# National bibliography before the nation: constructing Greekness out of early Greek printing

Michael Jeffreys

One of the less significant but not negligible necessities for a modern nation state is a national bibliography. Sydney University Library, my bibliographic home for 25 years, for some reason made a speciality of national bibliographies, with long lines of volumes on its third floor, memories of which I can use for comparative purposes. National bibliographies tend to come in two dimensions: a yearly-based "Books published" and/or "Books in print" on the one hand, and other tomes to cover, in one way or another, the early period before the beginning of the yearly reports. The size of the yearly volume, I remember, usually reflects with reasonable accuracy the size of that country's production of books. On the other hand, coverage of the earlier period varies enormously. Such catalogues often show attempts to use the past as cultural support for nineteenth- or twentieth-century nation-building, and so the size of the volume often reflects the degree to which national identity is contested in the particular case.

The definition of the books belonging to the bibliography of a particular European country is also normally double.[1] First

[1] This is a brief treatment of a large subject, since it is not the central issue here. Words from the titles of the British Museum's (now British Library's) short-title catalogues of early books raise many relevant issues: "Catalogue of books printed in Italy and of Italian books printed in other countries..." STC Italian, BM (1958); "Catalogue of books printed in the German-speaking countries and of German books printed in other countries..." STC German, BM (1962); "Catalogue of books printed in the Netherlands and Belgium and of Dutch and Flemish books printed in other countries..." STC Dutch, BM (1965): the geographical part of this title had sometimes been replaced by "the Low Countries"; "Catalogue of books

there comes the list of books published within the boundaries of the country, which may be defined quite widely. Nearly every European country presents problems. France usually includes Francophone Belgium, Switzerland and North America. Portugal, Spain and Britain also have to decide whether to include or exclude their American dimensions. Entities like Italy and Germany, which had no unified national state in the early days of printing, can base themselves on the linguistic geography of the period to supplement present national borders, usually negotiating them at the widest possible: for example, the recent publication by Hans Eideneier and colleagues of Greek books surviving in German-speaking lands includes Alsace, German-speaking Switzerland, Austria and much of the Czech Republic and Poland, reflecting a regular practice of bibliography on German subjects (Eideneier, Moennig and Winterwerb 2000).

The second of the two elements of the national bibliography is books in the national language produced outside the borders, however defined: books in French produced outside France, or in Dutch produced outside the Netherlands (particularly, of course, Flemish books in Belgium). The first British listing for the early period, Pollard and Redgrave (1986-), follows this pattern. The second, that of Wing (1994-), makes a point of including books produced in British America – not surprisingly, since it began as an American production and has continued so. Switzerland is an extreme case, and Swiss bibliography tends either to be fragmented, divided by canton, or swallowed up into the bibliographies of France, Germany and Italy. Great caution is used in attempts to separate the Swiss sections of these bibliographies from the rest. In problematic cases like Belgium and Switzerland, a different approach involving an easier modern geographical formulation – books preserved in Belgian and Swiss libraries – is often preferred, though the range of books covered is necessarily much wider.

---

printed in France and of French books printed in other countries..." STC French, BM (1966); "Catalogue of books printed in Spain and of Spanish books printed elsewhere in Europe..." STC Spanish, BM (1989). Local formulations in each country usually follow the same tactics without this exemplary brevity.

Thus national bibliographies regularly provide a donkey of books published within the borders together with a tail of books published in the right language(s) elsewhere. The details of inclusion and exclusion are often revealing about the self-projection of the countries involved, and may contribute to an index of national myths. Note that I do not remember any of the national bibliographies of Western Europe which I have consulted including books by nationals published in "foreign" languages, for example books by English authors originally composed in French or translated into German, unless they qualify as having been published in England.[2]

Greece is a nation whose self-presentation is based far more on the importance of its language and culture than on military strength or political influence. Those ignorant of the facts would expect an imposing national bibliography from early times. The reality, of course, is very disappointing. I will say nothing of the patchy attempts in the twentieth century at a yearly Modern Greek dossier of books published.[3] I note with admiration the first volume of Philippos Iliou's beautiful and splendidly comprehensive bibliography of the nineteenth century (Iliou 1997), and wish him well on the long publishing Odyssey required to complete it. By the time the coverage of Iliou's volume begins in 1801, the shape of Greek bibliography – principles for inclusion and exclusion of books – is comparatively uncontroversial. The subject of this article is the preceding centuries, especially the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth. Let us set, then, 1700 as the cut-off date, and use the double categorisation I have sketched for other European countries: the donkey of books published within the borders and the tail of books in Greek published elsewhere. What Greek books do we find?

If one searches for books published within the present boundaries of Greece before 1700, the result is likely to be zero. But I mentioned a tendency in other cases to negotiate those borders widely, so we may extend the concept of Greece in the Tourkokratia to include Constantinople. This will not make much

---

[2] I naturally exclude from this judgement cases like the bibliography of Ireland, where the use of the national language has minority status within its own borders.

