

Greeks, Books and Libraries in Renaissance Venice

Transmissions



Studies on conditions, processes and dynamics
of textual transmission

Edited by
Rosa Maria Piccione

Volume 1

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Ottavia Mazzon

Knocking on Heaven's Door.

The Loan Registers of the Libreria di San Marco

Between the second half of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th, Venice played a primary role in the spreading of Greek culture throughout Western Europe: the Serenissima Republic was one of the main centers where Greek books were copied, read, annotated, loaned, exchanged, sold, bought,¹ as the study of Greek was established as an integral part of the education curriculum. Unlike other states, where the growing of Greek studies often relied almost exclusively on the initiative and the wealth of private citizens, the Serenissima could provide scholars with an extraordinary resource: the library that Cardinal Bessarion had donated to the Republic in 1468 in the hope that Greek exiles “would know where to find their entire language that now exists, remaining together at a safe place, and, after its rediscovery, they would reproduce it”.²

The immense cultural value of Bessarion's book collection, which formed the original nucleus of the Libreria di San Marco, attracted the attention of many intellectuals who came “knocking on (this bibliophile's) heaven's door” from all over Europe, asked to view its treasures and have copies made from Bessarion's codices. These copies, now preserved in some of the world's major conservation libraries, contributed heavily to the shaping of Greek studies during the Renaissance period. Therefore, the enquiry into the history of the access to the Libreria di San Marco

¹ General surveys on this phenomenon in Irigoin (1977); Canart (1977a).

² Bessarion voices these thoughts on his library in a letter probably addressed to Michael Apostolis (Möhler [1967²] 479, ll. 13–19): πεσοῦσης δέ, φεῦ, μεγάλη τις ἐγένετο ἐπιθυμίας τῆς πάντων αὐτῶν [scil. βιβλίων] κτήσεως, οὐκ ἐμοῦ γε ἔνεκα [...], ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν εἴ που νῦν τέ τινες λειφθεῖεν Ἕλληνες, εἴ τέ τι εἰς ἔπειτα βέλτιον πράξαιεν [...], ἔχιοιεν ὅπη τὴν αὐτῶν φωνὴν ἄπασαν, τὴν γε νῦν οὔσαν, ἐν τινι ὁμοῦ ἀποκειμένην ἀσφαλεῖ τόπῳ εὖροιεν καὶ εὐρόντες πολλαπλασιάσαιεν. The translation of the text is by Lamers (2005) 84 n. 82. Bessarion expresses similar concepts in the Act of Donation of his library to the Serenissima Republic: [...] *post Graeciae excidium et deflaendam Byzantii captivitatem in perquirendis graecis libris omnes meas vires, omnem curam, omnem operam, facultatem industriamque consumpsi. [...] nullum locum a me eligi posse commodiorem ac nostris [scil. Graecis] praesertim hominibus aptiorem. Cum enim in civitatem vestram [scil. Venetias] omnes fere totius orbis nationes maxime confluant, tum praecipue graeci, qui e suis provinciis navigios venientes Venetiis primum descendunt, ea praeterea vobiscum necessitudine devincti, ut ad vestram appulsi urbem quasi alterum Byzantium introire videantur* (Labowsky [1979] 147–148). On Bessarion's project, see Zorzi M. (1987) 45–85.

Note: I would like to thank Margherita Losacco for introducing me to the wonders of the Marciana Library; Rosa Maria Piccione for inviting me to the Turin workshop where I presented an earlier version of this work.

represents a crucial step towards the understanding of a key phase in the development of modern European culture.

After a survey on all the known evidence on the readers of Bessarion's collection in the period between 1473 and 1559, when the Libreria di San Marco finally found a proper location in the Libreria Sansoviniana, this chapter will focus on the two surviving loan registers of the library, referring to the years from 1545 to 1558. A new codicological examination of these documents will be followed by the analysis of the information they provide on 16th-century readers. The final part will include a discussion on the possible future developments of research on the loaning of manuscripts belonging to the Biblioteca Marciana.

1 The Access to the Libreria di San Marco from 1473 to 1559

In the beginning, from 1473 to 1485, those who wished to read Bessarion's books could do so with reasonable ease, since the volumes were displayed through appropriate furniture inside Palazzo Ducale, in the Sala Novissima.³ In a few special cases, readers were allowed to borrow some of the manuscripts and bring them outside the library and even outside Venice.⁴

Afterwards, from 1485 to 1559, when the Libreria Sansoviniana was finally opened to the public, books were deposited in chests. During this time, loaning became the only mean of accessing the volumes of Bessarion's collection.⁵ It is unfortunate that the evidence of loans dating to this period is scarce; the majority of information regards books that were not returned to the library in a timely fashion: some of them are now lost, some can be found in other European libraries, some must have been finally returned since nowadays they are where they are supposed to be, on the shelves of the Marciana National Library.⁶ As far as we know, loans were somehow

³ Cp. Zorzi M. (1987) 87–94 and (2002) 112–121; Zorzi N. (2015) 287.

⁴ The most ancient loan that we know of dates to 1474: on fol. 201r of MS Vat. gr. 1691, which used to belong to Bessarion, there is a note that says that Marco Aureli, secretary to the *doge*, put back this book in its place. Cp. Coggiola (1908) 52, 55–60; Giannelli/Canart (1961) 12.

⁵ Cp. Zorzi M. (1987) 100–103, who provides insight into some of the loans that have surely taken place, but of which there is no evidence in preserved official registrations.

⁶ See Coggiola (1908) for notices regarding loans ranging from 1474 to 1527. Documents found by Coggiola include a list of books that were not returned to the library (“libri non restituidi”) in 1494. The list includes 7 different borrowers, who had a total of 13 books. Almost all the volumes were subsequently returned, with two exceptions: one is the Eustathius' commentary to the first nine books of the *Iliad*, currently MS Par. gr. 2965, which was loaned to the aforementioned Marco Aureli (see above, n. 4) for the Roman nobleman Marcello de' Rustici and never returned it; the second one is a mysterious book *de pasagio mortis* (“on the passage of death”) loaned to one Tommaso da

recorded by both the Procuratori di San Marco and the Capitani,⁷ but probably not in a consistent fashion. There is no evidence of a loan register being kept by the appointed librarian to whom the collection was entrusted. However, there is an indication that the aforementioned librarian was a little too generous in conceding loans.⁸

It was only with the passage of the library from the care of the Procuratori di San Marco to the Riformatori dello Studio di Padova (established by a deliberation of the Senate on December 30, 1544)⁹ that a standardized loaning method could be implemented: it is not by chance that the first systematic documents on book loans belong to this period. These are two registers which were kept by the Grand Chancellor of the Republic, now codices Marc. lat. XIV 22 (= 4482) and Marc. lat. XIV 23 (= 4660): the former records loans ranging from 1545 to 1548, the latter those from *circa* 1552 to 1558.

The importance of these registers for information on book circulation in Venice in the middle 16th century was first highlighted by Charles Graux in 1880.¹⁰ He employed the registers to trace the provenance of some of the books belonging to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in Venice from 1541 to 1546.¹¹ As records show, Hurtado de Mendoza borrowed a series of books from the Libreria di San Marco and had copies made from them. After his death, most of these manuscripts ended up in the royal library of the El Escorial Palace, where some are still preserved nowadays.¹² A few years after Graux's pioneering work, the registers were edited twice: first by Henri Omont in 1887 and then by Carlo Castellani in 1896–1897.¹³ Both editions,

Conegliano. Other six loans notices belonging to the years 1524–1527 are recorded in the register of the Procuratori di San Marco. These records encompass a total of 15 loans. Other documents pertaining to the inventory made by Giambattista Ramusio in 1543 have been published by Labowsky (1979) 325; nos. 980–987 in Ramusio's inventory are "libri imprestadi che si devino recuperare" ("loaned books that must be retrieved"). For a list of Bessarion's books that are now dispersed, see Labowsky (1979) 483–494.

⁷ Some loan notices were found by Coggiola ([1908] 51, 53–54) among documents pertaining to the Procuratia de supra (see above, n. 6). At the same time, a letter by Giambattista Ramusio mentions that loan records were kept by the Capitani. This letter can be read in Labowsky (1979) 142–144; see also *ibid.* 72–73 for a brief commentary.

⁸ Castellani C. (1896–1896) 879: Pietro Bembo wrote a letter to his friend Giambattista Ramusio demanding that he always ask borrowers to leave a pawn, as otherwise books would not be returned.

⁹ ASVe, Consiglio de' X, Comune, reg. 16 (1544), filza 63. The document is published in Labowsky (1979) 132–133.

¹⁰ Cp. Graux (1880). Graux's study has been updated in the Spanish translation with the current signatures of El Escorial's manuscripts: Graux/de Andrés (1982).

¹¹ For a biographical profile of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1504–1575), see González Palencia/Mele (1941–1943) vol. 1, 47–334; vol. 2, 11–410; Díez Fernández (2009), which does not entirely replace Graux/de Andrés (1982) 186 nn. 4 (204) and a (i.e. the translator's update: 213).

¹² On Hurtado de Mendoza's library, see Graux/de Andrés (1982) 185–283, 395–400; Martínez Manzano (2015) 197–203 and (2018); see also above, 163–176. Lo Conte (2016) 173–181 gathers all the available bibliography on the surviving indices of Mendoza's book collection.

¹³ Omont (1887); Castellani C. (1896–1897). Castellani C. (1896–1897) 314 n. 2 is aware of Omont's edition, but does not cite it when there are differences between his readings and Omont's.

however, are almost exclusively concerned with the text of the loan notices, leaving aside the examination of the material characteristics of these documents.

2 Description of the Registers

MS Marc. lat. XIV 22 (= 4482)¹⁴ is a paper¹⁵ codex in quarto format (mm 192×143 [fol. 2r]) composed by I–V, 46, I'–IV' folia. Its leaves are organized into two quires composed by 20 folia each. A few unattached folia are added to the main quires. For the most part, the codex is written by the same hand, presumably that of a notary who was tasked with producing this fair copy of the original register.

