ἰταλικῆς τῆς Ἀππιανοῦ ἱστορίας τῇ παρούσῃ προέταξα δέλτῳ· ἐπειδὴ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἰταλι-
κῶν διήγησιν ἢ τῇ Ἁλικαρνασέως Διονυσίου Ρωμαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία πασῶν ὅδε ἱστοριῶν ἀξιολογωτέρα, ἐν εἴκοσι τ
ὅλαις βίβλοις διεξοδικώτερον διαλαμβάνουσα, περί τε τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ τῆς Ρώμης, καὶ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῆς, καὶ τῶν πρά-
ξεων ὅσαι μέχρι τοῦ πρώτου πρὸς Καρχηδονίοις αὐτῆς πολέμου ἐπράχθησαν. καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ Ρωμαϊκὰ συ-
νεχράψαντο, ὧν καὶ Δίων ὅδε, τὰ μὲν ἀρχαιότερα ὑπ' ἐκάμων, τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μοναρ-
χίαν ἐφ' ἕως τῶν Καισάρων, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τῆς Μαμμαίας, εἰς ὃν ἀναπέπαυκε τὴν ἱστορίαν, διεξοδι-
κώτερον διαχαράξας. δι' ὃ δή τοι τὴν μὲν ἀρχαιολογίαν τὴν Ρωμαϊκὴν ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσίου λαμβάνειν, εἴ τις μὴ τὴν ἀ-
κολουθίαν μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ὠφεληθῆναι ἐκ τῆς διαγνωσκομένων αἱροῖτο. τὰ δὲ μετ' τοῖς μονάρχοις, ἐκ
τοῦ Δίωνος· τὰς δὲ κζ' ἔθνος πράξεις, ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος Ἀππιανοῦ· ἀφ' οὗ διεξελθάμενος ἔχω τὴν μὲν ἐμφυλίαν
τὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ Ἀντωνίου, καὶ ἑξῆς πύθις τὰ Ρωμαίοις πρὸς Αἰγυπτίοις ἄχρι Κλεοπάτρας ἠνώρθωσα, ἐπὶ τὰ
Ἰουδαϊκά, καὶ τὰ Ποντικά, καὶ τὰ Δακικά, οἷς ὁ Τραϊανὸς ἐμαστρώσατο, τά τε Ἰβηρικά, καὶ τὰ Ἀννιβαϊκά, τά τε Καρ-
χηδονικά, καὶ τὰ Σικελικά, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰ Μακεδονικά, καὶ τὰ Ἑλληνικά, καὶ πολλῶν καὶ δήμων ὄντων. τούτοις
ἀρκεσθείς, ἐν δυσὶν αὐτὰ συνέθηκα πυξίοιν.

**Plate 11** – *Grecs du roi* in three sizes.

This led to the proliferation of Greek types so similar that it is now impossible to ascertain the printers and typefaces of some early printed books without painstakingly measuring sizes and trying to point out minute stylistic differences in characters. *Grecs du roi* were first used in England for Henry Savile's Chrysostom.[8] Eight volumes were printed at Eton between 1610 and 1613 by John Norton, who assigned Melchidesec Bradwood to undertake the printing.[9] The typeset was later bequeathed to Oxford University Press. That said, Greek printing in England by no means started with Savile's colossal venture. But before foraging into the history of Greek printing in England, a closer look at the trends in Greek letters on the Continent during the sixteenth century is necessary. Apart from *grecs du roi*, the main contenders among the Greek typefaces in Western Europe were Pierre Haultin's and Robert Granjon's cuts. Both Granjon and Haultin followed the route opened up by Estiennne's French Royals. Pierre Haultin was one of the most sought after punch-cutters of the French Renaissance, and he enjoyed no less popularity in England thanks to his nephew, who settled in London as early as 1574. Jerome paid large sums to his uncle in 1575 for matrices, undoubtedly intended for the London market.[10]

---

[8] H.D.L. Vervliet, *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance: Selected Papers on Sixteenth-century Typefaces*, vol. 1 (Leiden and Boston: Brill Publishing, 2008), p. 394. Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 145, and G. Matthiopoulos, *Ανθολόγιο Ελληνικής Τυπογραφίας* (Herakleion: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, 2009), p. 15, argue that this set, often referred to as the 'Silver Type', is an imitation brought from Andreas Wechel's house in Frankfurt. According to H.R. Plomer, *A Short History of English Printing 1476-1900* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1927[2]), p. 130, the Eton type was a different great primer bought from Moretus in Antwerp. J.A. Lane, 'From grecs du roi to the Homer Greek' in M.S. Macrakis (ed.), *Greek Letters: From Tablets to Pixels* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1996), p. 111, contradicts Vervliet and argues Haultin's Great Primer (118mm) was used for books printed at Eton. According to Lane, p. 110, 'however influential, [grecs du roi] remained virtually private faces of the French Royal Printing Office, read by many scholars but used by few printers'. W.P. Greswell, *Early Parisian Greek Press*, vol. I, pp. 405-412, however, shows the dispersal of Royal Greeks among other European printers in 1550s.

[9] R.H. Fritze and W.B. Robison, *Historical Dictionary of Stuart England 1603-1689* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 1996), p. 423.

[10] H. Carter, *A view of early typography up to about 1600* (London: Hyphen, 2002), p. 94.

ΙΩΆΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΎ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΌΜΟΥ

εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τῷ Ἀποσόλν, Περὶ δὲ τῷ κεκοι

μένων, ὀυ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν ἀδελ

φοὶ, ἵνα μὴ λυπῆδε· καὶ εἰς

τὸν Ἰὼβ καὶ τὸν

Ἀβραάμ.

α. Θεσσαλον. δ.

ΛΥΚ. Ι5.

ΜΈΡΑΣ τέσσαρας ἀναλώ-
σαμεν τὴν ἤ τὸν Λάζα
ρον παραβολὴν ὑμῖν ἐξη-
γούμενοι, τὸν θησαυρὸν
ἐξαντλῶντες, ὃν εὑρήκα-
μεν ἐν ἠλκωμένῳ κείμεν)
σώματι, θησαυρὸν ὀυχὶ χρυ
σίου καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ λί-
θους ἔχοντα πολυτελεῖς,
ἀλλὰ φιλοσοφίαν, καὶ ἀν

δρείαν, ὑπομονὴν, ἡ καρτερίαν πολλήν. Καθάπερ γὰρ
ἐπὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν θησαυρῶν τοῦτο συμβαίνει, τὴν μὲν ἐπι
φάνειαν ἀκάνθας ἔχειν ἡ τριβόλους ἁπλῶς, καὶ γῆν τρα
χυτέραν, εἰ δέ τις κάτω διασκάψειε πολὺς ὁ πλοῦτος
φαίνεται· οὕτω δὴ ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ Λαζάρῳ συνέβαινεν, ἄνωθεν
τραύματα, ἡ κάτωθεν πλοῦτος ἄφατος, πρεσβυτιον τὸ σῶ
μα, ἀλλὰ γενναία ἐγρηγορυῖα ἡ ψυχὴ, ὡς τὸ Ἀποστολι
κὸν ἦν ἴδιον ἐκεῖνο πληρούμενον ὑπὲρ τούτο. Ὅσον ὁ ἔξω ἄν
θρωπος διαφθείρεται, τοσοῦτον ὁ ἐντὸς ἀνακαινοῦτ. Καὶ
ἐνῆν μὲν καὶ τήμερον εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν παραβολὴν εἰπεῖν,
καὶ πρὸς τὰς αἱρετικὰς μαχήσασθαι, τὰς τὴν παλαιὰν
διαβάλλοντας, τὰς τῶν πατριαρχῶν κατηγοροῦντας τοὺς
κατὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν τὴν γλῶτταν ἠκονηκό
τας·

Β. Κορ. δ.

Plate 12 – A page from Chrysostom's *Homiliae duae* printed by Reginald Wolfe in 1543 with Greek type brought from Basel.

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ

Ἰωάννε Ἀρχιεπισκόπε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τῦ Χρυσο-
στόμου, εἰς τὸν Λάζαρον λόγος δεύτερος. καὶ ὅτι αἱ
ψυχαὶ τῶ τεθανάτων οὐ γίνον) δαίμονες, καὶ περὶ
κρίσεως, καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης.

⁕⁕

Ε Θαύμασα τὸ ἀγάπελυ ὑμῶ ὅτι ἢ περὶ τῦ Λαζάρου
προτέραν ἐκίνησα λόγον, ὅτι κ) τὲν ὑπομονὲν τοῦ
πένητος ἀπιδίξασθε, κὲ τὲν ἀμότητα κ) ἀπαν-
θρωπίαν τῦ πλετουῦτος ἀπεςράφητε. οὐ μικρὰ ἢ ταῦ-
τα καλοκαγαθίας δείγματα . κἂν γὸ μὴ μιτίαμψε ἀρε-
τὲν, ἐπαινοῦμψε ἢ ἀρετὲν, δυνησόμεθα πάντως αὐτὲν
μετελθεῖν . κἂν μὴ φεύγωμψε κακίαν, αλλὰ ψέγωμψε κα-
κίαν, σωπεσόμεθα πάντως αὐτὲν ἐκφυγεῖν.

Ἐπεὶ ὃσ μ⁓ πολλῆς εὐνοίας ἐκείνους ὑπεδίξασθε τὲς
λόγους, φέρε, κ) τὰ λείπόμψα ὑμῖν ἀποδώσομψε .

Εἴδετε αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι τῦ πλεσίε τότε, ϐλέπετε
αὐτὸν σήμερον ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τῦ Ἀϐραάμ· εἴδετε αὐτὸν
ὑπὸ κυνῶν περιλειχόμψον, ϐλέπετε αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων δο-
ρυφορούμψον· εἴδετε ἐν πενία τότε, ϐλέπετε ἐν τρυφᾷ νῦν· εἴδε-
τε ἐν λιμῷ, ϐλέπετε ἐν ἀφθονία πολλῇ· εἴδετε ἀγωνιζόμψον,
ϐλέπετε στεφανούμψον· εἴδετε τὰς πόνες, ϐλέπετε τὰς
ἀμοιϐὰς πλέσιοι κ) πένητες, πλούσιοι μψ ἵναμὴ μέγα ἦ)
νομίζητε τὸν πλοῦτον χωρίς ἀρετῆς· πένητες δὲ ἵνα μηδὲν
κακὸν νομίζετε ἦ) τὲν πενίαν . ἐκατέροις δὲ διδάσκα-
λος ὁυτος ἕστηκεν· εἰ γὸ ἐν πενία ἐκεῖνος ἄν ἐκ ἀπεδυσπέ-
τησε· τίνα ἕξεσι συγίνώμην, οἱ ἐν πλύτῳ τῦτο ποιεωῦτες;

Ε᾽ι

The next year he was granted Letters of Denization.[11] In 1568 he was working for the type-founder Hubert Danvillier, and the next set of matrices he bought from his uncle in 1575 may account for his establishment as an independent type-founder.[12] Jerome cast a number of Roman and Greek typefaces for various printers in London from his uncle's punches. It is indeed possible that Jerome was the exclusive source of certain types such as his uncle's Greeks.[13] Robert Granjon's types were equally popular: his Long Primer was the first Greek type to appear in Oxford, as will be demonstrated below.

The first Greek book printed in England was also a Chrysostom, Sir John Cheke's edition of his two homilies (STC 14634), printed by Reginald Wolfe in 1543.[14] The Greek typeface for the 1543 print measures 98mm/20 lines and was obtained from Basel.[15] A number of Greek books were produced between this date and 1590; nevertheless, the subject of Elizabethan Greek editions in England is very much an overlooked one.[16]

Proctor gives a short account of the smaller Greek types used in England in the sixteenth century, but his list of editions is far from exhaustive.[17] John Day was probably the first English printer to cut his own types. His Anglo-Saxon font commissioned by his patron, Archbishop Matthew Parker, is well known.[18] He is

---

[11] *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, vol. 22 (London: Huguenot Society of London, 1976), p. 125.

[12] D. McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press: Printing and the Book Trade in Cambridge, 1534-1698*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 58.

[13] C.L. Oastler, *John Day: the Elizabethan Printer* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1975).

[14] I. Chekos (ed.), *D. Ioannis Chrysostomi homiliae duae, nunc primum in lucem aeditae, et ad sereniss. Angliae Regem Latinae factae* (Londini: Apud Reynerum Vuolsium in Coemiterio Diui Pauli ad signum aenei serpentis, M.D.XLIII. mense Augusto [Aug. 1543]). See below Plate 12 and also F. Madan, *The Early Oxford Press 1468-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), pp. 18-19; Scholderer, *Greek Printing Types*, p. 11.

[15] J. Bowman, *Greek printing types in Britain: from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century* (Thessaloniki: Typophilia, 1998), p. 81; F. Isaac, *English Printers' Types of the Sixteenth Century* (London: H. Milford, 1936), p. 23 and pl. 43; Scholderer, *Greek Printing Types*, p. 11.

[16] For a brief survey of Greek books published under the reign of Elizabeth I, see K. Milne, 'The Forgotten Greek Books of Elizabethan England', *Literature Compass* 4.3 (2007), 677-687.

[17] Proctor, *Bibliographical Essays*, pp. 109-110.

[18] E.R. Mores, *A Dissertation upon English typographical founders and foundries (1778)*, with a catalogue and specimen of the typefoundry of John James (1782), edited with an introduction and notes by H.G. Carter and C.B. Ricks (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 7.

also generally thought to have cut 'a fine Greek letter'.[19] Books which survive from his printing house indicate that he employed two different Greek fonts. One originated in 1559 with the celebrated *The Cosmographical Glasse* (STC 6119) for use in quotations. It also featured in the full-text Greek editions of 1575 and 1577 of *Χριστιανισμοῦ Στοιχείωσις* (STC 18726 and STC 1827 respectively). This unique fount measures 78mm/20 lines and has a round character. It was soon replaced with another measuring 82mm/20 lines in the 1578 edition of the same work (STC 18728). The second fount was thought to be 'a great improvement' and of a quality comparable to the Royal Greeks.[20] It looks very similar to Haultin's Small Pica, and indeed Day had the opportunity to buy these in London from Jerome Haultin, Pierre Haultin's nephew. However, this type has a different –ος ligature with a straight middle line () which makes experts think that it was of local origin.[21] All the matrices owned by later printers were apparently cast from these original punches with the unique terminal –ος. We are able to follow the dispersal of the matrices made from these punches among different English printers by the minute differences in body sizes of the types cast from them. This Haultin-like Pica was immensely popular until John Fell bought 506 matrices of a Pica Greek in 1670.[22]

London printers such as Wolfe and Day were the forerunners of Greek printing in England, but the university towns soon joined in the foreign language book trade as the result of a demand from scholars. Even before Savile's gift of the Eton typeset, Greek printing in Oxford had already begun. Proctor lists a very small Greek type employed by Oxford printer Joseph Barnes in 1586 to print John

---

[19] D.B. Updike, *Printing types, their history, forms, and use; a study in survivals*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 92.

[20] Plomer, *A Short History of English Printing*, p. 77. C.L. Oastler, *John Day, the Elizabethan printer* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1975), p. 43, reproduces facsimiles of both Day's Greek types.

[21] J.A. Lane, 'Arthur Nicholls and his Greek type for the King's Printing House', *The Library* 13.4 (1991), 301, n. 5.

[22] As seen in *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἱερομάρτυρος Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους Ἐπιστολή* (Oxoniae: Ex Theatro Sheldoniano, 1677), this new Pica is genuine and features Haultin's original –ος ligature as found in the books that came out of printing houses known to possess Haultin's types such as Plantin of Antwerp.

Harmar's edition (STC 14635) of the six homilies of, once again, Chrysostom.[23]
This could indeed be the first Greek book ever printed in Oxford after the
university press was re-established and Barnes was officially recognised as
printer to the university by a Star Chamber ordinance in 1586, allowing for one
press and one apprentice.[24] Harmar's dedication states that it was their 'first press
with Greek letters'.[25] Some scholars attributed the type to Pierre Haultin and
noted this font might have been bought from his nephew, Jerome, in London.[26]
On the contrary, Barnes's font has Granjon characteristics with a descending –αι
ligature. The other key letters are a slightly wider φ and δ with an elongated tail.[27]
With a 20 line measurement of 66mm, it fits exactly into the description of
Granjon's Long Primer. The matrices are preserved at the Oxford University
Press.[28]

Barnes employed his Long Primer Greek again for Flavius Josephus' *Εἰς*
*Μακκαβαίους λόγος ἢ περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ*, which he printed in 1590
(STC 14814).[29] This book contains factotums which once belonged to Henry
Bynneman and were subsequently purchased, along with other ornamental
stock, by the newly found syndicate of printers known as the Eliot's Court Press
upon Bynneman's death.[30] The earlier appearance of the same font in Henry

---

[23] John Chrysostom, *Homiliae sex ex manuscriptis codicibus Noui Collegij; Ioannis Harmari, eiusdem collegij socij, & Graecarum literarum in inclyta Oxoniensi academia professoris regij, opera & industria nunc primùm graecè in lucem editae* (Oxonii: Ex officina typographica Iosephi Barnesii, Anno Domini MDXXCVI [1586]). See above Plate 13.

[24] T. Reed, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries* (London: Elliot Stock, 1887), p. 60; R. Proctor, 'The French Royal Greek Types and the Eton Chrysostom', *The Library* 7.1 (1902), 71; A. Ward et al., *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*, vol. IV (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1907-1921), p. 72.

[25] *Homiliae sex*, A²: 'primitias typographici nostri in graecis literis'. Also see, F. Madan, *The Early Oxford Press 1468-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), p. 18.

[26] Isaac, *English Printers' Types*, p. 45. On early modern French fonts, see Vervliet, *Palaeotypography*.

[27] Vervliet, *Palaeotypography*, vol. 1, pp. 410-411.

[28] Oxford University Press, Long Primer Greek, no. 22. See S. Morison, *John Fell: The University Press and the 'Fell' Types* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 107.

[29] Flavius Josephus, *Φλαβίου Ἰωσήπου εἰς Μακκαβαίους λόγος ἢ περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ* (Oxoniae: Excudebat Iosephus Barnesius, 1590).

[30] See STC 19355; also H.R. Plomer, 'The Eliot's Court Printing-House, 1584-1674', *The Library* 4.2 (1921), 175-184; idem, 'Eliot's Court Press: Decorative Blocks and Initials', *The Library* 4.3

Bynneman's 1581 publication (STC 15254) suggests that Barnes also might have taken over some of Bynneman's stock after his death in 1583 or collaborated with Eliot's Court Press in London for printing Greek books. Barnes continued to use these factotums in later publications.[31] However, he replaced his Long Primer Greek with an 82mm Pica Greek in 1591 for his Herodotus (STC 13225).[32] Peculiarly, this is the very same typeface featuring the –ος ligature with a straight dash, believed to have been first used by Day in London in 1578.[33] A year later, Barnes published Barlaam's *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάπα ἀρχῆς* (STC 1430) with the same Pica. This is the *editio princeps* of Barlaam's tract, later printed in London by Metaxas. Between 1585 and 1640, a mere ten books in Greek were published in Oxford out of 693 in total.[34] In the face of a widely held theory that all Greek publishing in England in the age was done in London, and the miniscule scale of Greek books that were published in Oxford at the time, Barnes might have outsourced the printing of Greek volumes to the printers in the capital, who specialised in foreign language printing. This would have been the economically sound decision. There exists a copy of Barnes' 1592 Barlaam presented by the

---

(1922), 194-209. Plomer commented that these 'were very probably stock patterns, as they are found in numerous printing offices'.

[31] See STC 14814, STC 1430, STC 14641, STC 20369 and STC 4759. So did the members of the Eliot's Court Press. Concerning a dispute between Barnes and Eliot's Court Press over a pirated Oxford edition of Persons' *Christian Directory* featuring the same factotums, Victor Houliston proposed the idea that Edmund Bollifant and his partners at the Eliot's Court Press might have forged the 'Oxford' editions to stimulate the sales. R. Persons, *The Christian Directory (1582): The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution*, V. Houliston (ed.) vol. 84, Studies in the History of Christian Thought (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. xlv.

[32] Herodotus, *Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνασέως Ἱστοριῶν πρώτη, Κλειώ* (Oxoniae: In officina Iosephi Barnesii, MDLXXXXI [1591]). Madan, *Early Oxford Press*, p. 290, notes that although the Pica Greek is the chief type of a book in 1591 at earliest, it is found occasionally in 1587. The only two books containing Greek on his list from that year, namely STC 11551 and STC 22552, both employ what could be identified as Granjon's Long Primer Greek with a descending –αι ligature. One should proceed with caution though, when identifying Greek typefaces, especially from such short and sporadic quotations.

[33] See above, p. 136.

[34] Two of these were printed with Granjon's Long Primer Greek, which ceased to be used for the main body of the text after 1590. See the table in Madan, *Early Oxford Press*, p. 291. Pica Greek, however, was used by Oxford printers continually between 1591 and 1640: STC 13225, STC 1430, STC 751, STC 14594, STC 14641, STC 19047 and STC 19020. It should be noted that by 'books in Greek' I am always referring to books in which the majority of the text is in Greek, not books in other languages containing Greek quotations.

editor to John Selden, now in the Bodleian, without the printer's device on the title-page.[35] This is further evidence of collaboration and hints at the practice of the working printer leaving a blank space for the commissioning printer to mark his ownership of the publication, only after receiving the ordered copies.

George Bishop, a celebrated London printer, was the first publisher to specialise in Greek classics in the original language from 1590s.[36] His types are described as 'exceeding neat and elegant, and have not been outdone in beauty and elegance' by any printer of his age.[37] This compliment is not entirely accurate since Bishop's typeface is the same Haultin-like Pica with the peculiar –ος with a straight middle line. The face measures 83mm/ 20 lines, just like the one that appears in Metaxas's *Epistolarion* (Legrand 144). So, was there a connection between Bishop and Metaxas?

Bishop was more of a bookseller than printer, and the STC suggests that he commissioned the majority of his Greek titles to Eliot's Court Press and William Stansby. This attribution seems fairly accurate since both Stansby and Eliot's Court Press were associated with Metaxas's printing activities during his stay in London. Unfortunately, neither Roberts nor Layton offer any comment on the typeface employed in Legrand 144. Even without previous studies to guide us, it is possible to link Bishop's typeface with Metaxas from the measurements and characteristics of this font. It was also employed in 1619 to print Angelos'

---

[35] Bodleian call number 4° O 6(1) Art.Seld: see Madan, *Early Oxford Press*, p. 32. The editor of Barlaam's work is John Lloyd (*c.*1558–1603), a classical scholar born in Denbigh and educated at Winchester College and New College, Oxford. He distinguished himself on account of the quality of his preaching and his scholarship. He published two volumes: *Interpretatio Latina, cum scholiis in Flav. Josephum de Maccabaeis, seu, De rationis imperio* (Oxford, 1590) and *Barlaamus de papae Principatu, Graecè & Latinè* (Oxford, 1592). See R. Brinley Jones, 'Llwyd, Humphrey (1527–1568)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, May 2007 at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16867 (accessed on 8 June 2012).

[36] G.A. Glaister, *Encyclopedia of the Book* (London: Oak Knoll Press and The British Library, 1996), p. 204.

[37] J.B. Nichols, *Illustrations of the literary history of the eighteenth century: Consisting of authentic memoirs and original letters of eminent persons; and intended as a sequel to the Literary anecdotes*, vol. 4 (London: John Nichols and Son, 1822), p. 194.

Ἐγχειρίδιον (Legrand 132).[38] It is very peculiar that the same font appears across all the works of Angelos, despite the different imprints they bear, including Oxford: John Lichfield and William Wrench (successors to Barnes); Cambridge: Cantrell Legge; and London. The curious fact that Angelos' publications ceased as soon as Metaxas's printing venture began needs further consideration.

Angelos' *Περὶ τῆς ἀποστασίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, for instance, is extremely interesting in terms of its typographical features.[39] It bears the same device as that of Legrand 144: a boy with wings on one wrist, and in the other hand a weight with the motto *Mollia cum duris*, identifiable as McKerrow no. 393. A note by Angelos informs us that he paid for the expenses of the publication and, quoting 1 Corinthians 5:4, he deems it an 'anathema' for anyone 'to change a point or an accent, or to appropriate the contents, or to manipulate the wording, or to put a different title on the cover of this book'.[40] Angelos bitterly reminisces that he 'witnessed the corruption of his previous books with his own eyes'.[41] Here he is referring to the mutilation of his earlier publications recounting his troubles with the Ottoman authorities. Angelos found it a profitable business to write about his sufferings under the Turks, for which, in turn, he received alms from sympathetic Anglicans.[42] He wrote an account of his stint in prison in Athens, which was

---

[38] Christopher Angelos, *Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν σήμερον εὑρισκπμένων Ἑλλήνων. Πόνος Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Ἀγγέλου Ἕλληνος* ([Cambridge]: Ex officina Cantrelli Legge, Academiae Cantabrigensis Typographi), M. DC. XIX [1619]; Vervliet, *Paleotypography*, vol. I, p. 404, fig. 3; Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique 17ᵉ siècle*, vol. I, p. 182.

[39] For a discussion of the contents of this book, see above, pp. 59-60.

[40] Christopher Angelos, *Πόνος Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Ἀγγέλου Ἕλληνος. Περὶ τῆς ἀποστασίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῆς ἁμαρτίας, δηλαδὴ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν τοῦ Δανιήλ, καὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως, οὓς οὐδεὶς ὀρθῶς μεθερμήνευσεν ἐξ οὗ προεφητεύθησαν* (ἐκδόθη ἐν λοντίνῳ: [William Stansby], αχκδ' [1624]), p. 16:

> Τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἐγράφη, καὶ ἐτυπόθη ταῖς ἰδίαις δαπάναις Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Ἀγγέλου τοῦ ἕλληνος. ὅς τις δὲ φθερεῖ τούτου τοῦ βιβλίου μίαν στιγμὴν, ἢ τόνον, ἢ ἰδιοποιήσῃ, ἢ ἕτερονοματο ποιήσῃ, ἢ ἕτερον ὄνομα θήσῃ, ἐπὶ τοῦ καλύματος τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ διαβόλου ἡμερὶς αὐτοῦ.

[41] Angelos, *Περὶ τῆς ἀποστασίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, p. 16:

> …ταῦτα δὲ γέγραφα, ὅτι τὰ πρότερά μου βιβλία ἐδώλωσαν τινὸς, καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἰδίοις ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδον, τούτου ἕνεκα ἀνάθεμα ἔστω, ὅς τις τολμήσει κατὰ τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου.

[42] For an excellent study on Angelos' work and similar narratives of religious suffering in the Ottoman Empire, see Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, esp. pp. 121-142.

published for the first time in Oxford, in 1617, in the original Greek (STC 638).[43]
An English translation appeared in the same year (STC 639) and was reprinted
twice (STC 640 and STC 641).[44] The 1617 edition was the first Oxford book to
feature illustrations; yet the printers at Oxford made quite an unimpressive
start.[45] Fortunately, the proof copy of STC 638, featuring original drawings by
Angelos depicting the torture he allegedly underwent at the hands of the
Ottoman governor of Athens, is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi
College, Oxford.[46] It is apparent that the printers employed a set of woodcuts that
reduced the Greek captive's drawings to crude sketches. Furthermore, the
explanatory notes scribbled next to the images were omitted. This was mainly
due to economic factors (to obtain woodcut reproductions at a tiny cost), but a
considerable lack of care and diligence is also inherent in their process of over-
simplification and de-contextualization of Angelos's drawings.[47]

---

[43] Christopher Angelos, *Πόνησις Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Ἀγγέλου Ἕλληνος, τοῦ πολλῶν πληγῶν καὶ μαστίγων γευσαμένου ἀδίκως παρὰ τῶν Τουρκῶν διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν* (Oxford: John Lichfeild [sic.] and William Wrench, 1617).

[44] Christophoros Angelos, *Christopher Angell, a Grecian, who tasted of many stripes and torments inflicted by the Turkes for the faith which he had in Christ Iesus* (Oxford: Printed by Iohn Lichfield, and Iames Short, printers to the famous Vniversitie [sic.], 1617).

[45] P. Simpson, *Proof-reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press and Humphrey Milford, 1935), p. 80.

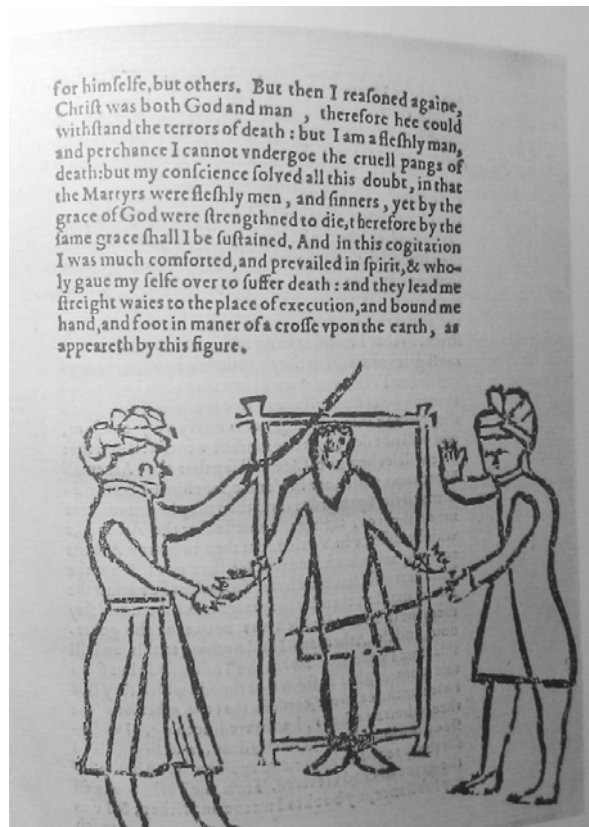[46] SOLO shelfmark LG.2.10 (9), (old shelfmark Polygraphy, g.10.) Another set of manuscript drawings is found in Athens, *Gennadius Library*, MS 121.1, attached to the 1617 English edition (STC 639).
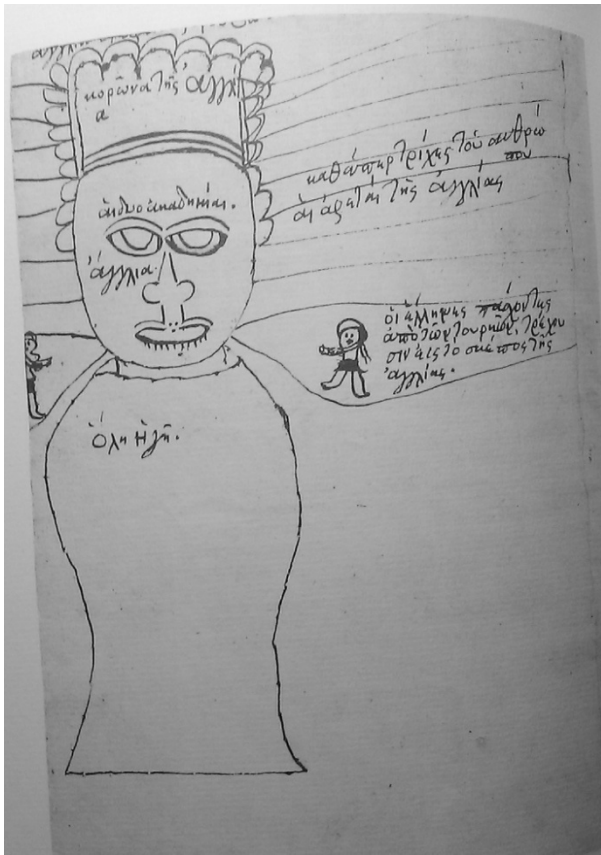
[47] K. Mastoridis, 'First Greek Typographic School', *ΗΥΦΕΝ: βήμα για την τυπογραφία* 1.2 (1998), 83, available online at: http://afroditi.uom.gr/uompress/pdf/1st_greek_typo_school.pdf (accessed on 23 November 2011).

**Plate 14** – The original drawings by Angelos as seen on the proof copy at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In the inscription below, Angelos testifies that he suffered for his religion under the *flagello* (φλαγέλλιον/φραγέλλιον in Greek or *falaka* in Turkish).

**Plate 15** – The rather crude woodcut rendering of Angelos's drawing in the edition.



for himfelfe, but others. But then I reasoned againe, Chrift was both God and man, therefore hee could withftand the terrors of death : but I am a fleshly man, and perchance I cannot vndergoe the cruell pangs of death: but my confcience folved all this doubt, in that the Marryrs were fleshly men, and finners, yet by the grace of God were ftrengthned to die, therefore by the fame grace shall I be fuftained. And in this cogitation I was much comforted, and prevailed in fpirit, & wholy gaue my felfe over to fuffer death : and they lead me ftreight waies to the place of execution, and bound me hand, and foot in maner of a croffe vpon the earth, as appeareth by this figure.

**Plate 16** – Angelos's depiction of England as the head of the body; the two eyes symbolise the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, while the angelic England's wings carry the weight of poor Greeks who fled from oppression in faraway lands.