[3] Culminating in *Greek National Bibliography* (1989-).

difference. We can find a book or two in Greek but not Greek script, published in Jewish circles in the Ottoman capital (Hesseling 1897), and one or two books produced by Nikodimos Metaxas for the ill-fated press of Kyrillos Loukaris: four or five other books produced by that press with a Constantinople by-line were plainly printed in London in advance, before the press reached the Eastern Mediterranean (Layton 1967; Roberts 1967). If we stretch negotiations to the limit for the conceptual boundaries of Early Modern Greece, we might just reach the Phanariot-ruled Danubian principalities of Romania, where we may add a score or so of books published just before 1700, many found in large numbers now in Greek monastic libraries.[4] There is no way of including in Greece Vienna or the real centre of Greek printing, Venice. What is more, in these cities the publication of Greek books, however significant for Greek studies, was only a small part of a much larger production in local languages and others.

The donkey of early Greek printing is thus made up of a few uncertain hairs from Constantinople and Romania. But you should see the tail! Nearly every European country and America published books during this period in Greek, making this one of the richest and most persistent subject groupings in early printing. Viewed from a nationalist point of view, the material is very heterogeneous: some of it has associations with Greeks at the moment of printing – books written, edited or printed by Greeks, in a framework of Greek commercial activity, with an obvious audience in Greek-speaking lands. At the other end of the continuum, the Greek language of the work may be related only to the ancient dimension of Greek culture, for example an edition of Homer made in a Latin framework by a Scot for a Northern European audience, or it may be conditioned by the status of Greek as a *lingua sacra*, like the Greek versions of the foundation documents of the Dutch Reformed Church and of English Presbyterianism.[5] Only Jewish culture has a more complex list of bibliographical categories. There the existence of Yiddish alongside Hebrew and the institutionalisation of the ghetto within many different modern language communities have led to

[4] Papadopoulos 1984: nos. 161, 170, 378, 972, 1150, 1269, 1502, 2261, 3040, 3672, 3826, 4236, 4367, 4441, 4443, 4445, 4556, 5450 and 5514.

[5] See Papadopoulos 1984: no. 5665, and Harmar 1659.

total fragmentation of early bibliography, demanding quite different structures.

The rest of this article will examine early Greek printing from the point of view of the inclusions and exclusions made by bibliographers, placing these decisions as far as possible within their historical frameworks, and connecting them with Greek national myths, both those current from time to time within Greece, and those projected on to Greece from outside. I shall end with a proposal as to how this issue might be handled in the future.

Before we begin, let us think of some of the possible historical frameworks which could come into play. In this way you will see the simple interpretations I give to the phrase "national myth", and bear them in mind as we examine the categories of books. At the crudest, I mean the almost complete elision of the Turkish period from rational discussion, which results from the use of undefined terms like σκλαβιά or ζυγός to describe the situation of the Greeks under Ottoman rule. A slightly more subtle version of the same condemnation was prominent in the ways in which I was taught to think about early modern Greece: the conquest of Byzantium, by this narrative, was the extinguishing of a great light, leaving other smaller lights in the western colonies in Greek lands, which were put out in turn at their capture by the Turks – Rhodes, Cyprus, then Crete – leaving a light of lesser wattage to move to the Ionian Islands and shine out again eventually with Solomos. The western observer, it is no surprise, sees light in situations in which westerners have influence or are participants. Demoticism, which has emphasised the secular and the poetic, or at least metrical, tradition, has produced parallel results. A similar thought underlies the frequent Greek phrase "δώσαμε τα φώτα στην Ευρώπη". Turkish-ruled Greece, almost by definition, was left in darkness.

Myths in the bibliographical sphere operate at a rather more subtle level. Assumptions are made on the basis of the increasing proportion in the Greek bibliography of the Tourkokratia of material referring to Ancient Greece, as opposed to Greek liturgical and general religious texts for contemporary use. An opposition is set up between Orthodox texts (defined, explicitly or not, as backward-looking and introverted) and

outward- and forward-looking books with subjects connected with the classics. Greek progress from the darkness of the early Tourkokratia to the comparative light before 1821 can be measured, according to this narrative, by comparing the numbers of these two categories of books. The larger the number of religious books, as opposed to books on classical subjects, produced in a particular decade, the further Greek culture has to go to reach the light.[6] This argument is not always accompanied by an attempt to estimate how far the meanings of the two opposing categories had been the same in 1500 as they were to be in 1800. Two assumptions are too easily made: first that Orthodox books at the beginning of the period are of no significance for the non-Orthodox; second, that there was no market then at all in Greek lands for classical books. The first of these assumptions is clearly wrong, the second needs to be proven. Perhaps scholarship is still too credulous in accepting the arguments expressed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries about the worthlessness of the post-Byzantine culture of the Tourkokratia which was being swept away by the largely western imposition of Ancient Greek models and the patterns of thought of the Enlightenment.

From the myths we must turn to the bibliographers. The first motive for the collection of a Hellenic bibliography was patriotic. The most important of the mid-nineteenth century bibliographers, Andreas Papadopoulos-Vretos, shall speak here for several others. His work, as often with that of bibliographers, had a complex publishing history, as more and more volumes were found just after he had sent his previous lists to the printers. In its most developed form, his book is entitled "Modern Greek Literature, or Catalogue of the books published by Greeks from the fall of the Byzantine Empire up to the establishment of the Kingdom of Greece, in the spoken language or in Ancient Greek" (Papadopoulos-Vretos 1854-7). In its dedication to King Otto,[7] he recommends his book as an original attempt to show

---

[6] This statistical form of argument seems to have been devised by Philippos Iliou around 1970: see Iliou 1973: 27-45. It has since been used by several scholars quite effectively to analyse changes in the eighteenth century, but I believe that others who have extended the method back to the beginning of the Tourkokratia are yet to make their point.

