

*Bibliographia Historica Byzantina*: a historical and  
bibliographical description of the early editions of  
the *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae* (1556-1645)

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This thesis is concerned with the editorial, printing and marketing history of four Byzantine historical narratives, published between 1556 and 1645, and soon collectively identified under the name *Corpus Historiæ Byzantinæ* (hereinafter, 'Byzantine Corpus'). The four Byzantine historians – Ioannes Zonaras, Niketas Choniates, Nikephoros Gregoras and Laonikos Chalkokondyles – enjoyed considerable popularity in early modern Europe, with a peak of interest in the second half of the sixteenth century. This thesis aims at highlighting how these four texts, despite being so popular in a number of early modern European countries (particularly in the German-speaking area, in Italy and in France), did not do so for the same reasons: in fact, depending on the country in which these books were printed, they were marketed, perceived and read in very different ways. This element is particularly relevant in light of the fact that the Byzantine Corpus represents the earliest predecessor of the *Corpus Fontium Historiæ Byzantinæ*, the modern resource for the study of Byzantine historical sources.

Chapter 1 analyses the early formation of the Byzantine Corpus and, in particular, the figure of Hieronymus Wolf, first editor of the Byzantine Corpus, often considered the 'father' of Byzantine studies; his relation with his patrons, the Fuggers of Augsburg; finally, his relation with his publisher, the Basel printer Johannes Oporinus. It then provides contextualised bibliographical and paratextual descriptions of the *editiones principes* of the Byzantine Corpus, all printed in Basel.

Chapters 2-5 reflect the same comparative approach, used to investigate how the later editions of the Byzantine Corpus were prepared and marketed in different European countries: each chapter provides a bibliographical and paratextual analysis of the subsequent German, Italian, French and Genevan editions respectively.

The Conclusions draw together all the information collected in the previous chapters and investigate three pivotal aspects of the Byzantine Corpus: i) the formation of the Byzantine Corpus and the individual popularity of each of the four Byzantine historians based on the frequency and popularity of both individual and collective editions; ii) the distinctive reasons of their popularity, analysed through a comparison of the different approaches with which editors and publishers have presented these texts to their respective audiences in Germany, Italy and France; iii) the reasons for the rise and decline in popularity of the Byzantine Corpus in the early seventeenth century.



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\* 'Corpus' refers here to those editions comprising all four texts (Zonaras, Choniates, Gregoras and Chalkokondyles) together.

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## **Abbreviations**

ADB: Allgemeine Deutschen Biographie

BL: British Library

BNF: Bibliothèque nationale de France

BSB: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

BOD-INC: Catalogue of 15th-century books in the Bodleian Libraries

BUC: Biblioteca Universidad Complutense

CCFR: Catalogue collectif de France

CERL: Consortium of European Research Libraries

CISA: Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio

DBF: Dictionnaire de biographie française

DBI: Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani

DTDEI: Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori Italiani. Il Cinquecento

EDIT16: Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo

FB: French Vernacular Books

FBI: French Biographical Index

GBI: German Biographical Index

GBV GVK: Gemeinsamer Bibliotheksverbund - Gemeinsamer Verbundkatalog

GLN: Bibliography of books published in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the cities of Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel

GZP: Genealogien zur Papstgeschichte

HRE: Holy Roman Empire  
IBI: Italian Biographical Index  
ICCU OPAC SBN: Istituto per il Catalogo Collettivo Unico  
ISTC: Incunabula Short-title Catalogue  
KB: Royal Library of the Netherlands  
KBR: Royal Library of Belgium  
ML: Municipal Library  
NCMH: New Cambridge Modern History  
NDB: Neuen Deutschen Biographie  
NBG: Nouvelle Biographie Générale  
NL: National Library  
ODB: Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium  
ODNB: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography  
RIECH: Répertoire des imprimeurs et éditeurs suisses actifs avant 1800  
RIL: Répertoire d'imprimeurs/libraires vers 1500 – vers 1800  
SL: State Library  
SPK: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz  
UK COPAC: UK and Irish National, Academic, and Special Library catalogue  
UL: University Library  
USTC: Universal Short-title Catalogue  
VIAF: Virtual International Authority File  
VD16: Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jh.  
VD17: Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jh.

### **Online resources**

ADB: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/index.html>  
BNF: <http://www.bnf.fr/fr/acc/x.accueil.html>  
BOD-INC: <http://incunables.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>  
CERL Thesaurus: [http://www.cerl.org/web/en/resources/cerl\\_thesaurus/main](http://www.cerl.org/web/en/resources/cerl_thesaurus/main)  
CCFR: <http://ccfr.bnf.fr/portailccfr/jsp/index.jsp>  
DBI: <http://www.treccani.it/biografie/>  
EDIT16: [http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web\\_iccu/ihome.htm](http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/ihome.htm)

EUROPEANA: <http://www.europeana.eu/portal/>  
GBV GVK: <http://gso.gbv.de/DB=2.1/>  
GLN: <http://www.ville-ge.ch/musinfo/bd/bge/gln/>  
ICCU OPAC SBN: <http://opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/base.jsp>  
ISTC: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/index.html>  
KBR: [http://www.kbr.be/catalogues/catalogues\\_en.html](http://www.kbr.be/catalogues/catalogues_en.html)  
LIBRIS: <http://libris.kb.se/?language=en>  
NDB: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/index.html>  
ODNB: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>  
RIECH: <http://dbserv1-bcu.unil.ch/riech/intro.php>  
UK COPAC: <http://copac.ac.uk/>  
USTC: <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>  
VIAF: <http://viaf.org/>  
VD16: <http://www.vd16.de/>  
VD17: <http://www.vd17.de/>  
Worldcat: <http://www.worldcat.org/>

### **Conventional definitions, biographical and bibliographical information**

**Names:** Since a variety of conflicting guidelines exist when it comes to the transcription of Byzantine and early modern names, I have followed specific rules in both cases; Byzantine names are transcribed according to the system of the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (**ODB**), avoiding any Latinate forms. With some rare exceptions, for early modern names I have followed the forms used in the *Virtual International Authority File* (**VIAF**) and in the major biographical indexes and dictionaries. I have generally used the modern form of names rather than the Latinate adaptation, except in those few cases in which the Latinate remains more widely used than the original form (e.g. ‘Oporinus’ rather than Herbst, ‘Bibliander’ rather than Buchmann, etc.). For kings, popes and for a number of other prominent figures I have used their modern English form (e.g. ‘Geoffrey of Villehardouin’ rather than Geoffroi de Villehardouin, ‘Louis Gonzaga-Nevers’ rather than Luigi Gonzaga-Nevers or Louis de Gonzague, duc de Nevers).

**Biographical information:** I have tried, whenever possible, to provide some basic biographical information and reference for all those who have a more or less important role in connection to the editions herein analysed, with the exception of rulers, for whom I believe it is unnecessary. For editors and dedicatees I have usually referred to the main national biographical indexes and dictionaries; for all that refers to Byzantium I have used the *ODB*; finally, with regard to printers and booksellers, for the sake of consistency, I have used only the available specialised literature, given that they seldom appear in major biographical dictionaries.

**Bibliographical catalogues and extant copies:** In order to offer some basic information on survival rates I have gathered the number of copies found in German, Italian, French and UK libraries. Where possible I have used the records of the *Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC)*, which, despite a number of structural flaws, currently remains the only metacatalogue describing all the European editions produced in the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> For German and Swiss editions I have used the *Gemeinsamer Verbundkatalog (GBV GVK)*, supported by the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (VD16)* and the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts (VD17)*; the latter two only provide data on books printed in German-speaking regions, and thus include some (but not all) Swiss editions (Geneva imprints, for instance, are not included). For Italian editions I have used the union catalogue of the *Istituto per il Catalogo Collettivo Unico (ICCU OPAC SBN)*, supported by the data published in the *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo (EDIT16)*. In some cases I have used the ICCU OPAC SBN records for non-Italian editions too, particularly when I could not find more detailed records elsewhere. For French editions I have used the *Catalogue collectif de France (CCFR)*. For copies in the UK I have used the *UK COPAC: the UK and Irish National, Academic, and Special Library catalogue (COPAC)*. In some rare cases I have resorted to **Worldcat** (though personally I find it a rather unreliable bibliographical source) or to local databases, such as, for instance, the catalogue of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF)*. For bibliographical references I have always listed the USTC reference number (when available) and the

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<sup>1</sup> The USTC incorporates the data originally published in the *French Vernacular Books* project (**FB**).

reference number of the record in the national catalogue of the country in which the specific edition was printed. Whenever possible, I have also listed all the specific bibliography and a link to a digitised copy on Google Books.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Since however Google Books does not offer reference numbers I can only provide the necessary keywords that I have used to identify the digitised copies that I have used in this research.

# Introduction

When a scholar today needs to work on a Byzantine source the choice usually falls, whenever possible, on an edition of the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* (CFHB). This recent and still on-going scholarly enterprise, first announced during the 13<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Oxford, 1966) and published under the auspices of the *Association Internationale des Études Byzantines*, was launched with the intention of producing high quality editions of all major Byzantine primary sources. Renowned for its rigorous academic standards and for its international scholarly collaboration, it has now resulted in a number of national series with common numeration (*Series Atheniensis, Berolinensis, Bruxellensis, Italica, Parisiensis, Thessalonicensis, Vindobonensis* and *Washingtonensis*). But what did scholars use before the CFHB was launched? The immediate predecessor was the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (CSHB), published in Bonn (hence *Corpus Bonnense*) between 1828 and 1897. This earlier enterprise, initiated by Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831) of the *Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften* and continued by Immanuel Bekker (1785-1871), despite maybe not achieving the philological standards that one may have expected of nineteenth century German scholarship,<sup>3</sup> succeeded nonetheless in disseminating for the first time Byzantine historiographical literature across most of Europe, as Diether Roderich Reinsch has shown by examining the lists of subscribers to the series.<sup>4</sup> Prior to the *Corpus Bonnense*, the only other major attempt to gather all Byzantine historical sources into one single collection saw the light in Paris towards the

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<sup>3</sup> REINSCH 2010, 441n.

<sup>4</sup> REINSCH 2010, 441.

end of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648):<sup>5</sup> the *Corpus Byzantinae Historiae* (hereinafter *Corpus Parisinum*, also known as *Corpus Parisiense* or *Byzantine du Louvre*) composed of twenty-eight editions of Byzantine historians, published in Paris between 1645 and 1688 (with supplements issued until as late as 1819, for a total of thirty-eight editions), including ten *editiones principes*.<sup>6</sup> The aim of the *Corpus Parisinum*, mostly edited by Jesuit scholars under the direction of Philippe Labbé and printed by the *Typographia Regia* under the patronage of Louis XIV,<sup>7</sup> was clear: to make the Byzantine sources in circulation at the time available to a wider public.

The *fil rouge* connecting the modern international effort to publish the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, in the twentieth century, to the *Corpus Bonnense* in the nineteenth century and to the *Corpus Parisinum* in the seventeenth century is thus quite evident. But was the *Corpus Parisinum* inspired by any earlier attempt to gather together a set of Byzantine sources, and, if so, to what extent? Indeed, the *Corpus Parisinum* may certainly be considered the first officially sanctioned enterprise in this direction. It would be wrong, however, to believe that it did not take inspiration from a number of previous experiments. As a matter of fact, in the decades prior to the publication of the *Corpus Parisinum*, and despite the lack of an official political or scholarly patronage, a number of attempts towards the creation of a basic corpus of Byzantine sources had been made, with varying degrees of success.

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<sup>5</sup> I do not consider here the so-called *Corpus Venetum*, published in Venice between 1729 and 1733 but only slavishly based on its predecessor, the *Corpus Parisinum*.

<sup>6</sup> Currently there is no specific literature on the *Corpus Parisinum*, though most of the editions are listed in KRUMBACHER 1897. For an overview on this vast editorial project see REINSCH 2010, 440-441.

<sup>7</sup> The editorial project was mostly directed by Jesuits, though scholars from other backgrounds also contributed to it. Among others who were involved in the project beside Philippe Labbé (1607-1667), the director, and Pierre Poussines (1609-1686), both Jesuits, were the Dominicans Jacques Goar (1601-1653) and François Combefis (1605-1679), and the laymen Charles Annibal Fabrot (1580-1659) and Charles du Cange (1610-1688).

This research is thus concerned with the editorial, printing and marketing history of four Byzantine historical narratives, published between 1556 and 1645, and soon collectively identified under the name *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae* (hereinafter ‘Byzantine Corpus’). The four Byzantine historians – Ioannes Zonaras, Niketas Choniates, Nikephoros Gregoras and Laonikos Chalkokondyles<sup>8</sup> – enjoyed considerable popularity in early modern Europe, with a peak of interest in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The extent of their popularity above all other Byzantine historians becomes evident in merely observing the editorial success of the Byzantine Corpus:<sup>10</sup> over fifty editions (including reprints and reissues) were published, against the fourteen of all the other Byzantine historical narratives put together.<sup>11</sup> In one of the few studies on the early publishing history of Byzantine historiography,<sup>12</sup> published in 1967, Agostino Pertusi briefly analysed the popularity of these texts, and in particular

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<sup>8</sup> On Zonaras see A.P. Kazhdan, ‘Zonaras, John’ in *ODB*, III, 2229; on Choniates see A.P. Kazhdan, ‘Choniates, Niketas’ in *ODB*, I, 428; on Gregoras see A.-M. Talbot, ‘Gregoras, Nikephoros’ in *ODB*, II, 874-875; on Chalkokondyles see A.-M. Talbot, ‘Chalkokondyles, Laonikos’ in *ODB*, I, 407.

<sup>9</sup> In this research I have limited the definition of ‘Byzantine historians’ to those of medieval Byzantium, thus excluding those of Late Antiquity, or those whose narrations come to an end with the Late Antiquity. I have also excluded ecclesiastical histories. Consequently, this excludes all those historians whose narrations stop in or before 641 AD, when Egypt fell to the Arabs, an event usually associated with the end of Late Antiquity. It is worth reminding here that ‘Byzantium’ is a modern conventional definition used to identify the Eastern Roman Empire during the Middle Ages. The Byzantines never considered themselves anything other than ‘Romans’, but for a series of political, ideological and religious reasons starting in the eighth century AD the West began challenging and delegitimising the Byzantine claim over the Roman heritage. This eventually resulted, among other things, in the creation of ‘Byzantium’ as a concept.

<sup>10</sup> That is, separate and collective editions published in the period 1556-1645. In this research I have not included the few cases of excerpts of the Byzantine Corpus published in other editions on the grounds that the focus of this research is on editions completely dedicated to the authors of the Byzantine Corpus. At any rate there are only two such cases: one edition of four Byzantine historians (Paris, 1616) that includes Gregoras (listed in Appendix C), and one edition of Geoffrey of Villehardouin (Lyon, 1601) that includes long extract from Choniates (see below, note 604).

<sup>11</sup> For a list and brief description of these other editions see List G and Appendix C.

<sup>12</sup> So far the most important contributions in this field are, respectively, those of KRUMBACHER 1897, who produced the first complete bibliography of Byzantine literature, though often limiting his research to the *editiones principes* and to the most important reprints. Krumbacher was then followed by PERTUSI 1967, mentioned here, who produced a very accurate study on the early editions and reception of Byzantine historians, but his scope almost completely neglects French editions published before the seventeenth century, and his work is now, in some respects, outdated. Most recently REINSCH (1994 and 2010) revived the study of early Byzantine editions, focussing particularly on the early editing of these texts, but only marginally on their subsequent editorial history outside of Germany.

of those of the Byzantine Corpus, in early modern Europe, and came to the conclusion that it could be explained in light of four main elements: i) a political-psychological element – the Turkish threat; ii) a humanistic-literary one – the discovery of the Greek and Byzantine world; iii) a historiographical-humanistic one – attempts towards a universal history; and, finally, iv) a religious element – the relation between Reformation, Counterreformation and the Orthodox faith.<sup>13</sup> Though Pertusi's results may be considered, broadly speaking, correct, the aim of this study is to show how the validity of such interpretation is true only in varying degrees, depending on the specific geographical area (Germany, Italy, France and Geneva) and on the different historical moments that are object of this analysis.

The study of the formation of this collective identification, developed as early as the *editiones principes* of these texts were published, is among the objectives of this research. Together, the narratives of Zonaras, Choniates, Gregoras and Chalkokondyles form a chronological continuum that runs uninterrupted from the creation of the world, described by Zonaras, down to the fall of Trebizond in 1461, where Chalkokondyles's narration comes to an end.<sup>14</sup> But the identification of these four historians into a homogeneous historical corpus also follows an idea first suggested by Hieronymus Wolf, the main editor of the *editiones principes* of these texts (all published between 1556 and 1562), that eventually developed into a common

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<sup>13</sup> 'La componente politico-psicologica (pericolo turco) è certamente un fattore importante, anzi direi fondamentale, ma non unico; c'è una componente umanistico-letteraria (scoperta del mondo greco e bizantino), ce n'è una storiografico-umanista (tentativi di storia universale), e infine una componente religiosa (Riforma e Controriforma di fronte alla dottrina della Chiesa greco-ortodossa).' PERTUSI 1967, 8.

<sup>14</sup> Ioannes Zonaras's *Ἐπιτομή Ἱστοριῶν*, in 18 books, covers the period from the creation of the world to 1118 AD (though his original contribution only covers the reign of Alexios Komnenos, 1081-1118 AD); Niketas Choniates's *Χρονική Διήγησις*, in 21 books, covers the period 1118-1206 AD; Nikephoros Gregoras's *Ρωμαϊκή Ἱστορία*, in 37 books, covers the period 1204-1359 AD; Laonikos Chalkokondyles's *Ἀποδείξεις Ἱστοριῶν*, in 10 books, covers the period 1298-1463 AD.

definition in several reprints thereafter, whether collective or not. Many of these reprints, particularly those produced in Germany, contain in fact all four historians together, further contributing to their identification as part of a homogeneous body.

The chronological limits of this research, 1556 and 1645, are determined, respectively, by the *editio princeps* of Chalkokondyles (1556), the earliest edition of one of the four historians of the Byzantine Corpus, and by the first edition of a volume of the *Corpus Parisinum* (1645). Analysing the scattered editions of the Byzantine Corpus against the editions published in the context of this wide and systematic editorial project would likely produce misleading results, hence the choice of 1645 as *terminus ad quem* for this study.

It should be noted that the last edition of the Byzantine Corpus printed before the introduction of the *Corpus Parisinum*, excluding reprints and reissues, appeared in 1615. I have nonetheless included the period 1616-1645 on the grounds that excluding it would have left unexplained the decline in popularity of the Byzantine Corpus in the first half of the seventeenth century, a decline that I have tried to explain in the conclusions of this research. Furthermore, it would have left a chronological gap (1615-1645) that would have merely left the burden of researching these years of decline to future scholarship.

One particularly interesting feature of the Byzantine Corpus is that, although its editions proved to be highly popular in a number of early modern European countries (particularly in the German-speaking area, in Italy and in France), they did not do so for the same reasons: in fact, depending on the country in which these books were printed, they were marketed, perceived and read in very different ways. In order to highlight these differences, this research is structured so to offer a comparative analysis

of the German (chapters 1 and 2), Italian (chapter 3), French (chapter 4) and Genevan (chapter 5) editions of the Byzantine Corpus.

To conclude, the purpose of this research is twofold: on one hand, to describe the creation and development of the Byzantine Corpus in prints, reprints and reissues of the second half of the sixteenth century and of the first half of the seventeenth century; on the other, to contextualise the Byzantine Corpus's editorial and marketing history with particular emphasis on the role played by editors and printers. This second aspect, in particular, is essential in order to understand, in particular, the history and popularity of the later series of Byzantine historical narratives, such as the *Corpus Parisinum*, and, more generally, the development of the concept of 'Byzantium' and of Byzantine studies in general.

These results will be achieved by means of a contextualised, comparative bibliographical and paratextual analysis of these editions. The paratextual analysis, in particular, will look at dedication letters, prefaces and title-pages, a rich and still not systematically exploited source of information, highly symptomatic of the cultural context and of the social networks in which these editions were conceived, marketed and read.<sup>15</sup> Supplementary texts that have been added in appendix to some editions such as, for instance, Hayton of Corycus's *Flor des Estoires d'Orient*,<sup>16</sup> have also been described, since they help understand the kind of works to which the texts of the Byzantine Corpus were most often associated.

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<sup>15</sup> Secondary literature on the early use of the editorial paratext is not as common nor necessarily as useful as one may hope. On the use of paratext in general I have used GENETTE 1987; on prefaces and dedication letters see PAOLI 2009, SANTORO 2006 and MAILLARD 2003; on title-pages see GILMONT – VANAUTGAERDEN 2008, RAUTENBERG 2007 and SMITH 2000.

<sup>16</sup> Published in appendix to both n°8 and n°9.

**Structure of this thesis:** Chapter 1, '*Formation of the Byzantine Corpus*', analyses the context in which the *editiones principes* of the Byzantine Corpus were planned, published and marketed. The first paragraph sketches the political situation in Germany in the decades prior to the publication of the Byzantine Corpus. The following three paragraphs analyse the figure of Hieronymus Wolf, often considered the 'father' of early Byzantine studies, and the role played by the Fuggers and by Johannes Oporinus (sponsors and publisher respectively) in the early formation of the Corpus, while the last two paragraphs provide a bibliographical and paratextual description of the *editiones principes*.

Chapters 2-4 reflect the same comparative approach, used to investigate how the later editions of the Byzantine Corpus were prepared and marketed in different European countries: each chapter provides a bibliographical and paratextual analysis of the subsequent German, Italian and French editions respectively. Chapter 5 looks at two late editions printed in Geneva, in the French-speaking area of Switzerland, thus belonging neither to the German-speaking area nor to France.

The *Conclusions* draw together all the information collected in the previous chapters and investigate three pivotal aspects of the Byzantine Corpus: i) the formation of the Byzantine Corpus and the individual popularity of each of the four Byzantine historians based on the frequency and popularity of both individual and collective editions; ii) the distinctive reasons of their popularity, analysed through a comparison of the different approaches with which editors and publishers have presented these texts to their respective audiences in Germany, Italy and France; iii) the reasons for the rise and decline in popularity of the Byzantine Corpus in the early seventeenth century.

*Appendix A* contains the complete bibliographical descriptions and the quotations (those relevant for the purposes of this research) from the prefatory materials of all the editions analysed in this research, gathering together in one place the evidence derived from the primary sources.

*Appendix B* provides basic biographical information on all the editors, dedicatees and patrons connected to the editions of the Byzantine Corpus. This appendix gathers efficiently all the non-essential biographical information and references on approximately eighty individuals, too many to be described in the main chapters without compromising their readability.

*Appendix C* lists and briefly describes all the editions of other Byzantine historians published before 1645 for sake of comparison with the editions of the Byzantine Corpus.

A number of lists of editions of the Byzantine Corpus and of other Byzantine historians (List A to List G), some more general, some more specific, have been added at the end of this research to help the reader understand the relations between the many different editions, reissues and reprints.

Finally, I would like to add that despite appreciating the existence and importance of the circulation of these texts in manuscript form too, particularly in scholarly circles, this research will not attempt to tackle any aspect of such manuscript transmission in relation to the Byzantine Corpus, the reason being that the purpose of this research is to understand the scale of circulation and popularity of these texts in print, in particular among the wider public, and not only within the networks of scholarly transmission and wealthy patronage. Furthermore, this research will also not attempt to determine the manuscript tradition used to edit the editions of the

Byzantine Corpus, since the kind of analysis required for a formal description of the contents of the printed editions – here provided – may certainly be provided, in the future, by philologists more skilled than me.



# Chapter 1

## The Formation of the Byzantine Corpus

The aim of this chapter is to aid in understanding the context in which the editions of the Byzantine Corpus were first planned, produced and marketed, and explain their sudden popularity in a relatively limited period of time in early modern European history. The first section, ‘Germany and the “Turks” [1.1] provides the main historical coordinates to understand the context in which the *editiones principes* of the Byzantine Corpus were developed.<sup>17</sup> In no way does this section seek to provide a comprehensive account of the historical period in which the events described in this research took place. The chapter will then continue outlining the roles played by the main editor of the Byzantine Corpus, Hieronymus Wolf [1.2], the patrons, the Fuggers of Augsburg [1.3], and the publisher, Johannes Oporinus [1.4].<sup>18</sup> Finally, it will provide the bibliographical [1.5] and paratextual [1.6] descriptions of the *editiones principes* of the Byzantine Corpus.

### 1.1: Germany and the ‘Turks’

A pivotal element in understanding and framing the events that led to the publication and editorial success of the *editiones principes* of the Byzantine Corpus is

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<sup>17</sup> The main sources I have used for the introductory paragraph on German history and on the relation between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empire are *NCMH*, II, *The Reformation (1520-1559)*, and *NCMH*, III, *The Counter-Reformation and price revolution (1559-1610)*. I have also used RITTER 1964, partly superseded by more recent works but still topical, TRACY 2002, on Charles V in particular, and GOFFMAN 2002 and LOADES 2002 on the relation between Germany and the Turks.

<sup>18</sup> For a general introduction on the early editions of Byzantine historians see PERTUSI 1967, REINSCH 1994 and REINSCH 2010.

the widespread sense of disorder and uncertainty experienced in Europe and in the Habsburg Empire in particular between 1517, when Luther's rage against the greed of Rome sparked off the Protestant Reformation, and 1571, when the Christian fleet defeated the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto. Events that may appear unrelated or only distantly related to the publication of these books may in fact have had a more or less direct influence on the decision of the Fuggers, the most powerful bankers of the time, to sponsor the publication of the *editiones principes* of the Byzantine Corpus. After 1517, when Luther nailed the ninety-five theses to the door of the *Schlosskirche* in Wittenberg, the political balance in the Habsburg Empire and in the German-speaking world became even more fragile than it had been in the previous decades. The Hungarian defeat at Mohács in 1526,<sup>19</sup> shortly followed by the Ottoman Siege of Vienna in 1529, determined not only the end of the independent Kingdom of Hungary – a long-standing and strategic buffer state between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires – but it also caused a wave of shock and dismay across all Europe: if the fall of Constantinople in 1453 served as a reminder that the Turks were approaching, the Siege of Vienna in 1529 meant that they had finally reached the very gates of Western Europe. The following four decades are thus often considered as the period in which the Ottoman threat on Western Europe was at its peak. Many perceived the situation in Germany and the eastern borderlands of the empire of Charles V (1500-1558, emperor 1519-1556) to be particularly critical, since beside being next in the line of Ottoman expansion, these areas were also among the ones in which the turmoil caused by the Protestant Reformation had hit hardest.

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<sup>19</sup> After the battle of Mohács and the heirless death of Louis II of Hungary, Hungary was divided into three parts: Royal Hungary, under Habsburg control, in the West; Ottoman Hungary, a territorial wedge stretching all the way to Buda (though Buda itself was only conquered in 1541) in the middle; and the Eastern Hungarian Kingdom (later known as the Principality of Transylvania), a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire, in the East.

The 1529 Siege of Vienna in particular is often considered the peak of the Ottoman expansion in Europe, and the fact that the Turks did not succeed in conquering Vienna was perceived only as a temporary setback. The success of the Holy League over the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto in 1571 was in no way a decisive military victory, but it marked a turning point in the Western perception of the Ottoman expansion by producing a very strong psychological response in the form of a widespread sense of relief. Though politically and religiously divided, the whole of Europe celebrated the Battle of Lepanto as a decisive Christian victory, and countless celebratory pamphlets were composed for the occasion, including one by Hieronymus Wolf, the editor of three *editiones principes* of the Byzantine Corpus.<sup>20</sup> As a matter of fact even before the Battle of Lepanto literary works on the Turks, known as *Turcica*, had been extremely popular. The production of *Turcica*, for the most part short pamphlets dealing with the origins, history, customs and achievements of the Turks, began in the fifteenth century but increased steadily throughout the whole early modern period, to the point that several thousand *Turcica* were eventually in circulation in the sixteenth century.<sup>21</sup>

The period 1517-1571 thus sets a temporal frame, but there are three more specific elements which also need be taken into account in order to understand the sudden popularity of the Byzantine Corpus: i) the Schmalkaldic League and the Schmalkaldic Wars in Germany;<sup>22</sup> ii) the Lutheran position on Islam and on the Turks

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<sup>20</sup> See note 35 below.

<sup>21</sup> There is a vast literature on the production of *Turcica*, on its contextualised meaning and on its significance. GÖLLNER 1961-1978 is currently the only bibliography on *Turcica*: it describes some 6,000 items, but it only lists sixteenth century editions and is far from being complete. General studies on the European perception of the Turks include: SCHWOEBEL 1967, PIPPIDI 1985, BLANKS – FRASSETTO 1999, BURNETT – CONTADINI 1999, ZILLI 2001-2004, FUCHS 2005 and MESERVE 2008. There are also more detailed analyses on the perception of the Turks in specific European countries: PRETO 1975 (Venice), MAS 1967 (Spain) and ROUILLARD 1938 (France).

<sup>22</sup> On the Schmalkaldic League and Wars see KANN 1977 and EVANS 1979.

in particular; iii) the Franco-Ottoman alliance against the Habsburg Empire. These three elements are closely intertwined and they have to be taken together.

The Schmalkaldic League was a defensive alliance of Protestant princes formed in 1531 in Germany and originally led by the Landgrave of Hessen and the Elector of Saxony, the two most prominent leaders of the early Reformation. The importance of this League lies in the fact that it succeeded in transforming what had begun as a religious schism within the Catholic Church into a strong, cohesive and well-organised political opposition to the emperor and the Catholic faction in Germany. In the following years the number of members in this alliance grew steadily, eventually including other principalities and free cities; for a certain time Christian III of Denmark (1503-1559, king 1534-1559) and Francis I of France (1494-1547, king 1515-1547) also joined the League. Unlike other members of the League, however, Francis I had joined in order to find political allies.<sup>23</sup> Since France was almost entirely surrounded by Charles V's empire, Francis I opted for a strategy of diplomatic treaties and alliances with Charles V's enemies. To do so he did not hesitate to ally with the Ottoman sultan, Suleiman I the Magnificent (1494-1566, sultan 1520-1566).<sup>24</sup> If Francis I's *Realpolitik* allowed him to forge an alliance with the Ottomans, the same cannot be said of the leaders of the Schmalkaldic League. Among other things, this was also due to the fact that Luther had only occasionally dealt in any detail with the

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<sup>23</sup> Francis I however needed the support of the Catholic clergy in France, which in turn could not accept the king's alliance with the enemies of Rome: in 1540 he thus leaved the Schmalkaldic League and published the Edict of Fontainebleau, codifying the persecutions against French Protestants.

<sup>24</sup> This alliance was described as '[...] the first non-ideological diplomatic alliance of its kind between a Christian and non-Christian empire'; KANN 1977, 66. As such, it brought political and strategic advantages, but it also caused widespread criticism across Europe: 'The friendship between the two powers, which lasted, with some intermissions, for nearly three centuries, was based [...] on a community of interests as opposed to certain other powers – a bond which insured its continuance in spite of every difference of religion, civilization, traditions, and ideals. It was denounced as the "impious alliance", "the sacrilegious union between the Lily and the Crescent", but despite its ill odor it was destined to survive, because it was so obviously useful to both the high contracting parties.' MERRIMAN 1966, 132-133. See also GOFFMAN 2002, 98-127.

question of how his followers were supposed to relate to Islam, and his position had in fact shifted over time.<sup>25</sup> In 1518, in his *Explanation of the Ninety-Five Theses*, Luther argued that the Turks were the apocalyptic divine scourge sent by God to punish the Christians for their sins and destroy the Antichrist (that is, the Pope and the Catholic Church),<sup>26</sup> rebutting the possibility that they could be fought back by means of a crusade: the Turks were not the real enemies, but merely an instrument of God. He did not completely reject the possibility of a non-religious war against the Turks, as long as the 'spiritual' war of each believer was fought through prayer and repentance. But by 1528, after the pillage of Buda in 1526 and with the Ottomans closing fast on Vienna, he had substantially changed his views: having acknowledged the increased threat, he finally urged Charles V, the members of Schmalkaldic League and in fact all Germans to unite and fight back against the Ottoman invasion.<sup>27</sup> Contrary to expectations, however, the members of the Schmalkaldic League took advantage of the fact that Charles V was occupied fighting off the Ottomans and the French and engaged in military operations against the remaining Catholic bishops and princes in northern and central Germany. Wearied by this situation, in 1544 Charles V signed the Peace of Crepy with France, and in 1546 he finally waged war against the Schmalkaldic League. After nine years of indecisive warfare, in 1555 a treaty was signed in Augsburg in which Protestantism was granted official status within the Empire and an important precedent was set: the ruler's denomination would determine the subjects's

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<sup>25</sup> On the delicate and complex relation between Luther, Protestantism, the Turks and Islam in general see CUNNINGHAM 2000; HOUSLEY 2002, 85-98 and 131-152; FRANCISCO 2007; EHMANN 2008.

<sup>26</sup> CUNNINGHAM 2000, 141.

<sup>27</sup> See the treatises *Sermon against the Turk* [*Vom Kriege wider die Turken*, Mart. Luther, Wittenberg, [Hans Weiss], 1529 (USTC: 702493)] and *On war against the Turk* [*Eine Heerpredigt widder den Turcken*, Mart. Luther Wittenberg, [Nickel Schirlentz], 1529 (USTC: 646126)], both written in 1528 but published in 1529. Both texts appear in a number of almost identical imprints; in both cases I have used the Wittenberg imprints with the highest number of surviving copies.

denomination, a principle now commonly referred to as *cuius regio, eius religio*. Although not conclusive, the treaty of 1555 may be considered a victory of the Schmalkaldic League, since it shattered Charles V's hopes for religious unity within the Habsburg Empire. Later the same year he renounced the title of Holy Roman Emperor in favour of his brother, Ferdinand I (1503-1564, emperor 1558-1564), and the Spanish Empire in favour of his son, Philip II (1527-1598, king 1556-1598).

Among other things that Philip II inherited from his father was an ongoing war with France, later known as the Italian War of 1551-1559, last stage of the Great Italian Wars (1494-1559). This war, originally triggered by Henry II of France (1519-1559, king 1547-1559) in the hope of regaining French supremacy in Italy, soon extended to a series of conflicts in various parts of Europe, few of which actually took place in Italy. Following Francis I's policy, the key element of this war was the Mediterranean alliance between France and the Ottoman Empire: thanks to a treaty signed by Henry II and Suleiman the Magnificent, a large number of Ottoman galleys was dispatched to join the French fleet in the Western Mediterranean to wage war against the Spanish and their allies, the Genoese. The war moved towards an end in 1557, after the Spanish victory at the Battle of St Quentin and, most importantly, after the double financial default of Spain and France, in 1557. The Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis was signed in April 1559 and it was sealed by the marriage between Philip II and Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II.<sup>28</sup> But Henry II died accidentally just a few weeks later in a joust organised to celebrate his daughter's marriage, and his untimely death substantially accelerated the events that led to the French Wars of Religion (1562-1598), on which more will follow in chapter 4.1.

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<sup>28</sup> Elizabeth had originally been betrothed to Philip II's heir apparent, the infamous Don Carlos.

With one exception [n°07], the *editiones principes* of the Byzantine Corpus were published at a time when the Habsburg Empire was still at war with France, with the Schmalkaldic League and with the Ottomans, while the reprints were published at more or less regular intervals in the following decades.

## 1.2 Hieronymus Wolf

Wolf was born in the town of Oettingen, in Swabia, in 1516.<sup>29</sup> His mother died when he was still a young man, an event that continued to affect his life, leading to intermittent periods of depression and panic attacks. Between 1537 and 1539 he was in Wittenberg as one of Philipp Melanchthon's (1497-1560) pupils,<sup>30</sup> and in 1548 he matriculated at the University of Basel, where he met and befriended Johannes Oporinus (1507-1568),<sup>31</sup> the future printer of most of his works. After spending a year in Paris, in 1551 Wolf moved to Augsburg, where in 1557 he was appointed head of the *Gymnasium bei St. Anna* under the protection of Anton Fugger (1493-1560),<sup>32</sup> head of one of the wealthiest and most prominent banking families of the sixteenth century. Later he was employed as librarian and personal secretary by Anton's nephew, Johann Jakob Fugger (1516-1575), a position that allowed him to undertake his first major works in classical Greek literature, on Demosthenes and particularly on Isocrates,<sup>33</sup> on whom he had been working since 1548. In 1557 he was appointed head-librarian at the Library of Augsburg. Less is known about his life in later years: after selling a large part

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<sup>29</sup> For Wolf's general biography see *GBI*, VIII, 3918; G. Mezger, 'Wolf, Hieronymus' in *ADB*, XLIII, 1898, 755-757 (*NDB* online, PND: 100706460).

<sup>30</sup> On Melanchthon see *GBI*, V, 2293; R. Stupperich, 'Melanchthon (eigentlich Schwarzerdt), Philipp' in *NDB*, XVI, 1990, 741-745 (*NDB* online, PND: 118580485).

<sup>31</sup> On Oporinus see paragraph 2.3 below.

<sup>32</sup> On Anton and Johann Jakob Fugger see paragraph 2.2 below.

<sup>33</sup> *Isocratis Orationes omnes, quae quidem ad nostram aetatem peruenerunt, una et viginti numero, unà cum nouem eiusdem epistolis, è Graeco in Latinum conuersae, per Hieronymum VVolffium Oetingensem. Quid in hac editione praeterea sit expectandum uersa pagina reperies*, Basel, Johannes Oporinus, 1548 [USTC: 668091].

of his private library in 1572 possibly due to financial constraints, Hieronymus Wolf died in Augsburg in 1580, aged sixty-four.

Though probably best remembered as a late humanist and arguably as the first Byzantinist, during his lifetime Wolf actually devoted far more attention to the study of what may be considered more conventional classical Greek scholarship: aside from Isocrates and Demosthenes, on whom he worked extensively, as well as Epictetus, who also seems to have piqued his curiosity. Among other publications worth mentioning are a Latin translation of the Byzantine lexicon *Souda*,<sup>34</sup> a poem celebrating the Christian victory at Lepanto in 1571,<sup>35</sup> and a catalogue of Greek books and manuscripts in the Library of Augsburg.<sup>36</sup>

But despite his best efforts towards classical scholarship, it is mostly thanks to his contributions in the area of Byzantine studies that Wolf is best remembered. In 1555 a number of Greek manuscripts was purchased in Constantinople and Amaseia<sup>37</sup> by Hans Dernschwam (1494-1568),<sup>38</sup> a retired commercial agent representing the Fuggers' interests in the East. Upon his return, Dernschwam convinced his former employers, Anton and Johann Jakob Fugger, to have the manuscripts edited and

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<sup>34</sup> *Suidae Historica, caeteraque omnia quae ulla ex parte ad cognitionem rerum spectant, solis uerborum explicationibus quae quidem in uulgatis Lexicis passim extant praetermissis: [...] Nunc primùm liberalitate Magnifici & Generosi uiri D. Caroli Vilingeri, Baronis à Schoeneberg [...] opera uerò ac studio Hiero. VVolfij in Latinum sermonem conuersa. Accessit Rerum & uerborum extra ordinem Alphabeticum memorabilium Index*, Basel, Johannes Oporinus and Johannes Herwagen, 1564 [USTC: 695114]. On the *Souda*, *Suda*, or *Suidas*, see A.P. Kazhdan, 'Souda', in *ODB*, III, 1930-1931. It is however likely that Wolf's interest in this text was mostly determined by the rich content of references to classical texts.

<sup>35</sup> *De Christianae Classi Divinitus Concessa victoria contra Turcos: Anno Domini M.D.LXXI. Nonis Octobris. Carmina quaedam Hieronymi VVolfij: Et M. A. Mureti &c. oratio*, Augsburg, Philip Ulhard, [1572]. [USTC: 629165].

<sup>36</sup> *Catalogus graecorum librorum, manuscriptorum, avgustanae bibliothecae: quem, ea Respublica, ideò edendum curauit: ut eos, vel uiris doctis interpretandos: vel diligentibus typographis, conferendos [...] ad augenda rei literariae commoda, communicaret*, Augsburg, Michael Manger, 1575 [USTC: 619759]

<sup>37</sup> Modern Amasya, approximately 100 miles south of Samsun and the Black Sea, in central Anatolia.

<sup>38</sup> On Dernschwam see *GBI*, II, 651; K. Oberdorffer in *NDB*, III, 1957, 609 (*NDB* online, PND: 118898884). Dernschwam's diary on his travel to Constantinople and Asia Minor was published in BABINGER 1923, but unfortunately it does not mention the purchase of these manuscripts. See also STEIN 1932.

translated, a task which was eventually assigned to Wolf. In March 1557 Wolf published, *ex officina Oporiniana*, Zonaras's *editio princeps*, and, a few months later, in August, Niketas Choniates was also ready. Considering the large size of these two works, approximately six hundred leaves in two-column, small-cased folios, the completion of this task in just over two years is a remarkable achievement. In 1562 Wolf published the *editio princeps* of Nikephoros Gregoras, with which he completed his editorial work on Byzantine texts.

Information on Wolf's character and ideas is largely provided by Wolf himself. While the prefaces to his editions and the extant archival material are not always as useful as one might hope,<sup>39</sup> a very helpful tool is the *Commentariolus de vita sua*, a short autobiography encompassing a large part of his life, from childhood to the very last years, purportedly written at Oporinus's request.<sup>40</sup> Wolf is not elusive about his private life, quite the contrary; and despite the fact that most of the notes on his character and personality are not strictly related to the subject of this research, some are indeed relevant. Among other things, Wolf often provides rather precise information on his

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<sup>39</sup> A number of autograph letters by Wolf to Oporinus survive in a manuscript in the Basel University Library, *MS Frey-Gryn. I ii*, still unpublished. I did not have the opportunity to examine the manuscript, but substantial excerpts are published in HUSNER 1949. Two other letters, in Greek, addressed to Joachim Camerarius (1500-1574), were recently discovered in Munich BSB: see HAJDÚ 2003. On Munich BSB and on Wolf's connection to this library see HARTIG 1917.

<sup>40</sup> The earliest edition of the *Commentariolus* appears in the eighth volume of J.J. Reiske's (1716-1774) series *Oratores Graeci* (REISKE 1773, VIII). Unfortunately Reiske provides little information on the origin of the text: in the preface it is only said that it had already been partly edited by J.J. Brucker (1696-1770) in his *Meletemata*, but death prevented him from completing the work, so Reiske took over [\*<sup>5</sup>v]. Reiske claims that he had a single manuscript to work on, and that this manuscript was copied by an 'ignorant and hasty scribe' [\*<sup>6</sup>r], which helps understand, in his opinion, the inconsistencies throughout the text. In his introduction to the *Commentariolus*, Wolf explains that he started writing his autobiography in 1564 at Oporinus's request. The structure of the text, however, reminds more of a collection of personal notes, arranged in no particular order. It is unclear whether or not the text was intended for publication, but if one were to believe that it had actually been written at Oporinus's request, it would not be unreasonable to assume that Oporinus intended to print it. Oporinus however died four years later, in 1568, and this might explain why the *Commentariolus* remained unpublished for more than two centuries (but Wolf continued to write at least until late 1570: REISKE, VIII, 1773, 875). It is also unclear what exactly happened to the text before Brucker began his work on it. The *Commentariolus* has recently been translated into German: BECK 1984; I was unable to obtain a copy of ZÄH 1998.

salaries, a sort of information that may be of some interest to economic historians, for instance.<sup>41</sup> The general impression that one gets of Wolf from the *Commentariolus*, however, is that of a man subdued by hypochondria and paranoia. His depressive tendencies led him to a life of almost constant unhappiness, and his autobiography is a continuous lament about his dissatisfaction on one matter or the other (especially regarding his physical condition),<sup>42</sup> and about his financial arrangements with his patrons and employers, which, in his view, almost invariably bordered on financial exploitation.

The description of Wolf's life and activity, however important, is not sufficient to contextualise the early development of the study of Byzantium if one does not weigh carefully the other figures that stand out for their pivotal role in the publication of the Byzantine Corpus: namely the patrons, *i.e.* the Fugger family, and the printer, Johannes Oporinus. Due to their involvement in a financial and political operation of almost global proportions, however, the Fuggers's role, if less direct, is nevertheless far more relevant and far more complex than that played by Oporinus.

### **1.3 The Fugger family and their patronage**

Aside from considerations on the broader historical situation, it is essential to frame the financial interests of the Fuggers within the eastern European borderlands separating the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires, since only through a detailed analysis of their position is it possible to understand the financial backing of Wolf's

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<sup>41</sup> See REISKE, VIII, 1773, 846, 850, 859, 860, 865 and 871.

<sup>42</sup> REISKE, VIII, 1773, 811, 813, 816, 819, 829, 853, 860. The latter two, in particular, refer to states of exhaustion explicitly said to have been caused by his work on the Byzantine corpus: '*Caeterum illo tempore Zonarae et Choniatae conuersione defatigatus, in thermas ferinas, non tam valetudinis ergo, quam requiescendi, et insidias euitandi, quas vitae meae parari suspicabar, studio sui profectus*' (853); '*Nam dum in Byzantine historia dies noctesque laboro, solitasque deambulationes intermitto, magnam stomachi debilitatem sensi*' (860).

editions.<sup>43</sup> With Jakob Fugger the Rich (1459-1525)<sup>44</sup> and his nephew Anton (1493-1560)<sup>45</sup> the Fuggers reached international fame and became arguably the most prominent bankers in Europe.<sup>46</sup> Unlike modern banks, however, the structure of Renaissance banking firms was more similar to that of modern multinational

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<sup>43</sup> There are several biographies on individual members of the Fugger family, but few studies on the family or the firm as a whole. For a financial history of the firm see EHRENBERG 1928. The only available work on the Fuggers's patronage remains COSTIL 1939. Costil's work, however, has two flaws: it completely lacks bibliographical references, making it hard to use against historical facts, and it seems to consider the Fuggers's patronage as a completely disinterested act of benevolence towards the arts, failing to consider its function as a means to influence the German public opinion. This said, the final passage of the work sums up very well the role of the Fuggers's patronage in contemporary society: *'Malgré la diversité des circonstances biographiques, on reconnaît dans son ensemble à certains traits généraux le mécénat des Fugger. Il y a une communauté de moyens d'actions et un esprit de famille que les divergences individuelles ne font pas disparaître. – Pour agir, les Fugger ne disposent pas directement de bénéfices ecclésiastiques ou d'emplois civils, mais d'une suprématie financière qui s'étend sur toute l'Europe. Ils disposent ainsi de capitaux immenses et d'une grande influence politique; ils ont en outre la commodité de relations internationales étendues. Leurs agents s'emploient en divers pays d'Europe à des recherches intéressantes l'humanisme; et grâce à eux, les humanistes eux-mêmes sont mis en rapport, trouvent facilité de travail ou assistance. Un autre caractère de ce mécénat est un libéralisme qui, sauf à la fin du siècle, ne s'inquiète pas des opinions politiques ou religieuses. C'est par opportunisme ou intérêt, non par doctrine, que la banque soutient une certaine cause, mais en fait de relations personnelles, elle se sent trop indispensable pour craindre de se compromettre. Elle développe en général l'esprit d'échange pacifique utile à sa prospérité. Cependant, ce mécénat de banquier a ses préoccupations et inspire une littérature appropriée. Individuellement chaque Fugger a ses opinions propres; mais peu importe en soi à leur société une conception de l'Etat ou un dogme religieux, pourvu que les circonstances et l'état d'esprit restent favorables aux opérations financières. [...] Quant aux initiatives de leur mécénat, on peut les classer ainsi: protection accordée aux personnes, sous forme de dons, de subsides, ou aux entreprises, comme les imprimeries d'Oporinus et d'Henri Estienne; travail donné aux artistes et aux lettrés, commandes d'oeuvres, emplois de précepteurs, de secrétaires, de bibliothécaires; facilités de travail accordées aux érudits, soit occasionnelles, soit durables, sous la forme de centres d'études comme le Collège Sainte Anne d'Augsbourg, ou de donations aux bibliothèques et aux musées. [...] Le trait commun des Fugger, c'est leur passion pour tout ce qui peut luxueusement embellir le décor de la vie, à l'italienne, avec tout ce que peut offrir aux ressources des manieurs d'argent un monde agrandi depuis peu, et la luxe, parfois lourd, des banquiers de l'Allemagne du sud. Même lorsque la culture humaniste se développe davantage chez certains, chez Raymond Fugger, et surtout chez Jean-Jacques et Ulrich ou chez Marc, ce qui reste à l'origine et demeure toujours vivace, c'est un goût de la beauté à la fois précieuse et tangible, et comme une sensualité de l'érudition qui les porte à collectionner les antiques, les médailles, les manuscrits illustrés, les belles reliures. Il y a là dans cette famille de spéculateurs un affinement progressif de la notion de richesse. La valeur marchande se transforme en signe monétaire, celle-ci en valeur d'art, parce que c'est un trésor durable en même temps qu'un embellissement de la vie, pour atteindre chez les plus évolués aux valeurs abstraites et permanentes du savoir.'* COSTIL 1939, 176-178. On the subject of the Fuggers's patronage see also WÖLFLE 2009, though unfortunately this work only deals with the Fuggers's patronage of the fine arts.

<sup>44</sup> For some biographical reference on most members of the Fugger family see, in general, *GBI*, III, 1011. The following webpage clarifies the degrees of kinship between family members: <http://genealogy.euweb.cz/fugger/fugger1.html> (last accessed: 23/02/2012). The members of the family who recur most frequently in this research are, respectively: Anton Fugger (1493-1560), his sons Marcus (1529-1597) and Johann (1531-1598), and his nephews Johann Jakob (1516-1575) and Ulrich (1526-1584), sons of Raymund (1489-1535), Anton's older brother.

<sup>45</sup> On Anton Fugger see G. von Pölmütz, 'Fugger, Anton (Reichsgraf 1526)' in *NDB*, V, 1961, 714-719 (*NDB* online PND: 118694170).

<sup>46</sup> EHRENBERG 1928, 83.

corporations: the liquidity of the Fuggers was relatively limited, but they owned large estates in Augsburg and in Southern Germany, mines in Tyrol and Hungary, mining shares in other European countries and in the Americas, and strategic stock trades and ties with mercantile businesses all around Europe and, in fact, all around the world, including trading partners in Asia and the Americas. The banking firm also provided a number of more conventional services, including private banking, investment and accountancy, lending money to almost all European monarchs and princes, both small and large sums alike. It is thus not unreasonable to state that, when the rising national states of early modern Europe had yet to develop long-term financial policies, private bankers's loans could often have a substantial impact on the course of history.<sup>47</sup> However, the idea that bankers were in control of the situation would be misleading. Actually, it was quite the contrary: private bankers were seldom in a position to refuse a loan to a ruler, and as a consequence they often ended up being too closely tied to the policies of those rulers to whom they had lent money.<sup>48</sup> Since rulers rarely showed the same zeal in returning the money that they had so eagerly borrowed, it created a vicious circle: the bankers would agree to lend more money, with the condition that rulers recognised their former debts within the new contracts. Often, however, the bankers had to take up the responsibility of collecting the liquidity on behalf of the

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<sup>47</sup> John Hacket, an agent of the English crown in Antwerp in the mid 1520s, recorded in his diary that the Fuggers's agent told him that, had Louis II of Hungary had 150,000 ducats more than the 50,000 that he had received from the Fuggers at the last moment, he probably would have defeated the Turks at the Battle of Mohács in 1526. EHRENBURG 1928, 86.

<sup>48</sup> It was all the more difficult for the Fuggers to refuse a loan to the Habsburg emperors for two main reasons: first, they were based in the Bavarian city of Augsburg, which made them the immediate bankers to the Habsburg emperors; second, in the sixteenth century Augsburg was a free city with a vast Protestant majority among its citizens but with a mixed Catholic and Protestant ruling class, resulting in long periods of social tension, especially during the Schmalkaldic Wars. In this situation the Catholic and wealthy Fuggers were frequent targets of popular hatred. For these and other reasons, despite the inherent risks caused by recurrent debt insolvency, imperial protection was not just convenient to the Fuggers, it was often indispensable. EHRENBURG 1928, 97-101.

ruler,<sup>49</sup> and there was no solid legal protection against financial insolvency should the ruler have gone bankrupt, or simply if he had decided not to pay his debts. On occasion these loans were paid back in cash, but more often by means of mortgages on regional revenues.<sup>50</sup> In particular, by the middle of the sixteenth century the Fuggers had almost 90% of their financial interests split between Spain and Hungary, which means that a substantial part of their revenues came from a region – Hungary – which was constantly under Ottoman threat.

It is also important to identify the specific underlying drives that prompted the munificence of each member of the Fugger family. For instance, if Jakob the Rich mainly engaged in charitable work in order to counteract the negative perception that large portions of his fellow citizens had of the Fuggers and of their activities,<sup>51</sup> Anton and Johann Jakob (1516-1575),<sup>52</sup> as well as Anton's sons Marcus (1529-1597)<sup>53</sup> and Johann (1531-1598),<sup>54</sup> often used patronage, and particularly editorial patronage, as means to draw attention to specific issues. Wolf's Byzantine editions, for instance, address the issue of the Ottoman threat to Eastern Europe, as it appears evident from the prefaces of these editions. And beside the genuine concerns that the Fuggers may

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<sup>49</sup> 'In 1536, when the Emperor again entered on war with France, the Fugger instantly took a leading part in raising the necessary money.' EHRENBURG 1928, 95.

<sup>50</sup> For instance, the financial situation of the Habsburg Empire was often so bad that Charles V had money lent to him in exchange for a percentage share (usually 10-12%) on the revenues from the Kingdom of Naples or Spain (the latter including the annual shipments of silver from the Americas). These mortgages were however not risk-free for the bankers: the situation was often so volatile that predicting the advantages of a financial operation on the long term was a very delicate matter.

<sup>51</sup> 'It is undeniable [...] that the Fugger in many countries were hated by the people. Envy and misunderstanding contributed not a little to their unpopularity. In popular language their name was used as a generic term for a great monopolist'. EHRENBURG 1928, 83-84. Aside from the foundation and the enrichment of several buildings in Augsburg and its environs, the most famous of Johann Jakob Fugger's charitable donations was the construction in Augsburg of a whole quarter for the poor, known as *Fuggerei*, still in existence today.

<sup>52</sup> On Johann Jakob Fugger see H.J. Rieckenberg, 'Fugger, Johann Jakob' in *NDB*, V, 1961, 720-721 (*NDB* online PND: 118703501).

<sup>53</sup> On Marcus Fugger see W. Zorn, 'Fugger, Markus' in *NDB*, V, 1961, 721-722 (*NDB* online PND: 118639110).

<sup>54</sup> On Johann Fugger see H.J. Rieckenberg, 'Fugger, Johannes (Hans)' in *NDB*, V, 1961, 721 (*NDB* online PND: 11870351X).

have had about the political and religious situation in Hungary, the protection of the firm's regional assets was clearly among their preoccupations as well. Anton and Johann Jakob Fugger, however, had different agendas and interests, to the point that one wonders whether the motivations they shared with regard to editorial patronage were, in fact, the same. If Anton still displayed the entrepreneurial skills that had made the Fuggers the most powerful bankers of their time, Johann Jakob, who clearly cultivated the arts more than the ledgers, seems to have lacked them, and always showed little interest in the Fuggers's business.<sup>55</sup> despite inheriting the firm's leadership in 1560, in 1563 he was forced to quit after causing substantial losses,<sup>56</sup> and some time later he had to sell his own library to repay part of his debts.<sup>57</sup>

In this context, it is also worth wondering whether the Fuggers had any religious reasons to back the edition of the Byzantine Corpus. Indeed, religious propaganda is a pivotal element in the publication of some later editions of Byzantine texts, both from a Catholic and anti-Catholic point of view (and particularly from the second half of the seventeenth century, and thus not analysed in this research), but usually Byzantine

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<sup>55</sup> 'Hans Jakob Fugger [*i.e.* Johann Jakob], the eldest nephew who under Anton's will had to take over the direction of the business in conjunction with Marx [*i.e.* Marcus], Anton's eldest son, was by no means equal to his task. A patron of art and learning and a passionate collector, he was much occupied with such pursuits and his personal relations with princes, especially the Dukes of Bavaria.' EHRENBERG 1928, 119. It should be noted, however, that Johann Jakob was compelled to take over the direction of the firm upon Anton's death in 1560, but, in fact, as long as Anton had been alive Johann Jakob had always declined all offers to take up the firm's leadership. EHRENBERG 1928, 117.

<sup>56</sup> See EHRENBERG 1928, 124. It appears, however, that bankruptcy was not uncommon among the late generations of the Fugger family, particularly among the patrons of the arts: in fact, even before Johann Jakob had gone bankrupt, the same fate had befallen his younger brother and only Protestant member of the family, Ulrich. He too was a great patron of the arts as well as of large editorial projects, mainly carried out by Henri Estienne in Geneva. His debts grew to a point that Johann Jakob and Marcus were forced to sell all his assets and keep him under guardianship. He was allowed to keep his library but had to move to Heidelberg, and it was only thanks to the Court's pressure that his family eventually agreed to pay him a life annuity. His library was later incorporated into the Palatine Library in Heidelberg. BECK 1984, 82, 249n.

<sup>57</sup> Johann Jakob's library was gradually purchased by the Duke of Bavaria between 1571 and 1575 and is now in Munich BSB. BECK 1984, 97, 288n; COSTIL 1939, 164-165.

historians do not seem to have been used extensively in this particular context,<sup>58</sup> so, in this case, religious propaganda may reasonably be excluded. With the exception of Ulrich, the Fuggers were fairly moderate and open-minded Catholics, with little interest in religious controversy and actually very much in favour of religious reconciliation, for religious reconciliation was in the firm's interest. Evidence of this is that several artists and scholars under their patronage were in fact Protestants, including Wolf.

The scarcity of scholarly literature on the patronage policies of the Fuggers does not allow for definitive conclusions on the role they played in the production of the Byzantine Corpus; some points, however, may be put forward. The first is that the main motivation for both Anton and Johann Jakob to fund Wolf's editorial project was the same of all those moderates, in the Habsburg Empire, who were worried about religious and political divisions coupling up with the Ottoman threat in eastern Europe. By funding the editions of the Byzantine Corpus it is likely that Anton Fugger's intention was to influence the German public opinion by means of soft-power,<sup>59</sup> and he may have urged Wolf to tackle, in his prefaces, the question of the Ottoman threat in Hungary and south-eastern Germany and to suggest the necessary solution, namely, a strong German internal unity. In other words, an increased awareness of the gravity of the situation among the public opinion was likely to be indirectly beneficial to the firm's interests in Hungary and in the eastern Mediterranean. To conclude, it is not possible to say to what extent the Fuggers had the power to actively influence Wolf's prefaces, but given that Wolf was Johann Jakob's personal secretary, and that the

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<sup>58</sup> PERTUSI 1967, 40-45 and 68-69.

<sup>59</sup> 'Soft-power' is a concept defined in 1990 by Joseph S. Nye and further developed in 2004 (NYE 1990; NYE 2004). It is identified as the ability to obtain power by means of co-option and attraction rather than by coercion and payment ('hard-power'), and it may be exerted by actors and institutions other than sovereign states (NYE 2004, 5-15).

project was fully sponsored by the Fuggers, it would not be unreasonable to assume that they somehow urged him to stress, in his prefaces, the issue of the Ottoman threat to Christianity. This seems to be particularly evident when observing the shift from the rather uninformative preface to Zonaras to the far more interesting ones to Choniates and Gregoras. And, even assuming that no influence was effectively exerted in this direction, the coincidence between Wolf's own concerns and those of the Fuggers about the Turkish threat is likely to have sealed a communion of interests and ideas that contributed to a lasting collaboration between the Protestant scholar and his Catholic patrons.

#### 1.4 Johannes Oporinus

Thanks to the relevance of some of his major editions, Johannes Oporinus (born Herbst or Herbster, 1507-1568)<sup>60</sup> is usually regarded as one of the most relevant printers in Basel during his time, second only to Johann Froben (1460-1527).<sup>61</sup> Indeed, some of the most innovative and remarkable editions of the whole sixteenth century were published by Oporinus: among others, the *editio princeps* of the *Corpus Alcorani*,<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> For an overview of the period and context in which Oporinus operated see MACLEAN 2009. For a general biography on Oporinus see E. Bonjour, 'Oporinus (eigentlich Herbst), Johannes' in *NDB*, XIX, 1999, 555 (*NDB* online PND: 118736396). There is also a monograph, STEINMANN 1967, but I was unable to obtain a copy.

<sup>61</sup> On Froben (still often found in modern secondary literature in the Latin form 'Johannes Frobenius') see *GBI*, II, 988; A. Pfister, 'Froben(ius), Johann' in *NDB*, V, 1961, 638-640 (*NDB* online PND: 118955179).

<sup>62</sup> *Machumetis saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque alcoran, quo velut authentico legum divinarum codice agareni & Turcae, aliique Christo adversantes populi reguntur his adiunctae sunt confutationes multorum, et quidem probatissimorum auctorum unà cum doctissimi viri Philippi Melanchthonis [variant: excellentiſſ. Theologi Martini Lutheri] praemonitione adiunctae sunt etiam, Turcarum res gestae maximè memorabiles haec omnia in unum volumen redacta sunt*, [Basel, Johannes Oporinus, 1543] [USTC 674630; VD16: K 2585]. There are at least six variants of the 1543 *Corpus Alcorani* [VD16: K 2583; K 2584; K 2585; ZV 1036; ZV 16001; ZV 18456], with minor differences in the title-page, in the order of the texts and, most importantly, in the preface: three have a preface by Melanchthon alone, two by Melanchthon and Luther, one by Luther alone. The edition is usually referred to as *Corpus Alcorani* because it includes a series of shorter texts on Islam and on related

a collection of texts edited by Theodor Bibliander (1504/09-1564)<sup>63</sup> which includes the first edition of a Latin translation of the Quran, published in 1543, and the *editio princeps* of what is arguably the most remarkable early modern book on human anatomy, Andreas Vesalius's (1514-1564) *De humani corporis fabrica*, also published in 1543.<sup>64</sup>

Oporinus's background is somewhat atypical both for a humanist and for a typographer. Born in Basel in 1507, he studied at the University of Basel and trained as a teacher in Latin and Greek. Unlike many of his fellow humanists, who wandered frequently from city to city and often from country to country, Oporinus never left Basel. For some time he worked as a proof corrector for Froben, but when, in 1526, he began teaching at the local *Lateinschule* he quit his apprenticeship, and was apparently no longer involved in the press's activity. In 1537, he obtained a lectureship in Greek at the University of Basel. With a career as a university professor secured, in 1538 Oporinus unexpectedly gave up teaching and opened his own press, and after a few early tests, he began full activity in 1543. Oporinus's early experience with Froben - a period which no doubt increased his confidence with regard to the technical aspects of a working press - must have had some relevance in his decision to quit teaching and venture into printing, but, in truth, it is only possible to speculate as to what led the established scholar to abandon a secured position in favour of an uncertain entrepreneurial career. It is possible that during the years of his scholarly experience he spotted a gap in the market for academic literature and later decided to set out to offer

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subjects by various contemporary authors, most notably Paolo Giovio, Raffaele Maffei, Philipp Melanchthon, Guillaume Postel, Jacopo Sadoletto and Juan Luis Vives.

<sup>63</sup> On Bibliander see K. Guggisberg, 'Bibliander (gräzisiert aus Buchmann), Theodor' in *NDB*, II, 1955, 215 (*NDB* online PND: 116170638).

<sup>64</sup> *Andreae Vesalii Bruxellensis, scholae medicorum Patauinae professoris, De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, Basel, Johannes Oporinus 1543 [USTC: 606035].

editions with high academic standards: as a matter of fact, his editions of classical texts often display high editorial standards and contain few *errata*, and were thus likely to gain a good reputation among the scholarly community. During his printing activity, Oporinus published approximately 350/400 editions, mostly of classics and theological texts, but also some more speculative editions (*e.g.* the *Corpus Alcorani* and the *De Humani Corpori Fabrica*), as well as some Protestant literature specifically intended to be smuggled into Catholic countries.<sup>65</sup> Despite taking precautions (*e.g.* leaving most of his editions of anti-Catholic propaganda unnamed), nonetheless the whole of Oporinus's printing output figured in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* since its earliest editions.<sup>66</sup> Of the editions printed by Oporinus, some were indeed very popular, but many others do not appear to have enjoyed the same degree of commercial success, and Oporinus often complained – at times quite bitterly – about poor sales.<sup>67</sup> Indeed Oporinus could not have been in business without conspicuous financial grants by Anton Fugger, who, for instance, paid in advance the printing costs for the editions of Zonaras and Choniates,<sup>68</sup> and, although Oporinus never faced bankruptcy, by the time of his death he was still oppressed by substantial debts.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> I base these figures on the results of a search on the online catalogue of the Library of the University of Basel. The exact number remains uncertain since a considerable number of Basel editions of anti-Catholic propaganda with no printer's name are attributed to Oporinus nonetheless. Two of these books have recently been attributed with a good degree of certainty to his press (RHODES 1999), but many others remain in need of identification.

<sup>66</sup> See DE BUJANDA 1996, 470-477. According to de Bujanda's Thesaurus, Oporinus appears to be among the most prolific printers of banned books of all time.

<sup>67</sup> HIERONYMUS 1992, xxiv. 'Shortly before his death, Oporinus admits that much to the dismay of those responsible printers, authors and publishers, who often gave the community precedence over their own conveniences, the best and most important books were not always the best sold books' (translation by Lara Verena Bellenghi).

<sup>68</sup> The news of Oporinus's inscription in the Index must have definitely shattered Anton Fugger's hope to recover his loan. See BECK 1984, 96n; HUSNER 1949, 145.

<sup>69</sup> HIERONYMUS 1992, xi: 'even in the era of the so-called Humanism, the Humanists in the German-speaking world constituted only a minority, regarded as superfluous and subject to mockery. Riding, fencing, hunting and other amusements or glory at war were certainly higher in rank. Thus, a desirable financial as well as social status was not easily sustainable for printers, editors and authors' (translation by Lara Verena Bellenghi).

The question to ascertain is whether Oporinus had any influence over Wolf's editions of the Byzantine Corpus, and what sort of influence. Indeed Wolf and Oporinus had been close friends since 1548, and Wolf entrusted him with the printing of almost all of his editions. But, friendship apart, it is reasonable to assume that Wolf had found in Oporinus a good scholar and a high-quality printer. The extant letters between the scholar and the printer do not offer much information in this direction, but it is reasonable to assume that there must have been a frequent exchange of ideas, also confirmed by the high number of books edited by Wolf and printed by Oporinus.<sup>70</sup> Since, however, both seem to have had rather strong characters, their friendship was not completely exempt from frictions. Some time after 1557 Wolf offered to help sell the remainder copies of Zonaras and Choniates,<sup>71</sup> possibly influenced by the rumour that Oporinus was better a printer than a bookseller,<sup>72</sup> but Oporinus did not take the offer well: at one moment the situation deteriorated to the point that Wolf was seriously infuriated with Oporinus, who was constantly postponing the repayment of his debt to the Fuggers.<sup>73</sup> In addition to this, Wolf was also worried about getting caught in the crossfire between Oporinus and the Roman inquisition: his worries were not unjustified, as initially some of Wolf's editions were indeed listed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> On the epistolary exchange between Wolf and Oporinus see HUSNER 1949, 149-150, and STEINMANN 1969. For a general overview on the relation between authors and printers and on the culture of correction see GRAFTON 2011.

<sup>71</sup> HUSNER 1949, 153.

<sup>72</sup> HUSNER 1949, 145.

<sup>73</sup> HUSNER 1949, 153-154. Despite his frustration, however, Wolf never complained openly, since Oporinus still had Wolf's manuscripts in Basel and Wolf was worried that they would not be returned to him. Eventually however the two reconciled, and their collaboration in the following years outlived their conflicts.

<sup>74</sup> All of Wolf's works were banned in the major editions of the Roman Index of 1559 and 1564; they were also banned in the Parma Index of 1580 and in the Spanish Index of 1583; other editions of the Index only listed specific works. In the latter case, *i.e.* when only specific works were listed, this never

It is difficult to say whether Oporinus had any active role in the planning of the *editiones principes* of the Byzantine Corpus, other than that of being the material printer of the books; indeed he was far from being merely a jobbing printer, but in this case, lacking any evidence proving his active involvement in the enterprise, only Wolf and the Fuggers may be credited as the leading figures in the production of these editions. But despite the fact that Oporinus may not have had a voice in the original planning of the project, he may well have contributed during the printing phase, *e.g.* by adding Chalkokondyles in appendix to the 1562 edition of Gregoras, thus giving the Byzantine Corpus its final shape. As a matter of fact, in 1556 Oporinus had published the *editio princeps* of Konrad Clauser's (c.1520-1611)<sup>75</sup> Latin translation of Laonikos Chalkokondyles's *De origine et rebus gestis Turcorum*, which was then reprinted as an appendix to Wolf's 1562 edition of Nikephoros Gregoras. There is no indication that either Wolf or the Fuggers intended to have Chalkokondyles added as an appendix to Gregoras, thus suggesting that it may have been Oporinus's idea. Further evidence comes from the fact that in the 1562 reprint, the preface to Chalkokondyles is written by Oporinus himself, replacing the original preface by Clauser. The decision of adding Chalkokondyles to the Byzantine Corpus proved to be a successful one, so, if nothing else, Oporinus may be credited with creating the Byzantine Corpus as we know it.

### **1.5: Bibliographical descriptions of the *editiones principes***

**[n°01] Chalkokondyles [ed. pr., Latin], Basel, Oporinus, 1556; 2°.**

Chronologically speaking, Clauser's Latin translation of Chalkokondyles's *De origine et*

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applied to the Byzantine Corpus; only his edition of the Souda is recorded in the Roman Index of 1596 as a book deserving partial censorship. See DE BUJANDA 1996, 402, 541, 792 and 1032.

<sup>75</sup> On Clauser see *GBI*, II, 561; J.A. Mähly, 'Clauser, Konrad' in *ADB*, IV, 1876, 285 (*NDB* online PND: 119435616).

*rebus gestis Turcorum* may be considered the first edition of a Byzantine historical text ever printed. The book was published in Basel in 1556 by Johannes Oporinus, also responsible for all the other *editiones principes* of the Byzantine Corpus (Zonaras and Choniates in 1557 and Gregoras with the reprint of Chalkokondyles in 1562). The *princeps* of Chalkokondyles is printed in-folio, suggesting it was mostly intended for library use. However, unlike the *editiones principes* of Zonaras, Choniates and Gregoras, this edition does not include the original Greek text, presumably because of the very corrupt state of the single manuscript available to Clauser at the time.<sup>76</sup> In the dedication letter, Clauser expresses his plan to publish the Greek text in the near future, though apparently his intention never moved beyond the planning stage.

In many ways the first edition of Chalkokondyles differs greatly from the *editiones principes* of Zonaras, Choniates and Gregoras (and in fact from the majority of editions analysed in this research), in that Chalkokondyles makes its first appearance in a collection of texts on the Turks,<sup>77</sup> thus suggesting that this edition belongs more to the genre of the *Turcica* than to the Byzantine Corpus.

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<sup>76</sup> It is Clauser himself who informs the reader of this: ‘*Si quae in nostra versione est obscuritas, eam peperit Graecum exemplar corruptissimum*’, α<sup>11</sup>r. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text was eventually published in Geneva in 1615 by Pierre de La Rovièrè [n°20].

<sup>77</sup> The additional texts fall into two categories: i) texts on the origins of the Turks; ii) accounts describing specific episodes of the war against the Turks. The first category includes the works of Theodoros Gaza’s (c.1398-c.1475) *De origine Turciorum* [sic] *epistola* [q<sup>1</sup>r-q<sup>2</sup>r]; Battista Egnazio’s (born Giovanni Battista Cipelli, 1478-1553) *De origine Turcarum* [q<sup>2</sup>r-q<sup>3</sup>v]; Nikolaos Sekundinos’s (Segundinos/Sagundinos, 1402-1464) *De origine et rebus gestis Turcarum liber I* [q<sup>3</sup>v-q<sup>5</sup>v]; Johann Ramus’s (1535-1578) *Rerum Turcicarum liber III* [q<sup>6</sup>r-t<sup>1</sup>r]; Andrés Laguna’s (1499-1559) *De origine regum Turcarum compendiosa quaedam perioche* [t<sup>1</sup>r-t<sup>2</sup>v]; and Wolfgang Drechsler’s (?-?) *De Saracenorum et Turcorum origine et rebus gestis chronicum* [t<sup>2</sup>v-u<sup>4</sup>r]. The second category includes Pietro Perondini’s (?-?) *Vita magni Tamerlani Scytharum imperatoris* [u<sup>4</sup>r-x<sup>4</sup>v]; Filippo Callimaco Esperiente’s (born Filippo Buonaccorsi, 1437-1496) *De Vladislao rege, sive clade Varnensi* [x<sup>5</sup>r-C<sup>6</sup>v]; Leonard of Chios’s (Bishop of Mytilene, ?-1482) *Historia de urbis Constantinopoleos iactura captivitateque* [D<sup>1</sup>r-E<sup>2</sup>r]; Isidore of Kiev’s (Cardinal of Kiev, 1385-1463) *Epistola de Constantinopolitanae urbis expugnatione* [E<sup>2</sup>r-E<sup>4</sup>v]; Marco Antonio Sabellico’s (born Marco Antonio Coccio, 1436-1506) *De pugna inter Venetos et Turcas* [E<sup>4</sup>v-F<sup>1</sup>v]; Coriolano Cippico’s (1425-1495) *De rebus Venetis* [F<sup>2</sup>r-H<sup>3</sup>v]; Bernard von Breidenbach’s (c.1440-1497) *De Rhodi urbis et insulae oppugnatione* [H<sup>4</sup>r-I<sup>4</sup>v]; Marin Barleti’s (c.1450-c.1512) *De obsidione Scodrensi* [I<sup>4</sup>v-O<sup>3</sup>v]; Enrique Peña’s (?-?) *Epistola de gestis Sophi contra Turcas* [O<sup>4</sup>r-O<sup>5</sup>v]; Giacomo Fontana’s (?-?) *De bello Rhodio* [O<sup>5</sup>v-T<sup>4</sup>r]; Melchior Soiter’s (?-?) *De bello Pannonico* [T<sup>4</sup>v-Y<sup>1</sup>v]; Aloysius Armerius’s (?-?) *De Golleta et Tuneto expugnatis* [Y<sup>1</sup>v-Z<sup>1</sup>v]; Johannes Etrobius’s

As Clauser himself states in the afterword, he had completed the translation as early as 1544, but the text was not published until 1556 [P<sup>6v</sup>], when Johannes Heroldt (1514-1567) gathered together this collection of texts on the Turks, presumably at Oporinus's request and in response to a market demand. This edition appears in two variants with different dedication letters: the first one [n°01] has a dedication letter by Konrad Clauser to Adam and Georg Otto von Schwalbach (the former a prominent member of the Knights of St John); the second [n°01/B], which survives in fewer copies, has a dedication letter by Johannes Heroldt to Daniel Brendel von Homburg, Archbishop-Elector of Mainz.

[n°02] **Zonaras** [*ed. pr.*, **Greek and Latin**], **Basel, Oporinus, 1557; 2°**. The edition of Zonaras, published in Basel in March 1557, is the first of the three editions of the Byzantine Corpus edited by Hieronymus Wolf, sponsored by the Fuggers and printed by Johannes Oporinus. It is a large in-folio of almost four hundred leaves with Greek text and Latin translation side by side on two columns. Zonaras's text is supplemented by interpolations from Georgios Kedrenos's chronicle.<sup>78</sup> The volume is divided in three parts following Zonaras's original division of the text, each part followed by its own '*Annotationes*' (also called '*Castigationes et variae Lectiones*') and index. Aside from this and the dedication letter, this edition contains no other paratext.

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(born Jean Bérot, ?-?) *Commentarium expeditionis Tuniceae a' Carolo V. Imp. Anno M.D.XXXV suscepta* [Z<sup>2r</sup>-Cc<sup>5r</sup>]; Giovan Battista Crispo's (c.1550-1598) *Epistola ad Ponteficem Romanum et Christianos principes* [Cc<sup>5v</sup>-Dd<sup>1v</sup>]; Nicolas Durand de Villaignon's (1510-1571) *Caroli V. Imp. expeditio in Africam ad Argieram* [Dd<sup>2r</sup>-Dd<sup>6v</sup>]; Johann Martin Stella's (lawyer ?-?, brother of Michael Martin Stella, one of the two jobbing printers to whom the printing of this edition was outsourced) *Epistola de Turcarum in regno Hungariae anni 1543 & [15]44 successibus* [Dd<sup>6v</sup>-Ff<sup>6v</sup>]; and, finally, Juan Calvete de Estrella's (c.1520-1593) *Commentarius de Aphrodisio expugnato* [Ff<sup>6v</sup>-Hh<sup>3v</sup>].

<sup>78</sup> Most of Kedrenos's work is, in turn, based on Skylitzes. On Kedrenos see A.P. Kazhdan, 'Kedrenos, George' in *ODB*, II, 1118.

In the preface [α<sup>5</sup>r] and in the *Castigationes et variae Lectiones in primum tomum Ioannis Zonarae* [t<sup>4</sup>v], Wolf declares the provenance of the five manuscripts used for this edition,<sup>79</sup> though it is unknown whether he worked on all or whether he worked primarily on one of these, resorting to the others for occasional corrections: the first, complete manuscript came from the Imperial Library in Vienna through the emperor's counsellor Gaspar von Nydbruck, the second belonged to Johann Jakob Fugger, while the remaining three belonged to Anton Fugger (of these, two had been purchased by Dernschwam in Constantinople from Antonios Kantakouzenos and Alexandros Chartophylax).<sup>80</sup>

**[n°03] Choniates [ed. pr., Greek and Latin], Basel, Oporinus, 1557; 2°.**

Wolf's *editio princeps* of Zonaras, published in March 1557, was shortly followed, in August, by the *princeps* of Choniates. This edition too was sponsored by the Fuggers and issued in Basel by Johannes Oporinus. Similarly to Zonaras, it is printed in-folio (186 leaves) and it contains both the Greek text and the Latin translation side by side in two columns. It should be noted that Zonaras and Choniates are often found bound together,<sup>81</sup> but in origin they were clearly intended for separate circulation, as indicated by the different months of their imprint dates, by their independent foliation and by the fact that Choniates is never mentioned in Zonaras's title-page. For the edition of Choniates, Wolf states in the dedication letter that he used three manuscripts [D<sup>3</sup>v], but he provides no information on their origin. Aside from the dedication letter, the

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<sup>79</sup> In the *Annotationes* Wolf also attempts, more or less successfully, a description of the titles and offices held by Zonaras.

<sup>80</sup> On the identification of Dernschwam's manuscripts and the others used by Wolf for the collation see BUETTNER WOBST 1892 and HIERONYMUS 1992, 270. On the production of Greek manuscripts in the late sixteenth century in general, and for the Western market in particular, see DE GREGORIO 1991; DE GREGORIO 1995; and DE GREGORIO 1996.

<sup>81</sup> And, indeed, HIERONYMUS 1992 lists the two editions in the same record.

only other paratext in this edition is made up by the *Annotationes* and by the index, both at the end of the volume.

[n°07] **Gregoras [ed. pr., Greek and Latin] and Chalkokondyles [Latin], Basel, Oporinus, 1562; 2°.** Five years after the 1557 Zonaras and Choniates editions, Wolf completed his work on Gregoras, which was then published in 1562 in Basel by Oporinus together with a reprint of Clauser's Latin translation of Chalkokondyles, the first since the 1556 *editio princeps*. Similarly to the two earlier editions, this volume is a large, two-columned folio, with Greek text and Latin translation side by side. Gregoras's text is published in abridged form, both because Wolf had only an incomplete manuscript at his disposal, and because he chose to exclude from his edition Gregoras's lengthy digressions on doctrinal matters, eventually reducing the original thirty-seven books down to eleven.<sup>82</sup> The result of these editorial decisions is a somewhat undersized text compared with the editions of Zonaras and Choniates, adding up to just 146 leaves. This may explain the inclusion of the Latin translation of Chalkokondyles, published in appendix to Gregoras, which brings the narration begun by Zonaras up until 1463, when Chalkokondyles's narrative come to an end, thus completing the Byzantine Corpus. Here, Chalkokondyles is published without the supplementary texts of the original 1556 edition, and, despite having its own dedication letter and signatures [A<sup>1</sup>r-O<sup>8</sup>v], it has neither an independent title-page nor an independent foliation from Gregoras.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> All the later editions of Gregoras analysed in this research are in fact derivative from Wolf's abridged *editio princeps*.

<sup>83</sup> The other difference, compared to the 1556 edition, is that in this reprint the text has been reviewed by Clauser against some additional annotations from a manuscript collated by Philipp Gundelius (1493-1567). On Gundelius see *GBI*, III, 1224; L Geiger 'Gundelius, Philipp' in *ADB*, X, 1879, 24-25 (*NDB* online PND: 119695006).

This edition is characterised by some rather puzzling discrepancies concerning the date in which it was published: i) the colophon reads August 1562; ii) Wolf's preface to Gregoras, undated, is dedicated to Anton Fugger, who died in September 1560, and, although the possibility of a dedication letter written in memory of the late patron may not be excluded, no element in Wolf's preface suggests that this is the case; iii) Oporinus's preface to Chalkokondyles, dedicated to Marcus and Johann Fugger, is dated July 1562 and refers to Anton Fugger's death; iv) a final discrepancy is caused by the fact that the majority of copies contain a second appendix, Johannes Heroldt's genealogical and chronological tables (the actual name of the appendix is '*Orbis Amor*') of the Byzantine, Saracen, Seljuk and Ottoman rulers based on the texts of Zonaras, Choniates, Gregoras and Chalkokondyles, undated and with independent foliation [A-F<sup>3</sup>, all signatures in a double circle].<sup>84</sup> This appendix is dedicated to Maximilian II of Habsburg (1527-1576, emperor 1564-1576), here styled *Rex*.<sup>85</sup> Maximilian had been elected *Rex Romanorum* in late November 1562 before becoming emperor in 1564, suggesting that Heroldt's Tables must have been printed independently from the rest of the book and, at any rate, no earlier than November 1562.<sup>86</sup> A possible conjecture to explain these discrepancies is that Wolf had completed his work on Gregoras while Anton Fugger was still alive, but – possibly due to financial restrictions – the book was only printed some time later, at which point Anton Fugger was dead. With regard to the dating of Heroldt's Tables, and to their absence from some of the copies, this may be explained in the following terms: the Tables, printed soon after November 1562,

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<sup>84</sup> Johannes Heroldt is also the editor of the collection of minor texts in appendix to Clauser's 1556 *editio princeps* of Chalkokondyles.

<sup>85</sup> '*Regi Maximiliano Regum Max. Cæsari Nobilissimo*', A<sup>1</sup>r.

<sup>86</sup> This is confirmed by the fact that the signatures of the Tables, in capital letters, are identical to those used for Chalkokondyles. Identical signatures would not have appeared had the Tables been printed together with the rest of the book.

were only appended to the copies still in stock, whereas the copies that were sold before such date were sold or anyway circulated without the later appended Tables.