**Plate 17** – Parts of Angelos's drawing and his explanatory notes are mutilated in the printed edition. The illustration does not convey its original meaning as seen here.
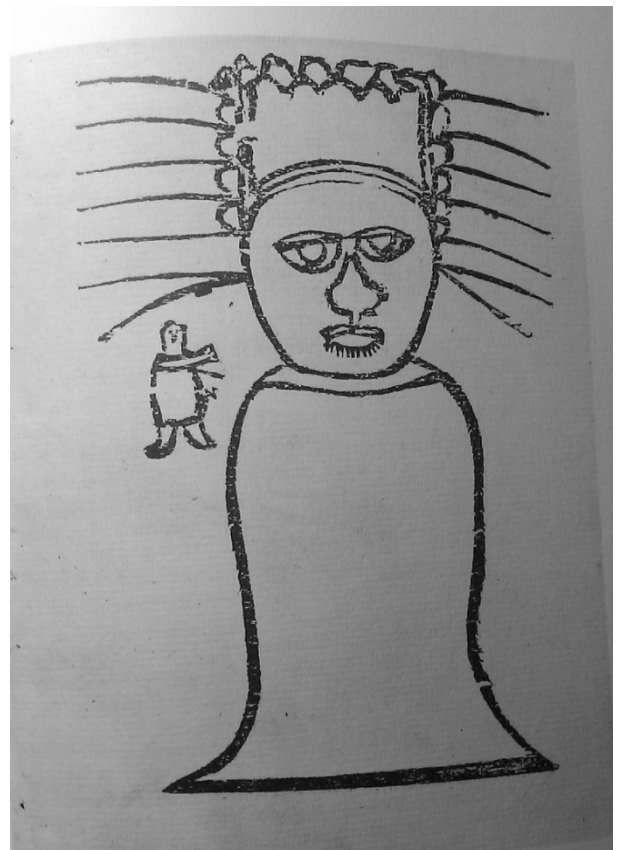
Ἐγχειρίδιον,

## ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΗΜΕρον Εὑρισκομένων Ἑλλήνων.

Σ πάνυ καλὸν χρῆμα ἐςὶ τὴν ἁ Ἁγίων Μαρτύρων κὴ ὁμολογητῶν μνήμην εἰς μέσον ἄγειν, καθάπερ ὁ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους Παῦλ , μιμηταί μου γίνεσθαι, πε᾽ 3.1. κὴ ὁ Σολομὼν ἐν παροιμίαις, ἐγκω- Κεφ᾽ κθ᾽ μιαζομένων Δικαίων εὐφρανθήσονται λαοί, (τουτέςι διὰ τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν τὸν βίον ἁ Μαρτύρων τ κὴ Ὁμολογητῶν, οἱ Ἄνθρωποι εὐφραίνονται, ὅταν ἀκούωσι τὰ Ἆθλα ἁ Μαρτύρων, κὴ ὅτι ἐνίκησ οἱ Μάρτυρες διὰ τὴν Ὑπομονὴν, κὴ ςηρίζονται κὴ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑπομένειν τὰς πειρασμοὺς, καθὼς κὴ οἱ Μάρτυρες, ὡς κὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες σήμερον ὑπομένουσι πολλοὺς πειρασμοὺς ὑπὸ ἁ Τούρκων, διὰ τ ἀγάπην τῦ Χριςῦ ὡς κᾳγὼ ἔπαθον, διὰ ὃ τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν με κὴ γράφειν τὰς βίους τ Ἁγίων Μαρτύρων, ὅταν οἱ κοινοὶ ἐχθροὶ τ ἀληθείας τ κὴ Εὐσεβοῦς Πίςεως ἐκράτει σύν με ἀπειλεῖσαι διὰ τ εἰς Χριςὸν Πίςιν, ἐγὼ ἐμνήσθην τ ὑπομονῆς ἁ Ἁγίων Μαρτύρων, κὴ ὅλ Πίςιν, ἐγὼ ἐμνήσθην τ ὑπομονῆς ἁ Ἁγίων Μαρτύρων, κὴ ὅλ παρεδόθην εἰς θάνατον, κὴ διὰ τῆς χάριτ τῦ Παντοδυνάμου Χριςῦ τῦ ἀληθινῦ Θεῦ ἡμῶν, μίαν ὥραν νεκρὸς ἔμεινα ὑπὸ ἁ Μαςίγων ἁ Ἀπίςων, καὶ πάλιν μεθ᾽ ὥραν, ὁ Παντοδύναμ ἐχαρίσατό μοι τὸ ζῆν, ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἁ Ἀθηναίων ἤκουσ ὅτι ἐσμάσθην τῶν τυραννησάντων με Τουρκῶν, κὴ εἶπόν μοι ὅσα ἤκουσαν ὅτι μίαν ὥραν νεκρὸς ἔμεινα ὑπὸ ἁ μαςίγων ἁ Τουρκῶν, καὶ ἐὰν ἠρπάθην Χριςὸν τ ἀληθινὸν Θεόν, ὡς γράφε ἡ ὑπόθεσις ἐν τῷ Βιβλίῳ

B

Plate 18 – A page from Angelos' Ἐγχειρίδιον (Legrand 132).

γὰρ ἕνεκεν ὀπηνενόηται· ταῦτα δὲ προοιμίου ἐςὶ φιλοτεχνή-
μας· νυνὶ δὲ ἀφ' τὴν πρόθεσιν, ὅτι κὴ προθέσεως χάριν
ἀναπληροῖ. ὡς ὅτι προεκτεθῆναι τὰ ἀεὶ ὂν ὁ μέλλεται λό-
γῳ, κὴ τοῖς ῥηθησομένοις ἐμπτιῆσαι σαφήνειαν. Διὸ δὴ
τὰ μ' τὴν ἄλλαις ὡς ἀπειθῆ κὴ ἀλυσιτελῆ παρασάιδμοι, 5
μόνῃ τῇ τῦ Ἀριστοτέλους τετραμερεῖ ἐφησυχάσομδο διαιρέ-
σει. Μετὰ τοίνυν τὸ προοίμιον, ἢ πρόθεσιν ἤτοι πρόβλημα
πάξομδο, ἢ συνεπιφέρεται κὴ ἡ διήγησις· ἡ γὰρ πρόθεσις ἢ
ἔκθεσις τῆν τ' ὅλης ὑποθέσεως κεφαλαίων τε κὴ πραγμά-
των, ἢ τῆν ἤδη συμβάντων κὴ εἰργασμένων διήγησις. Με- 10
τὰ τ' πρόθεσιν ἰοὺς τ' πίσιν συνάψομδο, ἥτις ἀνασκδυή
τε ἐμφέρετει κὴ κατασκδυή, κὴ ἁπλῶς ὅσα εἰς τὸ ἀγῶ-
νας ἀνήκει. Τελευ πάω ὃ τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ χρησώδα, ἀναμιμνή-
σκοντες τοὺς ἐπαίοντας τῶν προειρημένων, κὴ εἰς σύςασιν ἠ-
θῶν παρεξώοντες. ἀφ' ὧν ἁπάντων ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς διαλη- 15
ψόμδα· διὰ τ' τῶν λόγων προσίμανίου, ποδηγποιῦτ' τε
κὴ συναίρετ':

## ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΥ.

ἱερὸν ἐν ἄλλοις κὴ ἐπὶ τ' τῦ προοιμίου φωνῆς τὸ 20
τ' Κρατύλου παρὰ Πλάτωνι οἰκείως εἰρῆσθαι δο-
κεῖ· ἐκεῖται δ' ἑκασταχοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ὀρθότητά
τιρα πρὸς ἀνάπτυξιν τ' ἑκάστῳ σημαινομένων, κὴ
ὀυ συνθήκῃ μόνῃ κὴ ὁμολογίᾳ τοὺς πρώτως ὀνοματοθέντας
ἐξελεγχεῖν τὰ ὀνόματα. ἐνδίδωσι γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐννοεῖν τὸ πρό- 25
σημα τὸ πρὸ παντὸς τιθέμδνον λόγου, προςδιαδιαςι
τὸν πρόασμα. ἐκ τῦ, περὶ μορίου, κὴ τ', οἶμι, φωνῆς, οὐ
τὴν ὁδὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ κὴ τ' ὡδὴν παρεμφαινούσης συμπλε-
κόμδιον. ἐφ' ᾧ ὃ κὴ Ἀριστοτέλης τῷ τε ἐν ποιήσει προλό-
γῳ, κὴ προαυλητικῆς προαβλίῳ, συνέκρινε τὸ προοίμιον. 30
οἷα γὰρ ἐκεῖνο, οἱ μ' Ποιηταὶ τῷ προλόγῳ, Αὐληταὶ δὲ



**Plate 19** – A page from *Περὶ Ἐπιστολικῶν Τύπων* (Legrand 144).

These and other kinds of haphazardness he suffered at the hands of the printers led Angelos to take charge of his own publishing activities. His frustration with the English printers might have set the course for the route Metaxas was soon to take.

Angelos left Oxford in 1618 and began a personal fundraising campaign in London.[48] He printed a number of 'pirated' editions in London with Oxford and Cambridge imprints. One of them is the '1618' 'Oxford' edition of *Πόνησις* (STC 641) with new and improved woodcuts. As is evident from the newly added references to the city and the Thames in the notes accompanying the second woodcut, this edition is honed exclusively for a London readership. Angelos wanted to obviate any persecution that might have arisen from his 'pirated' edition by reproducing an earlier imprint, since entries for his publications are not to be found in the registers of the Stationers' Company. The Greek refugee was cautious; nevertheless, he left a few clues that enable us to unravel the mystery behind his publication. First of all, he added a new testimonial from his Oxford friends (an update on the earlier one, with news of a letter he received from the Peloponnese) dated 3 July 1620, which immediately re-dates the publication to 1620 or later. The place of publication is wrong not only because by that time Angelos had left Oxford but also because the typographical evidence from the ornaments suggests that STC 641 was printed at the house of William Stansby in London along with STC 635, STC 636 and STC 637. Angelos's *Περὶ τῆς ἀποστασίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας* (Legrand 132) and Metaxas's *Epistolarion* (Legarnd 144) were both produced at the workshop of a hitherto unidentified London printer using McKerrow no. 393 as his device. This could either be John Bill, printer to the crown, or William Stansby, the celebrated printer of the Ben Jonson folio (*Workes*), both associated with this device in the 1620s. STC ascribes both Legrand 132 and Legrand 144 to Stansby for all the right reasons. Legrand

[48] F. Madan, *Early Oxford Press*, p. 109.

144 has two title-pages for each tract, the first bearing the imprint G.S. [Gulielmi Stansby] and the second W.S. undeniably points to Stansby.[49]

Many bibliographers have thought that the Greek typeface used by many English printers, including Stansby, was Haultin's Small Pica, originally created in 1549. For instance, Vervliet lists John Day (1578), Joseph Barnes (1586), Cantrell Legge (1619) and John Norton's Eton Chrysostom under the early appearances of Haultin's type. Haultin's Small Pica measures 76mm per 20 lines, as reconstructed by the stock owned by the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp.[50] The confusion arises most probably because Haultin's typeface, although technically a small pica (70-76mm) was often cast on a pica gauge (77-88mm) and referred to as the 'cicero of mediane', as seen in a 1579 specimen.[51] The 'Mediane Grecque' in the specimen is attributed to Haultin before 1563. Unfortunately, there is no corresponding punch at the Plantin-Moretus Museum. The –ος ligature in this 'Mediane Grecque' with a curled up ending does not match those of Day, Barnes, Bishop and Stansby. The specimen reproduced from the punches attributed to Haultin at the Plantin-Moretus Museum is even further removed from our typeset. In the museum's matrices, the –αι ligature curls upwards following the ending *iota*, and the – ος ligature remains the same as the earlier specimen. All this evidence suggests that, although a close imitation, the typeface used by Metaxas was of local origin (or at least with additional letters from punches cut in England), most probably first cut and used by Day in 1578. Again, just like Haultin's punch, these could be gauged on a different body resulting in different line measurements. For instance, Day's pica Greek measures 81mm, whereas Stansby used a 83mm type. John Bill is an intriguing example, as his *Iusta Oxoniensium* (1612) has 81mm type, yet his later publications commissioned to Stansby, namely STC 4566 and STC 4567, feature the 83mm type. Therefore, it

---

[49] Stansby fashioned himself 'G.S.' or 'Gulielmi Stansby' in a number of publications including STC 23602 (1617) and STC 3993 (1632).

[50] Vervliet, *Paleotypography*, vol. I, p. 404

[51] *Reproductions from a Specimen of Plantin's Types compiled about 1579* (Oxford: Printed by Charles Batey at the University Press, 1955).

is indeed possible to trace the provenance of each Greek book produced in different houses from the minute differences in the body sizes on which these types were mounted, even though the matrices for all of them were cast from the same punches. This brings us to the font used in Legrand 168, which has the identical characteristics with that of Legrand 144, but measures 87mm per 20 lines, leading to the conclusion that they were the product of different printing houses.

Metaxas's first output, Legrand 167 boasts a variety of different typefaces: he used three different sets of capitals and three sizes of lower-case. For chapter headings, he used Granjon's Paragon, measuring 132mm/20 lines. The set Metaxas used is a complete one that perfectly matches all the key letters and ligatures found in this typeface (a descending –αι ligature, slightly wider φ with a rounder alternative, terminal –ος ligature with a curled up stem, round β with equal bowls, pointed θ with a rounder alternative etc.). The matrices for this typeface are preserved at Oxford University Press.[52]

For the main text, Metaxas employed a smaller typeface in 114mm/20 lines with similar Granjon characteristics but also featuring variant letters. Unlike Granjon's, it has no –ος ligature, while the commonly used γὰϱ and καὶ abbreviations are unique. These may have been cut by a different punch-cutter and added to the typeset.[53] Subsequently, Metaxas took this font to Constantinople to print Legrand 166. Finally, for the *errata* of Legrand 167 he employed the 87mm typeset he used for Legrand 168. This association supports my theory that Metaxas found the 'good copy' of the Scholarios manuscript while he was printing Legrand 168 and printed the *errata* page for Legrand 167 at the same workshop.

---

[52] Morison, *John Fell*, pp. 98-103.

[53] Such practice was not uncommon. Similarly, Stanley Morison notes that both typefaces of the same bodies exist at the Oxford University Press, with additions by a different hand to replace the lost punches: see Morison, *John Fell*, pp. 98-103.

## ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ α.

Ὅτι ἀρχαῖα ἐστὶ ἡ διαφορὰ αὕτη, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης
Συνόδȣ. καὶ τὶ πεφρονήκασι περὶ ταύτης, ④
τῆς Συνόδȣ πατέρες ἐκεῖνοι.

Ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἐξετάζων, εὑρίσκω τὴν περὶ τȣ πνεύματος ταύτην
διαφορὰν, τῇ ῥωμαίᾳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρὸς τὰς Ἀσιάτιδας, εὐθὺς
ἀπ᾿ αὐτῆς τῆς πρώτης Συνόδȣ συνιστηκυῖαν. Οὐκ εἰς τὸ δὲ μὴ
προελθȣσαν σχίσματος, οὐδὲ ἐκραγῆσαν εὐθὺς. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ
ὑποφυορμένην, ᾧ τρεφομένην ἠρέμα, καὶ τέλος ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς Ἐκκλη-
σίας προκόψασαν. πολὺ γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ διαφορᾷ συνέβαλε τότε, καὶ
συνεργάζεται νῦν, ἡ περὶ τῆς Ουσίας τι, καὶ τῆς Ὑποστάσεως, τότε γε-
γενημένη, καὶ νῦν ȣσα διαφορὰ, Γραικοῖς ᾧ Λατίνοις. ἳν λῦσαι τὸν ἱε-
ρὸν φασὶν Ἀθανάσιον, τῇ στενότητι τῆς Ῥωμαίων Γλώττης ἐπιγραφόμενοι·
τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι συμφανεῖν ἐκείνȣς ἡμῖν, ὡς ἡ μὲν δηλονότι βέλτιον τε ᾧ
ἀκριβέστερον, Ὑπόστασιν μὲν τὸ ἄτομον, καθ᾿ ὁμοιότητα τῶν κητῶν πραγ-
μάτων, οἷς δὶς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑφέστηκεν. Οὐσίαν δὲ τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν φύσιν
ἀποκαλȣντων, ἢ τὸ ἄτομον ἐστί. σαφεστέραν δὲ τὴν διαφορὰν ταύτην
ἐπὶ τῆς τρίτης γεγονέναι Συνόδȣ. ȣπω δὲ ȣδὲ τότε φανερῶς εἰς μέσον
ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ προκύψασαν μόνον, αὖθις ἐνδομυχεῖν· τότε γὰρ ὁ μὲν Νε-
στόριος ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ Συμβόλῳ περὶ τȣ πνεύματος προστίθει. καὶ ȣτε
υἱοτομίζοντας (τὸ πνεῦμα δηλονότι τὸ ἅγιον) ȣτε διὰ τȣ υιȣ τὴν ὕ... » Νεστορ.
παρξιν εἰληφέναι. καὶ ȣτε ἡ Συνόδος ἤλεγχεν, ȣδ᾿ ὁ Κύριλλος. ȣτος »
μὲν ᾧ Θεοδώρητον ἀπεκάλει συκοφάντην, βλασφημίας αὐτȣ καὶ δυσέ-
βειαν καταιτιόμενοι, τά τε ἄλλα, ᾧ εἰ τὸ πνεῦμα ἴδιον καλεῖ τȣ υιȣ, ἢ
δι᾿ υιȣ, τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχοι. καὶ μετὰ τὴν μέμψιν ἐκείνην, πανταχȣ δια-
σκεδάζει καλῶς, τȣ υιȣ μὲν λέγων τὸ πνεῦμα, ὡς οἰκεῖον ᾧ ουκ ἀλλότριον, » Κύριλ.
ᾧ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ουσίας λόγον. τȣ δὲ πατρὸς, ὡς ἐκπορευόμενον ἐξ αὐτȣ· »
ταυ-

All in all, Metaxas transferred two sets of type (114mm for the main text and 87mm for marginal notes) to Constantinople, and eventually to Cephalonia. It is evident from the impressions of print that Metaxas purchased a 'full bill' of his main font, complete with CAPITAL LETTERS, SMALL CAPITALS, lower case letters, accented letters, ligatures, punctuation marks, numbers and special symbols. In addition to this 'full bill', he stocked capitals, small letters and numbers for his smaller type, as well as spaces of various sizes. I have already established that Garamont's medium type comprised 347 sorts not counting non-letter elements such as special characters, numbers and punctuation. So, Metaxas's 'full bill' of his main font, with approximately 350 sorts, would have varying quantities of each sort, enough for each occurrence of an $α$, $έ$, $θ$ or ligatures of $ου$ or $καὶ$ etc. until the compositor filled the galleys and eventually the chase. Since each impression on a single sheet produces four printed pages in a quarto edition, 50 kilograms of type were needed just to set one sheet of paper.[54] While an illicit printer might scrape by on 100 kilograms (around 80,000 pieces in pica size), a set of type would normally weigh around 200 to 250 kilograms, enough to print 8 sheets (64 quarto pages).[55]

Type was stored for use systematically in cases, large wooden trays divided into little compartments, one for each sort. In German-speaking countries, a 'single lay' (one square case with many boxes) was used, whereas Britain, Holland and French-speaking countries opted for what is called a 'divided lay', employing a pair of two cases to a font. In this arrangement the upper case was reserved for capital letters, small capitals and numbers, and the lower case held the small letters, punctuation marks and spaces.[56] However, Greek fonts were an exception

---

[54] S. Lambert, 'Journeymen and Master Printers in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 21 (1992), 13-27.

[55] Average sizes of bills of founts and weighs of sorts from P. Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 37-39, 53 and 116.

[56] P. Gaskell, 'The Lay of the Case', *Studies in Bibliography*, 22 (1969), 125-142; idem, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 34-36.

to the rule since they comprised more sorts than their Latin counterparts. A French manual of 1723 shows a Greek typeface similar to Garamont's laid in three pairs of special cases, in a total of 750 boxes.[57] All the sorts from the two fonts (app. 350 sorts for medium type + 320 for smaller type + 10 for numbers + 8 for punctuation + 8 for spaces) Metaxas purchased would amount to around 700 sorts, which is not far from what the manual suggests. This figure does not include other typographical elements such as block letters and ornamental pieces, which would have weighed substantially more per piece.

Therefore, Metaxas also needed three pairs of cases to hold the type for composition, in addition to composing sticks, page galleys, chases (with wedges or quoins to lock the forme) and, finally, a peel (a T-shaped pole used for hanging up freshly printed sheets of paper to dry).[58]

To conclude, we can estimate that Metaxas was carrying at least 1000 kilograms of typographical hardware, besides a wooden printing device weighing around 350 kilograms.[59] As astonishing as it might sound, it was not impossible to transport these heavy materials from one place to the other in seventeenth-century England. A printing-press followed the king's army during the Civil War, and an enterprising London printer grasped the opportunity to earn a few extra pennies by setting up a portable printing stall on an icy Thames during the frost fair of 1683.[60]

---

[57] M.D. Fertel, *La science pratique de l'imprimerie* (Saint-Omer: Par M. D. Fertel, MDCCXXIII [1723]), pp. 13-14; P. Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p.36.

[58] For a brief glossary of early printing terms, see 'First Impressions', University of Manchester Library, available online at: http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/firstimpressions/ The-Collection/Glossary/ ( accessed on 15 July 2013).

[59] The two presses installed at Cambridge in 1697 weighed about 350 kilograms each, and that was without their stones: S. Lambert, 'Journeymen and Master Printers', pp. 21-22. For a survey of all surviving hand-press devices and their measurements, see P. Gaskell, 'A Census of Wooden Presses' *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 6 (1970), 1-32.

[60] S. Bowtell, *England's Memorable Accidents* (22 December 1642), p. 125; *Great Britains Wonder: or, Londons Admiration* (London: Printed by M. Haly and J. Millett, and sold by Robert Walton, at the Globe on the North-side of St. Pauls-Church, near that end towards Ludgate. And by John Seller in the West-side of the Royal Exchange, 1684).

Despite the bulkiness of the cargo, capital investment in the printing trade (that is, the cost of equipping a printing house) was not enormous (in comparison to subsidiary costs such as paper and labour). In sixteenth-century Paris, equipping a humble printing house cost 60 livres, whereas in eighteenth-century London it was around £350.[61] The press itself was not particularly dear (priced at approximately £10 in the seventeenth century), but it represented the least part of the cost (a press would be valued at around one tenth of the price of 1000 kilograms of type that would occupy it).[62] According to these valuations, Metaxas would have spent approximately £300 for all his equipment.

This brief summary of typefaces employed by Metaxas tries to place these publications in their historical context, in addition to giving further particulars about their bibliographical features. The typographical clues aid us substantially in reconstructing the chronology and topography of Metaxas's journey. Furthermore, the next chapter, foraging into the ornaments and initial letters used in these books, sheds further light on those very issues.

---

[61] Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, pp. 109-110; Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p.177.

[62] Lambert, 'Journeymen and Master Printers', pp. 21-22.

# CHAPTER 5

## Ornaments and Initials

This chapter identifies and discusses the devices, head- and tail-pieces, floral borders, factotums and initial block letters used in books associated with Metaxas and his circle.[1] This helps us locate and even date the production of some of these titles. Most of the decorative elements found in Metaxas prints were dishearteningly popular stock ones, which were at the disposal of many other printers as well. However, the evidence of different sets found together, in addition to minute differences between the individual ornaments owned by printers, such as cracks or other defects, make it possible to ascertain the printing history of these volumes. The inventory below, which presents all the ornaments and block letters used in Metaxas prints volume-by-volume in a chronological order, enables us to evaluate the ornamental elements he employed and understand how they made their way into his inventory.[2]

---

[1] Providing a brief history of printers' ornaments and their development is beyond the scope of this thesis. Studies on decorative elements in printing are abundant and some of the finer examples are as follows: S. Morison and F. Meynell, 'Printers' Flowers and Arabesques', *Fleuron* 1 (1923), 1-44; P.J. Smith, 'Initial Letters in the Printed Book', *Fleuron* 1 (1923), 61-92; S. Morison, 'On the Typographical Ornaments of Granjon, Fournier and Weiss', in H. Reichner (ed.), *E.R. Weiss zum fünfzigsten Geburtstage* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1925); idem, *On Decoration in Printing* (Birmingham: Birmingham School of Printing, 1929); F. Warde, *Printers Ornaments* (London: Lanston Monotype Corporation., 1928); E. Offner, *The Granjon arabesque* (Northampton, MA: Rosemary Press, 1969); J. Ryder, *Flowers and Flourishes, Including a newly annotated edition of* A Suite of Fleurons (London: The Bodley Head, 1976). Several online databases for printers' ornaments are available, including 'Fleuron' at: http://dbserv1-bcu.unil.ch/ornements/scripts/index.html (accessed on 27 February 2013); 'Passe-Partout' at: http://www3.unil.ch/BCUTodai /app/todaiGetIntro.do?uri=todaiInfo&page=tod_aiLogo.html (accessed 27 February 2013); and more specifically 'A digital catalogue of watermarks and type ornaments used by William Stansby' at: http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/gants/ (accessed on 13 April 2010).

[2] **STC** (Short Title Catalogue) numbers are given to identify the editions. Metaxas's publications are identified by Legrand numbers followed by **STC** numbers, when extant. This is deliberate since some of the Metaxas's London publications did not enter the STC, as they were previously thought to have been printed in Constantinople. Woodcut ornament references are made by page numbers in the case of Metaxas's printed editions due to irregularities in his gathering sequences. In all other instances, references are made to gathering numbers. McKerrow numbers or any other identifying reference available is provided for ornaments where possible. The information gathered by Evro Layton and Julian Roberts pertaining to initials and ornaments has been collated and further examples are listed in an attempt to portray the intricacies of early

*Legrand 144*/ STC 15083

    α.  [Headpiece no. 1] ΤΟΥ |ΣΟΦΩΤΆΤΟΥ |ΚΥΡΙΟΥ |ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ |ΤΟΥ |ΚΟΡΥΔΑΛΕΩΣ, ΠΕΡΙ| ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΙΚΩΝ |τύπων |[Printer's device no.1] |LONDINI: Ex Officina G. S. Typographi. |cl ɔlɔxxv.

    β.  [Headpiece no. 6] ΤΟΥ| ΣΟΦΩΤΆΤΟΥ| ΚΥΡΙΟΥ |ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ| ΚΟΡΥΔΑΛΕΩΣ. |Τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, τοῦ ὕστερον διὰ τοῦ Θείου καὶ μοναχικοῦ| σχήματος Θεοδοσίου μετονομασθέντος, | Ἔκθεσις περὶ Ῥητορικῆς. | [Printer's device no.1] | LONDINI: Ex Officina W. S. Typographi. |cl ɔlɔ xxv.

Physical description: A-M⁸; [10], 1-189, [1] p.; 8⁰.

Copy from University of Crete


**Fig. 1 – Printer's device no. 1 [34 x 34 mm], unnumbered title-page; p. 127**
Emblematic device of a man with wings on one wrist reaching divine wisdom, and in the other hand holding a girdle book (McKerrow no. 393). The motto reads 'Mollia cum duris' meaning 'the soft with the hard', quoted from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (I.20). Used by William Stansby between 1619 and 1632 (STC 4936, STC 17089). Also by John Bill in 1624 (STC 167, passed to Richard Bishop in 1640.



---

modern printing and practices such as borrowing between printers, false imprints, pirate editions, secret presses and clandestine book production. **Legrand** = E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs an XVIIe Siècle* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894-1903); **STC** = *Short-title catalogue of books printed in England 1475-1640* (London :British Library, 1976-91) ; **ESTC =** English Short Title Catalogue accessible at: http://estc.bl.uk /F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc; **McKerrow =** R.B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland 1485-1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1913). See also K. Staikos, *Εκδοτικά Τυπογραφικά Σήματα Βιβλίων του Ελληνικού Κόσμου, 1494-1821* (Athens: Εκδόσεις Ἄτων, 2009), pp. 96-7. It should be noted that none of the initials used by Metaxas are to be found in Christopher Plantin's inventory compiled by S. Harvard, *Ornamental Initials: The Woodcut Initials of Christopher Plantin* (New York: The American Friends of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, 1974).

**Fig. 2 – Headpiece no.1 [26x85 mm], title-page**

Intricate design with floral elements: a crowned Scottish thistle on left hand-side, a plumed Tudor rose on the right hand-side and a *fleur-de-lis* in the middle sided by a rose and a thistle. The same ornament was used in Legrand 102/STC 635 also attributed to W. Stansby.



**Fig. 3 – Headpiece no.2 [3 x 74 mm], unnumbered insert for dedication, p.118 (mis-numbered page, should read 108)**

Fleuron consisting of fourteen blocks [3 x 5 mm each].



**Fig. 4 – Headpiece no.3 [13 x 74 mm], pp.1, 129**

Decoration with a Medusa head and serpents in the middle, and two sets of cornucopias abundant with fruit on both sides. Also used in Legrand 132/ STC 637. [3] The headpiece was in regular use at Stansby's house since 1610 (STC 18640a, STC 7220). First appeared in Thomas Thomas in 1586 (STC 5115), also used by Abell Jeffes in 1591 (STC 6859, L8v).



**Fig. 5 – Headpiece no.4 [5 x 78 mm], pp.60, 98**

Foliated border with birds.



---

[3] Described in R. Bowes, *Biographical Notes on the University Printers from the Commencement of Printing in Cambridge to the Present Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1886), p. 337. The first instance known is *Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith* (printed by Thomas Thomas, printer to the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, 1586).

**Fig. 6 – Headpiece no.5 [6 x 70 mm], p.68**

Fleuron consisting of twelve foliated blocks [6 x 11 mm each]. Originally engraved by Robert Granjon in 1566. Was in use by J. Barnes at Oxford in 1585 and preserved at the Oxford University Press (matrices nos 30-33). [4]

**Fig. 7 – Headpiece no.6 [18 x 72 mm], p.127**

Woodcut depicting three satyrs in a rustic setting. Also used in Legrand 102/ STC 635 and Legrand 132/STC 637. This piece had entered Stansby's stock by 1604 and was employed for STC nos 13248, 12649a, 18640a, 7333, 7220 throughout his career.[5]

**Fig. 8 – Tailpiece no.1 [30 x 57 mm], p.189**

End-piece with a satyr and two cornucopias. Also used in Legrand 132/STC 637.

---

[4] See Morison and Meynell, 'Printers' Flowers and Arabesques', p. 40; Morison, *John Fell*, p. 185; H.D.L. Vervliet, *Vine Leaf Ornaments in Renaissance Typography* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2012), p. 27.

[5] It was also found in books printed by Eliot's Court Press: see Plomer, 'Eliot's Court Press', p. 198.

**Fig. 9 – Initial T [22 x 22 mm], p.1**

Part of an alphabet with a stock pattern supplied to many printers. Entered Stansby's inventory in 1604. Also used by E. Griffin in 1618 (STC 245, $G_1^r$, $I_3^v$, $Ff_6^v$)

**Fig. 10 – Initial T$_2$ [12 x 11 mm], unnumbered insert for dedication, p. 60, 155**

**Fig. 11– Initial E [14 x 14 mm], p.68, 142, 182**

**Fig. 12 – Initial K [13 x 13 mm], p.78**

**Fig. 13 – Initial A [13 x 13 mm], p.129**

**Fig. 14 – Initial T$_3$ [10 x 10 mm], p.150**

**Fig. 15 – Initial M [13 x 13 mm], p.153**



**Fig. 16 –** Various upper-case letters used as initials:



Variant dedication  in the Bodleian copy has:

**Fig. 17 – Headpiece no.7 [4 x 76 mm], unnumbered insert for dedication**

Subtle border decoration with four foliated and dotted pieces curled at each end. Note the crack on left hand-side top corner. The same border was used in a book written by Angelos (Legrand 102/STC 635) in an inverted position, thus rendering the crack on the right hand-side bottom corner.



**Initial M [13 x 13 mm] re-occurs**

Legrand 167/ STC 12343.5

α. ΤΟΥ | ἘΝ ἉΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ | ΗΜΩΝ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ἈΡΧΙ- | επισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης λόγοι ἀπο- | δεικτικοί δύο. [Printer's device no. 2] Χριστός μοι μόνος εἴη δόξα κ(αὶ) νίκη

A⁴, A⁴-O⁴; [8], 1-112; 4ᵒ .

β. ΓΕΩΡΓΊΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΑ- | ΡΊΟΥ ΤΌ ΣΎΝΤΑΓΜΑ: | Ἐπιγραφόμενον, | Ὀρθοδόξου Καταφύγιον. | Τοῦ ὕστερον γενομένου Γεναδίου Μοναχοῦ. τμῆμα πρῶ- | τον. περὶ τῶν αἰτίων τοῦ σχίσματος κατ' ἐπιδρομήν. καὶ | ὅτι τὰ κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὴν τρίτην σύνοδον, σαφής ἀπο- | δειξις, τοῦ γραικοὺς ὀρθῶς | φρονεῖν. | [Printer's device no. 2] | Χάριν παράσχου Χριστέ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πόνοις. | Θεοῦ διδόντος, οὐδὲν ἰσχύει φθόνος, | Καὶ μή διδόντος, οὐδὲν ἰσχύει πόνος.

A⁴-D⁴,Iii⁴-Iiiiii², E⁴-Z⁴, Aa⁴-Oo⁴;  [2], 1-192 ; 4ᵒ .

γ. ΜΑΞΊΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡ- | ΓΟΥΝΊΟΥ Ταπεινοῦ Κυθήρων ἐπισκόπου | ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΣ. | Τὰ πρόσωπα, | ΓΡΑΙΚΌΣ κ(αὶ) ΛΑΤΙΝΟΣ, (ἤτοι) ὈΡΘΌ- | ΔΟΞΟΣ κ(αὶ) ΛΑΤΙΝΟΣ. | Παῦλος πρὸς Ἐφεσίους, δ. 25. | Ἀποθέμενοι τὸ ψεῦδος λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν  ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλήσιον | αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλων  μέλη. [Printer's device no. 2]

A⁴-K³; [4], 1-75  ; 4ᵒ .

Copy from Adrianople Greek Seminary


**Fig. 18 – Printer's device no. 2 [87 x 66 mm], title-pages of all three tracts**

An anchor with foliage with the motto 'Floreat in aeternum' (McKerrow no. 423). First known use is in Legrand 167 by Metaxas. Appears again in *Epitome Lexici Hebraici, Syriaci etc.* (STC 21817.5 and STC 21817.3) printed by William Jones in 1635.

**Fig. 19 – Headpiece no.8 [20x96 mm], Tract $\alpha$, A$_2$; Tract $\gamma$, A$_2$**

Ornament with a lion-head and two cherubs. Entered William Jones' stock in 1618 (STC 15553, A$_2^r$; STC 14656, A$_2^r$). Used regularly between until 1631 (STC 5663, A$_2^r$; STC 11982.5, A$_3^r$; STC 20209, ¶2r; STC 10713.5, A$_1^r$; STC 17221, A$_1^v$; STC 23073, q$_2^r$; STC 14715, A$_3^r$; STC 18692, A$_2^r$).

**Fig. 20 – Headpiece no.9 [18x105 mm], Tract $\alpha$, p. 1**

Fleuron consisting of fifty-four foliated blocks [6 x 11 mm each]. See Headpiece no.5 above. W. Jones repeatedly used this fleuron between 1618 and 1637.

**Fig. 21 – Headpiece no. 10 [7x 110mm], Tract $\alpha$, p.47, p. 200**

Simple fleuron consisting of 22 pieces [7x10mm each]. W. Jones repeatedly used this fleuron between 1618 and 1637.

**Fig. 22 – Headpiece no. 11 [20x110 mm], Tract $\beta$, p.1; a variant in Tract $\gamma$, p. 6**

Mismatched fleuron consisting of various sets arranged together.

**Fig. 23 – Headpiece no. 12 [8x 110mm], Tract $\beta$, Iiiii$_4$, p.84**

Simple fleuron consisting of 17 blocks. W. Jones repeatedly used this fleuron between 1618 and 1637.

**Fig. 24 – Headpiece no. 13 [ 11x110 mm], Tract $\beta$, p.31**

Mismatched fleuron flanked by curly brackets.

**Fig. 25 – Headpiece no. 14 [12 x110 mm], Tract β, p.241, variant arrangement in p.292**

Fleuron consisting of thirty-eight foliated blocks [6 x 11 mm each]. See Headpiece no. 5 above.

**Fig. 26 – Headpiece no. 15 [18 x110 mm], Tract γ, p. 7**

Mismatched fleurons.

**Fig. 27 – Headpiece no. 16 [15 x107 mm], Errata, A**

Fleuron consisting of thirty-four pieces measuring 6x6mm each. This ornament belonged to the Eliot's Court Press and appears again in Legrand 168.

**Fig. 28 – Tailpiece no.2 [35x54mm], Tract γ, p.6**

An arabesque unit used by W. Jones in 1620 (STC 3370, Title-page; STC 10559, H$_1$$^r$; STC 20398, f$_6$$^r$), in 1621 (STC 244, Title-page; STC 11982.5, Title-page), in 1622 (STC 6195, A$_4$$^r$, F$_4$$^r$; STC 14717.5, A$_4$$^r$; STC 22793, A$_4$$^v$), in 1625 (STC 13240, B$_3$$^r$), in 1628 (STC 24820, C$_8$$^v$; D$_8$$^v$).