[7] Papadopoulos-Vretos 1854-7: vol. 1, immediately after the title page.

incontrovertibly that even in the time when the Greek race was under the Turkish yoke, after the fall of its empire, it was always able to produce men (sic) who were educated and inheritors of the wisdom of their great forebears. The work was in two volumes, the first containing religious texts, the second secular works, described as scientific and philological.

Papadopoulos-Vretos and others working in the same tradition were only interested in works in Greek. He also boldly disregarded the language question then dominating most such projects in Greece by claiming in his title that he was collecting Greek books regardless of the level of Greek used. But from the first, Greek bibliography was less concerned with the books it studied and more with the character and ethnicity of those who produced them. The Greekness of the books was less important than the Greekness of those who denied the pressures of history and wrote and published them in the darkness of the Tourkokratia. This distinction may seem academic but it was to prove crucial.

The next bibliographer is the most important personality of our story. Émile Legrand[8] was a French academic and book-collector who took up the work of Papadopoulos-Vretos and in the last decades of the nineteenth century (and the first of the twentieth, involving some publication by colleagues after his death in 1903) brought out eleven large volumes of what he called the *Bibliographie Hellénique*, together with two volumes of the *Bibliographie Ionienne*, which had some overlap with the volumes of the main series, but included some books relevant only to the Ionian Islands.[9] He was a demoticist with a belief in the *Megali Idea*, and moved in the same circles as Ioannis Psicharis.[10] One of his main contributions was to include in his publications the scattered printings of early Modern Greek, a category which had been almost absent from previous collections because of the extreme rarity of copies. He was thus able to produce for Psicharis firm evidence that printed works in

---

[8] The best introduction to his work for these purposes is Iliou 1973: 9-45.

[9] Legrand 15-16 (1885); Legrand 15-16 (1903-1906); Legrand 17 (1894-1903); Legrand–Pernot (1910); Legrand 18 (1894-1903).

[10] See the latter's notice of his death in Psichari 1904.

demotic had circulated widely in Greek lands since the early sixteenth century, a significant plank in the demoticist platform.

Legrand began by searching the Bibliothèque Nationale and the other great libraries of Paris like the Mazarin, the Arsénal and those connected with the University. Another source was the book sales, particularly in Paris, in which the great collections of the nineteenth century were being put together – like those of Ioannis Gennadios which were to end up in Athens, and of Ingram Bywater, now in the Bodleian at Oxford. Legrand's publications never lost their connection with book-collecting, including regular (and sometimes extravagant) claims about the rarity of the books he was describing, backed up by statements of the price and physical condition of copies he had seen sold, some of which he bought himself. Legrand was able to catalogue far more books from these sources than those included by Papadopoulos-Vretos. When he had exhausted the resources of Paris, he developed a network of correspondents, particularly among his fellow European collectors, and in Constantinople, Mt Athos and Moscow. Often in the later volumes he is describing books he had not seen, so it is necessary to check the quality of his informants before accepting his information at face value (see Iliou 1973: 17-22).

On questions of inclusion and exclusion, Legrand began from the position of Papadopoulos-Vretos: the title of his first two volumes was "Hellenic Bibliography, or description with commentary of works published in Greek by Greeks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries".[11] But his researches were turning up many books not in Greek which demanded inclusion. The recording of Greek energy and activity during the Tourkokratia, even when not expressed in Greek, remained a major purpose of his work. Thus from the third volume onwards there was an interesting slippage in the title, with the inclusion of a second "or": "Hellenic Bibliography, or description with commentary of works published in Greek *or* by Greeks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries".[12] The Greek linguistic criterion has been removed, greatly widening the range of the bibliography. Between the second and third volumes on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, he had published the five volumes on the

[11] Legrand 15-16 (1885).
[12] Legrand 15-16 (1903-1906).

seventeenth century, where the criterion in the title has been further simplified to "published by Greeks".[13] The actual scope of his collection is best summed up by Thomas Papadopoulos, the current continuator of Legrand's project, in an English summary at the end of the introduction to his two-volume catalogue:

> 1. Works published anywhere in the world and in any language revealing that a certain Greek born in Greece or simply of Greek descent, having lived after the discovery of printing, contributed in any way whatsoever to the publication of those works.
>
> 2. Works published anywhere and in any language intended for the Greek reading public, in order to satisfy its cultural needs or religious ceremonies.[14]

We are a long way here from the standard donkey and tail approach of Western European bibliography. Rather than centring our interest on the book, to see where it was printed and in what language, we are being asked to identify the nationality of the authors, publishers or printing professionals involved in its production, and of the intended audience. The opportunities for special pleading become very wide.