The *mise en page* is organized as follows: on the verso there is the note that mentions a) the date of the loan; b) the name of the borrower; c) the name of the *riformatore* who is authorizing the loans; d) the list of the borrowed books, sometimes accompanied by an identification number that corresponds to the inventory of 1545–1546.¹⁶ Both the verso and the recto are divided through horizontal lines traced with a ruler into four bands of equal dimensions (*mise en page*: mm 36/39/41/52×30/100/13). Parallel to the loan notice of the verso, on the recto there is sometimes information about the return of the books (Fig. 1), which is usually, but not always, limited to a word, “Restituido” (“Returned”), followed by the date. From fol. 29v onwards, the *mise en page* becomes less orderly and the horizontal lines increase in number.

The information pertaining to manuscripts found in the register is variable: manuscripts are first denoted by their content, after which there is supposed to be their inventory number, but the field is frequently left blank. At the same time, there is often no mention of the return of the volumes, even though we are sure they were given back at some point, since Castellani could successfully identify them among the manuscripts still at the Marciana Library. Starting from fol. 28v, the scribes start to record also the goods that were left as pawns at the moment of the loan (Fig. 2).¹⁷ Loan notices are recorded more or less chronologically.

Marc. lat. XIV 22 also preserves traces of scholarly activity: sometimes, on the recto of folia, there is a pencil annotation about the possible identification of the manuscript according to the Zanetti catalogue.¹⁸ These notes likely belong to Castellani, since they correspond to the hypotheses formulated by him in his edition, and they lead to correct some of the typos that occurred in the printed version.¹⁹

¹⁴ Another description of this MS, curated by Alessia Giachery, is available on the database *Nuova Biblioteca Manoscritta* (last modified Dec. 22, 2017).

¹⁵ Watermark: (fols. I–45) Ancre similar to the type Piccard V 236 (Venice 1543, 1544).

¹⁶ Inventory E Labowsky: see Labowsky (1979) 82–91 (commentary), 327–397 (edition).

¹⁷ Pawns are recorded on fols. 28v, 29v, 32v, 33v, 35v, 37v, 40v.

¹⁸ Cp. Zanetti/Bongiovanni (1740).

¹⁹ E.g., the codex identified as Marc. gr. 159 in Castellani C. (1896–1897) 337 n. 1 is, in fact, MS Marc.

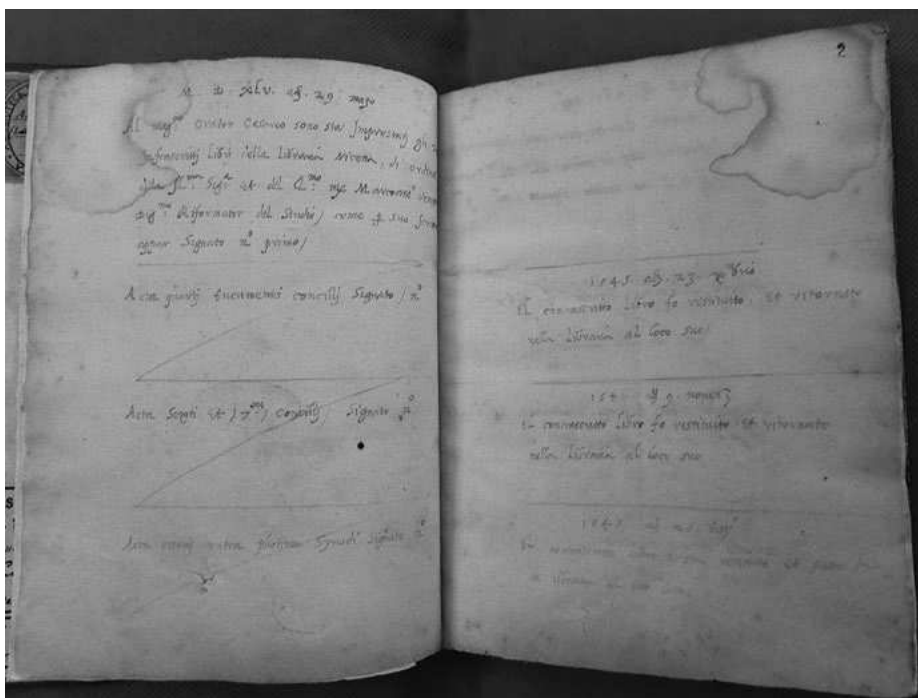


Fig. 1: Marc. lat. XIV 22, fols. 1v–2r © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

MS Marc. lat. XIV 23 (= 4660)²⁰ (Fig. 3) is also a paper codex in quarto format.²¹ It is slightly bigger (mm 208×150) and thicker (fols. I–IV, 59, I'–V') than the other register. It is composed by 3 quires of 20 folia each. Folia are numbered from 1 to 64 (fols. 60–64, despite being guard-leaves added in the 18th century, are numbered as if they were part of the original document).

The register is organized alphabetically (*a repertorio*): 3 to 4 folia are destined to each letter, and the external margin of the recto of each section is cut to create an indentation where the corresponding letter is written as a mean to make name-search easier. Each page is organized on three columns: mm 11/114/14/11 (the last measurement corresponds to the indentation); no upper or lower margin is left blank. The verso of the fourth anterior guard-leaf of the codex presents another folio perpendicularly attached to it. This folio contains the copy of a series of notices on the books loaned in the years 1550–1551. The document bears the title *Copia de partide*

gr. Z 519 (= 773), as the annotation left on Marc. lat. XIV 22, fol. 26r correctly points out.

²⁰ Another description of this codex, curated by Alessia Giachery, is available on *Nuova Biblioteca Manoscritta* (last modified: Dec. 22, 2017).

²¹ The watermark is similar to the one of the other register, but the countermark is different.

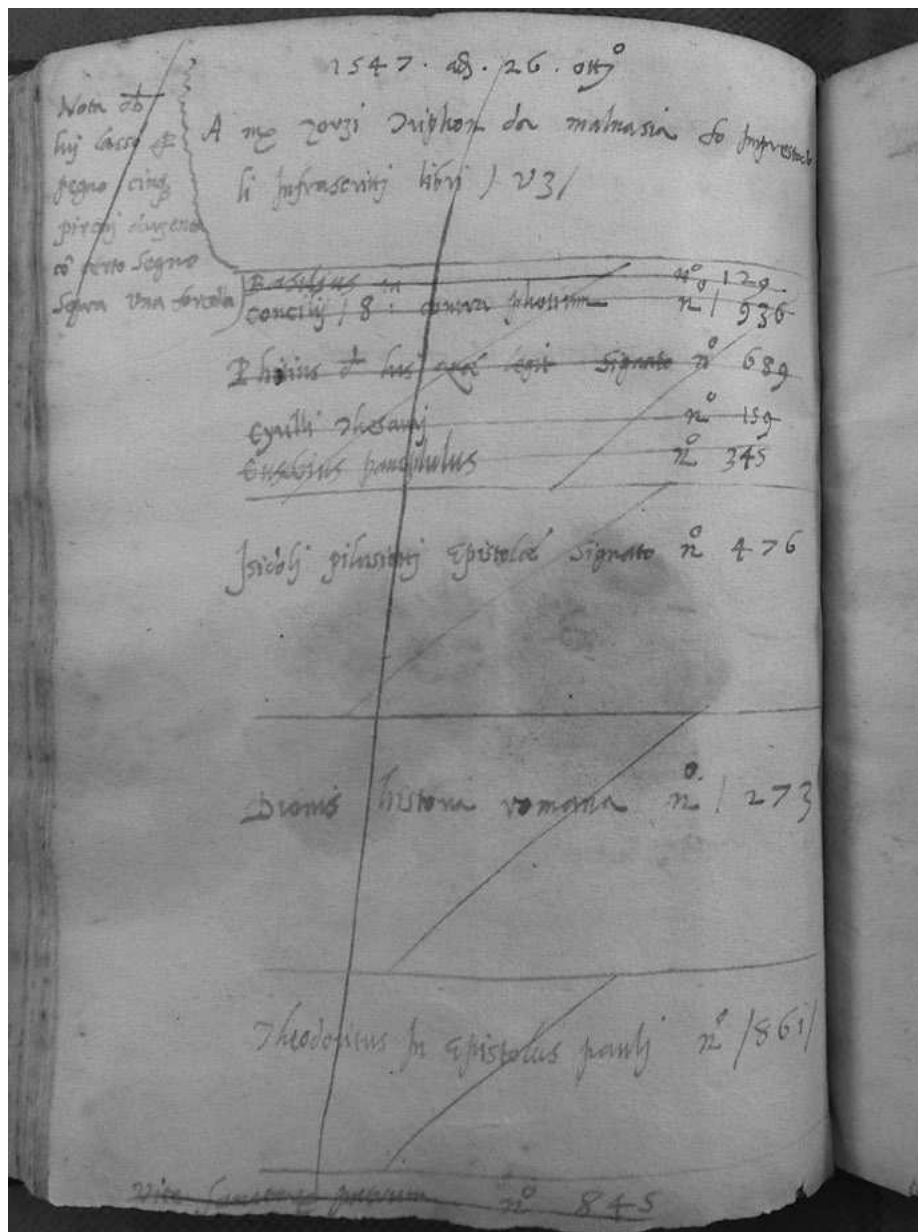


Fig. 2: Marc. lat. XIV 22, fol. 29v © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