**Fig. 29 – Initial E$_2$ [32x32 mm], Tract $\alpha$, A$_2$**

Initial from a common set supplied to many printers. Used by W. Jones in 1621 (STC 246, A$_1$$^r$). Previously used by H. Bynneman in 1581 (STC 15254, D$_8$$^r$; STC 20054, Aii$^r$, B$_4$$^v$), G. Bishop in 1591 (STC 13629, F$_4$$^v$) and 1599 (STC 20055, A$_2$$^r$, B$_4$$^v$); R Field in 1592 (STC 20054.7, B$_4$$^v$), R. Blower in 1615 (STC 17622, E$_3$$^v$; STC 6037, Vii$^v$), etc. Metaxas used the same initial in Legrand 143 and eventually took this initial with him to Constantinople to use in Legrand 166.

**Fig. 30 – Initial Π$_1$ [28x28 mm], Tract $\alpha$, p.1**

Initial Π with a lute design belonged to a set of Greek block letters. W. Jones is the only London printer known to hold this piece in his stock, and he used the initial in the bilingual edition of Euclid's *Elements* in 1620 (STC 10559, H$_1$$^v$). The block was completely forgotten until Metaxas purchased and added this initial to his inventory. Also appears in Legrand 143.

**Fig. 31 – Initial Ω [22x22 mm], Tract $\alpha$, p.47**

Historiated initial Ω with a woman's head belonged to a set of Greek block letters. I have been unable to trace the earlier uses of this initial, but Metaxas eventually added this particular Ω to his inventory to use again in Constantinople for Legrand 166.

**Fig. 32 – Initial T$_4$ [29x29 mm], Tract β, p.1**

Floriated initial. Used by W. Jones regularly between 1623 and 1631(STC 17221, A$_2^r$; STC 13240, A$_3^r$; STC 14747, A$_2^r$; STC 3837, A$_2^r$, B$_1^r$; STC 1571, A$_2^r$; STC 4155, A$_1^r$; STC 1926, H$_2^r$; STC 18692, G$_1^r$; STC 23505, B$_1^r$).



**Fig. 33 – Initial O [26x26mm], Tract β, Iiiiii$_4$, p.200**

Initial O with a potted plant. Used by R. Blower in 1610 (STC 25989, C$_8^r$, D$_5^v$), W. Jones in 1625 (STC 5658, B$_1^r$), in 1629 (STC 1926, q$_{10}^r$; STC 12641, C$_3^r$).



**Fig. 34 – Initial T$_5$ [22x22 mm], Tract β, p.31, p.241**

Initial T$_5$ first appeared in J. Bill's stock in 1614 (STC 5604, S$_2^r$). Supplied to a number of printers, this initial was regularly used by William Jones between 1621 and 1630(STC 244, A$_4^r$), in 1624 (STC 20946.4, A$_3^r$), in 1625 (STC 10601.9, A$_2^r$; STC 17144, A$_2^r$; STC 22398, B$_1^r$), in 1626 (STC 10602, A$_2^r$), in 1629 (STC 1926, E$_2^r$, F$_2^r$, I$_1^r$, K$_2^r$; STC 20253, I$_2^r$; STC 20209, Bb8v, Ff$_2^v$; STC 7101, B$_1^r$). It was also in use by J. Haviland between 1625 and 1631 (STC 1148, E$_4^v$, Q$_2^r$; STC 3916, O$_1^v$; STC 12637, Y6r; STC 23753, A$_4^r$; STC 1149, Q$_2^r$; STC 11954, A$_3^r$).



**Fig. 35 – Initial H [34x34 mm], Tract γ, A$_2$**

First use by J. Barnes in 1613 (STC 1861, Gg$_2^v$). Used by W. Jones regularly between 1617 and 1628 (STC 6286, A4r; STC 3370, A1r, STC 20102, P$_3^r$), in 1631 (STC 23505, A$_2^r$).

**Fig. 36 – Initial Δ [28x28 mm], Tract γ, p. 7**

Greek initial of unknown provenance.



**Fig. 37 – Initial A₂ [13x13 mm], Errata, A**

Small initial A used for the errata page printed separately. First used by G. Purslowe in 1620 (STC 16879, H$_5$.$^v$), and by J. Haviland between 1622 and 1628 (STC 3452, Oooo$_3$$^r$; STC 24033, E$_2$$^r$; 12637, C$_6$$^r$).



Various upper-case letters used as initials:

Legrand 168/ STC 12343.5

α. [Headpiece no. 17] ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ| ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΜΕΛΕΤΙΟΥ| Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Λιβύης, Πεντα- |πόλεως, Αἰθιωπίας, κ(αὶ) πάσης|γῆς Αἰγύπτου· |ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΠΑ |ὡς ἔν εἴδει ἐπιστολῶν [Headpiece no. 18]

A- E²; [2], 1-34; 4º

β. [Headpiece no. 17] ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ |ΚΟΡΕΣΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΙΟΥ| Διάλεξις μετά τινος τῶν Φράρων

A- B¹; 1-9 [1]; 4º

γ. [Headpiece no. 20] ΝΕΙΛΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙ- | ΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ | ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΔΥΟ. |Τὸ πρῶτον περὶ τῶν αἰτίων τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διαστάσεως. |Τὸ δεύτερον περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάπα./ [Headpiece no. 21] ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΥ|ΒΑΡΛΑΑΜ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ |τοῦ πάπα ἀρχῆς.

A- E⁴; 1-40; 4º

δ. [Headpiece no. 17] ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΗΡΟΥ |ΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΜΟΝΟΜΒΑΣΙΑΣ, ΤΑΠΕΙΝΟΥ |μητροπολίτου φιλαδελφίας, Ἔκθεσις κατὰ των ἀμαθῶς λε- |γόντων καὶ παρανόμως διδασκόντων, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλη-|σίας γνήσιοι καὶ ὀρθόδοξοι παῖδες ἐσμὲν σχηματικῶν παρὰ |τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθόλου Ἐκκλησίας:

A- G²; 1-52; 4º

ε. [Headpiece no. 19] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ |ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΙΑΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ |β. διαφορᾶς, τὴν ὁποῖαν ἔχει ἡ Ἀνατολικὴ Ἐκκλη- |σία μὲ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν· ἤγουν περὶ |τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάπα.

B-H⁴, A⁴; 1-56, [8]; 4º

Copy from Adrianople Greek Seminary


**Fig. 38 – Headpiece no.17 [28x101 mm], Tract α, Title-page; Tract β, p.1**

Decorative woodcut with a boy's head and three fish in the middle, flanked by two dragon heads, two squirrels and two cherubs on each side. First instance recorded in J. Norton [M. Bradwood] 1610 (STC 12346, ¶2ʳ, A1ʳ, a1ʳ). Used by R. Blower in 1615 (STC 17622, A4ʳ, B1ʳ, D2ʳ, Uu1ᵛ, Aaa4ᵛ, Ggg6ʳ); E. Griffin in 1619 (STC 766, Ii2ʳ); by Eliot's Court Press in 1620 (STC 12029, A2ʳ, B1ʳ); by J. Haviland in 1622 (STC 3452, G1ʳ, Qq1ʳ, Www3ʳ, Llll1ʳ), 1624 (STC 25381, B1ʳ, M5ʳ) and in 1627 (STC 17731, B1ʳ); by Miles Flesher in 1628 (STC 15037, D2ʳ), and by J. Haviland again in 1629 (STC 1861, A2ʳ).

**Fig. 39 – Headpiece no.18 [25x91 mm], Tract $\alpha$, Title-page**

Decorative woodcut with an urn overflowing with flowers and four birds perching on the branches. Used by Felix Kingston in 1612 (STC 7691.6, A$_2$$^r$, B1r, D$_1$$^r$, M$_1$$^r$); by W. Jones in 1619 (STC 22186, A$_2$$^r$) and in 1620 (STC 382.5, A$_6$$^r$); by J. Bill in 1625 (STC 9245, A$_2$$^r$), by Eliot's Court Press in 1626 (STC 10737, C$_1$$^r$), by J. Haviland in 1627 (STC 17731, P$_3$$^r$; STC 23753, C$_4$$^v$), in 1629 (STC 11204, A$_3$$^r$), in 1631 (STC 13047.5, B$_1$$^r$), in 1636 (STC 4196, ¶$_2$$^r$).



**Fig. 40 – Headpiece no.19 [30x100mm], Tract $\alpha$, p.1**

Decorative piece with a goat's head, two squirrels and two dragon heads in a floriated design. Used by Robert Barker in 1610 (STC 16495, A$_2$$^r$); by John Norton in 1610 (STC 4637, A$_1$$^r$); by J. Battersbie in 1615 (STC 45137, M$_7$$^r$); by Felix Kingston in 1621 (STC 23441, A$_2$$^r$, P$_5$$^v$); by J. Haviland in 1627 (STC 23753, B$_1$$^r$) and in 1629 (STC 1161, $\pi_2$$^r$, r$_1$$^r$; STC 1861, B$_1$$^r$), in 1630 (STC 9252, F$_3$$^v$). The headpiece finally ended up in the hands of A. Griffin in 1637 (STC 23740, A$_2$$^r$).



**Fig. 41 – Headpiece no.20 [14x107mm], Tract $\gamma$, p.1**

Multi-piece decorative element.



**Headpiece no. 16 [15 x107 mm] re-occurs, Tract $\gamma$, p.20, 22, 31**

**Fig. 42 – Tail-piece no.3 [5x109mm], Tract β, p.9**

Multi-piece border used as a tailpiece. Two rows of blocks [5x10mm each] with a B in the middle. Recurs in Tract γ, p.18 as a single border.
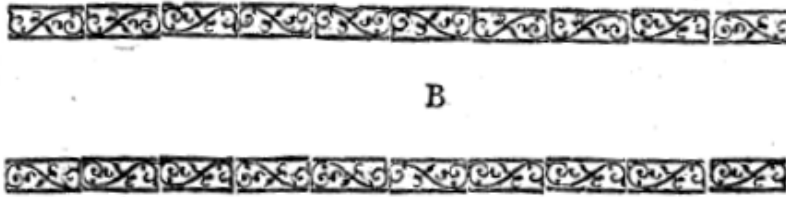
**Fig. 43 – Initial T₆ [30x30mm], Tract α, p.1**

Floriated design first used by J. Bill in 1614 (STC 5604, B$_6^v$, R$_4^v$, Dd$_4^r$, Ff$_4^v$), passed to E. Griffin in 1616-1618 (STC 20776, A$_4^r$; STC 245, T1r, Mm1v, Nn6r), then to J. Haviland.  He used the initial in 1626 (STC 11952, A$_2^r$), in 1627 (STC 17731, a$_6^r$, C$_4^r$, F$_8^r$, K$_4^r$, M$_3^v$, P$_3^v$, R$_6^v$; STC 23753, C$_4^v$), in 1628 (STC 11953, A$_2^r$).

**Fig. 44 – Initial A₃ [26x26mm], Tract α, p.10**

First used by G. Bishop and J. Norton in 1610 (STC 4509, K$_4^r$), then by J. Haviland in 1622 (STC 12748, F$_8^r$, N$_6^r$; STC 12119, B$_1^r$, Z$_7^r$) and in 1625 (STC 1148, S$_4^r$, Ff$_1^v$, Ii$_4^r$; STC 3916, L$_7^r$). This initial was subsequently taken to Constantinople and appeared in Legrand 166.

**Fig. 45 – Initial Y [34x34mm], Tract α, p.18**

Used by H. Bynneman in 1581 (STC 6037, Bbbbbiii$^v$), by A. Matthewes in 1622 (STC 17332, S$_3^r$).

**Fig. 46 – Initial $M_2$ [22x22mm], Tract $\alpha$, p.28**

Used by J. Haviland between 1624-1629 (STC 11662, $O_2^r$; STC 1148, $B_3^v$; STC 14971, $B_1^r$; STC 12637, $Z_5^r$; STC 1149, $B_3^v$, $H_3^v$).

**Fig. 47 – Initial $A_4$ [31x31mm], Tract $\beta$, p.1**

Used by J. Haviland between 1623-1629 (STC 6015, $B_4^r$; STC 1147, $T_2^r$; STC 1124, $M_1^r$, $T_2^r$, $Y_3^r$).

**Fig. 48 – Initial $H_2$ [22x22mm], Tract $\gamma$, p.1**

Used by J. Haviland between 1624 and 1629 (STC 25381, M5r; STC 1148, $F_2^v$, $Ll_1^r$, $Qq_2^v$; STC 3916, $G_1^v$, $H_8^r$; STC 12637, $Z_6^r$; STC 17731, J. Haviland, 1627, $B_3^v$; STC 1149, $F_2^v$, $Ll_1^r$, $Qq_2^v$).

**Fig. 49 – Initial $\Phi$ [35x35mm], Tract $\gamma$, p.7**

Foliated Greek initial employed by H. Bynneman in 1581 (STC 6037, $Eeee_1^v$).

**Fig. 50 – Initial E$_3$ [21x21mm], Tract γ, p.18; Tract ε, p. 1**

Initial was used by J. Haviland between 1623-1625 (STC 1108, O$_2$$^v$; STC 13628, A$_1$$^r$; STC 12635, T$_2$$^r$, Hhhhh$_3$$^r$).

**Initial T$_5$ [22x22 mm], Tract γ, p.20**

Initial T$_5$ was also used in Legrand 167/ STC 12343.5, see above. W. Jones used it earlier in 1621 (STC 244, A$_4$$^r$)

**Fig. 51 – Initial O$_2$ [32x34mm], Tract γ, p.22; Tract δ, p.1**

Floriated initial supplied to many printers. First used by H. Bynneman in 1581 (STC 6037, Aaavii$^r$; STC 20054, A$_7$$^r$). Appears in R. Field in 1592 (STC 20054, A$_7$$^r$), G. Bishop in 1599 (STC 20055, A$_7$$^r$; STC 13629, E$_3$$^r$, E$_5$$^r$, Z$_8$$^r$), J. Barnes in 1613 (STC 1861, A$_1$$^r$, F$_4$$^v$), J. Bill in 1614 (STC 5604, M$_3$$^v$) and J. Haviland in 1623 (STC 5031, A$_3$$^r$).

**Fig. 52 – Initial E$_4$ [23x23mm], Tract γ, p.31**

First used by E. Griffin in 1619 (STC 766, Z$_4$$^r$). Regularly used by J. Haviland between 1623 and 1625 (STC 19621b, Nn$_2$$^v$; STC 25381, B$_7$$^v$; 12635, Bbbbb$_1$$^r$).

**Fig. 53 – Initial K$_2$ [16x16 mm], Tract ε, p.46**

Initial K with a deer, unknown origin.

**Fig. 54 – Initial Π₂ [34x34 mm], Tract ε, p.54**

Part of a commonly used Greek set. First used by H. Bynneman in 1581 (STC 6037, Dddviiiʳ), subsequently used by G. Bishop in 1590 (STC 14636, G₇ʳ, H₈ʳ, S₆ʳ), in 1591 (STC 6575.3, B₆ʳ).



**Fig. 55 – Factotum no. 1 [17x17 mm], Tract ε, p.1**

Used by in 1618 by E. Griffin (STC 245, M5r), by [Eliot's Court Press], 1621 (STC 3584, A₂ᵛ, B₄ᵛ), by J. Haviland in 1623 (STC 15184, A₆ʳ, D₁ᵛ, D₃ᵛ; STC 21199, A3r; STC 17382, A8r, E1r), [Eliot's Court Press?] in 1624 (STC 18507.348, C₂ʳ), once again by E. Griffin in 1638 (STC 17375, E6v). It is also recorded as having been used by W. Stansby.[6]



Legrand 143

[Headpiece no. 21] ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ |ΤΟΥ ΟΡΘΟΥ ΛΟ-|ΓΟΥ, ΒΕΒΑΙΩΣΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΥ- | ΜΕΝΟΝ. | [Printer's device no. 3] |ΤΥΠΩΘΕΝ ΔΙΑ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ | ἐπιμελείας τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου πρώην Μαΐνης κυρίου|ἸΕΡΕΜΙΟΥ ἐν Λωνδώνη παρὰ Ἰωάννη τῷ Ἄβιλανδ|κατὰ τὸ ᾳχκε ἔτος τῆς ἐνσάρκου τοῦ Σωτῆρος | ἡμῶν οἰκονομίας.

A-D⁴.; [1], 3-32 p.; 4⁰.
Copy from National Library of Greece

---

**Fig. 56 – Printer's device no. 3 [37x61 mm], Title-page**

The design features the coat-of-arms of England and Wales (1603-1649). There are many similar heraldic designs adorning proclamations and other royal notices, yet this particular woodcut's use was recorded in a single document: a broadsheet advertisement (STC 6901.5) for plague remedies, ascribed to Augustine Matthewes by the STC.[7] The broadsheet is datable to 1625, the year when another epidemic of the Black Death swept across London.[8] Metaxas, therefore, acquired the woodcut in or after 1625, and took it with him to Constantinople. It may seem curious that he chose to use this design as his printer's device for the books he printed in the Ottoman capital. His motivation, it seems, was political, namely to 'arm' his book visually with the royal coat-of-arms, thus placing it under the protection of the English king, against possible enemies.[9]



---

[7] R. Lemon, *Catalogue of a Collection of Broadsides in the Possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1886), no. 265; R. Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations 1485-1714* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), vol. 1, p. 169.

[8] S. Greenberg, 'Plague, the Printing Press, and Public Health in Seventeenth-Century London', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67.4 (2004), 508-527; R. J. Hackenbracht, 'The Plague of 1625-6, Apocalyptic Anticipation, and Milton's Elegy III', *Studies in Philology* 108.3 (2011), 403-438.

[9] Whether Metaxas's publishing activities in London were sanctioned by the king remains unclear, but an association with Peter Young, who would later become a partner of the King's Press, is possible.

**Fig. 57 – Headpiece no. 21 [105x14 mm], Title-page. p.17**

Floriated ornament with a winged figurehead in the middle. Used by R. Blower in 1615 (STC 17622, $E_3^V$, $G_2^V$, $T_2^V$), whose stock was transferred to A. Matthewes, who subsequently used the ornament in 1622 (STC 7230, $A_1^r$, $Y_1^r$).

**Fig. 58 – Headpiece no. 22 [95x6mm], p.20**

**Fig. 59 – Tail-piece no.3 [56x31 mm], p.15**

**Initial $E_2$ [32x32 mm] re-occurs in p.3 and 4**

See above.

**Fig. 60 – Initial $H_3$ [22x22 mm], p.5**

First used by A. Hatfield in 1607 (STC 19854a, H7r, P1r), by E. Griffin in 1620 (STC 21201, A3r), by J. Haviland in 1623-1625 (STC 21199, A5r; STC 14625, B1r).

**Initial $O_2$ [32x34mm] re-occurs in p.8**

**Initial $\Pi$ [28x28 mm] re-occurs in p.11**

**Fig. 61 – Factotum no. 2 [27x27 mm], p.17**

Legrand 166/ STC 16854.3

α.    [Headpiece no. 21] |ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩ-|ΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΩ-| ΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΠΑΠΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑ-| τριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας, τὰ νῦν δὲ οἰκουμενικοῦ Κωνσταντινουπό-|λεως ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ σύντομος πραγματεία κατὰ | Ἰουδαίων ἐν ἁπλῇ διαλέκτῳ πρὸς | Γεώργιον τὸν Πάργαν. [Printer's device no. 3] | Ἐτυπώθη ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, δαπάνη/η τε καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ | τοῦ πανοσιωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου ἐν Ἱερομονά-|χοις Κυρίου Νικοδήμου τοῦ |Μεταξᾶ.| Ἐν ἔτει α χ κ ζ.

*², A-N³; [4], 1-9,14,15,12,13,10,15,16-31,2,33-52,45,54-101; 4°.

β.    ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΩΤΑ-|ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΜΑ-|ΞΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΓΟΥΝΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ |Κηθήρων ὁμιλία τῇ πρώτῃ Κυριακῇ, τῆς μεγάλης |Τεσσαρακοστῆς.

Copy from Harvard University (α) and National Library of Greece (β).

**Printer's device no. 3 [37x61 mm], re-occurs in Tract α, Title-page**
**Headpiece no.21 [105x14 mm], re-occurs in Tract α, Title-page, p.1; Tract β, p. 1.**
**Fig. 62 – Initial T₇ [not measured], Tract α, p.*1 (page missing in National Library copy)**
First appears in G. Bishop in 1590 (STC 14636, B₇ʳ,Q₁ᵛ, V₈ᵛ), in 1599 (STC 20055, C₃ʳ, D₇ʳ, D₈ʳ). Used by A. Matthewes in 1620-1625 (STC 26041, L₃ʳ, V₃ᵛ; STC 12014, A₃ʳ; STC 17332, E₃ʳ, H₃ʳ, L₁ʳ, N₃ʳ; STC 21141, F₂ʳ; STC 17331, B₃ʳ, H₃ʳ, I₃ʳ, K₃ʳ).



**Fig. 63 – Initial I [29x29mm], Tract α, p.1**
Used by J. Norton [M. Bradwood] in 1610 (STC 12346, ¶₄ʳ), by J. Bill in 1614 (STC 5604, C₅ᵛ, D₂ᵛ, L₄ᵛ, P₁ʳ, Bb₁ʳ, Gg₅ʳ), by E. Griffin in 1618 (STC 245, ¶₂ʳ, C₁ʳ, V₅ʳ, Y₆ᵛ, Pp₂ʳ, Ss₃ᵛ)and by J. Haviland in 1622 (STC 12748, P₃ʳ; STC 12119, ¶₂ʳ, S₆ʳ, Tt₃ᵛ), in 1623 (STC 21199, B₁ʳ), in 1625 (STC 1148, D₃ᵛ, I₃ᵛ, N₄ᵛ, V₁ᵛ, Ee₂ᵛ, Hh₂ʳ, Nn₄ᵛ, Qq₂ᵛ, Rr₂ᵛ).

**Fig. 64 – Initial Y$_2$ [40x40mm], Tract β, p. 1**

Used by J. Day in 1560 (STC 19848, N$_1$$^r$). Subsequently used by Abell Jeffes in 1591 (STC 6859. B$_8$$^r$, C$_4$r, C$_5$$^v$).



**Initial Ω [22x22 mm] recurs, Tract β, p. 20**

See above.

**Initial A$_3$ [26x26mm] re-occurs, Tract β, p.38, 55, 89.**

See above.

**Initial Δ [28x28 mm] recurs, Tract β, p. 71**

See above.

**Fig. 65 – Initial T$_8$ [22x22 mm], Tract β, p. 104**

Used by W. Jones in 1624 (STC 22104, A$_6$$^r$; STC 15553.5 A$_1$$^r$). It seems as if this ornament was still in use in 1628 (STC 15554, A$_1$$^r$), but this is only another issue of STC 15553.5 dated 1624 with a new title-page. This ornament was purchased by Metaxas before 1627 and transported to Constantinople with other printing material.



**Initial O$_2$ [32x34mm] re-occurs, Tract β, p.117**

This is a framed version of the same that appears in Legrand 168, see above. The framed initial was used by R. Blower in 1610 (STC 25989, D$_3$$^r$); by W. Jones in 1622 (STC 5664, B$_1$$^r$) and in 1627 (STC 1571, q$_4$$^r$).

Legrand 144/STC 15083 is the first publication by Metaxas in London and the only volume that bears a reliable imprint. As indicated by the initials G[iulielmi] S[tansby] (and W[illiam] S[tansby] on the second title-page), the volume was printed by the celebrated London printer William Stansby, responsible for the production of many prestigious editions including Ben Jonson's *Workes* (1616) and Sir Walter Raleigh's *A History of the World* (1614). Legrand 144 is indicative of the quality of Stansby's house, with elegant ornaments used throughout the volume and the fine composition of the Greek type. A detailed survey of Stansby's ornaments is unnecessary here since the printer's device, the rarer ornaments and initials all point to Stansby; and there seems to be no doubt among scholars concerning the identity of the printer or the provenance of the edition. Metaxas's association with Stansby is further supported by the printer's link to Christopher Angelos. The title-page of Angelos' *Περὶ τῆς ἀποστασίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας* (STC 132 + STC 133), printed in 1624, bears the device of Stansby. Furthermore, despite having different imprints, all of Angelos' printed editions are attributable to Stansby due to their identical typographical features.

After Legrand 144, Metaxas published two volumes of theological tracts by Greek Orthodox authors. These two volumes do not have any imprint, yet Legrand 167 appears to be the earlier of the two for two reasons. Firstly, a preface was added to Legrand 167 heralding the publication of the tracts in Legrand 168. Secondly, the Adrianople copy of the tracts is bound together in this order with the *errata* at the end of Legrand 168. The typographical elements suggest that the two tracts were published in separate establishments, as Roberts and Layton pointed out. Both scholars attribute Legrand 167 to William Jones, since most of the ornaments match his stock, as seen above.[10] The origin of the ornaments may seem uniform, yet there is more to it than first meets the eye.

---

[10] Roberts, 'The Greek Press', p. 20; Layton, 'Nikodemos Metaxas', p. 156.

There were three stationers registered under the name William Jones in the first half of the seventeenth century.[11] The first William Jones was a publisher-bookseller, not a printer. He was freed from apprenticeship in 1587, kept his shop under the Sign of Gun in Holborn Conduit and died in 1616. The second William Jones was apprenticed to John Windet with fellow printer William Stansby and set up his own business in 1601.[12] He had his shop under the Sign of Ship, in Redcross Street, Cripplegate and specialised in mathematical books. He printed the 1620 edition of Euclid's *Elements* featuring the unique initial Π with a lute design, the same Π Metaxas took to Constantinople with him. Jones had a lucrative business and the wherewithal to support his younger son, John, in Cambridge, where he entered the university records in 1622.[13] William died in 1626 and left his business to his son of the same name, which gives us the third entry. William Jones the son took his freedom in 1621 and ran the business from 1626 until his death in 1637. In 1635, he printed Schindler's *Lexicon pentaglotton* bearing the same anchor device as Legrand 167.[14] It is highly probable that Legrand 167 was William Jones the younger's first issue and that the young man employed the anchor device to distinguish his work from his father's. This is one of the reasons why Legrand 167 is datable to 1626. It is worth noting that the new management under the son brought about a significant change in the nature of the books that came out of this press in the form of a shift from astronomical works and mathematical treatises to religious tracts, foreign language books, grammars and dictionaries. This trend was maintained until the end of William

---

[11] W.R. Parker, 'Milton, Rothwell, and Simmons', *The Library* 18.1 (1937), 96, n.3; W.E Millner, 'Printers and Stationers in the Parish of St. Giles Cripplegate 1561-1640', *Studies in Bibliography* 19 (1966), 29-30.

[12] M.H. Curtis, 'William Jones: Puritan Printer and Propagandist', *The Library* 19.1 (1964), 38-66.

[13] J. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1751*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922–27), available online at: http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/Documents/acad/enter.html (accessed on 21 June 2013).

[14] S.K. Jones, 'The History of a Hebrew Lexicon', *The Library* 5.4 (1914), 410-423.

Jones the Younger's career in 1637 and his last publication (a reprint of Schindler's *Lexicon* bearing the anchor device).

The *errata* page of Legrand 167 was printed elsewhere (Eliot's Court Press), as is evident from the different typeface employed for this section. This brings us to the question of where Legrand 168 was printed. Roberts and Layton ascribe Legrand 168 to Eliot's Court Press. The typographical evidence, however, is again not so straightforward and calls for some explanation. It is likely that Metaxas printed Legrand 168 in the premises of Eliot's Court Press in the Old Bailey. Most of the ornaments and block letters are those used by John Haviland at the time, and some others belonged to Edward Griffin and Henry Bynneman. Edward Griffin's widow Anne forged a partnership with Haviland after her husband's death in 1621. The two then entered into a larger syndicate with Robert Young and Miles Flesher to continue Eliot's Court Press, the house that acquired the printing materials of Henry Bynneman.[15]

Metaxas might have used the facilities and the premises of William Jones and John Haviland; however, the important point here is that Metaxas built up a collection of ornamental blocks and letters while doing so. There could have been more acquisitions, but the evidence for preserved impressions is derived from Legrand 143 and Legrand 166. I was able to trace all but two pieces (Initial $\Omega$ and Initial $\Delta$) he purchased in London. These transactions offer us a truly remarkable glimpse into how printing materials were traded, when they were not transferred as a whole upon the death or bankruptcy of a printer.

The woodcut letters were bought from William Jones, John Haviland and Augustine Matthewes. The most important ornament is the coat-of-arms used as the printer's device for both publications purchased from A. Matthewes. This ornament was used only once prior to its transfer. This rareness of use is a common characteristic among the blocks Metaxas purchased. Initial $\Omega$ and Initial

---

[15] H. Smith, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 115. For more information on Eliot's Court Press, see Plomer, 'The Eliot's Court Printing House'; idem, 'Eliot's Court Press'.

Δ proved impossible to find in my survey of all the registered Greek books published in London until 1630. Initial Π was used only once by W. Jones before Legrand 167. John Day's Initial $Y_2$ lay dormant until Metaxas recycled it some 35 years later. Headpiece no. 21, the only elaborate head-piece employed by Metaxas belonged to Augustine Matthewes, who used it only once in 1622. It would not be wrong to say Metaxas's preference for obsolete printing material was out of necessity rather than choice. Having paid for the costs himself and without any promise of a reimbursement for his expenses, Metaxas would have been wise to seek budget-friendly options. That is why he opted for woodcuts over engravings, since the latter were much dearer.[16] And the woodcuts he eventually purchased were long out of favour, hence cheaper.[17] W. Jones' typeface, Granjon's Great Primer measuring 114mm/20 lines with variant sorts, was used in for Legrand 167, and subsequently for Legrand 166 in Constantinople and for Legrand 143 in Cephalonia.[18] Since W. Jones never published with this particular font again after 1625, the font must have been purchased by Metaxas on or after this date.

The printing press was the most expensive item in Metaxas's shopping list. It is hard to imagine why a printer in seventeenth-century London would part with such a prized possession. In this period, England still lagged behind the Continent in terms of technical advancements in printing. The woodcuts were crude, metalwork was second quality and, most importantly, almost all materials, including typefaces and presses, were imported. Yet the Stationers' Company Records offer us a clue as to why a printer might have decided to

---

[16] For a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of either method, including costs, see K. Chow, 'Woodblock and Movable-Type Printing in Europe and China, in S. Alcorn Baron, E.N. Lindquist and E.F. Shevlin (eds), *Agent of Change: Print culture studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 176-177.

[17] For more on English illustrations in the early modern age, see A.M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut* (New York: Dover Publications, 1963); J. A. Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England: The Representation of History in Printed Books* (Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2003), esp. Chapter 2.

[18] For a discussion of typefaces in Metaxas prints, see above, pp. 128-152.

dispose of his press. The 1586 Decree of the Stationers' Company was the first attempt to limit the number of master printers in the capital and the presses in their possession. In the minutes of 1613-1615 it was clearly stated that, excepting the King's Printer, out of the 19 printers, 14 were allowed 2 presses and the rest were allowed only one. Augustine Mathewes belonged to the second group, yet he offended the law numerous times by keeping more than one press.[19] In 27 May 1623, it was ruled that the unlawful press belonging to Mathewes at Bunhill 'shall be taken down'.[20] Between this date and the summer of 1628, a number of other unlicensed presses were also 'destroyed or dismantled'. One of those printing presses made redundant, possibly Matthewes', must have come into the possession of Metaxas and been transferred to Constantinople. Acquiring a redundant press would have been much cheaper and more practical than ordering a custom-made one. Besides, under the strict rules on importation, it would have been next to impossible for Metaxas to obtain a press from the Continent, without a special permission from the Stationers' Company or the king himself.

The press was not the only asset Metaxas might have acquired from the redundant print shops of Mathewes. The printer was ordered numerous times to expel his foreign apprentices that he kept against the law. The first warning was issued on 25 September 1620, ordering Mathewes 'to discard Frances Gastonie, a foreigner'.[21] On 21 November 1622, on 18 August 1624 and in April 1627,

---

[19] This was not the only illegal activity Matthewes was engaged in. On 4 June 1621, for instance, he was fined for publishing illicit material: W.A. Jackson, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640* (London: Bibliographic Society, 1957), p. 135. See also McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press*, p. 166; L.E. Ingelhart, *Press and Speech Freedoms in the World, from Antiquity until 1998* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), pp. 47-48; C.S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 108.

[20] Jackson, *Records*, p. 159. See also P. Simpson, *Studies in Elizabethan Drama* (Folcroft, PA: Folcroft Library Editions, 1971), p. 246; McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press*, p. 166; D.F. McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices', *Studies in Bibliography*, 22 (1969), p. 56.

[21] Jackson, *Records*, p. 131.

Mathewes was ordered to discard his illegal apprentices.[22] The Dutch compositors that Nikodemos employed in Constantinople are more likely to have been workers in London's printing trade, whom he met during his stay, rather than two skilled workers who appeared out of blue in Constantinople, where printing was not yet a sustainable trade.

Another important aspect that linked Metaxas and Mathewes was the nature of their publications. During the 1620s, Mathewes predominantly published anti-Catholic books, including treatises, sermons and other polemical works attacking Roman Catholicism.[23] This common ground might have brought the two men together into a financial deal for publishing the anti-Latin MSS Metaxas had in his possession.

This chapter has attempted to reconstruct the role and the connections of the Greek printer in the world of London book production by focusing on the ornaments and other decorative elements in the volumes printed by Metaxas. The next chapter evaluates the ink and paper used in the production of these volumes.

---

[22] Jackson, *Records,* pp. 151, 169, 194.

[23] A.B. Farmer, 'John Norton and the Politics of Shakespeare's History Plays in Caroline England', in M. Straznicky (ed.), *Shakespeare's Stationers: Studies in Cultural Bibliography* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 159.

# CHAPTER 6

## Paper and Ink

The present chapter is concerned with the format, structure and materials employed by Metaxas, and investigates production methods and costs of books printed in London and in Constantinople. By studying the structure of a book, it is possible to understand the primary technical and economic considerations that went into its making, the language of its presentation, the reasons why certain decisions were made and the relationship of the item to other documents produced in the same place and era. The decisions of what type of paper was to be used and how many times a sheet was to be folded were made with an awareness of what was to be reproduced and the length of the text that needed to be accommodated, together with the type to be employed. Studying the format of a printed book is instructive, because the structure dictates the reading practice. An octavo (the chosen format for Legrand 144, a bi-partite manual of rhetoric and letter-writing) is essentially a pocket-book — a format that enables the reader to carry the item around and refer to it when necessary. On the other hand, a heavy folio would have been intended for use on a lectern; as such, it would be a non-portable item, perchance chained to a fixture. The quarto offered the best of both worlds and was therefore the default format for prose in the seventeenth century.[1]

Paper is the main material of a printed book, and therefore paper is of utmost importance for fully understanding the circumstances in which a book was produced. Such an analysis calls for a short introduction to the use of paper in the London printing trade in the period and its bibliographical value to the book historian as evidence.[2]

---

[1] See p. 191.