Legrand's early volumes go through the material he found in Greek in the Paris collections, in chronological order. Later, as we have seen, he widened his scope geographically and linguistically, and went through the same chronological sequence once, and in some cases twice, again. Thus as well as the problematical rules for what he was to include, the volumes, inevitably, are haphazardly arranged and infuriating to use as a catalogue. His indices, which cover all aspects of his analysis without concentrating on the lemmata of individual books, do not help a great deal.[15] There are distinct signs that Legrand himself found it hard to control this mass of data. The greatest strength of his books, which will never go out of date, is the multifarious information and documentary evidence he gives about the volumes he includes and the professionals involved in their creation –

---

[13] Legrand 17 (1894-1903).

[14] Papadopoulos 1984: λδ΄.

[15] See the criticisms of Papadopoulos 1984: θ΄-ια΄.

still providing one of the best introductions to the environment of early printing in general and Greek printing in particular.

The series of eleven books was so huge and so authoritative that it became an institution. Bibliographical articles took the form of additions to Legrand, or first-hand accounts of books which he had only seen at second hand via one of his correspondents. The focus of Greek bibliographical narrative, as it were, was firmly set around 1900. It came to be assumed that every reader of these articles had available a full set of Legrand's volumes, and some of these contributions do not make full sense unless one has. Several publications were made of the early holdings of libraries, identifying each book only by a reference to Legrand – except for those not found there which were triumphantly described in full at the end.[16] Many of the great and the good of Modern Greek studies made a contribution to this long series.[17] Legrand's mastery of the textual evidence for early Greek printing, which was unchallenged, appears to have acted as a validation of his criteria for the choice of books for the *Bibliographie Hellénique*, which certainly ought to have been reconsidered.

The situation I have described continued, with little essential change, till 1984 and the publication of the first volume of Papadopoulos's work. Let us take up position in 1984 and review the effects of this process on the development of Greek bibliography and its result, the expanding category of *Ελληνική Βιβλιογραφία*. Many of the additions made to it during this time were uncontroversial, mere filling in of the gaps in the publication, for example, of the major liturgical books, volumes which Legrand had not included because he had not found copies. One interesting case, mainly restricted to liturgical books, was that of volumes which had been left in a printer's warehouse unsold and were provided with a new title page, to give the impression that they were hot off the press. The original date of printing was usually left untouched in the colophon at the end of the book. Such hybrid volumes are now generally accepted as separate bibliographical lemmata (Iliou 1973: 25-6).

---

[16] See, for example, Ploumidis 1971; Kordosis 1979.

[17] See, for example, Dimaras 1977; Manousakas 1958.

However, some additions were more difficult to justify. I will restrict myself to one or two categories. Evro Layton, the Cypriot-American bibliographer, discovered that US libraries were strong in collections of *alphabeta graeca*, basically the first stage of the humanist learning of Greek, a group of short biblical and other texts which also served as an advertisement of the Greek dimension of the activities of the printing establishment that put them out. A Hebrew section was often included. For the US libraries they were an inexpensive way of acquiring examples of early printing. Now one of the works contained in some, but not all, of the *alphabeta* is a treatise on Greek letter-forms by Ianos Laskaris. Evro Layton used this as an argument to include the whole genre in the *Greek Bibliography* (see Layton 1979: 94-105). Papadopoulos was more conservative, especially with volumes which do not contain Laskaris's work, but faced the problem that there is no established way to reassess books once assigned to the bibliography. He therefore reluctantly accepts Layton's judgement and then adds more than a dozen *alphabeta* of his own, enthusiastically listing them in the long catalogue of additions to Legrand offered in his own name, which makes up the second of the two volumes of his work.[18]

There are other problems with books designed for higher levels of learning Greek. The numerous editions of works ascribed to Manuel Chrysoloras, Theodoros Gazes and Konstantinos Laskaris were among the first secular works included in the mid-nineteenth century in the second volume of the bibliography of Papadopoulos-Vretos. But these too are collections of heterogeneous works by different authors, many often basically in Latin, as it was unwise to use only Greek for books teaching the early stages of that language. There is a similar and equally popular collection of works serving as an introduction to Greek ascribed to the Catholic cleric Urbano of Belluno. This preserves a short poem by Markos Mousouros, which had appeared in

[18] Papadopoulos 1984: 26, n. 1; 1986: nos. 38, 73, 80, 118, 212, 230, 261, 492, 930, 934, 942-4, 951, 957, 959, 1025-7. Papadopoulos's footnotes often question why Legrand had included various books in the *Bibliographie*, but he never, to my knowledge, excludes them. In other cases he does include books described by Legrand but carelessly left out of the numeration which implies bibliographical acceptance.

Legrand in the form of a separate booklet. Papadopoulos in this case adds to the bibliography one edition of Urbanus's work, opening the door to two dozen others, whose inclusion can hardly be opposed, though the justification is slender (Papadopoulos 1977: 147-8). I hope that you are beginning to see the difficulties of the system. Papadopoulos is forced to make compromise after compromise in facing three-quarters of a century of additions to Legrand, made on the basis of Legrand's criteria, which were never really made explicit and were subject to obvious slippage, interpreted by generations of scholars naturally concerned to maximise their own contributions to the bibliography. One should add that Papadopoulos's volumes also show the regular confusion involved in the publication of bibliographical work-in-progress.[19]

I propose now to go through the major categories of books included, wholly or partially, in Papadopoulos's catalogue, to examine current attitudes to them. The order of examination will move roughly from the more central categories towards the more marginal, though I do not insist on the detail of this sequence.

