
Aldus' Greek printing types remain to this day, almost five hundred years after their appearance, the most interesting and controversial of the Greek types produced in the fifteenth century. As is well known to students of early typography, Greek printing was introduced late. It was first used in Latin books in the form of words, phrases, and quotations. This occurred in 1465 simultaneously at Mainz in Germany, and at the monastery of Subiaco in Italy. Soon after, the attempts to print Greek in Germany were discontinued and spaces were left blank to be filled by hand. In Italy, Greek continued to be used in Latin books until the first continuous printed text in Greek appeared in ca. 1474. Although Konstantinos Lascaris' *Epitome ton okto tou logou meron*, printed at Milan by Dionysius Paravisinus in 1476, is the first dated book printed entirely in Greek, two undated books are considered to be earlier than the Lascaris. One is the *Batrachomyomachia* printed at Brescia ca. 1474 by Thomas Ferrandus, and the other is the *Erotemata* by Manouel Chrysoloras printed ca. 1475/76 at Vicenza probably by Giovanni da Reno or Renner. Both the dating and attributions to the printers were made by Robert Proctor (1868-1903), who was the first scholar to study Greek printing in great detail and who is considered to be the father and founder of the study of early Greek printing and the development of Greek printing types.

It is therefore very fitting that the author of the present study should begin his book by paying tribute to Robert Proctor and his achievement while at the same time trying to rectify Proctor's unfair treatment of Aldus Manutius. This is particularly applicable to Proctor's observations on and positive aversion to the Greek cursive type introduced by Aldus Manutius in 1495.

Proctor divided early Greek type into three different categories. The 'Early Greek Class' includes books printed with type produced under direct hellenic influence, like the type of the Lascaris *Epitome* of 1476 designed by Demetrius Damilas or the type engraved under the direction of Janus Lascaris for the press of Lorenzo di Alopa in Florence. The 'Graeco-Latin Class' consists of books printed with type designed by Italian scribes or printers without any direct hellenic influence. The final category, the 'Later Greek Presses,' includes the books which appeared in the cursive style launched by Aldus Manutius in 1495 and by the printers of the late 1490s, who followed Aldus' lead and printed with cursive fonts.

Robert Proctor considered the decision of Aldus to model his Greek type after the cursive hand of the Greek fifteenth-century calligraphers, which was full of abbreviations and ligatures, a disaster from which Greek printing did not recover until the late seventeenth century when non-ligatured Greek began to appear in Amsterdam and elsewhere in Europe. He accused Aldus of having chosen the cursive style for purely commercial reasons, although it is difficult to understand how one could save money by adopting such a complicated font, requiring a great many sorts. Proctor was an advocate of the older 'purer' style that stemmed from the Graeco-Latin fonts and which culminated in the type cut in Spain by Arnaldo Guillen de Brocar in
1514 for the printing of the New Testament section of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible financed by Cardinal Francisco Ximenez. The dominance of Proctor's ideas was such that nobody dared contradict his statements for more than eighty years. Scholars such as Victor Scholderer (Proctor's successor at the British Museum Library), Stanley Morison, and Curt Buehler, to name but a few, continued to criticize and attack the Aldine Greek cursive type as unsuited to printing and a bad choice. Nicolas Barker attempts to prove that the conversion of Greek script to type presented great problems and that Aldus' solution, which was to choose the contemporary hand of the calligraphers of his day as a model, was technically and esthetically an innovation of great significance in the development of Greek printing types.

In the preliminary chapters, the author surveys the history and development of Greek printing types. He traces the beginnings of Greek printing and reviews the differences in the manuscript traditions of Greek and Latin and why the transference from Greek script to type followed a different path from that of Latin. Perhaps the author should have also pointed out that Greek printing began in a foreign land and not in a country where the language and its manuscript tradition were native to the people most involved with it. The study of Greek in Italy was recent, and most of the students of Greek in the Renaissance learned the language and its literature from fifteenth-century (i.e. contemporary) manuscripts. In fifteenth-century Italy there were few collections of earlier manuscripts of Greek to serve as models for the printing types. Even the famous collection of Greek manuscripts bequeathed to the Marciana by Cardinal Bessarion in 1468 was not available to scholars for consultation before 1530. Thus, it was inevitable that the most popular choice for Greek printing type models should ultimately have been the cursive hand, which was the style of writing most familiar to the Italian humanists.

Barker also gives us background information on the Greek scholars and scribes who lived and worked in Italy, most of them in Venice, where there was a large Greek community. Aldus Manutius, as is well known, employed several Greek scholars, among them Markos MousouroS, who was his chief editor for Greek. In his survey of the Greek letter forms before Aldus, Barker makes two revisions from Proctor's classification of the Greek printing types, both of them transfers from the Graeco-Latin to the Early Greek Class. He reclassifies the De Spira-Jenson type to the Early Greek Class because he believes that the type is based on the writing of a native Greek hand; likewise, the Vicenza Chrysoloras (ca. 1475 / 76) which is the first Greek cursive font to appear before the Aldine. In the case of the Chrysoloras he identifies the hand from which it was modelled as being that of the scholar Demetrios Chalcondyles.