[2] On paper trade in London in this period see, D.L. Gants, 'Identifying and Tracking Paper Stocks in Early Modern London', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 94 (2000), pp. 531-540

Much of the paper sold in the English market until the end of the seventeenth century was imported, mainly from Normandy and Brittany.[3] Paper was sold in reams, a standard unit of measure in papermaking, containing 480 to 500 sheets.[4] In seventeenth-century London, the import trade was in the hands of six or eight merchants, a group small and powerful enough to fix prices and restrain competition. Needless to say, there was little incentive to bring prices down.[5] Paper has long been considered less important than typefaces and ornaments as bibliographical evidence.[6] This is mostly because examining printed material for watermarks is time-consuming and often unfruitful. It is all the more so for smaller formats, where watermarks are mostly invisible due to trimming, tight binding or heavy use of ink. Moreover, understandably, some libraries do not allow the pages of rare books to be held in front of a strong light source for inspection, lest the spine is damaged. Even when a watermark is found, the identifying process is rather frustrating. The book historian goes through thousands of watermarks listed by vague identifiers only to find tracings of relevant watermarks. These images have been carefully collected by scholars over the years. Charles Moïse Briquet's colossal work is the first such source that springs to mind.[7] A more relevant example for Metaxas's period is W. A.

---

[3] J. Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', in J. Barnard, D.F. McKenzie and M. Bell (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 583.

[4] Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', p. 587. Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, p. 59, notes that 480 sheets were the norm in England and Holland, whereas Italian and French mills had a standard of 500 sheets, consisting of 20 quires of 25 sheets folded in half for storage. Not all the sheets were perfect, and those that were inadequate for printing would be placed in the outer part of the packaging to protect the inner sheets.

[5] Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', p. 588.

[6] Genette, in *Paratexts*, p. 35, comments:
> [The difference in] paper is obviously less relevant to the text than a difference in typesetting, no doubt because … if the typesetting is only a materialization of the text, the paper is only an underpinning for that materialization, even further removed from the constitutive ideality of the work.

[7] C.M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*. Facsimile of the 1907 edition with supplementary material contributed by a number of scholars, ed. A. Stevenson, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968), now available online by Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (ÖAW) and Laboratoire de Médiévistique Occidentale de Paris (LAMOP) at: http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/scripts/php/BR.php (accessed on 04 July 2013).

Churchill's study of the European watermarks of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[8] Edward Heawood did a similar study for English watermarks of the same period.[9] All these studies depended on tracings of the watermarks, a method which proved to be lacking in accuracy and detail. Tracings were preferred for their practicality, as they allowed an immediate recording of any watermark encountered. In addition, they became the norm in paper studies due to the technological circumstances of the early twentieth century and the costs related to imaging. Today, backlight and X-ray imaging are the main methods available for the reproduction of paper watermarks.[10]

Another problem was the presence of more than one watermark in a single volume. That is, say, a book starting with a gathering of paper with a grape watermark, then shifting to crown, foolscap etc. According to Allan Stevenson, the scholar who essentially made the case for printing paper and its watermarks as bibliographical evidence, it was not unusual that numerous watermarks were found in early modern prints, especially in cheap and popular editions.[11] Dard Hunter notes that some fifteenth-century works contained a dozen or more watermarks in a single book.[12] William Blades confesses that he never came across a Caxton volume with a single watermark throughout. On the contrary, each Caxton volume displays an astonishing variety of watermarks, amounting to fifteen distinct marks in the first edition of the Canterbury Tales.[13] Mixed

[8] W.A. Churchill, *Watermarks in paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII centuries and their interconnection* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertberger & Co., 1935).

[9] E. Heawood, *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1950).

[10] For a comparative analysis of these two methods, see M. Staalduinen, J. Lubbe and D. Georg, 'Comparing X-ray and backlight imaging for paper structure visualization', in *Proceedings of EVA, Electronic Imaging and Visual Arts* (April, 2006), pp. 108-113. For a survey of imaging methods to reproduce watermarks, see the web page of the Literary Manuscript Analysis (LIMA) project, run by University of Warwick's Centre for the Study of the Renaissance, available online at: http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/projects/publications/lima/paper/ describing/reproduction/ (accessed on 14 July 2013).

[11] A. Stevenson, 'Watermarks are twins', *Studies in Bibliography* 4 (1951/1952), pp. 57-91.

[12] D. Hunter, *Papermarking: the History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York: Dover Publications, 1947²), p. 261.

[13] W. Blades, *The Biography and Typography of William Caxton, England's First Printer,* 2nd ed. (London and Strassburg: Trübner & Co., 1882), pp. 97-98.

watermarks began with the Gutenberg Bible, and the practice was followed until the eighteenth century.[14]

There is no decisive evidence to suggest that different qualities of paper were used for different formats, such as good quality thick paper assigned only to the folio format. On the contrary, Rastell's *Statutes*, 1527 (octavo) contains the same type of paper as Mancinus' *Myrrour of Good Maners*, 1523 (folio), though produced by different printing houses.[15] Quarto was the favourite format in the seventeenth century[16] and various qualities of paper were employed by printers to produce quarto editions. The printers would normally use paper of the same quality (though in some cases of varying quality) from different paper mills and makers to print a single volume. These would consist of leftover sheets from previous lots or paper bought in bulk from middlemen.

However, when an early modern printer secured a supply of paper (from a publisher, author or bookseller), he tended to use up that supply up before proceeding to the next bale. The result is that we find a single watermark in the gatherings of a commissioned volume or a continuous pattern of two watermarks if two presses were employed.[17]

Metaxas's printed books, on the other hand, feature a single watermark. The paper colour, texture and thickness are consistent throughout, which suggests that he bought paper from a single retailer and supplied the same make of paper to the different printers he collaborated with. The watermark visible in National Library of Greece's copy of Legrand 167, p. 107, depicts a *fleur-de-lis* encircled by a crown adorned with a smaller *fleur-de-lis* and pearls. Below the crown, the initials I.C. and two stars are seen.[18] This is a common watermark in English

---

[14] K. Dziatzko, *Gutenbergs Früheste Druckerpraxis* (Berlin: Verlag von A. Asher, 1890), pp. 41-50.

[15] E. Heawood, 'Sources of Early English Paper Supply II', *The Library* 10 (1930), p. 427.

[16] See p. 188

[17] A. Stevenson, 'Paper as Bibliographical Evidence' *The Library* 17 (1962), p. 201.

[18] The watermark was first recorded by E. Heawood, 'Papers Used in England after 1600: I. The Seventeenth Century to *c.* 1680', *The Library* 11 (1930), 271-272, fig. 13; idem, *Watermarks*, p. 87 with pl. 148, fig. 1030. Roberts, 'The Greek Press', p. 23, pointed out that the initials read 'I.G.',

books of the first half of the seventeenth century — a famous example is Shakespeare's first folio (1623).[19] The provenance is not known for certain, but its popularity in the London trade denotes French-made paper. It is well documented that English printers depended on imported paper until the end of the century, French paper having the greatest market share, larger than imports from all other countries combined.[20] There were local establishments for paper-making in England, too. Indeed, forty-one paper mills existed in England between 1601 and 1650. Twenty-three of these were within thirty miles of London and the others scattered widely across the country. [21] However, none of these mills specialised in white printing grade paper, and there is no evidence to suggest that they supplied substantially to the printing market.

It was customary for the publisher or the author to supply paper for printing. When the printer supplied the paper, he would charge the retail price per ream without any mark-up. In 1622 Cantrell Legge, a Cambridge printer, gave the following figures for paper (no indication of the size): fine paper 13*s*. 4*d*. a ream; cheap paper 8*s*. a ream.[22] Another Cambridge document quotes paper at 3*s*. 4*d*. a ream.[23] Having established that Metaxas bought French crown paper from a London merchant in the first part of the 1620s, it is possible to calculate how many reams he purchased to print all the books he produced and how much he paid for them. According to the figures derived from the contemporary records of a deal between publisher Thomas Walkley and printer John Beale for the 1620 publication of George Wither's *Works*, a ream of crown paper (sized 51x38 cm)

and ascribed the production to Jean Ganne of Normandy without, however, giving any further reference.

[19] See p. 193.

[20] Articles by E. Heawood cited in the bibliography, *passim*. See also J. Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* vol. 4, pp. 583-601.

[21] See A. H. Shorter, *Paper Making in the British Isles: An Historical and Geographical Study* (Plymouth: David & Charles Limited, 1971), p. 19; R. L. Hills, P*apermaking in Britain 1488-1988: A Short History* (London: The Athlone Press, 1988), p. 52.

[22] Lambert, 'Journeymen and Master Printers', p. 23.

[23] Lambert, 'Journeymen and Master Printers', p. 23. Figures come from the Cambridge University Archives [CUR 33.6.8.]

was priced at 4*s*. 6*d*.[24] This is confirmed by Peter Blayney's calculations for the First Folio of Shakespeare[25], which was published only three years later in 1623 and featured the very same paper Metaxas purchased.[26]

The investment Metaxas made would have greatly depended on the size of his editions. We have two reports from Constantinople pointing out that the total expenditure of Metaxas from his printing venture amounted to '7000 dollers' [*sic*].[27] 1 Dollar (Thaler) was equal to 4 shillings in the first half of the seventeenth century.[28] So, Metaxas had £1,400 to spend on all his printing equipment and supplies. I have already established that he spent around £300 for equipping his shop in Constantinople.[29] The remainder must have been allocated for paper (the biggest expense in publishing), wages of the workers (adjusted according to paper prices), and other expenses such as rent, lighting, accommodation and transport.

To calculate the number of reams bought by Metaxas, we need to establish the size of his production. The French ambassador in Constantinople, Philippe Harlay, in his letter to Philippe Béthune, dated 27 April 1628, reports that 3,000 copies of *Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* had been distributed in the city and beyond.[30] This was

---

[24] *The workes of Master George Wither, of Lincolns-Inne, Gentleman Containing satyrs. Epigrams. Eclogues. Sonnets. and poems. Whereunto is annexed a paraphrase on the Creed and the Lords prayer* (London: Printed by Iohn Beale for Thomas Walkley, and are to be sold at his shop at the Eagle and Child in Brittanes Burse, 1620). The figures are quoted in Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', p. 587.

[25] See p. 192.

[26] P. Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington, DC: Folger Library Publications, 1991), pp. 25-28.

[27] Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 762; Veniero's report, dated 4 September 1627, 'Venice - September 1627, 1-10', *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, vol. 20 (1914), pp. 348-365, available online at: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=89129 (accessed on 25 November 2010).

[28] F. Turner, 'Money and Exchange Rates in 1632', available online at: http://1632.org/1632Slush/1632money.rtf (accessed on 23 June 2013). See also '**Money and Coinage in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe', available online at:** http://www.economics.utoronto.ca/munro5/MONEYLEC.htm (accessed on 23 June 2013).

[29] See above, p. 152.

[30] Roberts, 'The Greek Press', p. 36. The fact that Metaxas's printed books reached diverse parts of the region from Moscow to Crete for use of local clergy suggests a large scale production measured in thousands.

a small tract of 108 pages, produced in Metaxas's Constantinople workshop. All the other tracts were produced or partially printed in London.

The print runs in seventeenth-century England were limited by the guild of stationers to 1,500 copies for ordinary books and 3,000 copies for textbooks, catechisms and grammars.[31] Although these rules were implemented according to the demand, they were often overlooked.[32] Moreover, Metaxas was immune to the enforcements of the Stationers' Company, since he was not a registered master printer, and his books were intended for foreign circulation. Essentially, there was no practical restriction to the number of printed copies he could print other than the size of the capital investment, which in this case depended on Metaxas's budget. Since Metaxas devoted a handsome amount of capital to his educational endeavour, we can consider Harlay's report of 3,000 copies as an accurate reference. Edition sizes have occasionally been related to the evidence of alternating skeleton formes, as discussed below. It is accepted 'as a general principle that in any book printed on a single press two sets of headlines will appear only if the book was printed in an edition large enough for composition to keep ahead of presswork'.[33]

Metaxas printed two volumes in octavo and three volumes in quarto. Had he printed 3,000 copies of each volume, he would have used up 830 reams of paper including 3% set apart for non-usable sheets, cancels and errors. At 4*s*. 6*d*. a ream, he would have spent £186 15*s*. in cash for paper.

The table below gives a breakdown of resources to produce a single copy of each edition and the total number of impressions made and reams used for an average print run of 3,000 copies.

---

[31] Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, p. 162; Lambert, 'Journeymen and Master Printers', p. 19; Tuck, 'The institutional setting', p. 28.

[32] Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, p. 162.

[33] C. Hinman, *'New Uses for Head*lines as Bibliographical Evidence', *English Institute Annual* 1941 (1942), 209; McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind', p. 13.

| Edition | Pages per copy | Sheets/ Quires per copy | Formes prepared | Total Impressions | Total reams |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Legrand 144 (8°) | 208 | 13 | 26 | 78,000 | 78 |
| Legrand 167 $\alpha$ (4°) | 120 | 15 | 30 | 90,000 | 90 |
| Legrand 167 $\beta$ (4°) | 324 | 40.5 | 82 | 246,000 | 243 |
| Legrand 167 $\gamma$ (4°) | 78 | 10 | 20 | 60,000 | 60 |
| Legrand 168 $\alpha$ (4°) | 36 | 4.5 | 10 | 30,000 | 27 |
| Legrand 168 $\beta$ (4°) | 10 | 1.25 | 2 | 6,000 | 7.5 |
| Legrand 168 $\gamma$ (4°) | 40 | 5 | 10 | 30,000 | 30 |
| Legrand 168 $\delta$ (4°) | 52 | 6.5 | 14 | 42,000 | 39 |
| Legrand 168 $\varepsilon$ (4°) | 64 | 8 | 16 | 48,000 | 48 |
| Legrand 166 $\alpha$ (4°) | 108 | 13.5 | 28 | 84,000 | 81 |
| Legrand 166 $\beta$ (4°) | 120 | 15 | 30 | 90,000 | 90 |
| Legrand 143 (8°) | 32 | 2 | 4 | 12,000 | 12 |
| TOTAL | | | | | 805.5 |

D. F. McKenzie, in his ground-breaking article 'Printers of the Mind', mused: 'productive conditions in early printing houses display an incredible variety which, if it is to be reconceived at all, demands an imaginative facility in devising hypotheses'.[34] This is exactly what I next aspire to do, namely to present bibliographical evidence and arrive at non-conclusive hypotheses in the light of our current knowledge of Metaxas's activities.

The potential productivity of a printing house is limited by presswork rather than by composition. Given an adequate supply of type, the rate of composition can be increased by hiring extra staff, but a press has a working pace determined by technical limitations. A press can either be operated by two men (full press) or just one man (half press), but the ratio of work-rates was not precisely 2:1. The single operator who had to beat the forme and pull alternately would produce somewhat fewer printed sheets than half of what the crew of two would produce over the same time.[35]

A token of 250 sheets printed on one side was considered an hour's work at full press, and these were perfected (pressed on the other side) after drying. So, the pressmen were contracted for approximately 2,500 impressions a day.[36] The weekend had not yet been invented in the seventeenth century, so a print shop would have operated six days a week (Sunday being the church day), 12 hours a day.[37] At the rate of 250 impressions per hour at the full press, the whole of Metaxas's corpus would have taken 3,312 ±3% hours, equal to 276 working days. The figure would have been more than double that amount if the press had worked at half-capacity.

The pressmen were paid 4*d.* per hour (2*d.* each), which makes the cost of a perfected ream 1*s.* 4*d*. Accordingly, the total cost of presswork would have set Metaxas back £54 10*s.* Compositors, being skilled workmen, charged double the

---

[34] D.F. McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind', p. 5.

[35] Gaskell, *A new Introduction*, pp. 130-131.

[36] Gaskell, *A new Introduction*, p. 140.

[37] Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, p. 131.

amount per hour. Assuming equal earning capacity, Keith Maslen gives the ratio between the average wages of pressmen and compositors as 3:4.[38] Cambridge printer's ledgers from the same decade show that a compositor was expected to set 1,000 ens per hour at the rate of 4*d.*[39] Working 12 hours a day, a single compositor was therefore able to set 6 quarto pages of text per day.[40] In practice, however, much less than these given figures could be achieved. The second and third best compositors at Cambridge averaged 5,600-5,700 ens daily. Considering that Metaxas's compositors had to set texts in Greek, a complex script with hundreds of ligatures, their daily averages could not have exceeded these figures. The method of calculating composition by ens requires that all fonts be converted to their pica equivalent. This can be done by dividing pica height (82mm) by the font used (x mm per 20 lines) to give the correct ratio, and then multiplying by measure (width between the margins by character count per line) and page depth (number of lines on each page) to give ens per page. I have measured the height per 20 lines of all the fonts employed by Metaxas in Part II, Chapter 4. Accordingly, we can now calculate characters per page for each edition and reach a total character count, which will help us the size and cost of composition work.

Legrand 144, a 13 sheet octavo, features an 83mm type, has an average measure of 43 characters per line and 32 lines per page, so:

$[(82/83\text{mm}) \times w43 \times d32] \times 16 \times 13 = 282{,}760$ ens

Legrand 167, a 65.5 sheet quarto, features a 114mm type, has an average measure of 51 characters per line and 31 lines per page, so:

$[(82/114) \times w51 \times d31] \times 8 \times 65.5 = 595{,}898$ ens

---

[38] K. Maslen, 'Masters and Men', *The Library*, 30.2 (1975), 93.

[39] Lambert, 'Journeymen and Master Printers', p. 24.

[40] McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind', p. 15; M. Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), p. 108.

Legrand 168, a 25.25 sheet quarto, features an 87mm type, has an average measure of 61 characters per line and 42 lines per page, so:

$$[(82/87) \times w61 \times d42] \times 8 \times 25.25 = 487{,}781$$

Legrand 166, a 28.5 sheet quarto, features a 114mm type, has an average measure of 49 characters per line and 31 lines per page, so:

$$[(82/114) \times w49 \times d31] \times 8 \times 28.5 = 249{,}116 \text{ ens}$$

Legrand 143, a 2 sheet octavo, features a 114mm type, has an average measure of 47 characters per line and 28 lines per page, so:

$$[(82/114) \times w47 \times d28] \times 16 \times 2 = 30{,}291 \text{ ens}$$

In total approximately 1,645,846 ens were set. If uninterrupted, the total composition would take a single compositor 294 days to complete. At 4$s$ a day, Metaxas's compositor expenses would have been a minimum of £58 16$s$.

It is evident from the sequence of running titles in Legrand 167 that the imposition method employed was what is known as 'work and turn'. In this operation, pages 1-4 (signatures $A_1^r$-$A_2^v$) are pressed on one side and then the sheet is perfected with the same forme, rendering p. 1 backing p. 2, p. 3 backing p. 4 and so on. Finally, the sheet is folded horizontally and cut vertically. To produce a run of 3,000 copies with this method, the pressman takes 1,500 sheets, presses them on both sides and cuts each sheet in half. We can also deduce that two skeleton formes were prepared for the second tract of Legrand 167, since there are two alternating running-titles in the beginning of the tract. Signatures $A_1$-$A_2$, $B_1$-$B_2$, $C_1$-$C_2$ and $D_1$ have the running-title 'ΓΡΕΓΟΡΊΟΥ ΤΟῦ ΣΧΟΛΑΡΊΟΥ / ΤΟ ΣΎΝΤΑΓΜΑ.', whereas signatures $A_3$-$A_4$, $B_3$-$B_4$ and $C_3$-$C_4$ have 'ΓΕΩΡΓΊΟΥ ΤΟῦ ΣΧΟΛΑΡΊΟΥ / ΤΟ ΣΎΝΤΑΓΜΑ.', the latter bearing the correct Christian name of Scholarios. The heading, which errs both in spelling and accuracy, is corrected from $D_2$ onwards. Another variation is noticeable in the insert (signatures $Iii_1^r$-$Iii_4^v$, $Iiii_1^r$-$Iiii_4^v$,…, $Iiiiii_2^v$). Here the running-titles read

ΓΕΩΡΓΊΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΑΡΊΟΥ / ΤΟ ΣΎΝΤΑΓΜΑ., with τοῦ lacking its circumflex. The compositor(s) of Legrand 167 display(s) a habit of using diacritical marks with uppercase headings, both in title-pages and in running-titles. The compositor of Legrand 168, on the other hand, omits diacritical marks altogether from uppercase letters. I had established earlier that the insert was printed at a later date. The use of a different skeleton forme from the previous two confirms the chronological gap between the production of the book and the insert, while a change in practice suggests that the insert and Legrand 168 were set by the same compositor, who was different to that/those who composed Legrand 167 Indeed, Legrand 167 is the only edition in Metaxas's corpus that makes use of diacritical marks in uppercase headings.

A similar sequence of alternating running-titles is observed in the first part of Legrand 166. An erroneous forme that reads 'ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΝ/ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ', instead of the correct forme that reads 'ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ/ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ' was used for signatures $A_3$, $G_4$, $H_4$, $I_4$, $K_4$ and $N_4$. The arrangement of signatures and the sequence of formes in Legrand 166$^α$ confirm the 'work and turn' method as the operation of choice for Metaxas. The *a priori* attribution of alternating running-titles to two compositors has long been a controversial issue among bibliographers.[41] Even so, the sequential character of sloppiness in Legrand 167 and Legrand 166 strongly suggests two compositors at work.

Then, there was the crucial task of correction that took place between composition and presswork. Correctors were educated individuals such as editors, scholars or authors, rather than skilled workmen. I assume that Metaxas undertook the role of the corrector for all of his publications, as it was customary for most master printers to do so.[42] This is why I have not listed correction costs

[41] McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind', pp. 28-32; S. Zimmerman, 'The Uses of Headlines: Peter Short's Shakespearian quartos 1 Henry IVand Richard III', *The Library* 7.3 (1985), 218-255.

[42] There were many stages of proofing from the manuscript to galley proofs and the last resort: stop-press. Legrand 167β, which was corrected by means of an *errata* list from a better manuscript that Metaxas discovered after the printing of the tract, survives in 20 copies. With that many

as a separate expense. An allowance for fixed overheads such as rent, lighting and maintenance costs (hand presses were prone to breakdown) should be added to the total sum. A second table shows the total expenses spent on Metaxas's printing venture:

| Item | Amount |
| --- | --- |
| Printing press, type and other equipment | £300 |
| Paper | £186 15*s.* |
| Labour | £113 6*s.* ± printer's mark up of 50% for relevant volumes |
| Other costs (Rent, lighting, maintenance of equipment, transport and accommodation) | £800 |
| **TOTAL** | **£1,400** |

It should be noted that these figures quoted above were subject to fluctuations. For example, a shortage of foreign imports could have led to a sharp increase in paper costs. And the production rates given reflect a maximum potential output rather than what could be practically achieved. Unless living in a 'mathematical dreamland', it was impossible to organise the work of a shop with a single press and a handful of workers so as to obtain a maximum output of 18 reams week after week — especially considering the long journey and many disruptions Metaxas's press had to suffer.

There are two likely scenarios for the working pattern of the press employed by Metaxas. If he commissioned work to printers while in London, they were likely

---

copies and such a large edition, one would usually come across instances of stop-press corrections, evidenced by book historians so often in numerous early modern prints. I have examined the British Library, Lambeth Palace, Adrianople and National Library of Greece copies, and have not found any evidence of in-progress proofing, so far. On press correctors, see A. Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (London: British Library, 2011).

to print a number of different works simultaneously, so Metaxas's texts would be composed and printed in an alternating pattern together with ongoing business. Finally, we have to work a printer's mark-up of 50% on labour costs into Metaxas's expenditure for his London prints and that is no straightforward matter. If he had purchased his own press early on —say, after the completion of Legrand 144 at Stansby's house— then this press would have been exclusively devoted to his printing activity with, again, the possibility of concurrent printing. Bearing these irregularities in mind, we should consider the calculations made above with caution and practice rigorous scepticism at all times. 'Nothing can be gained, and much may be lost, by a pretence of deriving results of scientific accuracy from data which are admittedly uncertain and incomplete' once opined the eminent bibliographer R. B. McKerrow.[43] Yet, the above exercise does serve a purpose. The aim is to offer a glimpse into the practices of the printing trade, since any early modern printer would make the same calculations and prepare a budget with similar considerations in mind before undertaking a printing job. The estimation involved the costing of production and determining the materials required.[44] Whether a printer would be able to stick to the budget or whether the final cost would be the same as forecasted is another issue. However, it is important to understand that behind every material trace on a book lies a financial relationship and human activity.

Available data shows that there is no direct correlation between the number of copies surviving and the edition size of an early printed book. Especially educational material tends not to stand the test of time due to their heavy use despite the enormous quantities pushed into the market.[45] We have telling evidence that Korydaleus' epistolary manual printed by Metaxas was used as a textbook in the Greek Islands and the Balkans until a new edition came out in

---

[43] R.B. McKerrow, *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), p. vii.
[44] McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind', p. 40.
[45] Gaskell, *A new Introduction,* pp. 162-163; McKenzie, 'Printing and Publishing 1557-1700', pp. 557-560.

1744.[46] The recorded number of copies that have survived in the region is merely two (one in Athens and one in Crete), whereas Britain boasts with ten copies. It comes as no surprise that the thousands of copies distributed as textbooks were lost (though a considerable number may remain unrecorded) when the few copies sent to English clergy as gifts remained intact centuries later. To an English audience, an epistolary manual in Attic Greek was an exotic possession, much prized but little used.

Printing ink was formed of two parts, which were manufactured separately and mixed afterwards. Varnish, made of reduced nut or linseed oil, was the liquid medium that ensured the colour stayed on paper. The black colour was obtained from lampback and ground into fine powder. The resulting mixture was dense to the point of stickiness. Ready-made ink was available in the market after the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, most printers continued to make their own.[47] When stocks ran low, the printer and his employees took a day off and gathered outside the city walls (for there was a risk of fire from the open blazes), where they set up pots and boiled oil. This outing, known as the *Wayzgoose*, took up the entire day and turned into a merry-making event with food and drinks, all catered for by the master printer. Whether the ink was bought ready-made or manufactured each morning, the pressmen would have to prepare the amount they would need for the day to ensure that the ink remained at the right consistency for printing. The temperature has an enormous influence on printing ink: the hotter the weather, the more viscous the ink must be – a point Metaxas must have kept in mind printing in Constantinople during the heat of August.[48]

---

[46] See above, p. 58.

[47] McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 20; Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, pp. 125-126.

[48] R.H. Leach and R.J. Pierce (eds), *The Printing Ink Manual* (Dordrecht: Springer, 1993), p. 3; A. Gusmano, *The Writing and Printing Inks through the Ages*, published online at: http://www.reinol.it/profiles/Book%20Gusmano/bookgusmanoEG.html (accessed on 28 July 2013); J.B. Easson, 'Ink Making and Rollers', published online at: www.bpsnet.org.uk/history/11.pdf (accessed on 28 July 2013).

The ink was first spread on a stone surface, from which it was transferred to the surface of the type by a pair of ink balls. These were leather pads 15cm. in diameter, stuffed with wool or horsehair, mounted in wooden cups and handles.[49]

There is nothing special about the ink Nikodemos used, nor any visible difference between the London and Constantinople editions in terms of ink quality or colour. The ink making methods in practice in Turkey at the time and the ingredients used were similar in appearance to those used in Europe.[50] Therefore, there is no way of knowing whether the ink was transported from England or locally produced in Constantinople without running a cyclotron analysis, which is beyond the scope, and indeed the budget, of this study.[51]

---

[49] McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 20; Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, pp. 125-126.

[50] M.A. Kağıtçı, *Historical Study of Paper Industry in Turkey* (Istanbul: Grafik Sanatlar Matbaası, 1976), pp. 24-26.

[51] Such an analysis was recently carried out for Gutenberg's 42-line Bible: R. N. Schwab, T.A. Cahill and B. Kushko, 'Cyclotron analysis of the ink in the 42-line Bible', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 77 (1983), 285-315; idem, 'New evidence on the printing of the Gutenberg Bible: The inks in the Doheny copy', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 79 (1985), 375-410; P. Needham, 'Division of copy in the Gutenberg Bible: Three glosses on the ink evidence', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 79 (1985), 411-26.

TOY
ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΥ
ΚΥΡΙΟΥ
ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ,
ΤΟΥ
ΚΟΡΥΔΑΛΕΩΣ. ΠΕΡΙ
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΙΚΩΝ
τύπων:

LONDINI
Ex Officina *G. S.* Typographi.
cIɔ Iɔ c xxv. 1625.
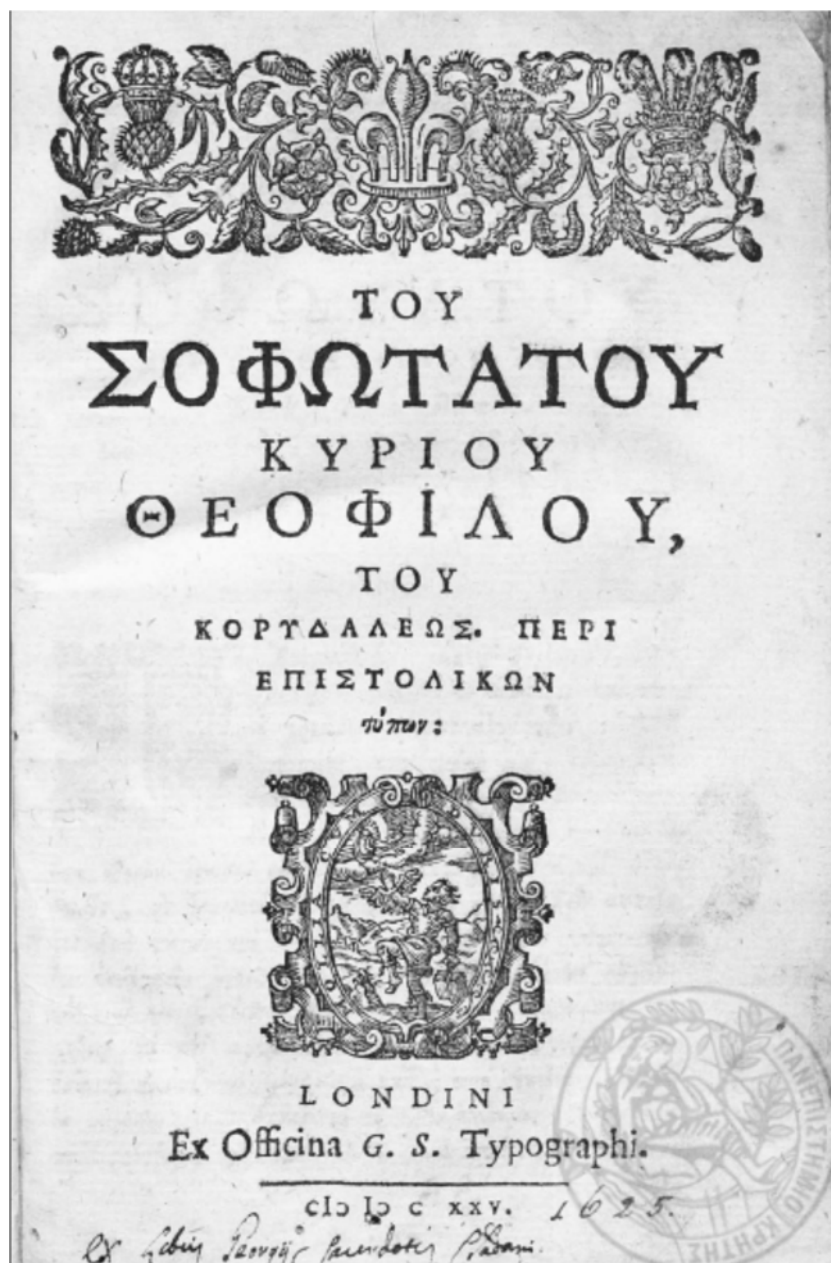
**Plate 21** – The title-page of Legrand 144, Part I. Copy from University of Crete.

# ΤΟΥ
# ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΥ
## ΚΥΡΙΟΥ
# ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ,
## ΚΟΡΥΔΑΛΛΕΟΣ.

Τ῀ε Ἀθηναίου, τ῀ε ὕτερον διὰ τ῀ε θείου καὶ μοναχικ῀ε
χήματος Θεοδοσίου μετονομαθέντος ;
Ἔκθεσις περὶ Ῥητορικῆς.

## LONDINI
Ex Officina *W.S.* Typographi.
cIↃ IↃ c xxv.

1625.
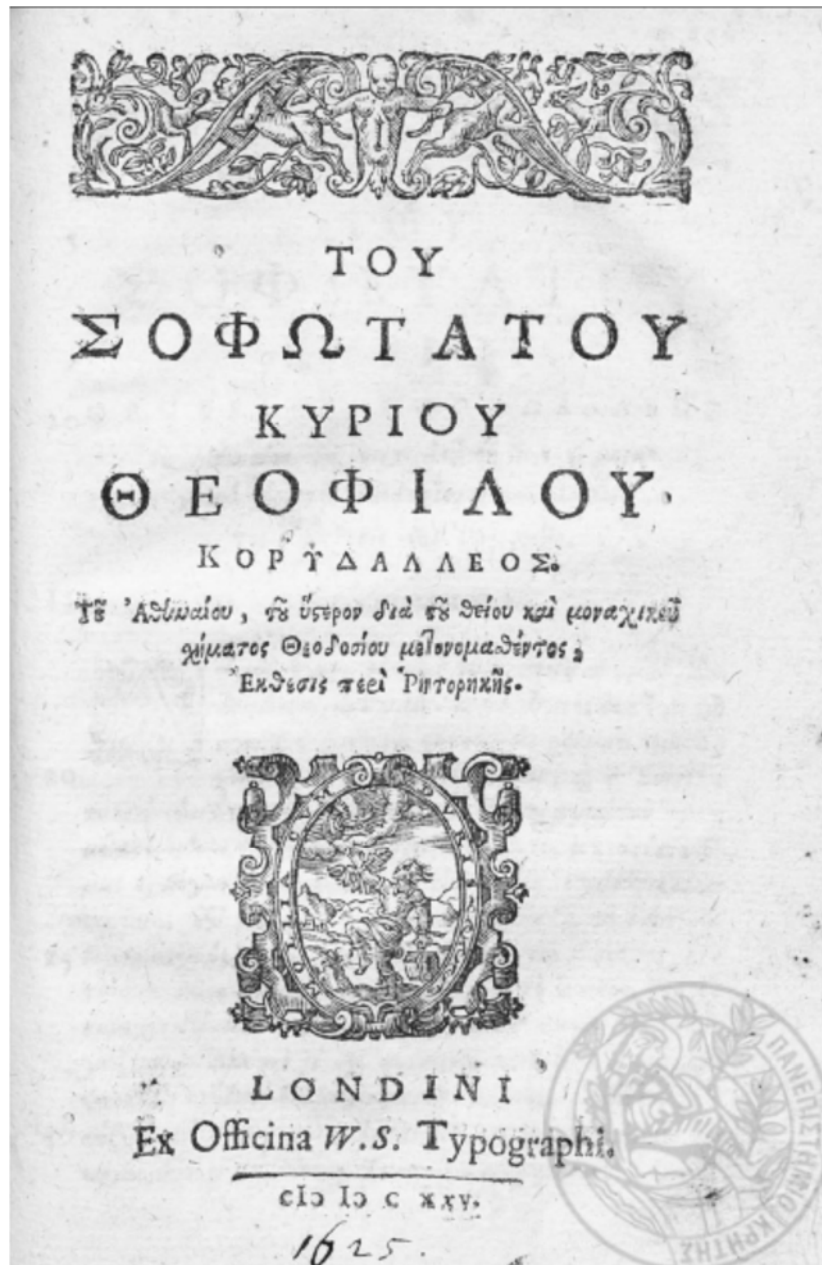


**Plate 22** – The title-page of Legrand 144, Part II. Copy from University of Crete.

**Plate 23** – The title-page of Legrand 167, Part I. Copy from The British Library.

# ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΑΡΙΟΥ ΤΟ ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑ:

ἐπιγραφόμενον,

## ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΦΥΓΙΟΝ.

Τὸ ὕστερον γραφόμενον Γεναδίω Μοναχῶ. τμῆμα πρῶ-
τον. περὶ τῶν αἰτίων τοῦ σχίσματος καὶ ἐπιδρομιῶν. καὶ
ὅτι ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ Συνόδον, σαφῆς ἀπό-
δειξις, τῶ γραικὺς ὀρθῶς
φρονεῖν.