This edition comes with Wolf's *Annotationes* to Gregoras [z<sup>4</sup>r-z<sup>4</sup>v],<sup>87</sup> two separate indices, to Gregoras [M<sup>1</sup>r-O<sup>3</sup>r] and Chalkokondyles [O<sup>3</sup>r-O<sup>7</sup>v], and a shorter appendix, inserted between Gregoras and Chalkokondyles, the *Annotatio locorum quorundam ex Georgii Pachymerii Historia* [y<sup>3</sup>v-z<sup>3</sup>v], a list of chapter-headings from Georgios Pachymeres (1242-c.1310)<sup>88</sup> describing the period 1255-1308, that is, the reign of Theodoros II Laskaris in Nicaea and those of Michael VIII and Andronikos II Palaiologos in Byzantium. This short appendix probably explains the presence of four full-page woodcuts portraying, respectively, Theodoros II Laskaris, Michael VIII Doukas, Andronikos III Palaiologos, and Georgios Pachymeres.<sup>89</sup> The additional paratext also includes three short poems: the *Epilogus Byzantinae Historiae*, the *Ad Ludovicum Carinum* and the *Ad Ioannem Oporinum*.<sup>90</sup> Of these, the *Epilogus* once again reminds the reader of Wolf's distaste for Byzantine literature.

### 1.6: Paratextual descriptions of the *editiones principes*

[n°01] Chalkokondyles [*ed. pr.*, Latin], Basel, Oporinus, 1556; Conrad Clauser to Adam and Georg Otto von Schwalbach, Tobel, Switzerland. Clauser's dedication letter provides a plan, explained in great detail, on how to repel the Turkish threat. The dedication letter begins with a reference to the ancient Greek orator Python of Byzantium, who, despite being often mocked because of his obesity, was also extremely clever, to the point that he was able to settle his fellow citizens's discord in a

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<sup>87</sup> Among other things, the *Annotationes* state that Wolf worked on a defective manuscript from the Library of Augsburg, from which he also gathered Pachymeres's chapter-headings.

<sup>88</sup> On Pachymeres see A.M. Talbot, 'Pachymeres, George' in *ODB*, III, 1550.

<sup>89</sup>  $\alpha^7r-\alpha^8v$ . The name of the engraver is unknown.

<sup>90</sup>  $\alpha^3v-\alpha^5r$ ,  $\alpha^5v-\alpha^6r$  and  $\alpha^6r-\alpha^6v$  respectively.

moment of internal conflict [ $\alpha^2r$ ].<sup>91</sup> Clouser, who also intends to address the issue of civil discord, claims that while he may not be as clever as Python, he will nonetheless suggest a plan to push the Turks back into Asia [ $\alpha^2v$ ]: indeed, Germany had all what was needed to vanquish the Turks, but the Germans first had to stop fighting each other and unite against the common enemy. The emperor, the aristocracy and the cities had to make peace; Lutherans and Catholics too, for the greater good of Christianity; and civil justice must be restored and military discipline improved [ $\alpha^3r$ ]. These points are followed by variations on the same theme and by some examples, such as the one suggested by Skilurus King of Scythia on arrows:<sup>92</sup> it is possible to break arrows one by one, but it is impossible to do so when they are all together. This first example is followed by two similar ones,<sup>93</sup> used to prove the same point: that the Turks took advantage of the Greeks's discord to invade Europe, and now they are exploiting the same weakness to invade Germany [ $\alpha^3v$ ]. The emperor and the other parties had to make peace at all costs; the first thing to do was to reconcile religion by means of an exclusively German council, of which Clouser provides a detailed description [ $\alpha^4r$ - $\alpha^5v$ ]. Then came radical reforms of the army and of civil justice [ $\alpha^6v$ ]. Clouser argues that Ottoman subjects accept foreign rule because the Turks administer their lands justly; however, should the Germans too start acting justly, those peoples currently under Turkish rule would eventually rebel against their masters. Once all of this would be accomplished, it would finally be time to wage war on the Turks.

Clouser then informs the reader that both Chalkokondyles and the historian Paolo Giovio (1483-1552) describe the government and discipline of the Turks very

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<sup>91</sup> The episode is mentioned, among others, by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 550f [FGrH 132 F 1].

<sup>92</sup> Mentioned by Plutarch in his *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata*. *Œuvres morales*, III, 33.

<sup>93</sup> One provided by Micipsa, King of Numidia (in Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum*), the other by Nestor (in *Iliad*, I).

well [α<sup>7</sup>r], and continues with the description of other practical issues that need be taken into account in preparation for a war against the Turks, *e.g.* soldiers, weapons, wages, and summarising Chalkokondyles's remarks on these matters [α<sup>7</sup>r-α<sup>10</sup>v]. In addition to this, he says, Chalkokondyles's narration is useful because it helps understand why the Turks had been so successful in the previous decades: the division between Orthodox and Catholic Christianity, internal discord within the Byzantine Empire, its lack of military discipline. At this point Clauser repeats, once again, that all of this serve as a reminder to all Germans of what may happen to their own country, and, for this reason, nobody will regret buying and reading this book [α<sup>11</sup>r]. Clauser also asks the reader to be patient with regards to his translation: some parts may appear obscure, but the blame should fall on the fact that he only had access to a single manuscript, which happened to be particularly defective.<sup>94</sup> He then closes on a philological matter, noting that he tried never to alter the original text, and thus not even place names are translated into their modern forms. As for textual details and variants in the Greek original, he states that all the annotations will be provided in the forthcoming edition of the Greek text, though this project was never developed beyond the planning stages [α<sup>11</sup>r].

[n°01/B] **Chalkokondyles** [*ed. pr., Latin*], **Basel, Oporinus, 1556; Johannes Heroldt to Daniel Brendel von Homburg, Mainz** [**alternative dedication letter**]. Heroldt's dedication letter to Brendel von Homburg is slightly less informative than the one by Clauser to the Schwalbach brothers. The editor sets out claiming that, of all of God's gifts, literature is by far the most useful to stimulate virtue, and praises those authors who have written in a learned and earnest fashion

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<sup>94</sup> See above, note 76.

despite adverse circumstances, mentioning examples of German historians of the past [α<sup>2</sup>r]. This serves as an introduction to promote Heroldt's most important project, a monumental *Historia Germaniae* (though apparently he never succeeded in completing it). Heroldt continues lamenting that in literature there are many examples of Roman and Greek virtue but very few of German virtue, despite the rapid advance of the Turks and Germany's absolute need to rise from its idleness [α<sup>2</sup>v]. Eventually, however, it would be literature itself which would revive Germany from its sleep: Oporinus has finally published Chalkokondyles's history, previously kept in obscurity to the damage of all. Chalkokondyles's narration was considered to be truthful, instructive, pleasant to read, and it offers a most useful comparison between the late Byzantine Empire and the current German condition (*i.e.*, discord, civil war, betrayal, etc.). Heroldt continues by mentioning the other texts in the collection, which describe the most recent Christian setbacks at the hands of the Ottomans [α<sup>3</sup>r]. The remaining part of the dedication letter is a lengthy and elaborate praise of the dedicatee, destined, in Heroldt's opinion, to hold a pivotal role in saving Germany, a country gifted with manpower and means, but ruined by distrust and individual ambition [α<sup>3</sup>v]. Heroldt concludes his dedication by urging Brendel to unite all Germans against the common enemy boasting that, thanks to his deeds, he will no doubt provide him with plenty of material for his *Historia Germaniae*.

[n°02] **Zonaras** [*ed. pr.*, **Greek and Latin**], **Basel, Oporinus, 1557**; **Hieronimus Wolf to Anton Fugger, Augsburg**. Wolf's lengthy preface to Zonaras, dedicated to Anton Fugger, is mostly a display of rhetorical skills, remarkably poor in useful information; as a matter of fact, it is one of the least informative prefaces among

all those analysed in this research. The preface is divided into thirteen paragraphs [ $\alpha^2r$ - $\alpha^6r$ ]: [1] *Zonarae opus*, [2] *Historiarum cognitio*, [3] *Divinatio*, [4] *Ignavia, vanitas*, [5] *Philosophia*, [6] *In historiis observanda*, [7] *Historia humanae miseriae speculum*, [8] *Rationis et orationis abusus*, [9] *Zonaras Synopsin sive corpus quoddam historiarum edere voluit*, [10] *Zonarae tres partes*, [11] *Conversationis ratio*, [12] *Quinque codicum Zonara collatio*, [13] *Dedicatio*. Only five of these, however, discuss matters relating to the content of this edition, and in most cases only marginally. The remaining paragraphs contain lengthy considerations on philosophy, morals and literature. Wolf makes no mystery of his lack of appreciation for Zonaras's prose, observing that the latter's style is often prolix, though he admits that this was probably a consequence of the historical sources that the Byzantine historian had used [ $\alpha^3v$ , lines 42-49]. At one point he goes as far as stating that he considers himself particularly unfortunate for not having been asked to translate a more promising historian.<sup>95</sup> There is, however, another theme, that of the '*publica utilitas*' of the work, marginally touched upon here but further developed in the prefaces of Choniates and Gregoras [ $\alpha^5v$ , lines 5-8]. As said, despite its remarkable length, this preface contains almost no useful information for the purposes of this research at all, a fact particularly striking in consideration of the absolutely pivotal importance of this edition to the history of the Byzantine Corpus. Compared to all of the later introductions by Wolf himself, let alone those by other editors, in this preface there seems to be not even the smallest attempt to establish a connection with current events. The reason behind this apparent lack of interest is unclear, especially if compared to the dedication letter to Choniates, published in the same year (1557) and decidedly more engaged with the reality of current events.

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<sup>95</sup> '*Et in meae infelicitatis parte numeravi, quod in auctorem luculentiozem non incidissem*',  $\alpha^4v$ .

[n°03] Choniates [*ed. pr.*, Greek and Latin], Basel, Oporinus, 1557; Hieronymus Wolf to Anton Fugger, Augsburg. Compared to that of Zonaras, the preface to Choniates, also dedicated to Anton Fugger, is, in many ways, of much greater interest. Despite the short period of time between the publication of Zonaras and that of Choniates – five months –, it would appear that Wolf had by then realised that his work on the Byzantine historians could eventually develop into a larger project. At one point he states that, together with Zonaras's, Choniates's narration '*historiae quoddam quasi corpus absolvit*'.<sup>96</sup> The general theme of the preface to Choniates deals with the causes behind the ruin of the Byzantines: their lax morals and lack of internal unity.<sup>97</sup> Wolf then seizes the opportunity to launch an appeal for unity addressed to all German princes, regardless of their religious denomination. In this preface, the reader also observes the greater stress placed upon the topic of the Ottoman threat to Christianity, which may or may not be a consequence of a specific request by the Fuggers.

Another interesting element in this preface is Wolf's use of the expression '*Byzantinum imperium*'.<sup>98</sup> When addressing the Byzantines, Wolf still consistently refers to them as '*Graeci*': for instance, when he expresses his wish that some *Greek* historian had completed the gaps left by Choniates and Chalkokondyles,<sup>99</sup> or when he ponders the causes of the *Greek* ruin.<sup>100</sup> But most interesting is the passage in which

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<sup>96</sup> Appendix A, n°03.1.

<sup>97</sup> A substantial part of  $\alpha^3v$  is quoted in Appendix A, n°03.2.

<sup>98</sup> Strictly speaking, it is not the first time that this concept makes its appearance: Chalkokondyles, for instance, had used a very similar expression in the first chapter of his *De origine et rebus gestis Turcorum*. But Chalkokondyles's use remained somewhat isolated, whereas Wolf's repeated use of such an expression effectively marked the beginning of a tradition.

<sup>99</sup> Appendix A, n°03.2, lines 9-11.

<sup>100</sup> Appendix A, n°03.2, lines 46-48.

Wolf refers to the *Greeks* who were overpowered by the Turks, remarking that Choniates ‘dignified’ them by calling them *Romans*, but in fact they were *Greeks*: ‘[...] *Graecos, (quos hic scriptor Romanorum appellatione honestat)*’.<sup>101</sup> Wolf also mentions the existence of a manuscript in the Augsburg Public Library of Anna Komnene’s *Alexiad*,<sup>102</sup> a remark that may or may not have been intended as an implicit invitation to the Fuggers to sponsor a translation of the *Alexiad* as well.

[n°07] **Gregoras [ed. pr., Greek and Latin] and Chalkokondyles [Latin], Basel, Oporinus, 1562; i) Hieronymus Wolf to Anton Fugger, Augsburg [Gregoras]; ii) Johannes Oporinus to Marcus and Johann Fugger, Augsburg [Chalkokondyles].** The preface to Gregoras is the last one prepared by Wolf for an edition of the Byzantine Corpus, and to an extent it may be considered Wolf’s cultural testament in the study of Byzantium, dedicated to the late Anton Fugger. In Oporinus’s title-page the description of both content and aims of the Byzantine Corpus appear now to be quite clear: ‘*Nicephori Gregorae, Romanae, hoc est Byzantinae historiae Libri XI: quibus res a Graecis Imperatoribus per annos CXLV [...] gestae, describuntur [...] His adiunximus Laonici Chalcocondylae Turcicam historiam [...]. Ita quatuor his scriptoribus, Zonara, Choniate, Gregora, Chalcocondyla coniunctis, integrum Byzantinae historiae corpus [...], habituri sunt studiosi, utraque lingua expositum, ut et de fide interpretum constaret: et tam rudibus Graecarum literarum, quam doctis, maiore commoditate quam sumptu consuleretur*’.<sup>103</sup> The preface to Gregoras is interesting not only because it records Wolf’s first extensive use of the concept of *Byzantium*, whereas

<sup>101</sup> Appendix A, n°03.2, lines 27-31. The understanding of the sentence depends on the interpretation of *honesto*, which has a nuanced meaning (to honour, dignify, decorate, adorn, grace, embellish).

<sup>102</sup> Appendix A, n°03.2, lines 16-19.

<sup>103</sup> The claim that all four historians are offered in both languages is not quite correct, since Chalkokondyles only appears in Latin translation.

in the earlier prefaces it was still sporadic, but also because the idea of the Byzantine Corpus is explicitly mentioned for the first time: Wolf expresses the hope for a better understanding of the history and culture of Byzantium through the creation of a ‘*Corpus integrum totius Byzantinae Historiae*’.<sup>104</sup>

The preface to Chalkokondyles, published in appendix to Gregoras, written by Oporinus and dedicated to Anton Fugger’s sons, Marcus and Johann, mentions the usefulness of having both the Greek text and the Latin translation for the sake of ‘*publica utilitas*’, though he has to admit that unfortunately in the case of Chalkokondyles it was not possible to offer the Greek original.<sup>105</sup> Towards the end of the preface, and following an earlier suggestion by Wolf,<sup>106</sup> Oporinus urges his patrons to sponsor more editions of Byzantine historians: ‘*de reliquis huius Orientalis Imperii scriptoribus, ut Cedreno, Pachymerio Anna Caesarissa atque aliis*’ [A<sup>1v</sup>].

In Appendix A, I have transcribed two excerpts from the dedication letter. The first of the two is interesting because it contains an elaborate attempt to explain the nature of the Byzantine identity.<sup>107</sup> The extent to which this attempt is successful is, of course, debatable, but, if nothing else, it shows awareness of the existence of such an issue. One sentence in particular sums up the whole question: ‘[...] *diversae etiam utrorumque populorum appellationes. Nam Byzantini se Romanos, et suos principes ῥωμαίων βασιλέας; caeteros autem Christianos populos et Reges, qui Romanum ponteficem agnoscebat, promiscue Latinos nominarunt, a quibus ipsi contra Graeci dicebant[ur]*’

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<sup>104</sup> On the development of the idea of a Byzantine corpus see HUSNER 1949.

<sup>105</sup> ‘*Atque utinam Graecum quoque eiusdem exemplar nobis simul communicatum esset, ut quemadmodum in Zonara et Niceta prius, nunc vero Gregora etiam factum est, ita et Laonici historia non Latina tantum, sed Graecolatina potius in publicum iam prodire potuisset*’, A<sup>1r</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> See above, note 102.

<sup>107</sup> See Appendix A, n°07.1.

(lines 26-32). The wording is reminiscent of Chalkokondyles's own attempt to explain the nature of the problem:

[...] τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν καταλιπεῖν, ἐς ὃ δὴ Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἀφικομένους, ἰσοτάλαντον ἔχοντας τύχην τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἐπιτρέψαντας Ῥώμην τῷ μεγίστῳ αὐτῶν ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ διαβάντας ἐς Θράκην, ὑφηγουμένου ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ Θράκης ἐπὶ χώραν, ἣτις ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐγγυτάτῳ ᾤκηται, Βυζάντιον Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν μητρόπολιν σφῶν ἀποδεικνύοντας, πρὸς Πέρσας, ὑφ' ὧν ἀνήκεστα ἐπεπόνθεισαν, τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιείσθαι, Ἑλληνας τε τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Ῥωμαίους αὐτοῦ ἐπιμιγνύοντας, γλώτταν μὲν καὶ ἤθη διὰ τὸ πολλῷ πλέονας Ῥωμαίων Ἑλλήνας αὐτοῦ ἐπικρατεῖν διὰ τέλους φυλάξαι, τοῦνομα μὲντοι μηκέτι κατὰ τὸ πάτριον καλουμένους ἀλλάξασθαι, καὶ τοὺς γε βασιλεῖς Βυζαντίου ἐπὶ τὸ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς τε καὶ αὐτοκράτορας σεμνύνεσθαι ἀποκαλεῖν, Ἑλλήνων δὲ βασιλεῖς οὐκέτι οὐδαμῇ ἀξιοῦν.

‘He [Alexander] then left his kingdom to his successors. At that point the Romans became the most powerful nation in the world, as a result of good fortune and political virtue being in balance. Then they gave Rome to their Bishop and crossed over to Thrace under the direction of their emperor. In Thrace which is very close to Asia, they made the Hellenic city of Byzantium their capital and waged war on the Persians, who had caused them much suffering. Thenceforth the Hellenes mixed there with the Romans, but till the end kept their own language and habits, since they outnumbered the Romans. However they changed the name by which they were traditionally called. The kings of Byzantium were proud to call themselves emperors and autocrats of the Romans, and did not claim at all the title “king of the Hellenes”.<sup>108</sup>

Indeed it required a few more centuries for the matter to be definitively settled, but it is not unreasonable to assert that it is in the passage above that Wolf sowed for the first time the seed of the *idea* of Byzantium as a civilisation in its own right.

The second excerpt contains another example of the political use of a Byzantine text, similar in many ways to Clauser's 1556 preface to Chalkokondyles.<sup>109</sup> Presumably it responds to a marketing strategy aimed at increasing the appeal of this edition once

<sup>108</sup> *A translation and commentary of the "Demonstrations of histories" (books I-III)*, edited by N. NICOLOUDIS, Athens, 1996, 90-95 (both the edition of the Greek text and the translation are by Nicoloudis).

<sup>109</sup> See Appendix A, n°07.2.

again by drawing a comparison between the content of Gregoras's narration and the state of current affairs in Germany.



## Chapter 2

### Later German editions

#### 2.1: Bibliographical descriptions of later German editions

[n°07/B] Gregoras [*ed. pr.*, Greek and Latin] and Chalkokondyles [Latin], Basel, [König?], 1616 [*but* Basel, Oporinus, 1562]; 2°. A very scarce counterfeit reissue of Oporinus's 1562 *editio princeps* of Gregoras was published in 1616 in Colonia Planciana (*i.e.* Basel), here misspelt *Planiciana*, possibly by Ludwig König.<sup>110</sup> The printer made an effort so that his forgery would not be exposed, replacing all the leaves containing references to the original 1562 edition:<sup>111</sup> in the first quire he replaced the title-page,  $\alpha^1$  (and thus  $\alpha^8$ ), and in the last quire he replaced the colophon and Oporinus's device, O<sup>7</sup>-O<sup>8</sup> (and thus O<sup>1</sup>-O<sup>2</sup>). As a consequence, part of Chalkokondyles's index had to be reprinted. Likewise, in the first quire the printer had to discard the second of the two leaves of plates present in the original edition, particularly the portraits of Andronikos III Palaiologos and Georgios Pachymeres ( $\alpha^8$ ). Interestingly, the portrait of Andronikos III Palaiologos is not lacking from the 1616 reissue ( $\alpha^8r$ ), suggesting that the printer of this counterfeit reissue had access to at least

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<sup>110</sup> Colonia Planciana, a very rare Basel imprint, was used in only three editions, all printed around 1615. There is little information about the identity of the printer/bookseller who produced this reissue: the only printer known to have used this imprint is Ludwig König, but the device on the title-page of this particular edition, a crowned eagle with the initials 'A.S.', yet to be identified, might suggest otherwise. A search in the RIECH database for all printers/publishers who might have used either combination of letters (A.S. or S.A.) returned no result.

<sup>111</sup> Indeed, the whole matter of what is a counterfeit according to modern and to early modern standards remains a highly debated subject nowadays. On the topic see, for instance, BÉNÉVENT 2012, GILMONT 2006 and BÉNÉVENT 2002 among others.

one of the four original woodcuts. The portrait of Pachymeres is, however, lacking, and the verso (a<sup>8</sup>v) is thus left blank.

[n°12] **Byzantine Corpus [Latin], Frankfurt, Feyerabend, 1568; 2°.** The first edition of what may be called the Frankfurt Byzantine Corpus was published in 1568 by Sigmund Feyerabend,<sup>112</sup> just one year after the almost identical 1567 collective edition of the Byzantine Corpus had been published in Paris [n°11]. Unlike its Parisian predecessor, which was never reprinted, the Frankfurt Corpus appears to have enjoyed some degree of success, with a number of reissues and reprints. If, however, it is known for sure that Wolf did not give his blessing to the Paris edition of his Byzantine Corpus, it is unclear whether he gave it to the Frankfurt Corpus, though it seems more likely. The edition is a two-columned in-folio volume with all four historians in Latin translation only; similarly to the Paris Corpus, there seems to have been no major editorial work involved in this edition, so all the Frankfurt editions (the original 1568 edition [n°12], its 1574 and 1578 reissues [n°12/B, n°12/C], and its 1587 reprint [n°18]) may be considered collective reprints of Oporinus's *editiones principes*. As a matter of fact, the Frankfurt Corpus draws elements both from Oporinus's *editiones principes* and from the 1567 Paris Corpus: for instance, in the Frankfurt Corpus, just as in Oporinus's *editio princeps*, Zonaras is supplemented with passages from Kedrenos, excerpts which are absent from the Paris Corpus. Nevertheless, the Frankfurt Corpus shares a number of structural similarities with that of the Paris Corpus, and it seems undeniable that Feyerabend used a copy of the 1567 Paris Corpus as a model for his

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<sup>112</sup> The typographical work was however outsourced to a jobbing printer, Peter Schmidt.

own.<sup>113</sup> This edition's only difference from its two models lies in two supplementary texts, both connected with Choniates: the first is a list of chapters from Choniates's theological work, the *Thesaurus Orthodoxae fidei* (<sub>2</sub>N<sup>1</sup>r-N<sup>1</sup>v),<sup>114</sup> the second is the funerary oration of Choniates composed by his brother Michael Choniates (<sub>2</sub>N<sup>2</sup>r-N<sup>5</sup>r).<sup>115</sup>

**[n°12/B]:** A refreshed reissue of the 1568 Frankfurt Corpus, published in 1574, survives in four known copies, all currently in Germany. The layout of the title-page is quite different, but the wording is identical, and the imprints in the internal title-pages of Choniates and Gregoras/Chalkokondyles (in German editions these two authors often share the same foliation, while Zonaras and Choniates have each their own) still show 1568 as the printing date.<sup>116</sup> The content also is identical to the original in all but one detail: the order in which the authors appear in the book, with Gregoras/Chalkokondyles preceding rather than following Choniates. This also disagrees with what is stated in the main title-page, in which the content of the volume

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<sup>113</sup> The link between the two editions is particularly evident when comparing the title-page of this edition against the title-page of Gregoras in the Parisian edition: the resemblance is generally quite striking, with some passages being almost identical, e.g. *'Ita quatuor his scriptoribus, Zonara, Choniate, Gregora, Chalcocondyla coniunctis, integrum Byzantinae historiae corpus à Constantino magno ad Constantinum postremum, & Constantinopolim à Turcis occupatam & possessam [...].'*

<sup>114</sup> The single leaf of the *Thesaurus Orthodoxae fidei* (*'Ex orthodoxiae thesauro beati Nicetae Choniatae [...] libri aliquot, recens Latinitate donati, interim dum reliqui à blattarum iniuriis affèruntur. [...] Elenchus contentorum in hoc opuscolo'*), which may be an advertisement for a planned forthcoming edition, is in fact a dedication letter by its editor, Pierre Moreau ('Petrus Morellus'), to one Jean de Saint-André 'Carcassonnensis ecclesia decanum' (brother of Jacques de Saint-André, dedicatee of the 1567 Paris edition of the Corpus), owner of the manuscript of the *Thesaurus*. What is difficult to understand is why this extract from the *Thesaurus* does not appear in the Parisian edition of the Corpus, in which, on the contrary, this text is only briefly mentioned in a passage of the dedication letter to Jacques de Saint-André. Neither Moreau nor the Saint-André brothers appear in *FBI* or in *NBG*, but Moreau is also known for having translated Michael Psellos and St Basil amongst others, both published by Guillaume Chaudière in 1573 [USTC: 94962] and 1580 respectively [USTC: 16284] (Psellos also republished in 1576 [USTC: 1413] and 1577 [USTC: 88943]). Moreau's translation of Choniates's *Thesaurus* was eventually published in 1580: *Secretorum, thesauri orthodoxae fidei libri quinque priores, quorum primo, secundo et tertio iactis christianismi fundamentis, quarto Antearianas XLIII haeres, quintoque Arianorum et Eunomianorum deliria confutat*, Paris, Guillaume Chaudière, 1580 [USTC: 172396].

<sup>115</sup> On Michael Choniates see A.P. Kazhdan and A. Cutler, 'Choniates, Michael' in *ODB*, I, 427-428.

<sup>116</sup> The refreshed colophon informs that the reissue was performed by the jobbing printer Martin Lechler. Practically speaking, this means that Lechler was only responsible for reprinting the title-page and the colophon.

is described in the proper chronological order. The swapping of Choniates with Gregoras/Chalkokondyles is a curious and telling case, confirming that the volumes had not been bound together after printing, though this does not quite explain why the swapping systematically affects all known copies.

[n°12/C]: Another refreshed reissue of the original edition printed by Feyerabend in 1568 was published in 1578. Similarly to the scarce 1574 reissue, in this case too Choniates and Gregoras/Chalkokondyles appear in reverse chronological order.

[n°17] **Byzantine Corpus [Latin], Frankfurt, Feyerabend, 1587; 2°.** Unlike the 1574 and 1578 refreshed reissues, the fourth edition of the Frankfurt Corpus, published by Feyerabend in 1587, is a genuine reprint.<sup>117</sup> As such, it contains a new dedication letter, addressed to the prince-bishop of Bamberg, Neidhardt von Thüngen (1545-1598), while the original dedication letters, along with the rest of the paratext, are all gathered at the end of the book before the index. Feyerabend chose to enrich this edition with an *Appendix ad Historiam Orientalem* (Zz<sup>2</sup>v-Ddd<sup>3</sup>v), a collection of historical excerpts relating events of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, and intended to update the information contained in the original Byzantine Corpus.<sup>118</sup> There is no

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<sup>117</sup> This reprint of the Frankfurt Corpus was performed by Peter Schmidt, who had already printed the original 1568 edition.

<sup>118</sup> Rather than a homogeneous narration, the *Appendix ad Historiam Orientalem* is a collection of excerpts arranged in the following fashion: i) six chapters on the Ottoman sultans, from Murad II (1404-1451) to Selim II (1524-1574), encompassing the period 1421-1574; ii) three chapters on the Habsburg emperors, from Frederick III the Peaceful (1415-1493) to Charles V (1500-1558), encompassing the period 1452-1556; these two longer parts are then followed by the *Succinta narratio de Scanderbeii vita rebusque gestu*, the life of the renowned Albanian leader George Kastrioti Skanderbeg (1405-1468). Skanderbeg's life is then followed by a collection of short accounts of sieges and battles between Christians and Turks in eastern Europe, in the following order: the Siege of Eger in 1552 (*Rerum ad Agriam MDLII. Anno Gestarum, narratio*); the defence and fall of Szigetvár in 1566, also known as the Battle of Szigeth (*Obsidionis Zigeti brevissima veraque expositio*); the Ottoman capture of Timișoara in 1552 (*Expugnatio arcis Temesuari*); the Habsburg recovery of the Tokaj castle undertaken by Lazarus

indication of authorship for any of these excerpts,<sup>119</sup> though some had already been published in 1578 in Feyerabend's *Chronicorum Turcicorum*,<sup>120</sup> edited by Philipp Lonicer (1543-1599).<sup>121</sup> This edition also comes with a second, minor appendix, the *Octogintaquinque regulae, seu canones apostolorum* (Ggg<sup>2</sup>v-Iii<sup>1</sup>v), a short theological treaty by Zonaras on canon law, edited by Jean Quintin (1500-1561),<sup>122</sup> a Parisian professor of canon law and canonist himself, who, as a young man, had travelled to the Levant.

## 2.2: Paratextual descriptions of later German editions

**[n°17] Byzantine Corpus [Latin], Frankfurt, Feyerabend, 1587; Sigmund Feyerabend to Neidhardt von Thüngen, Bamberg.** With one exception, all of the dedication letters of the later German editions of the Byzantine Corpus reproduce the dedication letters originally written by Wolf and Oporinus for the *editiones principes*. The exception is a dedication letter added to the 1587 reprint of the collective Frankfurt edition of the Byzantine Corpus, dedicated to Neidhardt von Thüngen and

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von Schwendi in 1565 (1522-1588) (*Expugnatio arcis Tokay, Anno M.D.LXV. per Lazarum à Schuende, &c.*); finally, the early stages of the recent Ottoman-Safavid War (1578-1590), with particular reference to the Georgian theatre of operations (*Bellum Persicum nuperrimè gestum*).

<sup>119</sup> The authors's index ( $\chi^4$ v), however, lists a series of sources from which the *Appendix ad Historiam Orientalem* was drawn ('*Auctores praecipui ex quibus concinnatum est supplementum eiusdem historiae*): i) *Rerum Turcicarum scriptores varij*, ii) *Carionis Chronicon*, iii) *Petri Bizarri historia Persica*, iv) *Henrici Porsij bellum Persicum*, and, v) *Guicciardinus de rebus praecipue Belgicis, &c.*

<sup>120</sup> *Chronicorum Turcicorum, in quibus turcorum origo, principes, imperatores, bella, praelia, caedes, victoriae, reique militaris ratio [...] exponuntur [...]*, Sigmund Feyerabend, Frankfurt, 1578 [USTC: 621419], edited by Philipp Lonicer and dedicated to Lazarus von Schwendi, conqueror of Tokaj (see above, note 118), first published in-folio, then republished in 1584 in an abridged and smaller format (in-octavo). The title-page of the original edition has a large woodcut, possibly representing Timur on horseback (the same woodcut appears under Tamerlanes Schyta (D<sup>2</sup>v)), and the whole book is interspersed with woodcuts depicting rulers and battle scenes. Incidentally, the portrait of Bayezid II (G<sup>1</sup>v) also appears on the title-page of the 1578 reissue of the Byzantine corpus [n°12/C]. Rather than Bayezid II, however, the woodcut portrait resembles more Suleyman the Magnificent as he appears, for instance, in the portrait by Cristofano Dell'altissimo in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. In all likelihood these sets of woodcut portraits were used interchangeably to represent 'exotic' rulers, with little care for actual physical resemblance.

<sup>121</sup> On Philipp Lonicer see *GBI*, IV, 2160; K. Mägdefrau, 'Lonicerus, Philipp' in *NDB*, XV, 1987, 147-148 (*NDB* online PND: 137867085).

<sup>122</sup> On Jean Quintin see *FBI*, VI, 2740; 'Quintin (Jean)' in *NBG*, XLI, 1862, 366-367.

containing a long list of references to classical literature and ancient Roman history. The first three pages are devoted to discussing the topics of history as a mirror of human knowledge, of human virtues and of the crucial importance of good governments. Following this, a large section of the dedication letter describes the content of the book, for the most part paraphrasing the summary already contained on the title-page. The preface is closed by a series of adulatory remarks about the dedicatee.

## Chapter 3

### Italian editions

#### 3.1: Venice and the Ottoman Empire<sup>123</sup>

While during the early sixteenth century Charles V and his successors were almost constantly at war with the Turks, Venice, on the contrary, enjoyed relatively long periods of peace with the Ottomans, broken only by brief periods of warfare (Second and Third Ottoman-Venetian Wars, 1499-1503 and 1537-1540), which usually resulted in Venetian territorial losses in the East and in the occasional plundering of the Venetian inland. The survival of Venice, however, was never seriously at stake. Conversely, in the first half of the sixteenth century, Venice was often at war with other European and Italian states in what later came to be known as the Great Italian Wars (1494-1559), which proved far more dangerous and debilitating for the Republic. This period came to an end in 1559, when the French King Henry II renounced any further aspirations towards Italy in the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, thus initiating a relatively long period of peace in the Italian peninsula for the years to come. Despite the general financial decline caused by the opening of new trading routes that bypassed Venice, the 1560s in particular were a period of relative peace and

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<sup>123</sup> The main sources used for this introductory paragraph are *NCMH*, II, *The Reformation (1520-1559)*, and *NCMH*, III, *The Counter-Reformation and price revolution (1559-1610)*. In addition to these I have used LANE 1973 on Venice, GREENE 2000 on the conflict between Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean and GOFFMAN 2002 on the Ottoman threat on Western Europe.

prosperity for the Republic, and, indeed, the great majority of editions of Byzantine historians printed in Venice were published in this decade or very shortly after.<sup>124</sup>

After a long period of peace, in June 1570 a large Ottoman army landed on Cyprus, starting what is now known as the Fourth Ottoman-Venetian War (1570-1573). By early September, Nicosia had fallen to the Ottomans, soon followed by the rest of the island with the sole exception of Famagusta, a stronghold that was still in Venetian hands. An ill-fated Christian rescue party was dispatched too late and returned home upon receiving news of the fall of Nicosia, thus abandoning Famagusta to its own destiny. Contrary to expectations, however, Famagusta put up a strenuous resistance for several months, giving time for the Venetians, the Pope and the Habsburg Empire to slowly agree on the terms of a new rescue mission, formed in May 1571 and christened the 'Holy League'. But, once again, the assembled Christian fleet was dispatched too late to be of any help to Famagusta, which finally surrendered in August 1571. While sailing East, however, in October the Christian navy met with a large Ottoman fleet anchored at Lepanto (modern Nafpaktos, in the Gulf of Corinth) and decided to launch a full-scale attack. Despite vanquishing the Turkish fleet, the Holy League was unable to take advantage of the situation, and, after two more years of indecisive naval warfare, the Holy League began to lose its cohesion, while the Ottomans quickly rebuilt a new fleet, and the Venetians lost any hope of recovering Cyprus. As a consequence, Venice, eager to resume trade with the Levant, signed a separate peace treaty with the Ottomans in 1573, fundamentally acknowledging their defeat: the Republic was forced to pay a large annual tribute to Constantinople and to acknowledge Ottoman sovereignty over Cyprus. Despite the large tribute, the peace

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<sup>124</sup> On the relationship between printing and readers in Renaissance Italy in general see RICHARDSON 1999.

treaty turned out to be highly beneficial to the Venetian economy: warfare with the Ottoman Empire did not resume until 1645, granting Venice an almost uninterrupted period of peace and prosperity for several decades.

### 3.2: Bibliographical descriptions of Italian editions

[n°04] Zonaras [Italian], Venice, Avanzi, 1560; 4°. After Clauser's *editio princeps* of Chalkokondyles in 1556 and Wolf's *principes* of Zonaras and Choniates in 1557, from a chronological point of view, Avanzi's 1560 edition of Zonaras is the first to follow. The text is in Italian only, making it the first translation of a Byzantine historical work in any vernacular language.<sup>125</sup> This fact, together with the choice of a smaller format (in-quarto),<sup>126</sup> suggests a different target audience compared to that of Oporinus's *principes*: mostly scholars in the case of Oporinus, but a much wider public in the case of Avanzi and virtually of all subsequent Italian editions.<sup>127</sup> It appears that this and other Italian editions were intended more as reference works, a fact confirmed by a number of editorial choices that shall be discussed on a case-to-case basis.

This edition comes with a number of unusual bibliographical features, all worthy of a particularly accurate analysis. First, Marco Emilio, the editor, is connected with certainty only to this edition, and given that the dedication letter was written by the printer, Lodovico Avanzi, the whole book virtually contains not a single line written by Marco Emilio. If not absolutely out of the ordinary, it certainly is quite uncommon for an edition to appear with neither a dedication letter nor a preface by the editor: as a

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<sup>125</sup> A French translation of Zonaras was also issued in 1560 in Lyon, but presumably it was published a few weeks *after* Avanzi's edition. See below, chapter 4, n°05.

<sup>126</sup> On the cultural significance of book formats see PETRUCCI 1979(b), 145-147.

<sup>127</sup> 'Questo pubblico, composto all'ingrosso di mercanti, di artigiani, di popolani, di donne, di frati e monache di città, di borghi, di campagne era però legato al «suo» tradizionale modello di libro manoscritto, al libro 'da bisaccia'. PETRUCCI 1979(b), 146.

matter of fact, among all the editions considered the scope of this research this is almost the only case.<sup>128</sup> Apart from the absence of an introductory text by Marco Emilio, there is also no critical apparatus, nor any other paratextual additions, except for the index and a complete list of Byzantine emperors [\*\*\*\*<sup>2</sup>r-\*\*\*\*<sup>2</sup>v], with page numbers for reference. The title-page states that Zonaras's history is '*nuovamente tradotta dal Greco*', meaning 'newly translated' (and not 'again', as in modern Italian), *i.e.* 'for the first time', a concept also expressed in Avanzi's dedication letter.<sup>129</sup> In other words, the title-page openly claims that the text offered in this edition is a translation from the Greek, but this claim is, in fact, quite dubious. In all likelihood, the translation was based on Wolf's Latin translation of the text, not on the Greek original. There is also the possibility that Avanzi attributed the translation to a fictitious translator, 'Marco Emilio', in order to make his claim that the text had been translated *dal Greco* more credible. This would have allowed him to save on the cost of the translation and, at the same time, it would have made his edition appear of higher quality.

Another uncommon element in this edition is the choice of the dedicatee, Sir Francis Russell, the second Earl of Bedford. Italian editions of the Byzantine corpus are usually dedicated, more or less, to prominent figures of either the Venetian Republic or the Papal States, and a similar pattern is followed in French and German editions, which are often dedicated to prominent figures of the French and German-speaking world. This is, in fact, almost the single case, among those analysed in this research, of

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<sup>128</sup> The other case is the 1562 Sansovino edition of Choniates [n°09], but for different and more understandable reasons.

<sup>129</sup> '*Et perche una tal'historia [...] se le farebbe estrema ingiuria, quando fosse tenuta sepolta, però m'è paruta molto accomodata di douerla far tradurre dal greco*', [\*<sup>3</sup>r].

an edition dedicated to someone from such a different background.<sup>130</sup> Despite Russell's travels to Italy, and to Venice in particular, he does not seem to have met with Lodovico Avanzi in person, since in the dedication letter the printer mentions that he has heard rumours of Russell's keen interest in the Italian language, '*per quanto mi vien detto*'. Russell was an illustrious patron of the arts and an influential protestant leader, and it is this reputation that may have convinced Avanzi to seek his patronage, albeit distant. Though Italian was, at the time, a far more international language than it is today, it seems doubtful that even part of the print-run of this edition may have been intended for the international market, so the choice of an English dedicatee for this edition remains, in the end, unexplained.

[n°08] **Choniates [Italian], Venice, Valgrisi, 1562; 4°**. In 1562, two Venetian printers published two Italian translations of Niketas Choniates almost simultaneously: the Frenchman Vincenzo Valgrisi (Vincent Vaugris) and Francesco Sansovino [n°09]. In many ways these two editions are almost identical: aside from Choniates, both offer, in appendix, a translation of Hayton of Corycus's *Flor des Estoires d'Orient*, a historical and geographical description of the Near East in the late thirteenth century.<sup>131</sup> The fact that these two almost identical editions, edited by

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<sup>130</sup> At least in the sixteenth century; some later seventeenth century editions of the Byzantine Corpus (mostly reprints, namely n°18 and n°20) are also dedicated to 'foreigners' – but these are often academic editions with Latin dedication letters to renowned scholars.

<sup>131</sup> Hayton was an Armenian nobleman, ruler of Corycus in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (on Cilician Armenia see below, note 141). The town was formerly known as Korykos in Byzantine Greek and Gorigos in Armenian, on the site of what is now the modern city of Kizkalesi in the province of Mersin, in Southern Turkey. Hayton (the name is recorded in a number of alternative forms, of which 'Haithon' and 'Hethum' are the most common) is not to be confused with his uncle, King Hayton, or Hethum I of Armenia (1215-1271, king 1226-1270), subject of a travelogue commonly called *Journey of Haithon*, unrelated to the text known as *Flor des Estoires d'Orient*. Hayton's *Flor* gained widespread popularity in Western Europe thanks to its descriptions of geographical areas considered to be of strategic importance during the later stages of the Crusades. The genesis of the text is also quite interesting: around 1294, Hayton was banished from Armenia due to his involvement in an unsuccessful

Giuseppe Orologi and by Sebastiano Fausto da Longiano respectively, were both granted printing privileges and could be sold at the same time without incurring legal sanctions shows that the privileges applied to the translations, not to the original texts.<sup>132</sup> Apart from the differences that obviously arise from having two different translations, it is likely that the editors also used two different traditions of Choniates's text. Unfortunately this is not the place for a thorough analysis of the text's transmission: no specific information is provided by the editors or by the printers in the paratext, so the identification of the sources is very hard, if not impossible, especially in the case of free vernacular renditions of the text, and, in the case of Choniates, the task would be even harder due to a particularly thorny text tradition.<sup>133</sup>

In addition to Hayton, the Valgrisi edition of Choniates is enriched by a text called *Annali degli Imperatori di Costantinopoli* ('Annals of the Emperors of Constantinople') [BB<sup>3</sup>r-PP<sup>3</sup>v]. It is worth noting that both Hayton and the *Annali* follow the same pagination and collation of Choniates, an element that may help in the comparison between the Valgrisi and the Sansovino edition of Choniates. From a chronological point of view the *Annali*, covering the period 641-814 AD, *i.e.* from just after the definitive loss of Byzantine Egypt and Syria (Siege and Fall of Alexandria, 641 AD) to the beginning of the second iconoclastic period, or from the reign of Constans

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attempt to overthrow the grandson of Hethum I, Hethum II (1266-1307, king in three distinct periods: 1289-1293, 1295-1296 and 1299-1303). He sought refuge in Cyprus, where he decided to pursue a monastic life and joined the order of the Premonstratensians, then he travelled to France and reached Poitiers, where Pope Clement V (Raymond Bertrand de Got, c.1264-1314, pope 1305-1314) was then in residence. Once there, and at the behest of the pope, in 1307 Hayton dictated to a monk named Nicolas Falcon what later came to be known as the *Flor des Estoires d'Orient*, originally drafted in French and only later translated into Latin (*Flos Historiarum Terre Orientis*). After Hethum II's death, in 1307, Hayton finally returned to secular life in Cilician Armenia, where he died around 1320. See BRETSCHNEIDER 1888, 165n; STEWART 2001, 94-96.

<sup>132</sup> On editorial privileges in the sixteenth century and particularly in Venice see NUOVO – COPPENS 2005, 171-212.

<sup>133</sup> See the *stemma codicum* and the notes to the manuscript tradition in the two modern editions of Choniates: *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, edited by J.L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin, 1975, xix-cxv; *Niceta Coniata: Grandezza e catastrofe di Bisanzio*, edited by R. MAISANO, A. PONTANI, Milan, 1994, lxxix-lxxxviii.

II (630-668 AD, emperor 641-668 AD) to the reign of Leo V (775-820 AD, emperor 813-820 AD), precede the period described by Choniates,<sup>134</sup> leaving a gap of almost two and a half centuries between the end of the *Annali* and the point where Choniates begins his narration. The *nota* to this text [BB<sup>2</sup>v] explains that this is a precise editorial choice despite the evident anachronism.<sup>135</sup> The *nota* does not explain why exactly this text was added, but informs that it was done in order to please those interested in the study of history.<sup>136</sup> Nothing is said with regards to the authorship and provenance of this text, and since there seems to be no reason to omit this information, one can only assume that neither Orologi nor Valgrisi knew that the *Annali* are in fact either an adaptation of Theophanes Confessor's *Chronicle*,<sup>137</sup> possibly in its later version by Kedrenos (twelfth century) or, more likely, the Latin translation of Theophanes's *Chronicle* by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (c.800-c.879 AD).<sup>138</sup> As it often happens, and particularly with translations, the exact attribution of the *Annali* to a specific manuscript tradition is very hard, not to mention that it is not even really possible to ascertain whether or not this translation also was made by Orologi.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Throughout the text, and usually at the beginning of each paragraph, some dates are given; these dates are reported using the Western (Julian) calendar, so for instance, the first lines read as follows: “*Cominciò Costante a regger l’Imperio l’anno seicento, & trentaquattro [...]*”. Interestingly, however, all dates in this text are off by seven years: Constans II for instance was crowned emperor in 641 AD (but according to the *Annali* it happened in 634 AD), whilst Michael I Rangabe (c.770-844 AD, emperor 811-813 AD), who appears towards the end of the *Annali*, is said to have been crowned in 804 AD (rather than in 811 AD). This discrepancy in the chronology is consistent throughout the whole text, so that if one assumes that the *Annali* were translated directly from a Greek manuscript, it follows that at one point a mistake may have happened while translating the dates. These would have originally followed the Byzantine calendar of the *Annus mundi*, which usually set the creation of the world in 5,509 BC. This tradition, however, was not univocal, and varied slightly, so it may also be that the translator used the wrong reference calendar, thus explaining the discrepancy.

<sup>135</sup> See Appendix A, n°08.6.

<sup>136</sup> See Appendix A, n°08.7.

<sup>137</sup> On Theophanes Confessor see A.P. Kazhdan, ‘Theophanes the Confessor’ in *ODB*, III, 2069.

<sup>138</sup> On Kedrenos see above, note 78); on Anastasius Bibliothecarius see M. McCormick, ‘Anastasius Bibliothecarius’s in *ODB*, I, 88-89. Indeed, there is no certainty regarding the origin of the text used for this edition, but a derivation from Anastasius Bibliothecarius definitely seems like a more plausible option.

<sup>139</sup> It is, however, possible to put forward some elements and use them to at least attempt an identification: i) they ignored the name, possibly because the source (manuscript, one would assume,

The second text added to this edition of Choniates, in order of appearance, is Hayton's *Flor* [PP<sup>4</sup>v-AAa<sup>3</sup>r].<sup>140</sup> The addition of this text is to be understood in light of Hayton's origin, Cilician Armenia, a kingdom that controlled an area of extreme strategic importance during the Crusades and a vital ally of the Crusaders.<sup>141</sup> Hayton's text is a valid support of Choniates thanks to its detailed description of local geography. In a brief introduction to the text, Orologi explains that Hayton was added to Choniates specifically in order to help the reader understand the complex geography described by Choniates in a number of occasions.<sup>142</sup> As in the case of Choniates, the textual tradition used for the edition of Hayton is hard to identify, and the same is true for the Sansovino edition. There are, however, a number of textual differences between the Valgrisi and the Sansovino edition of Hayton that may in fact help to identify or at

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unless another printed version is in circulation, unbeknown to me) did not provide one; ii) Theophanes Confessor's *Chronicle* covers the period 284-814 AD, whilst the text in the Valgrisi edition only covers the period 641-814 AD; in other words, the *Annali* only comprise the last third of Theophanes's *Chronicle*. Indeed it may be an editorial choice, but it is also possible that the edition was based on an incomplete text tradition or an incomplete manuscript; iii) the *Annali* are organised according to a chronological principle that differs from that of Theophanes's *Chronicle*: the latter text is arranged by years, so that each paragraph describes the events of one year, whilst the *Annali* are arranged by emperors; the indications of time and lists of rulers and patriarchs that appear at the beginning of each paragraph/year of the *Chronicle* are missing in the *Annali*, in which the only dates stated in full relate to the emperors's accessions to the throne; thereafter, the years are listed in ordinal numbers (e.g., "*L'anno quarto del suo Imperio* [...] *L'anno V. dell'imperio di Costante*" etc.). Once again, this may well be a translation choice, but it may also stem from a different manuscript tradition; iv) the count of years does not follow the *Anno Mundi* tradition, but the *Anno Domini*. In this case, too, it may be a choice of the translator or indeed of the printer.

<sup>140</sup> The full title is *Historia delle parti dell'Oriente, & del passaggio alla terra Santa, descritta fedelmente da Haitone Monaco Armeno, parente del Re d'Armenia, Premonstratense*.

<sup>141</sup> The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, also known as Armenian Cilicia, Cilician Armenia, Little or Lesser Armenia, and not to be confused with Greater Armenia (in the Caucasus), was originally formed towards the end of the eleventh century by Armenians fleeing Greater Armenia during the Seljuk invasions who found refuge and later resettled west of the Taurus range, in an area that can approximately be identified with ancient Cilicia, or with the Çukurova region in modern Turkey. Although Cilician Armenia had early connections with the Byzantine Empire, the diplomatic relations between the two states were often tense. For a general overview on the history of Cilician Armenia see GHAZARIAN 2000.

<sup>142</sup> See Appendix A, n°08.8.

least to reduce to a smaller number the possible traditions of the text used for these editions.<sup>143</sup>

[n°09] **Choniates [Italian], Venice, Sansovino, 1562; 4°**. The other printer who, in 1562, published an edition of Choniates with Hayton's *Flor* in appendix was Francesco Sansovino, another important figure on the scene of Venetian printing. It is not clear why both Valgrisi and Sansovino ended up printing the same text at the same time. The confusion is further increased by the fact that Sansovino published two issues of Choniates. The differences between the two issues, albeit marginal, may, however, help in understanding the history of this edition and of its relation to Valgrisi's Choniates [n°08]. In the first Sansovino issue [n°09] Choniates is preceded by a general index [a<sup>2</sup>r-a<sup>4</sup>v] and followed by Hayton [2A<sup>1</sup>r-2H<sup>4</sup>v],<sup>144</sup> also mentioned in the title page; in the second issue [n°09/B] both the general index and Hayton have been removed,<sup>145</sup> the former being replaced by a dedication letter and by an editorial *nota* in which Sansovino explains that he chose to remove Hayton in order to avoid any wrongdoing towards his colleague Valgrisi. Interestingly, although neither Valgrisi's nor Sansovino's Hayton were originally intended for separate circulation, at least six of

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<sup>143</sup> The Valgrisi edition, for instance, reproduces in the very first lines of the text [PP<sup>4</sup>v], just after the title, an incipit by Nicolas Falcon, the monk to whom Hayton had dictated his account, not present in the Sansovino edition: '*Queste Sono le historie delle parti di Oriente scritte in breuità da F. Haitone, Signor de Curchi, & parente del Re di Armenia. le quali io Nicolao Salconi [sic] di ordine del sommo Pontefice, & Signor nostro Clemente V. scrissi primamente in lingua Francese a Poitto, dettandole l'istesso F. Haitone di sua propria bocca, senza alcuna nota, ouero esemplare, & di lingua Francese le hò poi trasportate nella lingua Latina del MCCCVII. del mese di Agosto*'. The rest of the two versions appear to be almost identical.

<sup>144</sup> The Valgrisi and Sansovino editions of Hayton are almost identical, with the obvious exception of the different translations and of one introductory sentence at the beginning of the text. See note 143 above.

<sup>145</sup> In all but one copy, and an Oxford copy, incidentally [Corpus Christi College Library: LF.5.a.3(1) (MR3)]. Despite further research, no other copies of this kind appear to survive. But its existence further complicates the understanding of the history of this edition, since it merges the paratextual material that in all other copies appears alternatively in either one of the two issues: the title-page does not mention Hayton and the preface includes the dedication letter and the *Nota*, but then it also includes both the index (lacking however the first leaf, suggesting that it may have been pasted in) and Hayton.

Sansovino's Haytons are found circulating separately from Choniates, against not even one by Valgrisi.<sup>146</sup>

For an adequate understanding of the relationship between these two editions of Choniates the identification of the textual tradition used to prepare them may be of some help, but, once again, it is hard to be certain. The first problem is that, unlike most of the other editions, usually edited by one scholar only, Sansovino's Choniates was edited by two: first by Sebastiano Fausto da Longiano and later by Francesco Sansovino himself, which makes it virtually impossible to determine which parts have been edited by Fausto da Longiano and which others by Sansovino. Moreover, the *nota* states that Sansovino's edition does not, in fact, contain a complete version of Choniates, but only an abridged version of the text. This abridgement is, however, unrelated to the *Epitome*, an abridged version of Choniates already in circulation in the manuscript tradition of the text.<sup>147</sup> In Sansovino's edition, Choniates comes to an end with the death of Baldwin of Flanders (1172-c.1205, first emperor of the Latin Empire) [CC<sup>v</sup>], but it is then followed by Sansovino's own summary, in ten leaves, of the period from the crowning of Henry of Flanders (c.1176-1216, second emperor of the Latin Empire and younger brother of Baldwin) to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, an

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<sup>146</sup> These observations are based on the number of extant copies listed in ICCU OPAC SBN and EDIT16.

<sup>147</sup> The modern editor of Choniates, Van Dieten, also suggests that Sansovino's abridged edition is not, in fact, derivative of the manuscript tradition of the *Epitome*, but, rather, that it is a newly prepared compendium arranged through the collation of different manuscript traditions. In the scholar's opinion the quality of this compendium is so bad that it does not even deserve to be called a translation: '*Die Exemplare dieses Werkes sind nicht alle gleich; auf den Unterschied kann hier aber nicht eingegangen werden. Den Namen Übersetzung verdient das Werk nicht; es bietet vielmehr nur ein italienisches Kompendium des Niketas. Die Verkürzung des Textes hat sonderbare Fehler nach sich gezogen, so z.B. daß ein Teil der Regierung des Alexios III. noch Isaak II. zugeschrieben wird*': *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, edited by J.L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin, 1975, cx.

editorial choice that may be explained as an attempt to make this edition more appealing and marketable to a wider public.<sup>148</sup>

The name of the editor, Sebastiano Fausto da Longiano, along with the information that the text had later been edited again by Sansovino, is only given in the *nota*. It appears, however, that Fausto da Longiano's works were not always intended for publication: his translation of Choniates, for instance, seems to have circulated in manuscript form for a number of years before Sansovino decided to publish it. It remains unclear if Fausto da Longiano was involved in any way with the editorial revision that preceded the printing of Sansovino's edition, though it seems unlikely, making it hard to assess the quality of Fausto da Longiano's translation due to Sansovino's own substantial editing of it. One question that will probably remain unanswered is why Fausto da Longiano decided to produce a summarised version of Choniates in the first place, since this compendium is in fact only a few leaves shorter than the unabridged version published by Valgrisi.

**[n°10] Zonaras [Italian], Venice, Giolito, 1564; 4°.** The 1564 edition of Zonaras is the first in a series of editions of Byzantine historians by one of the best known Venetian printers of all times, Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari. A number of reissues and new editions followed this first one, including one edition of Choniates with Gregoras, making Giolito one of the most recurrent names among those analysed in this research. One of the first modern scholars who worked on Giolito, Salvatore Bonghi, believed that the existence of this edition, and, more generally, the success of a text such as the one by Zonaras, demonstrates that sixteenth century readers were

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<sup>148</sup> Sansovino's summary [CC<sup>1</sup>v-EE<sup>3</sup>v] follows immediately after Choniates's end, as if it were part of the same text, and it seems specifically intended to make it almost impossible for the reader to distinguish between the end of Choniates and the beginning of Sansovino's summary.

capable of dealing with uneasy and voluminous texts.<sup>149</sup> The Italian editions analysed in this work, however, may suggest a slightly different interpretation: namely, that these texts were intended and often used as reference books, which would explain why almost all of the editions have large indexes at the beginning of the book (rather than at the end), full lists of names and marginal glosses indicating the content of each paragraph.<sup>150</sup> And, even assuming that a fair number of readers must certainly have read these books in their entirety, it probably would have been because these texts were perceived as summaries, offering easy access to a universal history. Indeed, this does not mean that sixteenth century readers were incapable of tackling difficult readings; it does, however, suggest that one should not take for granted the link between the popularity of Byzantine editions in this period and the reading habits of early modern readers.

In none of the dedication letters of this edition does Lodovico Dolce, the editor, say much about his translation: the only thing he mentions, in the first dedication letter, is that he had already completed the translation four years earlier (*‘La quale opera hauendo io nella mia quieta soletudine ridotta, quattro anni sono, nella Volgar Lingua’*), so presumably between 1559 and early 1560, since the dedication letter is dated 1<sup>st</sup> December 1563. If this information were correct, it would mean that Dolce’s translation was either ready before or shortly after the other vernacular translation of Zonaras, since the two earliest translations, in Italian and French [n°04 and n°05], were published in 1560. It is hard to tell which textual tradition Dolce worked on. In fact, it

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<sup>149</sup> *‘L’aver il Giolito pubblicata la traduzione di un libro assai voluminoso e così poco celebre come Zonara, quattro anni dopo che altro stampatore nella stessa città ne aveva stampata una diversa, è prova novella della larga diffusione che potevano ottenere nella società italiana anche libri di severa lettura in quel secolo civilissimo’*. BONGI 1895, II, 195.

<sup>150</sup> It would also explain why, of the copies that I have seen, very few show signs of use beyond the first few quires.

is also hard to tell whether he used the original Greek text at all, or, more likely, a Latin translation, presumably the one published by Wolf some years earlier.<sup>151</sup> On this edition in particular we also have more detailed information on the Venetian printing privilege, requested by Giolito on 29<sup>th</sup> November 1561, more than two years before the book was actually published, suggesting that the edition had been planned for some time.<sup>152</sup> We also know that the privilege was granted for fifteen years, a fairly common duration for privileges issued in Venice after 1550, which may or may not mean that the time expected for all copies of a given edition to be sold had increased from the average of the ten years of pre-1550 privileges.<sup>153</sup>

[n°10/C]: After publishing Choniates and Gregoras in 1569 [n°13], in 1570 Giolito and Ferentilli published a second edition of Zonaras [n°10/C]. Upon closer examination, however, it appears evident that, contrarily to what was declared in the title-page and in the dedication letter, this edition was not a new edition, but a reissue of the 1564 edition of Zonaras. Despite Ferentilli's claim that this edition was a revised and improved version of Dolce's original translation, this edition was in fact the same of 1564 with reprinted title-pages, paratext and the first leaves of each volume.<sup>154</sup> The

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<sup>151</sup> It is not even sure whether Dolce knew Greek: '[Dolce] tace soprattutto se egli conducesse il suo lavoro sul testo greco o su qualche traduzione latina; il che è forse più probabile, non essendovi argomenti sicuri della sua cognizione del greco, anzi essendo opinione assai fondata ed accettata anche dal Cicogna suo biografo, che ne fosse affatto digiuno'. BONGI 1895, II, 195. A few lines below, in an attempt to compare this edition with Avanzi's 1560 edition [n°04], Bongi claims that although Dolce's edition 'può gareggiare per il tempo con quella di Marco Aurelio [sic] Fiorentino [...], a questa ultima si dovrebbe però attribuire merito maggiore per esser condotta sul testo originale'. However, as seen above, Avanzi's edition shows little or no sign of being a translation from the Greek either. See above page 66.

<sup>152</sup> BONGI 1895, II, 194.

<sup>153</sup> NUOVO – COPPENS 2005, 185.

<sup>154</sup> This fraud was first discovered by PAITONI (1767, IV, 246n) in the eighteenth century. BONGI 1895, II, 195-196 denounces again this despicable action: 'Il quale [Ferentilli] con atto di sfacciataggine indecente, che il Giolito non doveva tollerare si compiesse all'ombra del suo onorato nome, osò di fingere nel 1570 una nuova edizione di Zonara tradotto da Dolce'. Both Paitoni and Bongi, however, seem to imply that Giolito was only indirectly involved in this fraud, suggesting that Ferentilli was in fact the master architect of the plan. On this point I disagree, since I see no reason to believe that Giolito was not actively involved in it, and though he may not have planned it, it is hard to believe that such a fraud could have happened in the Giolito press against Giolito's own will.

likely reason for this could be that the original 1564 edition of Zonaras did not sell well, and, in 1570, Giolito decided to refresh the paratext and sell out the remainder copies of this edition, particularly in light of the occasion of renewed tensions between Venice and the Ottoman Empire after the Turkish capture of Cyprus in 1570, an event that led to what is now known as the Fourth Ottoman-Venetian War (1570-1573). This reissue of Dolce's translation is also a good example of a technique increasingly in use in the Giolito press, explaining the existence of two reissues published in sequence in 1571 and 1572 [n°10/D and n°10/E]: some copies were printed with post-dated imprints, so that the edition could be sold for a longer period while still looking like a market novelty.<sup>155</sup> Unfortunately, this serves to thwart any attempt to ascertain whether a given edition was an editorial success or not, and as a matter of fact it is neither possible to say whether Dolce's 1564 translation of Zonaras was successful in the first place, nor if Ferentilli's 1570 reissue met with more luck.

The choice of the dedicatees for this reissue is somewhat anomalous, since two come from the Roman and two from the Vicentine society. There is no apparent connection between the four dedicatees, but one common denominator is that they all seem to have had a legal education, though it remains unclear whether or not they all ended up practising law as a profession. Another possible, though speculative, connection, especially for the two dedicatees from Vicenza, is that they may have visited Constantinople.<sup>156</sup> This hypothesis is fascinating, and indeed it may apply to a number of other dedicatees, particularly among those of Italian editions; but it seems

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<sup>155</sup> This technique is described in detail in NUOVO – COPPENS 2005, 264-266.

<sup>156</sup> This suggestion was in fact made by Andrea Savio, who is currently working on a Ph.D. thesis in Verona under the provisional title of *'La nobile famiglia Godi nella Repubblica di Venezia nell'età di Palladio. Da giudici a Venezia a spie in Inghilterra (1480-1588)'*, on the grounds that in the 1560s an unexpectedly high number of Vicentines seems to have visited Constantinople. See in particular chapter 2, *'Fuori Vicenza. Tra Repubblica e Impero'*.

unlikely, since, had this been the case, it would be difficult to understand why the author of the dedication letters would not mention this fact.

ICCU OPAC SBN describes a variant of n°10 [n°10/F] dated 1570 on the general title-page and 1565 on the title-pages of the second and third part ('Var. D', according to OPAC SBN), but does not refer to a single copy of this variant. Bongi does not mention it, nor does it appear in EDIT16, so it remains unclear where the cataloguer retrieved this information. The existence of this variant, however, would not come as a complete surprise: the variants n°10/B and n°10/C (with varying imprint dates in the internal title-pages)<sup>157</sup> show that the original edition of 1564 had already been reissued twice in the 1560s, so variant n°10/F could simply be a 1570 reissue of one of the earlier variants of the original 1564 edition. It is worth noting, however, that the apparently complete lack of copies of this variant suggests that, if ever it really existed, it must have been very uncommon.

**[n°13] Choniates and Gregoras [Italian], Venice, Giolito, 1569; 4°.** The second edition of Byzantine historiography edited by Lodovico Dolce and printed by Gabriele Giolito is an edition of Choniates and Gregoras, making the Giolito press the only one to offer the first three authors of the Byzantine Corpus in Italian,<sup>158</sup> since the earlier printers had only printed either Zonaras or Choniates/Gregoras. Dolce, however, had already died in 1568, so one can only assume that he had either

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<sup>157</sup> In the first case, in particular, EDIT16 gives a title with a difference in lines 6-8, (rather than 'NELLA QVALE, COMINCIANDOSI DAL PRIN- || cipio della creation del mondo, & discorrendosi per tutte l'histoire de gli Hebrei, || si uien fino alla destruttion di Gierusalem.', it reads 'NELLA QVALE SI TRATTANO L'HISTORIE || Romane, cominciando dal principio della città di Roma, Fino a Costantino || Cloro Imperadore, & padre del gran Costantino.'). This may lead to the assumption that this edition is not a reissue, but a reprint. In fact, for some unknown reason the cataloguer inadvertently replaced two lines from the main title-page with two lines from the title-page of the second volume of Zonaras.

<sup>158</sup> It is interesting to note that Laonikos Chalkokondyles has always been neglected among the Italian publishers of the Byzantine corpus, as opposed to what occurs in German and French editions. This point in particular will be addressed in the conclusions of this research.

completed (or left partly unfinished) his translation of Choniates and Gregoras, intended as a continuation of his earlier translation of Zonaras, but then his work was eventually published by Agostino Ferentilli, the new editorial director for historical texts in Giolito's press. The nature of Ferentilli's revisions and improvements upon Dolce's translation, declared both in the title-pages and in all the dedication letters, is quite dubious, as is certainly the case with the 1570 reissue of Zonaras [n°10/C], as seen before. Unlike the reissue of Zonaras, however, which one can at least compare to the first edition of 1564, the edition of Choniates/Gregoras was published only once and after Dolce's death; it is therefore virtually impossible to say to which extent Ferentilli reworked Dolce's translation – if he ever really did.

This edition is also found in a very rare variant [n°13/B], surviving in one known copy (Modena, Biblioteca Estense) with the imprint 1570 (MDLXVIII) on the internal title-page of Gregoras only.

Similarly to other cases in this research (see, for instance, the relation between n°11 and n°11/C), the third part of this edition (*i.e.* Gregoras alone) is at times found circulating independently [n°13/C]. The record n°13/B shows that in some rare cases the year on the title-page of Gregoras appears as 1570, explaining why most copies of this separate circulation of Gregoras appear to be printed in 1569, but a minority of these in 1570. EDIT16 lists ten copies of Gregoras circulating alone against thirty copies of the complete edition (that is, Choniates with Gregoras), a relatively large number for texts which, at least in their original shape, do not appear to have been intended for independent circulation. Interestingly, however, Choniates alone survives in one single copy (Rovereto, Biblioteca civica Girolamo Tartarotti). Such a discrepancy seems to suggest that, if Gregoras did indeed have an independent

circulation, Choniates did not, making this single copy only an incomplete copy, originally part of a complete edition. It does not seem unreasonable to argue that Gregoras may have had a separate print-run, which would explain the considerably larger number of copies of Gregoras circulating autonomously.

### 3.3: Paratextual descriptions of Italian editions

[n°04] **Zonaras [Italian], Venice, Avanzi, 1560; Lodovico Avanzi to Francis Russell, England.** Mostly an exercise of *captatio benevolentiae*, Avanzi's dedication letter is not very informative, but it may still provide some indirect information about how the publisher intended to market this edition. Zonaras is only mentioned once – to say that his narration provides a very useful summary of human history – and there is no reference neither to the Byzantines nor to the state of current affairs (*i.e.* the Ottoman threat). The first two pages contain a lengthy digression on the virtues and qualities of the dedicatee, Sir Francis Russell, the second Earl of Bedford, and of his ancestors, followed by a reference to Russell's influence over the Queen of England, employing the oft-quoted cliché that Russell deserves to hold the highest ranks at court.<sup>159</sup> Avanzi hopes that Russell's mighty fame and glory will reflect eternally on his edition and make it 'glow' too; furthermore, he informs the dedicatee of the usefulness of this text, particularly because of Russell's involvement in politics.<sup>160</sup> He then goes on to describe the particular qualities of Zonaras, stressing the fact that it is a most valuable 'light of truth'.<sup>161</sup> Finally, he explains both why he chose to publish his text and why he decided to dedicate it to Francis Russell.<sup>162</sup> This last passage is

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<sup>159</sup> See Appendix A, n°04.1.

<sup>160</sup> See Appendix A, n°04.2.

<sup>161</sup> See Appendix A, n°04.3.

<sup>162</sup> See Appendix A, n°04.4.

particularly interesting since it implies that his edition of Zonaras is the first one, suggesting that Avanzi was either unaware of Wolf's *editio princeps*, or, more likely, that he willingly chose not to mention its existence. Another possibility should however be considered, that is, that both in this passage and on the title-page (where it is said that Zonaras's narration is '*nuovamente tradotta dal greco*') Avanzi only means that this is the first *Italian* translation of Zonaras, which is indeed true. However that may be, the dedication letter is then closed praising Russell's keen interest in the Italian language.

**[n°08] Choniates [Italian], Venice, Valgrisi, 1562; Giuseppe Orologi to Matteo Dandolo, Venice.** Due to Choniates's harsh judgment of the Venetians, who, in his view, were principally responsible for the unholy sack of Constantinople in 1204,<sup>163</sup> publishing this particular Byzantine author in Venice was always a complicated issue, with editors and printers often struggling to find ways to make this text look more acceptable to a Venetian audience. In this particular case, Orologi, the editor, finds a cunning expedient to introduce the text: despite Choniates's bitterness against the Italians, and the Venetians in particular, he still had good words for the Venetian Doge Enrico Dandolo,<sup>164</sup> an ancestor of the dedicatee and arguably the most prominent member of the Dandolo family, the *de facto* leader of the Fourth Crusade.<sup>165</sup> Orologi argues that not even Choniates, despite all his hatred and malice against the Venetians, could deny the qualities of the Venetian doge.<sup>166</sup> In the subsequent pages Orologi celebrates the history of the Dandolo family in an attempt to praise as many of its

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<sup>163</sup> On the Fourth Crusade see, in general, GODFREY 1980 and HARRIS 2003(a).

<sup>164</sup> On Enrico Dandolo see *IBI*, IV, 1153; G. Cracco, 'Dandolo, Enrico' in *DBI*, XXXII, 1986. In the preface Orologi refers to Enrico Dandolo by using the Venetian form 'Arrigo'.

<sup>165</sup> See Appendix A, n°08.1.

<sup>166</sup> See Appendix A, n°08.2.

members as possible, including a few women, and often falling into open adulation. But since the Dandolos were a large and extremely influential family, Orologi tries to briefly mention each one of them, but to do so without appearing hasty he makes use of a rhetoric subterfuge: the Dandolos are all so praiseworthy that he simply cannot find the words to adulate them adequately, and the only thing he can do with a number of them is to ask ‘*Che dirò di Rainiero Dandolo [...]? Che dirò di Giacomo Dandolo [...]? Che di Pietro Dandolo [...]? Che di Gilberto medesimamente Dandolo [...]*’ And a few lines below, in order to complete this lengthy list of Dandolos and at the same time to introduce the praise to his dedicatee, Orologi boasts that if he had to praise all the members of the family he would never end writing.<sup>167</sup> When it comes to Matteo Dandolo, Orologi only mentions his two embassies on behalf of Venice to King Henry II of France (1519-1559, king 1547-1559) and to Pope Paul III (Alessandro Farnese, 1468-1549, Pope 1534-1549). Nothing else is said, despite the fact that Matteo Dandolo’s career was far from limited to these two prestigious embassies, though both were certainly highlights. Nothing in particular is said with regards to Dandolo’s political position against the Ottoman Turks or concerning his stance in defence of the Greek community of Venice during the Council of Trent. Finally, before thanking Matteo Dandolo for his protection, Orologi finds an elegant way to put an end to the dedication: the splendour of the Dandolos is so great that he would not want to obfuscate it with excessive praises.<sup>168</sup> In the dedication letter there is hardly any mention of the Byzantines (consistently called ‘Greeks’ throughout the text and paratext) or of the Turks except for a few fleeting references as to the roles played by

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<sup>167</sup> See Appendix A, n°08.3.

<sup>168</sup> See Appendix A, n°08.4.

members of the Dandolo family in military conflicts or diplomatic demarches with the Levant.

If in Venice there was fear for the advance of the Ottomans, it certainly is not evident in this dedication letter. A final consideration should be added with regard to the date of this dedication letter, 21<sup>st</sup> January 1562.<sup>169</sup> Since neither Valgrisi's nor Sansovino's edition offer any other firm date, this is the only one available. Indeed, this does not necessarily mean that the book was published in January, but it does at least suggest a publication in the early part of the year, an element which further consolidates the chronological primacy of Valgrisi's edition over the one published by Sansovino. Although the dedication letter and the title-page may not be exceedingly informative, the three *notae* – one for each of the texts contained in this edition – provide, on the contrary, some useful information. The *nota* to Choniates in particular [F<sup>4v</sup>] deserves special attention since it offers an excellent insight in the contemporary confusion concerning not only the Byzantine identity, but also, and more importantly, the very nature of Europe itself.<sup>170</sup> The *nota* is divided into two parts: in the first Orologi explains what exactly Choniates means by the term 'Romans', a name that derives, he notes, from the name used by the Roman legionary soldiers, who went on calling themselves 'Romans' even after the empire had moved from Rome to Constantinople. It is unclear whether this indirect delegitimisation of the Byzantine imperial authority is intentional or not, but the entire passage is a direct derivation from Chalkokondyles.<sup>171</sup> In the second part of the *nota* Orologi tackles the definition used by Choniates to refer to the West, and the explanations he provides on this point

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<sup>169</sup> It is worth remembering that Venice had switched to the new calendar (with the year starting on 1<sup>st</sup> January) in 1522.

<sup>170</sup> See Appendix A, n°08.5.

<sup>171</sup> See note 108.

are highly indicative of how not only the idea of Byzantium, but also that of Europe, lacked, at the time, a precise definition and, indeed, a precise identification. Orologi clarifies that he chose to translate the term ‘Latins’ – used by Choniates to identify the peoples of Europe<sup>172</sup> – as ‘Italians’, on the grounds that he wanted to avoid confusion between Choniates’s use of ‘Romans’ and ‘Latins’, but he could not find a better term. He explains that he had also considered the term ‘Westerners’ (*popoli occidentali*), but such definition would then exclude ‘all those Westerners who do not reside in Western Europe’. He then candidly admits that not even ‘Italians’ is the ideal solution, but in his opinion it remains the best way to avoid getting too far from what Choniates meant to say. It is clear that this attempted definition of Europe is based neither on religious (*e.g.* Catholics as opposed to Protestants or Orthodox) nor on ethnic or linguistic grounds: rather, it appears to be strongly connected to a merely geographical notion of peoples, which explains why it is not possible to use the term ‘Westerners’ in a broader sense.

**[n°09/B] Choniates [Italian], Venice, Sansovino, 1562; Francesco Sansovino to Giovanni Bettignoli, Treviso.** The dedication letter to Bettignoli only appears in the second issue of Sansovino’s edition. The first few lines are used by Sansovino to explain the usefulness of history through a series of common *topoi* and with a reference to Cicero’s *De Oratore*.<sup>173</sup> Immediately afterwards, he explains why Choniates’s history in particular can be useful and pleasant, suggesting that the style of the Byzantine historian is reminiscent of that of Suetonius.<sup>174</sup> After praising Giovanni Bettignoli, the dedicatee, by briefly relating his *cursus honorum* and his personal and

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<sup>172</sup> Orologi lists the French, Germans, Flemish, English and Italians, but presumably because these were the main participants of the Crusades.

<sup>173</sup> See Appendix A, n°09.1.

<sup>174</sup> See Appendix A, n°09.2.

diplomatic skills, Sansovino recurs to another *topos* typical of Italian dedication letters and suggests that Bettignoli certainly deserves higher offices, not hesitating to adulate him for his physical beauty too.<sup>175</sup> This rather uninformative dedication letter is concluded with two common closing themes: the praise of the dedicatee's humbleness,<sup>176</sup> and the promise of eternal gratitude and future services. Interestingly, one may argue that this dedication letter is possibly more informative for what it does not say rather than for what it actually does say: if, in the dedication to the same text, Valgrisi clearly struggles with Choniates's portrayal of Venice, Sansovino avoids tackling this subject and rather prefers to focus at length on the apparently insuperable human qualities of the dedicatee. Unlike Valgrisi, Sansovino makes use of the recurring argument that this kind of text is useful in order to learn from the mistakes of others, i.e. those of the Byzantines. Just like the dedication letter, the editorial *nota* [\*<sup>4</sup>r-<sup>4</sup>v], only present in the second issue of Sansovino's edition, is probably the most relevant text in order to understand the relation between the Valgrisi and the Sansovino edition of Choniates. Sansovino explains that, having discovered that Vincenzo Valgrisi was also publishing an edition of Choniates [n°08] and not wanting to do him any wrong, he decided to publish Choniates without Hayton and in an abridged version compiled by Fausto da Longiano some years earlier.<sup>177</sup> The order in which the Sansovino issues were published, however, is another matter. The simplest solution would be to assume that first Sansovino published some copies of Choniates with Hayton but without a dedication letter; then, becoming aware of Valgrisi's simultaneous edition, he stripped the remaining copies of Hayton whilst adding the dedication letter and the apologetic

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<sup>175</sup> See Appendix A, n°09.3.

<sup>176</sup> See Appendix A, n°09.4.

<sup>177</sup> See Appendix A, n°09.5.

*nota*.<sup>178</sup> This explanation, however, comes with two problems: the first is that whilst the removal of the *nota* and of the dedication letter may be understood in some circumstances, the removal of the index (only present in the first issue) is more difficult to explain; the second is that the lack of the dedication letter in the first issue is puzzling, since, if anything, dedication letters were usually removed, not added. It does not seem possible to provide a definitive answer to this problem, especially since it was uncommon for a sixteenth century Venetian printer to publish a book without a dedication letter, particularly in a market as competitive as the one of Venice, in which dedicatees and patrons were an essential part of the business: as a matter of fact, with the exception, not by chance, of two fraudulent reissues [n°06/D and n°07/B], this seems to be the only case of an undedicated edition among those studied in this research.

The other interesting aspect of this *nota* is Sansovino's description of his original plans, namely to add a number of texts to Choniatēs (*'Io haveva deliberato di aggiugner alcune cose mie a questa opera, [...] come sarebbe l'Entrate di quei te[m]pi che cauauano gl'Imperatori di quello stato. I Magistrati di Costantinopoli, cosi ciuili, come criminali. La discription di tutta quella Città, di fuori, & di dentro. [...]*'). It is unclear how seriously we should take this claim. On one hand, the Sansovino edition of Choniatēs appears very hasty, with many mistakes both in the text and even in the title-page,<sup>179</sup> and evidences generally low quality of translation. But, on the other hand, the description of Sansovino's plan closely recalls the structure of a number of other editions he published, mostly collections of treatises on the Turks.<sup>180</sup> This idea is

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<sup>178</sup> It is worth noting, however, that both editions were issued printing privileges.

<sup>179</sup> In the title-page for instance the fall of Constantinople is placed in 1457.

<sup>180</sup> Most notably his *Dell'istoria universale dell'origine et imperio de Turchi*, first published in Venice in 1560 [USTC: 854752] and republished thereafter a number of times, occasionally under the alternative

corroborated by the fact that, after being somewhat apologetic about the admittedly low quality of his translation, Sansovino declares that he hopes to include these additional texts in the upcoming reprint of his very successful miscellany *Historie dei Turchi*.<sup>181</sup>

[n°10] Zonaras [Italian], Venice, Giolito, 1564; Lodovico Dolce to Giovanni Battista Brembati, Bergamo [v.I]. The main theme of the first two of the three dedication letters of this edition of Zonaras is that of the grief for the murder of Achille, the younger brother of Giovanni Battista Brembati. Other themes include a remarkably interesting consideration on the potential target market for Zonaras's narration. Zonaras is presented here as the author of a universal history that brilliantly satisfies the needs of all those readers who do not have enough time to read large books, because their lives are too busy; furthermore, Zonaras is perfect for all those readers who have bad memory, since his historical narration is easy to consult for reference.<sup>182</sup> These considerations are followed by a clichéd praise for Giovanni Battista Brembati, mentioning the glories of his family as well as his skill with the sword and the pen alike.<sup>183</sup> It is only towards the end of the dedication letter that Dolce tactfully mentions the murder of Brembati's younger brother, Achille, at hands of the rival Bergamo family of the Albanis.<sup>184</sup>

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title *Annali Turcheschi*. Yérasimos argues that the dedication letters of some of Sansovino's *Turcica* were used to support anti-German propaganda: 'Ainsi, à un moment où cet Empire [Romain-Germanique] risque de réapparaître dans toute sa puissance en Italie, accorder l'Empire aux Turcs c'est un moyen de refuser la suprématie allemande'. YÉRASIMOS 1988, 30. But the arguments described by Yérasimos as symptomatic of anti-German propaganda do not seem to make their appearance in the dedication letter to Choniates.

<sup>181</sup> See Appendix A, n°09.6.

<sup>182</sup> See Appendix A, n°10.1.

<sup>183</sup> See Appendix A, n°10.2.

<sup>184</sup> See Appendix A, n°10.3.

The first dedication letter is followed by an index, in turn followed by a *nota* [\*8r]. The authorship is undeclared; but despite the fact that the *notae* were usually written by Giolito himself, this one in particular was probably penned by Dolce.<sup>185</sup> The *nota* suggests that Zonaras is a useful reading for all those who display some interest in the humanities and in history in particular, since in Zonaras one can find an excellent summary of general history. Furthermore, it explains that the first volume, in particular, helps the reader to understand the Scriptures, whereas the second and third help with the history of the Romans and of the ‘Roman, Latin and Greek emperors’ (*‘e di tutti gl’Imperadori cosi Romani, e Latini, come Greci’*).<sup>186</sup> Clearly, as many others before him, the author of this *nota* struggled with the definition of the Byzantine identity, but if one looks carefully at the way the sentence is phrased, it seems to suggest that Romans and Latins stand on one side, while the Greeks stand on the other.

[n°10] **Zonaras [Italian], Venice, Giolito, 1564; Lodovico Dolce to Emilia Brembati, Bergamo [v.II]**. The second dedication letter provides more details on the murder of Achille Brembati, an event that, among other things, resulted in his sister, Emilia Brembati, the dedicatee, delivering a speech in front of the Venetian Senate in order to secure fair convictions for her brother’s assassins. The rather lengthy passage also highlights the dedicatee’s rhetorical skills.<sup>187</sup> Dolce then praises the qualities of Emilia Brembati’s late husband, Ezechiele Solza, and of her two children, Giacomo and Girolamo Solza. This is also Dolce’s opportunity to stress his personal connection to the Brembati family, mentioning a visit that the Solzas paid him some time before, presumably in Venice.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> See NUOVO – COPPENS 2005, 96, 118n.

<sup>186</sup> See Appendix A, n°10.9.

<sup>187</sup> See Appendix A, n°10.4.

<sup>188</sup> See Appendix A, n°10.5.