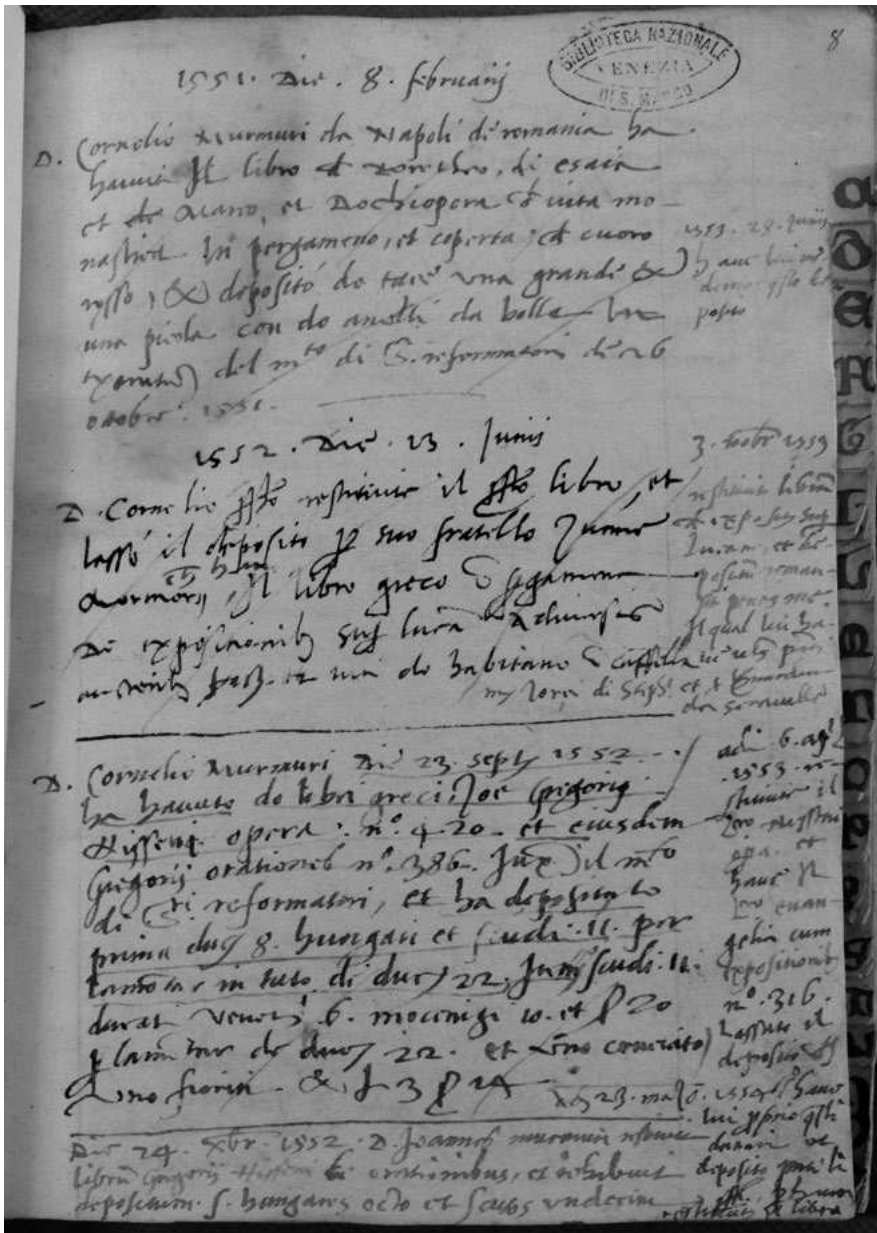


Fig. 3: Marc. lat. XIV 23, fol. 8r © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

che s'atrovano in un libro del q(uondam) M(agnifico) m(esser) Andrea de' Franceschi, Cancellier grande di Venetia (Fig. 4). It is signed by Pier de' Franceschi, secretary to the Consiglio dei Dieci.²² Another note is added after the signature: it records that, on February 8, 1552, Kornelios Mourmouris borrowed a book containing Dorotheus, Isaiah, Mark, and Diadochus: this same note is repeated at the appropriate place in the register itself (fol. 8r).²³

Other flyleaves are attached in various points of the codex: on the verso facing the beginning of the letter B;²⁴ on the verso facing the beginning of the letter C;²⁵ at the end of the codex, after the notices filed under the letter Z. This last one is not a proper loan notice, but a copy of a receipt emitted by the Banco Dolfin to guarantee a loan accorded to Zaccaria Morosini (fol. 51v) (Fig. 5).²⁶

Loan notices are written either by the Chancellor himself or by secretarial personnel working in the Chancery, the place where the retrieval of books was arranged and pawned goods were recorded. Information on the return of books and the subsequent handover of the pawned goods is recorded either on the small column towards the external margin of the folio or under the loan notice (Fig. 3). These notes provide insight into the value attributed to manuscripts and into the borrowers' working relationships: sometimes multiple people left the same object as pawn.²⁷

The codex does not preserve its original binding, as it has been restored in the first half of the 18th century like all other books belonging to the Marciana Library. The 18th-century binding is made in brown leather; a section of the cover spine is adorned by an impression that functions as a label, which features golden writing on a red background. The book is marked erroneously *Registro de' Franceschi*. This information was probably wrongly inferred from the document – cited above – glued to fol. 1v, which is a copy of a series of entries taken from the register of the Grand Chancellor Andrea de' Franceschi. However, the loans recorded in the registers refer

²² Omont (1887) 667–669 = Castellani C. (1896–1897) 344–346.

²³ Omont (1887) 671 no. 118 = Castellani C. (1896–1897) 346, 349. The book mentioned is MS Marc. gr. Z 132 (= 486).

²⁴ Castellani C. (1896–1897) 348. Omont does not include flyleaves in his edition.

²⁵ Castellani C. (1896–1897) 348–349: it is the note recording the loan taken by a Basilius from San Giorgio Maggiore.

²⁶ Castellani C. (1896–1897) 366. The receipt of the Banco Dolfin (Dolphin in the register) refers to a loan notice that is written on fol. 51r: Omont (1887) 685 nos. 202–203 = Castellani C. (1896–1897) 347–349. Zaccaria is the brother of Domenico Morosini, who borrowed no less than 11 books from the Libreria di San Marco between 1556 and 1557. On Domenico Morosini see Benzoni Gi. (2012). He died on January 9, 1558, and Zaccaria later returned a book containing Proclus that Domenico still had on loan at the time of his death: Castellani C. (1896–1897) 354. Zaccaria himself died later that year, on October 30, 1558: cp. Donazzolo (1927) 107–108.

²⁷ Omont (1887) 679 no. 166 = Castellani C. (1896–1897) 358.

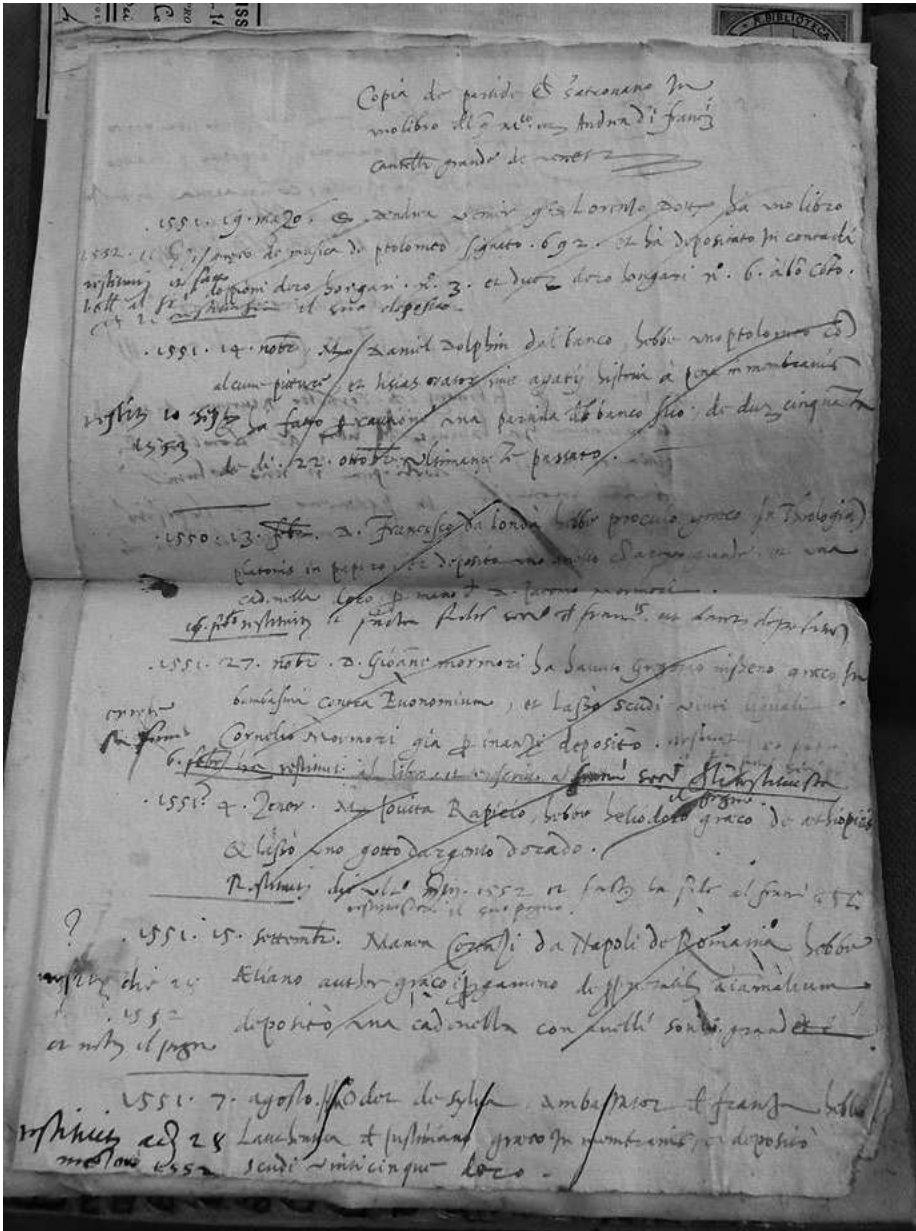


Fig. 4: Marc. lat. XIV 23, folio glued to fol. Iv. Copy of loan notices recorded in the Chancery register © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

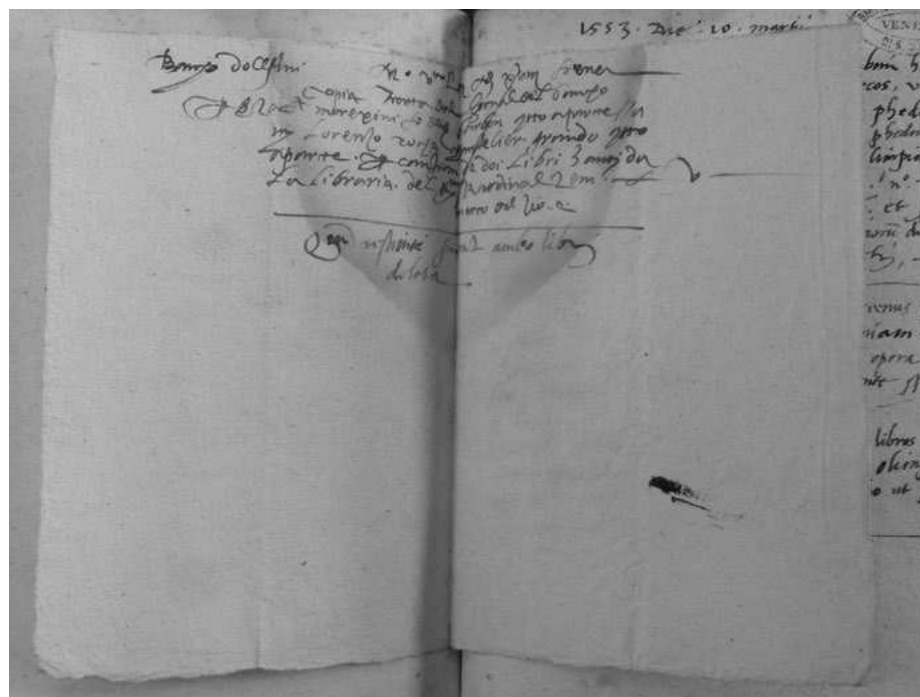


Fig. 5: Marc. lat. XIV 23, flyleaf glued to fol. 51v © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

to the chancery of Lorenzo Rocca (1552–1559),²⁸ the successor of de' Franceschi, who had died on January 13, 1552.²⁹