FLOREAT IN AETERNVM

Χάριν παράσχοι Χριστὲ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πόνοις.

Θεῦ διδόντος, ὐδὲν ἰσχύή φθόνος,
Καὶ μὴ διδόντος, ὐδὲν ἰσχύή πόνος.

**Plate 24** – The title-page of Legrand 167, Part II. Copy from The British Library.

ΜΑΞΙ´ΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡ-
ΓΟΥΝΙ´ΟΥ Ταπεινῦ Κυθήρων Ἐπισκόπυ
ΔΙΑ´ΛΟΓΟΣ.

Τὰ πρόσωπα,
ΓΡΑΙΚΟ´Σ ᾧ ΛΑΤΙ˜ΝΟΣ, (ἤτοι) Ο´ΡΘΟ´.
ΔΟΞΟΣ ᾧ ΛΑΤΙ˜ΝΟΣ.

Παῦλος πρὸς Ἐφεσίυς, δ. 25.
Ἀποθέμθμοι τὸ ψεῦδος λαγεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαςος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον
αὐτῦ, ὅτι ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλων μέλη.



**Plate 25** – The title-page of Legrand 167, Part III. Copy from The British Library.

ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ
ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΜΕΛΕΤΙΟΥ
Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Λιβύης, Πεντα-
πόλεως, Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ πάσης
γῆς Αἰγύπτου·

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΠΑ
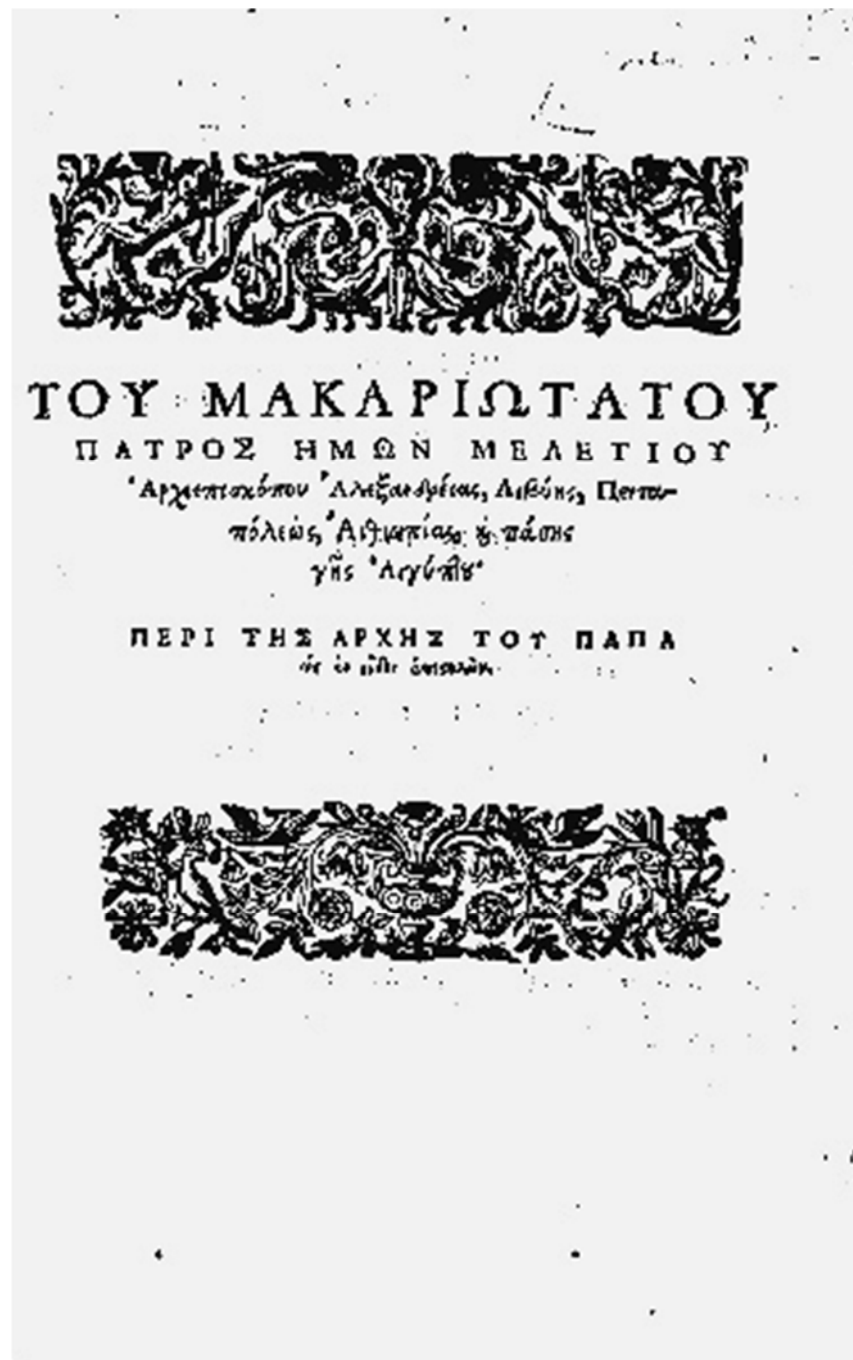
**Plate 26** – The title-page of Legrand 168, Part I. Copy from Adrianople.

**Plate 27** – The title-page of Legrand 166, Part I. Copy from Harvard University.

# ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ
## ΤΟΥ ΟΡΘΟΥ ΛΟ.
### ΓΟΥ, ΒΕΒΑΙΩΣΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΥ-
#### ΜΕΝΟΝ.

ΤΥΠΩΘΕΝ ΔΙΑ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ
ἐπιμελίας τοῦ θεοφιλεςάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ πρῴην Μαΐνης κυρίῳ
ΙΕΡΕΜΙΟΥ ἐν Λονδώνῃ πᾳδὰ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Ἀβιλαρλ
χιτὸ α χ κ ε ἔτος τῆς ἐνσάρκῳ ὖ Σωτῆρος
ἡμῶν οἰκονομίας.

**Plate 28** – The title-page of Legrand 143.
Copy from the National Library of Greece.

## Conclusions

The history of the first Greek printing press of Constantinople and its proprietor was not altogether unknown to book historians, thanks to a number of studies focusing on the printing activities of Nikodemos Metaxas, especially those by Roberts, Layton and more recently Augliera. Yet, only as a result of this study does Metaxas emerge as an accomplished editor of texts, who not only compiled and redacted texts from MSS and previous printed editions, but also prepared the paratextual material such as the forewords, letters of dedication, contents, indices, marginal references and *errata*. Metaxas was no ordinary printer and most certainly not a businessman. His motives in purchasing a press and establishing a printing house in Constantinople were mainly religious and pedagogical. Even though his printing activities involved financial transactions and exchange of money and goods, his printing venture should not be studied solely from a purely economic and typographical perspective. The thesis, therefore, is divided into two main parts dealing respectively with the historical and the bibliographical aspects of Metaxas's printing activities. The strength of this study lies in its two-pillared approach, first, the historical and textual discussion of Metaxas's activities, and second, the bibliographical analysis of his work and output, which enables us to assess his overall contribution.

Part I of the thesis places Metaxas's activities and book production in the historical, intellectual and cultural context in early modern Europe. In a climate dominated by fierce political and ecclesiastical antagonism, there were certain circles that fostered co-operation among intellectuals, including scholars and theologians mainly of Protestant and Orthodox confession, scattered over a vast geographical area spanning from Western Europe to the Levant. Reading their correspondence, one gets a glimpse of their close relation, characterised by a genuine desire to collaborate for the advance of knowledge and scholarship, in a spirit of equality and understanding, mutual respect and admiration. The

members of this intellectual network directly related to the establishment of the first Greek printing press in Constantinople were often friends and correspondents of the Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril Loukaris, such as David Höschel in Augsburg, Festus Hommius and David le Leu de Wilhem in Leiden and Conrad Rittershusius in Altdorf, who contributed a great deal to the establishment of a cordial dialogue between the two Christian confessions and at the same time, through their publishing activities, promoted Greek scholarship in Western Europe. Their link with the Levant, through a number of theologians open to a dialogue with the West, such as Loukaris, Margounios and Severus, not only advanced their spiritual, theological, scholarly and linguistic pursuits, but also their understanding of Eastern Christianity. In them Loukaris found the support, friendship and intellectual stimulation he lacked in Constantinople, and through them he gained access to the latest publications in Europe. Loukaris maintained close contact with Protestants and Reform theologians in order to obtain the necessary tools for the modernisation of the Orthodox Church, although it seems he had no intention to associate formally with any Reform movement.[1]

Loukaris also corresponded with Anglican clergymen, Archbishops Abbot and Laud among others, who supported Greek students sent to be trained in England. As is well known, seventeenth-century England was ready to accommodate a union between the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches.[2] Not only was there in English society an immense interest in Ancient Greece, its history, literature and culture, but also a great sympathy for contemporary Greeks who were suffering under their Muslim rulers. These were matched by a willingness to form an alliance with the Greek Orthodox Church, which spoke the language of the

---

[1] The 'Calvinism' of Loukaris has always remained an ambigious issue: see T.H. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination* (1952) (Aldershot, UK: Variorum, 1990), p. 154.

[2] H. Trevor-Roper, 'The Church of England and the Greek Church in the Time of Charles I' in his *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1992), pp. 83-113.

Gospels and the early Fathers, was deep rooted in tradition and, above all, hostile to the papacy. Loukaris' contacts in the West not only encouraged him to send his pupils to universities in Europe, but also to make use of the European printing presses to publish Greek texts for the benefit of his flock. In this respect, the present thesis is the first study to investigate the establishment of Metaxas's Greek press in relation to the cultural dynamics, religious antagonisms and printing practices of Western Europe and the Mediterranean in this period.

As previous scholars have established, our main protagonists —the representatives of Western powers in Constantinople, the English ambassador Sir Thomas Roe and the Dutch Republic's consul, Cornelis Haga, and their household members— exercised a major influence on the establishment of the Greek press in Constantinople. As opposed, however, to the commonly held view that Roe was Cyril's most fervent supporter in his quest to educate the Greek community, my research into his correspondence reveals Roe's real motivation in aiding the Patriarch. Roe's letters to his various contacts and patrons in England demonstrate that, contrary to the heroic portrayals of the ambassador as the protector of the Greeks, his ultimate aim was to secure MSS and artefacts for the English nobility and clergy. Actually, Roe's correspondence contains many instances of him expressing unfavourable views of, or even contempt towards, contemporary Greeks. The same applies to Cornelis Haga, who facilitated the printing of the first vernacular Greek NT and even intended to publish Cyril's entire library. My research shows that, though a fervent supporter of Loukaris, Haga was also instrumental in the patriarch's downfall – albeit unintentionally– by insisting on the publication of his allegedly Calvinistic *Confessio* in Geneva.

The textual investigation of Metaxas's corpus and other works of his circle was one of the most fruitful sections of the thesis in terms of original findings. The comparison of the text of the letters 13-14 and 16-18 in Legrand 144, with their supposed source copy, the 1602 edition of Chrysostom's *Contra Iudeos*, revealed that Metaxas's edition was not copied from this edition, as Karpozilou suggested.

A close examination of the text and the *errata* of Legrand 167, for instance, disclosed a link to the LPL MS 461, the complete and corrected copy of Scholarios' *Syntagma*, bearing his autograph notes. A detailed collation of the printed text of the Loukaris' *Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* with the three extant MSS shows that Metaxas resorted to self-censorship with regards to an anti-Muhammadan passage in the tract, simply to avoid trouble. Another autograph MS (Oxford, Bodleian MS, *Laud. gr.* 77) containing the *Exegesis* of Zacharias Gerganos, revealed the author's intention to publish his work in London under the editorship of Metaxas, a project that never materialised. So far, this MS had not been associated with Metaxas's corpus. Similarly, a close new reading of the contents of Legrand 143, a volume devoted to St Gerasimos of Cephalonia, points to a possible connection between the Metaxas family and Loukaris through his canonisation of St Gerasimos, constituting the very first act he passed in his first term as Patriarch. The establishment of the cult of St Gerasimos, which gave Cephalonia its patron saint and thus a distinct identity, and the strengthening of the diocese of Cephalonia by Loukaris through the establishment of an rchdiocese uniting Cephalonia, Zakynthos and Ithaca under Metaxas, supports this hypothesis.

It should be stressed that the texts published by Metaxas have so far been dismissed by certain modern scholars (Roberts, Layton and Augliera) as of little interest to the modern reader. A close reading of these texts, however, not only reveals compelling evidence for the history of the first Greek press in Constantinople but also offers an insight on the ecclesiastical, theological, intellectual, socio-economic and political climate in the Ottoman Empire and the Greek islands under Venetian rule in this period.

The epistolary manual and treatise on rhetoric by Korydaleus informs us about the teaching practices of Greek composition and rhetoric in this period. This bi-partite volume is the first known edition of these texts, and it was used by those who wanted to learn or teach Greek. The book was distributed in large quantities to a wide readership over an extensive geographical area spanning from Western and Eastern Europe, especially the Balkans, to Russia and the Mediterranean. It

was perused, copied and reproduced in so many diverse forms that we can argue that this book was the most influential textbook in the Greek-speaking world in this period. This volume also contributes to epistolography, a very popular genre, and indeed most necessary among members of the intellectual, diplomatic and political world. Letters 1-5 give information on the author, Korydaleus, thus enriching our knowledge about his life and works. Letters 7-9, 11-14 and 16-18 offer an invaluable source concerning the interaction between Protestant and Orthodox scholars. Letters 19-34 help us understand the intellectual world of Greek scholars in Constantinople and their daily struggles and concerns.

The religious tracts edited and published by Metaxas, on the other hand, dwell on the causes of the East-West Schism and the doctrinal differences between Roman and Eastern Christianity. These works reveal the obstacles on the way to a possible union between the two Churches from the perspective of Greek theologians, who followed the long tradition of their Byzantine predecessors. They offer an insight into the opinions of eminent scholars and theologians such as Scholarios, Margounios, Severus, Kabasilas, Pegas and Loukaris on important doctrinal, ecclesiastical and liturgical issues, including the procession of the Holy Spirit, papal primacy, purgatory and transubstantiation.[3]

In addition, the censored text of Loukaris's *Against the Jews* reveals the anxieties of the Greek subjects living in a predominantly Muslim world under the sultan. Offending their Ottoman rulers might well have led to persecution, as in the example of Christopher Angelos, the Athenian Greek who allegedly had to flee to England to escape torture and imprisonment. On the other hand, the *mufti*'s verdict on Metaxas's case confirms the universal tolerance of the Ottoman state in the sphere of religious beliefs and practice. Similarly, George Pargas' request for the composition of this manual, in the vernacular language to aid Greeks in

---

[3] See G. Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453-1821): die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens* (Munich: *C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung,* 1988); also translated into Greek, Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ θεολογία ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας, *1453-1821*, G.D. Metallenos (trans.), (Athens: Μορφωτικὸ Ἵδρυμα Ἐθνικῆς Τραπέζης, 2005).

their daily discussions with Jews, points to a strong interreligious dialogue in the Eastern Mediterranean. Letters of Pegas to the inhabitants of Greek islands, Russia and the Balkans demonstrate a desire to find a common ground in order to form an Orthodox union or brotherhood with Slavic peoples. The translation of certain volumes published by Metaxas into Slavonic by Russian scholars towards the end of the century point to a theological rapprochement between Moscow and Constantinople and reveal the substantial cultural impact these printed books made.

The paratextual material, especially in the dedications and prefaces, give substantial information concerning the circumstances of publishing such as the contributors, expenses, patrons and the intended audience. The dedicatory epistles, for instance, reveal a consistent pattern in Metaxas's choices in that he always approached locals for financial help. Legrand 144, Metaxas's first publication in London, is dedicated to John Williams, Bishop of London, while Scarlatos Vlasios, a Constantinopolitan clergyman, was honoured in Legrand 166, the first volume Metaxas printed in Constantinople. The dedicatory letter of Legrand 143, a volume possibly printed in Cephalonia, was written in 1625 and addresses Korydaleus, who was teaching there at the time.

The thesis takes into consideration the strong tradition of manuscript production and circulation that testifies to the continuity of Greek scholarship from the late Byzantine period and the Renaissance to the Greek Enlightenment of the seventeenth century. Although the main emphasis remains on the print culture, my study explores in detail, to the best of my knowledge for the first time, the links between MSS and editions produced by Metaxas and other publishers of Greek texts, bearing in mind that these two forms of transmission of texts continued to co-exist well into this period and exercised mutual influence in terms of style and content. This on-going dialogue between the written and the printed word is well demonstrated in Metaxas's case. For his editions, based on Greek codices, became themselves source copies of later MSS, which in turn followed the principles and conventions of his printed editions. This is amply

illustrated in the lists of editions of Metaxas's books and the extant MSS from which he edited the texts (Appendices II and III).

The thesis also sheds light on the history of private book collections of notable figures linked to the establishment of the Greek press in Constantinople. One of the most important discoveries is the source copies of Metaxas's editions traceable to printed books and MSS preserved in the libraries of Metrophanes Kritopoulos, George Abbot and William Laud. An examination of the original and subsequent owners of all extant copies of Metaxas's printed editions would enable us to assess these books in terms of academic and material value allowing us to enter the intellectual, psychological and spiritual world of their possessors. The list of all surviving copies of Metaxas's books in modern libraries (see below, Appendix I, pp. 259-266) is a contribution towards this direction. It would have been of great interest to study the library of Cyril Loukaris, too, if it had not been destroyed in a storm while in transit off Texel Island in the Netherlands, according to a contemporary account.

The thesis also explores the history and the geographical locale of the Patriarchate of Constantinople *vis-à-vis* its educational activities in the Patriarchal Academy. It dwells on the reorganisation of this famous Patriarchal institution under Cyril Loukaris in an attempt to rival the Jesuit College in Galata. As discussed above, the Jesuit school at the Church of St Benoit was a very successful establishment and attracted many Greek pupils to the displeasure of the Patriarch. In order to win the students back to the Academy, Loukaris invited Theophilos Korydaleus to revise and enhance the curriculum. The establishment of the Greek press in Constantinople should be perceived within this framework of educational activities in the Ottoman capital. The mass-produced output of Metaxas's Greek press was destined for students of the Constantinople Academy and other ecclesiastical schools within the Empire and beyond, where the language of instruction was primarily Greek. Abundance of teaching material and illustrious instructors gave Loukaris' Academy the edge it desperately needed over the Jesuit College. With the dissolution of the Jesuit mission in Constantinople by the

order of the sultan in 1628, Loukaris finally attained the desired influence over his flock. However, his crowning achievement, the establishment of a press at the disposal of the Patriarchate, was so short lived and his demise at the hands of the Ottomans so near that he was not to enjoy the fruits of his accomplishments for long.

This study is, to our knowledge, the first attempt to investigate how the Patriarchate gained access to printed books before and after Metaxas. Before Metaxas, the Patriarchal Academy depended mainly on MSS and books Greek scholars and visitors, including merchants, brought with them from Europe. After Metaxas, Cyril and his successors struck a few deals with European patrons. Cornelis Haga, for instance, had the 1638 New Testament published in Geneva. Similarly, Peter Mogila's 1666 *Confession* was published in Amsterdam at the instigation of Panagios Nikousios, a well-connected Constantinopolitan Greek, who secured the financial patronage of the Dutch Senate.

The historical investigation of Metaxas's life and activities in Part I of the thesis is followed by the typographical and physical examination of his printed corpus, which constitutes Part II. This section illustrates the typographical challenges he faced and his accomplishments. It investigates Metaxas's printing activities in the context of the proliferation of Greek printing and publishing in London and elsewhere in the British Isles, focusing on the development of Greek typefaces and their introduction to Britain from the Continent. It discusses the Greek typefaces purchased and used by Metaxas through an extensive survey of all typefaces produced in, or imported to, Britain in this period. This investigation is concluded with the first complete list of typefaces employed by Metaxas for his publications in London, Constantinople and Cephalonia, and their analysis in terms of size, origin and usage history.

In addition, an inquiry into the ornaments (printer's devices, initial letters, head- and tailpieces, fleurons etc.) employed by Metaxas is presented and analysed in this section, in the wider context of book production in early modern England. This list provides images of each block owned and employed by Metaxas, and

explicates previous appearances of the same material in the work of other London printers. This enables us to map the origin and uses of each specific block. In this respect the present thesis is the first study that conducts a comprehensive analysis of typefaces, ornaments, paper, printing practices and costs of Metaxas's printing house, in the light of new scholarship and the latest technological advancements in terms of archival and electronic resources.

Finally, the analysis of the typographical aspects of his work has unravelled many hitherto overlooked aspects of the day-to-day running of Metaxas's workshop. These include his chosen method of pressing and the cost of printing materials and perishables that went into the production of his editions. This last part of the thesis makes extensive use of digital images to facilitate the reader in visualising the chronological journey of each and every typographical element through various publishing houses in London.

The thesis, of course, is not without its limitations. A number of goals originally set out to achieve still remain a desideratum. Although I was able to examine at least one physical copy of each of the volumes printed by Metaxas and all electronic copies available, it has not been possible to examine all extant copies scattered around the world. If achieved, this would have possibly revealed more information on (a) corrections, addenda, inserts and instances of stop-press (through minor differences between the texts); (b) ownership (through crests in binding, signatures, *ex-libris*) and (c) reading practices (through marginalia, scholia and annotations). There are a number of MSS that I have not been able to examine, mostly deposited in libraries outside the UK and Greece. In Greece, I have not been able to examine any of the Mount Athos MSS, because of the restrictions on women visiting the monasteries of the Holy Mountain. The vast collection of Mount Athos monastic libraries have not been digitised yet, and the microfilm collection is limited in scope. Similarly, manuscript and rare book collections of the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Alexandria were not available in digitised form. Therefore, the thesis depends heavily on catalogue entries and descriptions of certain codices and rare books.

The main weakness of the study is that I have been able to provide very little documentary evidence originating from Ottoman archives. I have not been able to find or locate any Ottoman documents directly related to the establishment and closure of Metaxas's print shop in Constantinople. There is no mention of Metaxas's arrival and his printing activities, the Jesuit accusations levelled at him or his trial by the *kaymakam* and the *mufti* in any of the catalogues of Ottoman registers I examined so far. The *Mühimme* Registers no. 83 (1626-1627)[4] and no. 84 (1628-1630)[5] make no reference to the incident. The Complaints Registers (*Ahkam Defterleri*) for the Istanbul region start from the year 1742, well beyond the period that is the focus of this thesis. A selection from the Istanbul Court Registers (*İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri*) has been published electronically in 40 volumes by the Islamic Research Centre (ISAM) in 2012.[6] Unfortunately, the published volumes do not cover the period when Metaxas was resident in Constantinople. Topkapi Palace Archives were closed to researchers from the date I undertook this study until August 2013, and remain unexplored territory. Due to these limitations, the topic will benefit from further attention, especially from Ottomanists. Future research may investigate the vast collection of Ottoman documents and registers in Topkapi Palace, The Archives of the Prime Minister's Office and the Süleymaniye Library.

Another line of investigation would focus on matching the source copies of Metaxas's publications and extant Greek MSS in Greece and beyond (especially the Balkans and Russia), taking it from where this study left off and exploring further the interaction between hand-copied and printed texts in this period.

---

[4] N. Süt, *83 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri* (Unpublished Master's thesis, Elazığ: Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2000); H.O. Yıldırım, V. Atik and M. Cebecioğlu, *83 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri 1036-1037/1626-1628, Özet, Transkripsiyon, indeks ve Tıpkıbasım* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 2001).

[5] D. Kandıra, *84 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (Tahlil-Metin)* (Unpublished Master's thesis, Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1995).

[6] 'İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri' at: http://www.kadisicilleri.org/yayin.php (accessed on 1 May 2014).

Despite its limitations and the shortcomings of its author, the thesis contributes to a fuller appreciation of the personality of the protagonists and the times in which they lived. As expressed in his preface to Legrand 167, Nikodemos Metaxas and his circle of friends and supporters had an ulterior aim in publishing — that is to promote ἀλήθεια, if it is ever to be found. And they were aware that this was no light-hearted quest. Their journey was full of traps, snares and hurdles. Nikodemos risked his career, finances and even his life in order to improve Greek scholarship and the education of the Greek people. Nikodemos believed he carried a formidable responsibility: he considered himself among 'those who have been entrusted with the people's faith and many other crucial things'. He felt the weight of a nation on his shoulders, as he quoted from Homer: 'Οἷς τε λαοὶ ἐπιτετράφαται καὶ τόσσα μέμηλε' (*The Illiad*, II.25).

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## I. MANUSCRIPTS

**ALEXANDRIA**
**Patriarchal Library**
MS 368

**ARGOSTOLI**
**Γ.Α.Κ New Cephalonian Archives**
Cod. Δ (1601-1688)

**ATHENS**
**Benaki Museum**
TA 77
TA 250 (MS 93)
**National Library**
MS 449
MS 1126
MS 2211
MS *Panaghiou Taphou* 255
MS *Panaghiou Taphou* 328
MS *Panaghiou Taphou* 411
**Library of Parliament**
MS 79
MS 101

**BASEL**
**University Library**
MS A.III.02

**BUCHAREST**
**Academia Republicii Socialiste Romania**
MS 587

**CAMBRIDGE**
**Trinity College**
MS 1485

**ISTANBUL**
**Patriarchal Library**
MS *Haghia Trias* 138
MS *Panaghia* 36

**JERUSALEM**
**Patriarchal Library**
MS 91
MS 381

**LONDON**
**British Library**
MS *Add.* 19551
MS *Harley* 1803
MS *Harley* 5643
**Lambeth Palace Library**
MS LPL 461

**MADRID**
**National Library**
MS 4802

**MODENA**
**Bibliotheca Estense**
MS a.T.7.4

**MOUNT ATHOS**
**Dionysiou**
MS 138
MS 246
MS 249
MS 330
**Esphigmenou**
MS 124
MS 315
**Iveron**
MS 386
MS 600
**Koutloumousiou**
MS 210
**Lavra**
MS Θ188
MS M30
MS M69
MS Ω80
**Panteleimon**
MS 750
**Pantocrator**
MS 127

**MUNICH**
**Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
MS 583

**OXFORD**
**Bodleian Library**
MS *Barocci* 92
MS *Canonici gr*. 52
MS *Laud gr*. 87
**Lincoln College**
MS *gr*.7

**PARIS**
**Bibliothèque nationale de France**
MS *Coisl*. 100
MS *gr*. 1247
MS *gr*.1284
MS *Par. Suppl. gr*. 621
MS *Par. Suppl. gr*. 635
MS *Par. Suppl. gr*. 1310
MS *Par. Suppl. gr*. 1334

**PATMOS**
**Monastery of St John Theologos**
MS 305

**THESSALONIKI**
**University Library**
MS 96

**TREBIZOND**
**Seminary Library**
MS 23

**VATICAN CITY**
**Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana**
MS *Vat. gr*. 790

**VENICE**
**Biblioteca Marciana**
MS *Marc. gr*. app. II. 186

**VIENNA**
**Österreichische Nationalbibliothek**
MS *Vind. Suppl. gr*. 115
MS *Vind. Suppl. gr*. 124

## II.     PRIMARY SOURCES

Angelos, Christopher, *Πόνησις Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Ἀγγέλου, ἕλληνος τοῦ πολλῶν πληγῶν καὶ μαστίγων γευσαμένου ἀδίκως παρὰ τῶν Τουρκῶν διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν* (Oxford: John Lichfeild and William Wrench, 1617)

_____, *Christopher Angell, a Grecian, Who Tasted of Many Stripes and Torments Inflicted by the Turkes for the Faith which He had in Christ Iesus* (Oxford: Printed by Iohn Lichfield, and Iames Short, printers to the famous Vniversitie, 1618)

_____, *Ἐγχειρίδιον, Περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν σήμερον εὑρισκομένων Ἑλλήνων. Πόνος Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Ἀγγέλου Ἕλληνος* ([Cambridge]: Ex officina Cantrelli Legge, Academiae Cantabrigensis Typographi, M. DC. XIX [1619])

_____, *Πόνος Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Ἀγγέλου Ἕλληνος. Περὶ τῆς ἀποστασίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῆς ἁμαρτίας, δηλαδὴ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν τοῦ Δανιήλ, καὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως, οὓς οὐδεὶς ὀρθῶς μεθερμήνευσεν ἐξ οὗ προεφητεύθησαν* (ἐκδόθη ἐν λοντίνῳ: [William Stansby], αχκδ′ [1624])

Arcudius, Petrus, *Περὶ τοῦ καθαρτηρίου πυρὸς κατὰ Βαρλαάμ* (Romae: Typis & impen. Sac. Cong. de Propag. Fide, 1637)

Aymon, Jean, *Monuments authentiques de la religion des grecs et de la fausseté de plusieurs Confessions de foi des chrétiens orientaux* (The Hague: Charles Delo, 1708)

_____, *Lettres anecdotes de Cyrille Lucaris, patriarche de Constantinople, et sa confession de foi: avec des remarques* (Amsterdam: L'Honoré & Châtelain, 1718)

Barocci, Giacomo, *Indice de' libri greci antichissimi scritti a penna, che si trouano nella Libraria del Sig. Giacomo Barocci* (Venice: [s.n.], 1617)

Barlaam of Calabria, *Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Βαρλαὰμ λόγος Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάπα ἀρχῆς* (Oxoniae: Excudebat Iosephus Barnesius, 1592)

Bowtell, Simon, *England's Memorable Accidents* (London: Printed for Stephen Bowtell, 1642)

Camden, William, *Institutio Graecae grammatices compendiaria in vsum regiae scholae Westmonasteriensis: scientiarum ianitrix grammatica* (Excusum Londini: Per assignationem Johannis Battersbie, 1615)

Chrysostom, John, *D. Ioannis Chrysostomi homiliae duae, nunc primum in lucem aeditae*, 8 vols (Londini: Apud Reynerum Vuolsium in Coemiterio diui Pauli ad signum aenei serpentis, M.D.XLIII. [1543])

_____, *D. Ioannis Chrysostomi Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, homiliae sex ex manuscriptis codicibus Noui Collegij* (Oxonii: Ex officina typographica Iosephi Barnesii, Anno Domini MDXXCVI [1586])

Damascenus, John, *Τὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ ἔργα* (Basileae: Ex officina Henric Petrina, 1575)

Euclid, *Kitab tahrir [al-]usul li-Uqlidis* (Rome: Typographia Medicea, 1594)
216

Fabricii, Alberti, *Bibliothecae graecae* (Hamburgi: Sumtu Viduae Liebezeitiae et Theodori Christophori Felginer, 1721)

Fulman, William, *Notitia Oxoniensis academiae* (Londini: Typis T.R. Impensis Ric. Davis, 1675)

Galland, Antoine, *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673)*, 2 vols (Paris: E. Leroux, 1881)

Gerganos, Zacharias, Χριστιανικὴ κατήχησις εἰς δόξαν τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ Πατρός, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ τιμὴν βοήθειάν τε τῶν φιλοθέων Ῥωμαίων ἐγράφη (Ἐν τῇ Οὐιττεμβέργῃ [Wittenberg] ἐν τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου Βόρεκ Χαλκογραφίᾳ ἐτυπώθη τῷ τῆς θεανθρωπωγονίας 1622 ἔτει)

*Great Britains Wonder: or, Londons Admiration* (London: Printed by M. Haly and J. Millett, and sold by Robert Walton, at the Globe on the North-side of St. Pauls-Church, near that end towards Ludgate.  And by John Seller in the West-side of the Royal Exchange, 1684)

Howes, Edmond, and John Stow, *The Annales, or a generall Chronicle of England, begun first by maister Iohn Stow, and after him continued and augmented with matters forreyne, and domestique, auncient and moderne, unto the ende of this present yeere 1614. by Edmond Howes, Gentleman.* (Londini: impensis Thomae Adams, 1615)

*Iusta Oxoniensium* (Londini: Impensis Iohannis Bill, 1612)

Josephus, Flavius, Φλαβίου Ἰωσήπου εἰς Μακκαβαίους λόγος ἢ περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ (Oxoniae: Excudebat Iosephus Barnesius, 1590)

Kabasilas, Neilos, Νείλου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης Βιβλία δύο ([London: Eliot's Court Press, c. 1626])

_____, *Nili Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis de primatu Papae Romani libri duo* (Lugduni Batavorum: Ex Officina Plantiana, Apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1595)

Kabasilas, Neilos and Barlaam of Calabria, *De primatu Papae Romani lib. duo item Barlaam Monachi* (Hanoviae: Typis Wechelianis, apud Claudium Marnium & heredes Ioannis Aubrii, 1608)

Kallipolites, Maximos (trans.), Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Geneva: Pierre Aubert, 1638)

Korydaleus, Theophilos, Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Κυρίου Θεοφίλου τοῦ Κορυδαλέως, Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων (Londini: Ex officina G[ulielmi] S[tansby] typographi, MDCXXV [1625])

Korydaleus, Theophilos, Ἔκθεσις περὶ ῥητορικῆς τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυρίου Θεοφίλου Κορυδαλλέως τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, τοῦ ὕστερον διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος Θεοδοσίου μετονομασθέντος (Londini: Ex officina W[illiam] S[tansby] typographi, MDCXXV [1625])

Loukaris, Cyril, Τοῦ Μακαριωτάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πάπα καὶ Πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας, τά δὲ οἰκουμενικοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Κυρίλλου

σύντομος πραγματεία κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐν ἁπλῇ διαλέκτω πρὸς Γεώργιον τὸν Πάργαν ([London: N. Metaxas in J. Haviland's shop, c.1627])

_____, *The Confession of Faith, of the most Reverend Father in God Cyrill, Patriarch of Constantinople. Written at Constantinople, 1629* (London: Printed for Nicolas Bourne, 1629)

Marana, Giovanni Paolo, *The first volume of letters writ by a Turkish spy who lived five and forty years undiscovered at Paris* (London: Printed for Henry Rhodes, 1691)

Margounios, Maximos, *Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου Ταπεινοῦ Κυθήρων Ἐπισκόπου Διάλογος* ([London: N. Metaxas, c.1626])

_____, *Μάξιμου τοῦ Μαργούνιου, Κυθήρων Ἐπισκόπου, Ἐπιστολαὶ δύο, α' Περὶ τοῦ, Τίνα τρόπον ἐν τοῖς οὖσι παρακεχώρηται τὰ κακά, β' Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως* (Francofvrdi: Apud Ioannem Wechelum, MDXCI [1591])

_____, *Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου Ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων Ὕμνοι ἀνακρεόντειοι* (Augustae: Ex officina typographica Ioan. Praetorij. Anno S.N. MDCI [1601]).