[n°10] Zonaras [Italian], Venice, Giolito, 1564; Lodovico Dolce to Isotta Brembati, Bergamo [v.III]. The third dedication letter, to Isotta Brembati, begins with Dolce renouncing, in an unwittingly amusing fashion, his sexist prejudice that women are invariably bad poets.<sup>189</sup> This passage provides a sketch of what presumably a good number of men of letters of the sixteenth century thought of women writing poetry. Dolce, for instance, is vaguely aware of the existence of Sappho, but he candidly admits that he had thought that the ancient writers had greatly overrated her skills. Additionally, the following passage is not only the single case in this study in which a reference is made to contemporary writers, particularly to Politian and Bembo, but it also gives Dolce the opportunity to list a number of contemporary poetesses,<sup>190</sup> suggesting that, in Dolce's view a poetess is only worth mentioning if she has received praise –and hence legitimisation – by a male scholar. Dolce then continues by praising Isotta Brembati, whom, he claims, excelled in Italian and Spanish poetry alike, as her brother Giovanni Battista did before her.<sup>191</sup> Following this, Dolce moves on to describe other qualities of Isotta, qualities that make her worthy of a gentleman such as her husband, Giovanni Girolamo Grumelli. Interestingly, in this final dedication letter there is no reference to the murder of Achille Brembati, the focal point of the other two dedication letters to Isotta's siblings. The reason for this may be that the Grumellis, the family of Isotta's husband, had ties with both the Brembatis and the Albanis, and it is probably not by chance that, only a few months later, one Giovanni Battista Grumelli, husband of Maria Albani (and presumably a brother or a cousin of Giovanni Gerolamo Grumelli) was murdered, falling victim to the indirect revenge of Giovanni Battista Brembati against the Albanis.

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<sup>189</sup> See Appendix A, n°10.6.

<sup>190</sup> See Appendix A, n°10.7.

<sup>191</sup> See Appendix A, n°10.8.

[n°10/C] Zonaras [Italian], Venice, Giolito, 1570; Agostino Ferentilli to Angelo Paluzzi Albertoni, Rome [v.Ia]. In 1570, six years after the original publication, Giolito's edition of Zonaras's was reissued with new title-pages and new dedication letters. Ferentilli begins the first dedication letter, to Angelo Paluzzi Albertoni, by comparing himself to a jeweller who has just finished polishing a beautiful stone and must now set it onto an equally beautiful ring: similarly, an editor, once finished the translation of a beautiful text must then dedicate it to an influential patron so that the fruit of his hard work may shine too. Ferentilli then explains the nature of the relationship between the dedicatee and the dedicator, that is, the need for any writer to find a wealthy and influential patron to protect him and his work.<sup>192</sup> The rest of the dedication letter, as often happens in Ferentilli's dedication letters, is a combination of adulation and rhetoric: among the many possible patrons that Ferentilli had in mind, he chose Paluzzi Albertoni because his deeds and virtues are so many and so great that Ferentilli is incapable of describing them properly.<sup>193</sup> With the exception of a brief reference to Zonaras, however, in this dedication letter nothing is said with regards to the content of the text.

[n°10/C] Zonaras [Italian], Venice, Giolito, 1570; Agostino Ferentilli to Girolamo Godi, Vicenza [v.Ib]. The second dedication letter, addressed to Girolamo Godi, immediately follows the one to Angelo Paluzzi Albertoni, but the two dedication letters are remarkably different. The typeface used in the first (and presumably more important) dedication letter is considerably larger than the one used in the dedication to Godi. Furthermore, virtually all of the dedicatory letters in the Italian editions analysed in this research are printed in italics, whereas, in this case, lower-case types are

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<sup>192</sup> See Appendix A, n°10/C.1.

<sup>193</sup> See Appendix A, n°10/C.2.

used. Finally, the dedication letter to Godi is substantially shorter compared to the one to Paluzzi Albertoni. The content, however, is more interesting, since in it Ferentilli provides his first explanation of the usefulness of Zonaras, who, in his words, offers the perfect summary of everything which happened from the beginning of time ‘to the reign of Michael Palaiologos’.<sup>194</sup> It is unclear whether the reference here is to Michael VIII Palaiologos (1223-1282, emperor 1259-1282) or Michael IX Palaiologos (1277-1320, emperor 1295-1320), but, nevertheless, it is clear that Ferentilli is subject to some chronological confusion. However that may be, the description of Zonaras’s usefulness is followed by Ferentilli’s deceitful claim about the difficulties he went through to improve Dolce’s earlier edition.<sup>195</sup> Ferentilli then reminds the reader again, as he had already done in the 1569 edition of Choniates and Gregoras, that this edition is the first volume (*‘anello’*) of a series of historical texts (*‘collana’*).<sup>196</sup> Interestingly, Ferentilli describes Zonaras as a *modern Greek* historian, but the meaning of this definition seems here to be used only to establish a distinction between ancient Greek historians, who have a series of their own,<sup>197</sup> and all of the later ones. In closure, the editor takes the opportunity to mention the connection between himself and Godi: the poet Ostilio Amatelli,<sup>198</sup> *‘mio amicissimo (che di questo libro le farà offerta)’*.

**[n°10/C] Zonaras [Italian], Venice, Giolito, 1570; Agostino Ferentilli to Pietro Paolo Mignanelli, Rome [v.II].** The third dedication letter, to Pietro Paolo Mignanelli begins with a long reference to Plutarch’s *Lives*, a very popular texts during

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<sup>194</sup> See Appendix A, n°10/C.3.

<sup>195</sup> See Appendix A, n°10/C.4. On Ferentilli’s deceitful claim see above, note 154.

<sup>196</sup> See Appendix A, n°10/C.5.

<sup>197</sup> See NUOVO – COPPENS 2005, 487-488.

<sup>198</sup> *IBI*, I, 95.

the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.<sup>199</sup> Ferentilli mentions a number of historical figures described by Plutarch since all their virtues can be found, concentrated, in one person: Pietro Paolo Mignanelli. A few lines below Ferentilli adds that the Sophists's claim that the nature of one's forefathers is irrelevant in building one's own character is clearly wrong, and Mignanelli is the living proof of this.<sup>200</sup> Most of Ferentilli's dedication letters share a similar structure in which the heavily rhetorical introduction is followed by a list of relatives of the dedicatee, and the dedication letter to Mignanelli is no exception. First Ferentilli offers some details on the life of Mignanelli's father, cardinal Fabio Mignanelli (1496-1557),<sup>201</sup> and boasts that, had he not died prematurely, he certainly would have risen to the papal dignity.<sup>202</sup> After briefly mentioning the dedicatee's son, Girolamo, Ferentilli moves on to praise Mignanelli's career as a military commander, but reminds him that 'Achilles gained more glory thanks to Homer's pen than thanks to his own sword'.<sup>203</sup> Ferentilli then calls as witnesses of the genuineness of his devotion to the dedicatee the Venetian chronicler Giovanni Lippomano (1515-1573)<sup>204</sup> and one Valerio Mazzolani (?-?).<sup>205</sup> Once again Ferentilli

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<sup>199</sup> The popularity of Plutarch (and of pseudo-Plutarchian works), particularly in Italy, is evident in the high number of editions of his works: ISTC lists thirty editions in the fifteenth century (twenty-three of which printed in Italy). The *editio princeps* of the *Vitae illustrium virorum* [Rome], Ulrich Han, [1470], [ISTC: ip00830000] was followed by seven other editions (five printed in Italy), of which four were in Latin, one in Italian and one in Spanish. In the sixteenth century figures increased almost exponentially: according to EDIT16, more than one hundred separate editions of Plutarch were published in Italy alone, twelve of which were printed by Giolito, and approximately one third of these were editions of the *Parallel Lives*. Furthermore, individual *vitae* or excerpts of *vitae* were frequently attached to editions of authors portrayed by Plutarch. In the fifteenth century, for instance, see in particular the *Vita Ciceronis* (BOD-INC: C-208, C-299, C-300, C-315), and the lives of Homer and Isocrates respectively (BOD-INC: H-136, I-042).

<sup>200</sup> See Appendix A, n°10/C.6.

<sup>201</sup> After the loss of his wife, Antonina Capodiferro, member of another prominent Roman family and mother of the dedicatee, Fabio Mignanelli pursued an ecclesiastical career, eventually rising to high ranks: bishop of Grosseto, Papal nuncio in Hungary and later in Venice, general superintendent of the Papal States, and finally cardinal.

<sup>202</sup> See Appendix A, n°10/C.7.

<sup>203</sup> See Appendix A, n°10/C.8.

<sup>204</sup> See G. Gullino, 'Lippomano, Giovanni' in DBI, LXV, 2005 (on the family in general see IBI, VI, 2012).

<sup>205</sup> Neither in IBI nor in any other major biographical dictionary. On this passage, see Appendix A, n°10/C.9.

reminds the reader that his translation of Zonaras improves upon the one published by Lodovico Dolce some years earlier. Zonaras is then described as a narration containing numerous memorable events, both in times of war and in times of peace, but no more details are provided in order to describe the content of the text.

**[n°10/C] Zonaras [Italian], Venice, Giolito, 1570; Agostino Ferentilli to Giulio Capra, Vicenza [v.III].** The first two pages of the fourth and last dedication letter, to Giulio Capra, contain a long, rhetorical digression on the importance of honour, in which Ferentilli argues that one can only achieve honour either through the arts or through the profession of arms. Those who are gifted in either of these two skills are entitled to rule the world,<sup>206</sup> but Giulio Capra, it goes without saying, excels in both. The prudence, altruism and generosity that characterised Giovanni Battista, Capra's father, are virtues that are also to be found in his son. Ferentilli informs the dedicatee that, though his personal preference falls in the area of jurisprudence, he still devotes most of his time to the translation of historical texts, in order to provide readers and scholars with editions of the highest quality.<sup>207</sup> Ferentilli then seems to be afraid of being accused of defaming his predecessor, Lodovico Dolce, since he feels the need to state that the mistakes in Dolce's translation were caused by defective manuscripts, not by Dolce's shortcomings as a translator.<sup>208</sup> Finally, Ferentilli mentions those who introduced him to Capra, in this case one Vincenzo Saracinelli (?-?)<sup>209</sup> and again the poet Ostilio Amatelli, already mentioned in the dedication letter to Girolamo Godi (v.Ib).<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> See Appendix A, n°10/C.10.

<sup>207</sup> See Appendix A, n°10/C11.

<sup>208</sup> See Appendix A, n°10/C.12.

<sup>209</sup> Neither in IBI nor in any other major biographical dictionary.

<sup>210</sup> See Appendix A, n°10/C.13.

[n°13] Choniates and Gregoras [Italian], Venice, Giolito, 1570; Agostino Ferentilli to Angelo Ferretti, Ancona [vol. I: Choniates part I]. In the first lines of the first dedication letter Ferentilli explains that he had been wanting to give proof of his devotion to Angelo Ferretti for a long time, and eventually he did so after his friend Lando Ferretti, a relative of the dedicatee, encouraged him to do so. Ferentilli then continues to explain the reasons behind his choice, namely that a writer must write dedication letters in order to gain the favour of influential patrons.<sup>211</sup> It then comes to the point where Ferentilli has to deal with the difficult part of explaining Choniates's significance despite his bitter comments about Westerners; however, cunningly, the editor calls the attention to the fact that Choniates provides a fair description of Ancona, the dedicatee's place of origin.<sup>212</sup> Ferentilli attempts to justify Choniates's bitterness, caused, he says, by the wretchedness of some Latin soldiers rather than by the historian's own malice.<sup>213</sup> Indeed, this argumentation marks a major change when compared to Orologi and Sansovino [n°8 and n°9], both of whom had accused Choniates of unjustified defamation. It is also interesting to note that, like Orologi, Ferentilli feels the need to point out that Choniates calls 'Latins' the Westerners in general, not the Italians alone, but, if Orologi's intention seems to have been that of helping the reader to better understand the text, in the case of Ferentilli, his explanation sounds almost like a justification.<sup>214</sup> The pages that follow contain a praise of almost every single member of the Ferretti family, often using the rhetorical formula '*io non dirò [...], io tacerò*' to avoid lengthy descriptions. Ferretti's male heirs are compared to the rays of light emanating from the sun. What is interesting is not the list

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<sup>211</sup> See Appendix A, n°13.1.

<sup>212</sup> See Appendix A, n°13.2.

<sup>213</sup> See Appendix A, n°13.3.

<sup>214</sup> See Appendix A, n°13.4. Compare with Orologi's *nota* [n°08].

of names in itself, but rather the way it is used: by mentioning the daughters of the dedicatee and their marriages, Ferentilli is able to stress the important familial connections of the Ferrettis. The list of prominent relatives is then followed by a recurrent formula in Italian dedication letters of this period, that of suggesting that the dedicatee is so magnificent, so generous, so pious and so valorous that he deserves the dignity of a *prince*.<sup>215</sup> The conclusion of this dedicatory letter mentions that the translation had originally been commissioned by Gabriele Giolito from Lodovico Dolce, but the death of Giolito's most trusted editor had left it incomplete. This is followed by a direct reference to Giolito's series of historical editions, the purpose of which was to collect and arrange a number of texts, previously almost completely unknown, thereby allowing the readers to read them in the correct chronological order.<sup>216</sup>

**[n° 13] Choniates and Gregoras [Italian], Venice, Giolito, 1570; Agostino Ferentilli to Domenico Massimo, Rome [vol. II: Choniates part II].** The second part of Choniates, dedicated to Domenico Massimo, opens with a lengthy digression on the virtues of the Roman emperor Justinian and his legal reforms. Ferentilli takes this opportunity to display his knowledge of history by connecting each sentence to a motto attributed to a prominent classical Roman figure. The reason for this very long introduction is to show that private and military life can coexist together (the dedicatee is a *condottiero*). In Ferentilli's words, Domenico Massimo is a fearless and courageous soldier, but skilled in the arts as well.<sup>217</sup> The Massimos are described as being direct descendants of the Roman *gens Maxima*, and the dedicatee, in particular, is also said to

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<sup>215</sup> See Appendix A, n° 13.5.

<sup>216</sup> See Appendix A, n° 13.6.

<sup>217</sup> See Appendix A, n° 13.7.

be descendant of Julius Caesar in person, since his mother is a Cesarini.<sup>218</sup> In the remaining section of the dedication letter, although uninteresting for the purposes of this research, Ferentilli begs permission to unconditionally flatter the dedicatee.<sup>219</sup> Before the end of the letter, Ferentilli repeats what he had already said in the first dedication letter, that is, that he had taken over and improved the translation after Lodovico Dolce had left it incomplete owing to his untimely death. This is also the chance for Ferentilli to briefly mention Francesco Nari (?-?),<sup>220</sup> a rather obscure figure to whom the editor apparently owes his connection to Domenico Massimo, but Ferentilli does not provide any useful information in order to understand his personal relationship to Nari or the relationship between Nari and Massimo. Indeed, Domenico Massimo married one Vittoria Nari, but apparently she was only a distant cousin of Francesco Nari.<sup>221</sup>

**[n° 13] Choniates and Gregoras [Italian], Venice, Giolito, 1570; Agostino Ferentilli to Carlo Muti, Rome [vol. III: Gregoras].** The volume containing Gregoras is opened with Ferentilli reminding the dedicatee, Carlo Muti, that he had previously penned a funerary oration in honour of his father, Jacopo Muti. This is then followed by the usual series of flamboyant praises of the dedicatee, using again, for instance, the formula of the rays of light to describe the splendour of the dedicatee. Another recurring formula is that of drawing the origins of the dedicatee's family from the *gentes* of ancient Rome: in this case in particular, to the semi-mythical figure of

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<sup>218</sup> See Appendix A, n°13.8.

<sup>219</sup> See Appendix A, n°13.9.

<sup>220</sup> Francesco Nari, or Naro, does not seem to appear in any major biographical dictionary. It is possible, however, to draw a partial portrait from scattered evidence: like Domenico Massimo he was a trusted lieutenant of Marcantonio Colonna, and was on board the flag ship of the Papal fleet at the battle of Lepanto, in which he distinguished himself for his gallantry (GUGLIELMOTTI 1862, 216 and 236).

<sup>221</sup> Domenico Massimo's testament (1570) mentions seven Turkish slaves to be left to his wife, 'Vittoria Naro' (PETRUCCI 1862, 105-107). For the relationship between Francesco and Vittoria Nari and the Nari family in general see GZP, II, 654-659.

Gaius Mucius Scaevola and, as in the case of Domenico Massimo in the previous dedication letter, to Julius Caesar. But a few lines below, before recalling once again that he had taken over (and improved) the work began by Lodovico Dolce, Ferentilli provides some interesting information on the dedicatee, a book collector and a passionate reader of historical texts.<sup>222</sup> After praising Tiberio Muti, bishop of Assisi and uncle of the dedicatee, Ferentilli informs his readers that he owes his connection with Carlo Muti to Francesco Nari, the same person who had introduced him to Domenico Massimo. But, while in the previous case, Nari was only mentioned *en passant* and at the end of the dedication letter, in this case, he is used by Ferentilli to introduce a rather lengthy and unexpected digression on numismatics, though one may argue that since in these dedication letters very little was left to chance, it is possible that Carlo Muti collected, alongside books, ancient coins, explaining the otherwise incongruous reference to numismatics. Ferentilli states that, while talking to Francesco Nari about Carlo Muti, he had often mentioned a medallion of Vitellius that perfectly represented the virtues of Muti, since on the verso Honour and Virtue were represented.<sup>223</sup>

The existence of an separate *nota* attached to Gregoras [2\*\*\*3r-2\*\*\*4r] substantiates the hypothesis that the edition of Gregoras may also have been intended for independent circulation, consistent with the existence of several copies of Gregoras found circulating separately from Choniates. This *nota* is particularly interesting because it explains Giolito's intention to create a series of editions encompassing the whole history 'of the Greeks'.<sup>224</sup> Furthermore, after having listed Zonaras, Choniates and Gregoras as being the first three of a series, Giolito goes on to suggest that other Greek historians will follow (*Et in questa maniera concateneremo tutti gli altri*

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<sup>222</sup> See Appendix A, n°13.10.

<sup>223</sup> See *RIC* I, Vitellius, n°113.

<sup>224</sup> See Appendix A, n°13.11.

*scrittori.*’). Interestingly, however, no reference is made to Chalkokondyles, nor, in fact, to any other specific author at all. Giolito then takes the opportunity to advertise a reference work on general history written by Agostino Ferentilli and intended to be published together with a text concerning the creation of the world, also translated by Ferentilli,<sup>225</sup> both of which were planned for publication shortly after the publication of Choniates and Gregoras.<sup>226</sup> Giolito then informs the reader that the facts narrated in this book are so interesting (as are those described in the narrations of Zonaras and Choniates) that it will be extremely easy for any reader to immediately memorise the many noteworthy events described in it (*‘Vi sarà molto facile mandar à memoria tutte le cose notabili, che in esse si conteranno.’*), an early example of some modern techniques dubiously promising fast and miraculous ways to increase one’s memory. Finally, Giolito repeats his intention to continue the series on Greek history, asking the reader to be patient, presumably with the intention of generating expectation, and thus an increased marketing value.

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<sup>225</sup> Giolito is here referring to the *Discorso vniuersale di m. Agostino Ferentilli. Nel quale, discorrendosi per le sei età, et le quattro monarchie; si raccontano tutte l'histoire, & l'origine di tutti gl'imperij, regni, & nationi, cominciando dal principio del mondo, fino all'anno MDLXIX. Nel fine del quale si mostra con diligente calcolo de' tempi, quanto habbia da durare il presente secolo, seguitando in ciò l'opinione di Elia Rabino, et di Lattantio Firmiano. Aggiuntai la Creatione del mondo, descritta da Filone Hebreo, & tradotta dal medesimo Ferentilli*, Venice, Gabriele Giolito, 1570 [USTC: 829004]. This book is dedicated to Orazio Nari, a relative of Francesco Nari, mentioned in the dedication letter to Domenico Massimo and also connected to Angelo Paluzzi Albertoni, one of the dedicatees of the 1570 reissue of Zonaras [see above, n°10/C]. The *Discorso Universale*, a relatively short summary (116 leaves), was reissued six times in the following decade (one reissue per year in the period 1572-1578, excluding 1576), which may mean either that it was reprinted multiple times or that it had been printed once and then reissued using the Giolitine technique of refreshing the title-pages of editions for a number of years.

<sup>226</sup> See Appendix A, n°13.12.



## Chapter 4

### French editions

#### 4.1: France and the Wars of Religion<sup>227</sup>

Unlike Venice, where the interest in editions of the Byzantine Corpus seems to have declined steadily after the Battle of Lepanto (1571), editions of the Byzantine Corpus were published in France, and in Paris in particular, well into the seventeenth century, and in fact it is precisely in Paris that the study of Byzantium was revived in the second half of the seventeenth century, thanks to the royal patronage over a large editorial project later known as *Corpus Parisinum*. Of all the early modern countries of Central and Southern Europe, France was the only one to remain virtually untouched by the Ottoman threat and even sought a strategic alliance with the Ottomans, arguably the most remarkable achievement of French diplomacy under Francis I and Henry II. The nature of this alliance helps in understanding the content of some of the prefaces of French editions of the Byzantine Corpus, in which the Ottomans are often described in a very positive light.

After the accidental death of Henry II in 1559, events rapidly deteriorated leading to the French Wars of Religion (1562-1598).<sup>228</sup> These may be divided into two main stages: a first period (1562-1585), itself subdivided into seven separate wars (and

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<sup>227</sup> Similarly to the previous introductory paragraphs on German and Italian editions, here I have used, for general reference, *NCMH*, II, *The Reformation (1520-1559)*, and *NCMH*, III, *The Counter-Reformation and price revolution (1559-1610)*. In addition to these I have also used DAVIS 1975, DIEFENDORF 1991 and KNECHT 2001.

<sup>228</sup> Though some historians consider them to have lasted until as late as 1629.

an equal number of truces), originally instigated by the Massacre of Vassy in 1562 and marked by one of the most infamous events in French history, the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572). A second period (1585-1598), known as the 'War of the Three Henrys', was concluded by the Edict of Nantes (1598). At this point open warfare came to an end, though occasional armed conflicts continued until 1629, with the Peace of Alais.

The most important long-term factor in order to understand the French Wars of Religion is the steady expansion, between the 1540s and 1550s, of the Huguenot movement,<sup>229</sup> French Protestants of Calvinist formation. It has been estimated that, by the time the first armed conflict broke out in 1562, there were more than two million Huguenots in France, and that possibly over half of the French aristocracy either was sympathetic or openly supported the Protestant cause.<sup>230</sup> But, however numerous, the Huguenots never grew to be more than a national minority, mostly concentrated in the cities. Except for some occasional incidents, however, it was only after Henry II's untimely death and the consequent, unexpected political vacuum that the situation came to a sudden crisis, with both the Catholic and the Protestant factions attempting to seize power. Francis II (1544-1560, king 1559-1560) was only fifteen and of weak constitution at the time of his accession to the throne in 1559, and died soon after, in 1560. Before Charles IX (1550-1574, king 1560-1574) could declare his legal majority and effectively take power in 1563, his mother, Catherine de' Medici (1519-1589, queen consort of France, 1547-1559; later queen mother of France, 1559-1589), ruled France for three years as regent, and, as a matter of fact, maintained a highly influential role at court until her death, in 1589. But despite all of Catherine's appeasement efforts,

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<sup>229</sup> Beside the more general works mentioned in the previous note, on the French Wars of Religion in particular I have also used HOLT 1995 and KNECHT 2010.

<sup>230</sup> KNECHT 2010, 7-11.

the crown had lost authority almost as much as the country had lost unity, and the early signs of an all-out civil war soon became visible.

The first two French editions of Byzantine historians were published in 1560 and 1561 respectively [n°05 and n°06], that is, before the outbreak of open warfare but just around the time of the Amboise Conspiracy, aimed at kidnapping Francis II and the leaders of the Catholic faction (March 1560). In the aftermath of the failed coup, hundreds of Huguenots were executed; the repression was so violent that, despite Catherine's attempts to find a peaceful solution between the opposite factions, war openly broke out in 1562. Hostilities alternated with periods of truce, and both factions enjoyed changing fortunes, until events culminated in the infamous St Bartholomew's Day Massacre, begun on 27 August 1572, when Catholic forces slaughtered thousands of Huguenots under the dubious pretext that they had been plotting another coup. Huguenot retaliations and Catholic counter-retaliations in the following years were numerous even after Charles IX's death in 1574 and Henry III's (1551-1589, king 1574-1589) accession to the throne later the same year. It was in this extremely chaotic and volatile context that one very popular French translation of Chalkokondyles (Paris 1577) was published [n°14], dedicated to one of Henry III's closest advisors, Louis Gonzaga-Nevers. The series of bitter conflicts of the first period of the French Wars of Religion escalated again in 1584, when Francis, Duke of Anjou (1555-1584), younger brother and heir presumptive of Henry III, died of malaria. This left the childless Henry III the last heir of the House of Valois and unexpectedly made the Huguenot Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, first in line for succession to the throne. As a consequence, the power of the House of Guise, leaders of the Catholic faction, grew out of control, and, in order to maintain stability, in 1588 Henry III was forced to

arrange the assassination of Henry, Duke of Guise, and of his brother, the Cardinal of Guise. Henry III was himself assassinated by a Catholic fanatic shortly after, in 1589, paving the way for Henry of Navarre to become King of France as Henry IV (1553-1610, king 1589-1610). On his deathbed, Henry III advised his heir apparent to renounce his Huguenot faith if he wanted to reunify the France; at first Henry IV refused, but, seeing that there was no way of conquering Paris without embracing Catholicism, in 1593 he eventually converted, and, in 1594, he finally made his entrance into Paris, shortly followed by his coronation. It took him several years and a successful war against Spain (1595-1598) to convince the sceptics on both sides that he was the right man to rule the country. In 1598 the Edict of Nantes brought an end to the major hostilities of the previous decades, though the situation remained frail for some years to come. Henry IV was eventually assassinated by a Catholic fanatic in 1610, but he was succeeded by his nine years old son, Louis XIII (1601-1643, king 1610-1643). The last major French edition of the Byzantine Corpus (prior to the *Corpus Parisinum*) was a large edition of Chalkokondyles, first published in Paris in 1612 [n°19], two years after Henry IV's assassination. As it will become evident in the following paragraphs, this edition, along with most of the earlier ones, shows how the publication of French editions of the Byzantine Corpus was often closely connected to high-ranking figures of the royalist and/or Catholic faction.

#### **4.2: Bibliographical descriptions of French editions**

[n°05] Zonaras [French], Lyon, Bonhomme, 1560; 2°. Avanzi's Italian translation of Zonaras [n°04] was shortly followed<sup>231</sup> by a French translation edited by

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<sup>231</sup> There is no conclusive evidence confirming which one of the two editions was issued first, but the dedication letter in the Venetian edition is dated 01/07/1560, whereas the dedication letter of the

Jean Millet and printed in Lyon by Macé Bonhomme in association with the bookseller Barthélemy Molin.<sup>232</sup> This French translation of Zonaras is the first French edition of a text of the Byzantine Corpus, and, unlike all of the following French editions, it is the only one not printed in Paris. Similarly to Avanzi's almost simultaneous Italian translation, an indirect reference in the dedication letter to Wolf's *editio princeps* suggests that this edition too may have been translated from Wolf's Latin version of the text. But unlike the Italian translation, there is no claim that the text was translated from the Greek original, all the more confirming the derivative nature of this edition from Wolf's *editio princeps*.

An important and significant difference between Avanzi's and Bonhomme's edition of Zonaras rests in the choice of the format: the Italian edition is printed in-quarto, the French in-folio. As one will see in the following records and again in the conclusions, this difference reflects a profound divergence between French and Italian editions: all Italian editions are in-quartos, whereas almost all French editions are in-folios. This divergence is very peculiar since both French and Italian editions are, with very few exceptions, all non-scholarly translations in vernacular, thus highlighting, even in the format, the differences in the target audiences and the reading habits between the two neighbouring countries. Italian editions, albeit not pocket-sized, were cheaper and to an extent more portable; French editions were presumably more expensive (and thus only accessible to a wealthy minority) and more likely intended for deskbound use.

Less than one year later, in 1561, another French translation of Zonaras [n°06] was edited by Jean de Maumont and published in Paris by the *imprimeur du Roi* Michel

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Lyonnais edition is dated 01/08/1560. Additionally, the imprint in the internal title-page of the third volume of the Lyonnais edition is dated 1561, suggesting that the Venetian edition was issued first.

<sup>232</sup> On the characteristics of Lyonnais printing and publishing in general see MACLEAN 2008.

Vascosan. The Lyonnais and the Parisian editions were both granted printing privileges on the grounds that the privileges applied to the translations, not to the original text.

[n°05/B]: Identical to n°05 in all respects except for the title-page, in which the name of Barthélemy Molin appears next to that of Bonhomme in the imprint. The privilege and the colophon, however, still refer to Bonhomme alone. Although the details of the partnership between Bonhomme and Molin are unknown, it is reasonable to assume that their deal included a number of copies bearing the name of the bookseller on the title-page as an indication of their collaboration.

[n°06] Zonaras [French], Paris, Vascosan, 1561; 2°. The 1560 Lyonnais edition of Zonaras [n°05] was followed shortly afterwards by another French translation, published in Paris in 1561 by the *imprimeur du Roi* Michel Vascosan.<sup>233</sup> Vascosan was an old acquaintance of Wolf, who had met him when he visited Paris, in 1550, together with other scholars and gentlemen, including a young Petrus Ramus.<sup>234</sup> The prefatory text refers to an indirect request by the dedicatee, Catherine de' Medici, Queen of France, to have more editions of the ancient Greek historians translated into French. This edition should thus be considered as part of a series sponsored directly by the French crown, though the nature of this sponsorship, whether it be financial or not, remains unclear. Similarly to the 1560 Lyonnais edition of Zonaras, the format of this

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<sup>233</sup> The Vascosan edition is one of the very few analysed here not to have a printer's device on the title-page. The device is partially replaced by a quote by Plutarch: 'οὐ νάβλα κωκυτοῖσιν οὐ λύρα φίλα' (*De E apud Delphos*, 394.B), which roughly translates as 'Nor harp nor lyre to wailing strains is dear'. This quote is, in turn, a reformulation of one by Sophocles: ἔναυλα κωκυτοῖσιν, οὐ λύρα, φίλα (*TGF*, Fragment 849).

<sup>234</sup> 'Lutetiam ingressi sumus, 27 Apr. ac a Ioanne Kielmanno, nunc Wirtenbergensi medico, rebus omnibus adiuti, absque quo si fuisset, ignarus linguae et morum in summis difficultatibus versatus fuisset. Sublevabar nonnihilo et a Mich. Vascosano, et Iacobo Goupylo medico. Praebeat se mihi comem et benignum Petrus Ramus et Adrianus Turnebus.' REISKE, VIII, 1773, 840.

edition is also in folio, but the printing is, in this case, more lavish: large margins, a larger and more elegant typeset and a much wider spacing between the lines. All these elements result in distinctively increased readability and, generally speaking, in a far more refined and elegant edition, with the only drawback being its much larger size. The target readership for an edition of this kind was thus presumably the wealthy, non-scholarly audience of aristocrats and high prelates gravitating towards the royal court, the only individuals who could afford such expensive editions for their private libraries.

Interestingly, this edition was never completed, and the volume only contains the first of the three parts of Zonaras.<sup>235</sup> This is understandable in light of the larger typeset and line spacing, which, taken in combination, produce an edition almost as bulky as Wolf's complete edition. This fact is also explained in the second *nota*: the original project seems to have been to publish a complete edition of Zonaras in multiple volumes, but quite clearly the plan was never completed.<sup>236</sup> The existence of a number of later reissues of this edition of Zonaras may suggest that the original edition was not as successful as hoped, a hypothesis which is likely confirmed in the fact that the following volumes were never printed, leaving the edition incomplete. If this were the case, there probably is not just one reason to explain the likelihood of poor sales, but a combination of elements: besides not being complete, the large format made it quite expensive, and, on top of this, this edition did not even offer the original Greek text but only the French translation, which in turn made its chances very poor with regard to having a market outside of France.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> As a matter of fact not even the first part is complete, since it concludes with Zerubbabel leading the first wave of Jews from the Babylonian Captivity back to Jerusalem, in the late sixth century BC, rather than with the Siege and fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD, where Wolf concludes the first part of his edition.

<sup>236</sup> '*Le contexte Grec de ce present Tome, comme des suyans außi [...]*', \*5v.

<sup>237</sup> For instance, of the original 1561 edition only two out of forty-one copies are now in Italy, and both in Piedmont (Turin and Mondovì). This is obviously not by chance, since Piedmont is the Italian region

A further distinctive element of this edition is Maumont's editing style: the scholar adopted a rather personal approach, interspersing Zonaras's narration with his own paraphrases to parts of the text, duly marked by marginal signs, and indeed with some additions of his own, such as, for instance, two short epilogues attached at the end of the volume, though not clearly separated from Zonaras.

**[n°06/B]:** The catalogue of Antoine Du Verdier's library, published in 1585, lists a copy of this edition dated 1563.<sup>238</sup> At the time of writing, no known copy of this variant appears to survive, so it is not possible to ascertain whether this is a bibliographical mistake, a misprint in Du Verdier's catalogue or indeed a separate edition, reprint or reissue, now lost. However, the existence of at least two later reissues, dated 1566 and 1596 [n°06/C and n°06/D] seems to suggest that a 1563 edition, in all likelihood another reissue, may have existed. Whether this edition still had the dedication letter and the summaries, as in the original edition, or not, as in later reissues, it is not possible to say.

**[n°06/C]:** A second reissue of n°06, dated 1566, survives in two known copies, both in the UK, one in Edinburgh and one in the library of Blickling Hall. The two copies differ visibly: the Edinburgh copy lacks the dedication letter, the summary and all the preliminary notes so that the new title-page is immediately followed by Zonaras's text. In the Blickling Hall copy only the dedication letter has been removed, so that the title-page is followed by the summary, the preliminary notes and only then by Zonaras's text. In both copies the colophon has not been replaced and still reads 1561, confirming, if there were any doubt, that this is a reissue, not a reprint, and also

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with the closest historical connections with France. The Italian copy of Fouet's reissue (see below, n°06/D) is also in Turin.

See ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\TO0E\022441 and IT\ICCU\TO0E\115147.

<sup>238</sup> DU VERDIER 1585, 725 (Pp<sup>3r</sup>).

explaining the presence of the expired privilege. With the exception of the title-page, no other page seems to have been reprinted in order to recompose the initial quire (as happens, for instance, in n°07/B), suggesting that the leaf containing the new title-page was simply attached to the first quire. This reissue was most likely published jointly by Vascosan and by his son-in-law and heir, Frédéric I Morel, since the latter's printing device appears on the new title-page.<sup>239</sup> The removal of the initial paratext is understandable in light of the rapid and rather unpredictable changes of balance and power in France during the early stages of the French Wars of Religion; by the time this edition was reissued, the dedication letter and the privilege were both outdated, and Vascosan and/or Morel must have deemed it safer to remove references to recent events, leaving only the privilege, which was more difficult to remove due to its position in the quire. The absence of the summary in the Edinburgh copy, however, is harder to explain: there does not seem to be any practical reason for having it removed, so it may have just been a casualty of over-zealousness in cutting out the pages, though it is clear that any attempt to make assumptions based upon a sample of two copies would be quite risky. The fact, however, that all three copies of the 1596 reissue [n°06/D] come with the summary but without the dedication letter suggests that most of the copies reissued in 1566 by Vascosan and Morel had only the dedication letter

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<sup>239</sup> During his long printing career, Morel used several and rather different devices, the two main themes being however the mulberry tree and the fountain (DOUMOULIN 1901, 130-141). The device used in this edition, a double fountain with Graces or Genies on the top, is one of a series of devices produced by Morel to honour his father-in-law, Vascosan, and to remind of his strong connection to the latter's workshop (*'Via Iacobæa, ad insigne Fontis'*): DOUMOULIN 1901, 133-135. With the exception of this edition of Zonaras (unknown to Doumoulin), this particular version of the fountain device – by far the largest and most elaborate of Morel's fountain series – is used only once out of more than three hundred editions, and only in 1581, at a very late stage in Morel's printing activity, two years before his death (DOUMOULIN 1901, 134n and 232-233), and more than fifteen years after its seemingly first use, in 1566. It is hard to understand why Morel used this remarkably elegant device only twice, and at such a long distance in time. A tentative, but indeed speculative, explanation for this conundrum might be that the date on the title-page of this reissue is in fact a misprint. 1576 would possibly fit for a better reading, since at the time Vascosan was still alive, and this would also reduce the gap in the use of the device from fifteen years down to only five.

and the *nota* removed, and only in rare cases, if not in a single case, the summary as well.

[n°06/D]: The 1596 Fouet edition of Zonaras is one of the two counterfeit reissues encountered in this study, the other one being the 1616 Basel reissue of the 1562 *editio princeps* of Gregoras and Chalkokondyles [n°07/B]. General considerations on the relevance and meaning of this and other types of reissues shall follow in the conclusions; here, however, I would like to focus on the distinctive peculiarities of this edition. Counterfeit reissues were usually the product of unscrupulous booksellers (with the aid of jobbing-printers), in this case, the Parisian bookseller Robert Fouet, who presumably had got hold of some remainder copies of the Vascosan edition of Zonaras [n°06].<sup>240</sup> The same reason that compelled Vascosan/Morel to remove part of the paratext in 1566 [n°06/C] must have applied to Fouet as well: by 1596 the dedication letter must have been either outdated or undesired, or both, and it must have appeared more prudent to remove it. There is a chance, however, that the remainder copies already lacked the first quire, and circumstantial evidence seems to support this hypothesis, as it will become evident when discussing the title-page. Fouet then had the new title-page pasted on top of the second quire, without a new dedication letter, while the original printing date remains visible in the colophon.

It is worth noting, however, that only three copies of this reissue are known to survive, a very small number, suggesting that the remainder copies of the original edition were also presumably very few, particularly if one considers that the original survives in at least forty-one copies.

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<sup>240</sup> Reissuing books was far more than just an occasional practice: in some cases it was a precise publishing strategy (see for instance NUOVO – COPPENS 2005 on Giolito de' Ferrari, 261-269). But cases of editions offered as genuinely new by later booksellers who had the title-page replaced remain relatively uncommon.

[n°11] **Byzantine Corpus [Latin], Paris, Chaudière, 1567; 2°.** The earliest collective edition of all four Byzantine historians was first published in Paris in 1567 by Guillaume Chaudière, ten years after the *editiones principes* of Zonaras and Choniates (1557) and five years after the *editio princeps* of Gregoras with Chalkokondyles (1562), and it predates by almost one year an almost identical collective edition of the Corpus published in Frankfurt [n°12]. When Wolf learned about the existence of this edition he bitterly complained about it in his *Commentariolus*.<sup>241</sup> But, despite the lack of Wolf's approval, it cannot be said that the edition was breaching any standing privilege; the timing of this edition suggests that Chaudière may have waited for the French privileges on Oporinus's *editiones principes* of Zonaras and Choniates to expire, thus committing no fraud.<sup>242</sup> This folio edition offers only the Latin translation of the four authors, setting a trend that was then followed by all later collective editions of the Byzantine Corpus. Its collective nature, in conjunction with the lack of the Greek text, suggests that this edition was intended to be marketed not as a scholarly edition but as a compact volume containing a narration of the history of mankind, from Adam and Eve down to the fall of Trebizond in 1463, that could either be read from beginning to end or used as a reference text. This edition contains no major editorial improvement on Wolf's *editiones principes* except for Kedrenos's supplementary marginal annotation to Zonaras, edited by Jean Aymin ('Ioannes Ayminius'). The dedicatee of this edition is also a rather obscure figure, Jean de Saint-André ('Iacobus a S. Andræa').

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<sup>241</sup> REISKE, VIII, 1773, 874. See also below, note 244.

<sup>242</sup> The French privileges for Zonaras and Choniates had been granted in 1556/57 for six years, so they must have been valid until 1563 at the latest; the privilege on Gregoras, however, had been granted for ten years (*i.e.* until 1572), so theoretically Chaudière's publication of Gregoras was in breach of Oporinus's privilege. The editions of Chalkokondyles, on the other hand, do not seem to have been covered by French privileges, but only by German ones. Despite dealing with an earlier period, see also, on French privileges, ARMSTRONG 1990.

There are then two internal title-pages, structurally identical to the main title-page, but with different wording; the first, introducing Choniates, does not add much, except for the fact that, unlike the two other title-pages (dated 1567), it is dated 1566; the second, introducing Gregoras and Chalkokondyles, contains a note explaining that, despite Wolf's excellent work, his translation had been carefully collated against the Greek original and several corrections had been made.<sup>243</sup> Needless to say, Wolf was all the more embittered by this remark, which he deemed unfair to the point that he transcribed it in his *Commentariolus* with a short invective, presumably addressed at Chaudière.<sup>244</sup>

[n°11/B]: There are, in circulation, a very exiguous number of variant copies with alternative combinations of dates in the internal title-pages. The 'standard' version [n°11] has: i) Zonaras, 1567, ii) Choniates, 1566, iii) Gregoras/Chalkokondyles, 1567. In the variants the only date that never changes is the main title-page, that of Zonaras; the second, that of Choniates, is occasionally found as 1567 (rather than 1566), and, likewise, the third, that of Gregoras/Chalkokondyles is occasionally found as 1566 (rather than 1567). As a result of this, three possible combinations may theoretically occur: i) 1567-1566-1566, ii) 1567-1567-1567, iii) 1567-1567-1566. The existence of the latter is however matter of speculation, since it would by necessity imply the simultaneous concurrence of two variants of the standard

<sup>243</sup> 'Nunc autem latinè tantum, sed adhibita prius cum græco diligenti collatione, qua certè non pauca fuerunt emendata' [A<sup>1</sup>r].

<sup>244</sup> 'Officiorum commentarioli bis, ut et Byzantina historia, in qua Galli nescio quid se correxisse profitentur, me, uti par erat, nequaquam in consilium adhibito. Legendi spatium nondum contigit. Sed si quando contigerit, legam, et ἐξετασιῶς legam, atque ipsas fortassis, correctiones corrigam. Visa autem editione Gregorae, cuius inscriptioni haec verba sunt addita: adhibita prius cum Graeco diligenti collocatione, qua certe non pauca fuerunt emendata: versus hos ex tempore, animo commoto effundi potius, quam scripsi: Si mea corrigis, unde data est tibi tanta potesta? || Si mea corrigis, esse notata errata decebat. || Si mea corrigis, esse probata errata decebat || Quid si deprauas temerarius haud male versa? || Quid si gloriolam sine re, vanissime captas? || Heus, libros censeto tuos, mea scripta relinquens, || Expolienda mihi, quem longior erudit usus. || Vnus Aristarchos omnes superauit Homerus'. REISKE, VIII, 1773, 874.

edition, both quite rare on their own, and, as a matter of fact, no copies of this variant are known to exist. It is also hard to assess with any precision the number of copies of these variants in circulation, since most bibliographical resources are not sufficiently detailed to provide information on the imprints in the internal title-pages.

[n°11/C]: As with other collective editions of the Byzantine Corpus, this edition too is occasionally found split into two parts, and the second part (Gregoras/Chalkokondyles) may at times be found circulating independently. These copies seem to be very rare: in France, where the book was printed, only one copy is recorded, suggesting that the splitting into separate parts may have happened at a later stage, making this a false variant, though the presence of an independent privilege printed on the verso of the title-page of Gregoras/Chalkokondyles would seem to suggest otherwise.

[n°14] **Chalkokondyles [French], Paris, Chesneau, 1577 ; 4°.** The 1577 edition of Chalkokondyles, printed by Claude Bruneval and published by Nicolas Chesneau, is arguably the last major scholarly edition of a Byzantine historian prior to the development of the *Corpus Parisinum* in 1645. It is also the last editorial enterprise of the Byzantine Corpus prior to 1645, since all of the later editions were either reprints or reissues.<sup>245</sup> A particular element of interest of this edition is that the text was edited by Blaise de Vigenère, a rather unusual French polymath, best known for his works in mathematics and cryptography. For his edition Vigenère wrote a rather lengthy prefatory section, analysed in chapter 4.3 [n°14], and, unlike virtually all other editors of the Byzantine Corpus, he devoted great attention to at least three main topics

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<sup>245</sup> With the exception of the 1615 Geneva edition of the *Historiae Byzantinae Scriptores tres* [n°20], for the most part containing reprints of earlier editions, but also containing the *editio princeps* of Chalkokondyles's Greek text.

relating to the text: i) the life and works of Chalkokondyles, ii) the nature and content of his historical narration, and, iii) some characteristic features of the author's language. In this sense, it is among the most valuable editions for the purposes of this research.

[n°15] **Zonaras [French], Paris, [Association Printing], 1583; 2°.** Among all the editions analysed in this research, the 1583 reprint of Zonaras is the first and most important case of association printing, and a particularly unusual one, considering the high number of partners involved. Although not a widely studied subject, an article by Annie Parent-Charon sheds some light on this phenomenon, typical of early modern French publishing,<sup>246</sup> in which two or more booksellers shared the costs of an edition, usually outsourcing the presswork to a jobbing printer. While virtually all French booksellers resorted to association printing, they did so to varying degrees. On average, however, association printing may account for up to approximately one third of their overall production.<sup>247</sup> This practice was more commonly adopted by small printers, usually in order to spread the costs and diffuse the risks connected to speculative editions, but large printers too appear to have resorted to this editorial strategy. What is truly remarkable about this 1583 edition of Zonaras, however, is its unusually high number of alternative imprints, at least nine.<sup>248</sup> The printers/booksellers involved in this operation were, in no specific order, Jean

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<sup>246</sup> PARENT-CHARON 1996.

<sup>247</sup> Parent-Charon puts forward the case of the early Parisian printer Josse Bade (Latinised Jodocus Badius, 1462-1535 [*RIL*, n°172; RENOARD 1965, 13-14]), who opened shop in Paris in 1503: one third of his production was printed in association with other printers. This proportion was higher in the early years of his activity, but even in his last years and despite his success his associated production never dropped below 16%. PARENT-CHARON 1996, 18. On printing in Paris around the mid sixteenth century in general see CHARON 1974.

<sup>248</sup> Some imprints of this edition survive in single copies, so it is possible that others are now lost.

Houzé, Pierre L’Huillier, Abel L’Angelier, Guillaume Julien, Hilaire Le Bouc, Jean du Carroy, Jean Parent, Nicolas Chesneau and Guillaume Chaudière, the latter two already connected to earlier French editions of the Byzantine Corpus. The common denominator is that they were all booksellers, though only some were both booksellers *and* printers. The material printing of the text was quite clearly carried out by a single jobbing printer, though unfortunately it is not possible to say whether the latter was also one of the associated publishers or not. It appears that not only the title-page, but indeed the whole paratext (*i.e.* dedication letter and index) was printed individually for each separate imprint, so although the text of Zonaras is always identical, it remains virtually impossible to determine whether any single printer was responsible for the entire presswork.

Though the average survival rate per alternative imprint is three copies, this amounts to an overall survival rate of twenty-seven copies, suggesting that the original print-run was probably not insignificant. It is worth noting, however, that this is the last edition of Zonaras until the late seventeenth century, and it may or may not mean that after the 1580s the interest in Zonaras had declined to the point that printing his work was no longer considered a profitable investment.

Another element of interest in this reprint lies in the choice of the translation, or, better, translations, since the associated publishers chose to merge together the two earlier French translations of Zonaras: Maumont’s translation of the first part of Zonaras (Paris 1561 [n°06]) is then completed by Millet’s translation of the remaining parts (Lyon 1560 [n°05]). It is unclear why the choice did not fall directly on Millet’s translation alone, but possibly this had to do with Maumont’s translation being considered of higher quality, or for reasons connected to a standing privilege, though

by that time both earlier privileges had presumably expired, and, as a matter of fact, this edition does not appear to have been protected by any privilege. However that may be, as a consequence of this merger, the initial paratext (the dedication letter and the two *notae*)<sup>249</sup> is derivative of the Maumont edition, whereas the index is a combination of both earlier editions.

Two copies survive of a later Parisian reissue [n°15/J]. Bibliographical evidence on this edition is extremely scarce, but it appears sufficient to draw the conclusion that this is a reissue and not a reprint of n°15, though it remains unclear which one of the variants may have been used to produce it. The difference in the title should not mislead;<sup>250</sup> it is likely that the aim of the new title was to appeal to a more pious readership, though it remains unknown whether this attempt was successful.

[n°16] **Chalkokondyles [French], Paris, L'Angelier, 1584; 2°.** A first reprint of Vigenère's 1577 translation of Chalkokondyles [n°14] was published in 1584 by Abel L'Angelier. Though almost completely identical to the original, this edition is quite clearly a reprint, not a reissue. The only visible differences lie in the stock of paper, in the title-page, in the woodcuts and woodcut decorations and in the extract of privilege; in the latter, in particular, the only differences are to be found in the replacement of the name of the printer, in the renewal of the privilege, granted on the 6<sup>th</sup> June 1584, for another nine years, and in the name of the signing officer. Chesneau's 1577 privilege had also been originally granted for nine years, but his premature death in 1584 presumably resulted in the expiry of all privileges issued in his name. With a

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<sup>249</sup> Though in the 1583 reprint the paratext is in different order: first comes the *Advertissement*, followed by the *Aux lecteurs*, and only then the dedication letter to Catherine de' Medici.

<sup>250</sup> See Appendix A, n°15/J, alternative title.

slight touch of macabre carelessness, the poems celebrating the birth of Francis Gonzaga-Nevers have not been removed despite his death four years earlier, in 1580.

[n°19] **Chalkokondyles [French], Paris, [Association Printing], 1612/1632 ; 2°.** The last French edition of the Byzantine Corpus before the *Corpus Parisinum* is a reprint of Vigenère's Chalkokondyles. First printed in 1612, it comprises a complex assortment of variant issues with minor differences. The features common to all variants are the size of the copies, large and bulky folios of more than seven hundred leaves, and the inclusion of a number of texts connected to Vigenère's translation of Chalkokondyles, the first and focal text of the collection. There are sixteen known variants printed between 1612 and 1640, but the most common ones are those of 1612 [n°19 and n°19/B], 1620 [n°19/F and n°19/G] and 1632 [n°19/H, n°19/I, n°19/J and n°19/K]. Combined with a wealth of large and elegant plates throughout the whole book, the additional texts are likely to have contributed to making this edition particularly successful: reissues and reprints were published in 1650, 1653, 1660, 1662 and even as late as 1705 and 1733.<sup>251</sup> Given the catalographic complexity connected to such a high number of reissues and/or reprints, I will describe here only the first edition of the series (1612), together with the most significant features of the later variants. In most cases the only significant difference is the presence of new additions to the '*Continuation de l'histoire des Turcs*', frequently updated in later variants to include the most recent events. Apart from the different imprints, another significant variation regards the order of the texts within the book, and, consequently, the foliation, whereas the privilege remained unaltered at least until 1620. But, with the

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<sup>251</sup> Information on later reissues and reprints is mostly based on CCFR.

exception of the updates to the *Continuation*, the other minor variations do not really comprise a substantial difference among the alternative editions, though they do result into a thorny bibliographical case.

The structure of the edition and of its additional texts is also quite complex and requires a brief description. The title-page is followed by a short dedication letter to Charles Gonzaga-Nevers [ā<sup>1</sup>r-ā<sup>1</sup>v], son of Louis, dedicatee of Vigenère's *editio princeps* of 1577, the dedication letter to whom follows immediately afterwards [ā<sup>2</sup>r-ā<sup>6</sup>r]. With the exception of the dedication letter to Louis Gonzaga-Nevers, the remaining paratext of the 1577 edition has been removed. The two dedication letters are followed by a brief poem of unidentified authorship, 'Sur l'histoire des Turcs' [ā<sup>6</sup>v],<sup>252</sup> in turn followed by the 'Preface sur tout le contenu en l'histoire des Turcs' [ē<sup>1</sup>r-ē<sup>3</sup>v], and, finally, by the royal privilege [ē<sup>4</sup>r-ē<sup>4</sup>v]. Most of the book is made up by Chalkokondyles [A<sup>1</sup>r-Dd<sup>2</sup>v], after whom come the two major additions to this edition, though the order in which they appear may differ depending on the variant. The order, however, is usually the following: i) Vigenère's *Illustrations* [EE<sup>1</sup>r-HHH<sup>4</sup>v],<sup>253</sup> and, ii) Thomas Artus's *Continuation* [₂N<sup>1</sup>r-HHHHhh<sup>4</sup>v]. In-between these two major additions there are also two shorter texts, the *Triomphe et victoire de la croix* [₂A<sup>1</sup>r-H<sup>4</sup>v] and the *Observations et remarques sur l'histoire de Chalcondile* [₂A<sup>1</sup>r-M<sup>4</sup>v], both by Thomas Artus and always sharing the same foliation of the *Continuation* throughout the different variants. The edition is then closed by two other short texts, again by Artus, the *Descriptions des accountresments tant des magistrats et officiers de la Porte de l'Empereur des Turcs* [₃A<sup>1</sup>v-Q<sup>4</sup>v] and the *Tableaux prophetiques* [₃R<sup>1</sup>r-Y<sup>6</sup>v]. These latter two texts may not always be found in all variants; however, when present, they share

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<sup>252</sup> The poem is only signed with the initials A.T.D. See Appendix A, n°19.1.

<sup>253</sup> A more accurate description of the content of the supplementary texts is provided below.

their own independent foliation. Generally speaking, not all of these minor texts appear at the same time or in the same order, and, consequently, this affects the foliation of a number of variants. Aside from the engraved title-page, the book displays a great wealth of large and lavish plates. Each one of the first five chapters of Chalkokondyles is preceded by a portrait of an Ottoman ruler accompanied with a short biography of the sultan (*'éloge ou sommaire de sa vie'*), followed in turn by longer descriptions of their lives and deeds. The same happens in the *Continuation*, though in this case all chapters, not just the first five, are preceded by a portrait. Some variants also contain (introducing Chalkokondyles's text) two large fold-up leaves, the first containing a map of Constantinople, the second containing a *Pourtraict de l'armee de l'empereur Turc rangee en bataille* with a brief comment.<sup>254</sup> The vast majority of the plates, however, are placed at the end of the volume, in the *Descriptions des accountresments* and in the *Tableaux prophetiques*. The title-page was presumably engraved specifically for this edition by Jaspar Isaac (1585?-1654),<sup>255</sup> whilst the internal plates often draw inspiration from earlier books: several of the plates used for the *Descriptions des accountresments*,<sup>256</sup> for instance, had been originally designed to accompany Nicolas de Nicolay's (1517-1583)<sup>257</sup> travelogue of his journey to Turkey,

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<sup>254</sup> The following passage from the comment may be of some interest: *'La perfection ne scauroit estre iamais enseuelie dans les cendres de l'oubly: et bien que les choses nouvelles s'aduancent ordinairement dans le monde au preiudice des anciennes, l'excellence d'un bel ouurage ne porte iamais de rides sur le front en sa plus uielle antiquité.'*

<sup>255</sup> *FBI*, IV, 1724; H. Blemont, 'Isaac (5) (Jaspar)' in *DBF*, XVIII, 1989.

<sup>256</sup> Whilst the engraver of the plates used for the *Tableaux prophetiques* is unidentified, some of the etchings of the *Descriptions des accountresments* are marked by the initials L.D. (see for instance  $3Q^3r$ ). BALSAMO – SIMONIN 2002, n°585, suggest two possible names: L. Danet or Léon Davent.

<sup>257</sup> Nicolas de Nicolay was a French geographer, diplomat and traveller, born in La Grave d'Oisans (Dauphiné) in 1517 and died in Paris in 1583. Between 1551 and 1553 he travelled to Turkey as an attaché to the French embassy and later published his travelogue. *FBI*, VI, 2485; A. de Lacaze, 'Nicolay (Nicolas de)' in *NBG*, XXXVII, , 1016-1017.

originally published in 1568.<sup>258</sup> The portraits of the Ottoman rulers in the first part of the volume, on the other hand, likely drew their inspiration from an earlier edition of *Turcica*, and the same is likely to be true with regards to the plates of the *Tableaux prophetiques*, probably drawing from a text of *Emblemata*.

On the whole, it would appear that the success of this edition relied on a skilful blending of text and plates, but also on a good combination of texts, appealing to a wide range of potential readers, from learned men to merchants with an interest in the state of current affairs, from those who perceived the Turkish threat in a millenarian perspective to those who had an interest in oracles and prophecies.

Another pivotal element is that, despite the high number of alternative imprints, the project of this extended edition of Vigenère's Chalkokondyles is likely to have been conceived by Abel L'Angelier, a publisher who had already published Vigenère's works in previous years and who, most importantly, was one of the leading royal booksellers. This privileged and prestigious position is likely to have contributed to ensuring the success of an edition that may otherwise have been difficult to market due to its expense and to its non-scholarly nature, leaving the aristocracy and the high clergy as the only potential buyers: a wealthy, unacademic public, the same that gravitated around the royal palace, where L'Angelier's activity was based.

CODE	YEAR	PUBLISHER	COPIES CCFR
n°19	1612	Widow L'Angelier	7
n°19/B	1612	Wid. L'Angelier & Wid.	0

<sup>258</sup> *Les quatre premiers liures des nauigations et peregrinations orientales, de N. de Nicolay Dauphinois, seigneur d'Arfeuille, varlet da chambre, & Geographe ordinaire du Roy. Auec les figures au naturel tant d'hommes que de femmes selon la diuersité des nations, & de leur port, maintien, & habitz*, Lyon, Guillaume Rouille, 1568 [USTC : 24432].

		Guillemot	
n°19/C	1616	Wid. L'Angelier	2
n°19/D	1619	Wid. L'Angelier	1
n°19/E	1619	Wid. L'Angelier & Wid. Guillemot	1
n°19/F	1620	Wid. L'Angelier	3
n°19/G	1620	Wid. L'Angelier & Wid. Guillemot	11
n°19/H	1632	Wid. Guillemot	1
n°19/I	1632	Sonnus	3
n°19/J	1632	Cramoisy	3
n°19/K	1632	Mathieu II Guillemot & Wid. Guillemot	1
n°19/L	1632	Baillet	0
n°19/M	1633	Wid. L'Angelier & Cramoisy	0
n°19/N	1633	Cramoisy	2
n°19/O	[s.d.]	Mathieu II Guillemot	1

In order to gain a better understanding of all the variants the diagram above may be of some help.<sup>259</sup> As one can see there are two main periods involving a total of six booksellers: i) the period 1612-1620, with seven variants and survival-rate peaks in 1612 and 1620, and, ii) the period 1632-1633, with eight variants, mostly concentrated in 1632. The variants of the first period (1612-1620) were all published by the widow of Abel L'Angelier either alone or in association with the widow of Mathieu Guillemot, a

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<sup>259</sup> It should be noted that I have only listed here the copies in CCFR and solely for comparative purposes: for other copies see the specific records in Appendix A. I have also excluded from this synopsis the 1640 Rouen edition [n°19/P], which seems to be less related to the earlier fifteen variants and will therefore be dealt with separately.

fact explained in light of the royal privilege granted in October 1609 jointly to Abel L'Angelier and Mathieu Guillemot, both of whom, however, died a few months later.<sup>260</sup> The variety of imprints is probably to be understood in light of a mixture of association printing and the practice of issuing refreshed editions, though the somewhat erratic pattern of these reissues seems to point more towards an extemporaneous solution to sell remainder copies rather than to the skilful management of unsold stock. No variant seems to have been published in the decade between 1621-1631, but then eight more variants were published between 1632 and 1633, though with significant differences compared to the earlier ones: i) the 1632-1633 variants follow a different foliation,<sup>261</sup> with the *Continuation* replacing the *Illustrations* after Chalkokondyles, and *vice versa*. This suggests that in 1632 the edition was at least in part reprinted, also in order to include Claude Malingre's updates to the *Continuation*; ii) a substantial number of imprints spanning the relatively limited period of two years suggests that a number of other publishers had joined the widows in the enterprise: Claude Cramoisy (twice alone, once in collaboration with the Widow L'Angelier), Mathieu II Guillemot (once in collaboration with his aunt, once alone), Claude Sonnius and Pierre Baillet (both alone and both only once). As for the typographer or typographers who carried out the presswork on this edition, again, there is no certainty, since the widows L'Angelier and Guillemot were booksellers, like their late husbands, and neither of them seems to have owned a press. It is, however, possible to put forward at least one name for the role of the jobbing printer: Pierre Baillet. This suggestion is far from conclusive, but it is based

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<sup>260</sup> L'Angelier died the 19<sup>th</sup> January 1610, Guillemot the 30<sup>th</sup> April 1610.

<sup>261</sup> See BALSAMO – SIMONIN 2002, n°585: '*Nouvelle émission de 1612 [...]; toutefois, les ornements typographiques sont différentes de ceux de l'émission de 1612, et différents selon les exemplaires; il s'agit probablement d'une émission composite à partir d'exemplaires incomplets des éditions précédentes auxquels ont été ajoutés des cahiers réimprimés. L'Inventaire recense 408 exemplaires «en blanc», 7 exemplaires reliés.*' For a full bibliographical description of these differences see Appendix A, n°19, Description B (post-1632 variants).

on the fact that he was the only printer, among those with some connection to this edition, who was active as early as 1612 and as late as 1632 (whereas the other two printers/booksellers, Cramoisy and Sonnius, only began their activities in 1618 and 1631 respectively). This, however, does not exclude the possibility that the second print-run (presumably issued in 1632) was produced by another typographer, namely Cramoisy or Sonnius. Indeed, the possibility that the jobbing printer was hired only for the presswork and was in no way involved in selling the copies cannot be discarded altogether, though, in this case, the latter's identity is most likely destined to remain unknowable.

Aside from Chalkokondyles, most other texts in this edition are related in content to his narration. The *Illustrations sur l'histoire de Chalcondile* contain Vigenère's commentary on Chalkokondyles, published posthumously. This is followed by Artus's *Continuation*, a historical description of the events following those described by Chalkokondyles until 1611. In the later variants of 1632-1633 the *Continuation* is in turn updated by Claude Malingre, who took over from Artus (presumably after the latter's death) and completed the narration up until 1632. There are then two substantially shorter texts by Thomas Artus, the *Triomphe et victoire de la croix, contre les erreurs de Mahomet* and the *Observations et remarques plus notables de la Prouidence de Dieu*. Both may be described as short treatises offering a religious reading of contemporary historical events interpreted in a millenarian/providential key.

Two more texts are usually found together at the end of the volume, both with a great number of beautiful plates. The first, *Plusieurs descriptions des accountresments, tant des magistrats et officiers de la porte de l'empereur des turcs, que des peuples assujectis a son Empire, avec les figures representant le tout au naturel, tirees des Medailles antiques*

*& descriptions de ceux qui ont frequente parmi ces nations, ou des bons Autheurs qui en ont escrit*, is a collection of portraits of men and women in traditional Ottoman garments, but it also includes women from Africa and Greek merchants from Constantinople. The second text, *Tableaux prophetiques des empereurs Severe et Leon, avec leurs epigrammes predisant la ruine de la Monarchie des Turcs*, contains the so-called *Oracles of Severus and Leo VI* accompanied by a number of highly visual plates suggesting the imminent collapse of the Turkish power.<sup>262</sup>

Two variants in particular deserve special mention. In the first case, n°19/M, which survives in a single copy, the imprint information (note: not the whole title-page) is pasted on top of an earlier one. The imprint on top states that the edition is published by the Widow L'Angelier in association with Claude Cramoisy, but the name visible under the patched imprint is that of Cramoisy alone; unfortunately, it is not possible to read the date. This leaves with two possibilities, n°19/J (Cramoisy 1632) or n°19/N (Cramoisy 1933), though the former, with a higher number of surviving copies, may be more likely. The reason for the patching remains unknown. The second case, n°19/P, is the only variant of this edition with more substantial differences. First of all, it is the first and only variant not published in Paris; second, and, most likely because of the different imprint, the title contains a slight difference: '*Histoire de la decandence*', rather than '*L'Histoire de la decandence*'. It is unclear whether this is a reissue of one of the variants of n°19 or a reprint, but considering the very low number of surviving copies it seems more likely for it to be a reissue.

### **4.3: Paratextual descriptions of French editions**

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<sup>262</sup> On the Oracles of Leo VI see MANGO 1960; KYRIAKOU 1995, 90-95.

[n°05] Zonaras [French], Lyon, Bonhomme, 1560; Jean Millet to Claude de La Baume, Besançon. More than the dedication letter *per se*, an element of interest of this edition rests in the choice of the dedicatee, Claude de La Baume, Catholic Archbishop of Besançon in Franche-Comté. At the time Franche-Comté was not part of France, but had, in fact, been for several decades under Habsburg rule. This choice likely ought to be understood in light of the editor's connection to the household of the La Baumes: one early patron of Millet had been Philibert de La Baume, the paternal uncle of the dedicatee.<sup>263</sup> This does not exclude, however, that the choice of this dedicatee may also have carried an underlying political message, particularly if one considers that Franche-Comté was a bastion of Catholicism between France and the Swiss city of Geneva, from which many Calvinist missionaries departed to go preach in France.<sup>264</sup>

Despite its length, however, the dedication letter is poor in useful information. The first two pages contain a verbose but rather confused digression on humanity, God, the dangers of idleness and the importance of moral duties used to explain the utility of history. After continuing for a while on the paramount importance of history, Millet moves on to describe the specific virtues of Zonaras's 'universal' narration.<sup>265</sup> Millet then explains why he decided to translate the text into French, that is, to allow those who understood neither Greek nor Latin to read the text, a duty he claims he felt obliged to undertake.<sup>266</sup> Finally Millet moves towards the close of his dedication with a praise of the greatness of the dedicatee and of his household, mentioning in particular

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<sup>263</sup> The La Baumes originally held the title of counts of Montrevel, a title used by Millet when referring to the dedicatee's brother, briefly mentioned in the dedication letter. But the La Baumes also held the title of counts of the neighbouring town of Saint-Amour, Millet's own hometown, and they later split in two branches, that of the counts of Montrevel and that of the counts of Saint-Amour; see *FBI*, IV, 1834.

<sup>264</sup> See KNECHT 1996, 7-8.

<sup>265</sup> See Appendix A, n°05.1.

<sup>266</sup> See Appendix A, n°05.2.

his older brother, the Count of Montrevel, and their widowed mother, Guillemette d'Igny.

Similar to Millet's introduction, Bonhomme's *nota* refers to the importance of studying history in general and Zonaras's in particular,<sup>267</sup> and continues by explaining the usefulness of Zonaras.<sup>268</sup> Finally, the *nota* concludes with a request for clemency, should the '*Amys Lecteurs*' find any misprints, and with a short sonnet by Guillaume Guérout.<sup>269</sup>

[n°06] **Zonaras [French], Paris, Vascosan, 1561; Jean Maumont to Catherine de' Medici, Paris.** Similar to Millet's dedication to Claude de La Baume [n°05], the most distinctive element of this edition rests in the choice of the dedicatee, Catherine de' Medici, Queen of France, by far the most prominent among all dedicatees discussed in this study, though certainly Vascosan's role as *imprimeur du Roi* explains his choice of such a high ranking dedicatee. The timing of this dedication is also interesting, since France was, at that point, on the brink of civil war and Catherine had just recently become the regent ('*gouvernante de France*') for the underage Charles IX (1550-1574, king 1560-1574), a direct consequence of the recent deaths of her husband, Henry II (1519-1559, king 1547-1559), and her son, Francis II (1544-1560, king 1559-1560).<sup>270</sup>

Maumont's dedication letter is quite verbose and repetitive, but it is also more informative with regards to some aspects of the edition itself. Maumont briefly

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<sup>267</sup> See Appendix A, n°05.3.

<sup>268</sup> See Appendix A, n°05.4.

<sup>269</sup> Guillaume Guérout (c.1507-1569), French editor, translator and poet, best known for a text of *emblemata*.

<sup>270</sup> It is worth noting, however, that the privilege for this edition had already been granted as early as 1553.

mentions the occasion in which the bishop of Riez informed him that Queen Catherine had expressed the wish that more classical Greek historians, copies of many of which were held in the royal library of Fontainebleau, be translated into French.<sup>271</sup> This idea is then expanded, with some repetitions and variations, to explain that Zonaras offers a most useful summary of universal history.<sup>272</sup> In the continuation of the same paragraph Maumont then focusses on some typographical and philological aspects of his edition, describing in particular the sources for the text that he had consulted to prepare his translation (a manuscript in Fontainebleau and a copy of Wolf's *editio princeps*), but adds that, should the Queen order him to devote more attention to some other work, he would gladly do so.<sup>273</sup> In the following paragraph Maumont then explains that the virtue of Zonaras's historical narration lies in the fact that it is a valuable summary of a number of other historical sources.<sup>274</sup> The dedication letter is then concluded with a mention of the importance of history, followed by some general remarks on the munificence of the household of the de' Medicis and on their pivotal role in saving scholars and books from the Turkish destruction.<sup>275</sup> The last few lines are then devoted specifically to Catherine de' Medici, praising her by means of references and comparisons to classical mythology.

The first of the two *notae* is very specific and deals with two issues only: i) the division of Zonaras's text into separate parts, explaining that in the Fontainebleau manuscript the text is divided into two parts, whereas in Wolf's edition it is divided into three,<sup>276</sup> and ii) the meaning of the titles and offices held by Zonaras (*'grand*

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<sup>271</sup> See Appendix A, n°06.1.

<sup>272</sup> See Appendix A, n°06.2.

<sup>273</sup> See Appendix A, n°06.3.

<sup>274</sup> See Appendix A, n°06.4.

<sup>275</sup> See Appendix A, n°06.5.

<sup>276</sup> See Appendix A, n°06.6.

*Drongaire de Bigle, & premier Iuge ou Secretaire d'estat'*), attempting a philological and comparative explanation of these titles in contemporary French terms. The second *nota* is more interesting. First, Maumont informs the reader about the original aspect of the text, described as lacking any kind of division (presumably the reference is to the manuscript, since Wolf's edition has indeed textual divisions), and describes how he went about separating the text into different sections.<sup>277</sup> He then provides indications about some modifications and additions that he has made to the text, mainly paraphrases.<sup>278</sup> This is followed by a reiterated proclamation of the advantages and usefulness of Zonaras's summary of historical narrations of other historians, though not specifying any particular reasons for this claim.<sup>279</sup> Maumont then returns to matters pertaining to the edition of the text, and, in particular, to the system he adopted to mark his editorial interventions.<sup>280</sup> This part is closely followed by a consideration of one specific aspect of his translation, in which Maumont explains that, whenever faced with specific Byzantine terminology (military terminology in particular), he had always tried to use the closest modern French equivalent, and provides some examples. The remainder of this second *nota* contains a series of lengthy considerations on theology and classical literature, uninteresting for the purposes of this research.

**[n°11] Byzantine Corpus [Latin], Paris, Chaudière, 1567; François Chaudière to Jacques de Saint-André, Paris.** The dedication letter to Jacques de Saint-André, despite its shortness, contains nonetheless information of some interest.

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<sup>277</sup> See Appendix A, n°06.7.

<sup>278</sup> See Appendix A, n°06.8.

<sup>279</sup> See Appendix A, n°06.9.

<sup>280</sup> See Appendix A, n°06.10.

In its initial lines Chaudière first advertises his recently opened *officina libraria* – he began trading in 1564 – and, immediately after, his connection to the lawyer François Baudouin,<sup>281</sup> presumably an acquaintance of the dedicatee, who is, in turn, used to remark upon the importance of a complete historical narration.<sup>282</sup> Chaudière then continues by explaining that it was in order to remedy the lack of universal historical narrations that he decided to publish the Byzantine Corpus, since previously the collection could only be found scattered in a number of separate editions published in Germany.<sup>283</sup> In addition to this, Chaudière informs the reader that he has decided to enrich Zonaras with some marginal annotations from the edition of Georgios Kedrenos edited by Jean Aymin.<sup>284</sup> Chaudière then proceeds to explain the specific utility of the Byzantine Corpus in relation to the state of current affairs (and adds that the texts should be read together with a text on the ecclesiastical history of France), and concludes by mentioning another work by Choniates, the *Thesaurus Orthodoxae fidei*, partially edited and translated by Jean de Saint-André, brother of Jacques.<sup>285</sup> The dedication letter is then followed by a poem by Gilbert Génébrard (1535-1597)<sup>286</sup> praising Zonaras’s narration for its rich content, and by a shorter one, in Greek, but with a Latin title: ‘*idem de Zonara et cæteris huius historiae scriptoribus*’ [ā<sup>2</sup>v].

**[n°14] Chalkokondyles [French], Paris, Chesneau, 1577; Blaise de Vigenère to Louis Gonzaga-Nevers, Paris.** Vigenère dedicated this edition to Louis

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<sup>281</sup> Neither in FBI nor in *NBG*.

<sup>282</sup> See Appendix A, n°11.1.

<sup>283</sup> See Appendix A, n°11.2.

<sup>284</sup> See Appendix A, n°11.3.

<sup>285</sup> See Appendix A, n°11.4.

<sup>286</sup> ‘*G. Genebrardus theologus Parisiensis ad studiosos historiae*’. On Génébrard, Benedictine orientalist and later archbishop of Aix-en-Provence, see FBI, IV, 1436; T. de Morembert, ‘Génébrard (Gilbert)’, in DBF, XV, 1981, 1003-1004.

Gonzaga-Nevers, to whom he was a private secretary. The dedication letter stresses the familial bond between the dedicatee and the Byzantine imperial family of the Palaiologoi (through Gonzaga-Nevers's mother, Margherita Paleologa), a family that no doubt plays a pivotal role in Chalkokondyles's history, and although Vigenère further explains his decision to translate Chalkokondyles as a consequence of his dissatisfaction with Clauser's translation,<sup>287</sup> one inevitably wonders to what extent the choice to translate Chalkokondyles was dictated by Vigenère's understandable desire to please his master. In other words, it remains unclear whether Vigenère would have chosen to translate Chalkokondyles *regardless* of his master's connection to the Palaiologoi, and considering the popularity and the role that this translation had on the subsequent development of Byzantine studies in France, it is at least useful to bear this question in mind.

The first striking element is Vigenère's view of the Byzantines, a view which is far less negative than that of most other editors of the Byzantine Corpus. Quite surprisingly, he takes a rather firm stand against the wickedness of the actions perpetrated by the Crusaders during the Sack of Constantinople in 1204, and he almost implies the illegitimacy of the subsequent Latin rule over Constantinople. Interestingly, Vigenère describes Chalkokondyles not as a Byzantine but as a 'modern Greek' of Athenian family. Indeed, the term Byzantine is in fact very seldom used in the text, and Vigenère seems to follow quite unquestioningly Chalkokondyles's own view on the matter of the Byzantine identity, *i.e.* Romans who settled in Constantinople, mixed with the Greeks, over time became completely assimilated to them, but nonetheless

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<sup>287</sup> See below, note 316.

retained the name of ‘Romans’.<sup>288</sup> Vigenère seems, however, to be mildly surprised, in turn, by Chalkokondyles’s relatively positive description of the Ottomans; presumably Vigenère did not consider that exactly because of his unusual background (Byzantine, but born and raised in a city under the rule of a Florentine family, the Acciaiuoli) Chalkokondyles’s identity may not have matched completely with that of Byzantium, and, thus, was not necessarily compelled to share his contemporaries’s aversion towards the Ottomans.

At one point Vigenère declares that he chose to translate Chalkokondyles because antiquity is important, but one should also leave space for modern literature, if worth reading, an uncommon point of view compared to the notion generally accepted in the early modern period that ancient literature was invariably superior to modern literature. According to Vigenère, the reading of Chalkokondyles is all the more interesting since Chalkokondyles adds amusing and witty details to his narration, making it much ‘spicier’ than the majority of classical Greek authors. This seems to be a key element in Vigenère’s paratext: Chalkokondyles is not associated to classical Greek literature; rather, he was a modern Greek who wrote in imitation of the classical style, and it is this very tension between ancient and modern that makes him a unique source.

When it comes to Chalkokondyles’s use of the Greek language, however, Vigenère’s opinion is not quite so indulgent; Chalkokondyles’s style is described as being a pastiche of different registers, making his text rather difficult to read. Unexpectedly, however, Vigenère adds that it would have been better had Chalkokondyles written in his ‘own’ language, *i.e.* in vernacular Greek. This last point

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<sup>288</sup> On Chalkokondyles’s position on the matter see chapter 1.6 [n°07].

is indeed quite remarkable, considering that, generally speaking, most humanists considered vernacular Greek merely as a degraded form of classical language.

More in detail, the dedication letter to Louis Gonzaga-Nevers contains an elaborate praise of the dedicatee, of his ancestry and of his new-born son, Francis (1576-1580), interspersed throughout with long references to classical literature. The dedication letter begins with a lengthy consideration on human virtues [A<sup>2</sup>r-A<sup>2</sup>v] and on the fact that people usually prefer leaders who are either princes or from the high aristocracy rather than qualified and competent leaders [A<sup>3</sup>r]. According to Vigenère, however, the dedicatee is both a well-born and competent leader. Vigenère then reports that Plato said that real gold is '*non le vulgaire metallique*', but, rather, he who has personal virtue, a reputation inherited from his ancestors and a blameless progeny, and goes on to reflect upon fatherhood and God's laws, an indirect and tactful reference to the death of Gonzaga-Nevers's first son, Frederic (1573-1574), and wishing long life to the new-born Francis.

Vigenère then changes topic and describes the events that led to the Crusaders's conquest of Constantinople in 1204 [A<sup>3</sup>v-A<sup>4</sup>v]. This section is particularly useful because the editor expresses his point of view with regard to Byzantine identity, based, as was seen, on Chalkokondyles, and also because it provides him with a chance to share his criticism of the tragic conquest of Constantinople: in his own words, the French were willing to participate in a new Crusade with the best intentions, but eventually they were lured by the Venetians into attacking Constantinople,<sup>289</sup> and were ultimately responsible for a tragic sacrilege.<sup>290</sup> Vigenère's opinion on the matter is uncommonly critical against the Westerners during the Fourth Crusade, and

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<sup>289</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.2.

<sup>290</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.3.

particularly against the French; despite not acting as treacherously as the Venetians, the French should never have joined the crusade in the first place, since the original aim of the crusade, the recovery of Zara, was hardly a good enough a reason to launch a crusade.<sup>291</sup> Vigenère then continues with an elaborate praise of the Palaiologan dynasty [A<sup>4</sup>v-B<sup>1</sup>r], to the point of stating that the Palaiologoi, and in particular the last Byzantine emperor, Konstantinos XI, had restored the honour of Byzantium.<sup>292</sup> This praise is to be understood in light of Gonzaga-Nevers having the Palaiologoi among his ancestors through his mother, Margherita Paleologa of Monferrato (1510-1566). Margherita was the daughter of William IX of Monferrato (1486-1518), a family that, having participated in several crusades, ended up intermarrying with the Palaiologoi, and eventually inherited, after the fall of Constantinople, a claim to the throne of Byzantium.

The following pages contain a very long digression on the familial connections of the Gonzaga-Nevers: first the Monferrato and, connected to them, the rulers of Jerusalem [B<sup>1</sup>v-B<sup>2</sup>v]; then the d'Alençon, on his maternal grandmother's side [B<sup>2</sup>v-B<sup>3</sup>r], with their countless European connections, prompting Vigenère to compare Gonzaga-Nevers's possessions and claims in so many parts of the world to a planisphere [*'à guise d'une belle Mappemonde'*]. Vigenère then returns to the initial point of his dedication letter, reminding his reader that all these honours would be worthless without virtues, which his master has in abundance, and mentions an episode that took place after the Battle of St Quentin (1557), when the dedicatee's uncle, Ferrante I Gonzaga, unsuccessfully tried to convince Louis to join the army of Charles V,<sup>293</sup> but Louis

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<sup>291</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.4.

<sup>292</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.5.

<sup>293</sup> Vigenère describes the episode, but is careful not to mention that the attempt was carried out by Louis Gonzaga-Nevers's uncle.

Gonzaga-Nevers proved absolutely incorruptible [B<sup>3</sup>v]. Indeed, virtues run deep in the dedicatee's family, and Vigenère provides three examples from the Gonzaga family [B<sup>4</sup>r-C<sup>1</sup>v]: the tiny Galeazzo Gonzaga (13.-1406), who, in 1406, defeated in a duel the French marshal Boucicaut [*Bouciquault*], a giant who had accused the Italians of cowardice;<sup>294</sup> Luigi Gonzaga (1500-1532), called Rodamonte, famous for his prodigious physical strength and best known for having led a small party that, during the Sack of Rome in 1527, freed the pope, Clement VII de' Medici (1478-1534, Pope 1523-1534), secretly leading him to safety in Orvieto; and Ferrante I Gonzaga (1507-1557), Louis's paternal uncle, Viceroy of Sicily between 1535 and 1546 and one of the leaders of the ill-fated siege of Algiers in 1541. Ferrante I Gonzaga was later appointed governor of Milan (1446-1554), and, in 1557, he took part in the Battle of Saint Quentin, though, unlike his nephew Louis, on the Habsburg side. Later the same year, Ferrante died of the wounds he had received during the battle, but in all the battles he had taken part in he had always been credited with great valour. After these three examples, called by Vigenère 'goads of well-doing' [*TELS ESGVILLONS de bien faire*],<sup>295</sup> the editor discusses the importance of charity and modesty too, praising his master for his deeds of charity and munificence, which include the foundation of a Jesuit school in Nevers [C<sup>1</sup>v-C<sup>2</sup>r]. Vigenère then urges Gonzaga-Nevers to set in action his plan for the foundation of a library with two stipendiary scholars, one in Greek and one in Latin, at his Parisian residence.<sup>296</sup> The project never developed beyond the planning stages, but it gives an idea of how keen Gonzaga-Nevers was in supporting the humanities. When

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<sup>294</sup> Jean II Le Maingre (1366-1421), called Boucicaut was a French general, marshal of France and a famous knight of his time.

<sup>295</sup> The use of the capital letters for the words *TELS ESGVILLONS*, the only case within the whole dedication letter, may or may not be a reference to a work that Vigenère was working on and that was eventually published some years later, *L'Esguillon de l'Amour diuin, de saint Bonaventure, mis en françois par Blaise de Vigenere Borbonnois*, Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1588 [USTC: 53498].

<sup>296</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.6.

the dedication letter nears its end, Vigenère returns to the content of the text and particularly to its author, Chalkokondyles, whom, with a somewhat obsequious description, he unmistakably defines a ‘modern Greek’.<sup>297</sup> Finally Vigenère wishes Gonzaga-Nevers the blessing of a lasting lineage.<sup>298</sup>

The following two pages contain a large crest of the Gonzaga-Nevers, surmounted by the motto of the Gonzagas, *Olympos* [C<sup>3</sup>v], and two poems celebrating the birth of Francis Gonzaga-Nevers [C<sup>4</sup>r-E<sup>1</sup>r]: the first, in Latin, by Léger Duchesne [*‘Leodegarius A Quercu’*] (?-1588),<sup>299</sup> *regius professor* and royal orator [C<sup>4</sup>r-C<sup>4</sup>v], followed by two translations in French [D<sup>1</sup>r-D<sup>1</sup>v and D<sup>2</sup>r-D<sup>2</sup>v], the first signed with the initials R.B.,<sup>300</sup> the second with I.A.D.B., the latter standing for Jean-Antoine de Baïf (1532-1589),<sup>301</sup> French poet, leading member of *La Pléiade*,<sup>302</sup> and one of the founders of the *Académie de Poésie et de Musique*. The second poem, also in Latin and followed by a French translation,<sup>303</sup> was composed by the blind Siennese poet Camillo Falconetti (?-1580),<sup>304</sup> a member of the *Accademia degli Intronati* and renowned for his prophecies [D<sup>3</sup>r-D<sup>3</sup>v and D<sup>4</sup>r-E<sup>1</sup>r]. Both Duchesne and de Baïf are known for some sonnets in praise of the infamous St Bartholomew’s Day Massacre (1572), suggesting that they both were part of Gonzaga-Nevers’s political faction and cultural entourage.