Both registers belonged to the Archive of the Consiglio dei Dieci and entered in the Marciana Library in 1795. Nonetheless, the two documents differ greatly. While Marc. lat. XIV 23 is the original register, the one actually employed in the day-to-day activity of the Chancery, Marc. lat. XIV 22 is a copy whose circumstances of production remain unclear. Being an original, Marc. lat. XIV 23 can fruitfully be compared to another surviving loan register belonging to the first half of the 16th century, MS Vat. lat. 3966, which is the loan register used in the Vatican Library from 1486 to 1547.³⁰

Both Marc. lat. XIV 23 and the Vatican register are organized alphabetically; both contain loan notices written in the hand of the borrowers themselves; both record the goods left as pawns in exchange of a loan; notices on the return of books are always added by keepers or librarians. Loan notices in the Marcian and the Vatican regis-

²⁸ On Rocca, see the manuscript of Pietro Gradenigo, *Pregi e fregi dei veneti gran cancellieri*: Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Gradenigo Dolfin 66, fols. 62rv.

²⁹ Zamperetti (1988) 26.

³⁰ Bertòla (1942) X.

ters are also similar in style. Volume identification is inconsistent: books are often identified only by their content and not by their actual position in the chests (in the case of the Libreria di San Marco) or on the bookshelves (in the case of the Vatican Library).³¹ Vat. lat. 3966, however, frequently provides information on the material of the books and their binding,³² while binding is very rarely mentioned in the Venice register.³³ The more precise nature of the records contained in Vat. lat. 3966 is probably dependent on the circumstances of the registration. Loans from the Vatican collection were recorded *inside* the library, following closely the available inventory of the manuscripts, where this kind of data are usually included, while the Marcian register was compiled *outside* the library, in the Chancery of the Serenissima Republic, where secretaries were probably more concerned with the exact registration of pawns left in exchange of the book(s) than with anything else.

3 The Information Provided by the Registers

The analysis of the loan records allows us to infer a few data on borrowers and their reading interests.

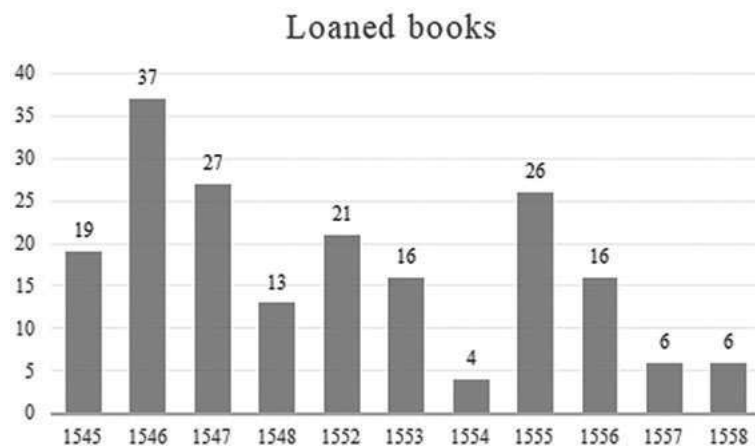
First of all, the loan registers can tell us how many books were lent on average every year. As Table 1 shows, the number of books loaned each year by the Libreria di San Marco could see significant variations; on average, based on the 11 years for which we have systematic data, 17 books were loaned per year. The highest peak in the number of loans was reached in 1546, when 37 books were borrowed from the library. This number was never surpassed, since further restrictions on book loans were imposed in 1549 in the light of alleged thefts committed by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.³⁴ The record for the lowest number of loans (just 4) belongs to 1554, which strikes as an exception between two years of great activity for the Marciana Library. Unfortunately, there is no definitive answer to the question of what could have been the cause of such a dramatic decrease in the number of loans. The four books loaned by the Libreria were all borrowed in the first six months of the year (February 2,

³¹ E.g. Vat. lat. 3966, fol. 1v: *Ego A(ngelus) Colotius recepi e bibliotheca Vaticana Eustratium translatum super Ethica Aristotelis quem promitto restituere ad omne beneplacitum, die X decembris 1526. Extractus e primo banche et est in membranis. – Restituit 8 ianuarii 1527.* See Bertòla (1942) 41.

³² E.g. Vat. lat. 3966, fol. 44r: *Ego frater Ioakinus Turrianus accepi mutuo a domino Ioanne de Venetis Alexandrum Aphrodiseum super libros Topicorum Aristotelis in papiro in rubeo, die octavo ianuarii 1490. – Restituit die 28 maii.* The manuscript was identified by Bertòla (1942) 81 n. 12 as Vat. gr. 270: it is a paper codex (*in papiro*) with a red leather binding (*in rubeo*).

³³ The binding is only mentioned three times: cp. Omont (1887) 671 no. 117 “coperta di cuoro rosso” (“red leather binding”); 675 nos. 145–146 “cum cohopena rubra” (“with red binding”); 676 no. 147 “cum coperta nigra” (“with black binding”).

³⁴ Zorzi M. (1987) 112–114.

Table 1: The number of books loaned per year by the Libreria di San Marco.

February 8, March 30, June 28): based on this data, the library seems to have been inaccessible in the second part of 1554. A physical inability to reach the chests where Bessarion's books were preserved, maybe due to ongoing restoration work in Palazzo Ducale, could be the reason why so few books were loaned.

A high number of loans does not imply a high number of borrowers: out of the 37 books loaned by the Libreria di San Marco in 1546, 32 went to only 5 different people (12 to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 6 to Gianbernardo Regazzola *Feliciano*, 5 each to George Korinthios and Giambattista Ramusio, 4 to George Tryphon).

In total, 55 people had access to the Marciana Library in the time period between 1545 and 1559.³⁵ Almost half of them (48%) borrowed a single book, while only 5% borrowed more than 15 books (see Table 2). This *top 5%* is represented by three people (see Table 3, which breaks down the number of loans per person), namely Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who was loaned 24 books, George Tryphon, who borrowed 22, and Giambattista Ramusio, who obtained 17 loans. These three are representative of all the main categories of people who were granted permission to access Bessarion's book collection.

As mentioned above, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza was a foreign diplomat: he as the ambassador of Charles V in Venice from 1541 to 1546. On the other hand, George (or Zorzi, as his name is spelled in the registers) Tryphon was a Greek professional scribe:³⁶ he is responsible for the copy of several manuscripts, some of which he

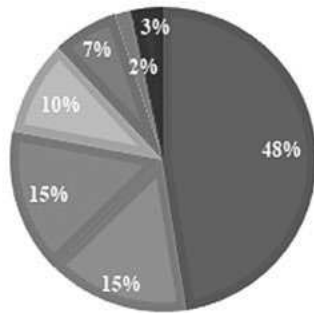
³⁵ The number is not definitive since, as Brigitte Mondrain points out, some of the people mentioned in the registers in different ways could be identified, thus bringing the total number down. See Mondrain (1991–1992) 383 n. 57.

³⁶ *RGK* I 74 = III 125.

Table 2: The number of books loaned on average to each borrower.

Books Loaned by Each Borrower

■ 1 Book ■ 2 Books ■ 3-4 Books ■ 6-8 Books
 ■ 11-15 Books ■ 16-20 Books ■ More than 20



copied alone, some together with other scribes whose names appear in the loan registers of the Marciana Library, such as Kornelios³⁷ and Ioannes Mourmouris,³⁸ Bartolomeo Zanetti³⁹ and Petros from Malvasia.⁴⁰ Giambattista Ramusio (1485–1557)⁴¹ was an officer of the Republic of Venice, serving as secretary to the Senate from 1516 and to the Consiglio dei Dieci in 1553 and also taking part in some embassages. Ramusio collaborated in the printing enterprise of Aldus Manutius and his successors and was friends with Andrea Navagero and Pietro Bembo, two librarians of the Libreria di San Marco. From 1539 to 1543, he deputized for Bembo as librarian.

According to the registers, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza was not the only foreign ambassador to gain access rights to the Marciana Library. Marc. lat. XIV 22 and Marc. lat. XIV 23 attest that both Jean de Morvilliers, French ambassador in Venice from 1546 to 1550, and his successor, Odet de Selve, ambassador in Venice from 1550 to 1554, borrowed some manuscripts from the Libreria di San Marco.⁴² Ludovico Beccadelli⁴³ (Beccatelus in the registers) obtained the loan of seven manuscripts while he was the papal legate in Venice from 1550 to 1554.

³⁷ RGK III 354e.

³⁸ RGK I 172 = II 230.

³⁹ RGK I 31 and Cataldi Palau (2000b).