We may begin with early works of Modern Greek literature. These were first systematised, as I said, by Legrand, and have since been accepted without question in the bibliography. Discoveries are still being made, including the oldest printed Greek vernacular work, Bergadis's *Apokopos* of 1509, found by Evro Layton (Layton 1990), and a whole group of late seventeenth-century editions found by Ulrich Moennig in a library in Halle (Moennig 1994). It is plain that this kind of book was normally read and thrown away. There remain numerous surprising gaps between editions recorded, suggesting that many reprintings have disappeared without trace. The books are often very thin, and one may hope for further discoveries, particularly of volumes attached to other more substantial works.

Liturgical and para-liturgical works are probably represented in the bibliography in a more complete way, and of course

---

[19] I still remember with some shame announcing to David Holton the discovery of a new edition of the Alexander romance in an Oxford library, only to be told that it already appears among the Επιπροσθήκαι of Papadopoulos's second volume – the fourth alphabetical listing one needs to search to check the existence of an edition in his catalogue.

meet unquestioning acceptance there. The larger volumes have probably all been listed, though cases of the rebadging of unsold volumes with new title pages, as described above, are still appearing. Smaller liturgical volumes like the *Psalter*, the *Oktoechos* and the *Liturgy of the Anagnostes* were used as aids to reading in church schools, and so were published in greater numbers and in more frequent editions. At times they seem to have been reprinted almost yearly: there certainly remain some gaps to be filled. In this connection, recent research has found a surprising number of Greek liturgical works in Western Europe, together with evidence that they have been in the libraries where they now are since a date shortly after their publication.[20] Oxford and Cambridge are particularly rich in such copies. You may be surprised to learn that the UK will be a more important source for the writing of the history of the seventeenth-century Greek liturgical book than Mt Athos or any more conventional Orthodox site.

Throughout the early history of Greek printing the medium was used for practical treatises on a variety of different subjects – mathematics, science, military science, economics and a number of others. Most of the writers of this material had Greek as their first language, and they were probably aiming largely at a Greek audience. But this was also an international genre: these books form a part of the evidence that Greek was used, even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as a kind of *lingua franca* of South-Eastern Europe.[21]

With classical literature we come to the first examples of the exclusion of works in Greek from the bibliography. Some high-profile cases concern incunabula using Greek, especially those connected with the Aldine firm in Venice. These were dealt with by Legrand early in his research, when his categories were still quite strict. Several of the Aldine incunabula are firmly connected to named Greek editors, and so are accepted.

---

[20] See the internet site Ελληνόγλωσσα παλαιότυπα/Early printing in Greek, 1469-1700 (URL http://babel.mml.ox.ac.uk/neograeca/). Look especially under liturgical books for the period 1615-1635.

[21] The use of Greek as a language for the dissemination of the ideas of the Enlightenment to Balkan intellectuals whose first language was not Greek is a minor theme of several of the collected studies in Kitromilides 1994.

Some others are not so connected, and are excluded, despite the fact that no specific non-Greek editor has been found, and the *a priori* assumption that at this date Aldus's Greek colleagues are more likely to have helped in the editing of difficult Greek material than the non-Greeks. There is no better testimony to the authority of Legrand than the continuing exclusion from the bibliography of the Aldine first edition of Aristotle, one of the greatest intellectual achievements of the fifteenth century.[22] At the other end of the continuum, many editions of Cicero have been included (and more need to be added, according to the rules). Theodoros Gazes's translation of a few Ciceronian treatises into Greek is an interesting sign of the cultural situation in the fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth century, when Greek showed some signs of rivalling Latin as an international scholarly language in the West. It was widely reprinted in sixteenth-century Latin editions of Cicero's work, large and small – which thus qualify for Papadopoulos's catalogue.[23] In general the classical editions which are found in the bibliography tend to be somewhat second-rate, like the multitudinous productions of the Portos family, Frangeskos and Aimilios. It is also worth commenting that there are significant numbers of the standard early editions of classical authors now in Greek libraries, some of which may have been there for centuries. One thinks particularly of the libraries of the Orthodox patriarchates, but other, smaller libraries often throw up interesting examples. There is a danger of circular argument in the assumption that there was no audience at all for such books in Greek lands.

Relevant Western European religious texts fall into two categories. The first is the propaganda of the Catholic Church of the Counter-Reformation in its active campaign in the Eastern Mediterranean. This appears at every level of linguistic and

---

[22] Note, for example, that Urceo Codro, criticising the edition from Bologna, lists some errors in the *Historia Animalium* and expresses amazement that the Greeks in Aldus's circle had not noticed them. See Wilson 1992: 127-8.