The very long dedication letter by Vigenère is then followed by an equally long *nota*. And, similarly to the dedicatory letter, in the *nota* too the topics discussed by the editor are heavily interspersed with long references to classical Greek literature.

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<sup>297</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.7.

<sup>298</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.8.

<sup>299</sup> On Duchesne see *IBF*, III, 1117; R. Limouzin-Lamothe, ‘Du Chesne (24) (Léger)’ in *DBF*, XI, 1966, 1241.

<sup>300</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>301</sup> On de Baïf see *FBI*, I, 151; V.L. Saulnier, ‘Baïf (Jean-Antoine de)’ in *DBF*, IV, 1948, 1213-1221.

<sup>302</sup> Group of poets of the French Renaissance.

<sup>303</sup> This too by Jean-Antoine de Baïf.

<sup>304</sup> On Falconetti see *IBI*, IV, 1389.

Vigenère reiterates that Chalkokondyles is not one of the most famous authors of Greek antiquity,<sup>305</sup> a culture and civilisation blessed by nature with everything except the compass and the art of printing [E<sup>2</sup>r].<sup>306</sup> Vigenère continues to explain that his choice to translate Chalkokondyles, a modern Greek, came with some risks,<sup>307</sup> since the (ancient) Greeks outranked all other peoples in all but in the art of war, in which they were surpassed by the ancient Romans, and in the art of sailing, in which they were surpassed only by the modern Western nations [E<sup>2</sup>v]. Vigenère, however, argues that we should allow space to the study of the ancients, but that this should not mean that no space should be left to the study of the moderns,<sup>308</sup> and continues by offering a series of examples of non-classical achievements worthy of consideration; the same, he adds, applies to authors, as long as their *variety* meets with the reader's satisfaction [E<sup>3</sup>v]. With *variety*, he explains, he means variety between different texts, not within the same text, as in the case of Chalkokondyles, who often interrupts his narration with long digressions. Vigenère then compares the uniformity of style of the 'classical authors' against that of Chalkokondyles [E<sup>4</sup>r]. One puzzling aspect of Chalkokondyles, says Vigenère, is that his description of the Turks is unexpectedly and surprisingly positive; he refers to the Ottoman Sultan, whose wealth is described at length, by calling him the 'Great Lord' ['*Grand-seigneur*'], to the great dismay and shame of the Christians, who reserve the same expression only for God [E<sup>4</sup>v].<sup>309</sup> But then Vigenère defends Chalkokondyles saying that the reader should not judge Chalkokondyles negatively because of this, since many others before him have praised their enemies's rulers,

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<sup>305</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.9.

<sup>306</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.10.

<sup>307</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.11.

<sup>308</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.12.

<sup>309</sup> Vigenère here is referring to the title that appears specifically in his edition of Chalkokondyles, and not of course to the original Greek title of the work, which in fact does not mention the Turks.

recalling Lucian's praise of the Parthian emperor Osroes. He adds that if the events described by Chalkokondyles appear irrelevant it is just because before battles or wars the Turks relied only on brutal force, not on diplomacy and subtleties [F<sup>1r</sup>]. Chalkokondyles's text is worth reading because the topic is not at all that common [*'Car ce subject icy ne nous est pas si commun'*], and, while classical authors usually offer abundant information on state affairs and public orations, Chalkokondyles offers a useful, vivid, and sober historical narration.<sup>310</sup> Besides, he continues, when all good texts have already been edited, one should be content with those which are still available.<sup>311</sup> Vigenère thus uses this argument to justify his choice to translate the work of Chalkokondyles, but he also adds that he has dedicated to Chalkokondyles the same amount of time that he would have dedicated to any classical author. He then somewhat contradicts himself, since immediately after he asks clemency for having translated Chalkokondyles in such haste, though at the same time reassuring the reader that he did not betray the content of the text [F<sup>2v</sup>]. The tone then turns from apologetic to almost grotesque when Vigenère compares his role to that of a hairdresser dispatched from a city to a countryside village to embellish an old hag: no matter how much effort he puts into it, the result will never be good, and the same applies to Chalkokondyles; it is not his fault if the events described in his narrative are not appealing.<sup>312</sup>

This section is then followed by a brief biography of Chalkokondyles, born to an Athenian noble family and educated by his father to the best of his ability in such a 'sorrowful' century. Chalkokondyles is described as the historian who offers the best description of the origin of the Turks and of their early achievements and progress

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<sup>310</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.13.

<sup>311</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.14.

<sup>312</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.15.

[F<sup>3v</sup>]. Unfortunately, says Vigenère, he does not dwell much on Murad II (1404-1451, Sultan 1421-1451) and Mehmed II the Conqueror (1432-1481, Sultan 1444-1446 and 1451-1481), the two Ottoman sultans who ruled for approximately forty of the eighty-two years described by Chalkokondyles, and he adds that Chalkokondyles should have concentrated more on the linearity of his narration, avoiding long digressions, of which – he claims – there was little need since his topic was already of the greatest interest: the replacement of the beautiful and powerful Greek Empire, which dominated the best part of Asia, with that of the Turks, the greatest empire after that of the Romans.<sup>313</sup>

The final part of the preface is completely devoted to the question of language [F<sup>4r</sup>-G<sup>1v</sup>]. According to Vigenère, languages get increasingly corrupted in the course of time, and it is very difficult for foreigners to speak a language like native speakers, and it is therefore almost impossible to imitate pure Latin, let alone Greek. The same problem applies to Chalkokondyles, who wrote his history in a time when Greek was already debased and, despite his best efforts, he was unable to imitate pure Greek. In Vigenère's words, Chalkokondyles's style constantly wavers between Atticism and Asianism, but fails to perfectly reproduce either of the two styles. Had he used the language with which he was most accustomed, rather than trying to imitate the classical authors, it would have been better.<sup>314</sup>

The dedication letter and the first *nota* are then followed by a short text containing Vigenère's attempt to provide a guide to the economic scales used in the text. Indeed, the purpose of this additional text goes further, since it also provides a detailed analysis of several currencies of past and present times and attempts to offer

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<sup>313</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.16.

<sup>314</sup> See Appendix A, n°14.17.

comparative measures for conversion.<sup>315</sup> At one point Vigenère reiterates the reason why he decided to translate Chalkokondyles, that is, his dissatisfaction with Clauser's Latin translation of 1556 [n°01]. To corroborate his point Vigenère provides an example of a Greek sentence from Chalkokondyles against Clauser's translation, exposing Clauser's mistakes [G<sup>1v</sup>-G<sup>2r</sup>].<sup>316</sup> A reference in Chalkokondyles's text to some large sums of money provides Vigenère with an excuse to make use of his mastery of mathematics and write a short essay on the topic.<sup>317</sup> Vigenère uses the most disparate literature to provide his conversions, and mentions, in particular, along with classical Greek and Latin sources, Marco Polo [G<sup>3v</sup>], book VI of the Iliad (the episode of the exchange of arm between Glaucus and Diomedes) [G<sup>3v</sup>], the Gospel of Matthew [H<sup>1v</sup>], the Old Testament [H<sup>2v</sup>] and Gonzalo de Oviedo's (1478-1557) *Historia de las Indias* [H<sup>2v</sup>].<sup>318</sup> Vigenère then describes at length the nature of several currencies (and sub-currencies, should a currency have a different value in other countries), both ancient and modern: liras, talents, staters and pesos.

**[n°15] Zonaras [French], Paris, [Association Printing] 1583; Jean Maumont to Catherine de' Medici, Paris.** While Maumont's paratext in this reprint appears identical, the dedication letter contains two curious differences, almost imperceptible, the rationale of which is also quite hard to explain. Towards the end of

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<sup>315</sup> Similar to the Venetian *Tariffé*, the small and very popular books used by Western merchants throughout the Mediterranean (and elsewhere) to convert weights and values.

<sup>316</sup> The sentence in Clauser's translation and under the scope of Vigenère's attention is the following: '*Ce que Clauser a torné: Nec multò pòst Amurathes Phathumam comprehendi iussit, opésque omnes ei ademit, quarum numerus complectebatur circiter quinquaginta centu[m] Myriades auri: Argenti aute[m] circiter quadraginta millia libraru[m]. Enquoi il a (ce me semble) vn peu eslargi sa conscience en tous les deux articles: au premier d'auoir adiouxte Auri : & au second Myriades, & changé le mot de Talents en liures*' (Clauser's translation is to be found on leaf [i<sup>3r</sup>] of the original 1556 edition).

<sup>317</sup> The first reference is given at the beginning of the *annotation* [G<sup>1v</sup>], while all the others, seven in total, are found towards the end of the essay [I<sup>1v</sup>-I<sup>2v</sup>].

<sup>318</sup> Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Zaragoza, [s.n.], 1554 [USTC: 348589].

the dedication letter of the original 1561 edition [n°06], the text has two passages, both referring to Catherine de' Medici [\*4v]: '*que vostre diuin œil (qui semblable au Soleil, peut faire eclorre du champ des studieux, plantes & fleurs en abondance, entees sur les gresfes sacrez du iardin **des belles vierges Castalides, & camenes**)*', and, in the last line, '*de si haute puissance & Royale **sublimité***'. The dedication letter of the 1583 reprint is absolutely identical in all except these two passages, which read, respectively [ã4v]: '*que vostre diuin œil (qui semblable au Soleil, peut faire eclorre du champ des studieux, plantes & fleurs en abondance, entees sur les gresfes sacrez du iardin **de Minerue**)*', and '*de si haute puissance & Royale **Maiesté***'. If the latter case ('*Maiesté*' replacing '*sublimité*') is somewhat easier to understand, as it may simply be an oversight, the former cannot be explained as a typographic slip, though, unfortunately, there seems to be no straightforward explanation for this modification of the text.

[n°19] **Chalkokondyles [French], Paris 1612/1632; Widow L'Angelier to Charles Gonzaga-Nevers, Paris.** The dedication letter to Charles Gonzaga-Nevers begins with a reference to the dedicatee's father, Louis Gonzaga-Nevers, stating that for this second edition of Vigenère's translation of Chalkokondyles [*sortant pour la deuxieme fois en public*]<sup>319</sup> there could be no dedicatee other than Charles himself, single heir to his father's prestige, equally close to Vigenère and another direct descendant of the Palaiologoi, like his father before him. The Widow L'Angelier, author of the dedication, informs the reader that Vigenère's wish had always been to oversee the publication of a large and more polished translation enriched by

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<sup>319</sup> It would appear that the Widow of L'Angelier did not consider the 1584 reprint published by her late husband [n°16].

supplementary texts, but the plan had folded because of his untimely death.<sup>320</sup> However, as soon as Abel L'Angelier had got hold of Vigenère's unfinished work, he promptly decided to publish a luxurious version of Chalkokondyles enriched with additional material to update the narration of events to the dawn of the seventeenth century.<sup>321</sup> In closing this short dedication letter, the Widow L'Angelier mentions in passing Charles Gonzaga-Nevers's visionary but unrealistic plan to recover Constantinople.<sup>322</sup> Finally, she emphasises again the rich content of the book, and the plates in particular [*Or toutes les Additions, Discours, & Figures exquisites, dont le corps de ce Liure a esté paré & enrichy*].

Unlike most of the poems published in the paratext of other editions analysed in this research, the short poem that follows the dedication letter of this edition, '*Sur l'Histoire des Turcs*', the author of which has yet to be identified, contains an interesting summary of the common contemporary perception of the Byzantines, the Turks, and the West.<sup>323</sup>

Upon editing the extended version of Vigenère's Chalkokondyles, Artus added a prefatory *nota* containing useful information on the nature of this edition and on its history in which he addresses the doubts of those concerned at the idea of a Frenchman writing about the 'barbaric' Turks. With a good degree of egalitarianism Artus explains that, despite what one may think, the Turks are all but a barbaric people.<sup>324</sup> The Turks are not simply compared to the Romans; instead, they are their very heirs,<sup>325</sup> but at the same time they are also the punishment sent by God to chastise the Christians for their

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<sup>320</sup> See Appendix A, n°19.1.

<sup>321</sup> See Appendix A, n°19.2.

<sup>322</sup> See Appendix A, n°19.3.

<sup>323</sup> See Appendix A, n°19.4.

<sup>324</sup> See Appendix A, n°19.5.

<sup>325</sup> See Appendix A, n°19.6.

sins.<sup>326</sup> Artus then explains that rather than writing from scratch a new history of the Turks, he chose to continue the work of Chalkokondyles out of respect towards antiquity, the same reason that had Chalkokondyles had in continuing Gregoras's work.<sup>327</sup> Chalkokondyles is indeed a very good source, he continues, but unfortunately he dwells only '*sommairement & en passant*' on the decline of Byzantium and on the rise of the Ottomans. Most of the remaining part of this prefatory text is then devoted to a description of the history of Chalkokondyles's editions and particularly to the history of this edition [ē<sup>2</sup>r-ē<sup>3</sup>r]; Artus mentions Clauser's 1556 *editio princeps*, then discusses for a moment the origin of the name 'Chalkokondyles'.<sup>328</sup> After this digression, and a brief biography of the Greek historian, Artus returns to the history of this edition, mentioning Vigenère's 1577 edition and his intention to expand upon it. After Vigenère's death in 1596, Abel L'Angelier had obtained his manuscripts and decided to complete Vigenère's project for an expanded edition; however, since by that time he had long been ill, he asked the help of a colleague of his, Mathieu Guillemot. In late 1609 L'Angelier eventually died, but he was shortly and unexpectedly followed, in early 1610, by Guillemot, so the two widows decided to take over and finally succeeded, in 1612, in printing this edition. The preface is then concluded with a brief summary of the contents of each additional text [ē<sup>2</sup>r-ē<sup>2</sup>v].

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<sup>326</sup> See Appendix A, n°19.7.

<sup>327</sup> See Appendix A, n°19.8.

<sup>328</sup> In this paragraph in particular there appear some Greek fonts of remarkably low quality, suggesting the use of a typeset used only to print occasional Greek words.

## Chapter 5

### Genevan editions

#### 5.1: Bibliographical descriptions of Genevan editions

[n°18] **Choniates [Greek and Latin], Geneva, Vignon (heirs), 1593; 4°.**

This 1593 edition of Choniates, printed in Geneva by the heirs of Eustache Vignon, is an unabridged reprint of Wolf's 1557 *editio princeps*, smaller in format (in-quarto), but still with a bicolumnar text with the Greek original and the Latin translation side-by-side. The edition contains all of the original paratext of Wolf's edition, with the exception of the index, and includes two additional texts: the first is a supplementary dedication letter, dated 1593 and penned by the editor, Simon Goulart (whose contribution to this edition is limited to additional marginal notes to the text), and addressed to one Adriaan de Jonge; the second is a chronological table of Choniates, providing, for each of the events described: the *Anno Mundi* (5087 to 5173), the *Anno Christi* (1117 to 1204), and the years with respect to the reign of the Eastern and Western emperors respectively [¶<sup>6</sup>v-¶<sup>8</sup>v].

[n°20] **Gregoras, Chalkokondyles and Akropolites [Greek and Latin], Geneva, La Rovière, 1615; 2°.** With the exception of some late reprints and reissues of the bulky, and presumably successful, French expanded edition of Vigenère's Chalkokondyles [n°19 and variants], this edition is the last original scholarly enterprise of the Byzantine Corpus before 1645 and the *Corpus Parisinum*. It is a large and bulky folio, clearly a scholarly edition; if at a first glance one may think of it as of another slavish reprint of Wolf's work, in a number of ways this edition is in fact quite uncommon. First of all, it groups three Byzantine authors, Gregoras, Chalkokondyles and Akropolites (on whom more below) in an anomalous combination, the anomaly residing in the fact that to find another edition featuring Gregoras and Chalkokondyles

together one has to go all the way back to Wolf's *editio princeps* of 1562, which is also the only other edition to combine Greek original and Latin translation. But since Wolf, quite evidently, intended Gregoras and Chalkokondyles to be as the natural continuation of his 1557 editions of Zonaras and Choniates, this remains the first joint appearance of Gregoras and Chalkokondyles independently from Zonaras and Choniates. The second element of interest is the appearance of Akropolites after Gregoras and Chalkokondyles.<sup>329</sup> The reappearance of Gregoras's Greek original is also somewhat surprising, since the only other edition containing it was the 1562 *editio princeps*; and all the more surprising is the presence of Chalkokondyles's Greek original, making this the *editio princeps* of Chalkokondyles in Greek. The Greek text was edited by Johann Balthasar Baumbach using three Greek manuscripts from the *Bibliotheca Palatina* in Heidelberg,<sup>330</sup> whereas the Latin translation is the one published by Konrad Clauser in Basel in 1556.

The text of Akropolites's *Chronikon* (describing the period 1204-1261) is a reprint of the *editio princeps* published by Theodorus Dousa in Leiden in 1614.<sup>331</sup> The only notable difference between this text the original is that in this case the text appears in two columns, with Greek and Latin side by side. Neither the *editio princeps* nor this

<sup>329</sup> On Georgios Akropolites (1217-1282) see R. Macrides, 'Akropolites, George' in *ODB*, I, 49.

<sup>330</sup> This information is provided in the internal title-page of Chalkokondyles, which contains salient information that does not appear in the main title-page: 'ΛΑΟΝΙΚΟΥ || ΧΑΛΚΟΚΟΝΔΥΛΟΥ || ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ || ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ, ΟΘΕΝ ΤΕ || ἤρξαντο οἱ ἀθὲν τῶν Τούρκων. ||

**LAONICI || CHALCOCONDYLÆ || ATHENIENSIS HISTORIA || DE ORIGINE AC REBUS || gestis Imperatorum || Turcicorum. ||**

OPVS E TRIBVS MANVSRIPTIS GRAECIS || exemplaribus Bibliothecæ Palatinæ, nunc primùm Græcè editum, de- || scriptum verò, & quantum fieri potuit, emendatum, opera & studio || Iohannis Balthasaris Baumbachij, Græcæ & Hebrææ Lingæ in per- || antiqua Academia Heidelbergensi, Professoris ordinarij: || Vnà cum versione CONRADI CLAUSERI Tigurini. ||

[Device] || COLONIÆ ALLOBROGVM, || Apud Petrum de la Rouiere. || M.DC.XV.

The first lines of this title-page contain the title in Greek, which is also quite unusual (Greek is not used, for instance, in the main title-page).

<sup>331</sup> *Georgii Logothetae Acropolitae Chronicon Constantinopolitanum, complectens historiam captæ Constantinopoleos & quinquaginta annorum, a Balduino Flandro Augusto ad Balduinum ultimum, eius nepotem, Byzantij imp. Ex bibliotheca Theodori Dousae*, Leiden, Govert Basson, 1614 [ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\UBOE\029929]. The internal title-page of this reprint informs about the provenance of the manuscript: 'EX BIBLIOTHECA THEODORI DUSÆ'. From the preface of the *editio princeps* one also learns that the manuscript had been found in Constantinople by Dousa's brother, Georgius Dousa (Georg van der Does, 1574-1599). Presumably it was inherited by Theodorus Dousa upon the latter's death. Part of the paratext of the *editio princeps* is however missing in the reprint, which is limited to: i) Dousa's preface, 'Ad Lectorem'; ii) Akropolites's 'Encomium', by Gregory of Cyprus; iii) Johannes Cuspinianus's (1473-1529) 'In Opere de Cæsaribus'. See also Appendix C, n°32.

reprint mentions any printing privilege.<sup>332</sup> The choice of Akropolites as a supplementary text is somewhat puzzling, since the period described by Akropolites is also covered by Gregoras. This addition could possibly be understood in light of the fact that the *editio princeps* of the *Chronikon* had been published only one year earlier (1614), possibly encouraging La Rovière to exploit the novelty of Akropolites on the market for marketing purposes.

It should be noted that the text of Gregoras has its own foliation [a<sup>1</sup>r-kk<sup>8</sup>v], preceded by the introductory paratext and followed by an index. Chalkondyles and Akropolites, on the other hand, share the same foliation and the same index [A<sup>1</sup>r-HH<sup>8</sup>v and II<sup>1</sup>r-NN<sup>6</sup>v], though one should be careful in taking this as an indication that the two historians may have been considered more closely connected. One may argue, more prosaically, that Akropolites's narration was deemed to be too short to have a foliation on its own. The re-appearance of the indexes, absent from most earlier reprints, confirms that this edition is quite different from the previous ones, and indicates that the printer, La Rovière, who also penned the dedication letter, probably invested a higher than usual amount of money in the enterprise.

It is interesting to note that this is one of the few editions that define the authors as 'Byzantines', a definition stressed, notably, on the title-page, the only other case after the 1568 Feyerabend collective edition of the Corpus [n°12].

La Rovière's edition also represents an anomaly in the way the dedication letter is presented; rather than three separate dedicatory letters for each of the three dedicatees, there is only one letter containing all dedications together. All three dedicatees thus appear in the heading of this single dedication letter, and are, respectively: Georg Fettich (Georgius Fettichius), Johann Ludwig Hauenreuter (Iohannes Ludowicus Hawenreuterus), and Matthias Bernegger (Matthia Berneggerus). They were all citizens of Strasbourg, suggesting that this edition may have been intended for the Alsatian market and for the neighbouring French and German regions, namely Lorraine and Rhineland. The edition may have been particularly appealing to the French market, since there were probably not that many copies of these texts in the original available in France at the time, whereas it was

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<sup>332</sup> The use of privileges in the Netherlands is unfortunately a somewhat understudied area of research. There are, however, studies on Dutch privileges for prints: see ORENSTEIN 1993, 173-174; ORENSTEIN 2006, 313-323.

certainly more likely for German libraries to hold copies of Wolf's *editiones principes*. It thus should come to no surprise that there are now sixteen copies in France against six in Germany.

## **5.2: Paratextual descriptions of Genevan editions**

**[n°18] Choniates [Greek and Latin], Geneva, Vignon (heirs), 1593; Simon Goulart to Adriaan de Jonge, Dordrecht, Netherlands.** In the first lines Goulart informs the dedicatee that, encouraged by his students, after a long hesitation, he has eventually decided to publish his political and moral notes on the 'excellent Byzantine history by the wise author Niketas Choniates', and to dedicate them to de Jonge. The reason of this choice rests in the dedicatee's 'fame and humbleness'. Towards the end of the first page Goulart returns to Choniates, and after mentioning 'the eulogy of Choniates composed by the very learned [Justus] Lipsius', he briefly sketches the history of Wolf's first edition, informing his readers that he has only added a short commentary, leaving the rest of the German scholar's worthy translation untouched. After this, the editor explains that he chose to work on Choniates owing to the fact that the times described by Choniates are 'almost the same as ours'.<sup>333</sup> Goulart then continues to list the moral values that one can learn through Choniates, so that the reader, having been admonished, may learn how to behave according to justice and not to despise God (a free adaptation from Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6.620). In Choniates, de Jonge and all those appointed to high offices will also find salutary sayings and mottoes that will no doubt help them in taking moderate decisions for the safety of the State.<sup>334</sup>

**[n°20] Gregoras, Chalkokondyles and Akropolites [Greek and Latin], Geneva, La Rovière, 1615; Pierre de La Rovière to Georg Fettich, Johann Ludwig Hauenreuter and Matthias Bernegger, Strasbourg.** This triple dedication letter, that begins by claiming that the most important lessons that one can learn from history are those pertaining to 'religion and empires',<sup>335</sup> is unfortunately scarcely informative. After explaining that the union between religion and empire is worthy of the highest

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<sup>333</sup> See Appendix A, n°18.1.

<sup>334</sup> See Appendix A, n°18.2.

<sup>335</sup> See Appendix A, n°20.1.

minds, the printer argues that this union marks the birth of history, ensuring that religion would be preserved and posterity would remember the deeds of their ancestors, the origins and vicissitudes of different peoples and the succession of empires. Nor can it be doubted, says La Rovière, that history is useful both for the knowledge of religion and for the devotion of the soul.<sup>336</sup> These considerations are followed by a rather lengthy paragraph loosely discussing a number of different topics, from religion and Islam, to the Turks and the Greeks, passing through and mixing together biblical quotations, divine scourges, the Antichrist, the Turks, Gog, Magog and the obliteration of the Greeks. The conclusion of these considerations is that, regardless of how unsympathetic one may feel towards the Turks, their history should nevertheless be read and studied, so that it may serve as an example and warning with regard to religion, empires and customs, especially since, without the help of God, states cannot survive.<sup>337</sup> The general feeling is that, among all the dedication letters analysed in this research, this is by far one of the most religious.

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<sup>336</sup> See Appendix A, n°20.2.

<sup>337</sup> See Appendix A, n°20.3.



## Conclusions

As stated in the introduction, the aim of my research has been to analyse and describe the early editorial, printing and marketing history of four of the principal Byzantine historical narratives, namely those of Zonaras, Choniates, Gregoras and Chalkokondyles, commonly identified collectively as the ‘*Corpus Historiae Byzantinae*’ (in this thesis shortened to ‘Byzantine Corpus’ for simplicity). The recognition of the Byzantine Corpus as a homogeneous historical collection follows, as we have seen, an idea first suggested by Hieronymus Wolf in the *editio princeps* of Choniates, published in 1557.<sup>338</sup>

The crucial importance of this early corpus of Byzantine historians lies in its close relation to the later development of the *Corpus Parisinum*, published in Paris in the second half of the seventeenth century and best known for being the first modern scholarly attempt to publish all of the Byzantine historians in one single corpus. The *Corpus Parisinum* was then instrumental towards the formation of the nineteenth-century *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* [CSHB], which, in turn, is the direct predecessor of the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* [CFHB], to date the best and most complete resource for the study of Byzantine historical sources.

The success enjoyed by the early editions of the Byzantine Corpus represents, in other words, the first step towards the creation and development of a new and independent discipline of research; as such, this thesis seeks to draw attention to what

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<sup>338</sup> See Appendix A, n°03.1.

may be considered, from a scholarly point of view, the foundation stone of the modern discipline of Byzantine studies.

### **Context and general remarks**

Before drawing conclusions from the material analysed in this research, it may be worth briefly summarising the editorial history of the first Byzantine Corpus. After the publication, in 1556, of a Latin translation of Laonikos Chalkokondyles [n°01], the Augsburg banking family of the Fuggers began funding an editorial project that resulted in the publication of a series of Byzantine historians, namely Ioannes Zonaras and Niketas Choniates, both published in 1557 [n°02, n°03], and Nikephoros Gregoras, published in 1562 [n°07]. These editions, in folio format and with the Greek text side-by-side with the Latin translation, were printed in Basel by Johannes Oporinus and edited by Hieronymus Wolf, who, in the dedicatory letters to the Fuggers, his patrons, often drew links connecting the collapse of Byzantium to the mortal danger in which Germany was positioned, weakened by political and religious strife while the most formidable enemy of the day, the Ottoman Turks, loomed at the gates. Wolf argued that the only solution to such a threat was for Germany to immediately recover its internal unity, lest it meet the same fate as Byzantium.

The publications of the *editiones principes* were closely followed by a substantial number of reprints and translations (in French and Italian), soon making the Byzantine Corpus very popular. The extent of this popularity may be measured quite easily by comparing the number of editions of the Byzantine Corpus, over fifty (including reprints and reissues), against that of all other Byzantine historical narratives put

together: less than twenty.<sup>339</sup> Crucially, the Byzantine Corpus was popular in different early modern European countries (namely in Italy, France and in the German-speaking area), but the reasons behind this popularity varied significantly depending on the country in which the texts were being published, since in each they were marketed, perceived, and thus read, in radically different ways.

As said in the introduction, when Agostino Pertusi first studied the early editorial history of the Byzantine Corpus and Byzantine historiography in general, he came to the conclusion that its popularity, in early modern Europe, could be explained in light of four elements, that I shall here recall: i) a political-psychological element – the Turkish threat; ii) a humanistic-literary one – the discovery of the Greek and Byzantine world; iii) a historiographical-humanistic one – attempts towards a universal history; and, finally, iv) a religious element – the relation between Reformation, Counterreformation and the Orthodox faith. This study, however, aimed at showing how the validity of such interpretation is true only in varying degrees, depending on the specific geographical area (Germany, Italy, France and Geneva) and on the different historical moments that are object of this analysis. The Ottoman threat, for instance, only really appears to have been perceived as a serious issue in German editions, while attempts towards the creation of a corpus of universal history were frequent in more or less all of the countries considered, though with some important nuances that had to be addressed in detail. On the other hand, the ‘discovery of the Greek and Byzantine world’, as Pertusi puts it, may be a slight overstatement, since a better analysis of these editions suggests that, if this discovery actually took place, it did

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<sup>339</sup> For a list of all early modern editions of Byzantine texts not belonging to the Byzantine Corpus see Appendix C and List G.

so rather slowly, and to an extent almost unintentionally.<sup>340</sup> Finally, the religious element within Byzantine historiography only really seems to apply to later editions, published after the mid-seventeenth century, and thus excluded from this research.<sup>341</sup> This last point is, however, complicated by the fact that a number of the scholars and of the dedicatees involved in the editions of the Byzantine Corpus, particularly the Genevan ones, were Protestants, and they actively sought connections with the Orthodox faith against the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, since their activism, which appears in a number of other publications, never shows in any of the dedication letters of the editions of the Byzantine Corpus, I have chosen not to consider Pertusi's last element as one of the dominant ones in the formation of the Byzantine Corpus.

### **Comparative analysis: German, Italian and French editions**

Before moving on to more specific aspects, it may be appropriate to put forward a few general observations on the early editions of the Byzantine Corpus. First of all, the production of these books was almost completely concentrated in a relatively limited period of time and in an equally limited number of printing centres: Basel and Frankfurt in the German-speaking area (four editions in Basel,<sup>342</sup> including all the *principes*, and two in Frankfurt), Venice in Italy (five editions), and Paris in France (six

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<sup>340</sup> This point, and, in particular, the early development and use of the notion of 'Byzantium' is discussed in the Introduction, in chapter 1.2, and quite extensively in Valgrisi's 1562 preface to Choniates: see chapter 3.3 [n°8].

<sup>341</sup> Nikephoros's *Kronographikon Syntomon* and *Historia Syntomon* were both published prior to 1645 and the former, in particular, enjoyed a certain degree of success, but neither of the two texts may be considered a work of ecclesiastical history. See below, Appendix C and List G: n°21, n°26, n°27, n°30 for the *Kronographikon Syntomon* and n°33 for the *Historia Syntomon*.

<sup>342</sup> For simplicity I include Basel among the German editions, if not else because, with the exception of the 1556 *editio princeps* of Chalkokondyles, all the Basel editions of the Byzantine Corpus were largely funded by the German Fugger banking firm.

editions, plus an early one produced in Lyon). To these figures one should then add two relatively late editions printed in Geneva, in 1593 and 1615 [n°18 and n°20].<sup>343</sup>

**German editions:** the German-speaking area undoubtedly held the most prominent role in the early development and production of the Byzantine Corpus. Indeed, it remains uncertain whether the original Greek editions of Zonaras, Choniates and Gregoras would have ever been published as early as the sixteenth century had it not been for the patronage of the Fuggers, who generously funded both the editing and the printing of these texts. From their earliest appearance, editions of the Corpus printed in Basel and Frankfurt were all issued in large in-folio formats, suggesting that these books were mostly intended for desk use. This, however, does not necessarily mean that they were also intended as scholarly editions: as a matter of fact, with the exception of the *editiones principes*, in all of the reprints the Greek original was dropped, making the latter editions cheaper and thus more appealing to a general readership, though presumably less so to an academic one. An essential feature of the reprints produced in the German-speaking area is that these books always contained all four authors of the Byzantine Corpus, showing how since their earliest appearance these texts had been perceived as part of a single body; indeed, it is not by chance that, already as early as 1557, Hieronymus Wolf suggested that the four Byzantine historians should be considered as part of a single corpus.<sup>344</sup> Interestingly, however, this only appears to have been the case in Germany, not in other countries, where the same texts were almost invariably published separately from each other.

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<sup>343</sup> Geneva is considered separately on the grounds of its geographical position, in the French-speaking area of Switzerland, thus belonging neither to the German-speaking area nor to France.

<sup>344</sup> See, in the dedication letter to Choniates [n°03] the brief passage in which Wolf describes Choniates's work as a continuation to Zonaras '*historiae quoddam quasi corpus absolvit*': Appendix A, n°03.1.

It remains unclear whether the German editions of the Byzantine Corpus were mostly intended for local circulation or if they had also been produced with the specific intention of exporting them abroad; however, the presence of French privileges in the *editiones principes* suggests that the latter option is true at least with regards to the first editions. Unfortunately, in the case of the German editions, the dedication letters and the identity of the dedicatees can help only to a certain extent since, unlike the Italian and French editions, in which the social status and the content of the dedication letters provide substantial material in order to investigate the context in which these editions were first published and later marketed and used, German reissues and reprints merely reproduced the earlier dedication letters to the Fuggers, the patrons of the *editiones principes*, thus making any attempt to compare the social background of the dedicatees a rather complex matter. It is true that, prior to the Fuggers's entry onto the scene of editorial patronage in 1557, two earlier dedication letters, published in two variants of the 1556 *editio princeps* of Chalkokondyles [n°01 and n°01/B] and both addressed to members of the clergy (or to those related to the clergy),<sup>345</sup> were in circulation. But the content of these letters remains relatively vague and never tackles any topic regarding the specific personality or the position of the dedicatees. And in 1562, when Chalkokondyles was republished as an appendix to the *princeps* of Gregoras [n°07], these two prefaces were replaced by a new dedication letter by the printer Oporinus to the Fuggers, effectively terminating the circulation of the two earlier ones. Nonetheless, the combination of a 'universal' language, such as Latin, together with the choice of printing usually in large formats, suggests that these editions were aimed at a limited, yet not only scholarly, audience, that their use must generally have been intended as

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<sup>345</sup> Adam von Schwalbach [n°01] was a commander of the Order of St John; Daniel Brendel von Homburg [n°01/B] was Archbishop-Elector of Mainz.

desk-bound, and that their circulation was quite likely meant to move beyond the borders of the Holy Roman Empire and Switzerland, reaching buyers and audiences in neighbouring parts of Europe.

More than in other countries, the German editions of the Byzantine Corpus show a strong connection to contemporary historical and political events, namely the Ottoman threat in South-eastern Europe and particularly in Hungary. Since the Battle of Mohács in Hungary in 1526, a number of major Ottoman campaigns had pushed forward, across Transylvania and Hungary, taking over the last remnants of the Hungarian Kingdom and adding a substantial amount of pressure on the South-eastern border of the Habsburg Empire. As has been discussed,<sup>346</sup> the Fuggers had considerable interests in and along the borders between the Holy Roman Empire and Hungary, and the loss of those territories posed a serious threat to the firm's assets and interests in the area. The connection between these events and the German editions of the Byzantine Corpus is evident in the wording used in a number of title-pages,<sup>347</sup> and, indeed, in the content of Wolf's dedication letters to the Fuggers (especially in the editions of Choniates and Gregoras), which dwell extensively on the danger of the Ottoman threat and, most importantly, on the instability caused by the lack of political and religious unity in Western Europe, and, most importantly, within Germany.<sup>348</sup> The concept of unity enjoyed a substantial role already as early as 1556, in the two alternative dedication letters to Chalkokondyles [n°01, n°01/B], and the underlying

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<sup>346</sup> See chapter 1.3, pages 30-33.

<sup>347</sup> See, in Appendix A, the title-page of the 1568 Frankfurt reprint of the Corpus [n°12] as well as that of its 1587 reprint [n°17]: indeed, it is only in German editions that one can find references in the title-pages to the specific moral implications that one can learn from the fall of the Byzantine Empire.

<sup>348</sup> See chapter 1.6, n°03 and n°07.

message remained the same: the Germans must take heed of the Byzantine's fate and avoid making the same mistakes, or they too will be annihilated.<sup>349</sup>

**Italian editions:** Venetian editions of the Byzantine Corpus were produced over a strikingly limited period of time: the first, an edition of Zonaras, was printed in 1560 [n°04]; the last, an edition of Choniates and Gregoras, in 1569 [n°13]. After this decade, when as many as five editions saw the light (reissued, however, a number of times in the following years: see for instance n°10/C with a complete set of new dedication letters), a long gap followed; new editions of texts of the Byzantine Corpus were only published again in Venice as late as 1729, almost a century and a half later. The number of editions produced in Venice during the 1560s is thus only marginally smaller compared to that of the editions produced in Germany and in France, but, as noted, they were produced, by contrast, over a remarkably shorter period of time.

The sudden popularity of Byzantine historiography in Italy is probably to be understood in light of two elements: i) Italian editions of the Byzantine Corpus were all published *after* the German *editiones principes*, suggesting that the Italian market had relatively little interest in the scholarly editions of these texts, but was more than ready to receive the cheaper and easier to read Italian translations as soon as the original ones had been published elsewhere; ii) in 1564 Giolito obtained a fifteen-years privilege for his edition of Zonaras, and in 1569 he was granted another one, for twenty years, on Choniates and Gregoras.<sup>350</sup> These privileges effectively prevented other printers from venturing into a publishing niche that had, by then, been covered by a substantial

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<sup>349</sup> Aside from the dedication letters to the Fuggers, see, in particular, in chapter 1.6, Clauser's dedication letter to the Schwalbach brothers [n°01] and, to a lesser extent, Heroldt's dedication letter to Brendel von Homburg [n°01/B]

<sup>350</sup> On the length of the printing privileges obtained by Giolito see chapter 3.2 [n°10].

number of editions. It is also likely that, by the time that these privileges had expired, the interest in Byzantine historiography had somewhat declined.

A number of reasons point towards these editions being much closer to the interests of a larger, non-academic audience: i) all of the editions are in-quarto, a cheaper and easily portable format compared to the large in-folio editions usually produced in Germany and in France; ii) all of the editions are in vernacular Italian, making these texts accessible to a much wider range of potential readers, and, iii) most of the editions, particularly those of Giolito, contain multiple dedication letters,<sup>351</sup> suggesting that, in Italy, the value attached to this genre of literature was somewhat debased, especially if compared to Germany and France, not to mention that all these editions addressed dedicatees who, from a strictly Venetian point of view, could hardly be considered the leading figures on the scene. From the study of the dedication letters and of the dedicatees it appears clear that the Italian editions of the Byzantine Corpus were most likely intended to be used as general historical narratives or reference works to be kept on the shelves of small, private libraries, owned, for instance, by provincial aristocrats, lawyers, priests, traders, army officers, local administrators, and similar readers. All thirteen dedicatees hailed from the middle aristocracy, either local (Venice and Rome) or provincial (Veneto and Ancona),<sup>352</sup> and almost all of them had an administrative, juridical or military background.<sup>353</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> Giolito's 1564 edition of Zonaras [n°10] has three dedicatees; his reissue of the same edition, published in 1570 [n°10/C], has four dedicatees; his 1569 edition of Choniates and Gregoras [n°13] has, again, three dedicatees, for a total of ten dedicatees for three editions!

<sup>352</sup> Dandolo [n°08] belonged to the Venetian aristocracy; Paluzzi Albertoni [n°10/C], Mignanelli [n°10/C], Massimo [n°13] and Muti [n°13] were members of the Roman aristocracy. With one exception (Ferretti [n°13], from Ancona, in the Papal States) all other provincial aristocrats who appear in these editions hailed from the Venetian *Terraferma*: Bettignoli [n°09/B], the Brembati family [n°10], Godi [n°10/C] and Capra [n°10/C]. Russell, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Bedford [n°04], was the only member of a foreign aristocracy.

<sup>353</sup> Russell [n°04], Dandolo [n°08] and Bettignoli [n°09/B] acted as civil servants or ambassadors for their respective cities or countries; Paluzzi Albertoni [n°10/C], Godi [n°10/C] and Capra [n°10/C] were

Indeed, Italian editions of the Byzantine Corpus seem not to have been aimed at an academic readership at all, presumably because in Venice these texts were neither appreciated for their literary quality nor for their ‘Greekness’ (and thus they were never affiliated, at least not explicitly, to classical Greek heritage). Rather, they were mostly valued for their content. These texts were perceived as a source of historical knowledge, but at the same time they were also valued as leisure reading, ideally placed somewhere in between conventional historiography and chivalric literature: the best example, in this sense, is Lodovico Dolce’s 1564 dedication letter to Giovanni Battista Brembati [n°10], in which the editor remarks that his edition of Zonaras is perfect for all those who ‘do not have enough time to read large books’ because they are too busy or for those who ‘suffer from bad memory’, since the text is easy to consult as a summary of general history,<sup>354</sup> clearly showing how these books were intended as reference works as much as they were meant as texts that could be read from beginning to end.

Unlike German editions, but similarly to most of those produced in France, the Venetian editions of the Corpus were intended more for the local Italian market than for export. Interestingly, they do not seem to have been produced in connection with the Ottoman threat on the Venetian domains in the Eastern Mediterranean (the *Stato da Mar*); indeed, even if the Ottomans are occasionally mentioned in some title-pages and dedication letters, this happens sporadically and almost incidentally,<sup>355</sup> and the only political events to which these editions refer to are not major actions of national

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either jurists or had a juridical training; Brembati [n°10], Mignanelli [n°10/C], Massimo [n°13] and Muti [n°13] all served in the military. Mignanelli had also a juridical background.

<sup>354</sup> See Appendix A, n°10.1. Other examples are found at the beginning of Avanzi’s 1560 Zonaras [n°04], and, most importantly, in Ferentilli’s 1569 dedication to Gregoras [n°13], in which the editor claims that his book allows the reader to ‘easily understand’ its most relevant contents. See Appendix A, n°13.11.

<sup>355</sup> A direct reference to the Ottomans only appears in the title-page and in the dedication letter of Sansovino’s edition of Choniates, and even here only *en passant*. See Appendix A, n°09.2.

and international affairs, such as the ones discussed, for instance, in German and, to an extent, in French editions, but rather facts of local history, e.g. the minor foreign embassies of a Venetian aristocrat [n°08] or the feud between two families in the provincial city of Bergamo [n°10].

Despite the fairly obvious relation between this genre of literature and that of the *Turcica*, in Italy the two genres do not seem to have merged. On the contrary, they appear to have coexisted: striking evidence of this lies in the fact that Chalkokondyles, the historian of the Corpus who most vividly describes the fall of Byzantium and the rise of the Ottoman Empire, was never printed in Italy,<sup>356</sup> clearly showing that, in Italy, the relation between the Byzantine Corpus and the state of current affairs must have appeared only of relatively marginal importance. To this particular point, however, I shall return in the paragraphs below.

It is also interesting to note that, if in Germany the texts of the Byzantine Corpus were perceived as part of a whole from a very early stage, this does not seem to have been the case in Italy, where Zonaras was almost invariably published alone and where only Choniates and Gregoras were occasionally published together. But the correlation between the three texts had not of course gone unnoticed: Giolito, for instance, clearly states in the title-page of Choniates and Gregoras [n°13] that the two texts were being published as a continuation to his earlier edition of Zonaras [n°10], and all three texts are listed in one of Giolito's *collane storiche*, his thematic series.<sup>357</sup>

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<sup>356</sup> There is no reason to believe that Chalkokondyles was a banned author in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, since his name never occurs in any of the different versions of the *Index* (see DE BUJANDA 1996). Indeed Chalkokondyles is mentioned in two editions of *Turcica* published by Sansovino and later republished by other printers, the *Dell'istoria universale dell'origine et imperio de Turchi*, first printed in 1560, and the *Annali overo le Vite de' principi et signori della casa Othomana*, first printed in 1570, but in both anthologies his text only appears to have been used as a source, and no parts of it appear to have been published. See Appendix B, notes 579 and 580.

<sup>357</sup> On Giolito's editorial series see Appendix B, note 494.

**French editions:** French editions are in many ways as distinct from the Italian ones as they are from those produced in Germany, thus offering an interesting comparison for both. With the exception of one relatively early Latin edition of the whole Corpus, published in Paris in 1567 [n°11], all of the French editions are translations into the French vernacular. Interestingly, the French market seems only to have been interested in two of the four historians of the Byzantine Corpus, namely Zonaras and Chalkokondyles, the first and the last, while Choniates and Gregoras were almost completely – and rather inexplicably – neglected. On this point I shall return below, in the paragraph on the individual popularity of the authors of the Byzantine Corpus. The first French edition of a text of the Corpus was printed in 1560 in Lyon [n°05], but from 1561 onwards Paris became the undisputed centre of production of the Byzantine Corpus in France, *de facto* paving the way for the French capital becoming the European centre of Byzantine studies in the seventeenth century.

In a number of ways the French editions of the Corpus are more difficult to contextualise due to some inconsistencies that do not appear in editions produced elsewhere. For instance, almost all French editions were printed in large folio formats,<sup>358</sup> but it does not follow that all four authors of the Corpus were included in the same volume; rather, French editions are virtually always limited to single authors, and at least in one case, the 1561 Vascosan edition of Zonaras [n°06], only to one third of the text. All this makes it difficult to identify the ideal target audience for these editions, since most of these books were likely to be highly expensive, especially considering that they did not even offer, as German reprints of the Corpus did, a complete universal history condensed in a single volume. Moreover, the choice of

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<sup>358</sup> Vigenère's 1577 edition of Chalkokondyles [n°14], and its 1584 reprint [n°16] are the exception.

publishing these books in French vernacular excluded, or at least heavily reduced, the chances of appealing to an academic audience as well as those of exporting a sizeable number of copies abroad. Substantial help comes, in this case, from the analysis of the dedication letters and of the choice of the dedicatees: the dedicatees of most French editions were, on average, more prominent than the dedicatees of German and Italian editions: bishops, top-ranking courtiers, and, in one case, the Queen of France herself.<sup>359</sup> The choice of such prominent figures from the social and political spheres suggests that the target audience for these books was, in most cases, the French high aristocracy and wealthy clergy, the only individual parties who could afford to purchase books of this kind and who, at the same time, were likely to prefer to read them in French rather than in Latin, let alone in Greek. In particular, the dedicatees of French editions were all at varying degrees connected to the royalist Catholic court faction during the French Wars of Religion, though there seems to be no strict ideological connection with the choice of the texts.<sup>360</sup> This, however, does not necessarily imply that the choice of texts was completely dispassionate; indeed, it only seems possible to explain the great success of Chalkokondyles in France in light of the familial connection that Louis Gonzaga-Nevers, dedicatee of the first French translation of the text [n°14], had with the Byzantine imperial Palaiologan dynasty.<sup>361</sup>

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<sup>359</sup> With the exception of the relatively unknown Jean de Saint-André [n°11], the other dedicatees of French editions were all leading figures of the French aristocracy: Claude de La Baume, archbishop of Besançon [n°05], though of course at the time Besançon was at least administratively part of the Holy Roman Empire; Louis Gonzaga-Nevers, one of Henry III's closest advisors [n°14 and n°16]; his son Charles, Duke of Mantua [n°19]; and, already mentioned, Catherine de' Medici [n°06 and n°15].

<sup>360</sup> Catherine de' Medici, despite her position as a *politique* and her attempts to find conciliatory grounds between the parties at war, was nonetheless the leader *de facto* of the royalist and Catholic faction; La Baume was the leader of the Catholic community in an area subject to a strong protestant influence from Geneva and Switzerland; Louis Gonzaga-Nevers was one of the staunchest supporters of the Catholic faction in Paris and arguably one of the instigators of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572.

<sup>361</sup> Blaise de Vigenère dedicated his translation of Chalkokondyles to his master, Louis Gonzaga-Nevers, one of the most influential men at the court of France during the Wars of Religion and son of Margherita Paleologa of Monferrato.

Unlike the Italian editions, printed over a single decade, the publishing pattern of French editions is quite evidently less intense, possibly as a consequence of the financial crisis and of the turmoil of the French Wars of Religion. The dedication letters of the French editions of the Byzantine Corpus concentrate more on the local history of the Wars of Religion than on the greater events of international politics,<sup>362</sup> but this may also be explained in light of one of the most significant features of contemporary French foreign policy and arguably one of the earliest examples of European *Realpolitik*: the Franco-Ottoman alliance.<sup>363</sup> Over the years the French took substantial advantage from the Ottoman attacks on the Habsburg Empire in South-eastern Europe and in the Eastern Mediterranean, so it comes as little surprise that in French dedication letters not only the Ottomans are not perceived as a threat, but, on the contrary, they are often described as the most valiant foes of Christendom, worthy of admiration and respect.<sup>364</sup>

### **Dedicatees and dedication letters**

It is possible to highlight a number of specific features that help identify the different origins (Germany, Italy, France and Geneva) among editions of the Byzantine Corpus produced in different countries. The following chart may shed some light on the particular relation between editions, dedicatees and dedication letters based on the area of their production:

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<sup>362</sup> There is, however, one exception: the dedication letter to Charles Gonzaga-Nevers, with implicit references to his attempt to recover Constantinople. See chapter 4.3 [n°19].

<sup>363</sup> On the Franco-Ottoman alliance see chapter 1.1, note 24. See also MERRIMAN 1966, 132-133, KANN 1977, 66 and GOFFMAN 2002, 98-127.

<sup>364</sup> See in particular the paratext of the edition of Chalkokondyles chapter 4.3 [n°14] and Appendix A, n°14.

	<b>GERMANY</b>	<b>ITALY</b>	<b>FRANCE</b>	<b>GENEVA</b>
<b>1) Editions: new</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2) Editions: reprints</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>3) Editions: total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>4) Dedicatees: new</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>5) Dedicatees: total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>6) Dedication letters: new</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>7) Dedication letters: repr.</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>8) Dedication letters: total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>

The figures that at first sight immediately stand out are those regarding Italian editions: a smaller number of editions compared to those produced in France and Germany (five, against six and seven), but not a single reprint (a number of reissues, but no reprints), returning the highest number of ‘new’ editions in all Europe. Additionally remarkable is the great number of dedicatees and, most importantly, of dedication letters: if one excludes reprints, there are thirteen of them (point 6 in the chart), a number that is higher than all those of Germany (five), France (five) and Geneva (two) put together.<sup>365</sup> This stark contrast is probably symptomatic of two elements distinct to Italian editions of this period: the not uncommon, and rather unscrupulous, practice of reissuing editions presenting them as new, and, directly linked to this, the bold use of new dedication letters to support the claims of novelty stated in the title-pages.<sup>366</sup>

What does not clearly arise from the chart, however, is the striking difference in the social background that emerges from the comparison of dedicatees in German,

<sup>365</sup> These figures include the four dedicatees added in Giolito’s 1570 counterfeit reissue of Zonaras [n°10/C], but even excluding them the number of individual dedication letters would still remain relatively higher compared to those of German and French editions. On the practice of reissuing editions with refreshed title-pages see above, chapter 3.2 [n°10/C].

<sup>366</sup> See above, note 351.

Italian and French editions respectively: the few German dedicatees are limited to members of the Catholic high clergy (or closely related to the clergy),<sup>367</sup> and of the wealthiest bourgeoisie of the Habsburg Empire, that is, the Fugger banking family of Augsburg, the latter being particularly important in view of their patronage of the editorial project. The relatively numerous Italian dedicatees, on the other hand, generally belong to the small, secular aristocracy of Rome and of the Venetian *Terraferma*, and are thus by comparison substantially less influential than, for instance, the Fuggers. Unlike the Fuggers, however, they all belong to the aristocracy, albeit small, and it is certainly worth noting that not one of the thirteen dedicatees was a member of either the bourgeoisie or the clergy. French dedicatees, finally, belong almost in their entirety to the very high aristocracy, and particularly to the Catholic and royalist factions during the Wars of Religion, and include one or two members of the clergy.<sup>368</sup>

The extent to which the themes discussed in the dedication letters reflect the patterns in the choice of dedicatees becomes clear as soon as one sifts through all these texts and overcomes the maze of verbose and rhetorically formulaic digressions which inevitably distract the reader from the distinctive content of each letter, often remarkably concealed. Though these rhetorical *artificia* and highly codified requests of patronage and protection often reach degrees of opaqueness that make it almost

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<sup>367</sup> There are only four other German or Swiss dedicatees aside from the Fuggers: the Schwalbach brothers, Adam and Georg Otto; Daniel Brendel von Homburg, Archbishop-Elector of Mainz; and Neidhardt von Thüngen [n°17], elected Prince-Bishop of Bamberg in 1591, but ordained priest only in 1596. The latter was also the only German to become a dedicatee of an edition of the Byzantine Corpus after the dedications to the Fuggers, on occasion of the 1587 reprint of the Corpus.

<sup>368</sup> It has already been said elsewhere that Claude de La Baume [n°05], archbishop of Besançon, represents a slight oddity for this research since at the time Franche-Comté, and thus Besançon, were administratively part of the Habsburg Empire. The edition dedicated to La Baume is nonetheless considered French on the grounds that i) the translation and the paratext are both in French, ii) the printing privilege was only requested for France, not for the Holy Roman Empire and, iii) the book was printed in Lyon. Jean de Saint-André [n°11] worked for the Parisian diocesan administration, but it remains unclear whether he was a member of the clergy or not.

impossible to appreciate the existence of other, more specific, content, it is nonetheless possible to draw at least some preliminary conclusions on the style of national patterns based on the nature, topics discussed and writing style contained within the dedication letters.

German editions have a relatively small number of dedication letters – five, but at least two of them are so preponderantly rhetorical [n°01/B and n°02] that it is almost impossible to determine whether anything more specific is actually being said. The remaining three [n°01, n°03 and n°07], however, dwell extensively, if not almost exclusively, on the crucial importance of German unity, both religious and political, a theme consistent with the preoccupations of both the Catholic clergy, interested in the reconciliation between Catholics and Lutherans, and of the Fuggers, who had huge financial interests threatened by the Turkish advance.

Italian dedication letters, too, show very strong formulaic dedicatory themes, particularly when it comes to the lengthy descriptions of the qualities of the dedicatees, more prominent than in German editions. But it remains remarkable that, despite Venice being constantly on the brink of war with the Ottoman Empire for the whole duration of the 1560s,<sup>369</sup> and despite the occasional Turkish raids reaching as far as Friuli, not once, in fifteen dedication letters and other paratextual prefaces, are the Turks mentioned as a potential threat to Venice, which is also reflected in a choice of dedicatees, who, with one single exception,<sup>370</sup> had no dealings with the Turks, since most of them belonged to the small Italian aristocracy from regions that were never directly threatened by Turkish attacks.

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<sup>369</sup> War did break out in 1570 when the Turks invaded Venetian-held Cyprus, effectively starting the Fourth Ottoman-Turkish War (1570-1573) and leading to its most important episode, the Battle of Lepanto, fought in 1571.

<sup>370</sup> Domenico Massimo [n°13], in command of a ship of a papal fleet unsuccessfully dispatched to fight the Turks in 1570, in the early stages of the Fourth Ottoman-Turkish War.

In contrast to editions published in Germany and in Italy, the correlation between the choice of the dedicatees and the themes touched upon in the dedication letters is, in French editions, significantly less evident. Aside from the analytic problem caused by an objectively small number of dedicatees – five, as in German editions – and despite the highest number of reprints in multiple issues, there seems to be little if no connection between the pattern in the choice of dedicatees, strongly polarised towards Catholicism and towards the royalist faction in the Wars of Religion, and the themes contained within the dedication letters. With one very late exception [n°19], all French dedication letters date from between 1560 and 1574, that is, from just prior to the outbreak of the hostilities between Catholics and Huguenots, in 1562, to just after the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre, in 1572. Despite this, the content of the dedication letters shows little sign of direct involvement in matters concerning either religious or political conflicts in France. Upon closer examination, however, it is possible to sift out some evidence through indirect sources of information, looking, for instance, at the list of minor contributors to editions such as the 1577 Vigenère translation of Chalkokondyles [n°14]. Aside from the main dedicatee, Louis Gonzaga-Nevers, one of the leaders of the Catholic faction at court, the edition contains a number of short poems, at least two of which were written by men very close to the Catholic faction, known for having composed sonnets of questionable taste praising the bloodbath of St Bartholomew's Day: Léger Duchesne and Jean-Antoine de Baïf.<sup>371</sup> This last case in particular shows quite clearly how, even when dedication letters are remarkably vague in content, a careful analysis of the paratext, including a background check on all those involved in writing even the shortest of texts, allows one to draw a

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<sup>371</sup> See above, chapter 4.3 [n°14], notes 299 and 301 in particular.

much neater picture of the social and intellectual milieu connecting the content of the dedication letters to their respective dedicatees.

### **Individual popularity of Zonaras, Choniates, Gregoras and Chalkokondyles in early modern Europe**

A study focussing on paratextual material is specifically designed to offer the widest possible angle on data, allowing in turn for a variety of different perspectives. Aside from looking at the differences connected to the particular areas of origin of the edition of the Byzantine Corpus, it is also very useful to analyse these editions from the point of view of the popularity enjoyed by each one of its authors individually. If one looks at the sheer number of printed editions and reprints, all four shared a more or less equal degree of success: Zonaras, Choniates and Chalkokondyles all appear in nine out of twenty editions, either alone or in conjunction with others, while Gregoras alone trails slightly behind, with only six editions. Gregoras is also the only one who was never published individually, but, rather, only in conjunction with one or more other authors of the Corpus. On this point I shall return later.

**Zonaras.** In particular, Zonaras's popularity was approximately the same in Germany, Italy and France. The reason for this success was probably determined by the fact that his narration offers a concise description of the world's history from the creation of the world to the early twelfth century AD, making it possible to market Zonaras's text both as a comprehensive summary of universal history, to be read from beginning to end, and as an encyclopaedia for history, to be consulted only when necessary. In addition to this, Zonaras's narration comes to an end before a number of thorny events take place, such as the Fourth Crusade and the sack of Constantinople in

1204, and, for obvious chronological reasons, it excludes the description of current affairs involving the Ottoman expansion, thus targeting a readership interested in a concise description of universal history though not necessarily inclined to establish a particularly strong connection between this text and the troubling matter of the Ottoman expansion.

**Choniates.** Choniates proved to be a challenging author for most early modern editors, but his popularity resulted in a respectable number of editions nonetheless. Since his narration deals for the most part with events connected to the early Crusades and culminates with the description of the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204), when the tension between Byzantium and the West reached its peak, it is not surprising that Choniates's bias against the Westerners was so strong. This resulted in a number of early modern editors who chose either to explain the reasons of such bias to their readers, or simply to dismiss Choniates's bitter remarks by claiming that the author's words were merely the result of his hatred and malignity, promptly moving on to some other aspect of his work, such as, for instance, what the West could learn from the lack of political and religious unity of the Byzantines. Despite his 'malignity', Choniates was as popular as Zonaras in Germany and Italy, though interestingly not in France, where he was only published once, in 1567, and only in a collective reprint of Wolf's Latin translations of the Corpus [n°11]. The reason for his popularity in Italy was different, at least in part, from that enjoyed by Zonaras: if, on one hand, the universality of Zonaras's narration explains well the general interest towards his text; Choniates, on the other hand, describes events that were then likely to be perceived as belonging to the relatively recent past of the Venetian apogee, certainly a matter of interest, at least to an Italian audience.

**Gregoras.** Of the four historians of the Byzantine Corpus, Gregoras was slightly less popular than his counterparts, and he was never published alone, but only in conjunction with one or more of the other three historians. It is interesting to note that, depending upon the country, Gregoras was associated with different historians of the Byzantine Corpus: in Italy he was only published once and in appendix to Choniates [n°13]; in Germany and in Geneva, when not published in a complete edition of the Corpus, Gregoras was, on the contrary, only published in conjunction with Chalkokondyles [n°07 and n°20]; in France, finally (as was the case with Choniates), Gregoras enjoyed almost no popularity at all. It remains to be fully explained why his narrative was less successful compared to the other ones; the reason may be sought in his rather prolix and pompous style,<sup>372</sup> as well as in the historical period he describes, not particularly eventful from a Western point of view: too late to touch upon the period of the Crusades and too early to tackle the events connected with the fall of Constantinople. In addition to this, Gregoras's narration is very centred on Byzantium, which results in an almost complete lack of interest in the rise of the Ottoman Empire. However unintentional this may have been, all these elements together are likely to have contributed to a somewhat negative perception of his work among early modern readers.

**Chalkokondyles.** A contrasting success to that enjoyed by Choniates and Zonaras was that of Chalkokondyles, highly popular in France while at the same time virtually unknown in Italy. His narration was the closest to recent events, and indeed it did help in understanding the causes behind a number of recent events, including the fall of Constantinople in 1453. This alone should have strongly contributed to the

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<sup>372</sup> Gregoras also dwelled at great length on a series of doctrinal issues concerning the Orthodox church, which led Wolf, followed by a number of later editors, to cut down Gregoras's text from thirty-seven to as little as eleven books. See chapter 1.5 [n°07].

circulation of his text in early modern Europe even independently of the other authors of the Byzantine Corpus, but this does not seem to have been the case. In Germany, after the 1556 *editio princeps* in a collective edition of *Turcica* [n°01], from 1562 onwards [n°07] the text only appeared in collective editions of the Corpus, while in France Chalkokondyles's popularity was mostly determined by the fact that his text had first been translated in honour of a very high ranking member of the Catholic faction during the French Wars of Religion and a descendent of the Palaiologan dynasty [n°14].

There are two remarkable aspects directly connected to the question of the individual popularity of the four historians of the Byzantine Corpus. The first one is that, notwithstanding the general early modern success of the Byzantine Corpus as a collection, in certain specific countries some of the authors enjoyed very little if no success at all, which of course raises the issue as to why this was the case. This applies, in particular, to Chalkokondyles in Italy and to Choniates and Gregoras in France, while in Germany all four authors enjoyed more or less the same degree of popularity. Unfortunately the cause of this lack of popularity in certain countries still remains, for the most part, rather obscure. In Italy, for instance, countless editions of *Turcica* in general and of works relating to the rise of the Ottoman power were published,<sup>373</sup> not last by Francesco Sansovino, publisher of one of the editions of the Byzantine Corpus [n°09], suggesting a strong demand for this type of literature in Italy and giving no reason to believe that Chalkokondyles would have been badly received. If anything, Chalkokondyles was probably the one author of the Byzantine Corpus most likely to enjoy the highest chances of substantial popularity in Italy and particularly in Venice.

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<sup>373</sup> On the production of *Turcica* see above, note 21.

And yet, not a single edition of Chalkokondyles was published in Italy until as late as 1729. It is, however, hard not to notice the strong correlation between the almost complete lack of references to the Turks in all the Italian dedication letters of the Byzantine Corpus and the apparent lack of interest in Chalkokondyles. A very tentative answer may be that, in Italy, the Byzantine Corpus corresponded to a series of texts that were not perceived as belonging to the literary genre of the *Turcica* but, rather, to that of Greek studies. Still, this does not seem to be a satisfactory answer to the problem, since the connection with the Greek classical tradition was not considered to be particularly strong either. In France, on the other hand, the problem is of a different nature, since the two authors who did not enjoy success are the ones who represent the central part of the Corpus, Choniates and Gregoras. Except for an early Latin reprint of Wolf's Corpus, published in Paris in 1567 [n°11], in which all four historians made an appearance, neither Choniates nor Gregoras were ever translated into French, unlike Zonaras and Chalkokondyles, who were published and reprinted a number of times. Here, again, it is difficult to understand such stark differences in the successes enjoyed by each individual author of the Byzantine Corpus, especially if one considers that Zonaras and Chalkokondyles are, from a chronological point of view, two almost unrelated texts. A possible solution to the problem may come by concentrating not on the texts that did not enjoy success, but, rather, on the ones that did. Though Zonaras and Chalkokondyles have little in common even when it comes to the themes discussed in the dedication letters, it is patronage that connects the two. The editions of these two authors, in France, were typically dedicated to top figures at court, namely the Queen of France and the Duke of Gonzaga-Nevers, suggesting that the success enjoyed by these texts in France may have had more to do with the personal

prestige enjoyed by those to whom the texts had been dedicated rather than the actual content of the texts.

The second question to be addressed here deals with the practice, discussed above and in use particularly in Germany and in Italy, of associating Gregoras to either Choniates (in Italy) or Chalkokondyles (in Germany). As already pointed out before, Gregoras was never published individually prior to the *Corpus Parisinum*, but exclusively in association with one or the other author of the Byzantine Corpus. The reason for this may be of a practical nature: since Wolf decided to abridge Gregoras's *Roman History* for his *editio princeps* of 1562, as discussed above,<sup>374</sup> he effectively reduced the text to less than a third of its original size, a choice slavishly followed by all later editors and translators at least until the new edition of the text in the series of the *Corpus Parisinum*, almost a century later, and not part of this study. The most visible consequence of this was that Wolf's abridgement turned Gregoras's work, in theory the longest of the Corpus along with that of Zonaras, into the shortest one by far, and it is thus likely that editors and printers alike found it easier to attach Gregoras to another text rather than publishing him independently. In Germany, since the 1562 *editio princeps* of Gregoras (already in combination with Chalkokondyles), all texts of the Corpus were published together, though, unlike Zonaras and Choniates, Gregoras and Chalkokondyles invariably shared the same foliation, presumably because the two texts were the shortest of the collection. In Italy, on the other hand, the choice must have been even simpler, since Chalkokondyles was never published, leaving Choniates as the only possible match for Gregoras.

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<sup>374</sup> See above, note 372.

### **Rise and Decline in popularity of the Byzantine Corpus**

The last, crucial element that needs to be addressed in these conclusions concerns the causes behind both the rise and the decline in popularity of the Byzantine Corpus, both of which took place, from a chronological point of view, over a remarkably short period of time. These causes still remain, for the most part, unexplained. The texts of the Byzantine Corpus began gathering popularity among a wider public immediately after the large scholarly editions printed with the financial help of the Fuggers started circulating on the market. Zonaras, for instance, first published in Greek and Latin in 1557 [n°2], was immediately translated twice into Italian, in 1560 and in 1564 [n°04, n°10], and twice into French, in 1560 and in 1561 [n°05, n°06]; Choniates was translated three times into Italian immediately after its scholarly *editio princeps* was published, again in 1557 [n°03]: twice in 1562 [n°08, n°09] and once in 1569 [n°13]. And after the 1562 first edition of Gregoras [n°07], which incidentally also includes the first reprint of Chalkokondyles, the whole Corpus (only the Latin translations, that is, dropping the Greek of the *editiones principes*) was published in Paris, in 1567 [n°11], shortly followed by another reprint, issued in Frankfurt in 1568 [n°12]. These examples show how, by 1570, thirteen of the twenty editions of the Byzantine Corpus published prior to 1645, all involving original editorial work, had already been published. In other words, by 1570, that is, in less than fifteen years, the popularity of the Byzantine Corpus had already reached its peak. In the following years, aside from five reprints of earlier editions, only two further editions involved original editorial work: Vigenère's French translation of Chalkokondyles, published in 1577 [n°14], and Baumbach's 1615 collective edition of Gregoras, Chalkokondyles and Akropolites [n°20], in Greek and Latin, which,

incidentally, also contains the first edition of Chalkokondyles's text in Greek. All other editions published between 1570 and 1645 were either reprints or reissues, and even among these the decline was steady, though probably not as evident.

The publication of the scholarly *editiones principes* of the Byzantine Corpus, published only thanks to the patronage of the Fuggers, was certainly instrumental in providing the wider market of the vernacular editions with the material necessary to produce cheap translations, but this still requires a market constantly on the lookout for new texts and new entertainment. The sudden popularity of these texts in the late 1550s and particularly in the 1560s suggests that, for a certain period of time, the Byzantine Corpus was probably quite 'in vogue', at least among the wider public. But, of course, the downside of popularity of this type is that it is, by definition, ephemeral, and would thus explain not only the sudden rise in popularity of the Byzantine Corpus, but also its equally rapid decline. The last editions of the Byzantine Corpus were printed in 1612 [n°19] and in 1615 [n°20], in France and Geneva respectively. During the three decades that separate the last edition of the Byzantine Corpus (1615) from the first edition of the *Corpus Parisinum* (1645), only a small number of minor reissues of the 1612 Chalkokondyles [n°19] were published or partially reprinted. As stated in the introduction, I have included these three decades in this research nonetheless, on the grounds that, had I not included them, I would have failed to explain all aspects of the decline in popularity of the Byzantine Corpus; as important a narrative, I believe, as its rise, less than a century earlier. One could hardly understand the one without the other, nor could one really understand the significance of the French revival of Byzantine studies in the mid-seventeenth century without knowing anything about the earlier successes of the Byzantine Corpus in France, Germany and Italy.

I hope that, with this study, I have succeeded in shedding some light on the origin and nature of the direct predecessor of the *Corpus Parisinum*, and thus, more recently, of the *CSHB* and of the *CFHB*. The success enjoyed by the early modern editions of the Byzantine Corpus remains, despite the dormant period of the early seventeenth century, the earliest contribution towards the creation and development of what is now known as the modern discipline of Byzantine studies.

At present this thesis may be defined, borrowing Wolf's expression in reference to Choniates, a '*Byzantina quoddam quasi bibliographia historica*'.<sup>375</sup> The aim for the future is to complete this research, analysing in detail all the editions of Byzantine historians currently only briefly described in Appendix C, and eventually producing a complete '*Bibliographia Historica Byzantina*'.

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<sup>375</sup> See Appendix A, n°03.1.

A

LAONICI CHAL-  
condylæ Atheniensis, de ori-  
GINE ET REBUS GESTIS TURCO-  
rum Libri Decem, nuper è Græco in La-  
tinum conuersi:

CONRADO CLAVSERO TI-  
gurino interprete.

ADIECIMVS

*THEODORI GAZÆ, & aliorum quoq; doctorum uirorum,  
eiusdem argumenti, de rebus Turcorum aduersus Christianos, & Chri-  
stianorum contra illos hætenus ad nostra usq; tempora gestis, di-  
uersa Opuscula, quorum Catalogum proxima post  
Præfationem pagella reperies.*



Cum Cæs. Maiest. gratia & priuilegio  
ad decennium.

BASILEÆ, PER IOAN-  
nem Oporinum. 1556

**Appendix A:**  
**Bibliographical records of the editions of the Byzantine**  
**Corpus (1556-1645)<sup>376</sup>**

**CODE:** n°01

**AUTHOR/S:** Chalkokondyles; Theodoros of Gaza; other contributions

**SHORT TITLE:** Laonici Chalcondylæ Atheniensis, de origine et rebus gestis Turcorum [...]

**IMPRINT:** Basel, Johannes Oporinus [jobbing printers: Ludwig Lucius and Michael Martin Stella], [1556]

**EDITOR/S:** Konrad Clauser; Johannes Heroldt

**DEDICATEE/S:** Adam and Georg Otto von Schwalbach

**COUNTRY:** Switzerland

**LANGUAGE:** Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** HRE: 10 years (only declared in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** [24], 646 pages; 2°

**COLLATION:** α<sup>12</sup> a-z<sup>6</sup> A-Z<sup>6</sup> AA-GG<sup>6</sup> HH<sup>4</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 671563; VD16: C 2005; HIERONYMUS 1992, 265

**COPIES:**<sup>377</sup> GBV GVK: 7 [VD16: 9]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 7; CCFR: 11; COPAC: 6

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<sup>376</sup> Selection criteria: reprints (i.e. new print-runs) of earlier editions shall here be considered as separate editions, and hence shall appear under a different identification code; reissues of any kind, on the other hand, are here considered as variants of the same edition, and hence shall appear under the same identification code. Short biographical records on the editors, printers and dedicatees described in this chapter are to be found in Appendix B. Unless otherwise stated, all reproductions are from Google Books copies and match the Google Books references as described in this bibliographical appendix. I have provided basic copy-counters, listing holdings of the described editions in the main union catalogues of Germany, Italy, France and UK, giving precedence to the catalogues of the country of origin of the specific edition. The discrepancies within catalogues of the same country (e.g. GBV GVK and VD16/17 for Germany, ICCU OPAC SBN and EDIT16 for Italy and USTC and CCFR for France), consistent throughout Appendix A and Appendix C, are a consequence of the imperfect integration of these catalogues. These copy-counters only aim at giving a sense of the survival rate of these editions, and in no way do they aim at providing precise figures.

<sup>377</sup> Except for the German catalogues (GBV GVK and VD16), other databases fail to set a difference between n°01 and n°01/B. The figures here provided thus represent the sum of copies of both variants.

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Chalkokondyles (Latin translation only). One variant in circulation: alternative dedication letter.

**CODE:** n°01/B variant (alternative dedication letter)

**IMPRINT:** Basel, Johannes Oporinus [jobbing printers: Ludwig Lucius and Michael Martin Stella], [1556 (March)]

**EDITOR/S:** Konrad Clauser; Johannes Heroldt

**DEDICATEE/S:** Daniel Brendel von Homburg, Archbishop-Elector of Mainz

**DESCRIPTION:** [8], 646 pages; 2°

**COLLATION:**  $\alpha^4$  a-z<sup>6</sup> A-Z<sup>6</sup> AA-GG<sup>6</sup> HH<sup>4</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 671564; VD16: ZV 17969; HIERONYMUS 1992, 265; digitised on Google Books<sup>378</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 1 [VD16: 3]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 7; CCFR: 11; COPAC: 6

**n°01 Full title:**

**LAONICI CHAL-** || condylæ Atheniensis, de ori- || GINE ET REBVS GESTIS TVRSCO- || rum Libri Decem, nuper è Græco in La- || tinum conuersi: CONRADO CLAUSERO TI- || gurino interprete. || ADIECIMVS || THEODORI GAZAE, & aliorum quoq[ue] doctorum uirorum, || eiusdem argumenti, de rebus Turcorum aduersus Christianos, & Chri- || stianorum contra illos hactenus ad nostra usq[ue] tempora gestis, di- || uersa Opuscula, quorum Catalogum proxima post || Præfationem pagella reperies. ||

[Device] || Cum Cæs. Maiest. gratia & priuilegio || ad decennium. || BASILEAE, PER IOAN- || nem Oporinum.

[colophon: BASILEAE, EX OFFICINIS LUDO- || vici Lvcii et Michaelis Martini || Stellæ, Anno Salutis humanæ M. D. LVI. || Mense Martio.]

**n°01 Dedication letter** [ $\alpha^2$ r- $\alpha^{11}$ r]:

*Conradus Clauserus* [...] *Ex Brugis Argouiae, Anno à nato Christo Seruatore nostro 1556. Febr. 19.* [...] CLARISSIMIS, IVXTAQVE PRV- || DENTISSIMIS ET FORTISS. VIRIS, DOMINO || ADAMO ADMINISTRATORI IN THOBEL, SACRAEQ. || Ioannitoru[m] aduersos Turcos militiæ Equiti primario, & Domino GEOR || GIO OTHONI, Iuris Doctori eximio, germanis fratribus, ex || antiquissima Schwalbachiorum nobili familia ortis, || Conradus Clauserus S.D.P.

**n°01/B Dedication letter** [ $\alpha^2$ r-  $\alpha^3$ v]:

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<sup>378</sup> Google Books keyword search: Laonici Chalcondylæ, *de Origine et rebus gestis Turcorum*, 1556 (Munich, BSB copy).

*Ioannes Herold Hochstattensis [...] Basileae, 17 Cal. April. Anno Christi 1566. [...] DANIELI  
ARCHIEPISCOPO MO- || GVNTINO [sic] VIIVIRO [sic] ELECTORI, IOAN- || nes Herold  
Hochstattensis S.*

29.097

IOANNIS ZONARAE  
 Monachi, qui olim Byzantij Magnus  
 Drungarius excubiarū seu Biglæ, & pro  
 tosecretarius fuit, compendium Histo  
 riarum, in tres Tomos distin  
 ctum: quorum

9(3)  
 Z26j

- Primus agit de rebus Iudaicis, ab exordio Mundi usq; ad Hieroso-  
 lymitanum excidium.
- Secundus, Historiam Romanam, ab Vrbe condita usq; ad Con-  
 stantinum Magnum, breuiter complectitur.
- Tertius, Imperatorum res gestas, à Constantino Magno usq; ad obi-  
 tum Alexij Comneni, tractat.

*Opus præclarum, ac diu desideratum: nunc uerò demum liberalitate magnifici & generosi iu-  
 ni D. ANTONII FUGGERI, &c. & labore HIERONIMI VVOLFII,  
 Græcè ac Latine, quinque codicibus inter se collatis, quàm emendatissimè fieri  
 potuit, in lucem editum.*

Singulis Tomis sui additi sunt INDICES, & uariarum  
 lectionum Annotationes.



Cum Cæs. Maiest. gratia & priuilegio ad decennium: Christianis. uerò  
 Galliarum regis HENRICI ad sexennium, cuius exemplum  
 etiam propter plagarios quosdam adiecimus.

BASILEAE, PER IOAN-  
 nem Oporinum, 1557.



**CODE:** n°02

**AUTHOR/S:** Zonaras (with interpolations from Kedrenos)

**SHORT TITLE:** Ioannis Zonarae Monachi, [...] compendium Historiarum [...]

**IMPRINT:** Basel, Johannes Oporinus, 1557 (March)

**EDITOR/S:** Hieronymus Wolf

**DEDICATEE/S:** Anton Fugger

**COUNTRY:** Switzerland

**LANGUAGE:** Greek and Latin

**PRIVILEGE** ( $\alpha^6$ v): HRE: 10 years (only declared in the title-page); France: 6 years (Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 31/01/1556; signatory: Devabres)

**DESCRIPTION:** 11, [1], 224, [22]; 248, [24]; 246, [22] pages; 2°

**COLLATION:**  $\alpha^6$  a-s<sup>6</sup> t<sup>4</sup> u-y<sup>6</sup>; aa-uu<sup>6</sup> xx<sup>4</sup> yy-zz<sup>6</sup>; aaa-ttt<sup>6</sup> uuu<sup>8</sup> xxx-yyy<sup>6</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 667915; VD16: J 811; HIERONYMUS 1992, 270; digitised on Google Books<sup>379</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 6 [VD16: 11]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 13; CCFR: 11; UK COPAC: 14

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Zonaras (Greek and Latin).

**n°02 Full title:**

**IOANNIS ZONARAE** || Monachi, qui olim Byzantij Magnus || Drungarius excubiaru[m] seu Biglæ, & pro || tosecretarius fuit, compendium Histo || riarum, in tres Tomos distin- || ctum: quorum || Primus agit de rebus Iudaicis, ab exordio Mundi usq[ue] ad Hieroso- || lymitanum excidium. || Secundus, Historiam Romanam, ab Vrbe condita usq[ue] ad Con- || stantinum Magnum, breuiter complectitur. || Tertius, Imperatorum res gestas, à Constantino Magno usq[ue] ad obi- || tum Alexij Comneni, tractat. ||

Opus præclarum, ac diu desideratum: nunc uerò demum liberalitate magnifici & generosi ui- || ri D. ANTONII FVGGERI, & c. & labore HIERONYMI VVOLFII, || Græcè ac Latinè, quinq[ue] codicibus inter se collatis, quàm emendatissimè fieri || potuit, in lucem editum. || Singulis Tomis sui additi sunt INDICES, & uariarum || lectionum Annotationes. ||

[Device] || Cum Cæs. Maiest. gratia & priuilegio ad decennium: Christianiss. uerò || Galliarum regis HENRICI ad sexennium, cuius exemplum || etiam propter plagiarios quosdam adiecimus. || BASILEAE, PER IOAN- || nem Oporinum, 1557.

[colophon: BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA IOANNIS || Oporini, Anno Salutis humana M.D.LVII. || Mense Martio.]

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<sup>379</sup> Google Books keyword search: Zonaras, *Compendium Historiarum*, 1557 (Madrid, BUC copy).

**n°02 Dedication letter** [ $\alpha^2\Gamma$ - $\alpha^6\Gamma$ ]:

*Hieronimi Vuolfij [...] Augustæ Vindellicorum, ex Bibliotheca herili: Calendis Nouembris, Anno à natiuitate Domini MDLVI. [...] AD MAGNIFICVM ET GENEROSVM || VIRVM, D. ANTONIVM FVGGERVM, KIRCHPER- || gæ & Vueissenhorni Dominum, Cæsareæ maiestati à consi- || lijs, &c. in Ioannis Zonarę Annales Hieronimi || Vuolfij Præfatio.*



*Constantinus Paganus Iuris doctor & Ordinarius  
 professor Luteus  
 Collegii Mariani Lutetiae (1697)*

**NICETAE ACOMINATI**  
 Choniatae, Magni Logothetae Secretorum,  
 Inspectoris & Iudicis Veli, Praefecti sacri  
 cubiculi: LXXXVI annorum historia, uidelicet ab  
 anno restitutae Salutis circiter M CXVII, in quo  
 Zonaras desinit, usque ad annum MCCIII, Libris  
 XIX descripta, quorum hic  
 ordo est:



- I Liber de rebus gestis Ioannis Comneni, Alexij filij, quem uulgò Caloioanem uocant.
- VII Libri de rebus gestis Manuelis Comneni, filij Ioannis.
- I Liber de Alexio Porphyrogenito, Manuelis Comneni filio.
- II Libri de rebus gestis Andronici Comneni.
- III Libri de Imperio Isaacij Angeli Comneni.
- III Libri de Imperio Alexij Angeli Comneni, post fratrem Isaacium cecatum & eiectum.
- I Liber de Isaacio, & filio eius Alexio, post recuperatum, Germanorum & Venetorum ope, Imperium: in quo etiam de Alexio Duca cognomento Marzuffo, seu supercilioso, & confusione status publici, & Constantino Politano excidio agitur.
- I Liber de initijs Imperij Balduini & Herrici fratrum, Flandriae Comitum.

*Opus lectu inuicundū & utile, nunc primum liberalitate Magnifici & Generosi uiri D. ANTONII FRGGERI, &c. Caesareae Maiestati à consilijs, &c. Graecè Latineq; editum, cum indice copioso Latino rerum, & Graeco uerborum & phrasium aliquot: una cum uarijs lectionibus, ex trium codicum laboriosa inter sese collatione.*

HIERONYMO VVOLFIO  
 Oetingensi interprete.



Cum Cæs. Maiest. gratia & priuilegio ad decennium, & Christianis, Gallorum regis HENRICI ad annos sex.

BASILEAE, apud Ioannem Oporinum, Idibus Augusti, Anno 1557.