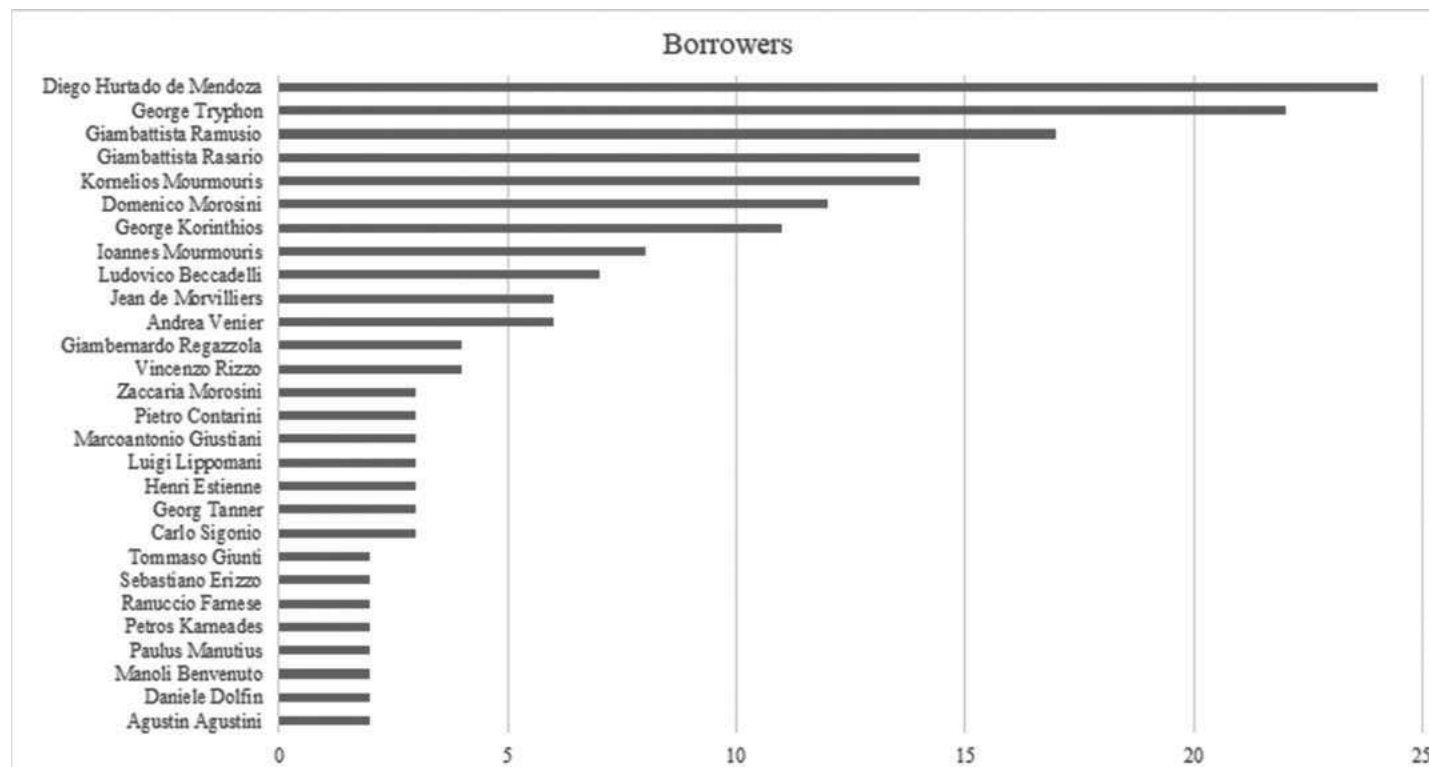
⁴⁰ Peter from Malvasia borrows Cyrillus' *Thesaurus* and Maximus the Confessor's *Orationes*: Omont (1887) 666–667 nos. 97–98 = Castellani C. (1896–1897) 343. He can be identified with Petros Karneades (also known as Karnabakas): RGK I 346–347 = II 474–475 = III 551.

⁴¹ For a biographical profile, see Donattini (2016).

⁴² The name of Jean de Morvilliers is not present in the register, as in the case of Hurtado de Mendoza. He is qualified as “ambasciator de Franza”: Omont (1887) 666 nos. 84–94 = Castellani C. (1896–1897) 342. Odet de Selve is the “de Sylva, ambasciator de Franza” who borrows the *Authentica* of Justinian on August 7, 1551: Omont (1887) 668 no. 1105 = Castellani C. (1896–1897) 345–346.

⁴³ For a biographical profile, see Alberigo (1970).

Table 3: The number of books effectively loaned to each borrower (the chart does not include borrowers who obtained a single loan).



Diplomats were not the only career politicians to enjoy the treasures of the Libreria di San Marco: also cultured Venetian noblemen borrowed a number of books. The most active was Domenico Morosini (Dominicus Maurocenus in the registers), who borrowed a total of 12 books. Federico Badoer,⁴⁴ who went with the aforementioned Morosini on an embassy to Augsburg, borrowed a volume containing the *Aethiopics* of Heliodorus.⁴⁵ Other notable *patrizi* include Sebastiano Erizzo⁴⁶ and Pietro Contarini.⁴⁷

However, the professional category who most frequently borrowed books from the Libreria di San Marco was that of professional scribes. As a matter of fact, there is a circle of Greek scribes that had constant access to the Marciana Library who are known to have worked together as a writing *atelier*.⁴⁸ These are the already cited Kornelios Mourmouris and his brother Ioannes, who collaborated with George Tryphon and Petros from Malvasia (= Karneades).⁴⁹ Kornelios Mourmouris even borrowed a book in the name of George Tryphon, as it is clearly stated in the registers.⁵⁰ Other known scribes that appear in the registers are George Korinthios (Zorzi Corinthio),⁵¹ Camillo Zanetti⁵² and Francesco Clado.⁵³

But scribes were not the only book professionals who accessed the Marciana Library with the aim of producing new books: the printers Paulus Manutius,⁵⁴ Henri Estienne,⁵⁵ and Tommaso Giunti⁵⁶ all borrowed volumes from cardinal Bessarion's collection and employed them to prepare new editions.⁵⁷

⁴⁴ For a biographical profile, see Stella (1963).

⁴⁵ Omont (1887) 658 no. 22 = Castellani C. (1896–1897) 331–332.

⁴⁶ See Benzoni Gi. (1993). On the books borrowed by Erizzo, see Vanhaelen (2016) 326.

⁴⁷ Castellani C. (1896–1897) 343 n. 7 identifies him as the author of the poem *Argo voluptas*, but this Pietro Contarini died in 1543, as Gullino (1983a) points out. The Pietro Contarini mentioned in the registers is the son of Zaccaria born in 1491. For a biographical profile, see Gullino (1983b).

⁴⁸ Cp. Mondrain (1991–1992). Many of these scribes participated in the copy of manuscripts destined to the collection of Johann Jakob Fugger, who, starting from 1548, built a collection of 183 Greek manuscripts. Fugger's library is now part of the Greek fund of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Other scribes worked for Guillaume Pellicier, French ambassador in Venice from 1539 to 1542. On his library see Cataldi Palau (1986a; 1986b) and above Piccione, 177–180.

⁴⁹ See above, 271 n. 40.

⁵⁰ Omont (1887) 676 no. 151 = Castellani C. (1896–1897) 356.

⁵¹ *RGK* III 107e; Pingree (1977). Κόμης, however, is just a family name and not a nobility title.

⁵² *RGK* I 212 = II 299 = III 351. He is the son of Bartolomeo Zanetti (see above, n. 38). Brigitte Mondrain (1991–1992) 383 n. 57 argues that the “Camillo de Alba” mentioned in the register could be identified with this famous scribe.

⁵³ *RGK* III 602.

⁵⁴ For a biographical profile, see Sterza (2007; 2008).

⁵⁵ On Henri Estienne see Carabin (2006); *Henri Estienne* (1988). See also above Elia, 221–255.

⁵⁶ For a biographical profile, see Ceresa (2001).

⁵⁷ On Estienne's use of Marcian codices, see below, 281 Paulus Manutius borrowed a series of codices to use for his editions. These loans are not all recorded in the registers as they span across at least 20 years: for example, he borrowed MS Marc. gr. Z 257 (= 622) and employed it in 1534 for the editio

Teachers of Greek and eloquence were another professional category who appear with great frequency among readers of the Libreria di San Marco. The registers record the names of Gian Bernardo Regazzola, known as Feliciano,⁵⁸ who had been the Greek teacher of the aforementioned Sebastiano Erizzo; Giambattista Cipelli (Battista Egnazio);⁵⁹ Giovita Ravizza (Rapicio);⁶⁰ Carlo Sigonio;⁶¹ Georg Tanner;⁶² Giambattista Rasario.⁶³ The registers also contain a loan notice belonging to Lazzaro Bonamico da Bassano,⁶⁴ who was professor of Greek and Latin at the University of Padua.

But what kind of books interested those who asked for loans from the Marciana Library? As Table 4 shows, it was mostly philosophical and mathematical texts, which were borrowed respectively 30 times (see Table 5) and 19 times (see Table 6).

With regards to philosophical texts, readers accorded preference to commentaries rather than to the works authored by either Plato or Aristotle. It is easy to explain why: at that point of time, most philosophical commentaries were still unpublished (some still are), while printed editions of Plato and Aristotle's works had been in circulation for almost fifty years.⁶⁵

As for mathematical texts, the most borrowed work was the *Harmonica* of Claudius Ptolemy, which Bessarion owned in three copies (MSS Marc. gr. Z 318 [= 994], 321 [= 894], 322 [= 711]), each one featuring a different commentary to accompany the text.

Other authors on the *most borrowed* list include Origenes and Photius, whose *Bibliotheca* was loaned multiple times.

princeps of Eustratius' *Commentary on Aristotle's Analytics*: cp. Groisard (2013) CXII n. 232. In 1547 he printed a commentary on Cicero's *Epistles* where he states to have employed a Marcian codices to correct the text (see Zorzi M. [1987] 117), while in 1553 he obtained the loan of Marc. gr. Z 522 (= 317) and used it to print Longinus: cp. Mazzucchi (1992) XXXVI and (1989) 211–212; Costa (1984). He also borrowed Athenaeus (Marc. gr. Z 447 [= 820]). The *Deipnosophistae* had already been printed in 1514 by his father, who did not use the Marcian codex: cp. Arnott (2000) 50–51.

58 For a biographical profile, see Fortuna (2016).

59 For a biographical profile, see Mioni (1981b).

60 For a biographical profile, see Valseriati (2016).

61 For a biography of Carlo Sigonio, see McCuaig (1989) 3–95. Sigonio constitutes an exception among borrowers, since he borrowed two Latin books, the first and the third decades of Livy (see *ibid.* 14). The only Greek book he borrowed contains the historians Herodianus and Zosimus (Marc. gr. Z 390 [= 855]).