[23] See Papadopoulos 1984: nos. 1734-1752, which is certainly not a complete list. One of the texts has now received two modern editions: Salanitro 1987 and Megas 1993.

intellectual sophistication.[24] Many of the texts are composed by Greeks and all are clearly intended for Greek reception, so here Legrand's rules worked positively to ensure the inclusion of books which might under other circumstances have been excluded for reasons of doctrinal politics. The other category, already mentioned, is the printing of a Greek and usually a Hebrew form of the basic texts of all new religious formulations. Papadopoulos accepts the two editions of Luther's *Small Catechism* included by Legrand and one added subsequently. He gives a list of 11 others, but refuses to add them formally to the bibliography till definitions have improved.[25] As for Calvin's *Στοιχείωσις της χριστιανών πίστεως*, he points out that Legrand included only one edition because he had special reasons to think that it was printed for a Greek audience. Even so, Papadopoulos adds other editions he has come across, apparently abdicating responsibility for finding any more.[26]

A final category must be mentioned merely to be dismissed from present concerns. At least 30% of the books in Papadopoulos's catalogue are translations and original compositions by Greek migrants to Western Europe in Latin or the vernacular languages of their new or temporary homelands. Having observed a similar phenomenon at close hand in Australia, I feel a great deal of sympathy with these migrants and their products. However, this is a different subject from printing in Greek.

Since this article is being published in Cambridge, I wish to use a Cambridge book as an example to sum up much that I think is wrong in Greek bibliography. This is an edition of the ancient scholia to Sophocles made in 1668 by the University printer, John

---

[24] The scholarly work of Leon Allatios is well known. At the lower end of the scale is a work written by the French cleric Paul de Lagny, who had long served as a Catholic propagandist in Greek-speaking lands. The linguistic and intellectual level of the volume may be judged from a note on the back of the title page explaining the genesis of the book: "Χριστιανοί μου παρακαλείτε τον Θεόν δια τον Βασιλέα της Φράνσας, ο οποίος εννοιάζεται την σωτηρίαν των ψυχών σας, αγκαλά και να είστε ξεμακρεμένοι από του λόγου του: επειδή και όρισεν να τυπωθή το παρόν βιβλίον δια την ερημείαν [sic] την εδικήν σας, και δια να σας μοιραθή χάρισμα" (de Lagny 1668).

[25] See Papadopoulos 1984: nos. 3663-3665; 1986: no. 1004.

[26] See Papadopoulos 1984: nos. 1489-1493, p. 110 n. 1.

Field, appearing as Ιωάννης Φιέλδος.[27] He is already represented in the bibliography by a Greek edition of the book of Common Prayer, but I have never seen the Sophocles scholia connected with a Greek bibliography. There is no word in this volume in any language but Greek, the date of publication is given in the Greek system, and the whole layout follows the traditions of Greek printing and begs for inclusion within them. Using the donkey and tail system, I regard this as a Greek book, just as its equivalent in other languages would be welcomed in other European bibliographies, as part of the tail of books in the national language produced abroad. In the official Greek bibliography it is excluded for ethnic reasons, because the race of the editor is much more important than the nature of the book.

It is time for conclusions. You will have understood that I am not happy with the way that the Hellenic bibliography is constructed. Its origins were dominated by the myth of the Tourkokratia as darkness and σκλαβιά. Against this background, bibliographers set out to demonstrate that there were Greek intellectuals and printing professionals actively cultivating the light throughout the period. In the early history of the Greek state, recourse to such thoughts may be treated with sympathy. In the era of Legrand, the special circumstance of the *Megali Idea* can be taken as some limited justification for bibliographers to examine the author rather than the book, the political environment rather than the cultural product. But the overwhelming size of Legrand's oeuvre has prolonged these anomalous definitions far too long. It is also time to question the assumption that Greeks had no interest at all in classical literature in the early Tourkokratia, and, even more, to correct the erroneous belief that the only market for Orthodox liturgical and para-liturgical books was in Orthodox lands. The truth is more complex than the simplistic myths I described.

My chief annoyance with the story according to Legrand and Papadopoulos is that the picture they paint is only half of the truth, and the less interesting half at that. If one looks at the general holdings of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century libraries in Western Europe, one gets a very different and much more positive picture. In the bibliography of Legrand and Papadopoulos,

[27] Sophocles, Ancient scholia (1668).

the books share the fate of Greek populations who formed an underprivileged and sometimes oppressed minority in the Ottoman Empire, and of Greek migrants in the West, who after a bright post-Byzantine beginning, were slowly absorbed into the countries where they had settled. But in the wider picture, Greek letters are sweeping across Europe in a spectacular way. The triumph of Greek classics in western garb is only part of the picture. For a time, as I have said, there are signs that Greek might take its place alongside Latin as a viable international language. Even when that proves impossible, some of Europe's greatest men in several walks of life find it necessary or advantageous – use whatever adjective fits the situation – to write Greek. Greek influences other European languages, especially Latin, where all of Cicero's ελληνικούρες are brought out over and over again. Greek words, often in Greek script, invade hundreds, perhaps thousands of non-Greek book-titles. Letters of the Greek alphabet, especially the favourite omega, make a typographical invasion of English, French and German words in other titles.[28] All this one would not suspect from looking at the Academy of Athens' official Greek Bibliography. Its concentration on people rather than books has given a restricted version of the truth. Heaven forfend that I should ever complain that any section of Greek society shows an insufficient appreciation of the greatness of Greek culture – but I am close to it in this case.