**CODE:** n°03

**AUTHOR/S:** Choniates

**SHORT TITLE:** Nicetae Acominati Choniatae, [...] LXXXVI annorum historia [...]

**IMPRINT:** Basel, Johannes Oporinus, 1557 (August)

**EDITOR/S:** Hieronymus Wolf

**DEDICATEE/S:** Anton Fugger

**COUNTRY:** Switzerland

**LANGUAGE:** Greek and Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** HRE: 10 years (only declared in the title-page); France: 6 years (only declared in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** [8], 317, [47] pages; 2°

**COLLATION:** α<sup>4</sup> a-z<sup>6</sup> A-F<sup>6</sup> G<sup>8</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 677915; VD16: N 1449; HIERONYMUS 1992, 270; digitised on Google Books<sup>380</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 6 [VD16: 9]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 12; CCFR: 7; UK COPAC: 9

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Choniates (Greek and Latin).

**n°03 Full title:**

**NICETAE ACOMINATI** || Choniatae, Magni Logothetae Secreto- || rum, Inspectoris & Iudicis Veli, Praefecti sacri || cubiculi: LXXXVI annorum historia, uidelicet ab || anno restitutae Salutis circiter MCXVII, in quo || Zonaras desinit, usque ad annum MCCIII, Libris || XIX descripta, quorum hic || ordo est: ||

I Liber de rebus gestis Ioannis Comneni, Alexij filij, quem uulgò Caloioan- || nem uocant. || VII Libri de rebus gestis Manuelis Comneni, filij Ioannis. || I Liber de Alexio Porphyrogenito, Manuelis Comneni filio. || II Libri de rebus gestis Andronici Comneni. || III Libri de Imperio Isaacij Angeli Comneni. || III Libri de Imperio Alexii Angeli Comneni, post fratrem Isaacium cecatum || & eiectum. || I Liber de Isaacio, & filio eius Alexio, post recuperatum, Germanorum & || Venetorum ope, Imperium: in quo etiam de Alexio Duca cognomento || Murzuflo, seu supercilioso, & confusione status publici, & Constantino- || politano excidio agitur. || I Liber de initijs Imperij Balduini & Herrici fratrum, Flandriae Comitum. ||

Opus lectu iucundu[m] & utile, nunc primùm liberalitate Magnifici & Generosi uiri D. AN- || TONII FVGGERI, & c. Cæsareae Maiestati à consilijs, & c. Græcè Latinéq[ue] editum, || cum Indice copioso

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<sup>380</sup> Google Books keyword search: Nicetas Choniates, Wolf, *Nicetae Acominati Choniatae, ... LXXXVI annorum historia, uidelicet ab anno... MCXVII, in quo Zonaras desinit, usque ad annum MCCIII, libris XIX descripta... Hieronymo Wolfio, ... interprete, 1557* (Lyon, BM copy).

Latino rerum, & æco uerborum & phrasium aliquot: unà || cum uarijs lectionibus, ex trium codicum laboriosa inter sese || collatione. || HIERONYMO VVOLFIO || Oetingensi interprete. || [Device] || Cum Cæs. Maiest. gratia & priuilegio ad decennium, & Chri- || stianiss. Gallorum regis HENRICI ad || annos sex. || BASILEAE, apud Ioannem Oporinum, Idibus || Augusti, Anno 1557.

**n°03 Dedication letter** [ $\alpha^2r$ - $\alpha^4v$ ]:

*Hieronimi Vuolfij [...] Augustæ Vindellicorum, VI Id. April. Anno MDLVII. [...] AD MAGNIFICVM ET GENEROSVM || VIRVM, D. ANTONIVM FVGGERVM, KIRCHBER- || gæ & Vueissenhorni Dominum, Cæsareæ maiestati à consi- || lijs, &c. in Nicetæ Acominati Choniatae historiam, || HIERONYMI VVOLFII || Præfatio.*

**n°03.1** [ $\alpha^2r$ , lines 1-10]: ZONARAM tuum, Vir amplissime, CHONIATES sequitur, homo sua ætate non tantum magnis dignitatibus ornamentum, sed etiam ingenio & multiplici doctrina præstans & ueritatis historiæ (ut mihi uidetur) ubique studiosus: ordine aptissimo, & lectoribus utilissimo. qui ordo cum sequentia ijs quæ antecessere adiugat atq; annectat, **historiæ quoddam quasi corpus absoluit**, & in suo genere homines eruditos reddit: hoc est, à uulgo mortalium distinguit.

**n°03.2** [ $\alpha^3v$ , lines 1-44]: Ad Choniathem redeo: quem ordine aptissimo, et prudenti tuo consilio Zonarae adiunctum esse dixi. Nam quo in loco ille Annales suos finivit, in Alexii Comneni uidelicet obitu: eo in loco hic suam historiam auspicatur, res memoratu dignas, quæ in Byzantino imperio annorum circiter LXXXVI spacio acciderunt, complexus.

**Atque utinam alius Graecus extitisset, qui ab hoc autore et Chalcocondyle prætermis-  
sa, pari facundia prosecutus esset.** Maior enim est Choniatae copia et diligentia, lectioque iucundior, quam Zonarae: cui una breuitas necessario proposita fuit, quod alioqui opus in immensum excrevisset. idque vel ex eo apparet, quod heroina eruditissima, **Anna Caesarissa, Imperatoris Alexii filia, de rebus gestis patris sui libros XX scripsit, qui adhuc in Augustanae Reipublicae bibliotheca extant,** cum Zonaras vitam illius paucis foliis perstrinxerit.

Ut autem breuitas memoriam iuat: ita fusiores narrationes plus delectationis habent, in

I have already said that Choniates was added to Zonaras upon your appropriate order and wise suggestion. In fact, in the very point where Zonaras finishes his Annals, i.e. with Alexios Komnenos's death, in that very point Choniates begins his work, encompassing the important events that took place in the Byzantine Empire during a period of about 86 years. If only another Greek had described with similar eloquence what has been omitted by Choniates and Chalkokondyles [sic]. The quality and diligence of Choniates are in fact superior to those expressed by Zonaras, and the reading is more pleasant. Zonaras chose concision by necessity, in order to prevent his work growing overwhelmingly. This is clear if compared to a most knowledgeable heroine, Anna Caesarissa [i.e. Anna Komnene], daughter of the emperor Alexios, who wrote 20 books on her father's reign (currently in the Augsburg Public Library), whereas Zonaras only devotes to him a few pages.

Just as concision helps memory, so longer narratives are more pleasant, particularly because of the large variety of events and the

magna praesertim varietate rerum, et subitis Fortunae commutationibus: quae non multis annis plurimae, eaeque mirabiles, ac potius miserabiles, praeter expectationem **Graecos (quos hic scriptor Romanorum appellatione honestat) oppresserunt, crescente indies Persarum sive Turcorum (nam recentiores promiscue his vocabulis utuntur)** potentia: quorum grassationes et Christianorum Principum desidiam ac perversitatem, tanta doloris acerbitate Choniates saepius deplorat, ut eum ab omnibus qui reipub. partem aliquam attingunt, nostris temporibus legi summopere expediat: si forte Germanorum animi, quorum fortitudo et pietas in recuperanda Syria et terra sancta, laudibus egregiis hoc scripto ornatur, clarissimis exemplis Conradi et Friderici Imp. saltem ad tuendam patriam, hoc est, vicinas Pannonias excitentur. Nunc enim non de laude et gloria laborandum, sed de aris et focus pugnandum esse apparet. quod quo minus fiat, nulla res aeque in causa est, atque dissensiones.

**Graecos, praeter intestina bella ex ambitione fere orta, voluptatum studium et ignava monarchia perdidit:** nobis temeraria bellandi cupiditas et discors ac inquieta Polyarchia, id minatur, quod absit ut experiamur. et facile caveremus, nisi fatali quadam siderum impressione, animis atque auribus a sanis consiliis plerique abhorrent.

Imminuta quidem est, et veluti laeta seges tristi lolio corrupta, vetus nostrae gentis integritas: quod exterarum nationum quodam quasi contagio accidisse videtur, quarum mala cum nostris coniunximus: cum peregrinationum is finis esse debeat, ut innatis et consuetudine inolititis vitiis abiectis, aliorum virtutes asciscamus, eorumque prudentia et

sudden changes of Fortune. Many of these, in a short period of time, some admirable, others quite miserable, against all expectations ended up overpowering the Greeks (whom the author dignifies with the name 'Romans') by means of the increasing power of the Persians, or Turks (indeed moderns use these terms without distinction). Their banditry, together with the Christian princes's inactivity and corruption, is often deplored by Choniates with so much bitterness that he would nowadays be useful reading for all those who are in any way involved in government. If perchance the heart of Germans, whose strength and piety in recovering Syria and the Holy Land is very much revered in this work, could at least be urged to defend their homeland, *i.e.* nearby Pannonia, following the shining example of the emperors Conrad and Frederick. It is in fact clear that this is not the time to labour for praise and glory, but to defend churches and hearthstones, since the greatest responsibility for what is happening lies in discord.

The pursuit of pleasure and an incompetent rule, in addition to internal strife mainly caused by ambition, determined the destruction of the Greeks. In our case, the reckless desire to always wage war and a divided and troubled fragmentation of power threatens to lead us to things I pray we will never experience. And we would easily avoid it if the majority of us did not refuse to think and listen to wise advice, caused by I do not know what bad celestial influence.

The ancient unity of our people has somehow decreased, corrupted like wheat by chaff. This appears to have been caused by the contagion of foreign nations, the evils of which we have added to our own. Indeed such must be the end of our misadventures, that is, that once we get rid of both our innate and our acquired

humanitate ad omne genus officii et laudis erudiamur.

Sed si caetera spectemus, numquam Germania viris, armis, opibus, consiliis fuit instructor: quas res propter discordiam, non in hostium detrimentum, sed in patria exitium detestanda crudelitate, ne dicam insania, convertimus.

vices, we will welcome the others's virtues and out of their wisdom and humanity every kind of duty and praise.

But if we look at the rest, Germany has never been so well supplied with men, weapons, means and wisdom, which due to discord we do not turn against our enemies, but use to destroy our homeland with hateful cruelty, if not madness.<sup>381</sup>

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<sup>381</sup> My translation.



# HISTORIA DI GIOVANNI ZONARA,

PRIMO CONSIGLIERO, ET CAPITANO  
DELLA GUARDIA IMPERIALE  
DI COSTANTINOPOLI,

DIVISA IN TRE PARTI.

*Nella prima si tratta delle cose de gli Hebrei dal principio del mondo  
usino alla ruina di Gierusalem:*

*Nella seconda dell'origine de' Romani usino all'imperio del gran  
Costantino: .*

*Nella terza de' fatti di tutti gl'Imperadori dal gran Costantino usino  
alla morte di Alesso Comneno.*

ONDE SI APPRENDE VERA NOTITIA  
DE LLE COSE PIV MEMORABILI  
auenute in spatio di 6626. anni.

NVOVAMENTE TRADOTTA DAL GRECO,  
PER MARCO EMILIO FIORENTINO.

Con le suetauole copiosissime.

CON PRIVILEGIO.

*H. I. V.*



*Lodovico*

IN VINEGIA  
Appresso Lodouico de gli Auanzi.  
M D L X.

Digitized by Google

Reproduction [n°04]: Google Books, Munich, BSB copy.

**CODE:** n°04

**AUTHOR/S:** Zonaras

**SHORT TITLE:** Historia di Giovanni Zonara [...]

**IMPRINT:** Venice, Lodovico Avanzi, 1560

**EDITOR/S:** Marco Emilio

**DEDICATEE/S:** Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford

**COUNTRY:** Italy

**LANGUAGE:** Italian

**PRIVILEGE:** Venetian Republic ([10 years?] only declared in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** [52], 192; 263, [1]; 261, [3] pages; 4°

**COLLATION:** \*\_\*\*\*<sup>8</sup> \*\*\*\*<sup>2</sup> A-M<sup>8</sup>; AA-QQ<sup>8</sup> RR<sup>4</sup>; AAA-QQQ<sup>8</sup> RRR<sup>4</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 864426; ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\BVEE\011196 [EDIT16: CNCE 29941]; digitised on Google Books<sup>382</sup>

**COPIES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: 24 [EDIT16: 29]; GBV GVK: 4; CCFR: 2; UK COPAC  
5

**REMARKS:** First Italian translation of Zonaras.

**n°04 Full title:**

**HISTORIA** || DI GIOVANNI ZONARA, || PRIMO CONSIGLIERO, ET CAPITANO || DELLA  
GVARDIA IMPERIALE || DI COSTANTINOPOLI, DIVISA IN TRE PARTI. ||

Nella prima si tratta delle cose de gli Hebrei dal principio del mondo || insino alla ruina di Gierusalem: ||  
Nella seconda dell'origine de' Romani insino all'imperio del gran || Costantino: || Nella terza de' fatti di  
tutti gl'Imperadori dal gran Costantino insino || alla morte di Alesso Comneno. ||

ONDE SI APPRENDE VERA NOTITIA || DELLE COSE PIV MEMORABILI || auuenute in spatio di  
6626. anni. || NVOUAMENTE TRADOTTA DAL GRECO, || PER MARCO EMILIO FIORENTINO.

|| Con le sue tauole copiosissime. || CON PRIVILEGIO. ||

[Device] || IN VINEGIA || Appresso Lodouico de gli Auanzi. || MDLX.

**n°04 Dedication letter** [\*<sup>2</sup>r-<sup>3</sup>v]:

*Lodovico Avanzo, [...] Di Venegia il di primo di Luglio. M.D.LX. [...] ALL'ILLVSTRISSIMO SIGNOR* || IL  
SIGNOR FRANCESCO RVSSELLO || CONTE DI BEDFORDIA, ET DI- || GNISS. CONSIGLIER  
DELLA || SERENISSIMA REGINA || D'INGHILTERRA.

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<sup>382</sup> Google Books keyword search: Johannes Zonaras – Marco Emilio, *Historia*, 1560 (Munich, BSB copy).

**n°04.1** [\*<sup>2</sup>v]: '[...] *sodisfare in parte all'alto intelletto di quella [i.e., Francis Russell], & far cosa degna di perpetua memoria. Essendo che chiunque ben contempla l'eccelso, & sommo grado, che quella tiene appresso la Serenissima Regina d'Inghilterra, cioè d'esser'uno de'suoi più eletti Conseglieri, & a sua Maestà più grato di qualunque altro del suo Regno, sia per giudicare, i vostri meriti esser degni non solamente di questo picciol dono, che intendo hora di farle io; ma d'ogni gran Regno, & d'ogni grand'Imperio.*'

**n°04.2** [\*<sup>2</sup>v]: '*Et si come la presente opera per poter risplendere in ogni luogo, si uarrà della uiua luce della vostra chiara lampa, così parimente Sua Illustrissima Signoria potrà preualersi di quella; uoglio dire, in leggerla, & rileggerla; imperò che è ueramente degna d [sic] esser uista da tutti, ma molto maggiormente da quelli, a' quali Iddio ha commessa la cura de'popoli, perché a chiunque ha tal carico alle spalle si conuiene (uolendo prudentemente diportarsi ne'governi delle Repubbliche) hauere cognition dell'histoire.*'

**n°04.3** [\*<sup>3</sup>r]: '[...] *anco una luce di uerità; concio sia che n'insegna a discernere il uero dal falso, ponendo tutte le cose per lo suo debito ordine, & allegando i più ueraci, & fedeli autori. Ella è parimenti una memoria di uita, & maestra di quella, imperò che abbraccia in sé le vite di tanti huomini illustri, & di tanti sacri Imperadori, che potiamo molto bene specchiarne in quelle, & imparar la strada del ben uiuere.*'

**n°04.4** [\*<sup>3</sup>r]: '*Et perché una tal'histoire più copiosa di frutti, che di fiori (a mio giuditio), se le farebbe estrema ingiuria, quando fosse tenuta sepolta, però m'è paruta molto accomodata di douerla far tradurre dal greco, in questa nostra Italiana lingua a comun beneficio di tutti, ma particolarmente per gratificare Sua Illustrissima Signoria, la quale (per quanto mi uiene detto) si diletta molto di quella.*'



CHRONIQUES, OV ANNALES DE

# IEAN ZONARE



Iadis, & quatre cens ans y ha, Grand Drungaire du Guet, & Premier Secretaire de Constantinople, esquelles sont discourues toutes Histoires memorables aduenues en ce Monde, en la reuolution de six mille six cens ans, & plus: Disposées en trois Parties.

*La Premiere desquelles traite l'estat des choses passées en Iudée, Perse, Egypte, & Grece, depuis la creation du Monde, iusques à la subuersion, & miserable conflagration de Hierusalem.*

*La Seconde contient l'Histoire Romaine prinse à l'edification de la Ville, iusques à l'Empire du Grand Constantin.*

*La Tierce raconte les faits & gestes des Empereurs depuis le susdict Constantin, iusques au trespass d'Alexie Comnene: lequel mourut enuiron l'an de Salut, vnze cens.*



Oeuure recommandable & longuement désiré,  
Traduit par I. MILLET de S. Amour,  
au Conté de Bourgongne.



*La fin de chascune Partie donne son Indice à part.*



*Ex libris*

*Ex libris*

A LYON,

Par Macé Bonhome, à la Masse d'Or.

M. D. LX.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

**CODE:** n°05

**AUTHOR/S:** Zonaras

**SHORT TITLE:** Chroniques, ou Annales de Iean Zonare [...]

**IMPRINT:** Lyon, Macé Bonhomme [and Barthélemy Molin], 1560

**EDITOR/S:** Jean Millet

**DEDICATEE/S:** Claude de La Baume, Archbishop of Besançon

**COUNTRY:** France

**LANGUAGE:** French

**PRIVILEGE** ( $\alpha^1\nu$ ): France: 10 years (Lyon; signatory and date: not mentioned)

**DESCRIPTION:** [4], 122, [6] leaves; 247, [9] pages; 115, [5] leaves; 2°

**COLLATION:**  $\alpha^4$  a-v<sup>6</sup> x-y<sup>4</sup>; A-V<sup>6</sup> X-Y<sup>4</sup>; Aa-Vv<sup>6</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 7533 [FB : 51731]; *BAUDRIER*, X, 261; digitised on Google Books<sup>383</sup>

**COPIES:** USTC: 14 (France: 13; USA: 1); CCFR: 9 (incl. 05/B); GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 1

**REMARKS:** First French translation of Zonaras. One variant in circulation: alternative printers's names.

**CODE:** n°05/B variant (variant imprint)

**IMPRINT:**<sup>384</sup> Lyon, Macé Bonhomme and Barthélemy Molin, 1560

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 15194 [FB: 51732]; *BAUDRIER*, X, 261; digitised on Google Books<sup>385</sup>

**COPIES:** USTC: 8 (France: 5; Germany: 1; UK: 2); CCFR: see 05; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**n°05 Full title:**

CHRONIQVES, OV ANNALES DE || **IEAN ZONARE** || Iadis, & quatercens ans y ha, Grand Drungaire du Guet, || & Premier Secretaire de Constantinople, esquelles sont || discourues toutes

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<sup>383</sup> Google Books keyword search: Jean Zonaras – Millet, *Chroniques, ou Annales de Jean Zonare*, 1560 (Lyon BM copy).

<sup>384</sup> The title-page reads A LYON, || PAR BARTHELEMY MOLIN. || M.D.LX.; but on the colophon: Imprimé à LYON, Par || Macé Bonhome.

<sup>385</sup> Google Books keyword search: Johannes (Zonaras) – Jacques Millet, *Chroniques, ou annales*, 1561 (Munich, BSB copy).

Histoires memorables aduenues en ce || Monde, en la reuolution de six mille six cens ans, & plus: || Disposées en trois Parties. ||

La Premiere desquelles traitte l'estat des choses passées en Iudee, Perse, || Egypte, & Grece, depuis la creation du Monde, iusques à la subuer- || sion, & miserable conflagration de Hierusalem. || La Seconde contient l'Histoire Romaine prinse à l'edification de la Ville, || iusques à l'Empire du Grand Constantin. || La Tierce raconte les faicts & gestes des Empereurs depuis les susdict || Constantin, iusques au traspas d'Alexie Comnene : lequel mourut enui- || ron l'an de Salut, vnz e cens. ||

Oeuure recommandable & longuement désiré, || Traduit par I. MILLET de S. Amour, || au Conté de Bourgongne. ||

La fin de chascune Partie donne sont son Indice à part. ||

[Device] || A LYON, || PAR MACE BONHOME. || M.D.LX. || AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

**n°05 Dedication letter** [ $\alpha^2r-\alpha^3v$ ]:

*I. Millet [...] A S. Amour ce premier iour d'Aoust 1560. [...] A REVERENDISSIME || ET TRES-ILLVSTRE PRINCE ET || PRELAT, MONSEIGNEVR CLAVDE DE LA || BAVME, ARCHEVESQVE DE BESAN- || ÇON, ET PRINCE DE || L'EMPIRE.*

**n°05.1** [ $\alpha^3r$ ]: '*[...] ie croy à la verité que Iean Zonare doit tenir le premier reng, tant pour auoir voulu dresser une Histoire vniuerselle, ramassant comme toutes les parties & membres espanchez en diuers volumes en vn certain corps & Liure, comme pour n'auoir rien oublié de ce qui est plus necessaire & delectable à entendre depuis la creation du monde iusques au temps qu'il viuoit: qu'estoit durant l'Empire d'Alexie Comnene [...].*'

**n°05.2** [ $\alpha^3r$ ]: '*L'histoire duquel n'agueres trouuée en Constantinople & autres Librairies, puis Imprimée en Grec & en Latin, il y a enuiron vn an, que i'ay esté requis & importuné, de deux ou trois sauans personnages de ce país amateurs de l'auancement des bonnes lettres, & en faueur des gens desireux de profiter en icelles, de la mettre en nostre langue vulgaire, à fin que ceux ausquelz le Grec & Latin ne sont familiers, ne se trouuassent priuez du prouffit qu'ilz y pourront recueillir doresenauant. Ne pouuant bonnement reffuser si honneste demande, combien qu'il m'estoit necessaire d'y employer avec diligence, plusieurs moys, que i'eusse spendus en chose plus conuenable à ma profession, ie leur obei volontiers*'.

**n°05: Nota** [ $\alpha^4r-\alpha^4v$ ]: L'IMPRIMEVR || AVX LECTEVRS || BENEVOLES, || SALVT.

**n°05.3** [ $\alpha^4r$ ]: '*Et n'auons mis son traicté en lumiere sans legitime consideration, car outre ce que le discours de son Histoire est graue, grand & eloquent, racontant nayument les Histoires plus notables que la memoire des Anciens ayt celebré auoir esté faictes en six mille six cens ans & plus: encor excelle il en ce poinct, qu'il est vnique de la description des faicts des Empereurs de Grece.*'

**n°05.4** [ $\alpha^4r$ ]: '*Donc émeuz de l'ancien desir & bonne volonté que auons enuers le Bien publicq, n'auons voulu souffrir que si excellente Histoire fust priuée de l'ornement & traduction de nostre langue Françoisse, voyant que ia de Grecque elle auoit esté faite Latine.*'



LES  
HISTOIRES ET  
Chroniques du Monde,

TIREES TANT DV GROS VOLUME DE  
Ian Zonoras Aucteur Byzantin, que de plusieurs autres bons &  
anciens scribeurs Hebreus & Grecs, & mises de leurs primes  
& naïfues langues Hebraïques & Greques, en langage  
François, par le commandement de tres Illustre, tres  
Haute, & tres Vertueuse Dame & Princesse,  
la Royne Catherine, mere du Roy, &  
presentees à sa Hauteſſe & Maie-  
ſté, par Ian de Maumont,  
traducteur & recueil-  
leur d'icelles. .

*Avec annotations mises sur la marge, pour les diuerses lectures  
Greques: & auſſi autres Indices & auertiffemens  
des choses plus memorables.*

Οὐ γὰρ λακωκῶσιν, οὐ λυγρὰ φίλα.



A PARIS,

De l'imprimerie de Michel de Vascofan.

M. D. LXI. 1661.

Avec Priuilege du Roy. R.

**CODE:** n°06

**AUTHOR/S:** Zonaras

**SHORT TITLE:** Les Histoires et Chroniques du Monde [...] de Ian Zonaras [...]

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Michel Vascosan, 1561

**EDITOR/S:** Jean de Maumont

**DEDICATEE/S:** Catherine de' Medici, Queen of France

**COUNTRY:** France

**LANGUAGE:** French

**PRIVILEGE** (Ss<sup>3v</sup>): France: 10 years (Paris, 11/02/1553; signatory: Mathieu)

**DESCRIPTION:** [20], 756, [68] pages; 2°

**COLLATION:** \*<sup>6</sup> \*\*<sup>4</sup> A-Z<sup>6</sup> AA-EE<sup>6</sup> FF<sup>4</sup> GG-ZZ<sup>6</sup> Aa-Rr<sup>6</sup> Ss<sup>4</sup> α-δ<sup>6</sup> ε<sup>8</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 6114 [FB: 51733]; digitised on Google Books<sup>386</sup>

**COPIES:** USTC: 41 (France: 28; Germany: 3; Switzerland: 1; Italy: 2; UK: 4; Other: 3); CCFR: 11; GBV GVK: 2; ICCU OPAC SBN: 2; UK COPAC: 4

**REMARKS:** Second French translation of Zonaras (first third of the text only). Three variants in circulation: later reissues (including one counterfeit reissue).

**CODE:** n°06/B variant (reissue?)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Michel de Vascosan, 1563

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 94060 [FB: 51734]

**COPIES:** USTC : 0; CCFR: 0; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°06/C variant (reissue)

**SHORT TITLE:** Les Histoires Chronique du monde de Iean Zonaras [...]

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Michel Vascosan [and Frédéric I Morel], 1566

**PRIVILEGE** (Ss<sup>3v</sup>): France: 10 years (Paris, 11/02/1553 [hence expired]; signatory: Baillet)

**DESCRIPTION:** [10], 756, [68] pages; 2° Blickling Hall [variant?: [2], 756, [68] pages; 2° Edinburgh]

**COLLATION:** [ ]<sup>1</sup> \*\*<sup>4</sup> A-Z<sup>6</sup> AA-EE<sup>6</sup> FF<sup>4</sup> GG-ZZ<sup>6</sup> Aa-Rr<sup>6</sup> Ss<sup>4</sup> a-d<sup>6</sup> e<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>386</sup> Google Books keyword search: Zonaras, *Les Histoires et Chroniques du Monde*, 1561 (Lyon, BM copy).

LES  
**HISTOIRES**  
Chroniques du Monde,

De **Jean Zonaras**, Grand Chancelier & Drougairé du Guet. Premier Secretaire de Constantinople. Descriuant toutes Histoires memorables aduenuës depuis la naissance du monde iusques au transportement & exil Babylonique.

On il est fait mention de l'estat des choses passees en **Indee, Perse, Ægypte, & Grece**, puis la creation du monde iusques à la subuersion & miserable destruction de Hierusalem, tirez tant de la Bibliothéque **Bixance dictée Constantinople**, que des antiens Scripteurs, Hebreux, & Grecs.

Traduit & mis de nouveau de leurs naïfues langues en vulgaire François, Par **IRAN DE MAYMONT**, avec annotations mises en marge, pour les diuerses lectures Grecques, & aduertissements.

*Auéc deux tables. La premiere des Sommaires, la seconde des choses plus memorables contenues en ces Histoires, & Chroniques.*



+

A PARIS,  
Chez **Robert Fouët**, ruë Saint Iacques à  
L'occasion deuant les Mathurins.

**M. D. LXXXVI.**

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 6999 [FB: 51735]

**COPIES:** USTC: 2 (UK: 2 [Blickling Hall and Edinburgh UL]); CCFR: 0; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°06/D variant (counterfeit reissue)

**SHORT TITLE:** Les Histoires Chroniques du monde, de Iean Zonaras [...]

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Robert Fouet, 1596

**DEDICATEE/S:** None

**PRIVILEGE:** France (only declared in the title-page, presumably fake)

**DESCRIPTION:** [10], 756, [68] pages; 2°

**COLLATION:** [ ]<sup>1</sup> <sup>\*\*4</sup> A-Z<sup>6</sup> AA-EE<sup>6</sup> FF<sup>4</sup> GG-ZZ<sup>6</sup> Aa-Rr<sup>6</sup> Ss<sup>4</sup> α-δ<sup>6</sup> ε<sup>8</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 65139 [FB: 51745]

**COPIES:** USTC: 3 (France: 1 [Compiègne ML]; Italy: 1 [Turin UL]; UK: 1 [Oxford, Christ Church]); CCFR: 1; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 1

**n°06 Full title:**

LES || **HISTOIRES ET** || Chroniques du Monde, || tirees tant dv gros volvme de || Iean Zonoras Aucteur Byzantin, que de plusieurs autres bons & || anciens scripteurs Hebrieus & Grecs, & mises de leurs primes || & naïfues langues Hebraïques & Greques, en langage || François, par le commandement de tres Illustre, tres || Haute, & tres Vertueuse Dame & Princesse, || la Royne Catherine, mere du Roy, & || presentees à sa Hautesse & Maie- || sté, par Iean de Maumont, || traducteur & recueilleur d'icelles. ||  
Auec annotations mises sur la marge, pour les diuerses lectures || Greques : & aussi autres Indices & auertissemens || des choses plus memorables. ||  
Οὐνάβλα κωκυτοῖσιν, οὐ λύρα φίλα. || A PARIS, || De l'imprimerie de Michel de Vascosan. || M.D.LXI. ||  
Auec priuilege du Roy.

**n°06/C Full title (variant):**

LES || **HISTOIRES** || CHRONIQUE || DU MONDE || DE IEAN ZONARAS, GRAN D CHANCELIER ET || Drougaire du Guet, Premier Secretaire de Constantinople. Descriuant || toutes Histoires memorables aduenues depuis la naissance du monde || iusques au transportement & exil Babylonique. ||  
[Device] || A PARIS, || De l'Imprimerie de MICHEL DE VASCOSAN. || M.D.LVI.

**n°06/D Full title (variant):**

LES || **HISTOIRES** || Chroniques du Monde, ||

De Iean Zonaras, Grand Chancelier & Drougair du Guet. Premier Secretaire || de Constantinople. Descriuant toutes Histoires memorables aduenues depuis || la naissance du monde iusques au transportement & exil Babylonique. ||

Ou il est fait mention de l'estat des choses passees en Iudee, Perse, Ægypte, & Grece, || puis la creation du monde iusques à la subuersion & miserable destruction de Hierusalem, || tirez tant de la Bibliotheque Bixance dicte Constantinople, que des antiens Scribeurs, || Hebreux, & Grecs. ||

Traduit & mis de nouveau de leurs naïfues langues en vulgaire François, Par IEAN DE || MAVMONT, avec annotations mises en marge, pour les diuerses lectures Grecques, & || aduertissements. ||

Auèc deux tables. La premiere des Sommaires, la seconde des choses plus memo- || rables contenuës en ces Histoires, & Chroniques. ||

[Device] || A PARIS, || Chez Robert Foüet, ruë Saint Iacques à || L'occasion deuant les Mathurins. || M.D.LXXXXVI. || AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

**n°06 Dedication letter** [\*<sup>2</sup>r-<sup>4</sup>v]:

[unsigned and undated] A LA ROYNE MERE || DV ROY.

**n°06.1** [\*<sup>2</sup>r-<sup>2</sup>v]: *'Madame, au mois de Nouembre dernier passé, Monsieur l'Euesque de Riez me fait entendre le commandement de vostre Maiesté, sur la traduction des anciens Historiens Grecs, qui n'auroyent auparauant esté mis en nostre vulgaire, desquels la magnifique & Royale Bibliotheque de Fontainebleau est remplie [...].'*

**n°06.2** [\*<sup>3</sup>r]: *'Car incontinent apres iceluy, m'ayant esté mis Zonare en main, ancien Historiographe Grec, dont le bel exemplaire se trouue en la susdite librairie, & que raporté aux clair voyans yeux de vostre exacte iugement, apres en auoir entendu le suiet, l'eustes aprouué, & reïté sur cela vostre commandement, ordonnant que par cest aucteur, la negociation eniointe fust comme[n]cee, dautant (pense ie bien) qu'ayant ententiuement ouy, & soigneusement examiné les faicts illustres de l'ancienne Histoire & discipline, par le raport, que vous en ont fait la plus part des escriuains, tant Grecs, que Latins, dont la lecture vous a tousiours esté familiere: cestuy cy, qui est comme vn recors ou recueil de tous eux, peut en ceste matiere fort bien venir à propos.'*

**n°06.3** [\*<sup>3</sup>r-<sup>3</sup>v]: *'[...] & la fey [...] imprimer en tres beaux characters: & maintena[n]t, Madame, elle vient en la sorte qu'elle est, se presenter deuant vostre maiesté: & apres, sous la protection d'icelle, si elle peut auoir tant d'eur, marcher à la veue du mo[n]de, avec ses disponctions & cotes, prises des deux volumes Grecs, dont i'ay usé, l'un imprimé en Alemagne, & l'autre escrit à la main: & sera quelque iour accompagnée de son tout, diuisé en cinq autres liures, desia tracez par moy & enfoncez bien auant: car ma deliberation est telle, s'il ne vous plaist, Madame, me commander le contraire, & employer le style & la main, qui sont à vostre obeïssance & subiection, en quelque autre euure d'aucteur, que vous iugiez vous pouuoir estre plus agreable: combien que ie me fie, que ceste cy, qui vient ores vers vous, ne sera de vous reietee.'*

**n°06.4** [\*<sup>3</sup>v]: *'De sorte que son gros volume, qui est vne vraye Bibliotheque de toutes les Histoires des siecles iusqu'à son temps, n'est autre chose qu'un ingenieux pillage & amoncellement des escripts des doctes personnages, qui auoyent esté en la Grece auant luy: desquels non seulement a il emprunté lesdites narrations Historiales, mais encore les sentences, & l'expression mesme de leurs paroles, mot par mot, qui est un poinct,*

*qui avec le profit, peut d'autant plus donner aux lecteurs de contentement & plaisir, qu'en le lisant en sa langue, ou autre, on peut faire estime, non de lire Zonaras, mais bien les periodes & ornees clauses desdits bons & anciens scripteurs.'*

**n°06.5** [<sup>\*4</sup>r-<sup>\*4</sup>v]: *'vostre tres illustre race de Medicis, Chefs & Princes de l'Ethrurie, restaurateurs des bonnes lettres perissantes, pour laquelle chose, sacagerent par proye eueuse & immortelle, la Grece & l'Asie, non seulement de gens doctes, qu'ils en tirerent à grans troupes, & recueillerent en leurs principautez, terres, biens & Palais: mais aussi d'une infinie multitude de bons liures, recous du feu & cruelle ruine des Turcs, Barbares & inhumaines, dont ils peuplerent apres tout la Chrestienté, qui est la seul receptacle & hebergement aujordhuy de telle sainte mercerie.'*

**n°06 Nota [I]** (<sup>\*5</sup>r): AVERTISSEMENT.

**n°06.6** [<sup>\*5</sup>r]: *'Le gros volume de Zonaras est party en l'exemplaire Grec escrit à la main, dont i'ay vsé, en deux Tomes. [...] Mais le volume Grec dudit Zonaras imprimé à Basle, est diuisé en trois Tomes ou parties [...].'*

**n°06 Nota [II]** (<sup>\*5</sup>v-<sup>\*6</sup>v): AUX LECTEURS.

**n°06.7** [<sup>\*5</sup>v]: *'Le contexte Grec de ce present Tome, comme des suyans aussi, est tout d'un tenant, à sçauoir, composé par oraison continuee d'un trait & fil, sans interruption aucune, ny section ou compartiment de volumes ne des chapitres: toutefois ie l'ay mis & diuisé en certains liures separez l'un de l'autre, & imprimez chacun à part, à cause de leur grandeur & grosseur, qui ne pourroyent estre comprinses en un volume: & puis ce sont matieres & narrations diuerses, qui requierent aussi distinction d'eures & parties, pour l'aisance & plaisir du lecteur, pour lequel respect aussi ay comparty & façonné chaque liure par distinctions & pauses d'Histoires & recits, sçachant bien que lire escrits de si longue haleine, est chose ennuyeuse, & que l'intermission & repos plaist & recree.'*

**n°06.8** [<sup>\*5</sup>v]: *'Au reste si i'ay quelquefois dilaté les clauses par maniere de paraphrase, plus que les paroles du texte Grec, re[n]dues mot à mot ne portoyent, ou si i'ay eu recours, & ay appelé en mon aide les anciens aucteurs Grecs, ou parfois les Hebreus, [...] desquels nostre aucteur a recueilly tout ce grand labeur & ouurage d'Histoires, ie l'ay fait là ou il estoit trop retrenché, pour l'enuie qu'il auoit de suyure ceste briefueté tant promise en son prologue, & dont mesme il auoit decoré le tiltre de son liure, l'appellant le Sommaire ou Epitome des Histoires du Monde, par le conseil de quelques siens amis.'*

**n°06.9** [<sup>\*5</sup>v]: *'[...] mais ce pendant tomboit au vice, dont il auoit reprins les autres, à sçauoir, en l'en[n]uyeuse obscurité, en maints endroits, qui couchez cruellement, comme ils sont en son archetype, retaillez souue[n]t par luy, sans trop grand iugement, des liures des bons & anciens scripteurs de Grece, ne pouuue[n]t donner au Lecteur intelligence ne plaisir, mesmeme[n]t en nostre langue François, qui a ses phrases & manieres de parler separees de l'Hebreu, Grec & Latin: de sorte qu'en les lisant il eust falu souuent aller feuilleter avec gra[n]d' peine, lesdits aucteurs Grecs, pour en tirer le sens entier de l'Histoire narree, si lon eust voulu en la lecture prendre avec le profit, le plaisir, qu'on cherche communement aux Histoires, qui est de sçauoir le commencement, fin & progres, aumoins quant au principal neu, de la chose qu'on narre.'*

**n°06.10** [\*<sup>5</sup>v-<sup>6</sup>r]: ‘Si donques en tels endroits & lieux i’ay paraphrasé par fois le texte, & supply pour son remplissage, les clauses d’iceluy, en y amenant les lieux entiers desdits aucteurs Hebrieus & Grecs, ie n’en dooy estre reprins ne blasmé en ma translation & raccueil, veu que ie l’ay fait pour la commodité de ceux, qui n’auroyent le Grec ou l’Hebrieu en main, pour visiter chaque coup les passages, & eclarcir le poinct de l’Histoire: & aussi pour do[n]ner quelquefois grace à l’oraison, le moins mal que i’ay peu, sans rien laisser ce pendant de l’Auteur, ny aioudre chose, qui offense, ou altere son intention, sens & vouloir, & qui ne face au cours & declaration de l’Histoire, qu’il traite, ne qui ne soit prinse du mesme lieu & ancien liure Grec, dont il a pestry & massonné toutes les circonscriptions & traits de son recit & discours. Et toutefois là mesme; ou i’ay tracé & amplifié le papper, non de moy mesme, mais prinse du fons & champ desdits volumes Hebrieus & Grecs, ie l’ay ou coté sur la marge, ou marqué (pour satisfaire aux gens doctes en la langue, qui, peut estre, en voudront conferer quelques lieux) par certaines lignes & vergettes, qui serrent les clostures des sentences apposees là, en tel signe () [sic].’



NICEPHORI  
 GREGORAE, ROMANA-  
 næ, hoc est Byzantinæ historiæ Libri  
 XI: quibus res à Græcis Imperatorib. per an-  
 nos CXLV, à Theodoro Lascari priore, usque ad Androni-  
 ci Palæologi posterioris obitum gestæ, describuntur, &  
 Nicetæ Acominati Choniatae παράλι-  
 πόρως suppleuntur:

Nunc demùm liberalitate Magnifici & Generosi uiri, D. ANTO-  
 NII FVGGERI, &c. & HIERONYMI VVOLFII la-  
 bore, Græcè Latinèque editi, cum In-  
 dice copioso.

*Hic adiunximus L AONICI CHALCOCONDYLAE Turcicam historiã,  
 CONRADO CLAVSERO Tigurino interprete: sed recognitam ab eodem,  
 & ad D. PHILIPPI GVNDÉLII exemplar emendatam. Ita quatuor huius  
 scriptoribus, Zonara, Choniata, Gregora, Chalcocondyla coniunctis, integrum Byzan-  
 tine historie corpus à Constantino magno ad Constantinum postremum, & Constanti-  
 nopolim à Turcis occupatam & possessam, habituri sunt studiosi, utraq; lingua exposi-  
 tum, ut & de fide interpretum constaret: & tam rudibus Græcarum literarum,  
 quam doctis, maiore commoditate quàm sumptu consuleretur.*



Cum Cæs. Maiest. & Christianis. Gallorum Regis priui-  
 legijs ad decennium.

BASILEAE, PER IOANNE M  
 Oporinum, Anno Salutis 1562.

**CODE:** n°07

**AUTHOR/S:** Gregoras; Chalkokondyles

**SHORT TITLE:** Nicephori Gregorae Romanæ, hoc est Byzantinæ historiae [...]

**IMPRINT:** Basel, Johann Oporinus, 1562

**EDITOR/S:** Hieronymus Wolf; Konrad Clauser

**DEDICATEE/S:** Anton Fugger; Marcus and Johann Fugger

**COUNTRY:** Switzerland

**LANGUAGE:** Greek and Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** HRE: 10 years (only declared in the title-page); France: 10 years (only declared in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** [16], 271, [4] pages, 277-534 columns, [40] pages, [36] leaves; 2°

**COLLATION:** α<sup>8</sup> a-y<sup>6</sup> z<sup>4</sup> A-N<sup>6</sup> O<sup>8</sup>; 2A-F<sup>3</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 677905; VD16: C 2006; HIERONYMUS 1992, 271; digitised on Google Books<sup>387</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 8 [VD16: 9]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 15; CCFR: 18; UK COPAC: 9

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Gregoras (Greek and Latin), first reprint of Chalkokondyles (Latin only). One variant in circulation: counterfeit reissue.

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<sup>387</sup> Google Books keyword search: Nicephorus (Gregoras) – Hieronymus Wolf, *Romanæ hoc est Byzantinae historiae libri undecim*, 1562 (Munich, BSB copy).

NICEPHORI  
GREGORAE  
ROMANAE, HOC EST  
BYZANTINAE HISTORIAE,  
quibus res à Græcis Imp̄. per annos CXLV.

gestæ describuntur, & NICETAE ACOMINATICHO-  
ATAE Paralipomena sup̄plentur,

Per HIERONYMUM VVOLFIVM translate.  
Acceferunt.

LAONICI CHALCOCONDYLAE Ill. Jurecæ & Tabulæ Argo-  
menti non vulgaris.



COLONIAE PLANICIANAE  
M DC XVI

**CODE:** n°07/B variant (counterfeit reissue)

**AUTHOR/S:** Gregoras; Chalkokondyles

**SHORT TITLE:** Nicephori Gregorae Romanae, hoc est Byzantinae historiae [...]

**IMPRINT:** Basel, [Ludwig König?], 1616

**EDITOR/S:** Hieronymus Wolf; Konrad Clauser

**DEDICATEE/S:** Anton Fugger; Marcus and Johann Fugger

**COUNTRY:** Switzerland

**LANGUAGE:** Greek and Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** undetermined (presumably none)

**DESCRIPTION:** [16], 271, [4] pages, 277-534 columns, [40] pages, [36] leaves; 2°

**COLLATION:**  $\alpha^8$  a-y<sup>6</sup> z<sup>4</sup> A-N<sup>6</sup> O<sup>8</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** ICCU OPAC SBN:  
IT\ICCU\BVEE\054082

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 0 [VD17: 0]; CCFR: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 1; UK COPAC: 0;  
Worldcat:<sup>388</sup> 2 (UK: 1; Germany: 1)

**n°07 Full title:**

**NICEPHORI** || GREGORAE, ROMA- || n̄, hoc est Byzantin̄e historiae Libri || XI: quibus res a Gr̄acis  
Imperatorib. per an- || nos CXLV, a Theodoro Lascari priore, usque ad Androni- || ci Pal̄æologi  
posterioris obitum gest̄e describuntur, & || Nicet̄e Acominati Choniatā παραλει- || πόμ̄ενα supplentur:  
||

Nunc demum liberalitate Magnifici & Generosi uiri, D. ANTO- || NII FVGGERI, & c. & HIERONYMI  
VVOLFII la- || bore, Gr̄æce Latineque editi, cum In- || dice copioso. ||

His adiunximus LAONICI CHALCOCONDYLAE Turcicam historia[m], || CONRADO CLAVSERO  
Tigurino interprete: sed recognitam ab eodem, || & ad D. PHILIPPI GVNDELII exemplar emendatam.  
Ita quatuor his || scriptoribus, Zonara, Choniate, Gregora, Chalcocondyla coniunctis, integrum Byzan- ||  
tin̄e historiae corpus a Constantino magno ad Constantinum postremum, & Constanti- || nopolim a  
Turcis occupatam & possessam, habituri sunt studiosi, utraq[ue] lingua exposi- || tum, ut & de fide

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<sup>388</sup> The results provided by Worldcat may be extremely misleading: for instance, if one searches 'coloniae planicianae', a typographical misprint unique to this edition, Worldcat returns fourteen records. Of these, only two are in fact copies of the 1616 reissue of Gregoras; most of the remaining records turn out to be copies of Migne's 1865 edition of Gregoras. Of the two 'authentic' copies of this 1616 reissue one is in the Roderic Bowden Library and Archives, University of Wales Trinity Saint David, and one in the Universitätsbibliothek of Leipzig (for some unknown reason this copy does not appear neither in VD17 nor in VD16). I have found only one other copy of this edition, in Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, for a total of three extant copies.

interpretum constaret: & tam rudibus Græcarum literarum, || quam doctis, maiore commoditate quam sumptu consuleretur. ||

[Device] || Cum Cæs. Maiest. & Christianiss. Gallorum Regis priui- || legijs ad decennium. || BASILEAE, PER IOANNEM || Oporinum, Anno Salutis 1562.

**n°07/B Full title (variant):**

**NICEPHORI || GREGORAE** || ROMANAE, HOC EST || BYZANTINAE HISTORIAE, || quibus res à Græcis Impp. per annos CXLV. || gestæ describuntur, & NICETAE ACOMINATI CHONI- || ATAE Paralipomena supplentur, || Per HIERONYMVM VVOLFIVM translata, || Acceserunt. ||

**LAONICI CHALCOCONDYLAE Hist. Turcicæ & Tabulæ argu-** || menti non uulgaris. || [Device] || COLONIAE PLANICIANAE || **MDCXVI.**

**n°07 Dedication letter (Gregoras) [ $\alpha^2r-\alpha^3r$ ]:**

*Hieronimi Vuolfij* [undated] AD MAGNIFICVM ET GENEROSVM || VIRVM, D. ANTONIVM FVGGERVVM, KIRCH- || pergæ & Vueissenhorni Dominum, Cæsareæ || Maiestati à consilijs, &c. || HIERONYMI VVOLFII IN NICEPHORI || Gregoræ Annales Præfatio.

**n°07.1** [ $\alpha^2r$ ]: '[...] Non equidem sine mente, reor, sine numine divum (ut Virgilio verbis utar) sic accidit, vir amplissime, ut tua praestanti liberalitate, et singulari Ioannis Dorenschwami industria, Byzantinam historiam a Constantino Magno usque ad Constantinum Postremum, a Graecis descriptam hominibus, integram et perfectam haberemus. Etsi enim illius epitomae quaedam extant, partim Latinitatis scriptoribus editae, partim ex his nostris authoribus decerpte: tamen Graeci certius et fusius pleraque in Oriente gesta descripserunt, quae illi vix attigerunt: multaque; referunt, Latinis illis vel plane incognita, vel de industria neglecta, quod ea minus ad se pertinere putarent: sicut et Graeci vicissim res in Occidente gestas parum curarunt.

Nam cum princeps Imperii sedes Byzantium, quae a conditore potius quam instauratore, non tantum Constantinopolis, sed et nova Roma dicta fuit, translata esset: paulatim vetus Roma cum finitimis provinciis a

Indeed it is with the gods's design and command, to use Vergil's words, that so it happened that through your distinguished generosity and Johann Dorenschwam's unique diligence we had the Byzantine history from Constantine the Great to Constantine the Last, written by Greeks, whole and complete. For although some abridgements of it exist, partly published by Latin writers, part excerpted from these authors of ours, nonetheless the Greeks described with greater certainty and at greater length most of the events of the East, which the Latin authors hardly touched upon; and the Greek authors relate many things that were either altogether unknown to those Latin authors, or neglected by them on purpose because they thought they were less relevant to them, just as the Greeks in turn cared little for the events of the West.

For when the main seat of the Empire was moved to Byzantium, which from its founder rather than restorer was called not only Constantinople but also new Rome, little by little the old Rome with the neighbouring

totius Imperii quasi corpore avulsa, partim Pontificibus, partim exteris nationibus parvit. Secuta sunt deinde etiam religionis dissidia, contentiones, insidiae, aperta bella, et diversae etiam utrorumque populorum appellationes. **Nam Byzantini se Romanos, et suos principes ῥωμαίων βασιλέας: caeteros autem Christianos populos et Reges, qui Romanum ponteficem agnoscebat, promiscue Latinos nominarunt, a quibus ipsi contra Graeci dicebant[ur].'**

**n°07.2** [ $\alpha^2\nu-\alpha^3r$ ]: '[...] Idem enim hostis, qui beatas olim Asiae et Graeciae provincias oppressit, vastavit, evertit, nostris etiam cervicibus imminet: et extrema quaequae orbi Christiano et internectionem religioni, frustra illi quidem (neque enim Christi Servatoris nostri potentia humanis armis vinci potest) sed nobis non sine capitali periculo minatur, et ita minatur ut hoc Christianae reipublicae statu (quae vel mali omnis causa vitandi, vel ne qui se perstringi putent, cum Byzantio haud confero) minae eius a nemine cordato contemni queant. Sin aliqui ita stupent, ut haec aut non intelligant, aut, si intelligunt, non curent, aut, si curent, non in eo pro virili elaborent, omnibus privatis contentioneibus omissis, ut incolumitati nostrae consulatur, evidens indignationis divinae contra nos et urgentis scelera nostra vindictae, quod auctor hic noster [Gregoras] crebro queritur, argumentum id esse videatur.

Equidem inter convertendum hos scriptores, cum ad Imperatorum in fungendo munere oscitantiam, tenacitatem in necessariis, profusiones in supervacuis, et intestina bella:

provinces, torn away from the body (so to speak) of the whole Empire, was subject part to the Popes, part to foreign nations. Then followed also religious disagreements, disputes, plots, open wars, and even the use of different names for both peoples. For the Byzantines called themselves Romans, and their rulers ῥωμαίων βασιλέας; but the other Christian peoples and kings, who recognised the authority of the Roman Pope, those they indiscriminately called Latins, and by these the Byzantines were in turn called Greeks.<sup>389</sup>

[...] For the same enemy that subdued, devastated, destroyed the once prosperous provinces of Asia and Greece hangs over our necks too, with all the extreme threats which he makes to the Christian world and the slaughter with which he threatens the religion; as for the latter he threatens it in vain (for the power of Christ our Saviour cannot be vanquished by human weapons), but us he threatens with mortal danger, and threatens so much that, in this condition of Christendom (which I do not compare to that of Byzantium, whether in order to avoid an ill omen or so that nobody feels reproached), his threats cannot be underestimated by any judicious person. If on the other hand some are so confounded as not to understand this, or, if they understand it, not to care about it, or, if they care about it, not to labour over it to the best of their ability, leaving aside all private disputes in order to take care of our safety, let what this author of ours bewails be evident proof of divine indignation against us and of the vengeance that weighs down on our crimes. In fact when, while translating these writers, I had come across the emperors' negligence in discharging their duty, parsimony in necessary expenses and prodigality in

<sup>389</sup> My translation.

procerum vero et ducum perfidiam ac temeritatem: religiosorum inscitiam, et de lana caprina rixas: populique petulantiam et ignaviam: omnium denique ordinum extrema probra pervenisse: contraque Turcorum maiorem fidem, maiorem integritatem, fortitudinem, clementiam, virtutes ipsorum hostium elogiis celebratas, legissem: ita sum animo commotus, ut Turcos imperio longe digniores iudicarem: et fecem ac sentinam illam nefariorum hominum tamdiu fuisse incolumem, nec citius oppressam esse, mirarer potius quam miserarer. Etsi ad commiserationem clades illae et florentissimi potentissimique quondam Imperii ruina et Christianae religionis e tot amplissimis provinciis profligatio, vel saxa commovere possint, nostros autem homines simili statu rerum, nec illorum misericordia nec similis exitii metu commoveri sit mirandum, nec desperandum tamen fore multos qui his non modo ad voluptatem, sed etiam ad publicam utilitatem legendis, tuum [Anton Fugger] consilium laudaturi et inter cetera ornamenta quam plurima numeraturi sint, qui illustri monumento posteris etiam consultum volueris, et multorum animos, his operibus in publicum editis, ad patriae defensionem maiore studio suscipiendam excitaris.<sup>390</sup>

superfluous ones, and civil wars, or the aristocrats's and commanders's faithlessness and rashness, the clergy's ignorance and quarrels over matters of no importance, and the people's impudence and laziness, in a word the greatest misdeeds of every class, and when on the contrary I had read of the Turks's greater faithfulness, greater integrity, courage, clemency, virtues that were celebrated by the praise of their very enemies, I was so unsettled that I judged the Turks far worthier of the empire, and marvelled - rather than pitied - that such dregs and rabble of people remained unharmed for so long and were not crushed sooner. Although those disasters, and the ruin of an Empire that once was most prosperous and powerful, and the destruction of the Christian religion from so many very large regions, could move even stones to commiseration, and although it is astonishing that our men, who are in a similar condition, are moved neither by compassion for them nor by fear of a similar death, still one must not despair that there will be many who, by reading these authors not only for their own leisure but also for the public good, will praise your wisdom and count them among your very many achievements, you who have wanted your deliberation to be a conspicuous admonishment for posterity and have stirred the souls of many, by publishing these works, to undertake the defence of the fatherland with greater zeal.<sup>390</sup>

**n°07 Dedication letter (Chalkokondyles) [A<sup>1</sup>r-A<sup>1</sup>v]:**

*Ioan. Oporinus [...] Basileæ, ex officina nostra typographica, Anno Salutis humanæ M.D.LXII. Mense Iulio. [...] AMPLISS. AC GENEROSIS VIRIS, MAR- || CO ET IOANNI FVGGERIS, GERMANIS ||* fratribus, Kirchpergæ & Vueissenhorni Dominis, &c. præ- || cipuis bonarum literarum patronis, Ioan. || Oporinus S.

<sup>390</sup> My translation.



*HISTORIA*  
**DEGLI IMPERATORI**  
**GRECI,**  
**DESCRITTA DA NICETA**

*ACOMINATO DA CHONE*

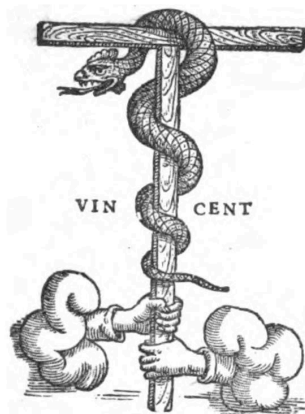
Gran Secretario dell'Imperio, & Giudice  
di Velo in XIX. Libri:

*Li quali seguono, doue lascia il Zonara, dal M. CXVII. fino al M. CCIII.  
nel qual tempo si uede la declinatione del Imperio.*

A questi sono aggiunti **GLI ANNALI** degli  
Imperatori di Constantinopoli

*Con l'Historia delle parti dell'Oriente scritta da HAITHONE  
parente del Re d'Armenia*

Tradotti in lingua Italiana da M. **IOSEFFE** Horologi.  
**CON PRIVILEGIO.**



**IN VENETIA, Appresso Vincenzo Valgrisi.**  
**M. D. LXII.**

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Reproduction [n°08]: Google Books, Munich, BSB copy.

**CODE:** n°08

**AUTHOR/S:** Choniates; Hayton of Corycus; Theophanes [Anastasius Bibliothecarius?]

**SHORT TITLE:** Historia degli Imperatori Greci, descritta da Niceta Acominato da Chone [...]

**IMPRINT:** Venice, Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1562<sup>391</sup>

**EDITOR/S:** Giuseppe Orologi

**DEDICATEE/S:** Matteo Dandolo

**COUNTRY:** Italy

**LANGUAGE:** Italian

**PRIVILEGE:** Venetian Republic ([10 years?] only declared in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** [28], 279, [1] leaves; 4°

**COLLATION:** \*<sup>4</sup> a-f<sup>4</sup> A-Z<sup>4</sup> Aa-Za<sup>4</sup> AA-ZZ<sup>4</sup> AAa<sup>4</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 844531; ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\BVEE\022127 [EDIT16: CNCE 38134]; digitised on Google Books;<sup>392</sup>

**COPIES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: 36 [EDIT16: 61]; GBV GVK: 2; CCFR: 0; UK COPAC: 6

**REMARKS:** First Italian translation of Choniates.

**n°08 Full title:**

HISTORIA || **DEGLI IMPERATORI** || GRECI, || DESCRITTA DA NICETA|| ACOMINATO DA CHONE || Gran Secretario dell'Imperio, & Giudice || di Velo in XIX. Libri: || Li quali seguono, doue lascia il Zonara, dal M.CXVII. fino al M.CCIII. || nel qual tempo si uede la declinatione del Imperio. || A questi sono aggiunti GLI ANNALI degli || Imperatori di Costantinopoli || Con l'Historia delle parti dell'Oriente scritta da HAITHONE || parente del Re d'Armenia || Tradotti in lingua Italiana da M. IOSEPPE Horologi. || CON PRIVILEGIO. || [Device] || In VENETIA, Appresso Vincenzo Valgrisi. || M.D.LXII.

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<sup>391</sup> At the time of writing EDIT16 [followed by USTC: 844529] also reports 4 copies of an edition of Choniates printed by Valgrisi in 1542, not in ICCU OPAC SBN: the description shows some inconsistencies, e.g. the page numbering is inverted in comparison with the original, with the unnumbered pages at the end of the volume, but the bibliographical fingerprints are identical, which is virtually impossible if the pages are not in the same order. I therefore checked with two of the four libraries (Bergamo and Perugia) and verified that in fact this is a cataloguing mistake, suggesting that in all likelihood the remaining copies are also regular 1562 Valgrisi editions. I mention the existence of this cataloguing mistake in the hope of avoiding any further confusion on the matter.

<sup>392</sup>Google Books keyword search: Nicetas Choniates – Giuseppe Orologi, *Historia degli imperatori Graeci*, 1562 (Munich, BSB copy).

**n°08 Dedication letter** [\*<sup>2</sup>r-<sup>4</sup>v]:

*Giuseppe Horolloggi* [...] *In Venetia alli XXI. Di Gennaio del M.D.LXII.* [...] AL PRESTANTISS. || SENATORE, || IL S. MATTHEO DANDOLO, || CAVALIERO ET SAVIO || DEL CONSIGLIO || DIGNISSIMO || Giuseppe Horolloggi.

**n°08.1** [\*<sup>2</sup>r]: ‘[...] ancora che’l Niceta in tutti i scritti suoi si scopra nemicissimo de gli Italiani; nondimeno, doue gli occorre far mentione di Arrigo Dandolo Prencipe della felicissima Republica Venetiana in quei tempi d’infinito valore, non può non dire tutto che ristrettamente, & più che non uorrebbe le lodeuoli imprese fatte da vn tanto Prencipe nel Leuante a beneficio non pur della amata patria, ma ancora di tutto il Christianesimo.’

**n°08.2** [\*<sup>2</sup>v]: ‘[...] non douerà parer strano ad alcuno s’io porgo a V.S. Clarissima come a vero, & natio ramo del medesimo ceppo quella parte, che’l Niceta scriuendo i fatti de gli Imperadori Comneni, non pote, spinto dalla malignità, & dall’odio, ne adombrare, ne lasciar a dietro, ancora che habbia detto una minima parte di quello che hauerebbe potuto dire di vn tant’houmo, & dettolo di modo che da maggior testimonio, essendogli nemico, della uerità & dell’inuitto ualore di quel Prencipe che non gli darebbe per auentura, se hauesse scritto con tanta affettione in fauor suo con quanto sdegno & odio si vede che scrisse.’

**n°08.3** [\*<sup>4</sup>r]: ‘Conosco, che non uerrei mai a fine, s’io volessi discorrere sopra tutti i soggetti, degni di uita immortale, che ha hauuti l’Illustrissima casa Dandolo. Però troncarò l’ali al desiderio di nominarli tutti, e mi fermerò nelle lodi che’l mondo dà al gran ualore di V.S. Clariss. Conosciuto non pure in questa Santissima Rep. ma ancora in Francia doue fu già Ambasciadore al Re Arrigo II. & in Roma a Papa Paolo III.’

**n°08.4** [\*<sup>4</sup>v]: ‘[...] essendo adunque lo splendore dell’Illustrissima casa Dandolo marauiglioso così ne gli huomini, come nelle Donne, non uorrei spinto dall’affettione offuscarlo con le lodi ch’io spiego in questo foglio.’

**n°08 Nota [Choniates]** [F<sup>4</sup>v]:<sup>393</sup> A i Lettori.

**n°08.5** [F<sup>4</sup>v]: ‘Per maggiore, & piu chiara intelligentia dell’Historia del Niceta si douerà hauer consideratione da chi legge, che doue uerranno ricordati i Romani, d’intendere per Romani, i soldati legionarij degli Imperadori tutto che fussero Greci, o di qualsiuoglia altra natione, perche ritennero i soldati il nome de Romani per sempre acquistato da quelle prime legioni che seguitarono l’Imperadore che trasportò l’Imperio da Roma a Costantinopoli, li quali furono per la maggior parte de Romani. ond’ancora che in successione de tempi s’andassero rimettendo le legioni de Greci poi, ouero che i figliuoli & successori de i medesimi Romani delle prime legioni, habitando la Grecia, s’andassero trasformando in Greci natiui, ritenessero nondimeno sempre il nome de Romani; perche come vno era scritto soldato in qualsiuoglia legione era chiamato Romano. Per Romani dunque s’intenderanno i Soldati legionarij che erano al seruitio degli Imperadori. Doue si leggerà poi Italiani, si douerà intendere tutti quei popoli Francesi, Thedeschi, Fiamenghi, Inglesi, & Italiani che passarono all’impresa di Gierusalemme, & della terra di Promissione, chiamati dal Niceta Latini, & trasportato per esprimere la significatione di questa uoce Latini, in Italiani, non potendo trovare termine alcuno che abbracciasse tutte queste nationi insieme. si sarebbe perauentura

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<sup>393</sup> The *notae* to the *Annali* and to Hayton are found at BB<sup>2</sup>v and PP<sup>4</sup>r respectively.

*assai auicinato chi hauesse chiamate tutte queste nationi insieme popoli Occidentali, tutto che non siano tutti quei popoli in Occidente, ma si uede che rimanevano fuori poi gli Italiani che non sono compresi nelle parti Occidentali, oltra che si faceuamo lontani dal significato di questa uoce Latini, onde è stato fatto per giudicio di molti che hanno hauuto opinione che sia meglio trasportar questa uoce in latino, nella sua propria significacione non hauendo termine che esprima generalmente tutte le suddette nationi insieme ancora che impropriamente, non si potendo intender i Thedeschi, gli Inglesi & l'altre nationi per Italiani, che usar un'altra maggior improprietà allontanandosi dal significato di questa uoce latino & lasciare, come si fa il rimanente al prudentissimo giudicio del lettore.'*

**n°08 Nota** [*Annali*] [BB<sup>2</sup>v]:<sup>394</sup> A i lettori.

**n°08.6** [BB<sup>2</sup>v]: '*Perche non è fatto per errore, ma per'electione, parendo a quelli che hanno hauuta la cura di porre insieme queste historie cosa sconueneuole preporre il sommario [i.e., the Annali] tutto che fosse scritto prima, a un'historya continuata & spiegata per ordine, come è quella del Niceta*'.

**n°08.7** [BB<sup>2</sup>v]: '*Legasi dunque con buon animo & piglisi quella informatione de i fatti de Greci, che potrà dar il presente uolume posto insieme, & dato alle stampe con pura intentione di giouare a quelli, che si diletmano della utilissima lettione della historia & massimamente di que la che contiene i fatti de gli Imperadori Greci*'.

**n°08.8** [BB<sup>2</sup>v]: '*a fin che piu ageuolmente s'habbia piena contezza dell'historya del Niceta, sapendo in qual Regno o Provincia siano le città assediate, [...] & dove siano i fiumi & i monti nominati: cose tutte necessariissime, per posseder a pieno le cose contenute nell'historye*'.

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<sup>394</sup> The *notae* to the *Annali* and to Hayton are found at BB<sup>2</sup>v and PP<sup>4</sup>r respectively.

R-134102

LA  
HISTORIA  
DE GLI IMPERATORI  
GRECI,

DI NICETA ACOMINATO DA CHONE

Gran Secretario & Giudice di Velo.  
Et d'altri Scrittori.

NELLA QUALE SI CONTENGONO

le cose di Costantinopoli, cominciando doue lascia  
il Zonara fino all'anno MCCCCLIII.  
che fu presa la predetta Città  
da gli Ottomani.

CON AGGIUNTA DI NUOVO  
del passaggio di Terra Santa d'Aithone Armeno.

ET CON LA TAVOLA DELLE COSE NOTABILI,  
che si contengono in quest'opera.

CON PRIVILEGIO



IN VENETIA.

Hosted by Google

Reproduction [n°09]: Google Books, Madrid, BUC copy.

**CODE:** n°09

**AUTHOR/S:** Choniates; Hayton of Corycus

**SHORT TITLE:** La Historia degli Imperatori Greci, di Niceta Acominato da Chone  
[...]

**IMPRINT:** Venice, [Francesco Sansovino, 1562]

**EDITOR/S:** Sebastiano Fausto da Longiano; Francesco Sansovino

**DEDICATEE/S:** Giovanni Bettignoli

**COUNTRY:** Italy

**LANGUAGE:** Italian

**PRIVILEGE:** Venetian Republic ([10 years?] only declared in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** [4], 111, [1]; 32 leaves; 4°

**COLLATION:** a<sup>4</sup> A-Z<sup>4</sup> AA-EE<sup>4</sup>, <sub>2</sub>A-H<sup>4</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 844527; ICCU OPAC SBN:  
IT\ICCU\BVEE\011192 [EDIT16: CNCE 31073]; digitised on Google Books<sup>395</sup>

**COPIES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: 16 complete, 4 part II only (Hayton's *Flor*) [EDIT16: 17  
complete, 2 part I only (Choniates), 5 part II only]; GBV GVK: 1; CCFR: 3; UK  
COPAC: 1

**REMARKS:** Second Italian translation of Choniates. One variant in circulation:  
alternative paratext and no appendix.

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<sup>395</sup> Google Books keyword search: Nicetas Acominatus, *La historia de gli imperatori greci, di Niceta Acominato da Chone*, 1562 (Madrid, BUC copy).

DELLA  
**HISTORIA**  
DI NICETA CONIATE  
DELLE COSE DELL'IMPERIO  
DI COSTANTINOPOLI  
LIBRO VII.

NE' QUALI SI CONTENGONO I FATTI  
de gl'Imperatori Greci, cominciando da Alessio Comneno  
doue lascia il Zonara, fin'all'anno M CCCC LVII  
nel qual fu presa quella Città da  
Mahomet Secondo.

CON LE POSTILLE A SVOI LVOGHI  
*dinotanti le cose di maggiore importanza.*

Et con molte altre cose vtili & necessarje a Lettori.

H. I. CON PRIVILEGIO. *V. Labuffe*



IN VENETIA.

Digitized by Google

Reproduction [n°09/B]: Google Books, Munich, BSB copy.

**CODE:** n°09/B variant (reissue)

**AUTHOR/S:** Choniates

**SHORT TITLE:** Della Historia di Niceta Coniate [...]

**IMPRINT:** Venice, [Francesco Sansovino, 1562]

**PRIVILEGE:** Venetian Republic ([10 years?] only declared in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** [4], 111, [1] leaves; 4°

**COLLATION:** \*<sup>4</sup> A-Z<sup>4</sup> AA-EE<sup>4</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 844527; ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\BVEE\015381 [EDIT16: CNCE 31070]; digitised on Google Books<sup>396</sup>

**COPIES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: 19 [EDIT16: 31]; GBV GVK: 1; CCFR: 1; UK COPAC: 3

**n°09 Full title:**

LA || **HISTORIA** || DE GLI IMPERATORI || GRECI, || DI NICETA ACOMINATO DA CHONE || Gran secretario & Giudice di Velo. || Et d'altri Scrittori. || NELLA QVALE SI CONTENGONO || le cose di Costantinopoli, cominciando doue lascia || il Zonara fino all'anno MCCCCLIII. || che fu presa la predetta Città || da gli Ottomani. || CON AGGIVNTA DI NVOVO || del passaggio di Terra Santa d'Aithone Armeno. || ET CON LA TAVOLA DELLE COSE NOTABILI, || che si contengono in quest'opera. || CON PRIVILEGIO. || [Device] || IN VENETIA.

[**colophon:** IN VENETIA, || APPRESSO FRANCESCO SANSOVINO. || MDLXII]

**n°09/B Full title (variant):**

DELLA || **HISTORIA** || DI NICETA CONIATE || DELLE COSE DELL'IMPERIO || DI COSTANTINOPOLI || LIBRI VII. || NE' QVALI SI CONTENGONO I FATTI || de gl'Imperatori Greci, cominciando da Alessio Comneno || doue lascia il Zonara, fin'all'anno MCCCCLVII || nel qual fu presa quella Città da || Mahomet Secondo. || CON LE POSTILLE A SVOI LVOGHI || dinotanti le cose di maggiore importanza. || Et con molte altre cose vtili & necessarie a Lettori. || CON PRIVILEGIO. || [Device] || IN VENETIA.

[**colophon:** IN VENETIA, || APPRESSO FRANCESCO SANSOVINO. || MDLXII]

**n°09 Dedication letter** [\*<sup>2</sup>r-<sup>3</sup>v]:

*Francesco Sansovino*, [undated] AL MAGNANIMO || ET VALOROSO SIG. || CAVALIERE, || IL SIG. GIOVANNI BIZZIGNOLO || DA BRESCIA || GENTIL'UOMO TREVISANO. || Francesco Sansovino.

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<sup>396</sup> Google Books keyword search: Nicetas Choniates, *Della Historia delle cose dell'Imperio di Constantinopoli Libri VII*, 1562 (Munich, BSB copy).

**n°09.1** [\*<sup>2</sup>r]: '[...] ella [la storia] non solamente fa vedere altrui, quasi come in chiarissimo specchio, le cose de nostri passati, ma rendendogli aueduti & desti nelle presenti, li conduce molte volte a far giuditio delle future, non tanto nelle materie che noi trattiamo co[n]cernenti al benefitio comune, quanto in quelle ancora che son maneggiate da gl'altri'.

**n°09.2** [\*<sup>2</sup>r-<sup>2</sup>v]: 'Et in somma non è auenuto cosa notabile in questo Mondo, che non si truoui descritta nelle Historie. [...] Percioche in questa si contengono strani, & diuersi accidenti intorno alle cose dell'Imperio di Constantinopoli, non meno marauigliosi in qualche parte di quel che si fossero quelli a Roma, ne tempi di Tiberio, di Nerone, & di qualunque altro somigliante a predetti. Perche gl'ingegni Greci de nostri tempi (che de gl'antichi io non parlo) si come sono stati in molte lor cose volubili & vani, cosi cacciandosi i loro Imperatori l'un l'altro di stato, hanno aperto la strada alle forze de gli Ottomani, accioche rouinando poi quell'Imperio, venissero a quel colmo di grandezza, nelqual noi gli vediamo al presente'.

**n°09.3** [\*<sup>3</sup>r]: '[...] si considera la sua presenza Reale, piena d'vna certa veneranda Maestà, piu tosto meritovole, o di Capitano Generale, o di Principato, che d'altra fortuna priuata, si vede che la natura ha co[n]ueneuolmente acco[m]pagnato con la bellezza del corpo il suo nobile & alto intelletto, [...] percioche [...] nessuno altro della Sua Patria le mette piè innanzi'.

**n°09.4** [\*<sup>3</sup>v]: '[...] le lodi che si conuengono a suoi molti meriti, nelle quali io non voglio distendermi al presente piu oltre, perch'io sò che la sua modestia è tale, ch'ella piu tosto ha piacer d'operare, che d'udir le sue lodi'.

**n°09 Nota** [\*<sup>4</sup>r-<sup>4</sup>v]: FRANCESCO SANSOVINO || A LETTORI.

**n°09.5** [\*<sup>4</sup>r-<sup>4</sup>v]: 'Io haveua deliberato di aggiugner alcune cose mie a questa opera, lequali erano molto notabili, come sarebbe l'Entrate di quei te[m]pi che cauauano gl'Imperatori di quello stato. I Magistrati di Constantinopoli, cosi ciuili, come criminali. La discription di tutta quella Città, di fuori, & di dentro. Le cose d'Aitone Armeno dell'Oriente, con molte altre materie ch'io sò che ui sarebbero state grate, & però ne' titoli della presente opera io haueua messo nel fine, parte descritte dal Niceta, & parte da Francesco Sansouino, uolendo intender le predette ch'erano mie fatiche, **ma hauendo io saputo che lo honorando M. Vincenzo Valgrisi ha fatto tradurre il medesimo Niceta, con le cose dell'Aitone, & non volendo io fargli torto, ho uoluto ch'esca fuori solamente la presente parte che fu altre uolte tradotta dal Fausto da Longiano, il quale ancora che fosse persona letterata, non haueua però quanto allo stile quella bellezza, & quegl'ornamenti che soglion piacere altrui nelle scritte; ma scriuendo concisamente, non osseruaua regole, ne modo ueruno elegante, & purgato. Egli è ben vero che douendo io metter le cose mie, come per aggiunta a quelle sue, mi sono affaticato molto intorno alla presente Historia a raconciarla, attento ch'egli la haueua parafrasticata in molti luoghi, & rassettando le cose della lingua, & in gran parte molti uocaboli, la ho ridotta al termine che uoi uedete. Laquale, ancora ch'ella ritenga alquanto della frasi del Longiano, però è piena di molte cose notabili quantunque ristrette.'**

**n°09.6** [\*<sup>4</sup>v]: 'Vn'altra uolta poi, piacendo al Signore, a migliore occasione ui darò le cose promesse di sopra, & forse nel fine delle Historie mie de Turchi, le quali io mi apparecchio di ristampare.'



HISTORIE  
DI GIOVANNI  
ZONARA MONACO,

DILIGENTISSIMO SCRITTORE GRECO;  
DAL COMINCIAMENTO DEL MONDO INSINO  
ALL'IMPERADORE ALESSIO CONNENO;

DIVISE IN TRE LIBRI,  
TRADOTTE NELLA VOLGAR LINGVA  
DA M. LODOVICO DOLCE;

CON VNA TAVOLA DELLE COSE, CHE IN ESSE  
si contengono, separatamente per ciascuna parte.



CON PRIVILEGIO.



IN VINEGIA APPRESSO GABRIEL  
GIOLITO DE' FERRARI.  
M D LXIII.

Reproduction [n°10]: personal copy.

**CODE:** n°10

**AUTHOR/S:** Zonaras

**SHORT TITLE:** Historie di Giovanni Zonara [...]

**IMPRINT:** Venice, Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari, 1564<sup>397</sup>

**EDITOR/S:** Lodovico Dolce

**DEDICATEE/S:** Giovanni Battista Brembati; Emilia Brembati Solza; Isotta Brembati Grumelli

**COUNTRY:** Italy

**LANGUAGE:** Italian

**PRIVILEGE:**<sup>398</sup> Venetian Republic: 15 years

**DESCRIPTION:** [16], 259, [1]; [16], 291, [1]; [16], 261, [3] pages; 4°

**COLLATION:** \*<sup>8</sup> A-P<sup>8</sup> Q<sup>10</sup>; <sub>2</sub>\*<sup>8</sup> AA-RR<sup>8</sup> SS<sup>10</sup>; <sub>3</sub>\*<sup>8</sup> AAA-QQQ<sup>8</sup> RRR<sup>2</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 864428; ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\LIAE\000947 [EDIT16: CNCE 48583]; BONGI 1895, II, 194-196

**COPIES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: 10 [EDIT16: 19]; GBV GVK: 1; CCFR: 1; UK COPAC: 1

**REMARKS:** Second Italian translation of Zonaras. Five variants in circulation: later reissues (including four counterfeit reissues)

**CODE:** n°10/B variant (variant imprint)

**IMPRINT:** Venice, Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari, 1565 [IN VINEGIA APPRESSO GABRIEL || GIOLITO DE' FERRARII || MDLXV]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\LIAE\000947; BONGI 1895, II, 194

**COPIES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: 2 (Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale; Piacenza, Biblioteca comunale Passerini-Landi)

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<sup>397</sup> One copy of this Giolito de Ferrari edition seems to survive with the title-page of the 1560 Venice edition by Lodovico degli Avanzi [n°04]. I have not been able to examine this particular copy (Bergamo, Biblioteca del Clero di S. Alessandro in Colonna), but if I am to rely on ICCU OPAC SBN [IT\ICCU\LO1E\029858] the description of the remaining part of the book matches perfectly that of the 1564 Giolito edition. The most likely explanation seems to be that at one point someone recovered a title-page from a copy (presumably incomplete) of Avanzi's 1560 edition and pasted it on top of this 1564 Giolito edition, which presumably lacked only the title-page.

<sup>398</sup> See NUOVO – COPPENS 2005, 420-421. The date the privilege was granted is unknown, but the request letter is dated 29/11/1561.



**LA PRIMA PARTE  
DELL'HISTORIE DI  
GIOVANNI ZONARA,  
CONSIGLIERE SVPREMO,**

& Capitano dell'imperial guardia di Costantinopoli;  
NELLA QVALE, COMINCIANDOSI DAL PRIN-  
cipio della creation del mondo, & discorrendosi per tutte l'histoire de gli  
Hebrei, si vien fino alla destruction di Gierusalem.

TRADOTTA DA M. LODOVICO DOLCE,  
ET NVOVAMENTE RISTAMPATA,  
*et riscontrata co' testi Greci, et migliorata da*

*M. AGOSTINO FERENTILLI.*

CON VNA COPIOSA TAVOLA DI  
*tutte le materie et casi notabili, che si contengono nella presente opera.*

E QUESTA E' LA PRIMA PARTE  
dell' historie de gl' Imperatori Greci.  
CON PRIVILEGI.



✠ M D L X X I I . ✠

Digitized by Google

**CODE:** n°10/C (counterfeit reissue)

**AUTHOR/S:** Zonaras

**SHORT TITLE:** La prima [-terza] parte dell'Historie di Giovanni Zonara [...]

**IMPRINT:** Venice, Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1570

**EDITOR/S:** Lodovico Dolce; Agostino Ferentilli

**DEDICATEE/S:** Angelo Paluzzi Albertoni; Girolamo Godi; Pietro Paolo Mignanelli;  
Giulio Capra

**COUNTRY:** Italy

**LANGUAGE:** Italian

**PRIVILEGE:** Venetian Republic (applies the same privilege of n°10)

**DESCRIPTION:** [18], 259, [1]; [18], 291, [1]; [18], 261, [3] pages; 4°

**COLLATION:** \*<sup>4</sup>χ<sup>5</sup> A-P<sup>8</sup> Q<sup>10</sup>; <sub>2</sub>\*<sup>4</sup>χ<sup>5</sup> AA-RR<sup>8</sup> SS<sup>10</sup>; <sub>3</sub>\*<sup>4</sup>χ<sup>5</sup> AAA-QQQ<sup>8</sup> RRR<sup>2</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 864429; ICCU OPAC SBN:  
IT\ICCU\BVEE\018800 [EDIT16: CNCE 26761]; BONGI 1895, II, 194-196;

**COPIES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: 5 [EDIT16: 9]; GBV GVK: 0; CCFR: 2; UK COPAC: 2

**CODE:** n°10/D variant (counterfeit reissue of n°10, variant imprint of n°10/C)

**IMPRINT:** Venice, Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1571

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 864430; ICCU OPAC SBN:  
IT\ICCU\BVEE\018800; [EDIT16: CNCE 58584]; BONGI 1895, II, 194-196

**COPIES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: 3 [EDIT16: 3]; GBV GVK: 0; CCFR: 1; UK COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°10/E variant (counterfeit reissue of n°10, variant imprint of n°10/C)

**IMPRINT:** Venice, Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1572

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 864431; ICCU OPAC SBN:  
IT\ICCU\BVEE\018800 [EDIT16: CNCE 26891]; BONGI 1895, II, 194-196;  
digitised on Google Books<sup>399</sup>

**COPIES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: 5 [EDIT16: 8]; GBV GVK: 0; CCFR: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°10/F variant (counterfeit reissue of n°10/B, variant imprint of n°10/C)

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<sup>399</sup> Google Books keyword search: Ioannes Zonaras, *La prima [-terza] parte dell'histoire di Giouanni Zonara*, 1572 (Rome, BNC copy). The 1572 reissue is identical to the 1570 counterfeit reissue in all but the imprint.

**IMPRINT:** Venice, Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1570

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** ICCU OPAC SBN:  
IT\ICCU\BVEE\018800

**COPIES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: 0 [EDIT16: 0]; GBV GVK: 0; CCFR: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**n°10 Full title:**

HISTORIE || **DI GIOVANNI** || ZONARA MONACO, || DILIGENTISSIMO SCRITTORE GRECO; || DAL COMINCIAMENTO DEL MONDO INSINO || ALL'IMPERADORE ALESSIO CONNENO: || DIVISE IN TRE LIBRI, || TRADOTTE NELLA VOLGAR LINGVA || DA M. LODOVICO DOLCE; || CON VNA TAVOLA DELLE COSE, CHE IN ESSE || si contengono, separatamente per ciascuna parte. || CON PRIVILEGIO. || [Device] || IN VINEGIA APPRESSO GABRIEL || GIOLITO DE' FERRARI. || MDLXIII.

**n°10/C Full title:**

**LA PRIMA [-TERZA] PARTE** || DELL'HISTORIE DI || GIOVANNI ZONARA, || **CONSIGLIERE SVPREMO**, || & Capitano dell'imperial guardia di Costantinopoli; || NELLA QVALE, COMINCIANDOSI DAL PRIN- || cipio della creation del mondo, & discorrendosi per tutte l'historic de gli Hebrei, || si uien fino alla destruttion di Gierusalem. || TRADOTTA DA M. LODOVICO DOLCE, || ET NVOUAMENTE RISTAMPATA, || & riscontrata co' testi Greci, & migliorata da || M. AGOSTINO FERENTILLI. || CON VNA COPIOSA TAVOLA DI || tutte le materie & casi notabili, che si contengono nella presente opera. || E QVESTA È LA PRIMA PARTE || dell'historic degl'Imperadori Greci. || CON PRIVILEGI. || [Device] || IN VINETIA APPRESSO GABRIEL || GIOLITO DI FERRARI || MDLXX.

**n°10/D Imprint (variant):**

[IN VINETIA APPRESSO GABRIEL || GIOLITO DI FERRARI || MDLXXI.]

**n°10/E - Imprint (variant):**

[IN VINETIA APPRESSO GABRIEL || GIOLITO DI FERRARI || MDLXXII.]