62 On Georg Tanner, a Greek teacher based in Wien, see Almási (2009) 127–128; Gall (1970); Aschbach (1865) 279–289.

63 For a biographical profile, see Cosenza (1962–1967) vol. 4, 3004–3005.

64 For a biographical profile, see Avesani (1969).

65 Aldus Manutius printed the editiones principes of both Aristotle and Plato, alongside with editions of the works of many other ancient Greek philosophers, such as Iamblichus, Alexander of Aphrodisias, and Theophrastus. The *opera omnia* of Aristotle were printed in a five-volume edition published between 1495 and 1498: see Aristoteles (1495–1498). For the list of the Aldine editions see Renouard (1834²).

Table 4: The type of books borrowed, broken down by author and/or literary genre.

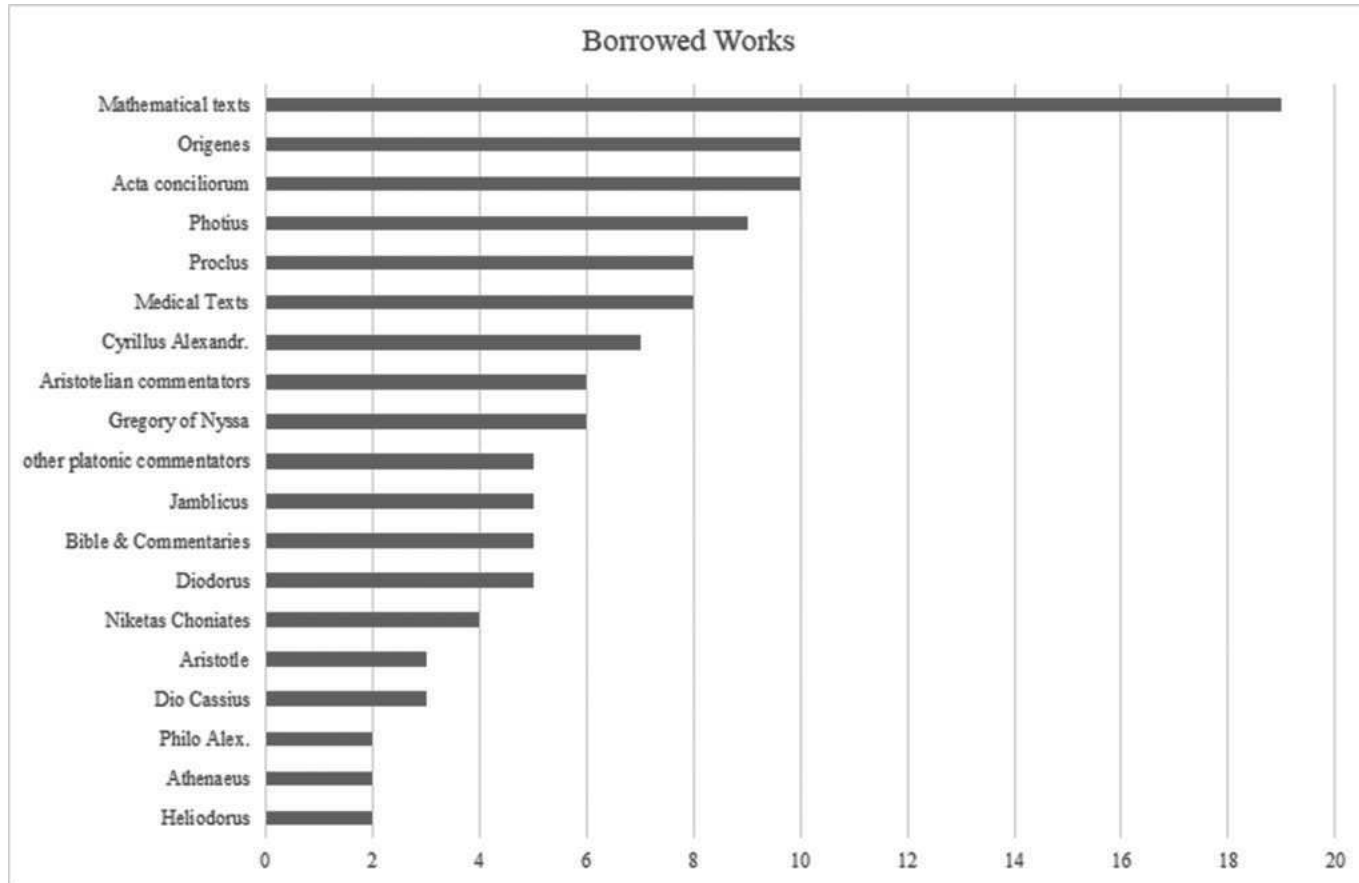


Table 5: Table showing which philosophical texts were taken on loan.

Loan Date	Return Date	Name of Borrower	Title	Present signature
26/10/1545	28/02/1546	Diego Hurtado de Mend.	<i>Aristotelis liber Ethicorum Nicomachiorum</i>	gr. Z 212 (= 606)
27/12/1545	07/02/1546	Diego Hurtado de Mend.	<i>Aristotelis logicausque ad dialecticam, cum expositione</i>	gr. Z 201 (= 780)
03/03/1546	08/10/1546	Bartolomeo Abioso	<i>Proclo sopra el Timeo</i>	gr. Z 194 (= 871)
18/03/1546	09/11/1546	Diego Hurtado de Mend.	<i>Aristotelis moralia et multa alia</i>	gr. Z 214 (= 479)
28/10/1546	25/02/1547	George Tryphon	<i>Simplittii, Themistii et alia</i>	gr. Z 228 (= 406)
22/12/1546		Giambenardo Regazzola	<i>Iamblici</i>	gr. Z 243 (= 619), 244 (= 620)
04/04/1547		Lorenzo Morosini	<i>Proclo sopra el Parmenide</i>	gr. Z 191 (= 478)
01/08/1547	02/03/1548	George Korinthios	<i>Iamblici Chalcediensis</i>	gr. Z 243 (= 619)
04/06/1548		Sebastiano Erizzo	<i>Proclo in theologiam Platonis</i>	gr. Z 192 (= 613)
20/07/1548		Jean de Morvillier	<i>Ioannis Philoponi</i>	gr. Z 230 (= 579)
20/07/1548		Jean de Morvillier	<i>Philonis Iudaei</i>	gr. Z 40 (= 365), 41 (= 366)
13/02/1551	16/02/1551	Francesco da Londà	<i>Proculo in theologia Platonis</i>	gr. Z 192 (= 613)
14/07/1552	17/02/1553	Sebastiano Erizzo	<i>Olympiodorus in Gorgiam</i>	gr. Z 196 (= 743), 197 (= 603)
16/12/1552	29/12/1552	Camillo <Zanetti>	<i>omnia opera Philonis Iudaei</i>	gr. Z 40 (= 365), 41 (= 366)
10/03/1553	10/09/1553	Zaccaria Morosini	<i>Olympiodorum in Phedonem, Gorgiam, Phedrum et Alcibiadem</i>	gr. Z 196 (= 743)
10/03/1553	28/07/1553	Zaccaria Morosini	<i>Ammonium Hermiam in Phedrum</i>	gr. Z 191 (= 478)
07/11/1553		Sebastiano Erizzo	<i>Iamblicum</i>	gr. Z 243 (= 619), 244 (= 620)
07/11/1553		Sebastiano Erizzo	<i>Simplicii Commentario</i>	
30/03/1554	28/06/1554	Andrea Venier	<i>opera Platonis</i>	gr. Z 184 (= 326)
28/06/1554	15/03/1556	Andrea Venier	<i>Proculi super theologiam Platonis</i>	gr. Z 192 (= 613)
04/12/1554	06/12/1554	Ludovico Nogarola	<i>Timeo Locro</i>	gr. Z 517 (= 886)
02/06/1555	13/08/1555	Henri Estienne	<i>Alexandrum Aphrodiseum</i>	gr. Z 257 (= 622)
07/08/1555	13/08/1555	Giambattista Rasario	<i>Ammonii, Simplicii et Philoponi</i>	gr. Z 225 (= 307)
13/01/1556	17/06/1557	Domenico Morosini	<i>Aristidis et Procli naturalis elementationem, aliorumque de dogmatibus Platonis</i>	gr. Z 325 (= 518)
20/02/1556	18/04/1556	Giambattista Ram u sio	<i>Iamblicum</i>	gr. Z 243 (= 619), 244 (= 620)
06/06/1556		Domenico Morosini	<i>Iamblicum</i>	gr. Z 243 (= 619), 244 (= 620)
16/06/1556		Francesco de Polo	<i>Proculo in la theologia di Platone</i>	gr. Z 192 (= 613)
30/06/1556		Domenico Morosini	<i>Proclum in Timeum</i>	gr. Z 194 (= 871)
04/02/1557	16/02/1557	Domenico Morosini	<i>Porphirium de intelligentiis insertum in libro Gregorii Nazianzeni</i>	gr. Z 519 (= 773)
04/02/1557	20/07/1557	Domenico Morosini	<i>Sextum Academicum</i>	gr. Z 252 (= 724)

Table 6: Table showing which mathematical texts were taken on loan.