As for the Hellenic bibliography, I suppose that too much ink has already been spilt to allow us to forget the idea – which might be the best solution. The bibliographic situation of Greece is really difficult and quite different from that of the Western European states which may be used as comparators. But on the other hand, I do not think that things are quite so desperate as in Jewish bibliography. My own solution to the problem (as to many others) is electronic. I believe in the internet. I am building up a website of pictures and transcriptions of early Greek printings, starting from those included by Papadopoulos but unlikely to end there. My eventual goal is to recommend different Greek bibliographies for different purposes. I would like to think that this

[28] For an unusually rich set of such cases, I can recommend the catalogue of the Library of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle: Callard 1976.

could influence the theory and methodology of the developing Greek national bibliography.

I would expect the catalogue of the Greek National Library, eventually available from an official website in Athens, to embrace the idea of a national bibliography from the time of the beginning of printing. If people insist on putting the website into national bibliography mode, I can imagine several buttons appearing. One would have a Greek flag on it, and would give the disappointing list of books published in Greek lands, however widely defined. Another button would show Makrygiannis, and give access to the early modern Greek books published in Venice. Others would show Hagia Sophia (revealing a large and important Orthodox collection), St Peter's, and a yet-to-be-determined Protestant symbol, the significance of which is obvious. The Parthenon would be used for classical books. Via that button users could access a huge list of all books containing substantial passages of Ancient Greek, with subdivisions for Patristic and Byzantine Greek, all divided into two categories: the first would have a stricter definition, but wide enough to include, as well as those classical books already listed by Papadopoulos, many others like the Aldine Aristotle and the work of Ιωάννης Φιέλδος of Cambridge. However, the edition of Homer made by a Scot for Northern Europeans would come in the second and wider category. The lines of division between the two categories will need careful wording. I suggest that they should ensure that books in the first group show in one of many different ways a recognition of the continuing existence of Greek language and culture after the end of the classical world, and indeed of Byzantium – for example, use of the conventions of Greek printing and publication, or of the Greek language to comment on, introduce, or dedicate the text of the volume. This definition would give particular weight to Greek written by non-Greeks during the age of printing (cf. the same chronological stipulation reported by Papadopoulos above about the activities of those identified as Greek). Overall, I hope that the National bibliography will decide to include within a decade or two all books, wherever produced, with substantial passages in Greek script. This outer definition of the Greek book is in line with that obtaining in other countries, and ultimately is the only criterion which is completely defensible. One might also suggest that

Greek claims on past inheritances involve bibliographical obligations as well as cultural enjoyment.

Users could draw out a whole series of interlocking and at times mutually exclusive national bibliographies, corresponding to their different and changing bibliographical needs and varying interpretations of national myths. Only thus will the complexities of the bibliographical problem be cut through with a solution appropriate for a state enjoying an immensely rich yet chronologically fragmented cultural endowment which, for historical reasons, reached publication in print almost entirely in areas over which it can have no political and little linguistic and cultural claim.

## References and abbreviations

Callard, John (1976). *A catalogue of printed books (pre-1751) in the Library of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*. Windsor [Historical Monographs relating to St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, 15]

Dimaras, K.Th. (1977). "Supplement à la Bibliographie Ionienne", *Δελτίον της Ιονίου Ακαδημίας* 1, 215-313

Eideneier, Hans, Moennig, Ulrich and Winterwerb, Helma (2000). *Neograeca in Germania. Bestände frühneugriechischer und liturgischer Drücke des 16.-18. Jahrhunderts in Bibliotheken des Deutschprachigen Raums*. Athens: Kentro neoellinikon erevnon, EIE [Τετράδια Εργασίας, 23]

*Greek National Bibliography* (1989-) = *Ελληνική Εθνική Βιβλιογραφία*. Athens: Ethniki Vivliothiki tis Ellados

Harmar, John (1659). *The Catechism of the Christian religion*. Londinii: Typi Ioannis Macock

Hesseling, D.C. (1897). *Les cinq livres de la Loi (le Pentateuque). Traduction en néo-grec, publiée en caractères hébraïques à Constantinople en 1547*. Leiden: van Doesburgh/Leipzig: Harrassowitz

Iliou, Philippos (1973). *Προσθήκες στην Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία Α: Τα βιβλιογραφικά κατάλοιπα του E. Legrand και του H. Pernot (1515-1799).* Athens: Diogenis

Iliou, Philippos (1997). *Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία του 19ου αιώνα.* Τόμος Πρώτος: 1801-1818. Athens: ELIA

Kitromilides, Paschalis (1994). *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the culture and political thought of south-eastern Europe.* London: Variorum

Kordosis, Michael (1979). "Ελληνικά παλαιότυπα της Μονής Παντοκράτορα Αγίου Όρους", *Κληρονομία* 11, 403-41

de Lagny (1668). Λάγνιος, Παύλος. *Εγχειρίδιον Ορθόδοξον των Ρωμαίων.* Εν Παρίζι: Ανθώνιος Βιτρέ

Layton, Evro (1967). "Nikodemos Metaxas, the first Greek printer in the Eastern world", *Harvard Library Bulletin* 15, 140-68