**n°10 Dedication letter [v.I] [\*<sup>2</sup>r-<sup>3</sup>v]:**

*Lodouico Dolce* [...] *Di Venetia Il primo di Decembre. MDLXIII.* [...] AL MAGN. ET ILLVSTRE || SIGNOR CONTE, || IL S. GIOVAMBATTISTA BREMBATO, || COLONELLO DELLA SERENISSIMA || E CATHOLICA MAESTA'.

**n°10.1** [\*<sup>2</sup>r-<sup>2</sup>v]: *‘Questi tre volumi sono senza fallo alcuno vtilissimi, si per le molte & varie cose, che in quelli si contengono, e si per la breuità da lui usata, profitteuole specialmente a coloro, che occupati ne' maneggi publici, o nelle cure priuate, non hanno tempo di poter volgere i grandi libri; & a coloro etiandio, che*

*non molto abbondano di memoria. Egli adunque hauendo l'occhio a così fatto fine, lesse con molta diligenza, quanti Scrittori non meno Greci, che Latini, hanno lasciato Historie: e studiando alla breuità, ci ha posto innanzi un conuito più tosto di ottime, che di moltissime vivande, per non infastidire per molta satietà i Lettori, ma per lasciarli sodisfatti e ricordeuoli più della scelta, che della quantità delle cose, ch'egli si pose a trattare.'*

**n° 10.2** [\*<sup>2</sup>v]: *'Ho preso ardire d'honorarla [i.e., quest'opera] col nome di V.S. Illustrre non solo per nobiltà e gradi, ma per virtù scelte e singolari. Percioche l'antichissima casa di V.S. è non solo una delle più nobili della celeberrima e tanto fedele e diuotissima a questa eccelsa Republica Città di Bergamo, ma di tutta Italia. [...] Eccellente in adoperar la penna, che la spada, in guisa, che si veggono, essere usciti, & uscir di continuo dal suo alto e felice ingegno, versi e prose di sommissima perfettione. Che dirò della integrità, e fortezza del suo candido e ben composto animo?'*

**n° 10.3** [\*<sup>3</sup>r]: *'Io non tocco qui parimente la fortezza incomparabile, con che V.S. ha sostenuto la indegna e lagrimeuole morte del suo grande & innocente fratello: della quale s'è doluta non solamente la sua patria, e questa città, ma ancora tutta Italia. E certo in tutte le Historie non si legge congiura di questa né più crudele, né più scelerata: come che fino a qui buona parte de'congiurati in publica giustitia n'habbiano portate le debite pene.'*

**n° 10 Dedication letter [v.II]** [<sub>2</sub>\*<sup>2</sup>r-<sub>2</sub>\*<sup>3</sup>v]:

*Lodouico Dolce [...] Di Venetia A trenta di Novembre. MDLXIII. [...] ALLA MAGNIFICA ET || VALOROSA SIGNORA || LA SIG. EMILIA BREMBATA, || SOLZA ,|| GIA' CONSORTE DEL MAGNIFICO || ET ECCELLENTE SIGNOR D. || EZECHIELLO SOLZA.*

**n° 10.4** [<sub>2</sub>\*<sup>2</sup>r-<sub>2</sub>\*<sup>2</sup>v]: *'Grande obbligo veramente ha la nostra età [...], alla benignità de' cieli: i quali non solo ui ci hanno prodotti huomini in tutte le facultà illustri: [...] ma un gran numero di Donne in ogni sorte di uirtù eguali a quelle rare antiche [...]. Delle quali rarissimo e nobilissimo esempio nella persona di Vostra Signoria si uede. La quale essendo dotata di alto senno, di matura prudenza, [...] nella facultà della eloquenza si può con uerità dire, che sia non pur simile alla Romana Cornelia; madre de' Gracchi; ma a qual si uoglia antico, e moderno Oratore. [...] si è dimostro nella nostra città [...], in materia della scelerata e miserabile uccisione del non mai lodato a bastanza Signor Conte, il S. Achille Brembato, suo fratello. Che, quantunque questo empio e lagrimoso accidente per se stesso fosse atto a mouere i Mezentii & i Neronii a compassione, considerandosi la bontà, la sincerità e la innocenza di quel gentile, gratioso, & amabile Signore; la scelerataggine de' percussori, e la qualità del luogo e del tempo: nondimeno fu tale, e tanta la uiua forza della eloquenza delle sue prudenti parole, che con istupore di ciascuno trasse le lagrime de' gli occhi a tutti quei grauissimi e sapientissimi padri, di maniera, che poi per la città si sparse verissima fama, che Cicerone non haurebbe potuto orar meglio.'*

**n° 10.5** [<sub>2</sub>\*<sup>3</sup>r]: *'Alla cui infinita humanità e cortesia io conosco grandemente esser tenuto se poi che amendue [Giacomo and Girolamo Solza] il mossero a honorar della sua presenza il mio albergo: e parimente il Signor Giovan Battista [...].'*

**n° 10 Dedication letter [v.III]** [<sub>3</sub>\*<sup>2</sup>r-<sub>3</sub>\*<sup>3</sup>r]:

Lodouico Dolce [...] Di Venetia al primo di Decembre. MDLXIII. [...] ALLA MAGNIFICA ET || VALOROSA SIGNORA || LA SIG. ISOTTA BREMBATA, || GRVMELLA, || CONSORTE DEL MAGNIFICO || CAVALLIERE || IL SIGNOR GIO. GIROLAMO GRVMELLO.

**n°10.6** [<sub>3</sub>\*<sup>2</sup>r-<sup>2</sup>v]: ‘Grande errore ho piu uolte commesso, Magnifica e ualorosa Isotta (e uoglio non senza mia uergogna confessarlo) che leggendo i libri, che contengono le lode delle donne Illustri, io fui non so per qual mia ragione indotto a credere, che essi in molta parte auanzassero il uero: e massimamente, oue di Poesia le commendauano. Percioche io stimaua tra le altre, che Safo, da cui presero nome i versi Safici, non fosse stata si grande in questa facultà, qual la discriuono gli antichi.’

**n°10.7** [<sub>3</sub>\*<sup>2</sup>v]: ‘Ma i nobili e freschi esempi, che si son ueduti, e si ueggono nel nostro secolo, m’hanno fatto auedere del mio errore. Percioche, per tacere la nostra Cassandra Fedele, che fu cosi rara a suoi tempi in tutte le dottrine, che’l dotto Politiano la lodò sommamente in una sua latina epistola a lei scritta: habbiamo ueduto i dotti poemi della Signora Vittoria; Marchesa di Pescara; i quali al giudicio di coloro, che sanno, contendono con quelli del gran Bembo. Appresso si son ueduti quelli della Signora Vittoria da Gambara; in lode della quale scrisse Giulio Camillo, il Tasso, il Guidiccione, il Caro, il Varchi, & esso Bembo.’

**n°10.8** [<sub>3</sub>\*<sup>2</sup>v]: ‘Finalmente si ueggono quelli di V.S. non solamente nella lingua Thoscana, ma nella Spagnuola ancora; nella quale ella senza dubbio uince i propri Spagnuoli, i quali sono piu ricchi (al mio giudicio) d’inuentione, che di numero, e di grandezza di uerso. Ma V.S. è tanto più degna di lode; quanto minore istudio ui pone.’

**n°10 Nota** [<sup>\*8</sup>r]: A I LETTORI.

**n°10.9** [<sup>\*8</sup>r]: ‘Tutti questi tre uolumi sono molto necessari a gli studiosi di lettere. Percioche in ciascuno di loro si contengono cose scelte e cauate da i migliori Historici dell’una e dell’altra lingua. [...] E questo primo puo seruire quasi per commento delle historie, che si contengono nelle sacre lettere. [...] E’ parimenti nel secondo, e nel terzo il presente Autore abondeuole nelle cose de’Romani, e di tutti gl’Imperadori cosi Romani, e Latini, come Greci.’

**n°10/C Dedication letter [v.Ia]** [<sup>\*2</sup>r-<sup>\*3</sup>v]:

Agostino Ferentilli [...] Di Vinetia a i XVI. di Gennaio. MDLXX. [...] ALL’ILLVSTRE || ET MAGNANIMO || SIGNORE, || IL SIGNOR AGNOLO || ALBERTONI. || AGOSTINO FERENTILLI.

**n°10/C.1** [<sup>\*2</sup>v]: ‘sodisfarò ancho all’antico costume di tutti gli scrittori: il quale quasi che conuertitosi in legge, giustamente richiede, che condotta l’opera al desiato fine, si debba mandare in luce sotto protezione di tal Caualiere, che non solamente le rechi ornamento, & splendore; ma che la difenda etiandio dalla inuidiosa maledicenza di quei, che ueggendosi eternamente sepolti nella caligine dell’ignoranza; cercano con la maldicenza, & con le tenebre altrui, mendicatamente procacciarsi luce.’

**n°10/C.2** [<sup>\*2</sup>v-<sup>\*3</sup>r]: ‘ho uoluto fra molti honorati Caualiere, che in questa occasione mi si appresentauano nella mente; far’ elettione solamente di lei, [...] percioche à uoler qui raccontare le qualità sue [...] sarei obligato à far amplissimi discorsi: & à ciò fare, si richiederebbe di gran lunga più dotto, & più felice intelletto del mio.’

**n°10/C Dedication letter (v.Ib) [<sup>\*4</sup>r-<sup>\*4</sup>v]:**

Agostino Ferentilli [...] Di Vinetia a i XXVI. di Gennaio. MDLXVIII. [...] ALL'ILLVSTRE || ET MAGNANIMO || SIGNORE, || IL SIGNOR GIROLAMO || GODDI || CAVALIERE || VICENTINO. || AGOSTINO FERENTILLI.

**n°10/C.3** [<sup>\*4</sup>r-<sup>\*4</sup>v]: *'Et quantunque ogni historia, in qual si uoglia modo scritta, diletti, & gioui; quella nondimeno, che abbraccia uniuersalmente tutti i tempi, & l'impresse di tutte le nationi; è senza dubbio, la più diletteuole, & la più fruttuosa. Questa dirò io, esser la presente historia di Giouanni Zonara, dotto, & illustre scrittore: il quale cominciando dal principio del mondo, descrisse sotto breui, ma chiare Epitome, in un uolume i fatti di tutte le nationi fino a' tempi nostri, che furon sotto Michel Paleologo [sic] Imperador di Costantinopoli; dove non inserisce alcuna cosa souerchia; ma non ui lascia alcun notabil particolare, degno di memoria.'*

**n°10/C.4** [<sup>\*4</sup>v]: *'Intorno à questo Historico hauendomi io non poco affaticato, acciò che in questa nostra lingua fusse ueduto (come in altri ho fatto) espurgato da molti errori: & hauendolo riscontrato co' testi Greci, & migliorato in molti capi; douendolo mandare nuouamente in luce; ho io pensato [...] se del suo chiaro, & honorato nome ui farò nella prima fronte di esso apparire il titolo.'*

**n°10/C.5** [<sup>\*4</sup>v]: *'Ora hauendo io ridotto ancho questo in una particolar collana d'historici Greci moderni, dalla quale è il primo anello, & autore.'*

**n°10/C Dedication letter (v.II) [<sub>2</sub><sup>\*2</sup>r-<sub>2</sub><sup>\*4</sup>v]:**

Agostino Ferentilli [...] Di Venetia a' V. di Decembre. MDLXIX. [...] ALL'ILLVSTRE || ET MAGNANIMO || SIGNORE, || IL S. PIETRO PAOLO MIGNANELLI || CAVALIERE ROMANO. || AGOSTINO FERENTILLI.

**n°10/C.6** [<sub>2</sub><sup>\*2</sup>v]: *'Onde è molto da esser biasimata come falsa la calunnia di quei Sofisti, che diceuano non giouar punto alla succession dell'huomo la nobiltà de' suoi maggiori.'*

**n°10/C.7** [<sub>2</sub><sup>\*3</sup>v]: *'senza dubbio alcuno sarebbe ascenso à quel grado di dignità, di cui non habbiamo in terra il maggiore, ne il più vicino al Signore Dio.'*

**n°10/C.8** [<sub>2</sub><sup>\*4</sup>r]: *'la penna d'Homero hauer maggior' honore apportato ad Achille, che la propria spada.'*

**n°10/C.9** [<sub>2</sub><sup>\*4</sup>v]: *'come indubitata fede può farne il Clarissimo Signor GIOVANNI LIPPOMANI, & dopo S.M. Clarissima, il Signor VALERIO Mazzolano.'*

**n°10/C Dedication letter (v.III) [<sub>3</sub><sup>\*2</sup>r-<sub>3</sub><sup>\*4</sup>r]:**

Agostino Ferentilli [...] Di Venetia, a' XXV. di Nouembre. MDLXIX. [...] ALL'ILLVSTRE || ET ECCELLENTE || SIGNORE, || IL S. CONTE GIVLIO CAPRA. || DOTTORE ET CAVALIERE. || AGOSTINO FERENTILLI.

**n°10/C.10** [<sub>3</sub><sup>\*2</sup>v-<sub>3</sub><sup>\*3</sup>r]: *'& coloro, che nell'una, & nell'altra di queste professioni sono eccellenti, son ueramente Principi, & degni, à cui si commettano gli amplissimi gouerni de gli stati, & de gl'Imperi.'*

**n°10/C.11** [<sub>3</sub><sup>\*3</sup>v]: *'ma se in alcuna cosa mai mi sono affaticato volentieri, oltra la mia consueta profession delle leggi; in questa dell'histoire massimamente m'affatico per procurare che gli studiosi habbiano l'histoire*

*ben corrette, non solo per quel che appartiene à gli errori delle stampe, ma anchora per quel che appartiene alla purità dello stile, & alla fedeltà della tradottione.*'

**n°10/C.12** [<sub>3</sub>\*<sup>3</sup>v-<sub>3</sub>\*<sup>4</sup>r]: *'in che non intendo io di fare alcun pregiudicio al detto S. Dolce, ma solo di mostrar ch'egli hebbe esemplari imperfetti; onde in molti luoghi scorsero molti errori, ho in tal maniera ultimamente affaticandomi intorno alla presente opera; che non mediocre utile spero hauerne recato à coloro, che in questa nostra lingua leggono uolentieri l'histoire.'*

**n°10/C.13** [<sub>3</sub>\*<sup>4</sup>r]: *'à che [honorarla] non solamente m'ha indotto il testimonio della publica uoce delle segnalate qualità sue; ma anchora m'hanno acceso le degne lodi, che di continuo ho sentito dare al gran ualor di V.S. dal nobilissimo & honoratissimo S. VINCENTIO SARACINELLI, & dal gentile, & uirtuoso S. OSTILIO AMATELLI.'*



CORPVS VNIVERSÆ  
HISTORIAE, PRAESER-  
TIM BIZANTINÆ.

*Ioannis Zonaræ Annales, aucti additionibus Georgij Cedreni.*  
*Nicetæ Acominati Chroniata, lib. XIX.*  
*Nicephori Gregoræ lib. XI.*  
*Laonici Chalcocondylæ lib. X. historie Turcicæ.*

In fine etiam additus est locupletissimus rerum Index.



LVTETIÆ,

*Apud Gulielmum Chaudiere, via Iacobæa, sub insigni Temporis.*

1567.

CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIÆ MAIESTATIS.

Digitized by Google

**CODE:** n°11

**AUTHOR/S:** Zonaras (with interpolations from Kedrenos); Choniates; Gregoras; Chalkokondyles

**SHORT TITLE:** Corpus Vniversæ Historiae, praesertim Bizantinae [sic] [...]

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Guillaume Chaudière, 1567

**EDITOR/S:** Hieronymus Wolf; Konrad Clauser; Jean Aymin

**DEDICATEE/S:** Jacques de Saint-André; Anton Fugger; Marcus and Johann Fugger

**COUNTRY:** France

**LANGUAGE:** Latin

**PRIVILEGE** (ā<sup>1v</sup>): France: 5 years (Paris, 16/07/1566; signatory: Sarred; privilege applies from the moment of the first impression, not from the date of issue)

**DESCRIPTION:** [34], 172; 77, [7]; 120, [18] leaves; 2°

**COLLATION:** ā<sup>6</sup> A†-D†<sup>6</sup> E†<sup>4</sup> a-z<sup>6</sup> aa-ee<sup>6</sup> ff<sup>4</sup>; A-O<sup>6</sup>; 2A-Z<sup>6</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 140409 [FB: 55451]; digitised on Google Books<sup>400</sup>

**COPIES:** USTC: 34 (France: 15; Italy: 11; UK: 3; Other: 5); CCFR: 5; GBV GVK: 6 (USTC seems to exclude German copies); ICCU OPAC SBN: 11; UK COPAC: 2

**REMARKS:** First collective edition (unauthorised) of the Byzantine Corpus (Latin translations only) drawn from the *editiones principes* of 1557 and 1562 [n°2, n°3, n°7]. Two variants in circulation: one alternative imprint and one separate circulation of Gregoras/Chalkokondyles.

**CODE:** n°11/B Variant (alternative imprint date in the internal title-pages)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Guillaume Chaudière, 1566/1567

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 140409 [FB: 55451]; ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\BVEE\010514

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 0; CCFR: 1; ICCU OPAC SBN: 2 (at least one copy of combination α) [Italy, Casale Monferrato, ML] and one of combination β) [Italy: Ravenna, ML]); UK COPAC: 0

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<sup>400</sup> Google Books keyword search: *Corpus universae historiae praesertim Bizantinae*, 1567 (Lyon, BM copy).

**CODE:** n°11/C Variant (separate circulation of Gregoras and Chalkokondyles)

**AUTHOR/S:** Gregoras; Chalkokondyles

**FULL TITLE:** Nicephori Gregoræ, Romanæ, hoc est Byzantinæ Historiæ [...]

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Guillaume Chaudière, 1567 [1566]<sup>401</sup>

**PRIVILEGE** (A<sup>1v</sup>): France: 5 years (Paris, 16/07/1566; signatory: Sarred; privilege applies from the moment of the first impression, not from the date of issue)

**DESCRIPTION:** 120, [22] leaves; 2°

**COLLATION:** A-Z<sup>6</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 139996 [FB: 72594]; digitised on Google Books<sup>402</sup>

**COPIES:** USTC: 1 (Spain, Valladolid UL); CCFR: 0; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**n° 11 Full title:**

**CORPVS VNIVERSÆ** || HISTORIAE, PRAESER- || TIM BIZANTINÆ. ||

Ioannis Zonaræ Annales, aucti additionibus Georgij Cedreni. || Nicetæ Acominati Choniatae lib. XIX. ||

Nicephori Gregoræ lib. XI. || Laonici Chalcocondylæ lib. X. historiæ Turcicæ. ||

In fine etiam additus est locupletissimus rerum Index. ||

[Device] || LUTETIÆ, || Apud Gulielmum Chaudiere, via Iacobaea, sub insigni Temporis. || 1567. ||

CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIÆ MAIESTATIS.

**n° 11/C Full title (variant):**

**NICEPHORI GREGORÆ,** || ROMANÆ, HOC EST BYZANTINÆ HISTORIÆ || LIBRI XI.

QVIBVS RES A GRÆCIS IMPERATORIBVS || PER ANNOS CXLV. A THEODORO LASCARI

PRIORE, VSQVE AD || Andronici Palæologi posterioris obitum gestæ, descri- || buntur, & Nicetæ

Acominati Choniatae || παραλειπόμενα supplentur: ||

PRIMUM QUIDEM LIBERALITATE MAGNIFICI ET GENEROSI VIRI || D. Antonij Fuggerij, & c. &

Hieronymi Wolfi labore, græcè latinéque editi, cum Indice copioso: nunc autem || latinè tantum, sed

adhibita prius cum græco diligenti collatione, qua certè non pauca fuerunt emendata. ||

HIS ADIVNXIMVS LAONICI CHALCOCONDYLAE TVRCICAM || historiam, Conrado Clausero

Tigurino interprete: sed recognitam ab eodem, & ad D. Philippi Gundeli exemplar eme[n]datam. Ita

quatuor his scriptoribus, Zonara, Choniate, Gregora, || Chalcocondyla coniunctis, integrum Byzantinæ

historiæ corpus à Constan- || tino magno ad Constantinum postremum, & Constantinopolim à Tur-

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<sup>401</sup> Given the existence of some variants dated 1566 (see n°11/B), it is possible that some of the copies of Gregoras circulating separately are dated 1566, though I have not succeeded to find any.

<sup>402</sup> Together with n° 11; see above, note 400.

cis occupatam & possessam, habituri sunt studiosi, lingua latina ex- || positum: vt etiam rudibus Græcarum literarum, maiore com- || moditate quàm sumptu consuleretur.

[Device] || LUTETIÆ. || Apud Guilielmum Chaudière, via Iacobæa, sub insigni Temporis. || 1567. [1566.] || CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIÆ MAIESTATIS.

**n° 11 Dedication letter** [ā<sup>2</sup>r]:

*Gulielmus Calderius [...] Lutetia Parisiorum, Idib. Nouemb. 1566 [...] CLARISS. VIRO D. IACOBO A S. ANDRÆA, || PRÆFECTVRÆ LIBELLORVM, SVPPLI- || cum in Curia Parisiensi Præsidi, || Gulielmus Calderius S.*

**n° 11.1** [ā<sup>2</sup>r]: *‘Cum nouam meam officinam librariam, & (vt vocant) prelum bono aliquo auspicio consecrare vellem, Clariſſ.Præs., visum est ab historia incipie[n]dum esse. Itaque consului Franciscum Balduinum, Iuriscons. Clariſſimum, neque vniuersæ historiæ minus quàm iuris ciuilis cognitione nobilem.’*

**n° 11.2** [ā<sup>2</sup>r]: *‘& ex eius consilio collegi compactum hoc veluti corpus historiæ vniuersæ, præsertim Byzantina atque Orientalis: vt quod in Germania seorsim & sparsim editum erat, vno volumine conclusum ederem.’*

**n° 11.3** [ā<sup>2</sup>r]: *‘cúmque postremò Georgij Cedreni farrago prodiisset, quæ lectorem distrahebat, curauit, vt Ioannes Ayminius, homo diligentissimus atque studiosissimus, ex Cedreno repeteret, & Zonara aptè insereret, quod magis desiderabatur: sicuti concinne id factum esse in tertio tomo Zonara lector intelligent.’*

**n° 11.4** [ā<sup>2</sup>r]: *‘Vt autem spero fore, vt hisce maximè temporibus, quibus arma Turcica Occidentem nostrum terrent, gratissima sit lectio huius historiæ Orientalis, sic ego te appelans precabor, vt cuius Nicetæ historiæ ciuile nunc edimus, eiusdem Ecclesiasticam historiam Gallia legere tandem possit beneficio doctissimi tui fratris, qui magni sumptibus, Orthodoxiæ (vt appellatur) Thesaurum ab illo Niceta olim collectum sed nondum in hoc Occidente visum, ex Graecia repetiit, & in linguam Latinam conuerti curauit.’*

CORPVS

# HISTORIAE BYZANTINAE

IN QVO NON SOLVM RES A GRAECIS IMPE-  
RATORIBVS A TEMPORE CONSTANTINI MAGNI, AD CON-  
STANTINVM POSTREMVM, ET CONSTANTINOPOLIM A TVRCIS OCCVPA-  
tam, sed & ab exordio mundi in varijs orbis partibus hinc inde gestæ,  
continua serie, eruditè ac luculenter exponuntur à quatuor  
Scriptoribus Græcis, paucos ante annos latinitate  
donatis, exquisito studio confectum,

quorum:

- I IOANNES ZONARAS, Historia ab exordio mundi deducta Imperatorum Constanti-  
nopol. res gestas à Constantino Magno vsque ad obitum Alexij Comneni tribus Tomis  
describit.
- II Nicetas Acominatus Choniates, LXXXVI. annorum historiam, videlicet ab anno restituta  
salutis circiter M. C. X VII. in quo Zonaras desinit, vsque ad annum M. CC III. Libris XIX.  
tractat.
- III Nicephorus Gregoras Nicetæ Paralipomena supplens, res per annos CX LV. à Theodoro  
Lascari priore, vique ad Andronici Palæologi obitum, ab Imperatoribus Græcis gestas li-  
bris XI. persequitur.
- IIII Laonicus Chalcondyles ab Andronici Iunioris imperio, in quo Gregoras historiam suam  
finiit, exorsus, Græcorum imperij inclinationem, casum, atque interitum, cum commemo-  
ratione originis atque progressus tyrannidis Turcicæ libris X. exactè mirèque ordine ex-  
ponit.

OPVS HOC TEMPORE NON MINVS LECTV NECESSARIV  
quàm iucundum, dum quibus de causis florentissimum Græcorum imperium conciderit, ostendit, at-  
que quomodo in Reipublicæ gubernacula sedent, vtilissimo exemplo ab intestinis emu-  
lationibus atque dissidijs ad mutue coniunctionis et amicitie  
studium reuocat.



FRANCOFVRTI AD MOENVM,  
ANNO M. D. LXVIII.

*Henrici III. Regis Chris-  
tiani. Arum Coll. Lug.  
Sec. S. S. p. f. Emond.  
Aug. 1587. cat. m. f.  
1587*

**CODE:** n°12

**AUTHOR/S:** Zonaras; Choniates; Gregoras; Chalkokondyles

**SHORT TITLE:** Corpus Historiae Byzantinae [...]

**IMPRINT:** Frankfurt, [Peter Schmidt for Hieronymus (*i.e.* Sigmund) Feyerabend],  
1568

**EDITOR/S:** Hieronymus Wolf; Konrad Clauser

**DEDICATEE/S:** Anton Fugger; Marcus and Johann Fugger

**COUNTRY:** Germany

**LANGUAGE:** Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** undetermined (presumed: HRE, 10 years)

**DESCRIPTION:** [6], 181, [13]; 77, [7]; 127, [5] leaves; 2°

**COLLATION:** a<sup>6</sup> A-Z<sup>6</sup> a-g<sup>6</sup> χ<sup>6</sup> χχ<sup>8</sup>; 2A-O<sup>6</sup>; Aa-Yy<sup>6</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 625600 [+ 625599]; VD16: ZV  
3895 [+ ZV 20485]; ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\RMLE\008630; digitised on Google  
Books<sup>403</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 7 [VD16: 12]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 4; CCFR: 4; UK COPAC: 4

**REMARKS:** Second collective edition of the Byzantine Corpus (Latin translations  
only) drawn from the *editiones principes* of 1557 and 1562 [n°2, n°3, n°7]. Two variants  
in circulation: alternative imprints (plus one reprint in 1587: see n°17).

**CODE:** n°12/B variant (reissue)

**IMPRINT:** Frankfurt, [Peter Schmidt for Sigmund Feyerabend], 1574

**PRIVILEGE:** undetermined

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** VD16: ZV 20485

**COPIES:** VD16: 2 (Berlin SL and Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek); Worldcat: 2 (Mainz  
UL, Augsburg SL)

**CODE:** n°12/C variant (reissue)

**AUTHOR/S:** Zonaras; Gregoras; Chalkokondyles; Choniates

**SHORT TITLE:** Historia Imperatorum Romanorum [...]

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<sup>403</sup> Google Books keyword search: *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae*, 1568 (Lyon, BM copy).

# HISTORIA IMPERATORVM ROMANORVM A CONSTAN- TINO MAGNO, QVI PRIMVS IMPERII SEDEM ET

DIGNITATEM EX VRBE ROMA AC ITALIA IN ORIENTEM, ATQVE CON-  
stantinopolim transfulit, vsq; ad Constantinum postremum, & Constantinopolim à Turcis occupatam,  
continua serie rerum ac temporum exposita à quatuor Scriptoribus Græcis, la-  
tinitate ~~et~~ donatis, quorum

I. IOANNES ZONARAS, Historia ab exordio mundi deducta Imperatorum Constantinopol. res  
gestas à Constantino Magno vsque ad obitum Alexij Comneni tribus Tomis describit. II. Nicetas  
Acominatus Choniates, 86. annorum historiam, videlicet ab anno restituta salutis circiter III 7. in  
quo Zonaras desinit, vsque ad annum 1203. Libris 19. tractat. III. Nicephorus Gregoras Nicetæ  
Paralipomena supplens, res per annos 145. à Theodoro Lascari priore, vsque ad Andronici Palæo-  
logi obitum, ab Imperatoribus Græcis gestas libris 11. persequitur. IIII. Laonicus, Chalcondyles  
ab Andronici Iunioris imperio, in quo Gregoras historiam suam finijt, exorsus, Græcorum impe-  
rij inclinationem, casum, atque interitum, cum commemoratione originis atque progressus ty-  
rannidis Turcicæ libris 10. exactè miroque ordine exponit.

OPVS COMPLECTENS ET INSIGNES IN IMPERIO MUTATIONES, ET  
varia Ecclesie certamina presentibus haud dissimilia, ideoq; hoc tempore non minus lectu necessarium, quam iucundum, Dum  
quibus de causis florentissimum ORIENTIS Imperium conciderit, quibusq; dissidijs Ecclesia distracta lacerataq; sit,  
ostendit, animos eorum, qui cum ad Reip. gubernacula sedent, tum verò Ecclesijs presunt, utilissimo  
exemplo ab intestinis emulationibus atq; dissidijs ad mutua coniunctionis  
& amicitie studium reuocat.

In gratiam & utilitatem omnium veritatis amantium nunc denuò editum.



FRANCOVRTI AD MOENVM  
ANNO M. D. LXXVIII. *ker*

*Siber Collegij Omnium  
Animarum Fidelium  
Defunctorum, de Oxon.*

**IMPRINT:** Frankfurt, [Martin Lechler for Hieronymus (*i.e.* Sigmund) Feyerabend],  
1578

**EDITOR/S:** Hieronymus Wolf; Konrad Clauser

**DEDICATEE/S:** Anton Fugger; Marcus and Johann Fugger

**COUNTRY:** Germany

**LANGUAGE:** Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** undetermined (presumed: HRE, 10 years)

**DESCRIPTION:** [4], 181, [13]; 127, [5]; 77, [7] leaves; 2°

**COLLATION:** π<sup>4</sup> A-Z<sup>6</sup> a-g<sup>6</sup> χ<sup>6</sup> χχ<sup>8</sup>; Aa-Yy<sup>6</sup>; A-N<sup>6</sup> O<sup>6</sup>(±O<sup>5</sup>)

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 663163 [+ 663164]; VD16: ZV  
8021 [+ H 3898]; ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\BVEE\063207

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 5 [VD16: 7]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 2; CCFR: 0; UK COPAC: 4

**n°12 Full title:**

CORPVS || **HISTORIAE BYZANTINAE** || IN QVO NON SOLVM RES A GRAECIS IMPE- || -  
RATORIBUS A TEMPORE CONSTANTINI MAGNI, AD CON- || STANTINVM POSTREMVM,  
ET CONSTANTINOPOLIM A TVRCIS OCCVPA- || tam, sed & ab exordio mundi in varijs orbis  
partibus hinc inde gestæ, || continua serie, erudite ac luculenter exponuntur a quatuor || Scriptoribus  
Græcis, paucos ante annos latinitate || donatis, exquisito studio confectum, || quorum: ||

I IOANNES ZONARAS, Historia ab exordio mundi [...]. || II Nicetas Acominatus Choniates, LXXXVI.  
annorum historiam [...]. || III Nicephorus Gregoras Nicetæ Paralipomena supplens, res per annos CXLV.  
[...]. || IIII Laonicus Chalcondyles ab Andronici Iunioris imperio, in quo Gregoras historiam suam ||  
finit, exorsus, Græcorum imperij inclinationem, casum, atque interitum, cum commemo- || ratione  
originis atque progressus tyrannidis Turcicæ libris X. exacte miroque ordine ex- ||-ponit. ||

OPVS HOC TEMPORE NON MINVS LECTV NECESSARIVM, || quam iucundum, dum quibus de  
causis florentissimum Græcorum imperium conciderit, ostendit, ani- || mos eorum qui ad Reipublicæ  
gubernacula sedent, vtilissimo exemplo ab intestinis æmu- || lationibus atque dissidijs ad mutua  
coniunctionis & amicitiaē || studium reuocat. ||

[Device] || FRANCOFURTI AD MOENUM, ANNO M.D.LXVIII.

[colophon: EXCVSVM FRANCOFVRTI AD MOENUM || per Petrum Fabricium, impensis  
Hieronymi || Feierabendi. || ANNO M.D.LXVIII.]

**n°12/B Imprint (variant):**

[colophon: EXCVSVM FRANCOFVRTI AD MOENUM || per Petrum Fabricium, impensis  
Hieronymi || Feierabendi. || ANNO M.D.LXXIII.]

**n°12/C Full title (variant):**

HISTORIA || **IMPERATORVM** || ROMANORVM A CONSTAN- || TINO MAGNO, QUI PRIMVS  
IMPERII SEDEM ET || DIGNITATEM EX VRBE ROMA AC ITALIA IN ORIENTEM, ATQVE  
CON- || stantinopolim transtulit, vsque ad Constantinum postremum, & Constantinopolim a Turcis  
occupatam, || continua serie rerum ac temporum exposita a quatuor scriptoribus Græcis, la- || tinitate ab  
Hieronymo VVolfio donatis, quorum||

I. IOANNES ZONARAS, Historia ab exordio mundi [...]. II. Nicetas || Acominatus Choniates, 86.  
annorum historiam [...]. III. Nicephorus Gregoras Nicetæ || Paralipomena supplens, res per annos 145.  
[...]. IIII. Laonicus, Chalcondyles || ad Andronici Iunioris imperio, in quo Gregoras historiam suam finijt,  
exorsus, Græcorum impe- || rij inclinationem, casum, atque interitum, cum commemoratione originis  
atque progressus ty- || rannidis Turcicæ libris 10. exacte miroque ordine exponit. ||

OPVS COMPLECTENS ET INSIGNES IN IMPERIO MVTATIONES, ET || varia Ecclesiæ certamina  
præsentibus haud dissimilia, ideoque hoc tempore non minus lectu necessarium, quam iucundum, Dum  
|| quibus de causis florentissimum ORIENTIS imperium conciderit, quibusque dissidiis Ecclesia  
distracta lacerataque sit, || ostendit, animos eorum, qui cum ad Reip. gubernacula sedent, tum vero  
Ecclesijs præsumt, utilissimo || exemplo ab intestinis æmulationibus atque dissidijs ad mutua  
coniunctionis || & amicitiaë studium revocat. ||

In gratiam & vtilitatem omnium veritatis amantium nunc denuo editum. ||

[Woodcut] || FRANCOFVRTI AD MOENUM, || ANNO M.D.LXXVIII.

[**colophon:** [Device] || EXCVSVM FRANCOFVRTI AD MOENUM PER || Martinum Lechler,  
impensis Hieronymi || Feierabendi. || ANNO M.D.LXXVIII.]



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# HISTORIA DE

## GL'IMPERATORI GRECI, DESCRITTA DA NICETA

Coniate, gran Secretario, & Giudice di Belo,  
IL QUALE COMINCIA DALL'IMPERIO DI  
*Giouanni Comeno, doue lascia il Zonara, & segue fino alla presa  
di Costantinopoli, che fu l'anno M. CCCC. LIII.*

ALLA QUALE S'E' AGGIUNTA L'HISTORIA  
di Niceforo Gregora, che seguendo il Niceta per l'istesso ordine de gl'Impe-  
ratori Greci; dall'Imperio di Theodoro Lascaro primo, uiene fino  
alla morte di Andronico Paleologo il giouane.

### AMENDVE TRADOTTE DA M. LODOVICO DOLCE,

Et riscontrate co' testi Greci, & migliorate da  
M. AGOSTINO FERENTILLI.



### E QUESTA E' LA SECONDA PARTE dell' historie de gl' Imperatori Greci.

CON PRIVILEGIO.



*C. J. J. J.*



*DE LA MARQUE DE LA VILLE DE LYON*

M D L X V I I I

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Reproduction [n°13]: Google Books, Lyon, BM copy.

**CODE:** n°13

**AUTHOR/S:** Choniates; Gregoras

**SHORT TITLE:** Historia de gl'Imperatori Greci, descritta da Niceta Coniate [...]

**IMPRINT:** Venice, Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari, 1569

**EDITOR/S:** Lodovico Dolce; Agostino Ferentilli

**DEDICATEE/S:** Angelo Ferretti; Domenico Massimo; Carlo Muti

**COUNTRY:** Italy

**LANGUAGE:** Italian

**PRIVILEGE:**<sup>404</sup> Venetian Republic: 20 years

**DESCRIPTION:** [20], 127; [21], 254, [2]; [24], 302, [2] pages; 4°

**COLLATION:** \*\_\*\*4 \*\*\*2 A-H<sup>8</sup>; <sub>2</sub>A-B<sup>4</sup> <sub>2</sub>C<sup>2</sup> a-q<sup>8</sup>; <sub>2</sub>\*-\*\*\*4 <sub>3</sub>A-T<sup>8</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 844532; ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\BVEE\012875 [EDIT16: CNCE 26719]; BONGI 1895, II, 284-286; digitised on Google Books<sup>405</sup>

**COPIES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: 20 complete, 1 parts 1-2 only [EDIT16: 31 complete, 4 parts 1-2 only – for part 3 only, see n°13/C]; GBV GVK: 0; CCFR: 2; UK COPAC: 3

**REMARKS:** Third Italian translation of Choniates, first of Gregoras. Two variants in circulation: one with alternative imprint in the internal title-pages and one separate circulation of Gregoras.

**CODE:** n°13/B variant (alternative imprint in internal title-pages)

**IMPRINT:** Venice, Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari, 1569

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\BVEE\012875 [EDIT16: CNCE 26719]; BONGI 1895, II, 284-286

**COPIES:** OPAC SBN: 1 (Modena, Biblioteca Estense) [EDIT16: 0]

**CODE:** n°13/C variant (separate circulation of Gregoras)

**AUTHOR/S:** Gregoras

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<sup>404</sup> See NUOVO – COPPENS 2005, 427-428. The date the privilege was granted is unknown, but the request letter is dated 26/04/1567.

<sup>405</sup> Google Books keyword search: Nicétas Choniata, *Historia de gl' imperatori greci*, 1570 (Lyon, BM copy - does not contain Gregoras).

**SHORT TITLE:** Historie di Costantinopoli, descritte da Niceforo Gregora [...]

**IMPRINT:** Venice, Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari, 1569 [1570]

**PRIVILEGE:**<sup>406</sup> Venetian Republic: 15 years

**DESCRIPTION:** [24], 302, [2] pages ; 4°

**COLLATION:** \*\_\*\*\*\* A-T<sup>8</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** ICCU OPAC SBN:  
IT\ICCU\LO1E\024313;<sup>407</sup> EDIT16: CNCE 74870;<sup>408</sup> BONGI 1895, II, 285 (Bongi,  
however, does not mention Gregoras's separate circulation)

**COPIES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: 1 (1569), 0 (1570) [EDIT16: 9 (1569), 1 (1570)]; GBV  
GVK: 0; CCFR: 2; UK COPAC: 1

**n°13 Full title:**

**HISTORIA DE** || GL'IMPERATORI GRECI, || **DESCRITTA DA NICETA** || Coniate, gran  
Secretario, & Giudice di Belo,<sup>409</sup> || IL QUALE COMINCIA DALL'IMPERIO DI || Giouanni Conneno,  
doue lascia il Zonara, & segue sino alla presa || di Costantinopoli, che fu l'anno M.CCCC.LIII. ||  
ALLA QVALE S'È AGGIVNTA L'HISTORIA || di Niceforo Gregora, che seguendo il Niceta per  
l'istesso ordine de gl'Impe- || ratori Greci; dall'Imperio di Theodoro Lascaro primo, uiene fino || alla  
morte di Andronico Paleologo il giouane. ||  
AMENDVE TRADOTTE DA || M. LODOVICO DOLCE, || Et riscontrate co' testi Greci, & migliorate  
da || M. AGOSTINO FERENTILLI. || E QVESTA È LA SECONDA PARTE || dell'histoire de  
gl'Imperatori Greci. ||  
CON PRIVILEGIO. || [Device] || IN VINETIA APPRESSO GABRIEL || GIOLITO DI FERRARII. ||  
MDLXVIII.

**n°13/B Imprint (variant):**

[In Vinetia: appresso Gabriel Giolito di Ferrarii. MDLXVIII]

**n°13/C Full title (variant):**

**HISTORIE DI** || COSTANTINOPOLI, || **DESCRITTE DA NICEFORO** || GREGORA, ||  
CHE SEGVE L'HISTORIA DI NICETA ACONIATE, || cominciando dall'Imperio di Theodoro Lascari  
Primo, sin'alla fine dell'Imperio || di Andronico il giouane, che fu l'anno seimila settecento quarantanoue:

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<sup>406</sup> The privilege request for n°13 includes both Choniates and Gregoras.

<sup>407</sup> The ICCU OPAC SBN record refers to a 1569 copy in Milan, Biblioteca Sormani.

<sup>408</sup> The EDIT16 record refers to the single 1570 copy known to exist, in Modena, Biblioteca Estense.

<sup>409</sup> It is interesting to note how in some editions of Choniates (*e.g.* Wolf's *editio princeps*, n°03) one finds the modern pronunciation ('Velo'), whereas in others one finds the blunt transcription, as in this case. Also, in the first edition of the Frankfurt corpus (n°12), the name appears in an internal page (N<sup>1r</sup>) as 'Felo'.

|| NELLE QVALI SI CONTENGONO I FATTI DE || gl'Imperatori Greci, & si ha piena cognitione delle cose di Costantinopoli. ||

Tradotte da m. LODOVICO Dolce; || Et riscontrate co' testi Greci, & migliorate da || M. AGOSTINO FERENTILLI. || E QVESTA È LA TERZA PARTE || dell'histoire de gl'Imperatori Greci. ||

CON PRIVILEGIO. || IN VINETIA APPRESSO GABRIEL || GIOLITO DI FERRARII. || MDLXVIII. [MDLXX.]

**n° 13 Dedication letter [Choniates part I] [<sup>\*2</sup>r-<sup>\*\*1</sup>r]:**

*Agostino Ferentilli [...] Di Vinetia al primo di Decembre. MDLXVIII. [...] AL' ILLVSTRE || ET MAGNANIMO || SIGNORE, || IL SIGNOR ANGELO || FERRETTI || D'ANCONA, || AGOSTINO FERENTILLI.*

**n° 13.1** [<sup>\*2</sup>v]: *'Percioche questi mezi non pur sono consueti; ma etiandio douuti, & necessari, per acquistar la gratia de' Signori, i quali, come sono d'animo nobilissimo & uirtuosissimo, non ricusano mai la lode, che vien data loro, [...] certa cosa è, che V.S. è a' nostri tempi riputata lo specchio, in che tutti gli altri habbiano à mirare quali esser debbiano.'*

**n° 13.2** [<sup>\*2</sup>v]: *'se ben il Niceta è stato comunemente nimico del nome Latino; & però l'ha senza rispetto lacerato, & con parole poco modeste caricato d'infinita calunnie; nondimeno è stato egli così parziale della uostra città di Ancona, che trattandone con ampia & honorata copia di parole, lodandola, & essaltandola.'*

**n° 13.3** [<sup>\*2</sup>v]: *'mostra apertamente che le calunnie date a' Latini, sono state più tosto per colpa d'alcuni scelerati soldati, che non haueuano alcuna riuerenza alle cose sacre, che per passion dell'Auttore.'*

**n° 13.4** [<sup>\*2</sup>v-<sup>\*3</sup>r]: *'benche sotto questo nome di Latini, egli intende tutte le nationi occidentali che passarono all'impresa di terra Santa, cioè Francesi, Tedeschi, Fiamminghi, Englesi, & fra questi (se ben non così propriamente) comprende ancho gl'Italiani; di maniera che le colpe da lui opposte a' Latini, non tornano del tutto à pregiudicio del nome Italiano.<sup>410</sup>*

**n° 13.5** [<sup>\*4</sup>v-<sup>\*\*1</sup>r]: *'io non parlerò delle facultà, che da V.S. in molta copia sono spese in opere pie, uirtuose & heroiche, e in sontuose fabbriche di magnifici palazzi, di superbi giardini, & di uarie altre nobilissime imprese, degne ueramente di Prencipe.'*

**n° 13.6** [<sup>\*\*1</sup>r]: *'amendue lequali essendo state lasciate imperfette dalla buona memoria del S. Lodouico Dolce per la morte che l'ha preuenuto, è piaciuto al molto Magnifico, & Generoso Signor GABRIEL GIOLITO darne il carico à me di tradurle, & cio per continouar la catena dell'histoire, ch'egli ha ritrouata per giouare & dilettere à i ualorosi spirti, & per dar luce con questo bellissimo ordine à quelle historie, & historici, che dianzi stauano sepolti nelle tenebre, & confusamente si leggeuano.'*

**n° 13 Dedication letter [Choniates part II] [<sub>2</sub>A<sup>2</sup>r-<sub>2</sub>A<sup>4</sup>r]:**

*Agostino Ferentilli [...] Di Vinetia à i XV. di Gennaio. MDLXVIII. [...] AL MOLTO ILLVSTRE || ET VALOROSISSIMO || SIGNORE, || IL SIG. DOMENICO || DE' MASSIMI. || AGOSTINO FERENTILLI.*

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<sup>410</sup> Compare with Orologi's *nota*, Appendix A, n°08.5.

**n° 13.7** [<sub>2</sub>A<sup>3</sup>r-<sub>2</sub>A<sup>3</sup>v]: *‘Certo se noi discorriamo intorno à quel ch’appartiene al mistero dell’armi; niuno è che non conosca V.S. Illust. tanto coraggiosa, & ardita, che non può esser punto superata: ma se risguardiamo à gli ornamenti delle scientie, delle quali s’ha ornato l’animo; confesseremo ella esser singolare; tanto che per queste due così utili, & così necessarie professioni unite insieme; V.S. Illust. ne riceue nome di sapiente guerriero.’*

**n° 13.8** [<sub>2</sub>A<sup>3</sup>v]: *‘& per sangue materno dall’Illustrissima Casa CESARINA, deriuata, senza alcuna controuersia, da quell’inuittissimo CESARE; c’hauendo col ualore, & con la prudentia sua acquistato la Monarchia del mondo; lasciò in dubbio, quali più fiorissero in lui, l’armi, ò le lettere.’*

**n° 13.9** [<sub>2</sub>A<sup>3</sup>v]: *‘così ancho non ceda in quest’altro, ch’è di lodarla & essaltarla quanto più si possa, ma non mai pienamente quanto si debba.’*

**n° 13 Nota (Choniates)** [<sup>\*\*\*2</sup>r-<sup>\*\*\*2</sup>v]: A’ LETTORI.

**n° 13 Dedication letter [Gregoras]** [<sub>2</sub>\*<sup>2</sup>r-<sub>2</sub>\*<sup>4</sup>v]:

*Agostino Ferentilli [...] Di Vinetia a i XXVI. di Gennaio. MDLXVIII. [...] ALL’ILLVSTRE || ET GENEROSISSIMO || SIGNORE, || IL SIGNOR CARLO || MVTI. || AGOSTINO FERENTILLI.*

**n° 13.10** [<sub>2</sub>\*<sup>3</sup>r]: *‘rende manifesta fede l’honoratissimo studio di V.S. ricco d’infinita copia di libri di qual si uoglia professione & particolarmente d’historici. Questo interno e particolare amore, che V.S. porta à così gioconda, diletteuole e, & fruttuosa lettione dell’historie; mi ha fatto animo, e incitato à dedicarle & mandarle hora il Niceforo auttor Greco, che scrisse l’historie di Costantinopoli.’*

**n° 13 Nota [Gregoras]** [<sub>2</sub>\*<sup>\*\*\*3</sup>r-<sub>2</sub>\*<sup>\*\*\*4</sup>r]: GABRIEL || GIOLITO || A I LETTORI.

**n° 13.11** [<sub>2</sub>\*<sup>\*\*\*3</sup>r-<sub>2</sub>\*<sup>\*\*\*4</sup>r]: *‘ho uoluto in un medesimo tempo far questa fatica di concatenarle una con l’altra, & anco ordinarle nella nostra stampa in tal modo, che col mezzo di questo nuouo ordine, sarà facil cosa uenire in buona cognitione di tutte l’historie de’ Greci.’*

**n° 13.12** [<sup>\*\*\*4</sup>r]: *‘fra pochi giorni daremo in luce un breue trattato ò uogliam dir discorso di M. AGOSTINO FERENTILLI, di tutte le Monarchie & Imperadori, che sono state dalla creatione del mondo sino a nostri tempi, & insieme con questo sarà unito un libretto della creation del mondo tradotto dal medesimo, che sarà cosa non solamente diletteuole, ma anco di marauigliosa utilità a tutti studiosi.’*



L'HISTOIRE DE  
**LA DECADENCE**  
DE L'EMPIRE GREC, ET  
ESTABLISSEMENT DE CELVY  
des Turcs; Comprise en dix liures, par Nicolas  
Chalcondyle Athenien.

1332

*De la traduction de Blaise de Vigenere.*



A P A R I S,  
Chez Nicolas Chesneau, rue saint Jacques,  
au Chesne verd.

M. D. LXXVII.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

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Reproduction [n°14]: Google Books, Munich, BSB copy.

**CODE:** n°14

**AUTHOR/S:** Chalkokondyles

**SHORT TITLE:** L'Histoire de la Decadence de l'Empire Grec, et Establisement de celui des Turcs; [...] par Nicolas Chalcondyle [...]

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Nicolas Chesneau [jobbing-printer: Claude Bruneval], 1577

**EDITOR/S:** Blaise de Vigenère

**DEDICATEE/S:** Louis Gonzaga-Nevers; Francis Gonzaga-Nevers

**COUNTRY:** France

**LANGUAGE:** French

**PRIVILEGE** (A<sup>1v</sup>): France: 9 years (Paris, 27/02/1577; signatory: Le Cointe)

**DESCRIPTION:** [68], 734, [40] pages; 4°

**COLLATION:** A-H<sup>4</sup> I<sup>2</sup> 2A-Z<sup>4</sup> Aa-Zz<sup>4</sup> Aaa-Zzz<sup>4</sup> Aaaa-Zzzz<sup>4</sup> a-e<sup>4</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 7010 [FB: 9657]; SARAZIN 1997, 41-44; digitised on Google Books<sup>411</sup>

**COPIES:** USTC: 19 (France: 11; Germany: 2; Italy: 0; UK: 1; Other: 5); CCFR: 6; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**REMARKS:** First French translation of Chalkokondyles. Reprinted twice: in 1584 [n°16] and in 1612/1632 [n°19], the latter reprint in two main print-runs and several variants.

**n°14 Full title:**

L' HISTOIRE DE || **LA DECADENCE** || DE L'EMPIRE GREC, ET || ESTABLISSEMENT DE CELVY || des Turcs; Comprise en dix liures, par Nicolas || Chalcondyle Athenien. ||

De la traduction de Blaise de Vignere. ||

[Device] || A PARIS, Chez Nicolas Chesneau, rue saint Iacques, M.D.LXXVII.|| AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

[**colophon:** Acheué d'imprimer pour la pre- || miere edition, le vingt-deuxies- || me d'Auril 1577. par moy Clau- || de Bruneual M. Imprimeur à || Paris.]

**n°14 Dedication letter** [A<sup>2r</sup>-C<sup>3r</sup>]:

*Blaise de Vigenere [...] De Paris ce vingt-neufiesme iour d'Apuril [sic], l'an mil cinq cens soixante dixsept. [...]*

A TRES-HAVT, TRES- || PVISSANT, TRES-ILLVSTRE, || ET MAGNANIME PRINCE, MONSEI- || gneur Ludouic de Gonzague, Duc de Niuer- || nois, & Donzioys, Prince de Manthoüe, || Marquis au

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<sup>411</sup> Google Books keyword search: Laonicus Chalcocondyles – Blaise de Vigenère, *L' Histoire de la decadence de l'empire grec et establisement de celui des Turcs*, 1577 (Munich, BSB copy).

Montferrat, Comte de Rethelois || & d'Auxerre, &c. Pair de France; Cheualier || de l'ordre du Roy; Capitaine de cent Hom- || mes-darmes de ses ordonnances; Gouver- || neur, & Lieutenant general pour sa Maiesté || delà les Monts, & en Italie, || SALVT ET FELICITE PERPE- || TUELLE.

**n° 14.1** [A<sup>3v</sup>]: *'Or l'Empire de Constantinople, ou plus tost le Romain transporté là, (car les Grecs mesmes en voulurent tousiours retenir le nom).'*

**n° 14.2** [A<sup>3v</sup>]: *'Mais les Venitiens avec lesquels ils s'associerent, vindrent à desbaucher leurs bonnes & loüables inte[n]tions.'*

**n° 14.3** [A<sup>4r</sup>- A<sup>4v</sup>]: *'A la verité cest vn vray & pur sacrilege d'appliquer à autre usage, ce qu'une foy a esté co[n]sacré à Dieu.'*

**n° 14.4** [A<sup>4v</sup>]: *'cela ne peut trouuer ny d'excuse enuers luy, ny de couleur & palliation aussi peu à l'endroit des personnes. Car la reprise de Zara n'estoit pas de si grande importance, ne si pressee comme le recouurement de la terre Saincte, & des lieux sacrez, ainsi mal-heureusement polluz par les infideles.'*

**n° 14.5** [B<sup>1r</sup>]: *'que de restituer à leur nation ce que leurs deuanciers par leur nonchallance & mauuais gouuernement auoient laissé perdre.'*

**n° 14.6** [C<sup>2r</sup>]: *'ce tant braue & superbe edifice de Nelle, l'un des principaux ornemens & decorations de Paris; au lieu d'une grand' vielle cour deserte, destinee pour sa meilleure fortune & condition à estendre des linges & drappeaux: Là où parmy tout plein de belles choses vous auez proposé de faire, une magnifique Bibliotheque, garnie de toutes sortes de bons liures; avec deux hommes de lettres stipendiez d'une bonne pension, l'un pour la langue Grecque l'autre pour la Latine, qui auront la charge d'y assister trois iours la sepmaine, pour recueillir ceux qui y viendront, & conferer avec eux des points dont ils se voudront, & conferer avec eux des points dont ils se voudront resouldre. Seroit-il doncques raisonnable de defrauder la posterité de la congnoissance de l'auteur d'un tel bien, duquel nous aurons iouy en noz iours?'*

**n° 14.7** [C<sup>2r</sup>-C<sup>2v</sup>]: *'me suis ingeré de presenter icy à vostre excellence ce mien peu de labeur, de la traduction d'un moderne Grec, qui a mis peine en faueur de ses citoyens, autant ignorans & grossiers pour cette heure là, que leurs anciens predecesseurs furent parfaicts & admirables sur tous autres, de ramasser tout plein de belles choses.'*

**n° 14.8** [C<sup>2v</sup>-C<sup>3r</sup>]: *'Tout ainsi que voz tant meritoires œures, voz saintes & charitables intentions, se voyent secondees de la benediction d'une belle lignee, à qui cecy pourra servir quelque iour, & mesmes à ce petit Prince qu'il a pleu à Dieu vous donner n'agueres, au lieu de l'autre qu'il vous auoit rauy d'entre les mains auant les temps.'*

**n° 14 Nota (I)** [E<sup>1v</sup>-G<sup>1v</sup>]: PREFACE.

**n° 14.9** [E<sup>2r</sup>]: *'Mais ce n'est pas pourtant (direz vous) ne Thucidide, ne Xenophon, ou autre de cette vieille mine.'*

**n° 14.10** [E<sup>2r</sup>]: *'Dont l'eguille de nauiguer, à faute de laquelle tant de vaiseaux se sont perduz autre-fois; & l'art de l'imprimerie, la plus admirable & diuine inuention qui tomba oncques en l'esprit de l'ho[m]me, se peuue[n]t co[n]trepeser à tout ce que les siecles d'aparaua[n]t eurent de plus rare & exquis.'*

n° 14.11 [E<sup>2</sup>v]: *‘vous proposant icy un Grec de ces derniers iours, parmi tant d’autres excellens auteurs qui ont desia appris nostre parler.’*

n° 14.12 [E<sup>3</sup>v]: *‘Or il est bien raisonnable de faire place à l’antiquité, Mais il ne sensuit pas pour cela que rien ne se doibue lire, Rien ne se doiuve veoir, louer, ny approuver que les ouurages des Anciens, ou ce qui est moullé-poché la dessus.’*

n° 14.13 [F<sup>1</sup>r-F<sup>1</sup>v]: *‘on la trouuera pleine de moelle & de suc; d’aduis & conseils d’importance en affaires d’estat; sans aucun fard, desguisement ne curieuse affetterie.’*

n° 14.14 [F<sup>1</sup>r-F<sup>1</sup>v]: *‘Mais si les bons liures sont tous entrepris, chacun se hastant d’arriuerle premier au marché pour enleuer les meilleures denrees, il faut par necessité que ceux qui viennent apres, se contentant de ce qui s’y trouue de reste.’*

n° 14.15 [F<sup>3</sup>r]: *‘une attornarresse, appelée à coifer quelque espousee de village, vn peu bazanee du hasle, & hors de chairpour la peine & pour les mesaises; là où si elle ne peut si bie[n] faire reüssir sa maistrise comme en vne belle ieune fille, fresche & en bon point [...]: Dont l’art ne peut surmonter le default. [...] Mais à quel propos tout cela? Certes pour m’excuser enuers vous, si l’œuure que ie mets presentement en voz mains, ne vous contente & satisfait si bien que ie le desirerois.’*

n° 14.16 [F<sup>4</sup>r]: *‘Il eust [sic] mieux gagné toutesfoys d’employer tout d’un train son labeur à cela, & continuer de bout en bout le fil de quelque belle & magnifique Narration, que non-pas de se destorner ainsi à toutes heurtes, apres ie ne sçay quelles particularitez estrangeres oùla plus part du temps il s’entretaille & chancelle, pour s’estre rapporté à un oyr-dire: outre ce que nous n’en auons pas grand besoin, qui en sommes beaucoup mieux informez qu’il n’estoit: Et si la matiere par luy enterprise n’est que trop belle & plantureuse de soy, sans auoir besoin d’estre enrichie d’ailleurs. Car cette insigne mutation d’un si beau & puissance Empire, comme celuy de la Grece, qui dominoit outre cela la meilleure part de l’Asie; & l’exhausement de celuy des Turcs, le plus grand qui fut oncques apres le Romain.’*

n° 14.17 [G<sup>1</sup>v]: *‘Ainsi est-il du present auteur, dont le caractere d’escripre, & sa maniere de proceder (pour estre arriué en vn temps rempli de toute Barbarie, que le Grec vulgaire auoit desia surgagné, & esteint l’usage commun de l’ancien grammatisé) ne se peuuent aucunement mesures aux anciens: se monstrant par endroits racueilli, serré & bien-tissu; & en d’autres lasche, flottant, entr’ouuert, & espanché à l’Asiatique. Et comme il tasche de se promener tout à un coup en ces deux, n’arriue pas si heureusement ny à l’un, ny à l’autre. Parquoy si nous cherchons quelque loüange de bien dire, il vaut mieux (ce me semble) exceller en son parler naturel, desia acquis en propriété, que de s’aller immiscer dans les possessions d’autruy, & nacquetter de bien loin apres le moindre des bons auteurs antiques.’*

n° 14 Nota (II) [G<sup>1</sup>v-I<sup>2</sup>v]: ANNOTATION.

LES HISTOIRES  
**Et Croniques**  
DV MONDE.

DE IEAN ZONARAS, GRAND  
CHANCELIER ET DRONGAIRE DV GVET,  
Premier Secretaire de Constantinople: descruant toutes Histoires memo-  
rables auenués en ce monde: en la Reuolution de six mille six cens  
ans & plus, & principalement de la Turquie.

DISPOSEZ EN TROIS LIVRES.

*LE PREMIER fait mention de l'estat des choses passées en Iudée, Perse, Egypte & Grece, depuis la creation du Monde iusques à la subuersion & miserable destruction de Hierusalem, tirez tant de la Bybliotheque de Bizance dite Constantinople, que des Anciens scripteurs Hebrieux & Grecs, & mis de nouveau de leurs nayues langues en vulgaire François. Par I. DE MAYMONT.*

*Le second décrit l'Histoire Romaine, depuis l'edification de la ville iusques à l'Empire du Grand Constantin. Le troisieme raconte les Vies, faits & gestes, des Empereurs depuis le susdit Constantin, iusques au trespas d'Alexie Comnene, lequel mourut enuiron l'an de salut onze cens. Par I. MILLES, DE S. AMOVR.*

Traduit de Grec en François, avec annotations mises en la marge pour les diuerfes lectures Grecques, Et aduertissements, & Tables des choses plus memorables.

A LA ROYNE MERE DV ROY.

*George Agismond de-  
brae Baron ac-  
demye pour 2 pp*

*Zonaras  
Les Histoires et  
Chroniques du Monde*

A PARIS,  
Chez Iean du Carroy, Imprimeur, demeurant  
au Mont Saint Hylaire.

M. D. LXXXIII.

Digitized by Google

**CODE:** n°15

**AUTHOR/S:** Zonaras

**SHORT TITLE:** Les Histoires et Croniques du Monde. De Iean Zonaras [...]

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Jean du Carroy, 1583

**EDITOR/S:** Jean de Maumont; Jean Millet

**DEDICATEE/S:** Catherine de' Medici, Queen of France

**COUNTRY:** France

**LANGUAGE:** French

**PRIVILEGE:** undetermined (presumably none)

**DESCRIPTION:** [40], 989 (=1099), [5] pages; 2°

**COLLATION:**<sup>412</sup> ā<sup>4</sup> 2ā<sup>6</sup> ē<sup>6</sup> ī<sup>4</sup> A-Z<sup>6</sup> AA-ZZ<sup>6</sup> 3ā<sup>6</sup> 2ē<sup>6</sup> 2ī<sup>6</sup> ō<sup>6</sup> ū<sup>6</sup> \*<sup>6</sup> AAA<sup>4</sup> BBB-ZZZ<sup>6</sup> AAAA-QQQQ<sup>6</sup> RRRR<sup>4</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 7534 [FB: 51741]; digitised on Google Books<sup>413</sup>

**COPIES:** USTC: 3 (France: 2 [Louviers Médiathèque Boris Vian and Tours ML]; Germany: 1 [Munich BSB]); CCFR: 3;<sup>414</sup> GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**REMARKS:** Reprint drawn from the two French translations of Zonaras : the first part is a reprint of n°05, the second and third of n°06. Circulates in nine variants: eight with alternative printers's name (association edition), one later reissue.

**CODE:** n°15/B variant (see n°15 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Jean Houzé, 1583

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 34022 [FB : 51736]

**COPIES:** USTC: 1 (France: 1 [Paris Arsenal]); CCFR: 1; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°15/C variant (see n°15 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Pierre L'Huillier, [1583]

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<sup>412</sup> The collation may vary depending on the variant of this edition, mostly depending on the position of the index, which may be found either at the end of the volume or after the dedication letter.

<sup>413</sup> Google Books keyword search: Johannes Zonaras – Jean de Maumont – Jean Millet, Les Histoires et Chroniques du monde, 1583 (Munich, BSB copy).

<sup>414</sup> CCFR lists three copies without indicating the printer's name. I have listed them here.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 57259 [FB: 51737]

**COPIES:** USTC: 2 (France: 2 [Paris, Saint Geneviève and Orléans, ML]); CCFR: 1;  
GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°15/D variant (see n°15 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Guillaume Julien, 1583

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 10135 [FB: 51739]

**COPIES:** USTC: 2 (France: 2 [Nevers Médiathèque Jean Jaurès and Rouen ML]);  
CCFR: 0; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°15/E variant (see n°15 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Hilaire Le Bouc, 1583

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 38168 [FB: 51740]

**COPIES:** USTC: 1 (France: 1 [Evreux ML]); CCFR: 0; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC  
SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°15/F variant (see n°15 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1583

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 54957 [FB: 51738]

**COPIES:** USTC: 2 (France: 2 [Paris Mazarine and Versailles ML]); CCFR: 0; GBV  
GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°15/G variant (see n°15 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Jean Parent, 1583

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 1730 [FB: 51742]

**COPIES:** USTC: 7 (France: 7 [Angers ML, Bourges ML, Coutances ML, Dole ML,  
Loches ML, La Rochelle ML and Versailles ML]); CCFR: 3; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU  
OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°15/H variant (see n°15 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Nicolas Chesneau, 1583

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 1731 [FB: 51743]

**COPIES:** USTC: 5 (France: 4 [Avignon ML, Coutances ML, Epernay ML, Pont-à-Mousson ML]; UK: 1 [Edinburgh NL]); CCFR: 2; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 1

**CODE:** n°15/I variant (see n°15 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Jean du Carroy, 1583 [chez Guillaume Chaudière]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 7534 [FB: 51744]

**COPIES:** USTC: 4 (France: 3 [Paris BNF, Bordeaux ML and Moulins ML]; Germany: 1 [Düsseldorf Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek]); CCFR: 1; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°15/J variant (reissue)

**SHORT TITLE:** Histoire sacrée [...] de Zean Zonaras [...]

**IMPRINT:** Paris, [s.n.], 1597

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 64326 [FB: 51746]; LIBRIS:<sup>415</sup> 3200485

**COPIES:** USTC: 2 (France: 1 [Rouen ML]; Sweden: 1 [Stockholm Kungliga biblioteket]); CCFR: 2; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; UK COPAC: 0

**n°15 Full title:**

LES HISTOIRES || **Et Croniques** || DV MONDE. ||

DE IEAN ZONARAS, GRAND || CHANCELIER ET DRONGAIRE DV GVET, || Premier Secretaire de Constantinople: descriuant toutes Histoires memo- || rables auenuës en ce monde: en la Reuolution de six mille six cens || ans & plus, & principalement de la Turquie. ||

DISPOSEZ EN TROIS LIVRES. ||

LE PREMIER fait mention de l'estat des choses passées en Iudée, Perse, Ægypte et Grece, depuis || la creation du Mōde iusques à la subuersion & miserable destruction de Hierusalem, tirez tant de || la Bybliotheque de Bizance dite Constantinople, que des Anciens scripteurs Hebrieux & Grecs, || & mis de nouveau de leurs nayues langues en vulgaire François. Par I. DE MAVMONT. || Le Second décrit l'Histoire Romaine, depuis l'edification de la ville iusques à l'Empire du Grand || Constantin. Le troisieme raconte les Vies, faicts & gestes, des Empereurs depuis le susdit Con- || stantin, iusques au trespas d'Alexie Comnene, lequel mourut enuiron l'an de salut onze cens. || Par I. MILLES [sic] DE S. AMOUR. ||

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<sup>415</sup> Union catalogue of Swedish research libraries.

Traduit de Grec en François, avec annotations mises en la marge pour les diuerses || lectures Grecques,  
Et aduertissements, & Tables des choses plus memorables. ||

A LA ROYNE MERE DU ROY. ||

A PARIS || Chez Iean du Carroy, Imprimeur, demeurant || au Mont Saint Hylaire. || M.D.LXXXIII.

**n° 15/J - Title (variant):**

Histoire sacrée touchant l'origine et naissance du peuple de Dieu et de son eglise, depuis le commencement du monde iusques à la monarchie de Cyrus [...] / tirée tant du gros volume de Zean Zonaras [...] que de plusieurs autres bons & anciens scripteurs hébrieux & grecs, & mises [...] en langage françois par Jean de Maumont [...].



L'HISTOIRE DE  
**LA DECADENCE**

DE L'EMPIRE GREC, ET

ESTABLISSEMENT DE CELVY

des Turcs; Comprise en dix liures

par Nicolas Chalcondyle

Athenien.

De la traduction de Blaise de VIGENERE

Bourbonnois.



A PARIS,

Pour Abell' ANGELIER, au premier pilier  
de la grand' Sale du Palais.

M. D. LXXXIIII.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

Reproduction [n°16]: Oxford, Bodleian Library copy.

**CODE:** n°16

**AUTHOR/S:** Chalkokondyles

**SHORT TITLE:** L'Histoire de la Decadence de l'Empire Grec, et Establissement de celui des Turcs; [...] par Nicolas Chalcondyle [...]

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1584

**EDITOR/S:** Blaise de Vigenère

**DEDICATEE/S:** Louis Gonzaga-Nevers; Francis Gonzaga-Nevers

**COUNTRY:** France

**LANGUAGE:** French

**PRIVILEGE (A<sup>1v</sup>):** France: 9 years (Paris, 06/06/1584; signatory: Renouard)

**DESCRIPTION:** [68], 734, [40] pages; 4°

**COLLATION:** A-H<sup>4</sup> I<sup>2</sup> 2A-Z<sup>4</sup> Aa-Zz<sup>4</sup> Aaa-Zzz<sup>4</sup> Aaaa-Zzzz<sup>4</sup> a-e<sup>4</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 14762 [FB: 9659]; SARAZIN 1997, 41-44; BALSAMO – SIMONIN 2002, n°103

**COPIES:** USTC: 25 (France: 15; Germany: 1; Italy: 1; UK: 4; Other: 4); CCFR: 8; GBV GVK: 1; ICCU OPAC SBN: 2; UK COPAC: 3

**REMARKS:** Reprint of the 1577 French translation of Chalkokondyles [n°14]. Almost identical to the original, but the text is recomposed and the decorations differ.

**n°16 Full title:**

L' HISTOIRE DE || **LA DECADENCE** || DE L'EMPIRE GREC, ET || ESTABLISSEMENT DE CELVY  
|| des Turcs; Comprise en dix liures || par Nicolas Chalcondyle || Athenien. ||  
De la traduction de Blaise de VIGENERE || Bourbonnois. ||  
[Device] || A PARIS, || Pour Abel l'ANGELIER, au premier pilier || de la grand' Sale du Palais. ||  
M.DLXXXIII. || AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

HISTORIA  
**RERVM IN ORIENTE**  
**GESTARVM AB EXOR-**  
**DIO MVNDI ET ORBE CONDITO**  
 AD NOSTRA HAEC VSQVE TEMPORA.

*IN QVA RATO ORDINE ET SVCCINCTA MIRAQVE breuitate non tantum de origine primum auctuq; & summa felicitate ac mox inclinatio- ne, casu, & tristi interitu nobilissimarum monarchiarum ASSYRIORVM, MEDO- RVM, ET PERSARVM, GRCORVM & MACEDONVM, verum etiam floren- tissimi ROMANI imperij ab vrbe condita successus explicantur: deque CONSTAN- TINOPOLITANA, siue BYZANTINA Romana diu amula potentia, tandemque mi- serabili captiuitate luculenter differitur. Una cum narratione compendiosa dere- bus TVRCICIS & PERSICIS; deque Othomani imperij initio & progressu in eam magnitudinem, qua hodie omnibus gen- sibus, longe lateque metuenda est.*

OPVS, PRAETERQVAM QVOD CREBRIS ET OPORTVNIS DIGRES- sionibus in eo totius ferme orbis terrarum, regionum ac gentium, origines, situs, mores describuntur, nostro hoc in primis saeculo, fatalibus mutationibus regnorum cum maximè obnoxio, non tantum vtile, verum etiam necessarium; praesertim rerum publicarum moderatoribus, vt exemplo extinctorum ob domestica mala imperiorum longè olim celeberrimorum admoniti, compo- situs internis externisque discidijs & discordijs, tranquillitati & optimæ rerum paci consulere atque operam dare meminerint.

NOMINA AUCTORVM HVIVS OPERIS ET EORVM QVOS SECVTVS EST F. MOD. IN auctario suo quod continet commemorationem rerum gestarum toto orbe ab excidio Constantinopolitano fieri ad hunc annum M. D. LXXXVII. post praefationem reperies.

CVM INDICIBVS AD CALCEM LONGE LOCVPLETISSIMIS.



*Almastyng Arabiansis.*

Francof. ad Mœpam impens. Sigif. Feyrabendij.

M. D. LXXXVII.

**CODE:** n°17

**AUTHOR/S:** Zonaras; Choniates; Gregoras; Chalkokondyles

**SHORT TITLE:** *Historia Rerum in Oriente Gestarum* [...]

**IMPRINT:** Frankfurt, Sigmund Feyerabend, 1587

**EDITOR/S:** Hieronymus Wolf; Konrad Clauser

**DEDICATEE/S:** Neidhardt von Thüngen, Rector of the University of Wurzburg (later Prince-Bishop of Bamberg); Anton, Marcus and Johann Fugger

**COUNTRY:** Germany

**LANGUAGE:** Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** undetermined

**DESCRIPTION:** [4], 297, [45] leaves; 2°

**COLLATION:**  $\chi^4$  A-Z<sup>6</sup> Aa-Zz<sup>6</sup> Aaa-Lll<sup>6</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 663230; VD16: H 3899; digitised on Google Books<sup>416</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 8 [VD16: 10]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 20; CCFR: 14; UK COPAC: 14

**REMARKS:** Reprint of the 1567 Frankfurt collective edition of the Byzantine Corpus [n°12].

**n°17 Full title:**

**HISTORIA** || **RERVM IN ORIEN-** || **TE GESTARVM AB EXOR-** || DIO MVNDI ET ORBE  
CONDITO || AD NOSTRA HAEC VSQUE TEMPORA. ||

**IN QVA RATO ORDINE ET SVCCINCTA MIRAQVE** || breuitate non tantum de origine primum  
auctuq[ue] & summa felicitate ac mox inclinatio- || ne, casu, & tristi interitu nobilissimarum  
monarchiarum ASSYRIORVM, MEDO- || RVM, ET PERSARVM, GRÆCORVM & MACEDONVM,  
verum etiam floren- || tissimi Romani imperij ab vrbe condita successus explicantur: deque CONSTAN-  
|| TINOPOLITANA, siue BYZANTINA Romanæ diu æmula potentia, tandemque mi- || serabili  
captiuitate luculenter disseritur. Vna cum narratione compendiosa de re- || bus TVRCICIS &  
PERSICIS; deque Othomanici imperij initio & || progressu in eam magnitudinem, quæ hodie omnibus  
gen- || tibus, longe lateque metuenda est. ||

**OPVS, PRAETERQVAM QVOD CREBRIS ET OPORTVNIS DIGRES-** || sionibus in eo totius ferme  
orbis terrarum, regionum ac gentium, origines, situs, mores describun- || tur, nostro hoc inprimis sæculo,  
fatalibus mutationibus regnorum cum maximè obnoxio, non tan- || tum vtile, verum etiam necessarium;

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<sup>416</sup> Google Books keyword search: Johannes Zonaras, Nicetas Acominatus, Nikephoros Gregoras, Laonicus Chalcocondylus, *Historia rerum in Oriente gestarum*, 1587 (Madrid, BUC copy).

præsertim rerumpublicarum moderatoribus, vt exemplo ex- || tinctorum ob domestica mala imperiorum  
longè olim celeberrimorum admoniti, com- || positis internis externisque discidijs & discordijs,  
tranquillitati & optimæ || rerum paci consulere atque operam dare || meminerint. ||

**NOMINA AVCTORVM HVIVS OPERIS ET EORVM QVOS SECVTVS EST F. MOD. IN** || auctario  
suo quod continet commemorationem rerum gestarum toto orbe ab excidio Constantinopolitano || ferè  
ad hinc annum M.D.LXXXVII. post præfationem reperies. ||

**CVM INDICIBVS AD CALCEM LONGE LOCVPLETISSIMIS.** ||

[Woodcut] || Francof. ad Moenum impens. Sigis. Feyrabendij. || M.D.LXXXVII.

[**colophon:** IMPRESSVM FRANCO- || FVRTI AD MOENVVM, APVD PETRVVM || Fabricium,  
Impensis Sigismundi || Feyrabendij. || M.D.LXXXVII.]

**n° 17 Dedication letter** [ $\chi^2r$ - $\chi^4r$ ]:

*Sigismundus Feyrabendius* [...] *Datum Francofurti ad Mænum ipsis Kalendis Aprilis, anno human salutis,*  
*clo. lo. LXXXVII.* [...] MAGNIFICO, REVEREN- || DO, ET AMPLISSIMAE DIGNITA || TIS VIRO,  
AC DOMINO, DOMINO NIDHARDO || THVNGENO, PRÆPOSITO VVIRZEBVRGENSIS  
METROPO- || litanæ Ecclesiæ, & Noui ibidem monasterij, &c. Equiti || Franco splendidissimo, Domino  
& Patrono suo || benignissimo, &c.



NICETAE  
ACOMINATI  
CHONIATAE,  
MAGNI LOGOTHETAE  
SECRETORVM, INSPECTO-  
RIS ET IVDICIS VELI,  
Praefecti Sacri cubiculi



IMPERII GRAECI HISTORIA, ab anno M. C. XVII.  
in quo Zonaras desinit, usque ad annum M. CC. III. Libris XIX.  
descripta: quorum ordo praefationes sequuntur.

ITERATA EDITIO GRAECOLATINA,  
HIERONYMO VVOLFIO  
Oetingensi interprete.

*cui accesserunt*

Breuiaria singulis libris praefixa.  
Perpetua ad marginem Notae morales ac politicae.  
Gnomologia & Chronologia historica.  
Axiomatum & Rerum Insignium INDICES.



Apud haeredes Eustathij Vignon  
M. D. XCII

Digitized by Google

Reproduction [n°18]: Google Books, Munich, BSB copy.

**CODE:** n°18

**AUTHOR/S:** Choniates

**SHORT TITLE:** Nicetae Acominati Choniatae [...] Imperii Graeci Historia [...]

**IMPRINT:** [Geneva], Heirs of Eustache Vignon, 1593

**EDITOR/S:** Simon Goulart; Hieronymus Wolf

**DEDICATEE/S:** Adriaan de Jonge; Anton Fugger

**COUNTRY:** Switzerland

**LANGUAGE:** Greek and Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** undetermined

**DESCRIPTION:** [16], 699 [*i.e.* 701], [39] pages; 4°

**COLLATION:** ¶<sup>8</sup> A-Z<sup>8</sup> AA-ZZ<sup>8</sup> AAA<sup>2</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 451394; GLN: 3640;<sup>417</sup> CHAIX 1959, 346; digitised on Google Books<sup>418</sup>

**COPIES:** GLN: 100 (Switzerland: 3; France: 28; Germany: 13; Italy: 16; UK: 26; Others: 14)

**REMARKS:** Reprint of the 1557 *editio princeps* of Choniates [n°03].

**n°18 Full title:**

NICETAE || **ACOMINATI** || **CHONIATAE**, || MAGNI LOGOTHETAE || SECRETORVM,  
INSPECTO- || RIS ET IVDICIS VELL, || Præfecti Sacri cubiculi: ||  
IMPERII GRAECI HISTORIA, ab anno M.C.XVII. || in quo Zonaras definit, vsque ad annum  
M.CC.III. Libris XIX. || descripta: quorum ordo præfationes sequitur. ||  
ITERATA EDITIO GRAECOLATINA, || HIERONYMO VVOLFIO || Oetingensi interprete. ||  
cui accesserunt || Breuiaria singulis libris præfixa. || Perpetuæ ad marginem Notæ morales ac politicæ. ||  
Gnomologia & Chronologia historica. || Axiomatum & Rerum Insignium INDICES. ||  
[Device] || Apud hæredes Eustathij Vignon. || M.D.XCIII.

**n°18 Dedication letter** [¶<sup>2r</sup>-¶<sup>2v</sup>]:

*Calend. Mart. Anno mirande Dei patientia 1593.* [...] ADRIANO IVNIO || TYONGIO, DORDRA-  
CENO, VIRO NOBILI, || S.G.S. SALVTEM.

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<sup>417</sup> GLN 15-16 lists the books published in the fifteenth and sixteenth century in the cities of Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel, plus the city of Morges.

<sup>418</sup> Google Books keyword search: Nicetas Choniates – Hieronymus Wolf, *Imperii Graeci historia*, 1593 (Munich, BSB copy).

**n° 18.1** [¶<sup>2</sup>r-¶<sup>2</sup>v]: '[...] cum nostris eadem fere conditio. Acta per LXXX. annorum curriculum in amplissimo Graeciae theatro, tandem à Turcis occupato, luctuosissimæ tragædiæ, nominibus mutatis nostrum sæculum exhibent. Personatos Comnenos, Andronicos, & varias aularum Reique publicæ pestes in scenam reducunt.'

**n° 18.2** [¶<sup>2</sup>v]: 'nullam uirtutem politica præstantiorem (sincera pietas excepta) homo consequatur, huius virtutis fructus vberrimos ex nostro Niceta, mihi crede, percipies.'



**L'HISTOIRE**  
**DE LA DECADENCE**  
**DE L'EMPIRE GREC.**  
 ET ESTABLISSEMENT DE CELUY  
 des Turcs, par Chalcondile Athenien.

*De la traduction de B. de VIGENERE Bourbonnois,  
 Eclaircissée par luy de curieuses recherches  
 trouvées depuis son décès.*

*Avec la Continuation de la mesme Histoire, de  
 puis la ruine du Peloponncse jusques à present  
 & des Considerations sur icelle.*

*A laquelle ont esté adiouctez les Eloges des Seigneurs  
 Othomans: Plusieurs Descriptions & Figures repre-  
 sentans au naturel les Accoustremens des Officiers  
 de l'Empereur Turc, & des Tableaux Prophetiques  
 prestans la ruine de la mesme Monarchie.*

Par ARTVS THOMAS Licur d'Embry, Parisien.

*Avec Privilege du Roy. Imprimé par Isaac Jombert.*

TORTIS ET VINDEX

A PARIS

Chez la veufue ABEL L'ANGELIER  
au premier pilier de la grand'  
Salle du Palais.

ET

La veufue M. GUILLEMOT. en la  
Gallerie des Prisonniers.  
M. DC. XII.

NEC ULTRA

**CODE:** n°19

**AUTHOR/S:** Chalkokondyles; other contributions

**SHORT TITLE:** L'Histoire de la Decadence de l'Empire Grec, et Establisement de celui des Turcs, par Chalcondile [sic] [...]

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Widow of Abel L'Angelier, 1612

**EDITOR/S:** Blaise de Vigenère; Thomas Artus (and Claude Malingre)

**DEDICATEE/S:** Charles Gonzaga-Nevers; Louis Gonzaga-Nevers

**COUNTRY:** France

**LANGUAGE:** French

**PRIVILEGE** (ē<sup>4</sup>r-ē<sup>4</sup>v): France: 12 years (Fontainebleau, 14/10/1609; Signatory: De Lomenie + *Extraict des registres de Parlement*: 24/11/1606; Signatory: Voysin)

**DESCRIPTION A (pre-1632 variants):** [22], 531, [28], 1114, [50], 114, [4] pages; 2°

**DESCRIPTION B (post-1632 variants):** [16], 1015, [29] pages; [1] folded leaf; 289, [6] columns; [1] folded leaf; 128, [12] columns, 114, [4] pages; 2°

**COLLATION (A):**<sup>419</sup> [1]<sup>1</sup> ā<sup>6</sup> ē<sup>4</sup> A-B<sup>8</sup> C-F<sup>6</sup> G<sup>8</sup> H<sup>6</sup> I<sup>10</sup> K-Z<sup>6</sup> Aa-Cc<sup>6</sup> Dd<sup>2</sup> EE-ZZ<sup>4</sup> AAA-HHH<sup>4</sup> 2ā<sup>4</sup> 2ē<sup>4</sup> ī<sup>6</sup> 2A-Z<sup>4</sup> 2Aa<sup>4</sup> 2Bb-Pp<sup>6</sup> 2Qq<sup>4</sup> AAa-ZZz<sup>4</sup> AAaa-ZZzz<sup>4</sup> AAAaa-ZZZzz<sup>4</sup> AAAaaa-XXXxxx<sup>4</sup> AAAAaaa-HHHHhhh<sup>4</sup> 3A-X<sup>4</sup> 3Y<sup>6</sup> 3Z<sup>2</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** BNF: FRBNF30216409; SARAZIN 1997, 41-44; BALSAMO – SIMONIN 2002, n°552;<sup>420</sup> digitised on Google Books<sup>421</sup>

**COPIES:** CCFR: 7; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; COPAC: 0

**REMARKS:** Reprint of the 1577 French translation of Chalkokondyles [n°14]. Fifteen variants in circulation: two main print-runs (1612 and 1632) with different imprints (alternative printers's names, printing dates, reissues).