Martin, Edme, *L'imposture de la pretendue confession de foy de Cyrille, patriarche de Constantinople* (A Poictiers: chez la vevfe d'Antoine Mesnier, 1629)

Mogila, Peter, *Ὀρθόδοξος ὁμολογία τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀνατολικῆς* ([Amsterdam: Joan Blaeu, 1666])

Nowell, Alexander, *Χριστιανισμοῦ Στοιχείωσις* (Londini: Apud Ioannem Dayum, 1578)

Palamas, Gregory, *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης Λόγοι ἀποδεικτικοί δύο* ([London: N. Metaxas, c. 1626])

Parr, Richard, *The Life of the most Reverend Father in God, James Usher* (London: Printed for Nathanael Ranew, 1686)

Pegas, Meletios, *Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάπα* ([London: Eliot's Court Press, ca. 1625])

Pegas, Meletios, George Koressios, Neilos Kabasilas, et al., *Verscheidene verhandelingen rakende voornamendlyk de verschillen so van ouds als nog heden ten dage swevende tusschen de oostersche kerk ende de westerschen* (Amsterdam: Johannes de Ruyter, 1726)

Richard, Simon, *Histoire critique de la creance & des coûtumes des nations du Levant* (A Francefort: chez Frederic Arnaud, MDCLXX [1684])

_____, *The Critical History of the Religions and Customs of the Eastern Nations* (London: Printed by J. Heptinstall, for Henry Faithorne and John Kersey at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-Yard, MDCLXXXV [1685])

Roe, Thomas, *The negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe, in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte, from the Year 1621 to 1628 inclusive* (London: Printed by Samuel Richarson, 1740)

Schindler, Valentin, *Schindleri lexicon pentaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum. Talmudico-Rabbinicum, et Arabicum* (Londini: Excudebat Gulielmus Iones, 1635)

Scholarios, George (Ecumenical Patriarch Gennadius II), *Γεωργίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου τὸ Σύνταγμα: Ἐπιγραφόμενον, Ὀρθοδόξου Καταφύγιον* ([London: Nikodemos Metaxas, c.1626])

Simocatta, Theophylactus, *Quæstiones physicæ nunquam antehac editæ. Eiusdem, Epistolæ morales, rusticæ, amatoriæ. Cassii Quæstiones medicæ. Iuliani imp. Cæs. Basilij, & Greg. Nazianzeni Epistolæ aliquot nunc primum editæ*; opera Bon. Vulcanii Brugensis (Lugduni Batavorum: ex officina Ioannis Patij, 1597)

Smith, Thomas, *An account of the Greek Church: as to its doctrines and rites of worship: with several historicall remarks interspersed, relating Thereunto: to which is added, an account of the state of the Greek Church, under Cyrillus Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople, with a relation of his sufferings and death* (Oxford: Printed by Miles Flesher for Richard Davis, 1680)

_____, *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario, Patriarcha Constantinopolitano* (Londini: Typis Gul. Bowyer & impensis Galfridi Wale, 1707)

Stow, John, *The Annales, or a generall Chronicle of England* (Londini: [Printed by Thomas Dawson] impensis Thomae Adams, 1615)

_____, *Annales or a generall Chronicle of England* (Londini: impensis Richardi Meighen, 1631)

Thorndike, Herbert, *Epitome lexici hebraici, syriaci, rabinici, et arabici una cum observationibus circa linguam hebream et grecam authore Harbeto Thorndicke Cantabrigiensi* (Londini: Typis Gulielmi Jones, 1635)

Twells, Leonard, *The theological works of the learned Dr. Pocock, containing his Porta Mosis, and English commentaries* (London: printed for the editor, and sold by R. Gosling, 1740)

Vitruvius (Ps.-) *Sir Thomas Gresham His Ghost: A Poem* ([London]: Printed for William Ley, 1647)

Wood, Anthony à, *Athenae Oxonienses: an exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the most ancient and famous University of Oxford* (London: Printed for Tho. Bennet, 1691-1692)

### III.  SECONDARY STUDIES

Adamson, Ian, *The Foundation and Early History of Gresham College* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1975)

Adıvar, Adnan, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1991)

Afyoncu, Erhan, 'İlk Türk Matbaasının Kurucusu Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler', *Belleten* 243 (2001), 607-622

Ahmed Rıza, *Batının Doğu Politikasının Ahlaken İflası* (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1982)

Allan, Nigel, 'A Typographical Odyssey: The 1505 Constantinople Pentateuch', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1.3 (1991), 343-352

Altuntek, N. Serpil, 'İlk Türk Matbaasının Kuruluşu ve İbrahim Müteferrika', *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 10.1 (1993), 191-204

Amram, David Werner, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (Philadelphia: Edward Stern & Co., 1909)

Arbel, Benjamin, 'Maps of the World for Ottoman Princes? Further Evidence and Questions concerning The *Mappamundo* of Hajji Ahmed', *Imago Mundi* 34 (2002), 19-22

Arber, Edward, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, 3 vols (London: [s.n.], 1875-1894)

Argyriou, Asterios, *Les exégèses grecques de l'Apocalypse à l'époque turque, 1453-1821* (Thessaloniki: Εταιρεία Μακεδονικών Σπουδών, 1982)

_____ (ed.), Zacharias Gerganos, *Ἐξήγησις εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου θεολόγου Ἀποκάλυψιν*, (Athens: Εκδόσεις Ἄρτος Ζωής, 1991)

Arı, Bülent, 'İstanbul'da *Corps Diplomatique* ve Hollanda Elçisi Haga'nın İlk Günleri', *Levant Report Series* 3 (2009), 7-15

_____, 'Early Ottoman Diplomacy: Ad Hoc Period', in Yurdusev, Nuri (ed.) *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004)

_____, 'Early Ottoman-Dutch Political and Commercial Relations after 1612 Capitulations', *Bulgarian Historical Review* 3.4 (2004), 116-144

_____, 'Early Ottoman-Dutch Relations', in Güler Eren (ed.) *The Great Ottoman-Dutch Civilization*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2000), pp. 317-324

_____, 'Ilk Osmanlı-Hollanda Münasebetleri', in Güler Eren (ed.) *Osmanlı*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), pp. 493-501

Astruc, Charles, 'Maxime Margounios et les recueils parisiens de sa correspondance (MSS du Supplément grec 621, 1310, 1334)', *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 3 (1949), 211-261

Atiyeh, George N. (ed.), *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995)

Augliera, Letterio, *Libri, politica, religione nel Levante del Seicento: La tipografia di Nicodemo Metaxas, primo editore di testi greci nell'Oriente ortodosso* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1996)

Babinger, Franz, *18. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Kitabiyat*, trans. Nedret Kuran-Burçoğlu (Istanbul: Türk Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004)

Bakalopoulos, Konstantinos A., *Φιλεκπαιδευτικός Σύλλογος Αδριανουπόλεως 1872-1996* (Thessaloniki and Athens: Εκδοτικός Οίκος Αδελφών Κυριακίδη, 1996).

Balagna Coustou, Josée, *L'imprimerie arabe en Occident: XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve & Larose, 1984)

Baker, Zachary M., *Judaica in the Slavic Realm, Slavica in the Judaic Realm: Repositories, Collections, Projects, Publications* (London: Routledge, 2003)

Barker, Nicolas, *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script and Type in the Fifteenth Century* (Sandy Hook, CT: Chiswick Book Shop Inc., 1985)

Barnard, John, D. F. McKenzie, and Maureen Bell (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4: 1557-1695 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Baysal, Jale, *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyet'e kadar Osmanlı Türklerinin Bastıkları Kitaplar*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1968)

Beck, Hans-Georg, 'Die byzantinischen Studien in Deutschland vor Karl Krumbacher', in *CALIKES: Festgabe für die Teilnehmer am XI. internationalen Byzantinistenkongreß, München 15.-20. September 1958* (Freising: F. Datterer, 1958)

Ben Naeh, Yaron, 'Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire' Gad Nasi (ed.), *Jewish Journalism and Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2001), pp. 35–82

Ben-Tov, Asaph, '*Turco-Graecia*: German Humanists and the End of Greek Antiquity', C. Norton, A. Contadini and A. Chong (eds), *Crossing Boundaries: New Perspective on Cultural Encounters in the Mediterranean before 1700* (Pittsburgh, PA: Periscope, 2009)

Berkes, Niyazi, 'İlk Türk Matbaası Kurucusunun Dinî ve Fikrî Kimliği', *Belleten* 104 (1962), 715-737

Berridge, G. R., 'Notes on the Origins of the Diplomatic Corps: Constantinople in 1620s', *Discussion Papers in Diplomacy*, 92 (May 2004), 1-20

Bessières, Marius, 'La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Saint Basile' *The Journal of Theological Studies* 21 (1919), 9-50

Beydilli, Kemal, 'Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Kitabiyat', *Toplumsal Tarih* 128 (2004), 44-52

Bidwell, John, 'French Paper in English Books' in John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4: 1557-1695 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 583-601.

Bill, Edward G., *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972)

Blades, William, *The Biography and Typography of William Caxton, England's First Printer*, 2nd ed., (London and Strasburg: Trübner & Co., 1882)

Blayney, Peter, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington, DC: Folger Library Publications, 1991)

Bloch, Joshua, 'Venetian Printers of Hebrew Books', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 36 (1932), 71-92

Bloom, Jonathan, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001)

Bokos, Georgios, *Τα πρώτα Ελληνικά Τυπογραφεία στο χώρο της "Καθ'ημάς Ανατολής", 1627-1827* (Athens: Ελληνικό Λογοτεχνικό και Ιστορικό Αρχείο, 1997)

van den Boogert, Maurits H., *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005)

Bornstein, George, and Theresa Lynn Tinkle, *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1998)

Botley, Paul, 'Renaissance Scholarship and the Athenian Calendar', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 46.4 (2006), 395-431

Bowes, Robert, *Biographical Notes on the University Printers from the Commencement of Printing in Cambridge to the Present Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1886)

_____, *A Catalogue of Books Printed at or Relating to the University, Town & County of Cambridge, from 1521 to 1893: With Bibliographical and Biographical Notes* (Cambridge: Macmillan & Bowes, 1894)

Bowman, John H., *Greek Printing Types in Britain: From the Late Eighteenth Century to the Early Twentieth Century* (Thessaloniki: Typophilia, 1998)

Briquet, Charles Moïse, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*. Facsimile of the 1907 edition with supplementary material contributed by a number of scholars, ed. Allan Stevenson, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968)

Brown, Claire, 'Greek Manuscripts' in Richard Palmer and Michelle P. Brown, *Lambeth Palace Library: Treasures from the Collection of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (London: Scala, 2010), p. 37

Brown, Claire, Julian Chrysostomides, and Charalambos Dendrinos (eds), *The Greek Manuscript Collection of Lambeth Palace Library: An Exhibition held on the occasion of*

the 21st International Byzantine Congress, London 22-23 August 2006 (Trowbridge, Wiltshire: The Cromwell Press, 2006)

Brown, Horatio F., *The Venetian Printing Press* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1891)

Brown, Michael John, 'The Life of Sir Thomas Roe 1580-1644', (PhD thesis, Emory University, 1964)

_____, *Itinerant Ambassador: The Life of Sir Thomas Roe* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1970)

Brown, Virginia, Paul O. Kristeller and Ferdinand E. Cranz, *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries 7: Annotated Lists and Guides* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1992)

Browning, Robert, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (London: Hutchinson, 1969)

Brownlee, Marina S. and Dimitri Gondicas (eds), *Renaissance Encounters: Greek East and Latin West* (Leiden: Brill, 2013)

Brummett, Palmira, *Ottoman Sea Power and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1994)

Buringh, Eltjo and Jan Luiten Van Zanden, 'Charting the "Rise of the West": Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe, A Long-Term Perspective from the Sixth through Eighteenth Centuries', *The Journal of Economic History* 69.2 (2009), 409-445

Calian, Carnegie Samuel, 'Cyril Lucaris: The Patriarch Who Failed', *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 10 (1973), 319-336

Capocci, Valentinus, *Codices Barberiniani graeci I* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1958)

Carleson, Edward, *İbrahim Müteferrika Basımevi ve Bastığı İlk Eserler* (Ankara: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği, 1979)

Carter, Harry Graham, and James Mosley, *A View of Early Typography up to about 1600* (London: Hyphen, 2002)

Casley, David, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library* (London: Printed for the author, 1734)

Cassinet, Raymonde 'L'aventure de l'édition *des Éléments* d'Euclide en arabe par la Société Typographique Médicis vers 1594', *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 78-79 (1993), 5-51.

Cavallo, Guglielmo, Roger Chartier, and Lydia G. Cochrane, *A History of Reading in the West* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003)

Chalmers, Alexander, *The General Biographical Dictionary*, 32 vols (London: Printed for J. Nichols, 1812-1817)

Chappell, Warren, *Short History of the Printed Word* (Point Roberts, WA: Hartley and Marks Publishers, 2000)

Chartier, Roger, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe between the 14th and 18th Centuries* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994)

Chartres, Richard, and David Vermont, *A Brief History of Gresham College 1597-1997* (London: Gresham College, 1998)

Chatzidakis, George N., *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά*, 2 vols (Athens: Π. Δ. Σακελλαρίου, 1906)

_____, *Σύντομος ιστορία της νεοελληνικής γλώσσης* (Athens: Σύλλογος προς διάδοσιν ωφελίμων βιβλίων, 1915)

Chow, Kai-Wing, 'Woodblock and Movable-Type Printing in Europe and China, in Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (eds), *Agent of Change: Print culture studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 176-177

Churchill, William A. *Watermarks in paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII centuries and their interconnection* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger & Co., 1935)

Çiftçi, Cafer, 'Bâb-ı Âlî'nin Avrupa'ya Çevrilmiş İki Gözü: Eflak ve Boğdan'da Fenerli Voyvodalar (1711-1821)', *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 7.26 (2010), 27-48

Clegg, Cyndia S., *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Constantinides, Costas N., and Robert Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570* (Cambridge, MA: Dumbarton Oaks, 1993)

Coxe, Henry O., *Catalogus codicum MSS. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur,* 2 vols (Oxford: Typographeo academico, 1852)

Cox-Johnson, Ann, 'Lambeth Palace Library, 1610–1664', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 2 (1955), 105-26

Covel, John, *Some Account of the Present Greek Church, with Reflections on their Present Doctrine and Discipline* (London: printed for Cornelius Crownfield, 1722)

Curtis, Mark H., 'William Jones: Puritan Printer and Propagandist', *The Library* 19.1 (1964), 38-66

Davey, Colin, Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου κατὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ διαμονὴν αὐτοῦ', *Θεολογία* 41.1 (1970), 116-136

_____, *Pioneer for Unity: Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589-1639) and Relations between the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches* (London: The British Council of Churches, 1987)

_____, 'Fair Exchange? Old Manuscripts for New Printed Books', in Robin Cormack and Elizabeth Jeffreys (eds), *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes* (London: Ashgate Variorum, 2000), pp. 127-134

de Bujanda, J. Martinez, *Index Librorum Prohibitorum 1600-1966* (Montreal: Mediaspaul, 2002)

Deferrari, Roy J., *Saint Basil: The Letters* (London: William Heinemann, 1926)

Desgraves, Louis, *Les Haultin, 1571-1623* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1960)

de Young, Gregg, 'Further Adventures of the Rome 1594 Arabic Redaction of Euclid's *Elements*', *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 66.3 (2012), 265-294

Dimaras, Konstantinos T., *A History of Modern Greek Literature* (New York: NYU Press, 1972)

_____, *Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας* (Athens: Ἐκδόσεις Γνώση, 2000)

Diovouniotes, Konstantinos I., *Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος* (Athens: Τυπ. Βλαστοῦ, 1915)

_____, *Ἡ φιλοδίκη τοῦ Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου* (Athens: Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, 1938)

Doll, Peter M. (ed.), *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy 300 years after the 'Greek College' in Oxford* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006)

Dositheos II, Patriarch of Jerusalem, *Ἱστορία περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Πατριαρχευσάντων*, 12 vols (Bucharest, 1715)

Dursteler, Eric R., *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008)

_____, 'Education and Identity in Constantinople's Latin Rite Community, c. 1600' *Renaissance Studies* 18.2 (2004), 287-303.

Dziatzko, Karl, *Gutenbergs Früheste Druckerpraxis* (Berlin: Verlag von A. Asher, 1890)

Eideneier, Hans, A. F. van Gemert, and David Holton, *Κωδικογράφοι, Συλλέκτες, Διασκευαστές και Εκδότες: Χειρόγραφα και Εκδόσεις της όψιμης Βυζαντινής και πρώιμης Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας: Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου που πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Ινστιτούτο της Δανίας στην Αθήνα, 23-26 Μαΐου 2002* (Herakleion: Πανεπιστημιακές εκδόσεις Κρήτης, 2005)

Eisenstein, Elizabeth L., *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Eldem, Edhem, 'The Ethnic Structure of Galata', *Biannual Istanbul* 1 (1993), 28–33.

Enepekides, Polychronis K., 'Der Briefwechsel des Maximos Margounios, Bischof von Kythera', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 1 (1951), 13-66

_____ 'Maximos Margounios an Deutsche und Italienische Humanisten' *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 10 (1961), 93-145

Epstein, Mortimer, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1908)

Ersoy, Osman, 'Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi', *Türk Kütüphaneciliği* 28.1-2 (1979), 59-66

Farmer, Alan B., 'John Norton and the Politics of Shakespeare's History Plays in Caroline England', Marta Straznicky (ed.), *Shakespeare's Stationers: Studies in Cultural Bibliography* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 147-177

Faroqhi, Suraiya, 'The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman Empire (1600-1630)', *The Journal of European Economic History* 15.2 (1986), 345-384

Febvre, Lucien, and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London and New York: Verso, 1976)

Fedwick, Paul J., *Bibliotheca Basiliana Vniversalis: a study of the manuscript tradition of the works of Basil of Caesarea*, vol. 1, *The Letters*, Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993)

Fertel, Martin D., *La science pratique de l'imprimerie* (Saint-Omer: Par M. D. Fertel, MDCCXXIII [1723])

Frangiskos, Emmannuel and Chrysostomos Florentis, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη: Κατάλογος τῶν ἐντύπων (15ος-19ος αἱ.)*, vol. 1 (Athens: Κέντρο Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών, 1993)

Frazee, Charles A., *Catholics and the Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)

Frick, David A., *Meletij Smotryc'Kyj* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995)

Fritze, Ronald H., and William B. Robison, *Historical Dictionary of Stuart England, 1603-1689* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996)

Frojmovic, Eva, 'From Naples to Constantinople: The Aesop Workshop's Woodcuts in the Oldest Illustrated Printed Haggadah', *The Library* 18.2 (1996), 87-109

Galeotti, Melchiorre, *Della Tipografia poliglotta di propaganda Discorso* (Turin: Pietro di G. Marietti, 1866)

Gamillscheg, Ernst and Dieter Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800-1600*, vol. 3 (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1997)

Gants, David L., 'Identifying and Tracking Paper Stocks in Early Modern London', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 94 (2000), 531-540

Gardiner, Samuel R., 'Spanish and Venetian Diplomacy in the Reign of James I', *Fortnightly Review* 3.15 (1865), 344-351

Gardthausen, Victor and Marie Vogel, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig: Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 1909)

Garitses, Konstantinos, *Ὁ Χριστόφορος Ἄγγελος (†1638) καὶ τὰ ἔργα του: Πόνησις, Ἐγκώμιον, Ἐγχειρίδιον καὶ Ἀποστασία* (Thera: Θεσβίτης, 2008)

Gaskell, Philip, 'The Lay of the Case', *Studies in Bibliography* 22 (1969), 125-142

_____, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972)

Geanakoplos, D. John, *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966)

_____, *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962)

_____, *Interaction of the 'Sibling' Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance, 330-1600* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976)

Gedeon, M. Ioannis, *Κύριλλος Λούκαρις: Μελέτη περὶ τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν Ὀρθόδοξου Ἐκκλησίας, 1454-1638* (Athens and Constantinople: εφημ. Πρωϊα, 1876)

_____, *Χρονικὰ τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Ἀκαδημίας* (Constantinople: Ἐκ τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Τυπογραφείου, 1883)

Gencer, Yasemin, 'İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript', in Christiane Gruber (ed.), *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010), pp. 154-193

Genette, Gérard, *Paratexts: Thresholds of interpretation*, translated by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Gerçek, Selim N., *Türk Matbaacılığı I: Müteferrika Matbaası* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1939)

Germanos (Metropolitan of Thyateria), *Kyrillos Loukaris, 1572-1638: a struggle for preponderance between Catholic and Protestant powers in the Orthodox East* (London: S.P.C.K., 1951)

Ghobrial, John-Paul, 'Printing', in Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2009), pp. 471-474

Gibson, Strickland, 'Christopher Angel, Teacher of Greek', in Hilda Hughes (ed.), *The Glory that is Greece* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1944), pp. 57-61

Glaister, Geoffrey A., *Encyclopedia of the Book* (London: Oak Knoll Press and The British Library, 1996)

Goffman, Daniel, 'Ottoman Millets in the Early Seventeenth Century', *New Perspectives on Turkey* 11 (1994), 135-158

Grafton, Anthony, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (London: British Library, 2011)

Grammatikos, Dimitrios, 'Leben und Werk von Nikodemos Metaxas: Die erste griechische Druckerei in Konstantinopel und auf Kephalonia', (PhD thesis, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, 1988)

Greenberg, Stephen, 'Plague, the Printing Press, and Public Health in Seventeenth-Century London', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67.4 (2004), 508-527

Grendler, Paul F., *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press 1540-1605* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977)

_____, 'The Destruction of Hebrew Books in Venice, 1568', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 45 (1978), 103-130

_____, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001)

Greswell, William P., *A View of the Early Parisian Press* (Oxford: Printed by S. Collingwood, Printer to the University for D.A. Talboys, 1832)

Griffin, Joseph A., 'Sacred *Congregation* de *Propaganda* Fide, Its Foundation and Historical Antecedents' *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, 41 (1930), 289-327

Groot, Alexander de, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic: A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations 1610-1630* (Leiden and Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut, 1978)

Guilday, Peter, 'The *Sacred Congregation* de Propaganda Fide (1622-1922)', *The Catholic Historical Review* 6 (1921), 478-494

Hacikyan, Agop J., Gabriel Basmajian and Edward S. Franchuk, *The Heritage of Armenian Literature: From the Eighteenth Century to Modern Times* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2005)

Hackenbracht, Ryan J., 'The Plague of 1625-6, Apocalyptic Anticipation, and Milton's Elegy III', *Studies in Philology* 108.3 (2011), 403-438

Hadjiantoniou, George A., *Protestant Patriarch: The Life of Cyril Lucaris, 1572-1638* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1961)

Hamilton, Alastair, *Europe and the Arab world: five centuries of books by European scholars and travellers from the libraries of the Arcadian Group* (Oxford: Arcadian Group in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1994)

Hamilton, Alastair, Maurits van den Boogert and Bart Westerweel, *The Republic of Letters and the Levant* (Leiden: Brill, 2005)

Harai, Dénes, 'Une chaire aux enchères: Ambassadeurs catholiques et protestants à la conquête du patriarcat grec de Constantinople (1620-1638)', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 58.2 (2011), 49-71

Hardt, Ignatio, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*, 5 vols (Munich: Typis I.E. Seidelii Solisbacensis, 1806-1812)

Harlfinger, Dieter and Reinhard Barm (eds), *Graecogermania: Griechischstudien deutscher Humanisten: die Editionstätigkeit der Griechen in der italienischen Renaissance (1469-1523)* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1989)

Harvard, Stephen, *Ornamental Initials: The Woodcut Initials of Christopher Plantin* (New York: The American Friends of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, 1974)

Hazen, Allen T., 'One Meaning of the Imprint', *The Library* 6.2 (1951), 120-123

Heawood, Edward, 'Sources of Early English Paper Supply', *The Library* 10.3 (1929) 282-307

_____, 'Papers Used in England after 1600: I. The Seventeenth Century to *c*. 1680', *The Library* 11.3 (1930), 263-289

_____, 'Papers Used in England after 1600: II. *c*. 1680 to 1750', *The Library* 11.4 (1930), 466-498

_____, 'Sources of Early English Paper Supply: II. The Sixteenth Century', *The Library* 10.4 (1930), 427-454

_____, 'Further notes on Paper Used in England after 1600', *The Library* 2.3 (1947), 119-149

_____, 'Papers Used in England after 1600 (Correspondence)', *The Library* 3.2 (1948), 141-142

_____, *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Hilversum: The Paper Publications Society, 1950)

Henderson, George P., *The Revival of Greek Thought 1620-1830* (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Academic Press, 1971)

Henkel, Willi, *Die Druckerei der Propaganda Fide: eine Dokumentation* (Munich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1977)

Hering, Günnar, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik, 1620-1638* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1968)

Hills, Richard L., *Papermaking in Britain 1488-1988: A Short History* (London: The Athlone Press, 1988)

Hind, Arthur M., *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut* (New York: Dover Publications, 1963)

Hinds, Allan B., Rawdon Brown, Horatio F. Brown, et.al. (eds), *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice*, 38 vols (London: Longman-Green, 1864-1947)

Hitti, Philip K., 'The First Book Printed in Arabic', in *The Princeton Library Chronicle* 4.1 (1942), 5-9

Hoenkamp-Mazgon, Marlies, *Palais de Hollande in Istanbul: The Embassy and the Envoys of the Netherlands since 1612* (Moerkapelle: Van Marle Printers, 2002)

Hofmann, Georg, *Griechische Patriarchen und römische Päpste: Untersuchungen und Texte, Orientalia Christiana 47, 52, 63-64, 76, 84, 97* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1928-1934). (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1929-30)

Holton, David, T. Lendari, U. Moenning and P. Vejleskov (eds), *Κωδικογράφοι, συλλέκτες, διασκευαστές και εκδότες: Χειρόγραφα και εκδόσεις της όψιμης Βυζαντινής και πρώιμης νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας* (Herakleion: Crete University Press, 2009)

Hoppe, Harry R., 'John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher 1579–1601', *The Library* 14.3 (1933), 241-287

Hornblower, Simon, and Antony Spawforth, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)

Horrocks, Geoffrey, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*, 2nd edition (Chichester: Blackwell-Wiley, 2010).

Huguenot Society of London, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, vol. 22 (1976)

Hunger, Herbert, *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur. I: Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch und Schriftwesen* (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1961)

Hunter, Dard, *Papermarking: the History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York: Dover Publications, 1947)

İhsanoğlu, Ekmeleddin and Hatice Aynur, 'Yazmadan Basmaya Geçiş: Osmanlı Basma Kitap Geleneğinin Doğuşu (1729-1848)', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi,* 22 (2003), 219-255

İnalcık, Halil, 'Ottoman Galata, 1453–1553' Edhem Eldem (ed.), *Première Rencontre Internationale sur l'Empire Ottoman et la Turquie Moderne* (Istanbul and Paris: Isis, 1991), 17–105

_____, 'The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans', *Turcica* 11.13 (1991), 407-436

_____, 'Osmanlı'nın Avrupa ile Barışıklığı: Kapitülasyonlar ve Ticaret', *Doğu Batı* 24 (2003) pp. 55-81

_____, 'Imtiyāzāt, ii. The Ottoman Empire', Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (Brill Online, 2012, at: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/imtiyazat-COM_0371

İnalcık, Halil, and Daniel Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914, 2* vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

Ingelhart, Louis E., *Press and Speech Freedoms in the World, from Antiquity until 1998* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998)

Ingram, William H., 'The Ligatures of Early Printed Greek', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 7.4 (1966), 371-389

Isaac, Frank, *English Printers' Types of the Sixteenth Century* (London: H. Milford, 1936)

Jackson, William A., *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640* (London: Bibliographic Society, 1957)

James, Montague R., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932)

_____, 'The History of the Lambeth Palace Library', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 3 (1959), 1-31

_____, *The Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge: Antiquarian Society Publications, 1900)

Jeffreys, Michael, 'British Collections of Seventeenth-Century Greek Liturgical Books', *The Printed Greek Book 15th - 19th Century* (Athens: Kotinos Oak Knoll Press, 2004)

Johns, Adrian, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making History* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000)

Jones, John R., 'Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505-1624)' (PhD thesis, University of London, 1988)

_____, *The Medici Oriental Press (Rome 1584-1614) and Renaissance Arabic Studies*, Exhibition Catalogue (London: SOAS, 1983)

_____, 'The Medici Oriental Press (Rome 1584-1624) and the Impact of its Arabic Publications on Europe' in Gül A. Russell (ed.), *The 'Arabick' interest of the natural philosophers in seventeenth-century England* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 88-108

Jones, John, *Balliol College: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

Jones, Stephen K., 'The History of a Hebrew Lexicon', *The Library* 5.4 (1914), 410-423

Jorink, Eric, 'Noah's Ark Restored (and Wrecked): Dutch Collectors, Natural History and the Problem of Biblical Exegesis', in Sven Dupré and Christoph Herbert Lüthy (eds), *Silent Messengers: The Circulation of Material Objects of Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries*, (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2011), pp.153-185

Kabacalı, Alpay, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın* (Istanbul: Literatür, 2000)

Kağıtçı, Mehmet Ali, 'A Brief History of Papermaking in Turkey', *The Paper Maker* 34 (1965), 41-51

_____, *Historical Study of Paper Industry in Turkey* (Istanbul: Grafik Sanatlar Matbaası, 1976)

Kandıra, Durmuş, *84 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri* (Tahlil-Metin) (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Istanbul: İÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1995)

Kaplanoglou, Michael, *Contribution to the Economic History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople under the Ottoman Rule* (Unpublished MPhil thesis, London: Royal Holloway, University of London, 2004)

Karmiris, Ioannis N., *Μητροφάνης ὁ Κριτόπουλος καὶ ἡ ἀνέκδοτος ἀλληλογραφία αὐτοῦ, νῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδιδομένη* (Athens: Τύποις Παρασκευὰ Λεώνη, 1937)

Karouzou, Semne, *Μαρτίνος Κρούσιος. Ὁ πρῶτος φιλέλλην* (Athens: Ἐκδόσεις Ἕσπερος, 1973)

Karpozilou, Martha, 'The Epistolarion of Theophilos Korydaleus', *Ἑλληνικά* 49 (1999), 289-303

Katephores, Panagiotes, Ὁ Χάρτης καὶ αἱ Γραφικαὶ Τέχναι (Athens: [s.n.], 1965)

Kemke, Johannes, *Patricius Junius (Patrick Young) Bibliothekar der Könige Jacob I. und Karl I. von England* (Leipzig: M. Spirgatis, 1898)

Kévorkian, Raymond H., *Catalogue des incunables arméniens 1511-1695, ou Chronique de l'imprimerie arménienne* (Geneva : P. Cramer, 1986)

_____, 'Le livre imprimé en milieu arménien ottoman aux XVIe-XVIIIe siècles', *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée,* 87-88 (1999), 173-185

Kimmel, Ernestus Julius, *Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiae Orientalis*, Part I (Geneva: Apud F. Mauke, 1850)

Knapp, James A., *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England: The Representation of History in Printed Books* (Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2003)

_____, 'The Bastard Art: Woodcut Illustration in Sixteenth Century England', in Douglas A. Brooks (ed.), *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 151-72

Kolovou, Foteini (ed.), *Byzanzrezeption in Europa: Spurensuche über das Mittelalter und die Renaissance bis in die Gegenwart* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012)

Komines, Athanasius D., *Facsimiles of Dated Patmian Codices* (Athens: Center of Byzantine Studies, 1970)

_____, *Πατμιακή Βιβλιοθήκη* (Athens: Center of Byzantine Studies, 1988)

Komnenos Hypsilantis, Athanasios, Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ Πολιτικῶν: ἤτοι τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν 1453-1789 (Istanbul: Τυπογρ. Ἰ. Ἀ. Βρετοῦ, 1870)

Kouroupou, Matoula and Paul Géhin, *Catalogue des manuscrits conserves dans la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat Œcuménique: Les manuscrits du monastère de la Panaghia de Chalki*, 2 vols (Paris: Brepols, 2008)

Kouymjian, Dickran, *The Arts of Armenia* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1992)

Krabari, Aliki, 'Ἀγγέλου Μπενιζέλου ανέκδοτο εγκώμιο στον Νικόδημο Μεταξά', *Κεφαλληνιακά Χρονικά* ΙΙ (1977), 291-318

Kreibel, M., 'Stefan Gerlach. Deutscher Evangelischer Botschaftsprediger in Konstantinopel 1573-1578. Diasporafürsorge in der Türkei und die ersten Beziehungen zur Griechischen-orthodoxen Kirche im 16. Jahrhundert', *Die Evangelische Diaspora,* 29 (1958), 71-96

Kreiser, Klaus, *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians and Muslims* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001)

Kremos, Georgios, Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Βιβλιοθήκης ἀλφαβητικὸς καὶ περιγραφικὸς μετ᾽ εἰκόνων καὶ πανομοιοτύπων κατ᾽ ἐπιστήμας κατατεταγμένων, τ. Α′: Θεολογία (Athens: [s.n.], 1876)

Krstić, Tijana, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011)

_____, 'Contesting Subjecthood and Sovereignty in Ottoman Galata in the Age of Confessionalization: The Carazo Affair, 1613-1617', *Oriente Moderno* 93 (2013), 422-453

Kuhn, Heinrich C., *Venetischer Aristotelismus im Ende der aristotelischen Welt: Aspekte der Welt und des Denkens des Cesare Cremonini, 1550-1631* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1996)

Kurat, Akdes Nimet, 'Hoca Saadeddin Efendi'nin Türk-İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Tesisi ve Gelişmesindeki Rolü', *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı* (Istanbul: Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, 1953), pp. 305-317

Kut, Turgut and Fatma Türe, *Yazma'dan Basma'ya: Müteferrika, Mühendishane, Üsküdar* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996)

Lambert, Sheila, 'Journeymen and Master Printers in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 21 (1992), 13-27

Lampros, Spyridon P., *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895)

_____, 'Ἱστορικὴ πραγματεία περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ προόδου τῆς τυπογραφίας ἐν Ἑλλάδι μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 1821', *Χρυσαλλίς* 3.60 (1865), 361-364

_____, 'Ἱστορικὴ πραγματεία περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ προόδου τῆς τυπογραφίας ἐν Ἑλλάδι μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 1821', *Χρυσαλλίς* 3.61 (1865), 398-402

_____, 'Greek Manuscripts in Cephalonia', *The Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science, the Fine Arts, Music and the Drama* 3595 (1896), 389-905

Lane, John A., 'Arthur Nicholls and his Greek type for the King's Printing House', *The Library* 13.4 (1991), 297-322

Lavin, John A., 'John Danter's Ornament Stock', *Studies in Bibliography* 23 (1970), 21-44

_____, 'Printers for Seven Jonson Quartos', *The Library* 25.4 (1970), 331-338

Layton, Evro, Ekaterini Koumarianou and Loukia Droulia, *Το Ελληνικό Βιβλίο 1476-1830* (Athens: Εθνική Τράπεζα της Ελλάδος, 1986)

Layton, Evro, 'Nikodemos Metaxas, the First Greek Printer in the Eastern World', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 15 (1967), 140-168

_____, 'The First Printed Greek Book', *Journal of the Hellenistic Diaspora* 5 (1979), 63-79

_____, *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)

_____, *Five Centuries of Books and Manuscripts in Modern Greek: A Catalogue of an Exhibition at the Houghton Library* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library, 2005)