The author then studies the press of Aldus Manutius and his association with Francesco Griffo of Bologna, the man who engraved and cut the four Aldine cursive fonts. The first Aldine font, the largest of the group, was introduced in 1495; the second (a reduced copy of the first) in August 1496, the third in July 1499, and the fourth, the simplest and most successful of the Aldines, in 1502. There is a chapter devoted to the printers who followed Aldus and essentially imitated his cursive fonts, which became an instant success not only in Italy but throughout Europe. Here the author distinguishes between those printers who copied the Aldine cursive
outright, and those who infringed on his copyright, and against whom Aldus brought a lawsuit. Barker then turns his attention to one of the most distinguished printers of Greek in the fifteenth century, the Cretan Zacharias Callierges. Although the type used by Callierges was also a cursive font, the technique he used in ‘joining the letters together with their accents’ had never been done before, as was claimed in the request for a patent on 21 September 1498. One of the interesting parts of this chapter is Barker’s re-interpretation of the Mousouros poem printed on the first page of the Etymologicum Magnum (1499). This poem, one of the earliest documents in existence on the early printing of Greek, has been much discussed and was translated into English by Robert Proctor and into French by Ambroise Firmin Didot. On the basis of this new interpretation Barker comes to the conclusion that Callierges was not only the printer of the works brought out by his press but that he was also the ‘designer’ and ‘engraver’ of the type, an assumption which is probably correct as, when Callierges resumed printing again in 1509, he says in the colophon of one of his publications that he ‘made this type and the model of these letters.’ Whether Callierges was also the engraver and punchcutter of the type produced in Florence for Janus Lascaris and Lorenzo di Alopa, as Barker claims, is not at all certain; at least to date there is no evidence to substantiate this bold assertion.

The most interesting, and what will undoubtedly be the most controversial aspect of the book, is the author’s attempt to identify the calligraphers after whose hand each font was modelled. Only two fifteenth-century fonts have been compared and identified with specific models. These were Aldus’ type four, the type introduced in the first edition of Sophocles, 1502. E. Quaranta successfully compared this type with Aldus’ own handwriting from a manuscript now at the Ambrosiana in Milan. The other type was that of Zacharias Callierges, who was also a scribe and who had modelled his type after his own handwriting. Beyond this, there were no other attempts at comparing script to type, and as Barker observes, studies in palaeography and early type developed quite separately and independently of each other.

The attempt to identify the hands which served as models for each of the types discussed in his book is done without any documentary evidence to back his statements and relies only on the visual evidence: study of the ductus, letter formations, ligatures, and contractions. For example, he assigned the Janus Lascaris-Lorenzo di Alopa cursive of Florence to the hand of Demetrios Damilas, a calligrapher and also the man who designed the Greek type with which the C. Lascaris Epitome of 1476 was printed at Milan. Damilas took part in the printing of the Editio princeps of Homer in Florence in 1488 / 89. However, we also know that he left for Rome soon afterwards and there is no evidence that he returned to Florence at any time in the early 1490s. However, Barker says that Damilas ‘presumably returned from Rome for the purpose.’ In the case of the first Aldine type Barker maintains that it was modelled after the writing of a Greek scribe, Immanuel Rhusotas. All we know about Rhusotas is that he was a calligrapher who worked in Venice as early as 1465. Thus far, there is no evidence connecting him with the Aldine press. There are no manuscripts copied by Rhusotas which were used as copy for any of the early Aldine editions. All the same, the visual evidence in this case is most convincing. Not all of the attempts at identification with scribal hands are as convincing as the ones cited.
here; nevertheless, this is the first serious attempt to identify the calligraphers who served as models for the printing types of the fifteenth century and points to a new direction for research in the field.

The work is beautifully printed and illustrated with examples of the different fonts discussed, together with the samples of the handwriting of the various calligraphers. In the appendix there are seven documents relating to the development of Greek printing, such as patents and licenses obtained by Aldus and other printers. The book contains four original leaves from Aldine editions, each an example of the four different types cut for Aldus by Francesco Griffo.

EVO LAYTON
(Evro Layton is a bibliographer specializing in early Greek printing. She was in charge of the Modern Greek Collection in the Harvard College Library for ten years.)


What Christopher de Hamel means by ‘a history of illuminated manuscripts’ is really ‘the production and use of the illustrated book in the Middle Ages.’ And since he is primarily interested in coloured illustrations, his study overwhelms the reader with several hundred glorious examples, many of them full page folio facsimilies, which glow and shimmer with all the colours available to the rubricator of a medieval scriptorium.

Contrary to what the title suggests, the author does not give a chronological account of manuscript illustration from the earliest appearance in the fourth century of a ‘codex’ [a rectangular object with pages, rather than the roll or ‘scroll’ of Classical Antiquity] to the last codices of the late fifteenth century, when handmade manuscripts began to compete with books mass-produced on the newly invented printing press. Rather, he organizes this mass of visual material generically. Manuscripts are categorized by chapter according to whether they are intended for missionaries, emperors, monks, students, aristocrats, ‘everybody,’ priests, or collectors. A chronological basis to this arrangement, nevertheless, does emerge, for among the earliest extant are some sixth-century illustrated manuscripts associated with St. Augustine of Canterbury’s mission to the Anglo-Saxons: the Gospels in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Ms. 286 [Pl. 7]; the Bible in Durham Cathedral Ms. B.IV. 6 [Pl. 13]; or the Lindisfarne Gospels in London, British Library, Cotton Ms. Nero D.IV [Pl. 29], dated ca. 698. The last chapter focuses on manuscripts commissioned or owned by such humanist bibliophiles as Cosimo de’Medici or the Englishman William Gray, who, from 1444 to 1453, ordered illuminated manuscripts of all the ‘great works’ from the Florentine bookseller, Vespasiano da Bisticci. Indeed, these latest manuscripts cyclically complete a chronological account of manuscript illumination, because Vespasiano’s scripts imitate Carolingian script of the tenth to twelfth centuries [with Pl. 237, cf. Pl. 75] and his illumination reproduces the interlaced initials and borders of early Celtic and