**CODE:** n°19/B variant (See n°19 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Widow of Abel L'Angelier and Widow of Mathieu Guillemot, 1612

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\TO0E\115237 (Turin NL); SARAZIN 1997, 41-44; BALSAMO – SIMONIN 2002, n°552

<sup>419</sup> The first leaf of Qq<sup>4</sup> is erroneously marked as Zz.

<sup>420</sup> Includes the copies of n°19/B.

<sup>421</sup> Google Books keyword search: Chalkondyles, *L'Histoire de la decadence de l'Empire grec et establisement de celui des Turcs*, 1612 (Vienna, ÖNB copy).



L' HISTOIRE  
 DE LA DECADENCE  
 DE L'EMPIRE GREC,  
 ET ESTABLISSEMENT DE CELUY  
 des Turcs, par Chalcondile Athenien.

*De la traduction de B. de VIGNERE Bourbonnois,  
 embellie par luy de curieuses recherches  
 trouuees depuis son decés.*

*Avec la Continuation de la mesme Histoire, de  
 puis la ruine du Peloponse julques à present,  
 & des Considerations sur icelle.*

*A laquelle ont este' adioustez les Eloges des Seigneurs  
 Othomans: Plusieurs Descriptions & figures repre-  
 sentans au naturel les Accoustremens des Officiers  
 de l'Empereur Turc, & des Tableaux Prophetiques  
 predisans la ruine de la mesme Monarchie,*

Par ARTVS THOMAS sieur d'Embry, Parisien.

*Avec Privilege du Roy. Jaspas Inoe fecit.*

VERA VICE BEVEGAN

A PARIS

Chez la veufue ABEL L'ANGELIER  
 au premier pilier de la grand'  
 Salle du Palais.

ET  
 La veufue M. GVILEMOT. en la  
 Gallerie des Prisonniers.

M. D. C. XX

ET ITERUM

FORTIS ET VINDEZ
NEC ULTRA

**COPIES:** CCFR: 0; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 1; COPAC: 1; Worldcat: 5

**CODE:** n°19/C variant (See n°19 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Widow of Abel L'Angelier, 1616

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** BNF: FRBNF30216410; SARAZIN 1997, 41-44; BALSAMO – SIMONIN 2002, n°558

**COPIES:** CCFR: 2; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°19/D variant (See n°19 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Widow of Abel L'Angelier, 1619

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** SARAZIN 1997, 41-44; BALSAMO – SIMONIN 2002, n°577<sup>422</sup>

**COPIES:** CCFR: 1 (Nantes BM, 53591, Fonds ancien 6); GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°19/E variant (See n°19 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Widow of Abel L'Angelier and Widow of Mathieu Guillemot, 1619

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** SARAZIN 1997, 41-44; digitised on Google Books<sup>423</sup>

**COPIES:** CCFR: 1 (Nantes BM, 39315A-B, Fonds ancien 4); GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; COPAC: 0; Worldcat: 2 (France: 1 [Tours UL]; Switzerland: 1 [Lausanne UL])

**CODE:** n°19/F variant (See n°19 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Widow of Abel L'Angelier, 1620

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** BNF: FRBNF30216411; SARAZIN 1997, 41-44

**COPIES:** CCFR: 3; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°19/G (See n°19 for general description)

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<sup>422</sup> Includes the copies of n°19/F.

<sup>423</sup> Google Books keyword search: Chalkondyles, *L'Histoire de la décadence de l'Empire grec et établissement de celui des Turcs*, 1620 (Vienna, ÖNB copy).

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Widow of Abel L'Angelier and Widow of Mathieu Guillemot, 1620  
**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** BNF: FRBNF31735050; SARAZIN 1997, 41-44; BALSAMO – SIMONIN 2002, n°585<sup>424</sup>  
**COPIES:** CCFR: 11; GBV GVK: 2; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; COPAC: 5

**CODE:** n°19/H variant (See n°19 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Widow of Mathieu Guillemot, 1632  
**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** BNF: FRBNF39361805; SARAZIN 1997, 41-44  
**COPIES:** CCFR: 1; GBV GVK: 1; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°19/I variant (See n°19 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Claude Sonnius, 1632  
**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** BNF: FRBNF30216412; SARAZIN 1997, 41-44  
**COPIES:** CCFR: 3; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 1; COPAC: 1

**CODE:** n°19/J variant (See n°19 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Claude Cramoisy, 1632  
**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** (not in BNF); SARAZIN 1997, 41-44  
**COPIES:** CCFR: 3; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°19/K variant (See n°19 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Mathieu II Guillemot and Widow of Mathieu Guillemot [sic], 1632  
**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** (not in BNF); SARAZIN 1997, 41-44  
**COPIES:** CCFR: 1 (Paris Sainte Geneviève, FOL I 110 INV 146 ); GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; COPAC: 1 ; Worldcat: 3

**CODE:** n°19/L variant (See n°19 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Pierre Baillet, 1632  
**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** (not in BNF); SARAZIN 1997, 41-44

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<sup>424</sup> Includes the copies of n°19/G.

**COPIES:** CCFR: 0; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; COPAC: 2; Worldcat: 2  
(London Wellcome Library, 27899596; Edinburgh UL, R\*.16.2)

**CODE:** n°19/M variant (See n°19 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Claude Cramoisy (*En la Boutique de L'Angelier*), 1633

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** ICCU OPAC SBN:  
IT\ICCU\BA1E\002230; SARAZIN 1997, 41-44

**COPIES:** CCFR: 0; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 1 (Bari NL Sagarriga Visconti-Volpi); COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°19/N variant (See n°19 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Claude Cramoisy, 1633

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** (not in BNF); SARAZIN 1997, 41-44

**COPIES:** CCFR: 2 (Orleans ML, E15607, Fonds ancien 1 and Reims ML, G923, Fonds ancien); GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°19/O variant (See n°19 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Mathieu II Guillemot, [n.d.]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** SARAZIN 1997, 41-44

**COPIES:** CCFR: 1 (Amiens ML, H 1081 E, Histoire); GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; COPAC: 0

**CODE:** n°19/P variant (See n°19 for general description)

**IMPRINT:** Rouen, Jean Berthelin, 1640

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** Edinburgh NL catalogue: Newb.4202

**COPIES:** CCFR: 0; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; COPAC: 1; Worldcat: 1  
(Edinburgh NL, Newb.4202); Europeana: 1 (Prague NL)

**n°19 Full title:**

L'HISTOIRE || **DE LA DECADENCE** || **DE L'EMPIRE GREC**, || ET ESTABLISSEMENT DE  
CELVY || des Turcs, par Chalcondile [sic] Athenien. || De la traduction de B. de VIGENERE  
Bourbonnois, || & illustrée par luy de curieuses recherches || trouuées depuis son decés. || Auec la  
Continuation de la mesme Histoire, de- || puis la ruine u Peloponese jusques a present, || & des

Considerations sur icelle: || A laquelle ont este' adioustez les Eloges des Seigneurs || Othomans: Plusieurs Descriptions & figures repre- || sentans au naturel les Accoustremens des Officiers || de l'Empereur Turc, & des Tableaux Prophetiques || predisans la ruine de la mesme Monarchie, || Par ARTUS THOMAS sieur d'Embry, Parisien, || Auec Priuilege du Roy || Iaspar Isac fecit || A PARIS || Chez la veufue MATHIEU GUILLEMOT, || en la Gallerie des Prisonniers, || M.DC.IX.

**n° 19 Dedication letter** [ã<sup>2</sup>r-ã<sup>2</sup>v]:

*La Veuve Abel L'Angelier [...] A Paris, ce I. Nouembre 1612.*<sup>425</sup> [...] A|| TRES-ILLVSTRE, || TRES-EXCELLENT, || ET TRES-MAGNANIME PRINCE, || CHARLES DE GONSAGVE ET DE CLEVES, || Duc de Niurnois, Donziois & Rethelois, Seigneur souue- || rain de Charle-ville, Marquis d'Isle, Comte de S<sup>te</sup> Ma- || neould, Prince de Manthoüe & de Portien, & c. Pair || de France, Gouverneur & Lieutenant general || pour le Roy en ses pays de Champagne & Brie.

**n° 19.1** [ã<sup>2</sup>r]: *'c'estoit son intention, si la mort n'eust rompu le fil de son destein, de la polir & enrichir d'infinies belles annotations & curieuses recherches.'*

**n° 19.2** [ã<sup>2</sup>v]: *'Et defait s'en estant trouuë bon nombre parmi ses papiers conaignez avec le reste de ses œuures entre les mains de defunct l'ANGELIER mon mary; cela luy donna la volonté & le courage d'entreprendre l'impression de Chalcondile d'une forme elegante & somptueuse; & (pour rendre l'œuure accomply de tout poinct) de poursuiure & continuer iusques à nos iours l'histoire des Othomans, avec plusieurs discours concernans le miserable estat, où se trouue aujourd'huy sous leur Tyrannie la jadis si florissante Grece, & l'esperance qui restè de la voir cy-apres deliurée d'une si dure & barbaresque seruitude.'*

**n° 19.3** [ã<sup>2</sup>v]: *'auez voulu au peril de vostre vie reconnoistre ce mortel ennemy du nom Chrestien.'*

**n° 19.4 Sur l'Histoire des Turcs** [ã<sup>6</sup>v]:<sup>426</sup>

*On peut déguiser sa misere  
Quand elle est incogneuë à tous:  
Mais il n'est plus temps de se taire  
Quand avec nostre vitupere,  
On nous void [sic] courber sous les coups.*

*Quand le Turc conqueroit l'Asie  
Nous passions nos iours en plaisirs;  
Mais quand Grece deuint Turquie,  
Et qu'on rauageoit la Hongrie,  
Nous remplismes l'air de souspirs.*

*Les Grecs qui n'auoient dans leur ame*

<sup>425</sup> For the timing of this dedication letter see the biography of Charles Gonzaga-Nevers in Appendix B.

<sup>426</sup> I only report here the first, second, third and fifth stanza.

*Qu'une imprudente ambition,  
Recherchans l'infedele lame,  
Mirent leur pays tout en flame  
En perdant leur Religion.*

[...]

*Chrestien qui coule tout ton aage [sic]  
En desbordez esbattemens,  
Prends exemple si tu es sage,  
Sur un si cruel esclauage  
Craignant de pareils iugemens.*

**n° 19 Nota** [ē<sup>1</sup>r-ē<sup>3</sup>v]:

PREFACE || SVR TOVT LE || CONTENV EN L'HISTOIRE || DES TURCS, TANT EN CELLE DE || Chalcondyle, qu'en la Continuation d'icelle || iusques à ce temps.

**n° 19.5** [ē<sup>1</sup>r]: '*les Turcs sont plus barbares en leur loy qu'en leur conduite & gouuernement, soit en leurs guerres ou en leur police.*'

**n° 19.6** [ē<sup>1</sup>v]: '*en cela aussi bien qu'en autres choses, succedé aux Romains, desquels ils sont la viue image en leur Empire.*'

**n° 19.7** [ē<sup>1</sup>v]: '*car si les Turcs sont les Geans dont parle l'Escriture, qui viennent rauager nos contrées, mettant tout à feu & à sang pour nostre chastiment.*'

**n° 19.8** [ē<sup>2</sup>r]: '*toutefois le respect qu'on a porté à l'antiquité, a faict qu'on s'est seruy de Chalcondyle.*'

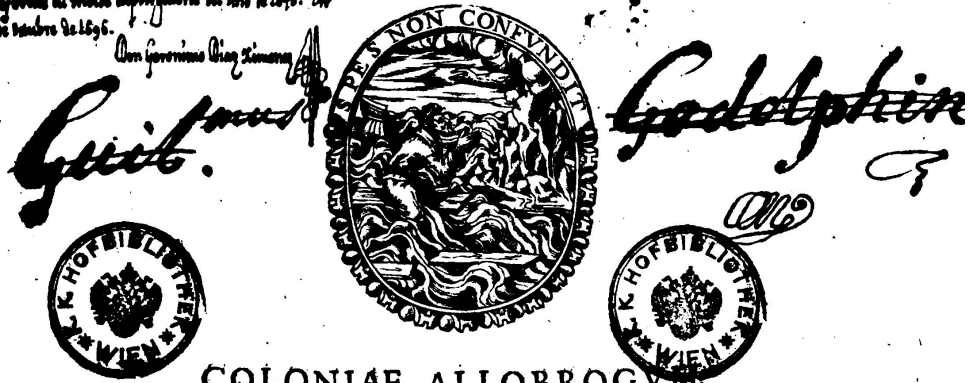
Historiæ  
**BYZANTINÆ**  
 SCRIPTORES TRES  
 GRAECOLATINI. VNO

Tomo simul nunc Editi.

(549)

- I. NICEPHORI GREGORAE, ROMANAE, HOC est Byzantinæ historiæ Libri XI. quibus res à Græcis Imperatoribus per annos CXLV, à Theodoro Lascari priore, vsque ad Andronici Palæologi posterioris obitum gestæ, describuntur, & Nicetæ Acominati Choniatae *Ἐκλεπύδου* sup-  
 plentur.
- II. LAONICI CHALCOCONDYLAE ATHENIENSIS . Historia de origine ac rebus gestis Imperatorum Turcicorum, ab Oguisiorum primordio vsque ad Mechemetis primi annum XIII. in qua Græcorum, Imperiique totius. inclinatio atque interitus, ab Andronico Iuniore vsque ad Constantinum vltimum eiusque filios breuiter, sed exacto, ac miro ordine exponitur, è tribus Bibliothecæ Palatinæ manuscriptis codicibus nunc primum Græcè edita & emendata.
- III. GEORGII LOGOTHETAE ACROPOLITAE Chronicon Constantinopolitanum, complectens captæ à Latinis Constantino-  
 poles, & annorum circiter sexaginta Historiam, à Balduino Flandro Augusto ad Balduinum vltimum, eius nepotem, Byzantij Imperatorem.

*Accesserunt INDICES necessarii.*  
 Como Historiador General de las Librerías de estas Reinas; corrigi-  
 este libro, conformed al indice correspondiente del año 1640. Del  
 Madrid a 17 de febrero de 1696.



COLONIAE ALLOBROGVM.  
 Apud Petrum de la Rouiere.

M. D. C. XV.

Digitized by Google

**CODE:** n°20

**AUTHOR/S:** Gregoras; Chalkokondyles; Akropolites

**SHORT TITLE:** *Historiæ Byzantinæ Scriptores Tres* [...]

**IMPRINT:** Geneva, Pierre de La Rovière, 1615

**EDITOR/S:** Hieronymus Wolf; Johannes Balthasar Baumbach; Konrad Clauser; Theodorus Dousa

**DEDICATEE/S:** Georg Fettich; Johann Ludwig Hauenreuter; Matthias Bernegger

**COUNTRY:** Switzerland

**LANGUAGE:** Greek and Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** undetermined (presumably none)

**DESCRIPTION:** [12], 399, [25]; [4], 435, [13] pages; 2°

**COLLATION:** \*<sup>6</sup> a-z<sup>6</sup> aa-ii<sup>6</sup> kk<sup>8</sup>, <sub>2</sub>\*<sup>6</sup> \*\*<sup>6</sup>; π<sup>2</sup> A-Z<sup>6</sup> AA-GG<sup>6</sup> HH<sup>8</sup> II-NN<sup>6</sup> ¶<sup>6</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\UBOE\002220; digitised on Google Books<sup>427</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 6; ICCU OPAC SBN: 10; CCFR: 16; UK COPAC: 15

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Chalkokondyles (Greek) with reprint of the Latin translation by Clauser. Reprint of Gregoras (Greek/Latin).

**n°20 Full title:**

*Historiæ* || **BYZANTINÆ** || **SCRIPTORES TRES** || GRAECO-LATINI, VNO || Tomo simul nunc Editi. ||

I. NICEPHORI GREGORAE, ROMANAE, HOC || est Byzantinæ historiæ Libri XI. quibus res à Græcis Imperatoribus per annos || CXLV, à Theodoro Lascari priore, vsque ad Andronici Palæologi posterioris || obitum gestæ, describuntur, & Nicetæ Acominati Choniata *παρλειπόμενα* sup- || plentur: || II. LAONICI CHALCOCONDYLAE ATHENIENSIS || Historia de origine ac rebus gestis Imperatorum Turcicorum, ab Ogusiorum primordio usque ad Mechemetis primi annum XIII. in qua Græcorum, Impe- || riique totius inclinatio atque interitus, ab Andronico Iuniore vsque ad Con- || stantinum vltimum eiusque filios breuiter, sed exacto, ac miro ordine esponi- || tur è tribus Bibliothecæ Palatinæ manuscriptis codicibus nunc primùm Græcè || edita & emendata. || III. GEORGII LOGOTHETAE ACROPOLITAE || Chronicon Constantinopolitanum, complectens captę à Latinis Constantino- || poleos, & annorum circiter sexaginta Historiam, à Balduino Flandro Augusto || ad Balduinum vltimum, eius nepotem, Byzantij Imperatorem. ||

Accesserunt INDICES necessarii. ||

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<sup>427</sup> Google Books keyword search: *Scriptores historiae Byzantinae tres Graeco-Latini*, 1615 (Vienna, ÖNB copy).

[Device] || COLONIAE ALLOBROGUM || Apud Petrum de la Rouiere. || M.DC.XV.

**n°20 Dedication letter** [\*<sup>2</sup>r-<sup>4</sup>r]:

*P. de la ROVIERE* [...] *Ex Typographeio nostro, VIII. Idus mensis III. anno cIo Io CXV* [...] AMPLISSIMIS DOCTISSIMISQVE VIRIS, || D. GEORGIO FETTICHIO, || ARGENTINENSI PATRICIO || NOBILISSIMO. ||

D. IOH. LVDOWICO HAWENREVERTERO, || Philosophiæ, & Medicinæ Doctori celeberrimo, atque in in- || clyta Argentinensium Academia metaphysices || Professore dignissimo, || ET ||

D. MATTHLÆ BERNEGGERO, PHILOSOPHIÆ || Doctori, historiarúmque ibidem Professore || clarissimo, S.

**n°20.1** [\*<sup>2</sup>r]: *'multa esse partes in historia, ad vitam utiles. Sed omnium utilissima sunt descriptiones religionum atque imperiorum'*

**n°20.2** [\*<sup>2</sup>r]: *'Nec verò dubium est, historias prodesse, tum ad cognitionem religionis, tum ad confirmandam in animis pietatem.'*

**n°20.3** [\*<sup>3</sup>v]: *'Legantur ergo Turcica gentis & aliarum historia: sed ea conditione ut lectores considerent, quæ exempla de religione, de imperiis, de moribus admoneant, se suosque omni studio excitent ad pietatem, necnon ad ceteras virtutes: quia sine Dei auxilio nec constitui, nec retineri possunt Reipublicæ.'*

## Appendix B:

### Biographical records of the editors, printers and dedicatees

**ALBERTONI, Angelo:** see Paluzzi Albertoni, Angelo

**ARTUS, Thomas** (?-?), Sieur d'Embry:<sup>428</sup> editor [n°19]. French author, scholar and translator. The only original work of his that seems to have enjoyed some fortune was published probably in 1605 under the name *Les hermaphrodites* (the same text was later republished in 1724, this time under the title *Description de l'isle des hermaphrodites*), an earlier but apparently less successful version of *Gulliver's travels*.<sup>429</sup> Artus is mostly remembered for his editorial activity: aside from his work on Vigenère's Chalkokondyles, this includes a commentary on Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* published in 1611,<sup>430</sup> a partial translation of Cesare Baronio's (1538-1607) *Annales Ecclesiastici*, published in 1616,<sup>431</sup> and, most notably, a magnificently engraved edition of Philostratus known as the *Images ou tableaux de platte peinture des deux Philostrate*, first published in 1602.<sup>432</sup>

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<sup>428</sup> On Artus see *FBI*, I, 101; J. Batteau, 'Artus (7) (Thomas)' in *DBF*, III, 1938, 1220-1221.

<sup>429</sup> *Les hermaphrodites*, s.l., [1605?] [BNF: FRBNF30032431]; *Description de l'île des hermaphrodites, nouvellement découverte, contenant les moeurs, les coutumes et les ordonnances des habitans de cette île, comme aussi le discours de Jacophile à Limne, avec quelques autres pièces curieuses. Pour servir de supplément au "Journal de Henri III"*, Cologne [i.e. Brussels], Heirs of H. Demen, 1724 [BNF: FRBNF32076026].

<sup>430</sup> *Philostrate. De la Vie d'Apollonius Thyaneen en VIII livres. De la traduction de Vigenère, [...] reveuë et exactement corrigée sur l'original grec par Fed. Morel, [...] et enrichie d'amples commentaires par Artus Thomas, sieur d'Embry, [...]*, Paris, Widow of Abel L'Angelier, 1611 [BNF: FRBNF31102246, FRBNF31102247].

<sup>431</sup> *Les Annales ecclésiastiques, du [...] cardinal César Baronius, réduites en deux volumes et en langue française par Claude Durand, [...] Jos. de La Planche, [...] et Artus Thomas, sieur d'Embry*, Paris, Widow of Mathieu Guillemot and S. Thiboust, 1616 [BNF: FRBNF30058560; also in another imprint by R. Thierry: FRBNF30058559].

<sup>432</sup> *Les Images ou tableaux de platte peinture des deux Philostrates, [...] et les statues de Callistrate, mis en françois par Blaise de Vigenere, [...] Avec des epigrammes [...] par Artus Thomas sieur d'Embry*, Paris, Abel L'Angelier and Mathieu Guillemot, [1602] [BNF: FRBNF36582998].

**AVANZI, Lodovico** (?-1576?):<sup>433</sup> printer [n°04]. Originally from Brescia, Avanzi published about 47 editions between 1556-1576,<sup>434</sup> to which one should add a number of editions commissioned to other printers. Secondary literature on Avanzi as a printer is scarce; despite being an editor and a man of letters too, his printing pattern appears to be strictly that of an entrepreneur who attempted to meet the tastes of the widest possible market, seldom venturing into speculative enterprises. He usually printed manuals and general reference books, reprinting a number of times those which proved more successful.<sup>435</sup> In particular, he specialised in basic medical manuals, arguably more useful to barbers rather than to professional surgeons and practitioners. Most of his editions are Italian texts or translations into Italian; the remaining few editions are in Latin. He never printed using Greek types, and, in general, the edition of Zonaras is one of the very few texts of Greek literature in his catalogue.

**AYMIN, Jean** (?-?):<sup>436</sup> editor [n°11]. Very obscure figure, almost nothing is known about him.

**BAILLET, Pierre** (?-?):<sup>437</sup> publisher [n°19]. Printer and bookseller, active in Paris 1601-1636.

**BAUMBACH, Johann Balthasar** (?-1622):<sup>438</sup> editor [n°20]. Professor of Greek and Hebrew in Heidelberg.

**BAUME, Claude de La:** see La Baume, Claude de.

**BERNEGGER, Matthias** (1582-1640):<sup>439</sup> dedicatee [n°20]. Originally from Hallstatt in Upper Austria, Bernegger moved to Strasbourg at an early age and soon

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<sup>433</sup> On Lodovico Avanzi and his activity see S. Pratelli in *DTDEI*, 50-51.

<sup>434</sup> Avanzi was most prolific in the first ten years of his activity, with a peak of 8 editions in 1556, his first year of business. These observations are generally based on ICCU OPAC SBN and EDIT16.

<sup>435</sup> Approximately half of Avanzi's editions are in fact reprints or reissues.

<sup>436</sup> Neither in *FBI* nor in *DBF*.

<sup>437</sup> On Baillet see *RIL*, n°175 (not in RENOARD 1965).

<sup>438</sup> On Baumbach see *GBI*, I, 190 (not in *ADB/NDB*).

rose to academic prominence in classical philology, mathematics and astronomy. In 1612 he had translated into Latin one of Galileo Galilei's minor works, and later he translated more. His work in classical philology includes editions of Suetonius, Justin, Pliny the Younger and, most notably, Tacitus, and include a commentary on Johannes Meursius's (1579-1639) *Glossarium graecobarbarum*.<sup>440</sup> He was also involved in the political discussion in Strasbourg during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), supporting a pacifist view and the French party, despite his Protestant faith. From 1607 to 1613 he taught at the Strasbourg Protestant Gymnasium, and from 1613 he began teaching for the Strasbourg Academy.

**BERTHELIN, Jean** (?-?):<sup>441</sup> publisher [n°19/P]. It is unclear whether he is to be identified with Jean I (1577?-1652) or with his son, Jean II (1616?-1672), since both were active in Rouen as booksellers when n°19/P was issued.

**BETTIGNOLI, Giovanni** (?-?): dedicatee [n°09]. Little known dedicatee, since his name appears, in printed works, only in this edition (in the dedication letter spelled 'Bizzignolo'), or in later antiquarian catalogues referring to this edition.<sup>442</sup> The Bettignolis were a wealthy family that had resided in Treviso since the first half of the fourteenth century, though they originally came from Brescia, as did the members of another family, the da Brescia (or da Bressa), of which the Bettignolis were a cadet branch.<sup>443</sup> The origin and the family's position, based on a flourishing wool industry, are also mentioned in a passage of the dedication letter: *'l'antica sua nobiltà discesa*

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<sup>439</sup> On Bernegger see *GBI*, I, 261; C. Hallier, 'Bernegger, Matthias' in *NDB*, II, 1955, 106-107 (*NDB* online PND: 11614419X).

<sup>440</sup> See MOENNIG 1994, 164, 18n.

<sup>441</sup> *RIL*, n°435 or n°436.

<sup>442</sup> PAITONI 1766, II, 259-260. It is unclear whether the Giovanni Bettignoli mentioned in *CICOGNA* 1834, IV, 46, is the same one of this dedication letter.

<sup>443</sup> On the origin of the Bettignoli and the Da Brescia see RENUCCI 2007. Different spellings of the family name include Bettignolo, Bizignolo, Bissignolo, Bissignoli, Bizzignoli.

*dalla potente & ricca città di Brescia, & innestata in quella di Trevisi da suoi antecessori [...] hauendo ella il supremo luogo di riputatione, di grandezza, & di copia de beni della Fortuna' (\*2v). Sansovino refers to Giovanni Bettignoli using the generic title *Cavaliere*. This title was not necessarily hereditary, and Bettignoli may have been a cadet member of the family, thus not eligible for a higher, hereditary one. This title was also usually given by the Venetian Republic in return for good services to the Republic, and as a matter of fact Giovanni Bettignoli acted for some time as the representative of Treviso in Venice: *'lasciando adietro V.S. habbia tra suoi, come nobilissimo soggetto hauuti tutti i Magistrati maggiori, & molte chiarissime ambascerie per la sua Patria, al grauissimo & sapientissimo Senato Venetiano' (\*3r).**

**BONHOMME, Macé** (?-?):<sup>444</sup> printer [n°05]. Active in Lyon in the period 1535-1569. Between 1541-1542 he was briefly in Vienna, whilst between 1552-1557 his name appears in some Avignon imprints.

**BREMBATI, Count Giovanni Battista** (1509-1573);<sup>445</sup> **Emilia** (?-1570);<sup>446</sup> and **Isotta** (?-1587):<sup>447</sup> dedicatees [n°10]. The first Giolito edition of Zonaras is dedicated to three siblings, count Giovanni Battista Brembati and his two sisters, Emilia and Isotta. The main event that led to these dedications is the murder, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of April 1563, of their brother Achille Brembati, probably the most illustrious victim of the feud between the Brembatis and the Albanis,<sup>448</sup> the two most powerful families in Bergamo in the sixteenth century,<sup>449</sup> though Lodovico Dolce is very careful never to

<sup>444</sup> On Bonhomme see *RIL*, n°613.

<sup>445</sup> *IBI*, II, 608; U. Coldagelli, 'Brembati, Giovanni Battista' in *DBI*, XIV, 1972.

<sup>446</sup> FARINA 1995, 219; *IBI*, II, 608.

<sup>447</sup> FARINA 1995, 219; *IBI*, II, 608.

<sup>448</sup> On the whole series of events connected to the struggle between the Brembatis and the Albanis, see BELOTTI 1932.

<sup>449</sup> A small city some 30 miles north west of Milan, part of the Venetian Republic since 1428. Besides being a junction between important trading routes, it was of strategic importance to the Venetians in order to hold the Duchy of Milan in check.

mention the name of the Albanis in the dedication letter. It appears that all three dedicatees were quite skilled in the humanities: Giovanni Battista rose to high ranks in the Spanish army, but he was also known for his writing, in both Italian and Spanish, and for his connections with many scholars and men of letters of his time; Emilia must have had some rhetorical skills, and on one occasion she even spoke in front of the Venetian senate; and, according to some contemporaries, Isotta Brembati was, like her brother, a skilled poetess in both Italian and in Spanish.<sup>450</sup> Indeed, one wonders to what extent the family's power had an influence on the contemporaries's opinion concerning the quality of their literary endeavours, particularly if one is not willing to take too seriously some exceedingly flattering praises, including those by Lodovico Dolce. During the course of the sixteenth century both the Brembatis and the Albanis quickly rose to great prominence and inevitably entered a fierce clash for supremacy in Bergamo. As it often happens in similar situations, the two households grouped around their respective leaders, namely Giovanni Battista Brembati on one side and Giovanni Gerolamo Albani on the other. Due to his important military services for Philip II of Spain, the former was backed by the Spanish crown, whilst the latter had important connections in Venice. By the mid sixteenth century the rivalry had reached its peak, and, in 1560, some members of the Albani household, led by Giovanni Gerolamo's son, Giovanni Francesco, tried to assassinate Giovanni Battista, who, however, was disappointed by the mildness of the sentence inflicted upon Giovanni Francesco by the Venetian senate, only two years of exile. As a consequence, one year later, in 1561, Giovanni Battista tried to have Giovanni Francesco Albani murdered in Venice, but he

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<sup>450</sup> A portrait of Isotta Brembati, painted by Giovanni Battista Moroni, survives in Bergamo, at the Fondazione Museo di Palazzo Moroni. See FACCHINETTI – GALANSINO [2014], catalogue n°16. I would also like to put forward the name of Giovanni Battista Brembati for a very tentative identification of the subject in the so-called 'Portrait of a gentleman (The Unknown Poet)', catalogue n°21 (Brescia, Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo). The identification will be further elaborated in a dedicated study.

too failed and in order to avoid conviction he had to flee to Milan, where he enjoyed the protection of the Spanish authorities (Milan had been under Spanish rule since 1535). The highest level of tension was reached just after steps had been being taken for a truce: upon a formal request forwarded by the Venetian *podestà* in Bergamo, Marcantonio Morosini, to the Albanis and the Brembati, representatives of both families agreed on meeting on the first day of April 1563 in the church of S. Maria Maggiore to discuss the terms of a truce. The chosen representative for the Brembati family was Achille Brembati, who, unlike his older brother Giovanni Battista, was a rather peaceful and moderate member of the family, mostly involved in charitable works. But although the Albanis too seemed well-intentioned, upon his arrival in S. Maria Maggiore Achille Brembati was suddenly shot in the back in a plot organised by a nephew of Giovanni Gerolamo Albani, Giovanni Domenico, who was unwilling to allow a *detente* in the relations between the two families. The treacherous murder triggered a series of reactions, which however fall out of the scope of this research, given that the dedication letters were written just after the trial and conviction of those involved, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1563.<sup>451</sup> It remains unknown whether these dedication letters had, as a matter of fact, been commissioned by the Brembati, but considering that the Venetians seem to have backed the Albanis, the purpose of these

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<sup>451</sup> In short, some of the key members of the plot managed to escape whilst others were condemned to a life in exile, whereas most of their henchmen were sentenced to death. At this point the Albanis made use of their powerful connection, and soon Bergamo became the centre of a brief international dispute, with Milan and Spain backing the Brembati, and France, Pope Pius V and at one point even the Ottomans supporting the Albanis. In the meanwhile, indirect revenges took place on both sides. The international pressure on Venice was so strong that eventually the Venetian senate forced the few remaining members of the two families in Bergamo to agree the terms of a truce, leaving the murder of Achille Brembati *de facto* unpunished, which thus translated into a Pyrrhic victory of the Albanis in Bergamo: Giovanni Battista Brembati, who, in the meanwhile, had escaped to Milan, was never allowed to return, and eventually he died in exile in 1573. After a series of vicissitudes one of the Albani fugitives, Giovanni Battista (brother of Giovanni Domenico, the organiser of the plot), became a prelate in Alexandria in Egypt, and eventually rose to be patriarch from 1586 until his death in 1588. EUBEL 1903, III, 102.

dedication letters, assuming they were published on commission, might have been intended to influence the Venetian public opinion in favour of the Brembatis.

**BRENDEL VON HOMBURG, Daniel** (1522-1582):<sup>452</sup> dedicatee [n°01/B].

Brendel was born in 1522 in Aschaffenburg, approximately fifty miles east of Mainz, where, in 1555, he was elected Archbishop-Elector, an office that he then held until his death in 1582. Brendel won his election to the Archbishopric of Mainz by only one vote against a Lutheran candidate, thus securing a reliable pro-Habsburg vote in the Imperial elections which took place in the following decades. A staunch supporter of Catholicism, in 1561 Brendel founded the Jesuit college of Mainz.

**BRUNEVAL, Claude** (?-1595):<sup>453</sup> jobbing printer [n°15]. Active in Paris in the period 1575-1583.

**CAPRA, Giulio** (?-?):<sup>454</sup> dedicatee [n°13]. The Capras were a prominent family in Vicenza, and, from another dedication letter to Capra, one learns that his father was Giovanni Battista Capra.<sup>455</sup> The beautiful Palladian Villa Almerico Capra, better known as 'La Rotonda', was purchased from the Almerico family in 1591 by two brothers, Odorico and Mario Capra, who may have been brothers or cousins of Giulio Capra; however that may be, the latter does not appear to have been connected to the purchase of this building. In 1566, Giulio Capra was, however, connected to another Palladian project for a villa in the countryside, as Palladio himself states in his *Four books of Architecture*,<sup>456</sup> but the project was never completed, and Palladio does not provide any information on the man who commissioned the project other than his

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<sup>452</sup> On Brendel see *GBI*, I, 429; A.Ph. Brück, 'Daniel Brendel von Homburg' in *NDB*, III, 1957, 507-508 (*NDB* online PND: 101059434).

<sup>453</sup> On Bruneval see *RIL* 860; RENOUARD 1965, 61.

<sup>454</sup> Only the Capra family is mentioned in *IBI* (III, 769), not the individual.

<sup>455</sup> Giovanni Mario Verdizotti, *Cento favole morali de i piu illustri antichi, & moderni autori greci, & latini* [...], Venice, Giordano Ziletti, 1570 [USTC: 862533].

<sup>456</sup> PALLADIO 1570, II, 20.

name.<sup>457</sup> On Capra's occupation a little more is known. He was a highly esteemed jurist, author of some essays on juridical matters, and he often travelled to foreign courts and universities to teach *ius commune* (somewhat similar to what in modern English law is known as 'law of the land', not to be confused with 'common law') and to practise *mercatura* (trade law), his particular area of expertise.<sup>458</sup> This confirms the customary practice among prominent provincial Venetian families, that is, that the firstborn member was usually educated in the path of legal studies, and later actively practiced law. In the early 1560s Giulio Capra invested in the silk industry, but his investment was unsuccessful, and he soon had to abandon the project. The connection between the Godi family (that of the other dedicatee of this edition) and the Capra is to be found in their political position. The Capras were the leading members of the pro-Imperial and pro-Spanish faction in Vicenza, as opposed to the faction led by the rival family of the da Portos.<sup>459</sup>

**CATHERINE DE' MEDICI** (1519-1589), Queen consort (1547-1559) and later Queen mother of France (1559-1589):<sup>460</sup> dedicatee [n°06, n°15]. Daughter of Lorenzo II de' Medici (1492-1519), in 1533 she married Henry II (1519-1559, king 1547-1559), and from 1547 to 1559 she was Queen consort of France. Upon his accidental death in a joust in 1559 her political influence rose considerably: Francis II (1544-1560, king 1559-1560) died only a couple of months after being crowned king,

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<sup>457</sup> In 1577 Palladio wrote a letter to Capra justifying his delay in completing the project due to the Venetian request to build the *Basilica del Santissimo Redentore*, better known as Chiesa del Redentore. From this letter we understand that the project had been on hold for more than ten years, and probably it was then never completed due to Palladio's death in 1580. See BOTTARI – TICOZZI 1822, I, 560-564.

<sup>458</sup> It is unclear if Godi simply practised *mercatura*, or if he also taught it. The source for this and the following information is SAVIO, chapter 2.

<sup>459</sup> As opposed to the Capras, the da Portos had a more nuanced position: generally speaking, one may say that they were closer to pro-Venetian and pro-French positions. SAVIO, chapter 2.

<sup>460</sup> On Catherine de' Medici see J.-C. Roman d'Amat, 'Catherine de Médicis' in *DBF*, VII, 1956, 1418-1421.

and Charles IX (1550-1574, king 1560-1574) was at that point underage, leaving Catherine as regent from late 1560 to August 1563, when Charles IX was finally declared of age. And, even in the following years, Catherine maintained a very influential role at court during the reign of Henry III (1551-1589, king 1574-1589), who died only few months after his mother, marking the end of the Valois dynasty and opening the way to Henry IV of Bourbon (1553-1610, king 1589-1610).

**CHAUDIÈRE, Guillaume** (?-1601):<sup>461</sup> publisher [n°11, n°15]. Chaudière descended from a line of typographers (his father was the printer Claude Chaudière) and was active in Paris from 1564 to his death in 1601. Chaudière combined well the activities of printer and bookseller, and was an authorised *libraire juré de l'université*. During his printing career Chaudière had a very prolific output, issuing more than 550 editions,<sup>462</sup> mostly historical and theological texts. During the French Wars of Religion Guillaume Chaudière openly supported the Catholic League, and in fact rose to be the League's official printer, a position that undoubtedly granted him a certain prestige and a good personal profit. Generally speaking, it would appear that Chaudière had a well-developed sense of business, and although it is not possible to say whether the publication of the 1567 Byzantine Corpus was successful in France in particular, the success of the later Frankfurt editions of this same collection suggests that Chaudière's intuition in this matter was correct. After 1601 his press was kept in activity until 1620 by his widow, Gillette Haste (or Hatte), and then by his son, Regnault II Chaudière, until 1633. One of his daughters (he had eleven children in total) married Robert Fouët, the publisher of the 1596 counterfeit reissue of Vascosan's Zonaras [n°06/D].

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<sup>461</sup> *RIL*, n°1132; RENOARD 1965, 78-79.

<sup>462</sup> I base these observations on USTC. It should be noted that approximately two thirds of these editions are in fact reissues and reprints of previous editions.

**CHESNEAU, Nicolas (I)** (?-1584):<sup>463</sup> publisher [n°14, n°15]. A prominent Parisian bookseller originally from a town in Anjou, Chesneau was *libraire juré de l'université*.<sup>464</sup> He was active in Paris between 1556 and 1584, the year of his death. In 1575 he was also appointed representative of the guild of Parisian booksellers. During his career, spanning almost three decades, Chesneau published more than 550 books,<sup>465</sup> specialising mostly in theological editions and in texts aimed at the French pro-Catholic faction.

**CLAUSER, Konrad** (c.1520-1611):<sup>466</sup> editor [n°01, n°07, n°11, n°12, n°17, n°20]. A renowned Swiss theologian, philologist and translator, Clauser's year and place of birth are unknown, but given that he published his first pamphlet as early as 1536,<sup>467</sup> it is commonly agreed that he was born around 1520, if not earlier. The demonym usually associated to his name ('*Tigurinus*', *i.e.* from Zurich), moreover, points towards Zurich as his birthplace, though on this too there is no certainty. Clauser appears to have died at an extremely old age in Windisch, a town some 20 miles North-West of Zurich where he was a pastor, during the plague of 1611. Previously he had been a schoolmaster at Brugg, a nearby town. The vast majority of his scholarly contributions, concentrating on theological works (mostly his own, or translations from the Greek), was published during the 1550s. Aside from Chalkokondyles, he also edited Procopios

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<sup>463</sup> On Chesneau see RENOARD 1965, 80-81 (not in *RIL*, since in fact he was neither a printer nor a bookbinder).

<sup>464</sup> Chesneau was one of the 24 licensed booksellers the University of Paris had at any time during this period. On the Parisian licensed booksellers see PALLIER 2002.

<sup>465</sup> These figures include reprinted and reissued editions.

<sup>466</sup> On Clauser see *GBI*, II, 561; J.A. Mähly, 'Clauser, Konrad' in *ADB*, IV, 1876, 285 (*NDB* online PND: 119435616).

<sup>467</sup> *De legendis poetis ad anthonium clausurum perbrevis admonitio*, Mainz, Ivo Schöffler, 1536 [USTC: 630316]. It is worth noting, however, that with the exception of one credit in an edition published in 1543, Clauser only started publishing regularly from 1551 onwards. Even more interesting is the fact that, despite living until 1611, he stopped publishing new works from as early as 1563.

of Gaza,<sup>468</sup> but most importantly he published a number of elementary grammars and schoolbooks, including basic textual analyses of Cicero and Isocrates, presumably with his pupils in mind.<sup>469</sup>

**CRAMOISY, Claude** (c.1595-1680):<sup>470</sup> publisher [n°19]. Printer, bookseller and bookbinder, Cramoisy was active in Paris 1618-1680 and closely connected to the powerful L'Angelier family of printers.

**DANDOLO, Matteo** (1498-1570):<sup>471</sup> dedicatee [n°08]. Prominent member of the Venetian senate, thanks to his diplomatic missions on behalf of the Venetian Republic he was acquainted with most of the leading figures of his time. He is also known for a series of official diplomatic reports of historical relevance regarding his missions as ambassador. He was a keen advocate of the Venetian neutrality in the Italian political scenario, but, in contrast, he was a fierce enemy of the Turks, and often worked in favour of a Christian union against the Turks. Dandolo was a devote Roman Catholic, which first led him to be a *Riformatore dello Studio di Padova*, and later to attend the Council of Trent. During the late stages of the Council he also distinguished himself for his stance to defend the rights of the Greek Orthodox community of Venice.

**DE JONGE, Adriaan:** see Jonge, Adriaan de.

**DE LA BAUME, Claude:** see La Baume, Claude de.

**DE LA ROVIÈRE, Pierre:** see La Rovièrre, Pierre de La.

**DE' MEDICI CATHERINE:** see Catherine de' Medici.

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<sup>468</sup> *Procopii gazaei sophistae commentarii in octateuchum* [...], Zurich, Andreas Geßner & Hans Jakob Geßner, 1555 [USTC: 686906].

<sup>469</sup> See for instance *Ciceronis librorum de officiis, de amicitia, de senectute, analysis*, Basel, Johannes Oporinus 1558 [USTC: 622593] and *Isocratis orationum omnium analysis*, Basel, Johannes Oporinus 1558 [USTC: 668327].

<sup>470</sup> On Cramoisy see *RIL*, n°1369; RENOUARD 1965, 100.

<sup>471</sup> See G. Gullino, 'Dandolo, Matteo' in *DBI*, XXXII, 1986 (not in *IBI*).

**DOLCE, Lodovico** (1508/10-1568):<sup>472</sup> editor [n°10, n°13]. Dolce was one of the most trusted collaborators of the Venetian printer Giolito de Ferrari. Born to a noble but impoverished Venetian family, all that his guardians could afford for him was a good literary education at the University of Padua (his father, Fantino, had died when he was two years old), which provided him with a solid formation in the humanities and little more, but in turn this made for a modest, yet reliable, source of income. Despite a marriage and two children, the only thing Dolce seems to have really cared for in his life were his literary endeavours, and after a series of travels he appears to have resided permanently in Venice from 1545, possibly even living as a resident in Giolito's press. Like several learned men of his time, he was a polygraph, but arguably not the most talented one. He wrote in a wide number of literary genres and could therefore be equally be described as a literate, poet, historian, dramatist, grammarian, philosopher, editor, translator and commentator, but he never seems to have excelled in any particular one of these areas. But the lack of quality in his works was balanced by quantity: it is in fact even difficult to calculate exactly the overall number of texts he edited, either as translator, author or editor (not always credited), a number which is calculated in approximately 160 works and more than 300 editions in the sixteenth century alone,<sup>473</sup> making him a prodigiously prolific scholar. Among other things, Dolce was the first to call Dante's Divine Comedy 'Divine', whilst previously it was only known as the *Commedia*, or *Comedia*: the name *Divina Comedia*, in fact, only appeared for the first time in the 1554/55 edition edited by Dolce and printed by Giolito.<sup>474</sup> But,

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<sup>472</sup> On Dolce see *IBI*, IV, 1309; G. Romei, 'Dolce, Lodovico' in *DBI*, XL, 1991; PASSANO 1878, I, 244-245; DI FILIPPO BAREGGI 1988; TERPENING 1997; NUOVO – COPPENS 2005, 101-104.

<sup>473</sup> These figures are based on ICCU OPAC SBN and EDIT16, and include reissues, reprints, etc..

<sup>474</sup> *La Diuina Comedia di Dante, di nuouo alla sua vera lettione ridotta con lo aiuto di molti antichissimi esemplari. Con argomenti, et allegorie per ciascun canto, & apostille nel margine. Et indice copiosissimo di*

despite a number of undeniable achievements, Dolce died in poverty in 1568 after a rather uneventful life, the timeline of which was really only marked by his major editions. His professional life, however, may be considered a prototype and precursor of a new professional figure, that of the editorial director, who worked in close association with printers and publishers but did not share their financial commitments. The editorial director was no longer a mere freelance editor, and despite the fact that in this evolution the freedom to choose which texts to work on was lost, on the other hand, for the first time, a far more relevant position was gained within the publishing house, and the exchange of ideas between the editorial director and the printer/publisher increased to become constant and reciprocally profitable. For instance, Giolito's catalogue was widely influenced by Dolce's suggestions. And despite maybe not being very rewarding from a financial point of view, it did however grant the editor with a reliable source of income, and since in a market as competitive as that of Venice a printer could hardly cope without the aid of a professional providing full time literary advice, the advantage was evident for both parties.

**DOUSA, Theodorus** (1580-1663):<sup>475</sup> editor [n°20]. Dousa, a Dutch historian and classicist, was member of a prominent scholarly family and son of the probably better known Janus Dousa (1545-1604). At some point he was councilman of Utrecht. His name appears in many variants, most notably in the original Dutch form, 'Dirk van der Does'.

**DU CARROY, Jean** (?-?):<sup>476</sup> publisher [n°15]. Printer and bookseller, active in Paris between 1577 and 1610. His activity was, however, interrupted for a long period

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*tutti i vocaboli piu importanti usati dalpoeta, con la sposition loro*, Venice, Gabriele Giolito, 1555 (1554 in the register) [USTC: 808793].

<sup>475</sup> On Dousa see CERL Thesaurus: cnp00976407.

<sup>476</sup> On du Carroy see RENOARD 1965, 124 (not in *RIL*).

(1586-1595) due to a nine-years-long exile for having printed some banned pamphlets.

The same accusation was then moved against him again in 1610, at which point he was more than 80 years old, and presumably never resumed printing.

**EMILIO, Marco** (?-?):<sup>477</sup> editor [n°04]. A very obscure figure, described as of Florentine origin, but nothing else is known about him. A number of elements suggest that he may have never actually existed. Most likely it will never be possible to tell with absolute certainty whether this is the case, but the inconsistencies regarding this very elusive editor are evident: In the first place, in his whole lifetime he is only credited for

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<sup>477</sup> *IBI*, IV, 1352. The biographical tradition on Marco Emilio presents a number of oddities and inconsistencies. Among other difficulties, a name like ‘Marco Emilio’, composed by two first names and thus so scarcely distinctive, complicates the process of research and identification. In fact, even the two main Italian online bibliographical catalogues offer opposite readings: *Marco Emilio* according to Edit16, *Emilio Marco* according to ICCU OPAC SBN. I propend for the former, since it is very unlikely that a name would appear on a title-page preceded by the surname. Unless, of course, one assumes that ‘Fiorentino’ is not a demonym, but rather a surname, though it seems unlikely. There are two biographical traditions on Marco Emilio: the first dates back to Zeno (FONTANINI – ZENO 1753, II, 286n) and is followed unquestioningly by Casati, who in turn is the source used by Edit16. This tradition states that Marco Emilio was also the translator of the edition of Choniates published by Sansovino in 1562 [n°09]: ‘Tradusse l’opera di Zonara e di Niceta, il primo per Lodovico degli Avanzi (1560) e l’altro per Francesco Sansovino (1562) che le stamparono a Venezia’ (CASATI 1934, III, 6). But Zeno and Casati are mistaken: the translator of the Sansovino edition of Choniates is Sebastiano Fausto da Longiano, not mentioned in the title-page but referred to by Sansovino in the editorial *nota*. It remains unknown where did Zeno gather this defective information from in the first place, a question already raised by PAITONI (1766, II, 259: ‘Su qual fondamento si appoggi il Zeno, [...] io certamente non posso indovinare’). A second biographical tradition, started by Michele Poccianti in the late sixteenth century, reads as follows: ‘Marcus Emilius Historicus percelebris, e Greco in Latinum sermonem convertit Ioannem Zonaram de memorabilius mundi rebus a constitutione seculi usque ad annum 6626 ad Illustrissimum Dominum Franciscum Russellium Bedfordiae Comitem, & praefationis exordium est: “Potrò veramente, & con ragione”’ (POCCIANI 1589, 127). It is unclear here whether Poccianti means here that the preface he refers to is Zonaras’s or Marco Emilio’s, nor the structure of the sentence really allows to clear the ambiguity; had he meant the latter, he would of course have been mistaken, since the lines of text he refers to (A<sup>1</sup>r) are in fact written by Zonaras himself and are the prologue to his narration. I am inclined to believe that Poccianti believed that the preface was by Marco Emilio, otherwise it would be hard to understand how could he not have noticed the evident inconsistency of a prologue in vernacular, given that the translation was supposed to be in Latin. Furthermore, Poccianti’s description presents another evident inconsistency: the precise mention of the first line of Zonaras’s prologue suggests that he had actually seen a copy of this edition, but then how could not see that the translation was not into Latin, and that the title was in no way close to ‘de memorabilius mundi rebus’? Poccianti’s tradition was followed by some later biographical dictionaries, including NEGRI (1722, 395), who added that ‘la prefazione però a quest’Opera è di Sermone volgare’, thus showing that he had noticed the discrepancy in Poccianti, but also confirming that he too had not seen the edition, otherwise he would have easily verified that the prologue was Zonaras’s. In short, all the biographical traditions on Marco Emilio seem to be either extremely vague or simply incorrect, thus substantiating the suspicion that Marco Emilio never actually existed. On the use of pseudonyms in early modern literature (French and German in particular) see BODENMANN 2009.

this single edition; and if this is not a fault, it does however appear anomalous for a scholar to accomplish such a colossal task and then to vanish, leaving no trace as suddenly as he had appeared. Additionally, the only two biographical traditions available on Marco Emilio turn out to be both seriously flawed, so neither may be used to confirm Emilio's existence.

**FAUSTO DA LONGIANO, Sebastiano** (c.1502-c.1565):<sup>478</sup> editor [n°09]. A typical example of a sixteenth century polygraph, Fausto da Longiano was both a soldier of fortune and a writer, and often mixed the two professions, at times leading small armies, at times writing books or editing texts, as well as teaching. He travelled extensively through Northern Italy from court to court, but ever since his early years he was constantly in communication with the Venetian literary circles, and most of the books he wrote or edited were in fact printed there. To his writing activity he added numerous translations, including an abridgement of Choniates. He translated into Italian from the Greek, Latin, Spanish and French, and worked, among others, on Dioscorides, Aristotle, Cicero, Erasmus, Philo of Alexandria and Antonio de Guevara.

**FERENTILLI, Agostino** (?-?):<sup>479</sup> editor [n°10/C, n°13]. Successor of Lodovico Dolce in Giolito's workshop after Dolce's death in 1568, despite the many works to which his name is attached to, very little is known about his life.

**FERRETTI, Angelo** (?-?):<sup>480</sup> dedicatee [n°13]. A prominent member of the wealthy and powerful Ferretti family, of the local aristocracy of Ancona, a port city of

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<sup>478</sup> On Fausto da Longiano see *IBI*, IV, 1413; F. Pignatti, 'Fausto, Sebastiano' in *DBI*, XLV, 1995.

<sup>479</sup> *IBI*, IV, 1429, and CASATI 1934, III, 39 describe Ferentilli as a 16<sup>th</sup> century Venetian polygraph, translator, historian and poet, while NUOVO – COPPENS 2005, 106, only mentions him as the new chief editor of the Giolito press for historical editions after Dolce's death. Little more seems to be known on Ferentilli's biography.

<sup>480</sup> Not in *IBI*.

the Papal States with close ties to both Rome and Venice.<sup>481</sup> In the dedication letter Ferentilli provides a list and brief description of many of Angelo Ferretti's relatives and familial connections,<sup>482</sup> a summary which draws mainly on a research on the history of Ancona produced by Angelo Ferretti's father, Lando Ferretti, still unpublished.<sup>483</sup> Scattered evidence suggests that in 1530 Angelo was exiled from Ancona by a Papal nuncio, but that he then managed to return in 1533 and his influence in Ancona had since grown steadily, leading the Ferretti family to reach its moment of splendour under his very guidance.<sup>484</sup>

**FETTICH, Georg (?-?):**<sup>485</sup> dedicatee [n°20]. A very obscure figure, the only available information on him, coming from the dedication letter, is that he belonged to the local aristocracy of Strasbourg.

**FEYERABEND, Hieronymus:** see Feyerabend, Sigmund.

**FEYERABEND, Sigmund** (1528-1590):<sup>486</sup> publisher [n°12, n°17]. After receiving an early training as a woodcutter in his father's workshop, which he probably

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<sup>481</sup> The Ferretti family of Ancona appears in *GZP*, I, 400-407, though Angelo Ferretti does not appear to be listed in the family's genealogy.

<sup>482</sup> The relatives and familial connections of Angelo Ferretti listed by Ferentilli are, respectively, Lando Ferretti, the dedicatee's father, Girolama Landriani, the dedicatee's wife, count Giuseppe Francesco Landriani Della Rovere, his brother-in-law, Nicolò Todini and Giacomo (Jacopo) Malatesta, his sons-in-law (the latter was also imprisoned by the Turks and released thanks to Angelo Ferretti's influent connections), married respectively to the dedicatee's daughters Giovanna and Medea Ferretti, followed by his male progeny: Giovanni Francesco, who died prematurely in Naples while leading a company of 300 infantrymen en route to aid the besieged Malta; Cesare, knight of Malta, who also died prematurely; Girolamo, a captain, who 'add[ed] further pride to the family by having offspring on his own'; Alessandro, a captain too and a knight of Saint Lazarus, who helped the Venetians in the defence of Cyprus; Giulio, who followed his father's steps in the administration of the household; Cristoforo, a lawyer, and Marcantonio (Marco Antonio), court attendant in Ferrara. Finally Ferentilli mentions Angelo Ferretti's brother, Francesco Ferretti, knight of Saint Stephen, a military commander and author of a text on the military art: *Della osseruanza militare del capitano Francesco Ferretti d'Ancona, caualliere di s. Stefano* [...], Venice, Camillo and Rutilio Borgomineri, 1567 [USTC: 829286]. Ferentilli also informs that the source of all this information is a work by Lando Ferretti (presumably the dedicatee's father) on the history and genealogy of the Ferretti family.

<sup>483</sup> See FERRETTI 1531.

<sup>484</sup> I was unable to retrieve a copy of either of the two works that might help shed some light on the figure of Angelo Ferretti, MINELLI 1987 and FERRETTI 2000 (although excerpts of the latter are available online).

<sup>485</sup> Not in *GBI* nor in *ADB/NDB*.

perfected in Augsburg, where he stayed for some years, Feyerabend then moved for a while to Venice, and then settled definitively in Frankfurt, where he began his activity as a publisher after gaining citizenship there in 1559. His enterprise grew successfully thanks to a good sense of business and a skilled balance between association printing, press-work outsourcing and hiring the best woodcutters, including the artist Jost Amman. It is likely that his fortune as a publisher was also connected to his choice to settle in Frankfurt, where the most important European book-fair took place once a year. From 1568 some of his editions were published under the name of his son Hieronymus, probably for questions relating to censorship. As one will see, this applies both to n°12 and to n°12/C, both of which appear under the name of Hieronymus. Feyerabend published a multitude of books in a vast range of subjects, but mainly history, theology, and treatises as well as compendia of the most important Italian and French legal works, contributing to the spread of Roman law in Germany.

**FOUET, Robert** (?-1642):<sup>487</sup> publisher [n°06/D]. Bookseller and bookbinder, *libraire juré de l'université*, active in Paris between c.1594 and 1642.

**FUGGER (family)**: dedicatees [n°02, n°03, n°07, n°11, n°12, n°17, n°18]. See chapter 1.3.

**GIOLITO DE' FERRARI, Gabriele** (c.1508-1578):<sup>488</sup> printer [n°10, n°13]. One of the most prolific printers of his time, during his printing career he published an incredibly vast number of editions, but since a good number of these are in fact reprints and reissues of earlier editions it is difficult to determine his overall output with

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<sup>486</sup> On Feyerabend see *GBI*, II, 883; J. Benzing, 'Feyerabend Sigismund' in *NDB*, V, 1961, 119 (*NDB* online PND: 118683527); see also the good, albeit dated, monograph by PALLMANN 1881.

<sup>487</sup> *RIL*, n°2056; RENOARD 1965, 156-157.

<sup>488</sup> The most complete biography of Giolito is now NUOVO – COPPENS 2005, 67-123.

precision.<sup>489</sup> The fame of the Giolito press is such that thanks to the existence of several monographic studies – a few of which of great quality – there is little need here for an extensive description,<sup>490</sup> but some basic information on the Giolito press may always turn out to be useful. Gabriele Giolito was the son of Giovanni il Vecchio, also a printer, though less famous, and he was born in Trino, a town in Piedmont that seems to have fostered several important printers, including Comin da Trino. In 1523 he moved to Venice with his father, where they purchased a bookshop named ‘*all’insegna della Fenice*’ (the phoenix then became the distinctive emblem of the Giolito editions). Half a century later the Giolito Press had become arguably the largest Venetian presses of all times, with branches in Rome, Bologna and other Italian cities. Although Gabriele Giolito printed several hundred books covering many areas of knowledge, he clearly gave priority to some disciplines, and particularly to Italian literature (39% in total, 40% of which was poetry), religious literature (25% in total, 70% of which were devotional texts), treatises (20%) and history (12%, evenly distributed between ancient

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<sup>489</sup> To provide precise figures on the output of the Giolito press is almost impossible, given the vastness of its production and the lack of extensive bibliographical studies on his production. Both Bongi and Quondam attempted some educated guesses (both listing approximately 1,000 editions), but these studies have now been superseded by online library databases (namely, OPAC ICCU SBN and EDIT16), which list approximately 1,450 editions linked to the Giolito press. Needless to say, these figures need to be refined: of all the books printed by the Giolito press, only approximately 85% was published by Gabriele Giolito (occasionally in collaboration with his brothers), while the remaining 15% was published by his father (Giovanni il Vecchio, active in the 1530s), his sons (Giovanni il Giovane and Giovanni Paolo), and his nephews, who went on printing until as late as 1606. A piece of information that may help understand the extent of Giolito’s production lies in the number of privileges requested by the Giolito to the Venetian senate, 426, and even if this figure is not in any way conclusive, it may at least suggest the number of new works published by the Giolitos, that is, excluding reprints and reissues. Quondam calculated that Gabriele Giolito issued an average of 23 editions per year, a number that rises to approximately 35 per year if integrated with the latest findings on ICCU OPAC SBN and EDIT16, with spikes of more than 50 editions per year, particularly in the period 1550-1570. See QUONDAM 1977, 62-69; NUOVO – COPPENS 2005, 261-263.

<sup>490</sup> The most important study on the Giolito press is also the most recent: NUOVO – COPPENS 2005. For a bibliographical study on the Giolitos’s catalogue one has to go back to a study of the late nineteenth century, BONGI 1890-1895, though in many ways still unsurpassed. The first attempt to a quantitative analysis of the Giolitine production can be found in QUONDAM 1977, but it is now partially superseded by NUOVO – COPPENS 2005.

and modern history).<sup>491</sup> On the other hand, Giolito clearly disregarded the publication of legal and scientific texts, which amount to as little as 2% of the entire Giolitine production. This said, the name of Giolito will always be connected to the publications of books in vernacular Italian. Besides promoting texts in Italian vernacular literature, often printing them for the first time, most of the other texts that were published by Giolito were translations into Italian translations of works originally written in other languages, mostly Greek and Latin, but also French, Spanish and other European languages.<sup>492</sup> Giolito's activity is also remarkable in that he was the first to conceive the idea of the *collane*, (necklaces, meaning 'editorial collections'), series of books on the same theme aimed at offering full coverage on a given topic: for instance, the multiple *collane storiche* or the *ghirlande spirituali*.<sup>493</sup> These collections were also a powerful marketing retention tool, since readers began waiting for the new volumes of the series to be published. The editions of Byzantine historians fall within this context, and particularly within the context of the *collane storiche*.<sup>494</sup>

**GODI, Girolamo** (?-?):<sup>495</sup> dedicatee [n°10/C]. A prominent member and presumably the leading figure of the very powerful and wealthy household of the Godis, in Vicenza. The choice of a dedicatee from the *Terraferma* (the Venetian inland

<sup>491</sup> See NUOVO – COPPENS 2005, 467-472.

<sup>492</sup> This also appears to have been Dolce's intention: *'l'obiettivo a cui Lodovico Dolce tende [...], è produrre testi in un volgare standardizzato, leggibile da tutti, allineato alla lingua della comunicazione quotidiana, il più possibile comune a tutta l'Italia: [...] del tutto privo di meriti artistici, ma nella cui realizzazione si esplicita la confluenza con gli interessi dell'editore al raggiungimento del più ampio mercato possibile.'* NUOVO – COPPENS 2005, 102.

<sup>493</sup> Giolito produced two *collane storiche*, the volumes of which were called *'anelli'* (rings) in the first case and *'gioie'* (joys) in the second. There were also four *ghirlande spirituali* (spiritual garlands), the volumes of which were called *'fiori'* (flowers), whereas two other collections of religious texts never developed beyond the planning stage: the *albero spirituale* (spiritual tree) and the *scala spirituale* (spiritual ladder), the volumes of which were supposed to be called *'frutti'* (fruits) and *'gradi'* (steps) respectively. See NUOVO – COPPENS 2005, 487-489.

<sup>494</sup> *'Il Zonara giolitino era libro assai ricercato dai vecchi bibliofili, che lo ponevano nell'Anello XIV della Collana.'* BONGI 1895, II, 196.

<sup>495</sup> Although the Godi family is mentioned in *IBI* (V,1772), Girolamo Godi himself does not appear in any major biographical dictionary. Alternative spellings: name, Gerolamo; surname, Goddi, de'Godi, de Godis.

dominions), matched by the dedication letter to Giulio Capra in the third volume, is somewhat uncommon, since all the other dedication letters by Ferentilli in the two editions he edited address figures linked to the Roman and/or Anconitan society. This dedication letter is also anomalous in other ways: it is rather shorter than the others, it is not printed in italics (while all other Giolitine dedications analysed in this research are), and it is clearly positioned in a subordinate position, as the second dedication letter of the first volume, preceded by the dedication letter to Angelo Paluzzi Albertoni. All this suggests that this dedication letter was added in a haste in order to avoid leaving an empty leaf after the dedication letter to Paluzzi Albertoni, and at the same time increasing the chances of gaining the favour of another provincial aristocrat, particularly considering that the dedication letter in the third volume is addressed to a political ally of Godi, Giulio Capra. One wonders whether the subordinate position of the dedication letter might have displeased, if not openly offended, Godi, but unfortunately it is not possible to tell. Not much is known on Girolamo Godi's life. His father was one Enrico Antonio Godi; he had at least ten siblings, of whom Pietro<sup>496</sup> and Marcantonio are the best known, and at least one son, Antonio. Since the aristocrats of the *Terraferma* could neither gain access to key positions of power in Venice, which were limited to the Venetian aristocrats, nor to the rich and influential bishoprics of the Venetian inland dominions, also monopolised by the Venetian aristocracy,<sup>497</sup> it was customary for cadet members of the provincial households to be sent abroad as courtiers. This happened for a number of reasons, but mostly to improve the family's strategic connections with foreign powers. These connections would then be used as a display of familial prestige and as means of influence in the context of the struggle for

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<sup>496</sup> Pietro's son, Ludovico, was a courtier at the Nice court of Emanuele Filiberto duke of Savoy, and SAVIO, chapter 2, shows that the Godis pursued a policy of tightening links with Piedmont.

<sup>497</sup> SAVIO, chapter 2.

power with the local aristocratic households of the Venetian *Terraferma*. The household's firstborn son, on the contrary, was usually given an education that would later help him in running the household. The Godi family is known for having often given their firstborn sons a strong legal education,<sup>498</sup> but it is unclear if this applies to Girolamo Godi as well, as it is unclear what his occupation was, if he had one at all. Very few chronological details are available on Godi; one letter survives addressed to him by the humanist and later cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) from February 1532.<sup>499</sup> Additionally, and most importantly, the commission for the re-construction of the family villa in Lonigo (near Vicenza),<sup>500</sup> was given to Andrea Palladio (1508-1580), and was possibly the first villa planned and built by Palladio.<sup>501</sup> From Palladio's own words one learns that Girolamo Godi was a very wealthy man, and with good taste too, which is confirmed by the choice of luxurious frescoes and elegant finishes in the whole villa. In conclusion, it is possible to infer from the scattered and rather incomplete evidence that Girolamo Godi was a wealthy member of the provincial aristocracy of Vicenza, possibly with a juridical background and a culture in the humanities, and presumably devoted to the administration of his household and to the care of the family interests.<sup>502</sup>

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<sup>498</sup> SAVIO, chapter 2.

<sup>499</sup> BEMBO 1810, VII, 358-359.

<sup>500</sup> The website of the *Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio (CISA)* provides useful information on Godi's family and on Villa Godi. See CISA 2012.

<sup>501</sup> Certainly the first documented one, according to Palladio himself: '*In Lonigo luogo del Vicentino è la seguente fabbrica del Signor Girolamo de' Godi posta sopra un colle di bellissima uista, & a canto un fiume, che serve per Peschiera. Per rendere questo sito comodo per uso di Villa vi sono stati fatti cortili, & strade sopra uolti con non piccola spesa. [...] E' stata questa fabbrica ornata di pitture bellissime inventione da Maser Gualtiero Padovano, da Messer Battista del Moro Veronese, & da Messer Battista Veneziano; perché questo gentil'huomo, il quale è giudiciosissimo per renderla a quella eccellenza & perfezione, che sia possibile; non ha guardato a spesa alcuna, & ha scelto i più singolari, & eccellenti Pittori de' nostri tempi.*' PALLADIO 1570, II, 65.

<sup>502</sup> In addition to this, Andrea Savio informs me that Girolamo Godi might have had contact with the Roman aristocracy (and thus, possibly, with Paluzzi Albertoni and Mignanelli, the other dedicatees of the same edition) through his brothers Paolo and Alessandro, both of whom resided in Rome. It appears that Girolamo was particularly close to his brother Paolo, and that upon his premature death in 1534

**GONZAGA-NEVERS, Charles** (1580-1637), Duke of Mantua (1627-1637):<sup>503</sup> dedicatee [n°19]. Only surviving son of Louis Gonzaga-Nevers, the dedicatee of the 1577 *editio princeps* of Vigenère's Chalkokondyles [n°14]. From the early seventeenth century Charles Gonzaga-Nevers had been secretly scheming to free Greece from the Turks, in an attempt to reclaim the throne of Constantinople for himself on the grounds of his Palaiologan descent.<sup>504</sup> Gonzaga-Nevers was frequently in contact with Orthodox metropolitans in the Peloponnese, and he may even have been in contact, through a very shadowy figure, Romanos Nikiforou, a Greek émigré in the West,<sup>505</sup> with the Patriarch of Constantinople, Timotheos II Marmarinos (patriarch 1612-1620). Meanwhile, Gonzaga-Nevers had found a supporter of his plans in Père Joseph (François Leclerc du Tremblay, 1577-1638), the notorious *éminence grise*, at that time head of the Parisian Province of the Capuchin Order and, most importantly, the most trusted confidant and agent of Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642).<sup>506</sup> Gonzaga-Nevers and Père Joseph sought the aid of the Western powers to launch a crusade against the Turks, but in vain: Gonzaga-Nevers's intermittent involvement in warfare against the Huguenots during the entirety of the 1620s, together with their reciprocal mistrust of European nations and the expansion of the conflict of the Thirty Years's War (1618-1648) definitively shattered their hopes of assembling an army to reconquer Greece. In addition to this, and as a consequence of the death of the last legitimate heir of the Mantuan branch of the Gonzaga household, in 1627 Charles Gonzaga-Nevers

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Girolamo travelled at least twice to Rome, in 1534 and 1535, the first time to arrange for his funerary service, the second to affix a memorial plaque in the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso.

<sup>503</sup> On Charles Gonzaga-Nevers see *IBI*, V, 1779; G. Benzoni, 'Carlo I Gonzaga Nevers, duca di Mantova e del Monferrato', in *DBI*, XX, 1977; on his relations with Mani see PAPADOPULOS 1966.

<sup>504</sup> On Gonzaga-Nevers's plans to free Greece and reclaim the throne of Constantinople see PAPADOPOULOS 1966.

<sup>505</sup> On Romanos Nikiforou see LAUXTERMANN 2012.

<sup>506</sup> On Père Joseph see PIERRE 2005; PIERRE 2007.

inherited the Duchy of Mantua, but this inheritance met with wide international hostility. The Habsburg Emperor, the Spanish King and the Duke of Savoy could not accept a pro-French ruler in Mantua, thus setting off the War of the Mantuan Succession (1628-1631), during which Mantua was besieged between 1629 and 1630 by a German army and eventually sacked. In order to maintain his domain peacefully until his death (1637), Charles Gonzaga-Nevers had to negotiate on rather unfavourable terms with his enemies.

**GONZAGA-NEVERS, Francis** (1576-1580): see Gonzaga-Nevers, Louis.

**GONZAGA-NEVERS, Louis** (1539-1595), Duke of Nevers (1565-1595):<sup>507</sup> dedicatee [n°14, n°16, n°19]. Gonzaga-Nevers<sup>508</sup> was a member of one of the most prominent Italian families, the Dukes Gonzaga of Mantua, who played a pivotal role in maintaining a precise balance in the complex political scenario of sixteenth-century Northern Italy. Louis (born Ludovico, or Lodovico) was the third son of the Duke of Mantua Frederick II Gonzaga (1500-1540). In 1549, at ten, he was sent to Paris to inherit the assets of his maternal grandmother, Anne d'Alençon (1494-1562) after her decision to retire in a convent, so eventually he grew up at the court of Henry II (1519-1559, king 1547-1559). The title of Nevers also came through another inheritance: in 1565 Gonzaga married Henriette de Clèves (1542-1601), heir to the late Duke of Nevers, and by marriage she brought him the title as well. In 1557 Louis Gonzaga was injured and captured during the battle of St Quentin, and the wound left him crippled for the rest of his life. While he was recovering, his uncle, Ferrante I Gonzaga, who fought for the Spanish and on whom more will follow below, unsuccessfully tried to

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<sup>507</sup> On Louis Gonzaga-Nevers see *FBI*, IV, 1507; H. Tributout de Morembert, 'Gonzague (3) (Louis de)' in *DBF*, XVI, 1984, 606-607.

<sup>508</sup> In French sources his name appears either as Louis de Gonzague, duc de Nevers, or simply as Louis IV de Nevers.

convince him to switch sides. Louis Gonzaga was in fact also very close to Catherine de' Medici, queen consort of France under Henry II and later queen mother of France until her death in 1589, so that upon Henry II's death he remained part of Charles IX's (1550-1574, king 1560-1574) entourage. This fact is of some importance, since some historians argue that Gonzaga-Nevers had a decisive role in planning what is now known as the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre (24<sup>th</sup> of August 1572).<sup>509</sup> The degree to which he was involved is debated, but an indirect and yet corroborating piece of evidence may come indirectly through the suspected involvement of the Duke of Anjou, later King Henry III (1551-1589, king 1574-1589), but at the time leader of the royal army, on whom Gonzaga-Nevers had a high influence due to a long-lasting friendship that dated back to Charles IX's royal tour of the country in early 1566, when prince Henry was then fifteen and Gonzaga-Nevers was twenty-five. The two young men shared a close bond and later Gonzaga-Nevers became one of the king's closest advisors.<sup>510</sup> Aside from his political involvements, Gonzaga-Nevers was also known for his deep interest in the humanities,<sup>511</sup> a fact which also appears quite clear reading Vigenère's dedication letter. He himself is author of a book of *Mémoires* published posthumously, although unfortunately '*they reveal the statesman not the humanist*'.<sup>512</sup> Gonzaga-Nevers died in late 1595 in Nesle, just a couple of months before Vigenère's own death. Gonzaga-Nevers had children, but not without difficulty: first he had two

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<sup>509</sup> See, on the alleged role of Gonzaga-Nevers, HOLT 1986, 20.

<sup>510</sup> On the relationship between Louis Gonzaga-Nevers and Henry III see CHAMPION 1941, I, 75-76.

<sup>511</sup> Most of the information I have collected here, and particularly what pertains to Gonzaga-Nevers's interests in the humanities, I have drawn from Robert J. Sealy's very accurate study on Henry III, SEALY 1981, 21-23.

<sup>512</sup> SEALY 1981, 23. The full title of Gonzaga-Nevers's *mémoires* is *Le memoires de monsieur le duc de Neuers prince de Mantoue, pair de France, gouverneur et lieutenant general pour les rois Charles 9. Henry 3. et Henry 4. en diuerses prouinces de ce royaume. Enrichis de plusieurs pieces du temps. Premiere [-seconde] Partie, [publiées par le sieur de Gomberville, avec une généalogie de la maison de Gonzague composée par l'abbé Passevin]*, Paris, Louis Billaine, 1665 [BNF: FRBNF31011835]. Aside from the *Mémoires*, the BNF and other libraries also hold a number of manuscripts containing letters, resolutions, etc.

daughters, who both lived long enough to get married, but then his first two sons, Frederick (1573-1574) and Francis (1576-1580) died at a young age. Eventually Gonzaga-Nevers managed to ensure his line continued with Charles, then Charles I Duke of Mantua (1580-1637) the dedicatee of n°19.

**GOULART, Simon** (1543-1628):<sup>513</sup> editor [n°18]. French reformed theologian, humanist and poet.<sup>514</sup> After reading law and at some point converting to Protestantism, in 1566 he became a pastor in Geneva, where he died in 1628.

**GUILLEMOT, Mathieu (I)** (?-1610):<sup>515</sup> publisher [n°19]. Bookseller, active in Paris until 1610, after which his widow, Marie Le Voirrier, took over until 1635.<sup>516</sup>

**GUILLEMOT, Mathieu (II)** (?-1652):<sup>517</sup> publisher [n°19]. Son of the bookseller and printer Daniel Guillemot and nephew of Mathieu I, Mathieu II was active as a bookseller in Paris in the period 1618-1652, often working in collaboration with his aunt, Marie Le Voirrier, widow of Mathieu I Guillemot.

**HAUENREUTER, Johann Ludwig** (1548-1618):<sup>518</sup> dedicatee [n°20]. As a young boy Hauenreuter was instructed in the ancient languages and in the mathematical disciplines by Hieronymus Wolf, a friend of Hauenreuter's father; later Hauenreuter continued his studies in philology and medicine in Strasbourg at the Protestant Gymnasium, recently founded (in 1538) by Johannes Sturm (1507-1589),<sup>519</sup>

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<sup>513</sup> On Goulart see *FBI*, IV, 1517; H. Tibout de Morembert, 'Goulart (Simon)' in *DBF*, XVI, 1984, 737-738; SCHAFF – HERZOG 1909, V, 38.

<sup>514</sup> Goulart's name does not appear in full, but only in initials in the heading of the dedication letter. I follow the identification suggested in GLN.

<sup>515</sup> On Mathieu I Guillemot see *RIL* 2396; RENOARD 1965, 191. On his widow, who took over the bookshop in 1610 and continued until 1635, see *RIL* 2399.

<sup>516</sup> On Mathieu I Guillemot's widow see *RIL* 2399.

<sup>517</sup> On Mathieu II Guillemot see *RIL*, n°2397; RENOARD 1965, 190-191.

<sup>518</sup> On Hauenreuter see *GBI*, III, 1334 (as 'Havenreuter'); J. Franck, 'Hauenreuter (Havenreuter, Hawenreuter), Johann Ludwig' in *ADB*, XI, 1880, 115-117 (*NDB* online PND: 116550473). Alternative spellings of the surname: Havenreuter, Hawenreuter.

<sup>519</sup> On Sturm see T. Ziegler, 'Sturm, Johann' in *ADB*, XXXVII, 1894, 21-38 (*NDB* online PND: 118757598).

who held the young pupil in very high esteem. In 1574 Hauenreuter attained a doctoral degree in philosophy, and taught physics and logic at the Strasbourg academy. In 1586, following his father's footsteps, he also completed his doctoral studies in medicine at Tübingen. As a physician, he grew steadily in celebrity, to the point that even Henry IV's sister, Catherine de Bourbon (1559-1604), called to him for help. Hauenreuter's prominence also grew within the Strasbourg Academy (later University, from 1621), where he served six times as the dean of medicine and thrice as Academy rector.

**HEROLDT, Johannes** (1514-1567):<sup>520</sup> editor [n°01]. As a young scholar, until his early twenties Heroldt travelled through Germany and Italy. After the University of Basel refused him a scholarship on the grounds that he was born out of wedlock, he made his living as a translator and proofreader for several Basel printers. Heroldt then applied several times during the 1540s to become a priest, but his lack of formal preparation did not allow him to succeed in his plans. His name is thus connected to the editing of a number of editions, mostly collections of historical and theological works, but also occasional works of his own. His most important project, that however he never succeeded in completing, was a monumental *Historia Germaniae*. In later years he wrote some pro-Imperial pamphlets, always showing a great devotion to the House of Habsburg, and, from 1559, he also served from time to time as an envoy for the city of Basel to the Imperial Court in Vienna. Heroldt spent his last years working as the personal secretary of the German chronicler, Wilhelm Werner von Zimmern.

**HOUZÉ, Jean** (?-?):<sup>521</sup> publisher [n°15]. Bookseller and *libraire juré de l'université*, active in Paris between 1581 and 1627.

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<sup>520</sup> On Heroldt see *GBI*, III, 1412; A. Burckhardt, 'Herold(t), Johannes (Johannes Basilius oder Basilius Johannes, Beiname Acropolita [von Höchstädt])' in *NDB*, VIII, 1969, 678 (*NDB* online PND: 11854988X).

<sup>521</sup> RENOARD 1965, 209-210.

**JONGE, Adriaan de** (?-1620):<sup>522</sup> dedicatee [n°18]. De Jonge, (Latinised ‘Adrianus Junius’),<sup>523</sup> son of Cornelis de Jonge, from Dordrecht, is a figure about whom little is known.<sup>524</sup> From the Geneva student lists drafted by Herman de Vries de Heekelingen one learns some of de Jonge’s moves. First he was a student in Geneva from 1584; in 1586 he was in Italy; in 1592, in Leiden; by 1595 he was back in Dordrecht as a council treasurer; in 1597 he was a counsellor to the Dutch royal court, and, by 1617, he was a judge for the Dutch statesman Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547-1619).<sup>525</sup> This information suggests that de Jonge was probably born around 1565, trained in jurisprudence in Geneva, and later travelled to Italy and Leiden most likely to improve upon his studies, and then, almost at the turn of the century, he began a career as a civil servant in the Netherlands.

**JULIEN, Guillaume** (?-?):<sup>526</sup> publisher [n°15]. Bookseller, *libraire juré de l’université* and printer himself, active in Paris between 1552 and 1589.

**JUNIUS, Adrianus:** see Jonge, Adriaan de.

**KÖNIG, Ludwig** (?-?):<sup>527</sup> publisher [n°07/B?]. Very obscure printer and/or bookseller, active in Basel in the early seventeenth century, presumed to be the publisher of the counterfeit reissue of Oporinus’s *editio princeps* of Gregoras of 1562.

**LA BAUME, Claude de** (1536-1584), Archbishop of Besançon:<sup>528</sup> dedicatee [n°05]. Member of a prominent family of the Franche-Comté, second son of the

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<sup>522</sup> Not in any of the major bibliographical databases.

<sup>523</sup> In the dedication letter the name appears as Adrianus Junius Tyongius, but Junius and Tyongius appear to be the redoubling of the same surname, de Jonge. Alternative spellings of the name include Adrien Du Jon, Adriaan De Jongh and Adriaen t’Jong.

<sup>524</sup> Not to be confused with the sixteenth century physician and classical scholar Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575), also Dutch, but originally from Hoorn. Also not to be confused with another Adriaan de Jonge, son of Jan, at some point in the sixteenth century alderman of Dordrecht.

<sup>525</sup> For some very scant biographical data on de Jonge, see VRIES 1918, I, 128.

<sup>526</sup> On Julien see *RIL*, n°2802; RENOARD 1965, 221-222.

<sup>527</sup> Not in RIECH.

Marshal of Burgundy (also called Claude de La Baume), and nephew of the Archbishop of Besançon (Pierre de La Baume), of whom he became coadjutor at seven, in 1543. Upon his uncle's death in 1544 he was elected (after some controversy) to take his place, but he could only take charge upon reaching majority. In the meanwhile he matriculated at the University of Dole and studied under the humanist Gilbert Cousin. During this period he was not exempt from allegations of improper behaviour, attending some Huguenot services and courting young girls. Particularly this last aspect seems to be confirmed by a fact that came to light some years after his election as Archbishop of Besançon (1557): in 1565 it was exposed that he had been secretly married for some time, causing some embarrassment to the local Catholic hierarchy. Later in his life, however, he turned towards more conservative positions, especially against the rising presence of Protestants and particularly of Calvinists in Burgundy and Franche-Comté. In 1584 he left Besançon after Philip II had appointed him Viceroy of Sicily, but he died on his way to Palermo.