Loan date	Return date	Name of Borrower	Title	Present signature
16/02/1545	24/03/1546	Diego Hurtado de Mend.	<i>Cleomedes et Diophantes</i>	gr. Z 308 (= 636)
27/12/1545	15/01/1546	Diego Hurtado de Mend.	<i>Heronis mechanica</i>	gr. Z 263 (= 1025)
13/01/1547		Marcoantonio Giustiniani	<i>Musica Ptolemei cum expositione Porphyrii</i>	gr. Z 318 (= 994)
20/08/1548		Jean de Morvillier	<i>Euclides et Spherica Theodosii</i>	gr. Z 301 (= 635), 302 (= 730)
1550-1551			<i>Musica cum expositione Porphyrii</i>	gr. Z 321 (= 894), 322 (= 711)
1550-1551			<i>Musica cum expositione Briennii</i>	gr. Z 321 (= 894), 322 (= 711)
22/02/1552	07/08/1553	Ludovico Beccadelli	<i>Archimedem, Eutocium Ascalonita</i>	gr. Z 305 (= 732)
22/03/1552	09/04/1552	Marco de Molino	<i>Sereni philosophi cum Aeliani de proprietatibus</i>	gr. Z 518 (= 539)
21/05/1552	14/12/1552	Francesco Clado	<i>Aristidis Quintiliani de musica</i>	gr. Z 322 (= 711)
19/09/1552		Giambattista Ramusio	<i>Elementa Procli</i>	gr. Z 306 (= 1026)
28/07/1553	10/09/1553	Zaccaria Morosini	<i>Ptolomei musicam</i>	gr. Z 318 (= 994)
07/08/1553		Ludovico Beccadelli	<i>Apollonis Pergei Conicorum, insertum Heliano de proprietatibus animalium</i>	gr. Z 518 (= 539)
20/06/1555	20/02/1556	Giovanni Agostino Marino	<i>Aristidis Quintiliani de musica</i>	gr. Z 322 (= 711)
23/09/1555	04/11/1555	Giambattista Rasario	<i>Heronis mechanicam</i>	gr. Z 263 (= 1025)
23/09/1555	04/11/1555	Giambattista Rasario	<i>Theonis Mathematicam</i>	gr. Z 307 (= 1027)
	25/02/1556	Giovanni Agostino Azarino	<i>Ptolomei musica</i>	gr. Z 318 (= 994)
01/06/1556	20/01/1557	abbas Rugerio	<i>Ptolomei musica</i>	gr. Z 318 (= 994)
21/10/1557	25/11/1557	Camill o Zanetti	<i>Aeliani de proprietatibus, Apollonii Pergei Conicorum</i>	gr. Z 518 (= 539)
07/11/1558		Vincenzo Rizzo	<i>Ptolomei musicam</i>	gr. Z 318 (= 994)

Works of Origenes have been borrowed a total of ten times, by several different people. The *Contra Celsum* (MSS Marc. gr. Z 323 [= 639], 367 [= 649], 383 [= 587]) was loaned to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (05.11.1545–07.02.1546), George Tryphon (12.03.1546–20.06.1546), George Korinthios (29.03.1546–01.12.1547), Kornelios Mourmouris for George Tryphon (09.02.1555–20.06.1555), Bartholomeus Fachinetus (09.12.1555–14.07.1556); the *Philocalia* again to Hurtado de Mendoza (26.10.1545–23.12.1545) and to Agustín Agustín (26.08.1547–28.10.1548); finally, the *Commentary on the Gospel of Mark and John* has been loaned to Vincenzo Rizzo (05.11.1545–01.01.1548) and George Tryphon (20.06.1555–).

The manuscripts of the *Bibliotheca* (Marc. gr. Z 450 [= 652], 451 [=537]) have been borrowed nine times by several people: Antonios Kalliergis (12.09.1545–13.01.1547), George Tryphon (26.10.1547–before 17.12.1547), Bernardo Zorzi (17.12.1547–), Andrea Venier (who borrowed the first one from 11.07.1553 to 30.03.1554, the second one from 18.09.1553 to 24.09.1553), George Tryphon (10.01.1555–25.10.1555), Tommaso Giunti (20.01.1555–10.11.1555: the coincidence of the dates with the loan to George Tryphon leads to the conclusion that one of them took Marc. gr. Z 450, while the other got Marc. gr. Z 451), Sebastiano Erizzo (13.07.1558–20.04.1559: he probably borrowed Marc. gr. Z 450), Giambattista Rasario (20.12.1558–19.05.1559: he borrowed *Phocium alterum*, probably Marc. gr. Z 451).

Historiographers form a category of their own right. Different codices containing the *Bibliotheca historica* of Diodorus Siculus were borrowed multiple times between 1546 and 1548;⁶⁶ between 1547 and 1548 manuscripts of Cassius Dio were borrowed four times,⁶⁷ while Niketas Choniates was borrowed three times between 1556 and 1557.⁶⁸ These data show that interest in specific historians was probably limited in time and followed a sort of cultural *trend* that came and went in a short amount of time.

4 Research Prospects

A systematic enquiry into the loan registers of the Libreria di San Marco would lead to the reconstruction of a wide network of relations documenting the path taken by Greek studies in Europe in the middle 16th century. The precise identification

⁶⁶ Marc. gr. Z 374 (= 647) containing the first five books of the work was loaned to Giambattista Ramusio on 14.12.1547; Marc. gr. Z 375 (= 310), containing books 11 to 15, was borrowed by George Tryphon (12.03.1546–08.08.1546) and Sebastiano Erizzo (04.06.1548–). It is not clear which book Battista Egnazio and George Korinthios borrowed, since there is no copy of Diodorus that contains books from 5 onwards: it could either be Marc. gr. Z 374 (the scribe could have misread the Latin preposition *ad* for *ab*) or Marc. gr. Z 376 (= 854), which contains books 15 to 20. See Omont (1887) 664–665 nos. 66, 86 = Castellani C. (1896–1897) 339, 341.

⁶⁷ The *Historia Romana* of Cassius Dio is transmitted by MSS Marc. gr. Z 395 (= 921) and 396 (= 535). Given the general nature of the loan notices, it is not possible to establish who borrowed which manuscript, but George Tryphon and Vincenzo Rizzo probably borrowed both on different occasions: see Omont (1887) 663–665 nos. 62, 72–73, 82 = Castellani C. (1896–1897) 338, 340–341. George Korinthios only took one of the two codices: see Omont (1887) 664 no. 64 = Castellani C. (1896–1897) 338.

⁶⁸ Omont (1887) 679–680 nos. 169, 171, 173 = Castellani C. (1896–1897) 359–360.

of which of Bessarion's books were borrowed by scholars, professional scribes and other intellectuals; the research on the copies transcribed following the loans, the circumstances of their production, and their history until their present location would shed light on the impact of Bessarion's donation on European culture during the Renaissance.

Charles Graux's work can be considered path-breaking in this respect: as mentioned above, he examined the registers in order to identify which manuscripts Diego Hurtado de Mendoza had borrowed from the Marciana Library and then attempted to find the volumes with the same content in the inventory of Mendoza's collection.⁶⁹ He also took into consideration the scribes of Mendoza's manuscripts: in doing so, he situated the ambassador's collection in the context of contemporary Venetian Greek-language humanism and linked Mendoza to a Greek writing *atelier*.⁷⁰

Moving from Graux's example, the research on the books loaned from the Libreria di San Marco can advance in two different directions. On the one hand, Bessarion's codices could be examined extensively in order to build a database of annotators of the Marcian codices: the presence of marginalia, attention marks, and other notes constitutes proof of loans of which we might not have an official record. On the other hand, further research can start from the registers themselves. The survey of the manuscript tradition of the works contained in the codices that were borrowed could lead to the identification of the copies that spawned from Marcian manuscripts. In turn, the palaeographical and codicological analysis of these copies and the reconstruction of their history would be instrumental to the mapping of the network of scribes, reader, annotators, collectors that, starting from the city of Venice, reached numerous places in Europe. Moreover, the development of research into the manuscript tradition of the works preserved in Bessarion's collection could provide more data on the loans which had taken place before the starting date of the registers or in the years 1549–1551, when information in our possession is sporadic. A few examples will better illustrate these developments.

The enquiry into the books that used to belong to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza reveals the existence of codices that the Spanish ambassador borrowed from the Libreria di San Marco before the start of the register Marc. lat. XIV 22.

Mendoza owned a copy of Photius' *Bibliotheca* in two volumes, nowadays MSS Scor. Ψ.I.9/10 (de Andrés 429–430). These codices were transcribed in Venice by the professional copyist Ioannes Mauromates in 1543.⁷¹ As textual analysis demonstrated, the exemplar copied by Mauromates was codex Marc. gr. Z 451 (siglum M), while

⁶⁹ Graux/de Andrés (1982) 197–200.

⁷⁰ Graux/de Andrés (1982) 200–203.

⁷¹ Canfora (2000) 30 no. 1; de Andrés (1965–1967) vol. 3, 14–15; on the binding, Martínez Manzano (2016b) 270.

the pinax to the *Bibliotheca* was later added in Scor. Ψ.I.9 by Petros Karneades, who employed Marc. gr. Z 450 (siglum A) as his antigraph.⁷²

The examination of the manuscript tradition of Cassius Dio⁷³ leads to discover another loan made from the Libreria di San Marco to Mendoza: Scor. y.I.4 (siglum S; Andrés 297),⁷⁴ which belonged to him, is a copy of Marc. gr. Z 396. However, there is no record of this loan in Marc. lat. XIV 22: like Photius, Cassius Dio must have been borrowed by the ambassador between 1541 and 1544, before the start of the official documentation.

A survey of the Greek codices which used to belong to Johann Jakob Fugger and are now at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich⁷⁵ brings to light a few copies of Marcian manuscripts that were achieved by scribes also mentioned in the registers. For example, Mon. gr. 5⁷⁶ is a composite manuscript which is a copy of two different Marcian codices: Marc. gr. Z 245 (= 582) and Marc. gr. Z 421 (= 784). Mon. gr. 5 was transcribed in a collaborative effort by Petros Karneades (from Malvasia) and George Tryphon. Karneades also copied Mon. gr. 11, which is an apograph of Marc. gr. Z 191 (= 478),⁷⁷ but the registers do not record a loan of this codex either to him or another person that could be connected to Johann Jakob Fugger. Mon. gr. 23 is another composite manuscript, whose parts derived respectively from MSS Marc. gr. Z 67 (= 387) [Part II], Marc. gr. Z 68 (= 353) [Part III], and Marc. gr. Z 494 (= 331) [Part IV]. The codex was copied for the most part by Camillo Zanetti, Kornelios Mourmouris, and Ioannes Mourmouris,⁷⁸ who we have seen are all very active borrowers from the Marciana Library. The second part of Mon. gr. 23 was likely transcribed in 1552, when Kornelios Mourmouris borrowed a codex containing Gregory of Nyssa's works from the Libreria di San Marco.⁷⁹ Many other manuscripts belonging to Fugger were written by these same scribes (e.g., Mon. gr. 19, 28, 29, 31, 33, 39, 47, 48, 52, 55, 63, 67, 70, 92, 104) and are likely copies of Marcian codices. The access to Bessarion's collection of this writing *atelier* was therefore not limited to the time period for which we have systematic data.

Photius and Cassius Dio are not the only authors who must have been borrowed more times than the registers attest. Among the copies of Marc. gr. Z 374 (= 647) of Diodorus Siculus,⁸⁰ there are two which are particularly interesting: MSS Par. gr. 1659

⁷² Canfora (2000) 41.

⁷³ Boissevain (1985–1901) vol. 1, LIX–LXXXVII; Boissevain (1885); Mazzucchi (1979); Freyburger/Roddaz (1991) LXXXIX–XCIII; Freyburger-Galland *et al.* (2002) LXVI–VIII.