Leach, Robert H. and Ray J. Pierce (eds), *The Printing Ink Manual* (Dordrecht: Springer, 1993)

Leedham-Green, Elizabeth and Teresa Webber (eds), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland,* vol. 1: to 1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Legrand, Emile, *Bibliographie hellénique: ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1885–1902)

_____, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894-1903)

_____, *Lettres de Mélétius Pegas antérieures à sa promotion au patriarcat: publiées d'après les minutes autographes* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1902)

_____, *Relation de l'établissement des P.P. de la Compagnie de Jésus en Levant* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1869)

Lehmann, Matthias B., *Ladino Rabbinic Literature and Ottoman Sephardic Culture* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005)

Lemon, Robert, *Catalogue of a Collection of Broadsides in the Possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1886)

Levy, Avigdor, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1992)

_____ (ed.), *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994)

_____, *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth Through the Twentieth Century* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002)

Lewis, Bernard, *The Jews of Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984)

Livanos, Christopher, *Greek Tradition and Latin Influence in the Work of George Scholarios: Alone against all of Europe* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006)

Litsas, Efthymios, 'Μάξιμος Πελοποννήσιος: μία πρώτη σκιαγραφία του βίου και του έργου του', *Κληρονομία* 30 (1998), 115-125

_____, 'Μαξίμου Μαργουνίου, Επιστολές: Κατάλογος εκδεδόμενων επιστολών' *Ελληνικά* 59.2 (2009), 269-301

_____, *Τὸ ομιλητικό έργο του Μελετίου Πηγά, Πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας (1590-1601) και η χειρόγραφη παράδοσή του* (Thessaloniki: Λιθογραφία, 1992)

_____, 'Σχετικά με την χειρόγραφη και έντυπη παράδοση των επιστολών του Μαξίμου Μαργουνίου', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 51 (1997), 277-295

Loverdos-Kostes, Ioannes, *Ἱστορία τῆς Νήσου Κεφαλληνίας: Δοκίμιον συγγραφέων ἰταλιστί, ἐξελληνισθὲν ὑπὸ Π.Κ. Γρατσιάτου. Ἐκδίδεται ἐπιμελείᾳ Γερασίμου Ἀ. Λοβέρδου Κόστη* (Cephalonia: Τυπογραφία Προόδου, 1888)

Mabilleau, Léopold, *Étude historique sur la philosophie de la Renaissance en Italie: Cesare Cremonini* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1881)

Macrakis, M. S. (ed.), *Greek Letters: From Tablets to Pixels* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1996)

Madan, Falconer, *The Early Oxford Press 1468-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895)

Mahdi, Muhsin, 'From Manuscript Age to the Age of Printed Books', in George N. Atiyeh (ed.) *The Book in the Islamic World* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995)

Makrumichalos, Stephanos I., *Χριστόφορος Ἄγγελος, ὁ ἑλληνοδιδάσκαλος τῆς Ὀξφόρδης, 1575 -1638* (Athens: [s.n.], 1957)

Maloney, George, *A History of Orthodox Theology since 1453* (Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing, 1976)

Manousakas, Manousos, 'Contribution à l'étude de l'épistolographie néohellenique', (PhD thesis, Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, 1951)

_____, *Ἡ ἀνέκδοτος μυστικὴ ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ Κυρίλλου Λουκάρεως πρὸς τὸν Ἄγγλον πρεσβευτὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Sir Thomas Rowe (1625-1628)*, (Athens: Τυπ. Μυρτίδη, 1955)

Marks, P. J. M., *The British Library Guide to Bookbinding History and Techniques* (London: British Library, 1998)

Marshall, F. H., 'An Eastern Patriarch's Education in England', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 46.2 (1926), 185-202

Martin, Henri-Jean, *The History and Power of Writing* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994)

Marx, Alexander (ed.), *The first book printed in Constantinople: an original leaf of Jacob ben Asher's 'Arba'ah Turim', Constantinople, 1493* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946)

Maslen, Keith, 'Masters and Men', *The Library* 30.2 (1975), 81-94

Masters, Bruce, 'Christians in a Changing World', in Suraiya N. Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 272-280

Mastoridis, K., 'First Greek Typographic School', *ΗΦΕΝ: βήμα για την τυπογραφία* 1.2 (1998), 75-86

Mastrantonis, George, *Augsburg and Constantinople: The Correspondence between the Tübingen Theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession*, The Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources 7 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1982)

Matthiopoulos, George D., *Ανθολόγιο Ελληνικής Τυπογραφίας* (Herakleion: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, 2009)

_____ (ed.), *Greek Printing Types 1465-1927: Facsimiles from an Exhibition of Books Illustrating the Development of Greek Printing shown in the British Museum, 1927* (Thessaloniki: Typophilia, 1995)

Mazarakis, Gerasimos G., *Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τοὺς κώδικας τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ ἄλλας πηγάς* (Cairo: Μιχαήλ Κ. Νομικός, 1884)

McKenzie, D. F., *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

_____, 'Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices', *Studies in Bibliography*, 22 (1969), 1-75

_____, *Making meaning: 'Printers of the mind' and other essays*, Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez (eds), (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002)

McKerrow, R. B. and F. S. Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders used in England & Scotland, 1485-1640* (London: Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the Oxford University Press, 1932)

McKerrow, R. B., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1910)

_____, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland 1485-1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1913)

McKitterick, David, *A History of Cambridge University Press: Printing and the Book Trade in Cambridge, 1534-1698* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

_____, *Four Hundred Years of University Printing and Publishing in Cambridge, 1584-1984* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

_____, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

McKitterick, David, and Stanley Morison, *Selected Essays on the History of Letter-Forms in Manuscript and Print* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)

Mertzios, Konstantinos D., *Πατριαρχικά, ἤτοι ἀνέκδοτοι πληροφορίαι σχετικαὶ πρὸς τοὺς Πατριάρχας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ 1556-1702* (Athens: Γραφεῖον Δημοσιευμάτων τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 1951)

Metaxas, Epameinondas, *Ἱστορία τῆς οἰκογενείας Μεταξᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ 1081 μέχρι τοῦ 1864 ἔτους* (Athens: Εκ του Τυπογραφείου Αλεξ. Παπαγεωργίου, 1893)

Meynell, Francis and Stanley Morison 'Printers' Flowers and Arabesques' *Fleuron*, 1 (1923), 1-44

Meynell, Francis, 'Typographic Flowers' *Signature* 7 (1937), 48-56

_____, *Typography* (London: Pelican Press, 1927)

Michaelides, Chris, 'Greek Printing in England, 1500-1900', in Taylor, Barry (ed.), *Foreign Language Printing in London, 1500-1900* (London and Bath Spa: The British Library, 2002), 203-26

Michaelides, George P., 'The Greek Orthodox Position on the Confession of Cyril Lucaris', *Church History* 12.2 (1943), 118-129

Millner, William E., 'Printers and Stationers in the Parish of St. Giles Cripplegate 1561-1640', *Studies in Bibliography* 19 (1966), 15-38

Milne, Kirsty, 'The Forgotten Greek Books of Elizabethan England', *Literature Compass* 4.3 (2007), 677-687

Mîrşanu, Dragoş, 'Old News Concerning Peter Mogila's Orthodox Confession: The First Edition Revisited', *Archaevs* 10 (2006), 273-286

Mitler, Louis, 'The Genoese in Galata, 1453-1682', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10.1 (1979), 71-91

Moore, Paul, *Iter Psellianum: A detailed listing of manuscript sources for all works attributed to Michael Psellos, including a comprehensive bibliography* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005)

Mores, Edward Rowe, *A Dissertation upon English typographical founders and foundries (1778)*, with a catalogue and specimen of the typefoundry of John James (1782), edited with an introduction and notes by H.G. Carter and C.B. Ricks (London: Oxford University Press, 1963)

Morison, Stanley, *Four Centuries of Fine Printing: Two Hundred and Seventy-two Examples of the Work of Presses Established between 1465 and 1924* (Benn, 1949)

_____, *John Fell: The University Press and the 'Fell' Types* (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1967)

_____, *On Decoration in Printing* (Birmingham: Birmingham School of Printing, 1929)

_____, *On the Typographical Ornaments of Granjon, Fournier and Weiss* (London, 1925)

Moschonas, Th. D., *Κριτοπούλεια* (Alexandria: Τυπογραφεῖον τοῦ ἐμπορίου, 1962)

Muir, Edward, *The Culture Wars of the Late Renaissance: skeptics, libertines, and opera* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007)

Mustafa Nuri, Neşet Çağatay (ed.) *Netayic ül-Vukuat: Kurumları ve Örgütleriyle Osmanlı Tarihi*, 4 vols (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1980)

de Nave, Francine (ed.), *Philologia arabica: Arabische studiën en drukken in de Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw*, Exhibition catalogue (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1986)

Neale, John Mason, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church: The Patriarchate of Alexandria*, 2 vols (London: Printed by Joseph Masters, 1847)

Needham, Paul, 'Division of copy in the Gutenberg Bible: Three glosses on the ink evidence', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 79 (1985), 411-26

Nersessian, Vrej, *Catalogue of Early Armenian Books, 1512-1850* (London: The British Library, 1980)

Neumann, Christoph K., 'Political and Diplomatic Developments' in Suraiya N. Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey, vol. 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 44-62.

Nichols, John B., *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century: Consisting of Authentic Memoirs and Original Letters of Eminent Persons; and Intended as a Sequel to the Literary Anecdotes*, 8 vols (London: John Nichols and Son, 1817-1858)

Nikolopoulos, Panagiotis, 'Μάξιμος Μαργούνιος, Δύο ἐπιστολές χωρίς διορθώσεις', *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 20 (1950), 331-339

Ninolakis, Agathangelos, *Μελέτιος ὁ Πηγᾶς ὁ Κρής, Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ ἐπιτηρητὴς τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου, 1545-1602* (Chania: Ἐμ. Δ. Φραντζεσκάκης, 1903)

Nuhoğlu, Hidayet, 'Müteferrika Matbaası ve Bazı Mülahazalar', *Osmanlı*, vol. 7, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), pp. 223-227

Oastler, Christopher L., *John Day, the Elizabethan Printer* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1975)

Offenberg, Adri K., 'The First Book Produced at Constantinople. (Jacob Ben Asher's *Arba'ah Turim*, December 13, 1493)', in idem (ed.), *A Choice of Corals: Facets of Fifteenth-Century Hebrew Printing* (Nieuwkoop, 1992), pp. 102-132

Offner, Elliot, *The Granjon arabesque* (Northampton, MA: Rosemary Press, 1969)

_____, 'The Printing History of the Constantinople Hebrew Incunable of 1493: A Mediterranean Voyage of Discovery', *The British Library Journal* 22 (1996), 221-235

Oikonomos, Sophocles K., *Περὶ Φραγκίσκου τοῦ Κοκκοῦ Ἐπιστολή* (Athens: Τύποις Φ. Καραμπίνου, ΑΩΞΓ [1863])

von Ostermann, G. F., and A. E. Giegenack, *Abbreviations in Early Greek Printed Books* (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1974)

Panossian, Razmik, *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars*, Armenian Research Center Collection (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006)

Papadopoulos, Chrysostomos, *Ἀπολογία Κυρίλλου τοῦ Λουκάρεως* (Jerusalem: Ἐκ τοῦ Τυπογραφείου τοῦ Ἰ. Κοινοῦ τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, 1905)

_____, *Κύριλλος Λούκαρις* (Trieste: Αὐστροουγγρικοῦ Λόϋδ, 1907)

Papadapoulos-Kerameus, Athanasios, 'Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Φιλολογίας', *Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* 17 (1882-3), 50-60

_____, Ἱεροσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη, ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καί καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καί πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων, 5 vols (Petroupoli: Εκ του τυπογραφείου Β. Κιρσπάουμ, 1891-1915)

Papadopoulos, Thomas I., *Ἑλληνική Βιβλιογραφία (1466-1800),* 2 vols (Athens: Γραφείο Δημοσιευμάτων της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών, 1984-1986)

Papademetriou, George C., 'The Patriarchal Libraries of Constantinople', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 45.1-4 (2000), 171-190

Papoulidis, Kyriakos, *Problèmes de traduction et d'interpretation du Nouveau Testament en grec moderne: le cas de Maxime de Gallipoli, 1638* (Thessaloniki: Εκδοτικός Οίκος Αδελφών Κυριακίδη, 2004)

Paraskevaidis, Christodoulos, *Μελέτιος ὁ Πηγᾶς* (Athens: Ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ ἐκδόσεις ἐθνικῆς ἑκατονταετηρίδος, 1971)

Paranikas, Matthaios K.,'Ἐπιστολαὶ Μαξίμου Μαργουνίου', *Σαββατιαία Ἐπιθεώρησις,* 1.20 (1878), 314-324

_____, 'Ἰωάννης ὁ Ζυγομαλᾶς καὶ Μιχαὴλ Ἑρμόδωρος ὁ Λήσταρχος', *Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος* 11 (1876-77), 39-40

Parker, William R., 'Milton, Rothwell, and Simmons', *The Library* 18.1 (1937), 89-103

Parry, J. V., 'The Reign of Murad IV, 1617-1648', in M.A Cook (ed.), *A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)

Patoura, Sofia (ed.), *Η Ελληνική Γραφή κατά τους 15ο και 16ο αιώνες* (Athens: The National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2000)

Patterson, W. B., 'Educating the Greeks', in Keith Robbins (ed.), *Religion and Humanism: Papers Read at the Eighteenth Summer Meeting and the Nineteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), pp. 227-37

_____, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Pearson, David, 'The Libraries of English Bishops, 1600–40', *The Library* 14.3 (1992), 221-257

Pearson, John Batteridge, *A Biographical Sketch of the Chaplains to the Levant Company* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1883)

Pentogalos, G., *Παΐσιος Μεταξᾶς: Στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν Ἱστορία τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Φιλοσοφίας τοῦ δεκάτου ἕκτου καὶ δεκάτου ἑβδόμου αἰῶνα* (Athens: [s.n.], 1972)

_____, 'Παρθένιος Δοξαράς, ζακύνθιος επίσκοπος Κεφαλονιάς-Ζακύνθου (1622-1628). Νεώτερες πληροφορίες για τη ζωή του και τη δράση του' in *Άγιοι και εκκλησιαστικές προσωπικότητες στη Ζάκυνθο*, vol. 1 (Athens: Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου, Πνευματικό Κέντρο Δήμου Ζακύνθου, 6-9 November 1997), pp. 45-40

Persons, Robert, *The Christian Directory (1582): The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution* (Leiden: Brill, 1998)

Petit, L., with M. Jugie, and X. A. Sidéridès, *Oeuvres completes de Gennade Scholarios*, 6 vols (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1929)

Pettas, William A., 'Nikolaos Sophianos and Greek Printing in Rome', *The Library* 29.2 (1974), 206-213

Photios of Constantinople, 'The Canonization of Saints in the Orthodox Church', *The Christian East* 12 (1931), 85-9

Pinnington, Judith, *Anglicans and Orthodox: Unity and Subversion 1559-1725* (Herefordshire: Gracewing Publishing, 2003)

Plomer, Henry Robert, 'Eliot's Court Press: Decorative Blocks and Initials', *The Library* 4.3 (1922), 194-209

_____, 'The Eliot's Court Printing-House, 1584-1674', *The Library* 4.2 (1921), 175-184

_____, *A Short History of English Printing 1476-1900* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1927)

Podskalsky, Gerhard, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453-1821): die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens* (Munich: *C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung*, 1988)

_____, *Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ θεολογία ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας, 1453-1821*, G.D. Metallenos (trans.), (Athens: Μορφωτικὸ Ἵδρυμα Ἐθνικῆς Τραπέζης, 2005)

Politis, Linos and Maria Politis, 'Βιβλιογράφοι 17ου-18ου αἰῶνα: Συνοπτικὴ Καταγραφή', *Δελτίο τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ καὶ Παλαιογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου Ϛ΄ 1988-1992* (Athens: Μορφωτικὸ Ἵδρυμα Ἐθνικῆς Τραπέζης, 1994)

Posner, Raphael, and Israel Ta-Shema, *The Hebrew Book* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1975)

Proctor, Robert, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1900)

_____, 'The French Royal Greek Types and the Eton Chrysostom', *The Library*, 7.1 (1902), 49-74

Puchner, Walter, 'Θεατρικὴ παράσταση στην Κωνσταντινούπολη το 1623 με ἔργο για τον Ἅγιο Ιωάννη Χρυσόστομο', *Θησαυρίσματα* 24 (1994), 235-262

_____, 'Jesuit Theatre on the Islands of the Aegian Sea', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 21 (2003), 207-222

Queller, Donald E., 'The Development of Ambassadorial Relazioni', in J.R. Hale (ed.), *Renaissance Venice* (London: Faber and Faber, 1973)

Rabe, H., 'Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften, 9. Griechische Briefsteller', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 64 (1909), 284-309

Raby, Julian, 'East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library', in *Bulletin du bibliophile* (Istanbul, 1986), pp. 297-321

Ransmayr, Anna, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zur neugriechischen Epistolographie anhand der Briefe von Konstantinos M. Koumas* (MPhil thesis, Vienna: Universität Wien, 2008)

Raven, James (ed.), 'Liberality and Librolarceny: The Archbishops and their Libraries in the Seventeenth Century', *Lambeth Palace Library Annual Review 2010* (London: Lambeth Palace Library, 2011), 59-76

_____, *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections since Antiquity* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004)

Reed, Talbot B., *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries* (London: Elliot Stock, 1887)

Reinsch, Diether R., 'Editionen und Rezeption byzantinischer Historiker durch deutsche Humanisten', in H. Eideneier (ed.), *Graeca recentiora in Germania: Deutsch-griechische Kulturbeziehungen vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994)

Renieres, Markos, *Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ καὶ Γερμανίᾳ φίλοι αὐτοῦ, 1617-1628* (Athens: Ἀδελφοὶ Περρή, 1893)

Reumann, John Henry Paul, *East-West Church Relations in the Sixteenth Century: Jeremias Tranos and the Lutherans of Tübingen* (Kingston, NY: Patristic and Byzantine Review, 1985)

Rhoby, Andreas, 'The Friendship between Martin Crusius and Theodosios Zygomalas: A Study of their Correspondence', *Medievo Greco* 5 (2005), 250-266

_____, 'The Letter Network of Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas', in Stavros Perentidis and Georgios Steiris (eds), *Ο Ιωάννης και Ο Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς και η εποχή τους* (Athens: Daedalus, 2009), pp. 125-153

_____, 'Theodosios Zygomalas and his report on a journey to the Aegean', in Asterios Argyriou (ed.), *Η Ελλάδα των νησιών από τη Φραγκοκρατία ως σήμερας: Ιστορία και Κοινωνία* (Athens: Ελληνικά Γράμματα, 2004), pp. 103-113

Roberts, Julian R., 'The Greek Press at Constantinople and its Antecedents', *The Library* 22.1 (1967), 13-43

Roth, Cecil, *History of the Jews in Venice* (Philadelphia, PA: Schocken Books, 1946)

Rothman, Nathalie, 'Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51.4 (October 2009), 771-800

Roudometof, Victor, 'From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 16 (1998), 11-48

Rozemond, Katja, 'Een Aanwinst van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek orthodoxa confessio catholicae et apostolicae ecclesiae orientalis', *Het Boek* 36 (1963-1964), 25-52

Rozen, Minna, *A History of the Jewish Community of Istanbul: The Formative Years, 1453-1566* (Leiden: Brill, 2002)

_____, 'The Ottoman Jews', in Suraiya N. Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 256-271

Runciman, Steven, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968)

Russell, Gül A. (ed.), *The 'Arabick' interest of the natural philosophers in seventeenth-century England* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994)

Ryder, John, *Flowers and Flourishes, Including a newly annotated edition of* A Suite of Fleurons (London: The Bodley Head, 1976)

Sabev, Orlin, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da ilk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni 1726-1746* (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2006)

Sathas, Konstantinos N., *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία: Βιογραφίαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι διαλαμψάντων Ἑλλήνων, ἀπὸ τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς Βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μέχρι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐθνεγερσίας (1453-1821)* (Athens: ἐκ τῆς τυπογραφίας τῶν τέκνων Ἀνδρέου Κορομηλᾶ, 1868)

Savage, Henry, *Balliofergus or a Commentary upon the Foundation, Founders and Affaires of Balliol Colledge* (Oxford: Printed by A. & L. Lichfield, 1668)

Savage, William, *A Dictionary of the Art of Printing* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1841)

Schaeder, Heinrich (ed.), *Wort und Mysterium: Der Briefwechsel über Glaube und Kirche 1573 bis 1581 zwischen den Tübinger Theologen und dem Patriachen von Konstantinopel* (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1958)

Schaff, Philip, *The Creeds of Christendom,* 3 vols (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1819-1893)

_____, *St. Basil: Letters and select works,* A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, vol. 8 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1895)

Schmitt, Charles B., *Cesare Cremonini, un aristotelico al tempo di Galilei* (Venice: Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, 1980)

Schwab Richard N., Thomas A. Cahill and Bruce H. Kushko, 'Cyclotron analysis of the ink in the 42-line Bible', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 77 (1983), 285-315

_____, 'New evidence on the printing of the Gutenberg Bible: The inks in the Doheny copy', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 79 (1985), 375-410

Sezgin, Fuat, *Tahrîr al-Usûl li-Uqlîdis. Anonymous Commentary upon Euclid's* Elements *wrongly ascribed to Nasîraddîn at-Tûsî. Rome 1594*, Islamic Mathematics and Astronomy 20 (Frankfurt: Goethe-Universität, 1997)

Shaw, Stanford Jay, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976)

_____, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991)

Shorter, Alfred H., *Paper Making in the British Isles: An Historical and Geographical Study* (Plymouth: David & Charles Limited, 1971)

Simon, Rachel, 'The Contribution of Hebrew Printing Houses and Printers in Istanbul to Ladino Culture and Scholarship', *Judaica Librarianship* 16/17 (2011), 125-135

Simon, Richard, *La créance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la transubstantiation* (Paris: Thomas Moette, 1687)

Smith, Helen, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Smith, Percy J., 'Initial Letters in the Printed Book', *Fleuron* 1 (1923), 61-92

Smith, Warren H., 'Architectural Design on English Title-Pages', *The Library* 14.3 (1933), 289-298

Snipes, Kenneth, 'A Letter of Michael Psellus to Constantine the Nephew of Michael Cerularios', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 22.1 (1981), 89-107

Spoudakis, Nikolaos, 'Γεώργιος Κορέσσιος (1570c. - 1659/60): η ζωή, το έργο του και οι πνευματικοί αγώνες της εποχής του' (PhD thesis, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 1992)

Spyridon Monk of Laura, and Sophronios Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos, with notices from other libraries*, Harvard theological studies 12 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925)

Staikos, Konstantinos, *Εκδοτικά Τυπογραφικά Σήματα Βιβλίων του Ελληνικού Κόσμου, 1494-1821* (Athens: Εκδόσεις Ατών, 2009)

_____, *Χάρτα της Ελληνικής Τυπογραφίας* (Athens: Κοτινος, 2002)

Staalduinen, Mark van, Jan C. A. van der Lubbe and Dietz Georg, 'Comparing X-ray and backlight imaging for paper structure visualization', in *Proceedings of EVA, Electronic Imaging and Visual Arts* (April, 2006), pp. 108-113

Stanivukovic, Goran V., *Re-Mapping the Mediterranean World in Early Modern English Writings*, Early modern cultural studies series (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)

Stauropoulos, Gregorios, 'Νεοελληνική επιστολογραφία, 17ος-19ος αιώνας', (PhD thesis, Aristotle University Thessaloniki, 2008)

STC: *Short-title catalogue of books printed in England 1475-1640* (London: British Library, 1976-91)

Steele, Robert, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations 1485-1714*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910)

Steensgrand, Niels, 'Consuls and Nations in the Levant from 1570 to 1650', *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 15.1-2 (1968), 13-55

Steiris, George, '"We engaged a Master of Philosophy like other Teachers": John and Theodosius Zygomalas and some Philosophical Discussions in the Second Half of the 16th century', in S. Perentidis and G. Steiris (eds), *Ioannnes et Theodosios Zygomalas, Patriarchatus – Institutiones – Codices* (Athens: Daedalus, 2009), 167-186

Stevenson, Allan H., 'New Uses of Watermarks as Bibliographical Evidence' *Papers of the Bibliographical Society, University of Virginia* 1 (1948/1949), 149-182

_____ 'Watermarks are twins', *Studies in Bibliography* 4 (1951/1952), 57-91

_____'Shakespearian Dated Watermarks', *Studies in Bibliography* 4 (1951/1952), 159-164

_____ 'Paper as Bibliographical Evidence', *The Library* 17.3 (1962), 197-212

Süt, Neşat, *83 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri* (Unpublished Master's thesis, Elazığ: Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2000)

Tarinas, Stratis, *Συμβολή στην Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Τυπογραφίας στην Κωνσταντινούπολη* [Anna Maria Aslanoğlu (trans.), *İstanbul Rum Yayımcılık Tarihine bir Katkı*] (Istanbul: Istos, 2013)

Taylor, Barry (ed.), *Foreign-Language Printing in London, 1500-1900* (Boston Spa and London: British Library, 2002)

Tillyrides, Andreas, 'Συμβολαὶ καὶ διορθώσεις εἰς τὴν ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ Μητροφάνους Κριτόπουλου, 1589–1639', *Θεολογία* 45.2 (1974), 360-404

Tinto, Alberto, *La Tipografia medicea orientale* (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 1987)

Thomas-Stanford, Charles, 'Early Editions of Euclid's *Elements* 1482–1600' *The Library*, 5.1 (1924), 39-42

Todd, Henry J., *Catalogue of the Archiepiscopal Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace* (London: [s.n.], 1812)

Tongas, Gérard, *Les relations de la France avec l'empire ottoman durant la première moitié du XVIIe siècle et l'ambassade à Constantinople de Philippe de Harlay, Comte de Césy (1619-1640)* (Toulouse: F. Boisseau, 1942)

Toomer, Gerald J., *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)

Topdemir, Hüseyin Gazi, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Türk Matbaacılığı* (Ankara: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002)

Tosun, Ali Rıza, 'Sultan III. Murat'ın Arapça, Farsça ve Türkçe Basma Kitapların Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Sınırları İçinde Satılabileceğine Dair 1588 (996) Yılında Verdiği Emirnâme', *Belgeler*, 30.34 (2009), 127-131.

Townley, James, *Illustrations of Biblical Literature: Exhibiting the History and Fate of the Sacred Writings, from the Earliest Period to the Present Century: Including Biographical Notices of Translators, and Other Eminent Biblical Scholars*, vol. 1 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821)

Trevor-Roper, Hugh, *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1992)

Tsirpanlis, Constantine N., *The Historical and Ecumenical Significance of Jeremias II's Correspondence with the Lutherans* (New York: The American Institute for Patristic and Byzantine Studies, 1982)

Tsiter, Chrysostomos H., *Τρεῖς μεγάλοι Διδάσκαλοι τοῦ Γένους* (Athens: Τύποις Ἀθανασίου Ἀ. Παπασπύρου, 1934)

Tsitseles, Elias A., *Κεφαλληνιακὰ Σύμμικτα: συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ λαογραφίαν τῆς Νήσου Κεφαλληνίας εἰς τόμους τρεῖς, τ. 1: Βιογραφικά Οἴκων Ἱστορίαι, Δημοσιεύματα* (Athens: Π. Λεωνής, 1904)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Κεφαλληνιακὰ Σύμμικτα: συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ λαογραφίαν τῆς Νήσου Κεφαλληνίας εἰς τόμους τρεῖς, τ. 2: Ἐκκλησιαστικά, Μονῶν Ἱστορίαι Χρονογραφίαι, Πολιτικά καὶ Στατιστικά Σημειώματα* (Athens: Τύποις Μηνά Μυρτίδη, 1960)

Tsourkas, Cléobule D., *Les débuts de l'enseignement philosophique et de la libre pensée dans Balkans: la vie et l'œuvre de Théophile Corydalée (1570-1646)* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1967)

Tuck, Richard 'The context of seventeenth-century philosophy: The institutional setting', in Daniel Garber and Michael Ayers (eds), *Cambridge History of Seventeenth-century Philosophy*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 9-33

Updike, Daniel Berkeley, *Printing Types, their history, forms, and use; a study in survivals* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951)

Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011)

Venn, John, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1751*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922–27)

Vervliet, Hendrik D. L., *French Renaissance Printing Types: a conspectus* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 2010)

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance: Selected Papers on Sixteenth-Century Typefaces*, 2 vols (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Sixteenth-century printing types of the Low-countries* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1968)

_____, *Vine Leaf Ornaments in Renaissance Typography* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2012)

Voet, Leon, *The Golden Compasses: The History of the House of Plantin-Moretus*, 2 vols (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969-1972)

Wallace, William, 'An Index of Greek Ligatures and Contractions', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 43 (1923), 183-193

Ward, John, *Lives of the Professors of Gresham College* (London: Printed by J. Moore for the author, 1740)

Warde, Frederic, *Printers Ornaments* (London: Lanston Monotype Corporation., 1928)

Way, Agnes Clare, 'The Authenticity of Letter 41 in the Juliobasilian Correspondence', *The American Journal of Philology* 51.1 (1930), 67-69

_____, *The Language and Style of the Letters of St. Basil* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 1927)

Wehmeyer, Jeffrey M., 'The Chartophylax: Archivist and Librarian to the Patriarch in Constantinople', *Libraries and Cultures* 32.1 (1997), 107-112

Weiker, Walter F., *Ottoman Turks and the Jewish Polity: A History of Jews of Turkey* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1992)

Wendebourg, Dorothea, *Reformation und Orthodoxie: Der ökumenische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der Württembergischen Kirche und Patriarch Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1573-1581* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986)

Willoughby, Harold R. and Ernest Cadman Colwell, *The Elizabeth Day McCormick Apocalypse*, 2 vols (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1940)

Wilson, Nigel G., *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1992)

Wolf, Gerhard Philipp, 'Martin Crusius (1526–1607). Philhellene und Universitätsprofessor', in Erich Schneider (ed.), *Fränkische Lebensbilder*, vol. 22 (Würzburg: Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte, 2009), pp. 103-119

Wood, Anthony Cecil, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935)

Yıldırım, Hacı Osman, Vahdettin Atik and Murat Cebecioğlu, *83 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri 1036-1037/1626-1628, Özet, Transkripsiyon, indeks ve Tıpkıbasım* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 2001)

Yurdusev, Nuri, *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004)

Zachariades, George Elias, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel im 16. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1941)

Zimmerman, Susan, 'The Uses of Headlines: Peter Short's Shakespearian quartos 1Henry IV and Richard III', *The Library* 7.3 (1985), 218-255


**IV. ELECTRONIC RESOURCES**

Armenology Research National Center, 'Database of e-books': http://www.armenology. net/index.php?p=l (accessed on 24 March 2012)

Bearman, P., Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Brill Online, 2014): http://referenceworks. brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/millet-COM_0741 (accessed on 24 March 2012)

Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire de Lausanne, 'Fleuron: banque d'ornements typographiques': http://dbserv1-bcu.unil.ch/ornements/scripts/index.html (accessed on 27 February 2013)

Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire de Lausanne, 'Passe-Partout: banque internationale d'ornements imprimerie': http://www3.unil.ch/BCUTodai /app/todaiGetIntro.do?uri=todaiInfo&page=todaiLogo.html (accessed on 27 February 2013)

British Library, 'Greek Manuscripts Online', http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts (accessed on 24 April 2014)

'Early English Books Online' (EEBO): http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home (accessed on 27 May 2014)

Easson, John B., 'Ink Making and Rollers': www.bpsnet.org.uk/history/11.pdf (accessed on 28 July 2013)

Gusmano, Alessandro, *The Writing and Printing Inks through the Ages*: http://www.reinol.it/profiles/Book%20Gusmano/bookgusmanoEG.html (accessed on 28 July 2013)

'İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri': http://www.kadisicilleri.org/yayin.php (accessed on 1 May 2014)

Kooy, Vernon, 'The Three Dimensional Character of Early Printed Greek': http://philonoeses.org/3DCharacterEarlyGreek.pdf (accessed on 12 December 2011)

Munro, John, 'Money and Coinage in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe': http://www.economics.utoronto.ca/munro5/MONEYLEC.htm (accessed on 23 June 2013)

National Library of Armenia, 'Hakop Meghapart Project': http://nla.am/arm/meghapart/index.htm (accessed on 12 December 2011)

'New Pauly Online' (Brill Online, 2003): http://www.paulyonline.brill.nl (accessed on 24 April 2014)

*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004): http://www.oxforddnb.com/ (accessed on 24 April 2014)

Turner, F., 'Money and Exchange Rates in 1632': http://1632.org/1632Slush/1632money.rtf (accessed on 23 June 2013)

University of Manchester Library, 'First Impressions': http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/firstimpressions/ The-Collection/Glossary/ (accessed on 24 April 2014)

University of Virginia, 'A digital catalogue of watermarks and type ornaments used by William Stansby': http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/gants/Ornaments/Letters-large.html (accessed on 24 April 2014)

University of Warwick, Centre for the Study of the Renaissance, 'Literary Manuscript Analysis (LIMA)': http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/projects/publications/lima/paper/ describing/reproduction/ (accessed on 14 July 2013)

## A Survey of the extant copies of books printed by Nikodemos Metaxas
**(Asterisk (\*) denotes copies inspected)**

*Legrand 144*/ STC 15083

α. [Headpiece no. 1] ΤΟΥ |ΣΟΦΩΤΆΤΟΥ |ΚΥΡΙΟΥ |ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ |ΤΟΥ |ΚΟΡΥΔΑΛΕΩΣ, ΠΕΡΙ| ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΙΚΩΝ |τύπων| [Printer's device no.1] |LONDINI: Ex Officina G. S. Typographi. |cl ɔlɔxxv.

β. [Headpiece no. 6] ΤΟΥ| ΣΟΦΩΤΆΤΟΥ| ΚΥΡΙΟΥ |ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ| ΚΟΡΥΔΑΛΕΩΣ. |Τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, τοῦ ὕστερον διὰ τοῦ Θείου καὶ μοναχικοῦ| σχήματος Θεοδοσίου μετονομασθέντος, | Ἔκθεσις περὶ Ῥητορικῆς. | [Printer's device no.1] | LONDINI: Ex Officina W. S. Typographi. |cl ɔlɔ xxv.
Physical description: [10], 189, [1] p.; 8⁰

**ALEXANDRIA**
Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate

**ATHENS**
National Library of Greece [ΓΛΩΣΣ. 1997]*

**CAMBRIDGE**
Trinity College Lower Library [Grylls 32.84]
University Library [Rare Books, Syn.8.62.25]*
Emmanuel College [S11.4.46 (3)]

**COPENHAGEN**
Royal Library [180:1, 13 00007]

**DURHAM**
Palace Green Library [SB 2394]

**GÖTTINGEN**
Göttingen State and University Library [8 LING III, 5542(1)]

**CAMBRIDGE, MA**
Harvard University, Houghton Library [STC 15083]

**LONDON**
British Library [236.h.25]*
St Paul's Cathedral Library

**OXFORD**
All Souls College Library [g.16.12(2)]
Bodleian Library [8° T AA.Seld.]*
Jesus College Library [L.12.24]
Queen's College [BB.a.813]

**PARIS**
National Library of France [Z- 13326]

**RETHYMNO (Crete)**
Central Library, Arvanitidi Archives [APB 2914]

**ROME**
Central National Library [6.8.F.13]

**SAN MARINO, CA**
Huntington Library [317050]

**VENICE**
Biblioteca Marciana
[D 121D 196]

Legrand 167/ STC 12343.5

α. ΤΟΥ | ἘΝ ἉΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ | ΗΜΩΝ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ἈΡΧΙ- | ἐπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης λόγοι ἀπο- | δεικτικοὶ δύο. [Printer's device no. 2] Χριστός μοι μόνος εἴη δόξα κ(αὶ) νίκη

A⁴, A⁴-O⁴; [8], 1-112 ; 4° .

β. ΓΕΩΡΓΊΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΑ- | ΡΊΟΥ ΤΟ ΣΎΝΤΑΓΜΑ: | Ἐπιγραφόμενον, | Ὀρθοδόξου Καταφύγιον. | Τοῦ ὕστερον γενομένου Γεναδίου Μοναχοῦ. τμῆμα πρῶ- | τον. περὶ τῶν αἰτίων τοῦ σχίσματος κατ᾽ ἐπιδρομήν. καὶ | ὅτι τὰ κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὴν τρίτην σύνοδον, σαφής ἀπο- | δειξις, τοῦ γραικοὺς ὀρθῶς | φρονεῖν. | [Printer's device no. 2] | Χάριν παράσχου  Χριστὲ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πόνοις. | Θεοῦ διδόντος, οὐδὲν ἰσχύει φθόνος, | Καὶ μή διδόντος, οὐδὲν ἰσχύει πόνος.

A⁴-D⁴,Iii⁴-Iiiiii², E⁴-Z⁴, Aa⁴-Oo⁴;  [2], 1-192 ; 4° .

γ. ΜΑΞΊΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡ- | ΓΟΥΝΊΟΥ Ταπεινοῦ Κυθήρων ἐπισκόπου | ΔΙΆΛΟΓΟΣ. | Τὰ πρόσωπα, | ΓΡΑΙΚΌΣ κ(αὶ) ΛΑΤΙΝΟΣ, (ἤτοι) ὈΡΘΌ- | ΔΟΞΟΣ κ(αὶ) ΛΑΤΙΝΟΣ. | Παῦλος πρὸς Ἐφεσίους, δ. 25. | Ἀποθέμενοι τὸ ψεῦδος λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν  ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλήσιον | αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλων μέλη. | [Printer's device no. 2]

A⁴-K³;  [4], 1-75  ; 4°

**ALEXANDRIA**
Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate

**ATHENS**
National Library of Greece (3 copies) [ΘΕΟΛ. 5466 D] [ΘΕΟΛ. 5466] [ΘΕΟΛ. 5467]*
Library of the Parliament (2 copies) [ΣΒΕ 1627 ΤΟΥ]

**CAMBRIDGE**
University Library (only α and β) [3.26.51]

**GÖTTINGEN**
University Library [8 PATR GR 1244/55]

**CAMBRIDGE, MA**
Harvard University, Houghton Library [STC 12343.5]*

**LEIDEN**
University Library [1413 E 30]

**LONDON**
British Library [1492.m.12.(1.)]*
St. Paul's Cathedral Library
Lambeth Palace Library [H320 2.01]*

**ORESTIADA (Greece)**
Educational Association of Adrianople (2 copies) [ΦΣΑ 2880] [ΦΣΑ 3010]

**OXFORD**
Bodleian Library [4° G 9 Th.Seld.]*

**PADUA**
Library of Praglia Abbey [FF.Barrera.I.11]

**ROME**
Biblioteca Casanatense [EE XIII 48]

Legrand 168/ STC 12343.5

α. [Headpiece no. 17] ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ| ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΜΕΛΕΤΙΟΥ| Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Λιβύης, Πεντά- |πόλεως, Ἀιτιωπίας, κ(αὶ) πάσης|γῆς Ἀιγύπτου· |ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΠΑ |ὡς ἔν εἴδει ἐπιστολῶν [Headpiece no. 18]

A- E²; [2], 1-34; 4º

β. [Headpiece no. 17] ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΊΟΥ |ΚΟΡΕΣΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΙΟΥ| Διάλεξις μετά τινος τῶν Φράρων

A- B¹; 1-9 [1]; 4º

γ. [Headpiece no. 20] ΝΕΙΛΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙ- | ΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ | ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΔΥΟ. |Τὸ πρῶτον περὶ των αἰτίων τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διαστάσεως. |Τὸ δεύτερον περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάπα./ [Headpiece no. 21] ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΥ|ΒΑΡΛΑΑΜ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ |τοῦ πάπα ἀρχῆς.

A- E⁴; 1-40; 4º

δ. [Headpiece no. 17] ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΗΡΟΥ |ΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΜΟΝΟΜΒΑΣΙΑΣ, ΤΑΠΕΙΝΟΥ |μητροπολίτου φιλαδελφίας, Ἔκθεσις κατὰ των ἀμαθῶς λε- |γόντων καὶ παρανόμως διδασκόντων, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλη-|σίας γνήσιοι καὶ ὀρθόδοξοι παῖδες ἐσμὲν σχηματικῶν παρὰ |τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθόλου Ἐκκλησίας:

A- G²; 1-52; 4º

ε.    [Headpiece no. 19] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ |ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΙΑΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ |β. διαφορᾶς, τὴν ὁποῖαν ἔχει ἡ Ἀνατολικὴ Ἐκκλη- |σία μὲ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν·ἤγουν περὶ |τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάπα.

B-H⁴, A⁴; 1-56, [8]; 4º

**ATHENS**
Library of the Parliament (3 copies)
[ΣΒΕ 1627 ΠΕΡ]

**CAMBRIDGE**
University Library [Syn.6.62.16]

**DUBLIN**
Trinity College [BB.gg.67 no.3]
Marsh's Library [C2.7.60]

**GENEVA**
Bibliothèque de Genève [BGE Bc 1184-
1184***] (Antoine Leger's copy)

**GÖTTINGEN**
University Library [8 PATR COLL
192/1]

**CAMBRIDGE, MA**
Harvard University, Houghton Library
[STC 19553.5]

**LEIDEN**
University Library [503 E 11]

**LONDON**
British Library (3 copies, one with δ
only) [475.a.11.(1.)] [691.c.28.(1.)]
[3845.ee.16.]*

**ORESTIADA (Greece)**
Educational Association of Adrianople*

**OXFORD**
Bodleian Library [4° M 5 Art.Seld.]*
Christ Church College Library [T.1.18]

**VENICE**
Biblioteca Marciana [C 156C 086 .1]

**WINDSOR**
St. George Chapter Library [SGC RBK
P.137]

**WOLFENBÜTTEL**
Herzog August Library [M: Lg
Sammelbd. 11]

Legrand 143

[Headpiece no. 21] ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ｜ΤΟΥ ΟΡΘΟΥ ΛΟ-｜ΓΟΥ, ΒΕΒΑΙΩΣΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΥ- ｜
MENON. ｜ [Printer's device no. 3] ｜ΤΥΠΩΘΕΝ ΔΙΑ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ｜
ἐπιμελείας τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου πρώην Μαΐνης
κυρίου｜ΙΕΡΕΜΙΟΥ ἐν Λωνδώνῃ παρὰ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Ἄβιλανδ｜κατὰ τὸ ᾳχκε
ἔτος τῆς ἐνσάρκου τοῦ Σωτῆρος ｜ ἡμῶν οἰκονομίας.

 A-D⁴.; [1], 3-32 p.; 4⁰.

**ATHENS**
National Library of Greece [ΘΕΟΛ.
1692 P]*

**LIXOURI (Cephalonia)**
Public Library*

**MOUNT ATHOS**
Konstamonitou Monastery

**MOUNT SINAI (Egypt)**
Monastery of St Catherine

**VENICE**
State Archives

Legrand 166/ STC 16854.3

α.     [Headpiece no. 21] |ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩ-|ΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΩ-| ΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΠΑΠΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑ-| τριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας, τὰ νῦν δὲ οἰκουμενικοῦ Κωνσταντινουπό- |λεως ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ σύντομος πραγματεία κατὰ |Ἰουδαίων ἐν ἁπλῆ διαλέκτῳ πρὸς|Γεώργιον τὸν Πάργαν. [Printer's device no. 3] |Ἐτυπώθη ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, δαπάνη τε καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ|τοῦ πανοσιωτάτου καὶ λογιῳτάτου ἐν Ἱερομονά-|χοις Κυρίου Νικοδήμου τοῦ |Μεταξᾷ/ᾶ.| Ἐν ἔτει α χ κ ζ.

*², A-N³; [4], 1-9,14,15,12,13,10,15,16-31,2,33-52,45,54-101; 4º.

β.     ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΩΤΑ-|ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΜΑ-|ΞΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΓΟΥΝΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ |Κηθήρων ὁμιλία τῇ πρώτῃ Κυριακῇ, τῆς μεγάλης |Τεσσαρακοστῆς.

**Texts Printed by Nikodemos Metaxas in Extant Mss**

| | Author | Work | Date | Incipit | Page in edition | MSS or other possible sources |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Legrand 144* Part I | Nikodemos Metaxas | Dedicatory letter addressed to John Williams | | Μὴ θαυμαζέτω ἡ σὴ μεγαλειότης | unnumbered | - |
| *Legrand 144* Part I | Nikodemos Metaxas | Dedicatory letter addressed to Pachomios Doxaras | 24 Gamelionos (January/February) 1624 | Τῶν μὲν ἐξωτέρων καὶ φανερῶν ἡμῶν παθῶν | unnumbered | Paris, suppl. gr. 635 |
| *Legrand 144* Part I | Theophilos Korydaleus | *Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων* | - | Προοίμιον. Τῆς Ἐπιστολῆς ἡδὺ μὲν τὸ δημοτικὸν | 1-59 | - |
| *Legrand 144* Part I | Theophilos Korydaleus | Five letters addressed to Loukaris, Dionysios Makris, Nikodemos Metaxas and (Michael) Sophianos (Professor of philosophy at Padua) dating from 1615 to 1621. | | See Appendix III | 60-67 | - |
| *Legrand 144* Part I | - | *Ἐπιστολαὶ Ἑλλήνων μεταγενεστέρων καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἠκμασάντων* | | See Appendix III | 68-126 | Various sources, see Appendix III |
| *Legrand 144* Part II | Theophilos Korydaleus | *Ἔκθεσις περὶ Ῥητορικῆς* | | Προοίμιον. Ἀεὶ μὲν ἔγωγε τὸ περὶ τὴν παιδείαν ὑμῶν | 129-189 | - |
| *Legrand 167* | Nikodemos Metaxas (?) | Dedicatory letter addressed to the four patriarchs | | Εἰ καὶ ἄμαχον ἡ ἀλήθεια | A$_2$$^r$-A$_4$$^r$ | - |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Legrand 167*<br>Part I | Gregory<br>Palamas | *Λόγοι ἀποδεικτικοὶ δύο (α΄)* | | Πάλιν ὁ δεινὸς καὶ<br>ἀρχέκακος ὄφις | 1-46 | Athens, EBE 449, ff. 1-92<br>Istanbul, Patriarchal<br>Library, Hag. Trias 138<br>Oxford, Canonici gr. 52, ff.<br>3-155 |
| *Legrand 167*<br>Part I | Gregory<br>Palamas | *Λόγοι ἀποδεικτικοὶ δύο (β΄)* | | Ὧν μὲν οὖν ἔδει<br>καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ τῶν<br>εὐσεβούντων<br>καταλόγῳ | 47-122 | Athens, EBE 449, ff. 93-216<br>Istanbul, Patriarchal<br>Library, Hag. Trias 138<br>Oxford, Canonici gr. 52, ff.<br>3-155 |
| *Legrand 167*<br>Part II | George<br>Scholarios | *Σύνταγμα* | | Τὸν θεῖον λόγον<br>καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας | 1-292 | Mount Athos, Iveron 600<br>(Κεφάλαια ιθ΄, κ΄, μβ΄ and<br>μγ΄)<br>and<br>Lambeth Palace, MS 461 |
| *Legrand 167*<br>Part III | Maximos<br>Margounios | *Ἐπιστολή - Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ τῆς τοῦ*<br>*παναγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως* | | Ἧκε καὶ αὖθις ὡς<br>ἡμᾶς τὸ τῶν | 1-6 | *Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου,*<br>*Κυθήρων Ἐπισκόπου,*<br>*Ἐπιστολαὶ δύο, α΄ Περὶ*<br>*τοῦ, Τίνα τρόπον ἐν τοῖς*<br>*οὖσι παρακεχώρηται τὰ*<br>*κακὰ · β΄ Περὶ τῆς τοῦ*<br>*παναγίου Πνεύματος*<br>*ἐκπορεύσεως.* Francofvrdi,<br>Apud Ioannem Wechelum.<br>MDXCI [1591], pp. 24-30.<br>Athens, EBE 449, ff. 382-<br>390 |
| *Legrand 167*<br>Part III | Maximos<br>Margounios | *Διάλογος* | | Διατί ἀποσχίζεσθε<br>ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐ | 7-75 | Mount Athos, Iveron 600<br>(Κεφάλαιον ι΄) |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Legrand 168*<br>Part I | Meletios<br>Pegas | Ἐπιστολὴ α΄ (Ὀστροβείας) | | Τοῦτο ἦν ὅπερ<br>ἔλεγεν ὁ Σωτὴρ | 1-10 | Athens, EBE 449, ff. 285-<br>309 |
| *Legrand 168*<br>Part I | Meletios<br>Pegas | Ἐπιστολὴ β΄<br>(Ῥώσοις) | | Ἄνδρες Ῥῶσοι τῆς<br>εὐσεβείας τὰ<br>θρέμματα | 10-18 | |
| *Legrand 168*<br>Part I | Meletios<br>Pegas | Ἐπιστολὴ γ΄<br>(Χίῳ) | | Ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου<br>σατανᾶ (εἶπεν ὁ<br>Σωτὴρ τῷ Πέτρῳ<br>ποτὲ) | 18-28 | Athens, EBE 449, ff. 319-<br>350 |
| *Legrand 168*<br>Part I | Meletios<br>Pegas | Ἐπιστολὴ δ΄<br>(Ῥώσοις) | | Μέχρις ἐκείνου τὸ<br>συγγράφειν | 18-34 | |
| *Legrand 168*<br>Part II | George<br>Koressios | Διάλεξις μετά τινος τῶν Φράρων | | Ἄριστόν μου ἂν εἴη<br>συνάδεισιν ἡμῖν | 1-9 | |
| *Legrand 168*<br>Part III | Gabriel<br>Severus | Διαφορὰ α΄ | | Ὁ κατ᾽ ἐξοχὴν<br>καλούμενος<br>φιλόσοφος ὁ<br>Ἀριστοτέλης | 1-52 | Athos, Ephisgemenou 124<br>(Lampros 2137)<br>Athos, Lavra Ω80<br>Athos, Lavra Θ188 |
| *Legrand 168*<br>Part IV | Gabriel<br>Severus | Διαφορὰ β΄ | | Ἐπειδὴ μὲ τὴν<br>βοήθειαν τοῦ<br>Χριστοῦ,<br>ἐγνωρίσαμεν<br>καλῶς καὶ<br>ἐμάθαμεν | 1-34 | Athos, Ephisgemenou 124<br>(Lampros 2137)<br>Athos, Lavra Ω80<br>Athos, Lavra Θ188 |
| *Legrand 168*<br>Part IV | Gabriel<br>Severus | Διαφορὰ γ΄ | | Περὶ μὲν τῆς β.<br>διαφορᾶς, ἤγουν<br>περὶ τοῦ πρωτείου<br>τοῦ πάπα | 35-46 | Athos, Ephisgemenou 124<br>(Lampros 2137)<br>Athos, Lavra Ω80<br>Athos, Lavra Θ188 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Legrand 168* Part IV | Gabriel Severus | Διαφορὰ δ′ | | Καὶ περὶ μὲν ταύτης τῆς Τετάρτης διαφορᾶς, τουτέστι περὶ τοῦ καθαρτηρίου πυρὸς | 46-53 | Athos, Ephisgemenou 124 (Lampros 2137) Athos, Lavra Ω80 Athos, Lavra Θ188 |
| *Legrand 168* Part IV | Gabriel Severus | Διαφορὰ ε′ | | Πέμπτην καὶ τελευταίαν διαφορὰν ἔχει ἡ Ἀνατολικὴ ἐκκλησία, τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ, περὶ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων μακαριότητος | 54-56 | Athos, Ephisgemenou 124 (Lampros 2137) Athos, Lavra Ω80 Athos, Lavra Θ188 Patmos, Monastery of St. John Theologos 305 (variations in text at the end ) |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Legrand 168*<br>Part V | Neilos Kabasilas | *Βιβλία δύο α': Περὶ τῶν αἰτίων τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διαστάσεως* | | Ἡγούμεθα δεῖν πρὸς Λατίνους ποιουμένους | 1-6 | N. Cabasilas, *De Primatu Papae Romani Lib. duo item Barlaam Monachi* (Hanoviae: Typis Wechelianis, apud Claudium Marnium & heredes Ioannis Aubrii, 1608), pp. 18-45<br>and<br>*Nili Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis De Primatu Papae Romani Libri duo* (Lugduni Batavorum: Ex Officina Plantiana, Apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1595), pp. 1-15<br>and<br>Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, Panaghia 36, ff. 9-10v<br>and<br>Basel, Bale UB, A.III.02 ff.6-348 (Omont 48, p. 24-25)<br>Colophon: "Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον πέρας εἴληφεν Ἐνετίῃσι, διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου Μουρμούρεως τοῦ ἐκ Ναυπλίας πόλεως, ἔτους τρέχοντος ἀπὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως ‚αφωα' [1551]. |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | and<br>Athens, EBE, Panaghiou Taphou, 255, ff. 1-7.<br>Oxford, Auct. F. 1. 01 (Misc. 084), ff.102-103 (17th cent., copied by Henry Savile) |
| *Legrand 168* Part V | Neilos Kabasilas | *Βιβλία δύο β': Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάπα ἀρχῆς* | | Φασὶν οἱ Λατῖνοι τὸν | 7-18 | *De Primatu Papae Romani Lib. duo item Barlaam Monachi*, pp. 45-101<br>and<br>*Nili Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis*, pp. 16-49.<br>Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, Panaghia 36, ff. 10v-15.<br>And<br>Athens, EBE, Panaghiou Taphou, 255, ff. 8-23.<br>Oxford, Auct. F. 1. 01 (Misc. 084), ff.103-106 (17th cent., copied by Henry Savile) |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Legrand 168* Part V | Neilos Kabasilas | *Τρόποι ὀλίγοι τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπιχειρήματι προσήκοντες* | | Ἔτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ | 18-19 | *De Primatu Papae Romani Lib. duo item Barlaam Monachi*, pp. 110-114. |
| *Legrand 168* Part V | Neilos Kabasilas | *Ἀρχὴ διαλέξεως τινὸς Γραικοῦ καὶ καλδηναρίων* | | Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας | 20-21 | *De Primatu Papae Romani Lib. duo item Barlaam Monachi*, pp. 102-109 and *Nili Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis*, pp. 51-54. and Basel, Bale UB, A.III.02 ff.433-496 (Omont 48, p. 24-25) |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Legrand 168* Part V | Barlaam | *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάπα ἀρχῆς* | | Οἱ περὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας δεινοὶ | 22-30 | *De Primatu Papae Romani Lib. duo item Barlaam Monachi*, pp. 182-225. and J. Lloyd (ed.), *Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Βαρλαὰμ λόγος Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάπα ἀρχῆς* (Oxoniae: Excudebat Iosephus Barnesius, 1592). And Athens, EBE, Panaghiou Taphou, 255, ff. 389-402. |
| *Legrand 168* Part V | Barlaam | *Περὶ τοῦ καθαρτηρίου πυρὸς* | | Εἰ μὲν περὶ ὧν ἀλλήλοις | 31-40 | *De Primatu Papae Romani Lib. duo item Barlaam Monachi*, pp. 116-167. and *Nili Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis*, pp. 57-86. |
| *Legrand 166* | Nikodemos Metaxas | Dedication to Skarlatos Vlasios | 1 November 1627 | Τίνας ἄλλος ἂν τύχῃ ὁποῦ δὲ γνωρίζει τὴν διάθεσιν ὁποῦ | *2-*3 | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Legrand 166* | Cyril Loukaris | *Σύντομος πραγματεία κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐν ἁπλῇ διαλέκτῳ, πρὸς Γεώργιον* | | Ἴσχυσε κατὰ πολλὰ ἡ εὔνοια ὁποῦ ἔχομεν πρὸς τοῦ | 1-101 (irregular) | Harley MS 5643, ff 318r-341r (text between pp. 3.2-69.7 in the edition is missing, undated)<br><br>Harley MS 5643, ff 342r-379v (Imperfect at the end, no date).<br><br>Harley MS 1803, ff. 202r-283v (colophon: ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν [ἔτος] ͵ζϱλϛ΄ τοῦ δεκευρίου δεκάτη [10 Dec. A.M. 7136 = A.D. 1627]<br><br>Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library MS 91, ff. 5-368 (colophon: ἐτελειώθη ͵αχιζ΄ [1617] τῇ μεγάλη τεσσαρακοστῇ, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ)<br><br>Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library MS 381, ff. 1-253 (colophon: ͵αχιζ΄ [1617] τῇ μεγάλη τεσσαρακοστῇ, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ) |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Mount Athos, Lavra M69 (Eustratiades 1760) – (the printed edition)<br><br>Mount Athos, Koutloumousiou 210 (Lambros 3283), ff. 2r-78r (dated: 1629)<br><br>Edirne, Gymnasio, 1281 (Now Athens, Benaki Museum, TA 77), ff. 6-85 |
| *Legrand 166* | Maximos Margounios | Ὁμιλία τῇ πρώτῃ Κυριακῇ, τῆς μεγάλης Τεσσαρακοστῆς. | | Ὑψηλὸν ἔργον εἶναι τὸ κήρυγμα | 1-20 | |
| *Legrand 166* | Maximos Margounios | Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν δευτέραν Κυριακὴν τῶν νηστειῶν | | Ὥστε ὅπου τὸ παραλελυμένον, καὶ ἀχαμνισμένον | 20-38 | |
| *Legrand 166* | Maximos Margounios | Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν τρίτην Κυριακὴν τῶν νηστειῶν | | Ἂν εἶναι καὶ οἱ στρατιαὶ | 38-55 | |
| *Legrand 166* | Maximos Margounios | Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν τετάρτην Κυριακὴν τῶν νηστειῶν | | Ἂν εἶναι καὶ ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔκαμε τόσην | 55-71 | |
| *Legrand 166* | Maximos Margounios | Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν πέμπτην Κυριακὴν τῶν νηστειῶν | | Δὲν εὑρίσκεται πάθος τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς | 71-89 | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Legrand 166* | Maximos Margounios | Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν ἕκτην Κυριακὴν τῶν Βαϊοφόρων | | Ἄν εἶναι καὶ ἐκεῖνος ὁ μέγας Δαβὶδ μισεύωντας ἀπὸ τὴν χώραν τῶν Χεβρῶν | 89-104 | |
| *Legrand 166* | Maximos Margounios | Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Παρασκευὴν εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν | | Τίς δώσει τῇ κεφαλῇ μου ὕδωρ, καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου | 104-122 | |
| *Legrand 143* | Paisios Metaxas | Dedicatory letter addressed to Theophilos Korydaleus | | Εἴπέρ ποτε, καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς χρόνοις | 3 | Benaki Museum MS 93 (TA 250), f. 47v |
| *Legrand 143* | Jeremias, Bishop of Maini | Letter to Cyril Loukaris | | Ἐγκωμιαζομένου δικαίου εὐφρανθήσονται λαοὶ | 4 | Benaki Museum MS 93 (TA 250), f. 47v |
| *Legrand 143* | - | A short biography of Gerasimos signed by witnesses | | Ειζι δε ταυτα. Ην ὁ οσιος πατὴρ Γεράσιμος ἐκ τῆς | 5-7 | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | | Synodical order | | Ὅσιον ἅμα καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πληρώματι | 8-10 | Pat. Cod A, p. 66 (as referenced by Photios of Constantinople, 'The Canonization of Saints in the Orthodox Church', *The Christian East* 12 [1931], p. 87) |
| *Legrand 143* | Cyril Loukaris and Anastasios of Antioch | Ἔκθεσις σύντομος τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως (in dialogue form) | | Ἀναστάσιος. Ποίας θρησκείας | 11-15 | |
| *Legrand 143* | | *Κανὼν τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γερασίμου τοῦ νέου ἀσκητοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κεφαλληνίας* | | Πάτερ Γεράσιμε τὰ σὰ θεῖα κατορθώματα, ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐξέστησαν | 17-32 | |

**APPENDIX III**

**Possible sources for exemplary Letters compiled by Metaxas for Legrand 144**

| Epist. | Incipit | Author | Recipient | Date | Place | Page | Source text |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Τέρπει καὶ ζῶα καὶ φυτὰ | Korydaleus | Loukaris | 07 Thargelionos (May/June) 1621 | Zakynthos | 60-62 | Unidentified Cephalonian MS |
| 2 | Εἴπερ ποτε καὶ νῦν οὐχ ἥκιστα | Korydaleus | Makris | 1615 | Athens | 62-64 | Unidentified Cephalonian MS |
| 3 | Εὖ σοι γένοιτο πολλῶν | Korydaleus | Makris | 20 Elaphebolionos (March/April) 1616 | Athens | 64-65 | Unidentified Cephalonian MS |
| 4 | Ἔχει τι δεξιὸν καὶ ἡ διάστασις | Korydaleus | Metaxas | 17 Boedromionos 1619 | Athens | 65-66 | Unidentified Cephalonian MS |
| 5 | Οἷς ἀπαιτεῖς με τὸ γράφειν | Korydaleus | Sophianos | - | - | 67 | Unidentified Cephalonian MS |
| The following letters, part of Legrand 144, are entitled Ἐπιστολαὶ Ἑλλήνων μεταγενεστέρων καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἠκμασάντων | | | | | | | |
| 6 | Ἐγὼ τὸ τοῦ νοῦ πτερὸν | Margounios | Jeremias | 13 Metageitnionos [August/ September]1590 | Venice | 68-77 | *Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου, Κυθήρων Ἐπισκόπου, Ἐπιστολαὶ δύο, α΄ Περὶ τοῦ, Τίνα τρόπον ἐν τοῖς οὖσι παρακεχώρηται τὰ κακὰ · β΄ Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως.* Francofvrdi, Apud Ioannem Wechelum. MDXCI [1591], pp. 1-23. Athens, EBE 449, ff. 351-366 and |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Athens, EBE, Panaghiou Taphou 328, ff. 12-16. |
| 7 | Καὶ βασιλεῖ ποτὲ ὕδωρ | Margounios | Höschel | 11 Maimaktirion [November/ December] 1590 | Venice | 78 | *Ἐπιστολαὶ δύο*, pp. 23-24. (18th c.) BL, Add. MS 19551, f. 29r. Athens, EBE 449, ff. 381-382. (17th c.)Cod. Vind. Suppl. gr. 115, f. 131 (18th c.) Cod. Vind. Suppl. gr. 124, f. 131 (17th c.) Cod. Par. Suppl. gr. 621, f. 133 (18th c.)Cod. Par. Suppl. gr. 1310, f. 132 Cod. Athens, 1126, f. 42 Athens, EBE, Panaghiou Taphou 328, ff. 17ʳ. |
| 8 | Ὑπείξα σου τῷ προστάγματι | Margounios | Höschel | 04 Elaphebolionos [March/April] 1592 | Venice | 78-79 | *D. Gregorii Nysseni Opuscula Quinque. Graece nunc primum edita studio & opera Davidis Hoeschelii, Augustani, Lugduni Batavorum, Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Franciscum Raphelengium*, 1593, pp. 3-4. |
| 9 | Τὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Νύσσης ἱερώτατον | Margounios | Höschel | 18 Poseidonos [December/ January] 1592 | Venice | 79-80 | *Opuscula Quinque*, pp. 43-44. |
| 10 | Τῷ μὲν ἱερῷ Γρηγορίῳ τῷ Νύσσης | Margounios | Students | No date | - | 80-81 | *Opuscula Quinque*, pp. 1-3 Athos, Panteleimon 750, f. 105ʳ |
| 11 | Πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἕνεκα | Rittershusius | Höschel | No date | - | 82-83 | *Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου Ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων Ὕμνοι ἀνακρεόντειοι.* |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | Augustae: Ex officina typographica Ioan. Praetorij. Anno  S.N. MDCI [1601], no pagination, quire no. A2-A5. |
| 12 | Καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐμέ σου οὐκ ἀγεννὲς | Margounios | Rittershusius | 5 March 1600 | Venice | 83-84 | Ὕμνοι, q. A5. |
| 13 | Πολύ μοι τοῦ πρός σε φίλτρου | Margounios | Rittershusius | 31 August 1599 | Venice | 84-85 | Ὕμνοι, A6 |
| 14 | Τὸ ἐπίχαρί σου τῶν τρόπων | Margounios | Höschel | - | - | 85-86 | *D. Ioannis Chrysostomi Contra Iudaeos Homiliae VI.* Augustae: E typographeio Joannis Praetorij. Anno MDCII [1602], no pagination, quire A5.<br>Date given in the edition: Ενετίηθεν, φεβρουαρίου τρίτη ἐπὶ δεκάτη, κατά τὸ ‚αχβʹ [1602] ἔτος τὸ σωτήριον. |
| 15 | Λόγους λόγων ἀντιθηρῶμαι | Margounios | Samuelos | 23.2.1593 | | 86-87 | - |
| 16 | Καὶ τοῦτο πῶς σοι δοκεῖ | Loukaris | Hoeschel | No date | - | 87-88 | *Contra Iudaeos*, q. A5.<br>(Wording is different!)<br>Date given in edition:  Ἐνετίθεν μαιμακτηριῶνος πρώτη ἐπὶ δέκα κατὰ τὸ ‚αφϚʹ [1590] ἔτος τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.<br><br>Panteleimon 750, f. 111r.  Ενετίθεν μαιμακτηριῶνος πρώτη ἐπὶ δέκα κατὰ τὸ ‚αφϚʹ [1590] ἔτος τοῦ σωτῆρος. |
| 17 | Τὸν σοφὸν Λεόντιον περὶ ἄττα | Loukaris | Hoeschel | No date | | 88 | *Contra Iudaeos*, q. A5. |

| 18 | Οὐδὲν τούτου πλέον ἢ ὅτι Βίβλοι | Eustratios | Hoeschel | | Venice | 88 | *Contra Iudaeos*, q. A5. Colophon given in the edition: Ἐνετίθεν μαιμακτηριῶνος, δʹ ἱσταμένου.<br>Athos, Panteleimon 750, f. 122ʳ Ἐνετίθεν μαιμακτηριῶνος, δʹ ἱσταμένου. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 19 | Τί οὖν ἡμῖν ὦ φίλη καὶ ἱερὰ κεφαλὴ | Kokkos | Dionysios of Heraclea | 1.9.1605 | | 89-90 | |
| 20 | Εἰ τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς ἐξήρτησεν | Kokkos | Dionysios of Heraclea | 23.4.1605 | | 91 | |
| 21 | Ἐμοὶ μετὰ ἐξότουπερ ἔγνωσο | Kokkos | Dionysios of Heraclea | 18.1.1604 | | 92-93 | |
| 22 | Ἐγώ σου τοῖς γράμμασιν | Kokkos | Dionysios of Heraclea | 1.6.s.a. | | 93-94 | |
| 23 | Διττὴν ἐκομισάμην ἐπιστολὴν | Kokkos | Voustronios | No date | | 95-96 | |
| 24 | Ἰδού, τὰ γράμματα ἀπηγόρευται | Kokkos | Symeon | 23.4.1605 | | 96-97 | |
| 25 | Ἐλπὶς ἡμῖν οὐ πάνυ σμικρὰ | Maximos Peloponnese | Matthaios | | | 98-99 | |
| 26 | Ὤμην τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ παντοδαποῖς | Maximos Peloponnese | Nathaniel | 1602 | | 99 | |
| 27 | Οὐδὲν ἄμεινον δοκῶ μοι | Maximos Peloponnese | Abbakoum | 1602 | | 99-100 | |
| 28 | Τὸ χαίρειν τοῖς χαίρουσι | Maximos Peloponnese | Georgios | 1602 | | 100-102 | |
| 29 | Ἔναγχος τοῖς ὑμετέροις φιλικοῖς | Maximos Peloponnese | Arsenios and Athimos | 1602 | | 102-104 | |

| 30 | Ὅτι μὲν ἄριστα ὑμῖν τὸν γηραιὸν | Maximos Peloponnese | Ioannes | 1602 | | 104-105 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31 | Καλῶς τοῖς θεολόγοις εἴρηται | Maximos Peloponnese | Gabriel | | | 105-106 | |
| 32 | Πενταετῆ φασὶ τοῖς τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ | Maximos Peloponnese | Michaelos Krallis | 1602 | | 106 | |
| 33 | Χαίρω σοφῶν ἐντυγχάνων | Nikephoros | Maximos | 7.3.1607 | | 107 | |
| 34 | Καὶ ποταπὸς παπὰς | Psellos | | | | 108-111 | Ἐπιστολαὶ Ἀρχαίων. Ἄρχονται Βασιλείου πρὸς Λιβάνιον, ἐλλείπει ἡ ἀρχή. Σημείωσις διαφόρων καὶ ἐπιστολή τις Ψελλοῦ ἐν χειρογράφῳ ἀρχομένη «καὶ ποταπὸς παπᾶς ὁ παπᾶς ὁ ἐμός…» Βενετία 1498. Ἔκδοσις Ἄλδου<br><br>Cambridge, Trinity College MS 1485, ff. 192-196. |
| 35 | Οἶδα ὅτι ἐρᾷς ἐπιστολῶν ἐμῶν | Psellos | Konstantinos | | | 111-113 | Cambridge, Trinity College MS 1485, ff. 196-197. |
| 36 | Αὐθέντα μου καὶ ἀδελφὲ | Psellos | Konstantinos | | | 113-116 | Cambridge, Trinity College MS 1485, ff. 198-199 |
| 37 | Εἰ δέ μοι νόμος ἔχει τὸ λέοντι μὴ | Psellos | Konstantinos | | | 116-119 | Cambridge, Trinity College MS 1485, ff. 199-200 |
| 38 | Ἐγὼ δὲ ᾤμην ἱερὰ | Psellos | Konstantinos | | | 119-121 | Cambridge, Trinity College MS 1485, ff. 200-201 |
| 39 | Ἀπορῶ παντάπασιν ἐπὶ σοὶ | Psellos | Romanos | | | 121-123 | Cambridge, Trinity College MS 1485, ff. 202-203. |

| 40 | Τὸ ἔμφυτόν μοι ἐκ παιδόθεν | Julian | Saint Basil | | | 123-124 | |
| 41 | Μικρά σοι τὰ τῆς παρούσης τύχης | Saint Basil | Julian | | | 125-126 | |
| 42 | Δεξάμενός σου τὸν λόγον | Libanius | Chrysostom | No date | | 126 | *Contra Iudaeos*, p. 256. |