**L'ANGELIER, Abel** (?- 1610):<sup>529</sup> publisher [n°15, n°16, n°19]. *Libraire juré de l'université*, active in Paris between 1572 and 1609. L'Angelier was one of the most prominent booksellers and publishers in Paris, and thanks to his ultra-loyalist positions he was also one of the most important booksellers inside the royal palace ('*au premier pilier de la grand' Salle du Palais*').

**LA ROVIÈRE, Pierre de:** See Rovière, Pierre de La.

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<sup>528</sup> On La Baume see H. Tibout de Morembert, 'La Baume (1) (Claude de)' in *DBF*, XVIII, 1994, 1312-1313 (the family is mentioned in *FBI*, IV, 1834, but Claude de La Baume does not appear individually).

<sup>529</sup> On L'Angelier see *RIL*, n°2892; RENOARD 1965, 236-237. On L'Angelier and his wife, Françoise de Louvain, see also the excellent monograph by BALSAMO – SIMONIN 2002.

**LE BOUC, Hilaire** (?-?):<sup>530</sup> publisher [n°15]. Bookseller and bookbinder, active in Paris 1544-1596.

**LECHLER, Martin** (?-1592):<sup>531</sup> jobbing printer [n°12/C] . Active in Frankfurt 1563-1592, often working for Feyerabend.

**L'HUILLIER, Pierre** (?-?):<sup>532</sup> publisher [n°15]. Bookseller and *libraire juré de l'université*, active in Paris between 1561 and 1602. He was also *imprimeur du Roi* in 1594-1596.

**LUCIUS, Ludwig** (?-?):<sup>533</sup> jobbing printer [n°01]. A very obscure figure, active in Basel between 1552 and 1557, during which period he was connected with certainty only to three editions. He later moved to Heidelberg.

**MALINGRE, Claude** (c.1580-c.1653), Sieur de St. Lazare:<sup>534</sup> editor [n°19]. French historian and chronicler, little is known about him.

**MASSIMO, Domenico** (?-1570):<sup>535</sup> dedicatee [n°13]. Military commander originally born in Rome, member of the large and powerful Roman family of the Massimos.<sup>536</sup> He may not have had an aristocratic title himself, since he was the member of a cadet branch of the family, but at some point he purchased some properties from Marcantonio Colonna (who at the time was severely in debt and had to sell several properties), including the fortified town of Ciciliano, near Tivoli, and thus obtained the title of count of Ciciliano.<sup>537</sup> Not much is known about his youth, but he

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<sup>530</sup> On Le Bouc see *RIL*, n°3033/3034; *RENOUARD* 1965, 248.

<sup>531</sup> *RESKE* 2007, 233-234.

<sup>532</sup> On L'Huillier see *RIL*, n°2897; *RENOUARD* 1965, 281-282.

<sup>533</sup> On Lucius see *RESKE* 2007, 81.

<sup>534</sup> On Malingre see *FBI*, V, 2209; P. L--y, 'Malingre (Claude)' in *NBG*, XXXIII, 1860, 61-64.

<sup>535</sup> *IBI*, VII, 2254; *ARGEGNI* 1937, II, 236. Alternative spellings of the surname: Massimi, de'Massimi.

<sup>536</sup> The family was very large: *GZP*, VI, 583-606, lists at least two hundred known members of this family.

<sup>537</sup> When in 1563 Colonna had regained his land properties under Pius IV de' Medici, he found himself indebted to a point that he had to sell off some of his properties, and the lands of Capranica, Pisciano,

soon rose to high commands, and, in 1547, he was appointed Marshal of the Romans. In 1556, when the war between pope Paul IV Carafa (1476-1559, pope 1555-1559) and Spain (and thus Naples) broke out, the Massimos aligned with the Colonnas, leaders of the pro-Spanish faction in Rome and in the Papal States. Massimo fought valiantly under Marcantonio Colonna in a number of battles against the Pope's Swiss army,<sup>538</sup> but he had to wait until Paul IV's death in 1559 to be able to return to Rome. In 1563 he was appointed field marshal and commander of the Papal cavalry, whilst in 1565 he became governor of Ancona thanks to his loyalty to Marcantonio Colonna. His death came in the early stages of the Fourth Ottoman-Venetian War of 1570-1573, when news came to the West that the Turks had invaded Cyprus in the summer of 1570, and an ill-fated joint naval expedition was dispatched in support of the Venetian garrison in Nicosia. Pope Pius V Ghislieri (1504-1572, pope 1566-1572) appointed Marcantonio Colonna, commander of the Papal fleet harboured in Ancona, and Domenico Massimo joined his old commander and friend as captain of one of the twelve galleys of the Papal contingent.<sup>539</sup> By the time the joint fleet had reached Kastelorizo, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September 1570, when only 170 miles away from Cyprus, news came that Nicosia had fallen to the Turks on the 9<sup>th</sup> of September, and that almost the whole garrison had been slain. As a consequence, the Christian expedition lost its cohesion and the Papal

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Ciciliano and San Vito were all acquired by Domenico Massimo hence the title of count of Ciciliano. See GUGLIELMOTTI 1862, 16-17.

<sup>538</sup> Marcantonio Colonna (1535-1584) was the leader of the pro-Spanish faction in Italy in the sixteenth century. After being involved in the conflict against the pro-French Pope Paul IV Carafa, Colonna regained favour under Pius IV de' Medici (1499-1565, pope 1559-1565). After the failed attempt to relieve the garrison of Nicosia from the Turkish siege, during which, incidentally, Domenico Massimo died, in 1571, Colonna was one of the leaders at the battle of Lepanto against the Ottomans, commanding the centre of the Christian fleet along with John of Austria (Spain) and Sebastiano Venier (Venice). His public career was crowned in 1577 when King Philip II appointed him viceroy of Sicily. See F. Petrucci, 'Colonna, Marcantonio' in *DBI*, XXVII, 1982.

<sup>539</sup> Marcantonio Colonna's appointment as commander of the Papal fleet in 1570 appears strictly linked to and seems to explain why around the same period Domenico Massimo became involved in maritime warfare.

fleet decided to return to Ancona, but, having safely reached Corfu, and despite the relatively short distance between the Greek island and the Italian port, Colonna's fleet met with a number of very violent storms, and eight galleys were sunk during the short traverse, including the one of Domenico Massimo, who, despite surviving the wreck, was badly injured, and eventually died in Lecce in 1570.

**MAUMONT, Jean de** (c.1505-1584):<sup>540</sup> editor [n°06, n°15]. Member of an important family of the Angoumois region in Western France that fostered several high prelates, Jean de Maumont was son of Charles and of Anne de Bourdeilles, and was first cousin of Brantôme (1535-1614) on his mother's side. In 1530, he accompanied Francis II de la Tour d'Auvergne, viscount of Turenne (1497–1532), on a mission to Madrid to negotiate the marriage between Francis I and Eleanor, sister of Charles V. The negotiations proved successful, Eleanor married Francis I and, among other things, Maumont's sister Charlotte became one of Eleanor's maids of honour. Jean de Maumont achieved fame as a scholar in classics, and was principal of the small *Collège de St-Michel* in Paris. His intense teaching activity limited, however, the number of his editorial contributions: aside from the translation of Zonaras [n°06], published in 1560, he also edited an edition of the collected works of St Justin,<sup>541</sup> first published in 1554 and later republished (or reissued) in 1558, 1559 and 1569. Maumont was also very close to Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558), to the extent that in 1557 he supervised the first edition of his *Exercitationes* against Girolamo Cardano's

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<sup>540</sup> *FBI*, V, 2292 (not in *NBG*).

<sup>541</sup> *Les Oeuures de S. Iustin philosophe et martyr, mises de grec en francois, par Ian de Maumont*. [...], Paris, Michel de Vascosan, 1554 [USTC: 1120].

(1501-1576) *De subtilitate*.<sup>542</sup> Likewise, Maumont seems to have been close to the printer Michel de Vascosan, who published all of Maumont's major editions.

**MIGNANELLI, Pietro Paolo** (between 1532/1538 - after 1572):<sup>543</sup> dedicatee [n°10/C]. Mignanelli was presumably the only son of the prominent and well-connected Roman cardinal Fabio Mignanelli (1496-1557),<sup>544</sup> who, prior to his career in the clergy, was a lawyer in both civil and canon law. Far more is known about Fabio Mignanelli than about the dedicatee himself. Fabio Mignanelli married Antonina Capodiferro in 1532, but the latter died in childbirth in 1538, although it is not clear if this happened while giving birth to Pietro Paolo. From the dedication letter one can also infer that Pietro Paolo, like his father, had a formation in juridical studies, but again it is unclear whether or not he actively practiced law, and Ferentilli's vague reference to his expertise in the profession of arms suggests that he may have pursued a military career instead. He married Fulvia Mattei (1536-1569), from whom he had at least one child, Girolamo Mignanelli. His son was named after his maternal uncle, cardinal Girolamo Capodiferro, from whom, in 1559, he had inherited half of what is

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<sup>542</sup> *Exotericarum exercitationum liber quintus decimus, de subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum*. [...], Paris, Michel de Vascosan, 1557 [USTC: 152271].

<sup>543</sup> Not in *IBI*. Alternative spellings: name, Pierpaolo.

<sup>544</sup> Fabio Mignanelli's father, also called Pietro Paolo, connected to the Chigi and Bichi families in Rome, whilst his mother was Onorata Saraceni (or Saracini), daughter of Jacopo Saraceni and through her father connected to Giovanni Maria Chiocci Del Monte (1487-1555), later Pope Julius III (1487-1555, pope 1550-1555). Although he had studied for a career in the clergy, in 1532 Fabio Mignanelli gave up this career in order to marry Antonina Capodiferro, sister of cardinal Girolamo Capodiferro. Thanks to his powerful familial connections and to his expertise in juridical matters *in utroque iure*, Fabio Mignanelli was continuously offered assignments of growing importance either in the Papal States (among other things he served as governor of Ancona for a while in 1546 and again in 1550) or abroad, acting as a Papal agent and representative. Upon his wife's death in 1538, he finally entered the clergy, and by 1540 he had obtained his first bishopric. He then attended the early stages of the Council of Trent; in 1542 was appointed Papal nuncio in Venice, and later, in 1552, in his hometown, Siena. In 1551 he rose to become a cardinal, before dying in 1557. He was known for his rather conservative views and for his pro-French, anti-Ottoman and above all anti-Protestant positions. M. Gotor, 'Mignanelli, Fabio', in *DBI*, LXXIV, 2010.

now known as Palazzo Spada in Rome. He was last recorded as one of the captains the captains who fought with Venice against the Ottomans in March or April 1572.<sup>545</sup>

**MILLET, Jean** (1513-1576).<sup>546</sup> editor [n°05, n°15]. Scholar and translator, born in Saint-Amour, a small town in the Franche-Comté, where he resided for most of his life. Millet was a protégé of Philibert de La Baume, who among other things provided the financial means to help Millet publishing his first works; this connection explains the dedication letter to Claude de La Baume, Philibert's nephew. In the wake of the 1529 Ottoman Siege of Vienna, in 1532 Charles V sent embassies to France, England and to the Pope seeking support against the Turks; Philibert de La Baume was appointed to lead the embassy to England, and Millet followed his patron during his travels. Some time later, Millet achieved a doctorate in law, though it appears that he then still devoted most of his life to literary and editorial pursuits. Aside from his edition of Zonaras [n°05], Millet edited a number of other texts, most of which are translations into French, including: Petrus Nannius's (1500-1557) *Cinq dialogismes ou deliberations de cinq nobles dames*, published in 1550;<sup>547</sup> an edition of the fragments of Hegesippus's *Memoires*,<sup>548</sup> first published in 1551; Enea Silvio Piccolomini's (1405-1464, later Pope Pius II, 1458-1464) *Historia de duobus amantibus* (The tale of the two lovers),<sup>549</sup> published in 1551 but now lost; and Lucian's *Toxaris*.<sup>550</sup> Millet also edited a

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<sup>545</sup> GUGLIELMOTTI 1862, 304.

<sup>546</sup> On Millet see FBI, VI, 2365; P.L., 'Millet (Jean)' in NBG, XXXV, 1861, 529.

<sup>547</sup> *Cinq dialogismes ou deliberations de cinq nobles dames* [...], Paris, Arnoul L'Angelier, 1550 [USTC: 37874].

<sup>548</sup> *Le premier livre des faitz chevalereux des princes juifz durant le siege et destruction de Hierusalem*, [...], Paris, Pierre Thierry, 1551 [USTC: 21189]. No copies seem to survive of another 1551 edition, printed by Gilles Gourbin and mentioned in DU VERDIER 1585, 726 (Pp<sup>3v</sup>) [USTC: 94066]. A 1556 reprint survives in three variants with minimal imprint differences: *Les cinq livres de l'histoire contenans plusieurs guerres des Juifs et la ruine de Hierusalem*, [...] Paris, Benoît Prévost, 1556 [USTC: 20573; USTC: 14879; USTC: 37681].

<sup>549</sup> *L'histoire des amours d'Eurialus et Lucrece*, Paris, Nicolas Chrestien, 1551 [USTC: 51040]. No copies of this edition, mentioned in DU VERDIER 1585, 726 (Pp<sup>3v</sup>), seem to survive.

<sup>550</sup> *Le Toxaris*, Paris, s.n., 1553 [USTC: 83645]. One single copy (Berlin SPK) is known to survive.

text by the French ambassador Christophe Richer (c.1514-1552/53), having been sent by Francis I to Constantinople in the 1530s, upon his return in 1540 Richer published his description of the Turks (from their origin to 1540) both in Latin and in French translation (*De rebus Turcarum ad Franciscum Gallorum Regem Christianiss. libri quinque*; French: *Des Coustumes et manières de vivre des Turcs*). Not long after Richer's death, in 1553 Millet republished the French edition of his description of the Turks,<sup>551</sup> to which he added an account of the event up to 1551 written by his own hand.

**MOLIN, Barthélemy** (?-?):<sup>552</sup> publisher [n°05]. Bookseller and publisher, active in Lyon between 1560 and 1564. Not much is known on his activity except for the fact that he seems to have worked frequently in partnership with Macé Bonhomme.

**MOREL, Frédéric (I)** (1523-1583):<sup>553</sup> publisher [n°06/C]. Printer and bookseller, *Imprimeur du Roi pour les langues* (1571-1581), Morel was active in Paris between 1557 and 1583.

**MUTI, Carlo** (?-1593):<sup>554</sup> dedicatee [n°13]. Muti is more difficult to identify than the other two dedicatees of n°13. From scattered evidence one gathers that he was a leading member – possibly, though unlikely, a firstborn son<sup>555</sup> – of a very prominent Roman family that later split into several branches.<sup>556</sup> He rose to be a colonel of an

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<sup>551</sup> *Les conquestes, origine et empire des Turcs*, Paris, Nicolas Chrestien, 1553 [USTC: 41042]. No copies appear to survive, but the edition is mentioned in DU VERDIER 1585, 727 (Pp<sup>4r</sup>).

<sup>552</sup> On Molin see *RIL*, n°3605.

<sup>553</sup> *RIL*, n°3650; RENOARD 1965, 315-316. On Morel see also the monographs by DUREAU-LAPEYSSONIE 1969 and DOUMOULIN 1901.

<sup>554</sup> Not in *IBI*. Most of the data gathered on Carlo Muti comes from an indirect source, *i.e.* collected on Muti's wife, Faustina Muti. This work (PAVIOLO 2005) was produced in the context of a joint project of the Archivio di Stato di Roma and the Facoltà di lettere e filosofia Università di Roma "La Sapienza" 'Scritture di donne (secc. XVI-XX) Censimento degli archivi romani'. More precise dates and archival references on Carlo Muti's career and properties are also available in PAVIOLO 2008.

<sup>555</sup> This possibility is given by the fact that in 1559 he began the works for the construction of what would later be known as Palazzo Berardi in Rome (but at the time Palazzo Muti), and usually, even in the wealthiest families, the firstborn sons were the only ones with sufficient financial means to build palaces.

<sup>556</sup> Among others, Tiberio Muti, appointed cardinal in the early seventeenth century by Paul V Borghese (1552-1621, pope 1605-1621) and Orazio Muti, who in 1585 began the construction of what is now

infantry company and a counsellor of war under Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy (1562-1630, Duke of Savoy from 1580), who later made him prior of the chivalric order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, and, in 1584, marquis of Settimo Torinese, near Turin. Muti was also very well connected in Rome. Through his mother, Olimpia Astalli,<sup>557</sup> he was first cousin of Camillo Borghese (1552-1621), son of Flaminia Astalli and later pope as Paul V Borghese (1552-1621, pope 1605-1621). In 1568 Carlo Muti married a distant cousin of the same family, Faustina Muti (?-1604).<sup>558</sup> The personal wealth of Carlo Muti increased greatly thanks to the rich proceeds of his military career and a series of inheritances. He was already baron of Palidoro, Sant'Angelo and Castel Lombardo when, in 1573, he was able to purchase the estates now collectively known as Valle Muzia, in the area of Canemorto,<sup>559</sup> later elevated by pope Sixtus V Peretti di Montalto (1520-1590, pope 1585-1590) into a duchy, thus making Carlo Muti the first Duke of Canemorto. By 1586 he also served permanently as the Savoy ambassador to the pope. Incidentally, Carlo Muti is also known for art-historical reasons, since it was in his properties, in a part of the Gardens of Sallust in Rome, that two very important pieces of classical Roman art were discovered some time before 1569:<sup>560</sup> the so-called 'Borghese vase' and a statue of Silenus with an infant Bacchus (both currently in the Louvre museum in Paris), though it is unclear whether Carlo Muti was a collector of antiques, similarly to many other wealthy Romans of his time.

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known as Palazzo Muti-Bussi in Rome. The familial connection between the latter two and Carlo Muti is however unclear.

<sup>557</sup> But in his dedication letter Ferentilli inexplicably calls her 'Emilia Astaldi', suggesting that his information on the Muti family may have originated from an oral source.

<sup>558</sup> According to *GZP*, II, 643, the marriage took place in 1568, but according to PAVIOLO 2005 the same marriage was celebrated in 1562.

<sup>559</sup> Canemorto (modern-day Orvinio) and the surrounding estates of Pozzaglia, Petescia and Montorio in Valle, in the area of Rieti, in Latium, purchased by Carlo Muti for 25,000 *scudi*. PAVIOLO 2008. The modern name, 'Valle Muzia', quite evidently derives from the name Muti.

<sup>560</sup> The two artworks are mentioned in paragraph 59 of Flaminio Vacca's *Memorie* of 1594 (NARDINI 1704), but there is evidence that the finding dated back to 1569 or earlier: HASKELL – PENNY 1981, 307 and 315.

**OPORINUS, Johannes** (1507-1568): publisher/printer [n°01, n°02, n°03, n°07]. See chapter 1.4.

**OROLOGI, Giuseppe** (c.1520-1576?):<sup>561</sup> editor [n°08]. Benedictine scholar from Vicenza, active in the mid-sixteenth century as an editor, translator and writer.<sup>562</sup> Orologi often travelled following his patron, count Giovanni Francesco Orsini, but it appears that in the early 1560's he resided permanently in Venice, at least for some time, which would explain why most of the first editions of books he is linked to date to this period.

**PALUZZI ALBERTONI, Angelo** (?-1572):<sup>563</sup> dedicatee [n°10/C]. Information on Paluzzi Albertoni is extremely scarce. From scattered evidence it would appear that Paluzzi Albertoni, *nobilis vir*, held several minor positions in Rome mainly in the period from 1540-1570,<sup>564</sup> though he had already been appointed marshal as early as 1535, which means that he was probably born around 1500-1510. He was related to two powerful Roman families, the Caffarelli, through his mother, Geronima Caffarelli, and the Jacovacci, through his wife, Tarquinia Jacovacci, who gave birth to his two children, in 1566 and 1567.<sup>565</sup> Little is known about his profession, but, given his links to some Roman juridical commissions, one may assume that he must have had

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<sup>561</sup> *IBI*, VIII, 2565; PASSANO 1878, I, 545 'benedettino, novelliere'. Whether or not he was a member of the Dondi dall'Orologio family – as some biographers seem to suggest – it is unclear, though in my opinion doubtful.

<sup>562</sup> In EDIT16 his name is linked to 38 editions, almost half of which are reprints of a very popular Italian translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* with Orologi's comment (*editio princeps*: 1563 USTC: 845835). Other important editions or popular contributions include a translation from the French of André Thevet's *Singularities of Antarctic France*, [*i.e.*, the Americas] (Orologi's *editio princeps*: 1561; USTC: 858982), a translation from the Latin of William of Tyre's *Chronicle* (Orologi's *editio princeps*: 1562; USTC: 835556) and a series of allegorical lectures based on Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (*editio princeps*: 1563; USTC: 810729).

<sup>563</sup> His name appears neither in *IBI* nor in any major biographical dictionary, and his family is one of the few Roman families who do not appear in *GZP*. Alternative spellings of the name include Agnolo (as in this dedication letter) and Agnilo. Ferentilli only uses the second surname, Albertoni, but in other sources he usually appears as Paluzzi degli Albertoni or simply Paluzzi Albertoni.

<sup>564</sup> DE DOMINICIS 2009, 80, 122, 130, 132.

<sup>565</sup> CARLINO 2011, 52n.

some expertise in juridical matters, which would also be generally consistent with the other dedicatees of this edition, who were either jurists or members of families with strong juridical traditions.<sup>566</sup> In one of the commissions of which he was a member there were also, among others, Giacomo Muti and Orazio Nari (1506-1575), the former being the son of Carlo Muti (one of the dedicatees of n°13), the latter a cousin of both Francesco Nari (also mentioned in Muti's dedication letter) and Vittoria Nari (wife of Domenico Massimo, another dedicatee of n°13), showing how deeply connected these families were.

**PARENT, Jean** (?-?):<sup>567</sup> publisher [n°15]. Bookseller, active in Paris between 1573 and 1593.

**ROVIÈRE, Pierre de La** (?-1622):<sup>568</sup> printer [n°20]. Descended of a family originally from Languedoc, La Rovière was active in Geneva as a printer and bookseller between 1599 and 1622, year of his death. After 1622 his heirs, and particularly his widow, Judith de Laimarie, kept the press working at least until 1630. La Rovière seems to have specialised in large scholarly editions, including several classical Greek texts.<sup>569</sup>

**RUSSELL, Francis** (c.1527-1585), Second Earl of Bedford:<sup>570</sup> dedicatee [n°04]. A sympathiser of the Reformers, Francis Russell was imprisoned for some time during the early years of Queen Mary's reign (1516-1558, queen 1553-1558). Upon his release he travelled to Italy, where he met with other Reformers. In 1557 Russell was one of the

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<sup>566</sup> CARLINO 2011, 51-52.

<sup>567</sup> On Parent see *RIL*, n°3863; RENOARD 1965, 334.

<sup>568</sup> On Pierre de La Rovière see the record on RIECH, 'La Rovère, Pierre de'.

<sup>569</sup> Among his most relevant editions are the Greek Lyrics (1606 and 1614), Aristotle's *Opera* (1607), Demosthenes and Aeschines using Wolf's translation (1607), a large collection of texts pertaining to the Roman past (1609 and 1621), the New Testament in Greek only (1609, 1610, 1619 and 1620), Josephus's *Opera* (1611), the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (1612), Philo's *Opera* (1613) and the *Suidas* (1619). Possibly of higher bibliographical interest is, however, La Rovière's complete edition of the Hebrew Bible, published in 1618.

<sup>570</sup> On Russell see W.T. MacCaffrey, 'Russell, Francis, second earl of Bedford (1526/7-1585), magnate' in *ODNB*, XXXXVIII, 2004.

leaders of the English contingent at the Battle of St Quentin against the French – at a time when the English were allied with the Spanish –, though the battle was already over when they arrived. After Elizabeth I's accession to the throne (1533-1603, queen 1558-1603), Russell's prominence increased dramatically. He soon became privy councillor and was often sent on delicate diplomatic missions, mainly to France and Scotland. His public life following 1560 is not of great importance for the purposes of this research; suffice it to mention that he was made governor of Berwick and warden of the East Marches of Scotland, a key diplomatic post between Elizabeth and Mary of Scotland. He died in 1585 in London, renowned for being a generous patron of the arts.

**SAINT-ANDRÉ, Jean de** (?-?):<sup>571</sup> dedicatee [n°11]. A very obscure figure, he seems to have had a role as a bureaucrat in the Parisian diocesan administration: '*præfecturæ libellorum supplicum in Curia Parisiensi Præsidi*', according to the dedication letter (ā<sup>2</sup>r).

**SANSOVINO, Francesco** (1521-1586):<sup>572</sup> printer/publisher [n°09]. Beside being a fine editor and a prolific writer, Sansovino was among the most prominent printers of his time in Venice. He was son to the famed architect Jacopo Sansovino, and it was following his father that he originally moved from Rome to Venice. They had originally planned on staying there only for a couple of weeks on their way to France, but they both ended up passing the rest of their lives in the Republic.<sup>573</sup> As an author, Francesco Sansovino concentrated mostly on treatises, with almost a hundred works written over a period of thirty years, a remarkable number, even more remarkable if one considers how wide the range of subjects he dealt with was: from medicine to agriculture, grammar to politics, not to mention works on the meaning and usefulness

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<sup>571</sup> Neither in *FBI* nor in *NBG*.

<sup>572</sup> On Sansovino see the recent monograph by BONORA 1994.

<sup>573</sup> BONORA 1994, 11n.

of history and one on the *ars amatoria*. He is also the author of some fine comments on a number of Italian authors, including Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio and Ariosto. Probably his best-known works are two encyclopaedic descriptions of Venice, both of which enjoyed a great success for several decades after the *editiones principes*.<sup>574</sup> In comparison with many other printers of his time, including Valgrisi and Giolito de' Ferrari,<sup>575</sup> Sansovino's catalogue quite varied, amounting to some ninety editions (including reprints and reissues), despite the fact that his printing career spanned a relatively short period of time, from 1560 to 1577.<sup>576</sup> The book trade was an extremely competitive market, and a diversified catalogue was a rather common practice among printers in order to reduce the risk of poor sales. This said, printers often chose to focus on one or more markets in order to attain a dominant position in one or more particular areas,<sup>577</sup> and Sansovino usually focussed on Italian literature, often including his own works. Despite this, two of his most popular editions as an editor and a printer were in fact collections of texts on the Turks such as the *Historia universale dell'origine*

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<sup>574</sup> 'Delle cose notabili che sono in Venetia. Libri due ne quali ampiamente, e con ogni verità, si contengono usanze antiche. Habiti & vestiti. Officii e magistrati. Vittorie illustri. Senatori famosi. Huomini letterati. Principi e vita loro. Tutti i patriarchi. Musici di piu sorti. Fabriche e palazzi. Scultori e loro opere. Pittori & pitture. Con la sua tauola da trouar le materie, e le historie con ogni commodità'. Venice, Comin da Trino di Monferrato, 1561 [USTC: 854778]. This earlier and shorter treatise is followed, two decades later, by a larger one, 'Venetia citta nobilissima et singolare, descritta in XIII libri da m. Francesco Sansouino. Nella quale si contengono tutte le guerre passate, con l'attioni illustri di molti senatori. Le vite de i principi, et gli scrittori veneti del tempo loro. Le chiese, fabriche, edifici, et palazzi publichi, et priuati. Le leggi, gli ordini, et gli vsi antichi et moderni, con altre cose appresso notabili, et degne di memoria', Venice, Jacopo Sansovino, 1581 [USTC: 854824]. Both texts enjoyed several reprints, particularly the first one, shorter, less expensive, and less demanding.

<sup>575</sup> On Valgrisi and Giolito de' Ferrari see, respectively, ANDREOLI 2006 and NUOVO – KOPPENS 2005.

<sup>576</sup> However, more than 80% of Sansovino's output was in fact issued during three productive peaks: in 1560/1562, 1567/1570 and 1575.

<sup>577</sup> Avanzi and Valgrisi, for instance, focused on medicinal and pharmacological literature. Another good example, in this sense, is Giolito, who focussed on the publication of Italian contemporary authors, e.g., Pietro Aretino, Anton Francesco Doni and others. In the later years of his long printing career, however, his production of Italian authors decreased consistently whereas that of historical and religious editions increased steadily, in compliance with the new climate dictated by the publication and enforcement of the *Index librorum prohibitorum*. Valgrisi too, as it will be clear below, focussed to an extent on the *opere Turchesche*. See RICHARDSON 1994, 140-154.

*e imperio de'Turchi*,<sup>578</sup> first published in three parts between 1560 and 1561, and the *Annali overo le Vite de' principi et signori della casa Othomana*, first published in 1570 or 1571.<sup>579</sup>

Despite the fact that by 1560 Venice had long been at peace with the Ottomans, after the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559 the chance of a new outbreak of warfare in the Mediterranean increased dramatically due to Philip II's eagerness to wage war on the Turks. The Venetians were well aware of the negative consequences of a new war against the Ottomans, and this, in turn, stimulated the production of texts – mostly pamphlets – on the origin of the Turks, on the state of Turkish affairs and on military events involving the Ottomans, a kind of literature usually grouped under the common name of *Turcica*,<sup>580</sup> or, in Italian, *opere turchesche*. Sansovino's ingenuity was that he very soon detected, among his fellow citizens, the need for informative literature on the Turks, which, until then, was only available scattered in a multitude of books and pamphlets.<sup>581</sup> The popularity of this edition was such that it might in fact explain why Sansovino went on to publish, two years later, his edition of Choniates.

**SCHMIDT, Peter** (?-1593):<sup>582</sup> jobbing printer [n°12, n°17]. Active in Frankfurt 1564-1593, often working for Feyerabend. His name usually appears in editions in the Latinate 'Petrus Fabricius'.

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<sup>578</sup> *Dell'istoria universale dell'origine et imperio de Turchi parte prima [-terza]. Nella quale si contengono gli officii, le leggi, e i costumi di quella natione, così in tempo di pace, come di guerra. Con una tavola copiosissima di tutte le cose piu notabili dell'opera. Raccolta da Francesco Sansouino*, Venice, Francesco Sansovino, 1560-1561 [USTC: 854752]. In the following decade this collection was republished, in rapid succession and in more or less identical versions, by Sansovino and by other printers as well: in 1564 [USTC: 854783], 1567 [USTC: 854796], 1570 [USTC: 854805] and 1572 [USTC: 854808].

<sup>579</sup> *Gl'Annali overo le Vite de' principi et signori della casa Othomana di m. Francesco Sansouino. Ne quali si leggono di tempo in tempo tutte le guerre particolarmente fatte dalla nation de' Turchi, in diverse provincie del mondo contra i christiani*, Venice, Francesco Sansovino, 1571 [USTC: 854805], republished at least once by another printer [USTC: 854810] and then possibly incorporated in other collections.

<sup>580</sup> See above, note 21.

<sup>581</sup> BONORA 1994, 97-137.

<sup>582</sup> On Schmidt see RESKE 2007, 234-235.

**SCHWALBACH, Adam** (?-?),<sup>583</sup> **Georg Otto** (?-?): dedicatees [n°01]. Georg Otto von Schwalbach, a legal scholar, is virtually untraceable. A little more is known about his brother, enough to draw a portrait, albeit a sketchy one. Adam von Schwalbach was a prominent member of the Swiss branch of the Knights of St John, at some point leading one of the cavalry units of the Order against the Turks, though it is not clear in which particular theatre of war. Upon his return to the West, and following his father's footsteps,<sup>584</sup> Schwalbach was appointed head of the Order's Commandry of Tobel, in Thurgau.<sup>585</sup> Between 1567 and 1573 Schwalbach rose to one of the highest offices of the Order of St John in Western Europe and was elected Grand Prior of Heitersheim, an office which came with the title of Prince of the Empire.

**SONNIUS, Claude** (?-?):<sup>586</sup> publisher [n°19]. Sonnius worked mostly as a printer, presumably active in Paris in the period 1631-1661.

**STELLA, Michael Martin** (?-?):<sup>587</sup> jobbing printer [n°01]. Rather obscure printer, active in Basel around 1555-1557 but connected to a very limited number of editions.

**THÜNGEN, Neidhardt von** (1545-1598):<sup>588</sup> dedicatee [n°17]. Thüngen was born in 1545 in the small town of Wüstensachsen, in Hesse, to a family of the local aristocracy. In 1576 he helped the Catholic bishop of Würzburg, Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn (1544-1617),<sup>589</sup> open the *Juliuspital* hospice in Würzburg. Echter, one of the leaders of the Counter-Reformation in Germany, was also responsible, in 1582, for

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<sup>583</sup> Neither of the two brothers appears in either *GBI* or *ADB/NDB*.

<sup>584</sup> Konrad von Schwalbach.

<sup>585</sup> See *HIERONYMUS* 1992, 265.

<sup>586</sup> On Sonnius (neither in *RIL* nor in *RENOUARD* 1965) see *CERL Thesaurus*: cni00042748.

<sup>587</sup> On Stella see *RESKE* 2007, 82.

<sup>588</sup> On von Thüngen see D.J. Weiß, 'Neithard von Thüngen' in *NDB*, XIX, 1999, 54-55 (*NDB* online PND: 118956957). Alternative spellings of the name: Neithard, Neytard (not in *GBI*).

<sup>589</sup> *GBI*, II, 746; G. von Pölnitz, 'Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn' in *NDB*, X, 1974, 655-656 (*NDB* online PND: 118528696).

the re-foundation of the University of Würzburg (originally founded in 1405), and appointed von Thüngen rector of the institution. In 1591 Thüngen was then appointed head of the Prince-Bishopric of Bamberg, an appointment confirmed in 1593 by Pope Clement VIII Aldobrandini (1536-1605, pope 1592-1605). In 1596 Thüngen was finally ordained priest, and in 1597 bishop, one year before dying.

**VALGRISI, Vincenzo** (c.1495-1573):<sup>590</sup> printer [n°08]. One of the most prominent figures on the Venetian printing scene in the sixteenth century, with more than 200 editions issued between 1540 and 1572.<sup>591</sup> Of French origin, born Vincent Vaugris in Charly, close to Lyon, he was son of Pietro (Pierre) and brother of Giovanni (Jean), both of which were later active in the *Officina Erasiana*, and he was succeeded, in 1573, by his sons, Felice and Giorgio. Unlike other Venetian printers who published modern Italian literature extensively,<sup>592</sup> Valgrisi capitalised particularly on translations from French and German medical and pharmacological texts, his best-selling book being Mattioli's edition of Dioscorides with commentary,<sup>593</sup> printed a dozen times by Valgrisi. He published some literature, treatises and a few religious and legal texts too, but it appears that his strategy was to seek a balance between texts that offered reliable financial returns, e.g. Dioscorides and the *Orlando Furioso*, and more

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<sup>590</sup> Currently there are no specific monographs on Valgrisi, but see the doctoral thesis of ANDREOLI 2006. See also NUOVO 2003, 179-181.

<sup>591</sup> These observations are based on ICCU OPAC SBN and EDIT16. A good number are reprints, however.

<sup>592</sup> Such as, for instance, Marcolini and Giolito. These and the following comparative considerations are based, again, on ICCU OPAC SBN and EDIT16.

<sup>593</sup> The *editio princeps* of this text is the *Di Pedacio Dioscoride Anazarbeo libri cinque della historia, & materia medicinale tradotti in lingua volgare italiana da M. Pietro Andrea Matthiolo Sanese medico. Con amplissimi discorsi, et comenti, et dottissime annotationi, et censure del medesimo interprete [...]*, Venice, Niccolò Bascari, 1544 [USTC: 827013]. The first Valgrisi edition: *Il Dioscoride dell'eccellente dottor medico M. P. Andrea Matthioli da Siena; co i suoi discorsi, da esso la seconda uolta illustrati, & diligentemente ampliati: con l'aggiunta del sesto libro de i rimedi di tutti i ueleni da lui nuouamente tradotto, & con dottissimi discorsi per tutto commentato. [...]*, Venice, Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1548 [USTC: 841559].

speculative enterprises, e.g. Erasmus's works,<sup>594</sup> and some more unorthodox treatises. As several other printers of his time, Valgrisi was also an editor and a bookseller, and worked in association with many of the most prominent printers of his time including Comin da Trino, Griffio the elder and the Nicolini da Sabbio in Venice and Antonio Blado in Rome. Once Valgrisi had settled in Venice, he soon became owner of a bookshop there (*'all'insegna della testa di Erasmo'*), to which he then added his own press, later known as *Officina Erasmiana*.

**VASCOSAN, Michel** (c.1505-1577):<sup>595</sup> printer [n°06]. Vascosan was a printer and bookseller of Italian origin born in Amiens. He moved to Paris around 1530, begun his printing activity in 1532 and soon became printer for the *Université de Paris*. As it often happened in that period among princes and printers alike, Vascosan was son-in-law of the printer Josse Bade, brother-in-law of Robert I Etienne and father-in-law of Frédéric I Morel, and the latter two respectively preceded and followed him as *imprimeurs du Roi pour le grec*,<sup>596</sup> a position held by Vascosan from 1560/61 until his death in 1577.<sup>597</sup>

**VIGENÈRE, Blaise de** (1523-1596):<sup>598</sup> editor [n°14, n°16]. The main activities for which Vigenère is now known are those of diplomat and cryptographer, whilst his

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<sup>594</sup> See, for instance, *Colloqui famigliari di Erasmo Roterodamo ad ogni qualità di parlare & spetialmente a cose pietose accomodati* [...], Venice, Vincenzo Valgrisi 1545 [USTC: 828297], *Apoftemmi cioè motti sententiosi in breuità di parole per proposta o risposta ad ogni maniera di dire accomodati, scelti da diuersi autori greci, e latini, e posti insieme & isposti da Erasmo in otto libri donati nuouamente a le muse italiane* [...], Venice, Vincenzo Valgrisi 1546 [USTC: 828300], and *I ragionamenti, ouero colloqui famigliari di Desiderio Erasmo Roterodamo: di latino in volgare già tradotti ma hora in tanti luoghi racconci non solo intorno la lingua ma etiandio intorno i sensi che più tosto ritradotti che racconci si possono dire*, Venice, Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1549 [USTC: 828305].

<sup>595</sup> *RIL*, n°4940; RENOUARD 1965, 42.

<sup>596</sup> See the list of *imprimeurs* on the official website *Imprimerie Nationale*: <http://in-institutionnel.version-net.com/tswbedi01.aspx?ts=1&rub=277>

<sup>597</sup> Different sources often provide inconsistent dates for the main events of Vascosan's life.

<sup>598</sup> On Vigenère see *FBI*, VII, 3243; P.L., 'Vigenère (Blaise de)' in *NBG*, XLVI, 1866, 140-142. On his life and works see MÉTRAL 1939 and SARAZIN 1997. The former is a comprehensive analysis of Vigenère's life and scholarly activity, with a particular focus on his interests in archaeology and art criticism. The latter is more of a bibliographical study on the works he published.

qualities as a classical scholar are somewhat less known. Vigenère was born in 1523 in Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule, a small town in the Bourbonnais, in central France, to a family of the small aristocracy. His father sent him to Paris to prepare for a diplomatic career, and, while still very young, Vigenère attended the 1545 Diet of Worms as a junior secretary. Due to his job in his early years he travelled quite intensively, soon visiting the Netherlands and Germany. In 1547, aged twenty-four, he entered the service of Francis I Duke of Nevers (1516-1561), father-in-law of the dedicatee of n°14, Louis Gonzaga, who later acquired the title of Duke of Nevers through his wife, Henriette de Nevers (1542-1601). After the death of his patron (who was just but shortly outlived by his two sons, hence the passage of the title of Nevers to Louis Gonzaga), in 1566 Vigenère served as an embassy secretary on a diplomatic mission to Rome until 1569. Vigenère, however, never entirely closed his connection with the house of Nevers, and presumably, upon his return from Rome, he entered the service of Louis Gonzaga-Nevers, who in turn was one of Henry III's closest advisors. But the complexities of Vigenère's character and role are at times hard to fully understand. Besides his diplomatic and academic activities, he also spent some time as a soldier, he was keenly interested in astrology and alchemy, and he was possibly involved in occultism too;<sup>599</sup> moreover, the French diarist Pierre de L'Estoile (1546-1611) described him, quite cryptically, as a very learned man, but with 'vicious habits'.<sup>600</sup> However that may be, Vigenère only turned to writing in his fifties, making the edition of Chalkokondyles one of his earliest works. Despite his relatively late age, he

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<sup>599</sup> This particular information may become useful in the light of two elements: first, the fact that at least two of the authors of the celebratory poems that follow Vigenère's dedication letter are also linked to occultism. Second, and most importantly, the fact that at least one early seventeenth century reprint of Vigenère's translation of Chalkokondyles also includes some prophetic texts (most notably, the so-called Oracles of Leo the Wise). See n°19 and its variants.

<sup>600</sup> Upon Vigenère's death, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of February 1596, L'Estoile epitomised the event in his diary: '*Il était homme très docte, mais vicieux*'. L'ESTOILE 1879, VII, 52.

eventually turned into a prolific writer and translator.<sup>601</sup> Among other things, in 1584 he published Geoffrey of Villehardouin's (c.1155-1213)<sup>602</sup> historical description of the Crusaders's conquest of Constantinople in 1204, a text that late reappeared in a new Lyonese edition (1601) with an excerpt from Choniates for comparative purposes.<sup>603</sup> The fame he enjoyed during his lifetime, however, faded out soon after his death (1596), with one important exception, that of the so-called (but in fact misattributed) 'Vigenère cipher', a cipher considered unbreakable for almost three centuries, the fame of which survived in the history of cryptography down to the present day.

**VIGNON, Eustache (heirs of)** (1589-1603):<sup>604</sup> printers [n°18]. Anne (born 1574), Jean (born 1576) and Marie (born 1581) legally took over Eustache's press and bookshop in Basel after their father's death in 1588, though their tutors were in fact responsible for the running of the company. The press worked under this name ('*apud haeredes*') between 1589 and 1603, and, under the guidance of the tutors of the three siblings, it eventually produced more editions than those produced by Eustache Vignon himself.

**WOLF, Hieronymus** (1516-1580): editor [n°01, n°02, n°03, n°07, n°11, n°12, n°17, n°18, n°20]. See chapter 1.2.

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<sup>601</sup> For a short-title list of Vigenère's works see SARAZIN 1997, 99-102.

<sup>602</sup> On Villehardouin see *FBI*, VII, 3252; F. Monnier, 'Villehardouin (Geoffroi, Sire de)' in *NBG*, XLVI, 1856, 186-187.

<sup>603</sup> *L'Histoire de Geoffrey de Villehardouyn, Mareschal de Champagne & de Romenie; de la Conqueste de Constantinople par les Barons François associez aux Venitiens, l'an 1204* [...], Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1584 [USTC: 1744 and 58173]; in 1601 a new edition of this text was published in Lyon, with in addition an extract from Choniates, used as means of comparison: *L'Histoire, ou Chronique du seigneur Geoffroy de Ville-Harduyn, Mareschal de Champaigne & de Romanie. Representee de mot à mot en ancienne langue françoise d'un vieil exemplaire escrit à la main, qui se trouue dans les anciens archiues de la Serenissime Republique de Venise: Contenant la conqueste de l'Empire de Constantinople faicte par des Barons François, confederez & vnis avec les Seigneurs Vénitiens, l'an 1204. Ensemble la description de la prinse de Constantinople, extraicte de la fin des Annales de Nicete Coniates, historien Grec, & Chancelier des Empereurs Constantinopolitains. De nouveau mise en François*, Lyon, Heirs of Guillaume Rouillé, 1601 [FRBNF31581598]. It is unclear here whether the printers simply adapted Vigenère's translation or they had a new version prepared for the occasion.

<sup>604</sup> On Eustache Vignon (15..-1588) and his heirs see CHAIX 1954, 227; BREMME 1969, 238-240. See also the RIECH records for 'Vignon, Eustache' and 'Vignon, Héritiers d'Eustache'.



## Appendix C:

### Other early modern editions of Byzantine historians (1556-1645)<sup>605</sup>

Compared to the popularity of the Byzantine Corpus, the number of editions of other Byzantine historical texts published between 1556-1645 is substantially smaller. Applying the same criteria used for the editions of the Byzantine Corpus in this research, that is, excluding all those narratives that were either written prior to, or that deal only with events that took place before 641 AD, as well as excluding all ecclesiastical histories, one is left only with fourteen editions, including reprints and reissues, against approximately twenty of the Byzantine Corpus (fifty, including reissues). The reasons behind this disparity are unclear, but presumably they are connected to the fact that, since its first publishing, the Corpus had almost immediately gained great popularity and effectively monopolised the market, presenting itself as a coherent source of information on universal history, with the advantage of often being available in single-volume editions. The other Byzantine historical texts, on the contrary, never achieved this editorial success and appear to have circulated as scattered and more or less unrelated historical narratives. It is indicative that none of these editions were published in the vernacular: rather, they were all published either in Greek and Latin or in Latin alone, which suggests that these editions aimed at a scholarly or at least a semi-scholarly audience.

The most successful of these texts was the *Kronographikon Syntomon* (covering world history until 828 AD) by Nikephoros I (c.758-828), patriarch of Constantinople,

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<sup>605</sup> Refer to List G and to the short-title catalogue below (p.329) for a bibliographical description the editions mentioned in this appendix.

first published in Basel by Johannes Oporinus in 1561, in Latin only, using Joachim Camerarius's (1500-1574) translation [n°21]. This edition was later republished, in 1573, contemporarily in Paris, by Gilles Gorbin [n°26], and Leipzig, by Hans Steinmann and Ernst Vögelin [n°27], in both cases in smaller formats compared to the original folio edition (in-octavo and in-quarto respectively). The *editio princeps* of the Greek text (without Latin translation) was first published in Leiden in 1606 by Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), as an appendix to Eusebius's *Chronicle* [n°30]. Ten years later, in 1616, Denis Pétau published, in Paris, the *editio princeps* of Nikephoros's *Historia Syntomon*, in a volume containing fragments of Theophanes (c.752-c.818, covering 284-813 AD but essential for 602-813 AD), Gregoras and Pachymeres (1242-c.1310, covering 1255-1308) among others [n°33]. It is worth noting that neither the *Kronographikon Syntomon* nor the *Historia Syntomon* belong to the genre of ecclesiastical histories: the *Kronographikon Syntomon*, in particular, contains only a very austere list of events, while the *Historia Syntomon* is an historiographical narrative with no specific attention to church history.

After publishing the Latin *editio princeps* of Nikephoros's *Kronographikon Syntomon*, in 1566 Oporinus went on to publish, in association with Nicolaus Episcopus junior, the *princeps* of Georgios Kedrenos (fl. 11<sup>th</sup>c., covering world history until 1057 AD), this time both in Greek and Latin [n°22]. After Oporinus's death, in 1568, Episcopus carried on the work on Byzantine historians and printed two more editions edited by Johannes Leunclavius (1541-1594); first, that of Manuel Glykas (fl. 12<sup>th</sup>c., covering from the Creation of Adam until 1118 AD) in 1572 [n°24], followed by Konstantinos Manasses (fl. 12<sup>th</sup>c., covering from the Creation of Adam until 1081 AD) in 1573 [n°25]. Both are small formats (in-octavo) and in Latin only. Manasses was

then republished in 1616 in Leiden [n°34], using the Latin translation by Leunclavius but with the Greek text edited by Johannes Meursius (1579-1639) in addition to it.

Around the time when Episcopius was printing Glykas and Manasses in Basel, an edition of Skylitzes (fl. 1081, covering 811-1057) was published in Venice [n°23]. The text was edited by Giovanni Battista Gabio (15..-1590) and published by Domenico Nicolini da Sabio, and, unlike virtually all Italian editions of the Byzantine Corpus, which present translations in the *volgare*, this edition was published in Latin, and it seems never to have been reprinted or reissued. The format (in-folio) is also quite uncommon. This appears to be the only other edition, except for the Byzantine Corpus, of a Byzantine historian printed in Italy until at least 1645, and possibly even until as late as the publication of the *Corpus Veneticum* in 1729.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, two Latin translations of late Byzantine historians were published in Ingolstadt by Jacobus Pontanus (1542-1626): Ioannes Kantakouzenos (1292-1383, covering 1320-1357), in 1603 [n°28], and Georgios Sphrantzes (1401-14.., covering 1413-1477), published in appendix to Theophylaktos Simokattes, in 1604 [n°29]; the former in-folio, the latter in-quarto.

One rather interesting edition is that of Anna Komnene's (1083-c.1150) *Alexiad* (covering 1069-1118), published, in Greek only, in Augsburg in 1610 [n°31]. This in-quarto edition may be a belated consequence of Hieronymus Wolf suggesting to his patrons, the Fuggers of Augsburg, to fund the publication of the *Alexiad*,<sup>606</sup> and it is no coincidence that the text was edited by David Höschel (1556-1617), arguably Wolf's most renowned pupil. A counterfeit reissue of this edition was published in Augsburg, in 1618 [n°31/B], apparently the only case among the fourteen editions

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<sup>606</sup> See appendix A, n°03.2, lines 16-19.

under scrutiny in this appendix to be reissued. Finally, there is an edition of Georgios Akropolites (1217-1282, covering 1203-1261) [n°32], published by Theodorus Dousa (1580-1663) in Leiden in 1614,<sup>607</sup> part of the same series of the 1616 edition of Manasses, edited by Meursius [n°34]. The edition is a small in-octavo containing both the Greek original and a Latin translation.

As one can see from this short list, there are at least three distinctive features that differentiate this set of editions from those of the Byzantine Corpus published in the same period of time: the first, and most important, is that none of these editions was published in vernacular, but only in Greek or Latin; the second remarkable element is the chronological gap between the second half of the sixteenth century, when the Byzantine Corpus was most popular, and the first half of the seventeenth century, when its popularity was decreasing, leaving space for the publication of other editions of Byzantine historians; the third and last distinctive element is that, unlike the Byzantine Corpus, with the single exception of Nikephoros's *Kronographikon Syntomon*, most of these editions were printed on average only twice over a century, and many only once – quite a striking contrast, if compared to the dozen or so editions of the authors of the Byzantine Corpus over the same period of time.

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<sup>607</sup> The 1616 edition of Akropolites is already mentioned in chapter 5, n°20, as source of the reprint of 1615 (with Gregoras and Chalkokondyles).

**Short-Title Catalogue of Byzantine historiographers  
not included the Byzantine Corpus (1556-1645)**

**CODE:** n°21

**AUTHOR/S:** Nikephoros

**SHORT TITLE:** Chronologia secundum Græcorum rationem temporibus expositis,  
autore Nicephoro archiepiscopo Constantinopolis [...].

**IMPRINT:** Basel, Johannes Oporinus, [1561]

**EDITOR/S:** Joachim Camerarius

**DEDICATEE/S:** Wolfgang, Count Palatine of Zweibrücken

**COUNTRY:** Switzerland

**LANGUAGE:** Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** 6 years (HRE [presumed], only mentioned in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** 223, [45] pages; 2°

**COLLATION:** a<sup>6</sup> b<sup>4</sup> c-y<sup>6</sup> z<sup>4</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 622537; VD16: N 1446; digitised  
on Google Books<sup>608</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 7 [VD16: 13]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 8; CCFR: 8; UK COPAC: 10

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Nikephoros's *Kronographikon Syntomon* (Latin).

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<sup>608</sup> Google Books keyword search: *Chronologia secundum Graecorum*, 1561 (Vienna, ÖNB copy).

**CODE:** n°22

**AUTHOR/S:** Kedrenos

**SHORT TITLE:** Georgii Cedreni Annales, sive Historiae ab exordio mundi ad Isacium Comnenum usque compendium [...].

**IMPRINT:** Basel, Johannes Oporinus and Nicolaus & Eusebius Episcopus, [1566]

**EDITOR/S:** Wilhelm Xylander

**DEDICATEE/S:** Marcus and Johann Fugger

**COUNTRY:** Switzerland

**LANGUAGE:** Greek and Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** HRE: 10 years (only declared in the title-page); France: 10 years (only declared in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** [8], 662 pages; 663-714 columns; [32] leaves; 2°

**COLLATION:**  $\alpha^4$  a-z<sup>6</sup> A-Z<sup>6</sup> Aa-Kk<sup>6</sup> Ll<sup>8</sup> Mm-Pp<sup>2</sup> Qq<sup>4</sup> Rr-Ss<sup>6</sup> Tt<sup>8</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 655642; VD16: G 1351; HIERONYMUS 1992, 272; digitised on Google Books<sup>609</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 14 [VD16: 13]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 19; CCFR: 17; UK COPAC: 17

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Kedrenos (Greek and Latin).

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<sup>609</sup> Google Books keyword search: *Georgii Cedreni Annales*, 1566 (Madrid, BUC copy).

**CODE:** n°23

**AUTHOR/S:** Skylitzes

**SHORT TITLE:** Historiarum compendium [...] a Ioanne Curopalate Scillizzæ [...] conscriptum [...].

**IMPRINT:** Venice, Domenico Nicolini da Sabbio [for Damiano Zenaro], 1570

**EDITOR/S:** Giovanni Battista Gabio

**DEDICATEE/S:** Marcantonio Amulio, Cardinal Librarian of the Vatican Library

**COUNTRY:** Italy

**LANGUAGE:** Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** (undefined [presumed Venetian Republic and other Italian states], only declared in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** [10], 151, [1] leaves; 2°

**COLLATION:** a<sup>4</sup> b<sup>6</sup> A-PP<sup>4</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 836961; ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\BVEE\010775 [EDIT16: CNCE 31692]; digitised on Google Books<sup>610</sup>

**COPIES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: 23 [EDIT16: 22]; GBV GVK: 7; CCFR: 3; UK COPAC: 6

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Skylitzes (Latin).

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<sup>610</sup> Google Books keyword search: *Historiarum Compendium*, 1570 (Munich, BSB copy).

**CODE:** n°24

**AUTHOR/S:** Glykas

**SHORT TITLE:** *Annales Michaeli Glycae Siculi* [...].

**IMPRINT:** Basel, Nicolaus & Eusebius Episcopus, 1572

**EDITOR/S:** Johannes Leunclavius

**DEDICATEE/S:** Johannes von Kittlitz

**COUNTRY:** Switzerland

**LANGUAGE:** Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** HRE: 10 years (only declared in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** [16], 512, [68] pages; 8°

**COLLATION:**  $\alpha^8$  a-z<sup>8</sup> A-M<sup>8</sup> N<sup>10</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 611611; VD16: G 2264; digitised on Google Books<sup>611</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 7 [VD16: 11]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 13; CCFR: 5; UK COPAC: 11

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Glykas (Latin).

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<sup>611</sup> Google Books keyword search: *Annales Michaeli Glycae Siculi*, 1572 (Lyon, BM copy).

**CODE:** n°25

**AUTHOR/S:** Manasses

**SHORT TITLE:** Annales Constantini Manassis [...].

**IMPRINT:** Basel, Nicolaus & Eusebius Episcopus, 1573

**EDITOR/S:** Johannes Leunclavius

**DEDICATEE/S:** Arnold II (IV) von Bentheim-Tecklenburg

**COUNTRY:** Switzerland

**LANGUAGE:** Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** HRE: 10 years (only declared in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** [16], 176, [32] pages; 8°

**COLLATION:**  $\alpha^8$  a-n<sup>8</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 611609; VD16: M475; digitised on Google Books<sup>612</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 8 [VD16: 10]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 14; CCFR: 12; UK COPAC: 7

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Manasses (Latin).

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<sup>612</sup> Google Books keyword search: Annales Constantini Manassis, 1573 (Madrid, BUC copy).

**CODE:** n°26

**AUTHOR/S:** Nikephoros

**SHORT TITLE:** Chronologia tripertita ex beato Nicephoro episcopo  
Constantinopolitano in Latinum conuersa [...].

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Gilles Gorbin, 1573

**EDITOR/S:** Joachim Camerarius; Antoine Leconte

**DEDICATEE/S:** Thomas Rehdiger

**COUNTRY:** France

**LANGUAGE:** Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** France (undefined period, only declared in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** [12], 141 [i.e. 39], [1] leaves; 8° [frequent page misnumberings]

**COLLATION:** a<sup>8</sup> e<sup>4</sup> A-E<sup>8</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 170125 [FB: 80678]; ICCU OPAC  
SBN: IT\ICCU\LIAE\001576; digitised on Google Books<sup>613</sup>

**COPIES:** USTC: 5 (France: 1; Italy: 3; Denmark: 1); CCFR: 6; GBV GVK: 0; ICCU  
OPAC SBN: 5; UK COPAC: 6

**REMARKS:** Reprint of the 1561 *editio princeps* of Nikephoros's *Kronographikon  
Syntomon* [n°21].

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<sup>613</sup> Google Books keyword search: *Chronologia tripertita ex beato Nicephoro*, 1573 (Naples, BN copy).

**CODE:** n°27

**AUTHOR/S:** Nikephoros

**SHORT TITLE:** Chronologia secundum Graecorum rationem temporibus expositis, autore Nicephoro archiepiscopo Constantinopolis [...].

**IMPRINT:** Leipzig, Johannes Steinmann for Ernst Vögelin, [1573]

**EDITOR/S:** Joachim Camerarius

**DEDICATEE/S:** Wolfgang, Count Palatine of Zweibrücken

**COUNTRY:** Germany

**LANGUAGE:** Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** 5 years (HRE [presumed], only declared in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** 280, 107, [89] leaves; 4°

**COLLATION:** A-R<sup>8</sup> S<sup>4</sup> Aa-Ll<sup>8</sup> <sub>2</sub>Mm<sup>4</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** USTC: 622532; VD16: N 1448; digitised on Google Books<sup>614</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 8 [VD16: 10]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 1; CCFR: 2; UK COPAC: 1

**REMARKS:** Reprint of the 1561 *editio princeps* of Nikephoros's *Kronographikon Syntomon* [n°21].

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<sup>614</sup> Google Books keyword search: *Chronologia secundum Graecorum*, 1573 (Lyon, BM copy).

**CODE:** n°28

**AUTHOR/S:** Kantakouzenos

**SHORT TITLE:** Ioannis Cantacuzeni ex imperatoris de rebus ab Andronico Palaeologo iuniore imp. Constantinopolitano nec non a se gestis libri quatuor [...].

**IMPRINT:** Ingolstadt, Adam Sartorius, 1603

**EDITOR/S:** Jacobus Pontanus; Jacob Gretser

**DEDICATEE/S:** Heinrich von Knöringen, Prince-Bishop of Augsburg; Vitus von Rechberg; Johann Hieronymus Stor von Ostrach; Collegium Canonicorum Ecclesiae Augustanae

**COUNTRY:** Germany

**LANGUAGE:** Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** HRE (undefined period, only declared on the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** [31] pages, 1148 columns, [43] pages; 2°

**COLLATION:** \*<sup>4</sup> A-Z<sup>6</sup> a-z<sup>6</sup> Aa-Ff<sup>6</sup> Gg<sup>8</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** VD17: 23:231152D; ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\BVEE\039761; digitised on Google Books<sup>615</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 1 [VD17: 3]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 7; CCFR: 8; UK COPAC: 3

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Kantakouzenos (Latin).

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<sup>615</sup> Google Books keyword search: Joannis Cantacuzeni, 1603 (Lyon, BM copy).

**CODE:** n°29

**AUTHOR/S:** Sphrantzes [in appendix to Simokattes]

**SHORT TITLE:** Theophylacti Simocattæ [...] Historiæ Mauricii Tiberii [...] libri VIII.  
Item Georgii Phrantzæ protouestiarii Chronicorum de vltimis Orientalis Imperii  
temporibus [...] libri III [...].

**IMPRINT:** Ingolstadt, Adam Sartorius, 1604

**EDITOR/S:** Jacobus Pontanus

**DEDICATEE/S:** Maximilian I, Elector of Bavaria

**COUNTRY:** Germany

**LANGUAGE:** Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** undetermined

**DESCRIPTION:** [8], 484, [28]; [2], 331 [i.e. 325], [25] pages; 4°

**COLLATION:** \*<sup>4</sup> A-Z<sup>4</sup> a-z<sup>4</sup> Aa-Ss<sup>4</sup>; <sub>2</sub>A-Z<sup>4</sup> <sub>2</sub>a-x<sup>4</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** VD17: 23:230235Q; ICCU OPAC SBN:  
IT\ICCU\RAVE\015109; digitised on Google Books<sup>616</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 5 [VD17: 4]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 11; CCFR: 9; UK COPAC: 8

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Sphrantzes (Latin).

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<sup>616</sup> Google Books keyword search: *Simocattæ*, 1604 (Lyon, BM copy).

**CODE:** n°30

**AUTHOR/S:** Nikephoros [in appendix to Eusebius]

**SHORT TITLE:** Thesaurus temporum Eusebij Pamphili Caesareae Palaestinae episcopi Chronicorum canonum omnimodae historiae libri duo [...].

**IMPRINT:** Leiden, Thomas Basson for Hieronymus Commelinus, 1606

**EDITOR/S:** Joseph Justus Scaliger

**DEDICATEE/S:** Jacques Auguste de Thou

**COUNTRY:** Netherlands

**LANGUAGE:** Greek

**PRIVILEGE:** ( $\pi^2$ r): France: 10 years (Fontainebleau, 21/05/1599; signatory: de Neufville; privilege applies from the moment of the first impression, not from the date of issue)

**DESCRIPTION:** [44], 197, [21], 70, 403, [1], 192 [i.e. 292], [28], 342, [6] pages; 2°

**COLLATION:**  $\pi^2$  \*-\*\*<sup>6</sup> \*\*\*-\*\*\*\*<sup>4</sup> A-R<sup>6</sup> S-T<sup>4</sup> V-Aa<sup>6</sup> Bb<sup>4</sup>; <sub>2</sub>A-Z<sup>6</sup> <sub>2</sub>Aa-Kk<sup>6</sup> Ll<sup>4</sup>; <sub>3</sub>A-Y<sup>6</sup> <sub>3</sub>Z<sup>4</sup> <sub>3</sub>Aa<sup>6</sup> <sub>3</sub>B<sup>4</sup>; <sub>2</sub>\*<sup>6</sup> <sub>2</sub>\*\*-\*<sup>6</sup>\*\*\*\*<sup>4</sup> <sub>4</sub>A-Z<sup>6</sup> <sub>4</sub>Aa-Ff<sup>6</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\RLZE\026954; digitised on Google Books<sup>617</sup>

**COPIES:** KB: 0; GBV GVK: 12; ICCU OPAC SBN: 11; CCFR: 16; UK COPAC: 24

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Nikephoros's *Kronographikon Syntomon* (Greek). The Latin translation had already been published in 1561 by Camerarius [n°21].

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<sup>617</sup> Google Books keyword search: *Thesaurus temporum, 1606* (Lyon, BM copy 1 [digitised 01/07/2013]).

**CODE:** n°31

**AUTHOR/S:** Anna Komnene

**SHORT TITLE:** Alexiados libri VIII. Ab Anna Comnena de rebus a patre gestis scripti [...].

**IMPRINT:** Augsburg, Ad insigne Pinus [Chrysostomus Dabertzhofer?], 1610

**EDITOR/S:** David Höschel

**DEDICATEE/S:** Markus Welser; Johann Jakob Rembold

**COUNTRY:** Germany

**LANGUAGE:** Greek

**PRIVILEGE:** HRE: permanent [*Cum privilegio Cæs. Maiest. perpetuo*] (only declared in the title-page)

**DESCRIPTION:** [8], 188 pages; 4°

**COLLATION:**  $\pi^4$  A-Z<sup>4</sup> Aa<sup>2</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** VD17: 23:246642Z; ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\BVEE\043647; digitised on Google Books<sup>618</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 5 [VD17: 5]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 4; CCFR: 4; UK COPAC: 12

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Anna Komnene (Greek).

**CODE:** n°31/B (counterfeit reissue)

**SHORT TITLE:** Historia Constantinopolitana Imperatorum Orientalium et Occidentalium [...].

**IMPRINT:** Augsburg, *s.n.*, 1618

**PRIVILEGE:** undetermined (presumably the original privilege applies)

**DESCRIPTION:** [8], 188 pages; 4°

**COLLATION:**<sup>619</sup>  $\pi^4$  A-Z<sup>4</sup> Aa<sup>2</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** VD17: 39:123662R; digitised on Google Books<sup>620</sup>

**COPIES:** GBV GVK: 2 [VD17: 2]; ICCU OPAC SBN: 0; CCFR: 0; COPAC: 3

**REMARKS:** Counterfeit reissue of the *editio princeps* [n°31].

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<sup>618</sup> Google Books keyword search: *Anna Comnène Alexiados*, 1610 (Lyon, BM copy).

<sup>619</sup>  $\pi^4$  recomposed in an attempt to resemble the original quire as closely as possible.

<sup>620</sup> Google Books keyword search: *Anna Comnena*, 1618 (Vienna, ÖNB copy).

**CODE:** n°32

**AUTHOR/S:** Akropolites

**SHORT TITLE:** Georgii Logothetae Acropolitae Chronicon Constantinopolitanum [...].

**IMPRINT:** Leiden, Govert Basson, 1614

**EDITOR/S:** Theodorus Dousa

**DEDICATEE/S:** Ordines Provinciae Traiectensis [Utrecht]

**COUNTRY:** Netherlands

**LANGUAGE:** Greek and Latin

**PRIVILEGE:** None

**DESCRIPTION:** [24], 56, 95, [1] pages; 8°

**COLLATION:** (?)<sup>8</sup> χ<sup>4</sup> A-H<sup>4</sup> a<sup>4</sup> B-G<sup>4</sup> H-I<sup>8</sup> K<sup>4</sup>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:** KB: KW 368 L 36 [3] [+ KW 1704 B 7 [3]];

ICCU OPAC SBN: IT\ICCU\UBOE\029929; digitised on Google Books<sup>621</sup>

**COPIES:** KB: 2; GBV GVK: 7; ICCU OPAC SBN: 4; CCFR: 3; UK COPAC: 7

**REMARKS:** *Editio princeps* of Akropolites (Greek and Latin).

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<sup>621</sup> Google Books keyword search: *Georgii Logothetae* (Lausanne, UL copy).

**CODE:** n°33

**AUTHOR/S:** Nikephoros, Theophanes, Gregoras, Pachymeres

**SHORT TITLE:** S. Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breuiarium Historicum, de rebus gestis ab obitu Mauricij ad Constantinum vsque Copronymum [...].

**IMPRINT:** Paris, Sebastien Chappelet, 1616

**EDITOR/S:** Denis Pétau

**DEDICATEE/S:** Guillaume du Vair

**COUNTRY:** France

**LANGUAGE:** Greek

**PRIVILEGE** (o<sup>6</sup>v): France: 10 years (Paris, 22/08/1616; signatory: Croiset)

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**COLLATION:** ã<sup>8</sup> A-Bb<sup>8</sup> a-o<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>622</sup> Google Books keyword search: Nicephori patriarchae, 1616 (Rome, BNC copy).

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**AUTHOR/S:** Manasses

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**EDITOR/S:** Johannes Meursius [Greek] / Johannes Leunclavius [Latin translation]

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<sup>623</sup> Google Books keyword search: Manassis Annales, 1616 (Madrid, BUC copy).

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**LIST A: Editions of the Byzantine Corpus 1556-1645**

#	YEAR	AUTHOR	Lang	F.	EDITOR	PLACE	PUBLISHER	PRIVILEGE
#01	1556	Chalkokondyles	L	2°	Clauser	Basel	Oporinus	HRE: 10 years
#02	1557	Zonaras	G, L	2°	Wolf	Basel	Oporinus	HRE: 10 yrs; France: 6 yrs
#03	1557	Choniates	G, L	2°	Wolf	Basel	Oporinus	HRE: 10 yrs; France: 6 yrs
#04	1560	Zonaras	I	4°	Emilio	Venice	Avanzi	Venice: 10 years
#05	1560	Zonaras	F	2°	Millet	Lyon	Bonhomme	France: 10 years
#06	1561	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont	Paris	Vascosan	France: 10 years
#07	1562	Gregoras & Chalkokondyles	G, L*	2°	Wolf & Clauser	Basel	Oporinus	HRE: 10 yrs; France: 10 yrs
#08	1562	Choniates	I	4°	Orologi	Venice	Valgrisi	Venice: 10 years
#09	1562	Choniates	I	4°	Fausto	Venice	Sansovino	Venice: 10 years
#10	1564	Zonaras	I	4°	Dolce	Venice	Giolito	Venice: 15 years
#11	1567	Corpus	L	2°	Wolf & Clauser	Paris	Chaudière	France: 5 years
#12	1568	Corpus	L	2°	Wolf & Clauser	Frankfurt	Feyerabend	HRE: 10 years (presumed)
#13	1569	Choniates & Gregoras	I	4°	Dolce & Ferentilli	Venice	Giolito	Venice: 20 years
#14	1577	Chalkokondyles	F	4°	Vigènère	Paris	Chesneau	France: 9 years
#15	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	various	none?
#16	1584	Chalkokondyles	F	4°	Vigènère	Paris	L'Angelier	France: 9 years
#17	1587	Corpus	L	2°	Wolf & Clauser	Frankfurt	Feyerabend	none?
#18	1593	Choniates	G, L	4°	Wolf	Geneva	Vignon (heirs)	none?
#19	1612	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigènère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier & others	France: 12 years
#20	1615	Gregoras & Chalkokondyles	G, L	2°	Wolf, Clauser, Baumbach	Geneva	La Rovière	none?



**LIST C: German editions of the Byzantine Corpus 1556-1645**

#	YEAR	AUTHOR	Lang	F.	EDITOR	PLACE	PUBLISHER	NOTES
#01	1556	Chalkokondyles	L	2°	Clouser	Basel	Oporinus	
#01/B	1556	Chalkokondyles	L	2°	Clouser	Basel	Oporinus	Var. paratext
#02	1557	Zonaras	G, L	2°	Wolf	Basel	Oporinus	
#03	1557	Choniates	G, L	2°	Wolf	Basel	Oporinus	
#07	1562	Gregoras & Chalkokondyles	G, L*	2°	Wolf & Clouser	Basel	Oporinus	
#07/B	1616	Gregoras & Chalkokondyles	G, L*	2°	Wolf & Clouser	Basel	Oporinus	Counterfeit reissue
#12	1568	Corpus	L	2°	Wolf & Clouser	Frankfurt	Feyerabend	
#12/B	1574	Corpus	L	2°	Wolf & Clouser	Frankfurt	Feyerabend	Reissue
#12/C	1578	Corpus	L	2°	Wolf & Clouser	Frankfurt	Feyerabend	Reissue
#17	1587	Corpus	L	2°	Wolf & Clouser	Frankfurt	Feyerabend	

**LIST D: Italian editions of the Byzantine Corpus 1556-1645**

#	YEAR	AUTHOR	Lang	F.	EDITOR	PLACE	PUBLISHER	NOTES
#04	1560	Zonaras	I	4°	Emilio	Venice	Avanzi	
#08	1562	Choniates	I	4°	Orologi	Venice	Valgrisi	
#09	1562	Choniates	I	4°	Fausto	Venice	Sansovino	
#09/B	1562	Choniates	I	4°	Fausto	Venice	Sansovino	Var. paratext
#10	1564	Zonaras	I	4°	Dolce	Venice	Giolito	
#10/B	1565	Zonaras	I	4°	Dolce	Venice	Giolito	Var. imprint
#10/C	1570	Zonaras	I	4°	Dolce	Venice	Giolito	Counterfeit reissue
#10/D	1571	Zonaras	I	4°	Dolce	Venice	Giolito	Var. counterfeit reissue
#10/E	1572	Zonaras	I	4°	Dolce	Venice	Giolito	Var. counterfeit reissue
#10/F	1570	Zonaras	I	4°	Dolce	Venice	Giolito	Var. counterfeit reissue
#13	1569	Choniates & Gregoras	I	4°	Dolce & Ferentilli	Venice	Giolito	
#13/B	1569	Choniates & Gregoras	I	4°	Dolce & Ferentilli	Venice	Giolito	Var. imprint (internal)
#13/C	1569	Gregoras	I	4°	Dolce & Ferentilli	Venice	Giolito	Separate circulation

**LIST E: French editions of the Byzantine Corpus 1556-1645**

#	YEAR	AUTHOR	Lang	F.	EDITOR	PLACE	PUBLISHER	NOTES
#05	1560	Zonaras	F	2°	Millet	Lyon	Bonhomme	
#05/B	1560	Zonaras	F	2°	Millet	Lyon	Bonhomme	Var. imprint
#06	1561	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont	Paris	Vascosan	
#06/B	1561	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont	Paris	Vascosan	Reissue?
#06/C	1561	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont	Paris	Vascosan	Reissue
#06/D	1596	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont	Paris	Fouet	Counterfeit reissue
#11	1567	Corpus	L	2°	Wolf & Clauser	Paris	Chaudière	
#11/B	1567	Corpus	L	2°	Wolf & Clauser	Paris	Chaudière	Variant imprint
#11/C	1567	Gregoras & Chalkokondyles	L	2°	Wolf & Clauser	Paris	Chaudière	Separate circulation
#14	1577	Chalkokondyles	F	4°	Vigenère	Paris	Chesneau	
#15	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	Carroy	
#15/B	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	Houzé	Var. imprint
#15/C	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	L'Huillier	Var. imprint
#15/D	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	Julien	Var. imprint
#15/E	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	Le Bouc	Var. imprint
#15/F	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	L'Angelier	Var. imprint
#15/G	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	Parent	Var. imprint
#15/H	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	Chesneau	Var. imprint
#15/I	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	Carroy and Chaudière	Var. imprint
#15/J	1597	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	n.p.	Reissue
#16	1584	Chalkokondyles	F	4°	Vigenère	Paris	L'Angelier	
#19	1612	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier	
#19/B	1612	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier & Wid. Guillemot	Var. imprint
#19/C	1616	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier	Reissue
#19/D	1619	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier	Reissue

#19/E	1619	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier & Wid. Guillemot	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/F	1620	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier	Reissue
#19/G	1620	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier & Wid. Guillemot	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/H	1632	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. Guillemot	Reissue/reprint
#19/I	1632	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Sonnus	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/J	1632	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Cramoisy	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/K	1632	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	M. II Guillemot & Wid. Guillemot	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/L	1632	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Baillet	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/M	1633	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier & Cramoisy	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/N	1633	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Cramoisy	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/O	n.d.	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Mathieu II Guillemot	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/P	1640	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Rouen	Berthelin	Reissue

**LIST F: Genevan editions of the Byzantine Corpus 1556-1645**

#	YEAR	AUTHOR	Lang	F.	EDITOR	PLACE	PUBLISHER	NOTES
#18	1593	Choniates	G, L	4°	Wolf	Geneva	Vignon (heirs)	
#20	1615	Gregoras & Chalkokondyles	G, L	2°	Wolf, Clauser, Baumbach	Geneva	La Rovière	

**LIST D: Italian editions of the Byzantine Corpus 1556-1645**

#	YEAR	AUTHOR	Lang	F.	EDITOR	PLACE	PUBLISHER	NOTES
#04	1560	Zonaras	I	4°	Emilio	Venice	Avanzi	
#08	1562	Choniates	I	4°	Orologi	Venice	Valgrisi	
#09	1562	Choniates	I	4°	Fausto	Venice	Sansovino	
#09/B	1562	Choniates	I	4°	Fausto	Venice	Sansovino	Var. paratext
#10	1564	Zonaras	I	4°	Dolce	Venice	Giolito	
#10/B	1565	Zonaras	I	4°	Dolce	Venice	Giolito	Var. imprint
#10/C	1570	Zonaras	I	4°	Dolce	Venice	Giolito	Counterfeit reissue
#10/D	1571	Zonaras	I	4°	Dolce	Venice	Giolito	Var. counterfeit reissue
#10/E	1572	Zonaras	I	4°	Dolce	Venice	Giolito	Var. counterfeit reissue
#10/F	1570	Zonaras	I	4°	Dolce	Venice	Giolito	Var. counterfeit reissue
#13	1569	Choniates & Gregoras	I	4°	Dolce & Ferentilli	Venice	Giolito	
#13/B	1569	Choniates & Gregoras	I	4°	Dolce & Ferentilli	Venice	Giolito	Var. imprint (internal)
#13/C	1569	Gregoras	I	4°	Dolce & Ferentilli	Venice	Giolito	Separate circulation

**LIST E: French editions of the Byzantine Corpus 1556-1645**

#	YEAR	AUTHOR	Lang	F.	EDITOR	PLACE	PUBLISHER	NOTES
<b>#05</b>	<b>1560</b>	<b>Zonaras</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>2°</b>	<b>Millet</b>	<b>Lyon</b>	<b>Bonhomme</b>	
#05/B	1560	Zonaras	F	2°	Millet	Lyon	Bonhomme	Var. imprint
<b>#06</b>	<b>1561</b>	<b>Zonaras</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>2°</b>	<b>Maumont</b>	<b>Paris</b>	<b>Vascosan</b>	
#06/B	1561	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont	Paris	Vascosan	Reissue?
#06/C	1561	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont	Paris	Vascosan	Reissue
#06/D	1596	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont	Paris	Fouet	Counterfeit reissue
<b>#11</b>	<b>1567</b>	<b>Corpus</b>	<b>L</b>	<b>2°</b>	<b>Wolf &amp; Clauser</b>	<b>Paris</b>	<b>Chaudière</b>	
#11/B	1567	Corpus	L	2°	Wolf & Clauser	Paris	Chaudière	Variant imprint
#11/C	1567	Gregoras & Chalkokondyles	L	2°	Wolf & Clauser	Paris	Chaudière	Separate circulation
<b>#14</b>	<b>1577</b>	<b>Chalkokondyles</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>4°</b>	<b>Vigenère</b>	<b>Paris</b>	<b>Chesneau</b>	
<b>#15</b>	<b>1583</b>	<b>Zonaras</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>2°</b>	<b>Maumont &amp; Millet</b>	<b>Paris</b>	<b>Carroy</b>	
#15/B	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	Houzé	Var. imprint
#15/C	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	L'Huillier	Var. imprint
#15/D	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	Julien	Var. imprint
#15/E	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	Le Bouc	Var. imprint
#15/F	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	L'Angelier	Var. imprint
#15/G	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	Parent	Var. imprint
#15/H	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	Chesneau	Var. imprint
#15/I	1583	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	Carroy and Chaudière	Var. imprint
#15/J	1597	Zonaras	F	2°	Maumont & Millet	Paris	n.p.	Reissue
<b>#16</b>	<b>1584</b>	<b>Chalkokondyles</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>4°</b>	<b>Vigenère</b>	<b>Paris</b>	<b>L'Angelier</b>	
<b>#19</b>	<b>1612</b>	<b>Chalkokondyles</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>2°</b>	<b>Vigenère</b>	<b>Paris</b>	<b>Wid. L'Angelier</b>	
#19/B	1612	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier & Wid. Guillemot	Var. imprint
#19/C	1616	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier	Reissue
#19/D	1619	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier	Reissue

#19/E	1619	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier & Wid. Guillemot	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/F	1620	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier	Reissue
#19/G	1620	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier & Wid. Guillemot	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/H	1632	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. Guillemot	Reissue/reprint
#19/I	1632	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Sonnus	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/J	1632	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Cramoisy	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/K	1632	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	M. II Guillemot & Wid. Guillemot	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/L	1632	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Baillet	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/M	1633	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Wid. L'Angelier & Cramoisy	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/N	1633	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Cramoisy	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/O	n.d.	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Paris	Mathieu II Guillemot	Var. imprint of reissue
#19/P	1640	Chalkokondyles	F	2°	Vigenère	Rouen	Berthelin	Reissue

**LIST F: Genevan editions of the Byzantine Corpus 1556-1645**

#	YEAR	AUTHOR	Lang	F.	EDITOR	PLACE	PUBLISHER	NOTES
#18	1593	Choniates	G, L	4°	Wolf	Geneva	Vignon (heirs)	
#20	1615	Gregoras & Chalkokondyles	G, L	2°	Wolf, Clauser, Baumbach	Geneva	La Rovière	

LIST G: Other early modern editions of Byzantine texts 1556-1645

N°	YEAR	AUTHOR	Lang.	F.	EDITOR	PLACE	PUBLISHER	TITLE
21	1561	Nikephoros	L	2°	Camerarius	Basel	Oporinus	Chronologia secundum Græcorum rationem temporibus expositis, autore Nicephoro archiepiscopo Constantinopolis [...].
22	1566	Kedrenos	G, L	2°	Xylander	Basel	Oporinus / Episcopus	Georgii Cedreni Annales, sive Historiæ ab exordio mundi ad Isacium Comnenum usque compendium [...].
23	1570	Skylitzes	L	2°	Gabio	Venice	Nicolini da Sabbio	Historiarum compendium [...].
24	1572	Glykas	L	8°	Leunclavius	Basel	Episcopus	Annales Michaeli Glycae Siculi [...].
25	1573	Manasses	L	8°	Leunclavius	Basel	Episcopus	Annales Constantini Manassis [...].
26	1573	Nikephoros	L	8°	Camerarius	Paris	Gorbin	Chronologia tripertita ex beato Nicephoro episcopo Constantinopolitano in Latinum conuersa [...].
27	1573	Nikephoros	L	4°	Camerarius	Leipzig	Steinmann & Vögelin	Chronologia secundum Graecorum rationem temporibus expositis, autore Nicephoro archiepiscopo Constantinopolis [...].
28	1603	Kantakouzenos	L	2°	Pontanus	Ingolstadt	Sartorius	Ioannis Cantacuzeni ex imperatoris de rebus ab Andronico Palaeologo iuniore imp. Constantinopolitano nec non a se gestis libri quatuor [...].
29	1604	Sphrantzes [in Simokattes]	L	4°	Pontanus	Ingolstadt	Sartorius	Theophylacti Simocattæ [...] Historiæ Mauricii Tiberii [...] libri VIII. Item Georgii Phrantzæ protouestiarii Chronicorum de vltimis Orientalis Imperii temporibus [...] libri III [...].
30	1606	Nikephoros [in Eusebius]	G	2°	Scaliger	Leiden	Basson	Thesaurus temporum Eusebij Pamphili Caesareae Palaestinae episcopi Chronicorum canonum omnimodae historiae libri duo [...].
31	1610	Anna Komnene	G	4°	Hoeschel	Augsburg	Ad insigne Pinus [Dabertzhofer?]	Alexiados libri VIII. Ab Anna Comnena de rebus a patre gestis scripti [...].
32	1614	Akropolites	G, L	8°	Dousa	Leiden	Basson	Georgii Logothetae Acropolitae Chronicon Constantinopolitanum [...].
33	1616	Nikephoros, Theophanes, Gregoras, Pachymeres	G	8°	Pétau	Paris	Chappelet	S. Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breuiarium Historicum, de rebus gestis ab obitu Mauricij ad Constantinum vsque Copronymum [...].
34	1616	Manasses	G, L	4°	Leunclavius/M cursius	Leiden	Patius	Constantini Manassis Annales [...].