⁷⁴ de Andrés (1965–1967) vol. 2, 181; Martínez Manzano (2016b) 270 (on the binding).

⁷⁵ For the list of Fugger's manuscripts, see Hajdú (2002) 99–103.

⁷⁶ Tiftixoglu (2004) 43–47; Mondrain (1991–1992) 361, 364.

⁷⁷ Tiftixoglu (2004) 84.

⁷⁸ Tiftixoglu (2004) 126–132.

⁷⁹ Omont (1887) 671 no. 120 = Castellani C. (1896–1897) 349.

⁸⁰ On Diodorus' manuscript tradition, see Chamoux/Bertrac (1993) LXXVIII–C (Books 1–5), CI–CXXIII (Books 11–20). On Marc. gr. Z 374's apographs, see *ibid.* LXXXIII.

and Par. Coisl. 149. The former was copied by Bartolomeo Zanetti,⁸¹ who must have borrowed this manuscript before 1545 or between 1548 and 1551; despite what the philological analysis leads to believe, the latter cannot possibly descend directly from the Marcian codex, since it was partly copied by George Balsamon, a Greek scribe who worked for cardinal Giovanni Salviati in Rome in the third quarter of the 16th century.⁸² Hence, the Coisl. 149 could perhaps be the descendant of a lost copy of Marc. gr. Z 374, but not be a direct copy of this manuscript, as there is no evidence of books leaving Venice in the time-period covered by registers.

As for the other codex containing part of Diodorus' *Bibliotheca historica*, Marc. gr. Z 375 (= 310; siglum M), it must also have been borrowed a few more times than attested, since Bartholomeus Zanetti could employ it as the exemplar for both MSS Berol. Phillipps 1631 (gr. 228)⁸³ and Vat. Reg. gr. 85.⁸⁴

In a few occasions, through a combined approach encompassing both philological and palaeographical analysis, it is possible to identify with precision the codex loaned by the Libreria di San Marco to someone mentioned in the registers, especially in those cases when Castellani is not able to provide a unambiguous identification because the loan record is either too generic or Bessarion's collection contains two or more codices with similar content. For instance, Castellani was not able to tell which of the two manuscripts of Diogenes Laertius (Marc. gr. Z 393 [= 896] and Marc. gr. Z 394 [= 1030]) was borrowed by Henri Estienne in 1555 on June 2, 1555 and returned to the library the following August 13. The advancement in the studies on the manuscript tradition of Diogenes, however, has led to singling out Marc. gr. Z 393 as Estienne's Marcian exemplar.⁸⁵ Examining the codex, it is also possible to attribute to Estienne's hand a note written in the external margin of fol. 27v, which supplies a line of Diogenes' text that was missing in the Marcianus due to a *saut du même au même* (τῆς ὀγδόης ἡγείται Κλειτοφῶν ἢ προτρεπτικός, ἠθικός: DL III 60, 274, l. 661 Dorandi) (Fig. 6).⁸⁶ This note, alongside the textual analysis evidence, represents the conclusive evidence for the identification of which of Bessarion's Diogenes codices was borrowed by Estienne.

⁸¹ Ibid. LXXXV–VI (cp. *RGK* II 45).

⁸² The identification of the scribe is due to Ciro Giacomelli, whom I would like to thank for having shared the information with me. On George Balsamon, see *RGK* III 92; on Par. Coisl. 149, see Chamoux/Bertrac (1993) LXXXIII–IV.

⁸³ Chamoux/Bertrac (1993) CVI: the codex was achieved on August 6, 1546. It was then annotated by Arnoldus Arlenius for Henri Estienne.

⁸⁴ Ibid. CXIX. Only Books 14–15, however, are copied from Marc. gr. Z 375; Books 11–13 derive from Marc. gr. VII 8 (= 1097).

⁸⁵ Dorandi (2013) 11–12.

⁸⁶ On Estienne's handwriting, see *RGK* I 116bis = II 148 = III 192. The identification is made through the comparison with Lond. Harley 5592, fols. 1r–113v.

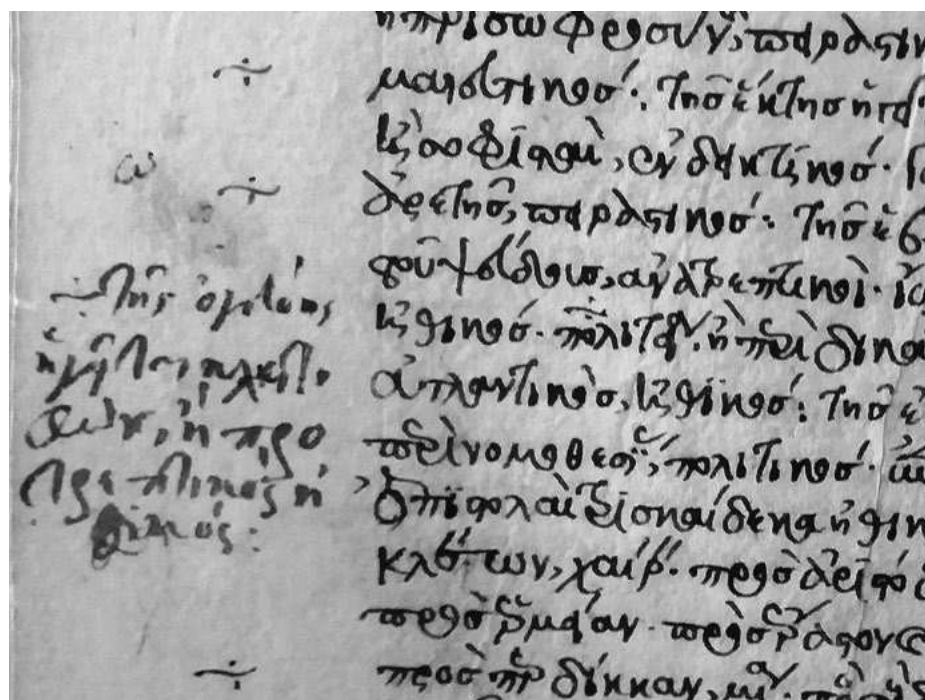


Fig. 6: Marc. gr. Z 393, fol. 27v (detail) © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

5 To Edit or Not to Edit: How to Edit?

As the few examples above show, the research on book loans in the Libreria di San Marco between the 15th and the 16th century, despite still being in its beginning stages, is very promising in its outlook. The registers themselves are undoubtedly in need to be published again, and the new edition should take into account the progress made in the last century by classical scholarship, Greek codicology, and Greek palaeography regarding the exploration of manuscript traditions, the identification of scribes and annotators, and the reconstruction on scribal and intellectual circles.

A new edition of the loan registers would have to provide a large body of additional information alongside the text of the loan notices, namely: the precise identification of the borrowed manuscripts, whether or not copies were made on the occasion of the loan recorded in the register, by whom, who were the owners of these copies, where the manuscripts ended up now. Since this information is subject to continuous increment following the advancement of historical and textual research, a new printed edition of the registers would become obsolete in the period of time that elapses from its last draft approved by the editor to the actual printing date of the

manuscript. A digital publication would better suit this type of document, as the text could be supplemented by the recording of a number of metadata, as many as necessary, which would function effectively as a commentary to the text. These metadata would include the borrowers' names, loaning and returning dates, present signature of the borrowed manuscript(s), signatures of eventual copies, and other information pertaining to apographs of Bessarion's codices.

By adopting TEI standards for data representation, the edition could not only allow the cross-research and re-organization of information according to the needs of the final users, but it could also be successfully integrated with other databases on Medieval and Renaissance libraries, such as the *Archivio possessori*,⁸⁷ maintained by the Marciana Library, or *Thecae*, the database developed at the Université de Caën and the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes for the digital edition of library inventories.⁸⁸

Different ways to represent data would surely pave the way towards a new understanding of 16th-century intellectual life. As graphic representations become more and more popular as means to visualize research paths in data,⁸⁹ the database could provide the possibility to see on a map the *journey* of a manuscript from its original place of production to its present place of conservation. A similar tool would allow the visualization of the wide web of connections between Bessarion's books and their copies now dispersed throughout Europe, thus finally providing a map of a crucial phase in the expansion of Greek-language Humanism from Venice towards the rest of the European continent, from one *bibliophile's heaven* to many sanctuaries of book culture.

Addendum: The project envisioned in this chapter has since received funding within the framework of the “Mobility & Humanities” Project of Excellence at the Department of Historical and Geographical Sciences and the Ancient World (DiSSGeA) of the University of Padua. See the subproject “LiVE”. *Libri Veneti in Europe: Mapping the loans of the Greek books of the Library of St Mark, from Venice to Europe* on the website *Mobility & Humanities* (<<https://www.mobilityandhumanities.it/>>).

⁸⁷ See below Braides/Sciarra, 285–305.

⁸⁸ *Thecae* (<http://www.unicaen.fr/recherche/mrsh/document_numerique/projets/thecae/>) is part of the portal *Biblissima* (<<http://beta.biblissima.fr/fr/>>). *Biblissima* is “a virtual library of libraries” (“bibliothèque virtuelle des bibliothèques”) regrouping a number of projects aimed at preserving and valorising the written cultural heritage of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. On the project regarding ancient inventories, see <<http://www.biblissima-condorcet.fr/fr/actualites/lancement-collection-inventaires-anciens-puc/>>; also <http://www.unicaen.fr/recherche/mrsh/document_numerique/outils/inventairesAnciens/> (criteria for the edition of ancient inventories).

⁸⁹ See Dunn (2010); Goodchild (2008). With regards to classical Antiquity, a series of network representations of data concerning groups of people can be found on the website of the project *Trismegistos* (<<https://www.trismegistos.org/network/index.php/>>), concerning the Greek papyri of Egypt, while recent studies address the corpora of Pliny the Younger and Cicero's letters. For Pliny the Younger see Hicks (2017) and the *Pliny Project's* website (<<https://plinyproject.org/>>) maintained by the author; for Cicero see Marley (2018a) and the *Digital Cicero* project (<<http://bam.lib.uiowa.edu/digitalcicero/>>), described at length in Marley (2018b). Path-breaking research is being published in the *Journal of Historical Network Research* (<jhn.uni.lu>).

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Note: In order for readers to benefit more comprehensively from the rich and varied bibliographical material presented in this volume, it was decided to prepare a single bibliography that contains entries for both ancient and modern books.

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