Layton, Evro (1979). "Greek bibliography: additions and corrections (c. 1471-1829)", *Θησαυρίσματα* 16, 89-112

Layton, Evro (1990). "Zacharias and Nikolaos Kallierges and the first edition of the *Apokopos* of Bergadis", *Θησαυρίσματα* 20, 206-17

Legrand 15-16 (1885). Legrand, Émile. *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des grecs au XVe et XVIe siècles.* Vols. I-II. Paris: Ernest Leroux

Legrand 15-16 (1903-6). Legrand, Émile. *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec ou par des grecs au XVe et XVIe siècles.* Vols. III-IV. Paris: Alphonse Picard

Legrand 17 (1894-1903). *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs au XVIIe siècle.* Vols. I-V, Paris: Alphonse Picard

Legrand–Pernot (1910). *Bibliographie Ionienne. Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs des Sept-îles ou concernant les îles du quinzième siècle à l'année 1900.* Vols. I-II. Paris: E. Leroux

Legrand 18 (1894-1903). *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs au XVIIIe siècle. Oeuvre posthume complétée par Louis Petit et Hubert Pernot.* Vols. I-II. Paris: Garnier

Manousakas, Manousos I. (1958). "Προσθήκαι και συμπληρώσεις εις την Ελληνικήν Βιβλιογραφίαν του E. Legrand (συμβολή πρώτη)", *Επετηρίς του Μεσαιωνικού Αρχείου* 7, 34-83

Megas, Anastasios Ch. (1993). *Μάρκου Τούλλιου Κικερώνος, Κάτων ο πρεσβύτερος Περί Γήρως. Μετάφραση από τα Λατινικά.* Thessaloniki: University Studio Press

Moennig, Ulrich (1994). "Zwei Bände mit Neograeca der Hallenser Waisenhausbibliothek", *Θησαυρίσματα* 24, 274-81

Papadopoulos, Thomas (1977). "Προσθήκες στην Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία. Συμβολή πρώτη", *Ο Ερανιστής* 14, 138-84

Papadopoulos, Thomas (1984-6). *Ελληνική Βιβλιογραφία (1466 ci. – 1800).* Τόμ. 1: Αλφαβητική και χρονική ανακατάταξις. Τόμ. 2: Προσθήκαι–συμπληρώσεις–διορθώσεις. Athens: Grafeion dimosievmaton tis Akadimias Athinon

Papadopoulos-Vretos, Andreas (1854-7). *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία, ήτοι Κατάλογος των από πτώσεως της Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας μέχρι εγκαθιδρύσεως της εν Ελλάδι βασιλείας τυπωθέντων βιβλίων παρ' Ελλήνων εις την ομιλουμένην, ή εις την αρχαίαν ελληνικήν γλώσσαν.* 2 τόμοι. Athens

Ploumidis, G.S. (1971). "Τα παλαιά ελληνικά βιβλία της Μαρκιανής Βιβλιοθήκης Βενετίας, με προσθήκη αγνώστων εκδόσεων", *Ο Ερανιστής* 10, 221-73

Pollard and Redgrave (1986-: second edition). Pollard, A.W. and Redgrave, G.R. *A short-title catalogue of books printed in*

*England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English books printed abroad*. 3 vols. London: The Bibliographical Society

Psichari, Jean (1904). "Émile Legrand" [death notice], *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 13, 311-12

Roberts, R.J. (1967). "The Greek Press at Constantinople in 1627 and its antecedents", *The Library* 22, 13-43

Salanitro, Giovanni (1987). *M. Tullii Ciceronis liber de senectute in graecum translatus*. Leipzig: Teubner

Sophocles, Ancient scholia (1668) = *Σχόλια παλαιά των πάνυ δοκίμων, μετά και των του Τρικλινίου εις Σοφοκλέους επτά τραγωδίας*. Εν τη Κανταβριγία. Εξετυπώθη παρ' Ιωάννου Φιέλδου, του της Ακαδημίας τυπογράφου, Έτει από της Θεογονίας αχξη

STC Dutch, BM (1965) = *Short-title catalogue of books printed in the Netherlands and Belgium and of Dutch and Flemish books printed in other countries from 1470 to 1600 now in the British Museum*. London: Trustees of the British Museum

STC French, BM (1966) = *Short-title catalogue of books printed in France and of French books printed in other countries from 1470 to 1600 in the British Museum*. 2nd ed. London: Trustees of the British Museum

STC German, BM (1962) = *Short-title catalogue of books printed in the German-speaking countries and German books printed in other countries, from 1455 to 1600 now in the British Museum*. London: Trustees of the British Museum

STC Italian, BM (1958) = *Short-title catalogue of books printed in Italy and of Italian books printed in other countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Museum*. London: Trustees of the British Museum

STC Spanish, BM (1989) = *Short-title catalogue of books printed in Spain and of Spanish books printed elsewhere in Europe before*

*1601 now in the British Museum*. 2nd ed. London: Trustees of the British Museum

Wilson, N.G. (1992). *From Byzantium to Italy. Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance*. London: Duckworth

Wing (1994-). Wing, Donald. *Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English books printed in other countries 1641-1700*. 3 vols. 2nd ed. New York: The Modern Language Association of America

King's College London