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Accessibility

Nikodemos Metaxas, the First Greek Printer in the Eastern World[1]

Evro Layton

I

IT is strange that the first Greek press ever to be established in Constantinople for the use of the Patriarchate should have been brought from London instead of from Venice. Famous as a center for Greek printing from the first days of typography, Venice maintained this role well into the nineteenth century, even after the liberation of Greece from Turkey and the establishment of the Greek nation.[2] Moreover, the two individuals responsible for the establishment of this first press were citizens of the Serenissima — one, the Patriarch of Constantinople Kyrillos Loukaris, a native of Crete, and the printer himself, Nikodemos Metaxas, a native of Cephalonia. Both of these islands were at the time in Venetian hands. The present study will limit itself to the activities of Nikodemos Metaxas as a printer and editor and will not touch upon his later significant contribution as a church leader in the Ionian Islands after the close of his all too brief typographical career.

His life prior to his arrival at Constantinople in June 1627 is difficult to trace. Born in Keramiais on the island of Cephalonia in 1585, and named Nikolaos, he belonged to an illustrious and influential family of Constantinople that had settled in Cephalonia after the fall of Byzantium in 1453. He received his primary education under the supervision of his paternal uncle, Nikodemos Metaxas, at the time Bishop of Ceph-

[1] Footnotes refer to numbered items in the bibliography. All translations from Greek and Italian were made by the writer.

[2] I refer here not to the famous Aldine press but mainly to a series of printing establishments founded by immigrant Greek printers beginning with Zacharias Kallierges (1499–1523), Nikolaos Sophianos (1544–1552), and the great house of Nikolaos Glykys (1670–1854), which, along with the printing establishments of two of his Epirote compatriots, Nikolaos Saros (1687–1755) and Demetrios Theodosiou (1761–1820), held the monopoly of printing for Greek consumption for four centuries.

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alonia and Zante, changing his name from Nikolaos to Nikodemos when he took orders sometime before 1619.[3]

It is difficult to credit the accounts which claim that he first met Kyrillos Loukaris and Theophilos Korydaleus when they were studying at the University of Padua between 1589 and 1592 since at that time Metaxas was a very young child.[4] More plausible is the possibility that between the years 1614–1620 Metaxas became a pupil of Theophilos Korydaleus, who was at the time teaching in Athens. At least, a letter of Korydaleus to Metaxas (see note 3) indicates that the two men were already known to each other and on friendly terms before 1619, and in a report of Sebastiano Venier, the *Bailo* of Venice to Constantinople, we find the statement: "He [Metaxas] seems to be a man of some learning, having studied for two years in Athens and then for about four years in the city of London".[5]

Metaxas' association prior to 1627 with Kyrillos Loukaris (1572–1638), successively Patriarch of Alexandria and of Constantinople, is even more difficult to trace. Acquaintance at Padua, as we have seen, is clearly out of the question.[6] Various historians have advanced the theory that Metaxas went to England to visit his brother Iakovos, a merchant connected with the Levant Company. While there he conceived the idea of studying the art of printing in order to serve his church, which was without resources for printing books and had been described as "drowned in invincible ignorance; especially for want of means to learn and study."[7]

The Greek books printed in all the great cultural centers of Europe were devoted almost exclusively to the classical authors, the Bible, and the early Church Fathers. In addition, the Catholic Church, mainly through the auspices of the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fidei*, widely distributed its own publications throughout the East specifically for proselytizing. The Catholic Church was strenuously renewing its efforts to effect the reunion of the Orthodox and Catholic branches. The Jesuits had been since 1583 in Constantinople, where they estab-

[3] Bibliography, No. 63, p. 33; No. 91, p. 274; No. 37, pp. 65–66 (letter of Korydaleus to Nikodemos Metaxas dated 1619, in which he addresses Metaxas by his ecclesiastical title: "τῷ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις"); No. 82, vol. 2, p. 437; No. 103, vol. 2, p. 101.

[4] Bibliography, No. 9, vol. 1, p. 222; No. 104, pp. 30–33; No. 67, p. 30; No. 84, p. 15.

[5] Bibliography, No. 60, pp. 1–2; No. 61, p. 36; No. 62, pp. 9–14.

[6] Bibliography, No. 40, p. 361; No. 74, p. 209; No. 14, p. 11.

[7] Bibliography, No. 91, p. 274; No. 103, vol. 2, p. 102; No. 88, p. 760.

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lished a school in 1610, following one placed on the island of Chios in 1590.[8] Several other Catholic orders functioned in Constantinople, but for the purposes of this study we need concern ourselves only with the activities of the Jesuits, who, as will be seen, played an important role in the fate of this first Greek press.

The political and religious climate of Constantinople prior to the arrival of the press helps account for the circumstances associated with its development. Toward the end of the sixteenth century when the religious struggles between Protestants and Catholics were transferred to the Orthodox East, the city became one of the most active centers of this warfare. Each side, through the influence and maneuvers of its ambassador, attempted to attract the allegiance of the Orthodox.[9] For the Catholics the chief partisans were the French ambassador Philippe de Harlay, Comte de Cézy, and the Jesuit order; for the Protestants the leading figures were Sir Thomas Roe, the British ambassador, and Cornelius Haga, the Dutch ambassador. Sebastiano Venier, the *Bailo* of Venice, although representing a Catholic power, tended toward the Protestants because of the hostile relations of the Vatican with the Republic of Venice, which had altogether banned the Jesuits. Ultimately the victim of this struggle was the Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris.[10]

Before becoming Patriarch of Constantinople in 1620, he had been Patriarch of Alexandria since 1601. In 1612, however, he was appointed as overseer of the patriarchal See of Constantinople. This appointment, requiring frequent trips to Constantinople, had made him thoroughly familiar with both its ecclesiastical and its political problems. The circumstances of his first visit, in 1612, are recorded by J. M. Neale:

> Cyril arrived in Constantinople before, or at the beginning of Lent; and it so happened that in one of the sermons preached during that season, a Greek Monk, who was an agent of the Jesuits, publicly preached Romanist

[8] Bibliography, No. 2, p. 7; No. 11, p. 4; No. 29, pp. 143–144; No. 13, p. 389 and 402. The first Catholic catechism translated into modern Greek was printed in Rome in 1595. It was printed in modern Greek with a transcription side by side in Latin characters. It came out in a second edition in 1628, third edition in 1637, etc. See also, No. 42, vol. 1, nos. 179, 251.

[9] Bibliography, No. 106, p. 6.

[10] Bibliography, No. 101, pp. 79–80 and 130–133; No. 105, pp. 338–341. For further background and information on the relations of Kyrillos Loukaris with the ambassadors of the Protestant and Catholic powers in Constantinople, see No. 3, pp. 93–129.

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doctrines in one of the Greek churches. The Jesuits had established a college at Constantinople about the year 1601: the buildings were handsome, the library well assorted, and the Priests laborious, active, and intriguing. They soon made great way with the Greeks . . . Cyril publicly opposed the new doctrine, and thereby drew upon himself the deadly and implacable hatred of the Jesuits; and a struggle commenced between him and that Society, which only ended with his life.[11]

The relationship of Kyrillos Loukaris with the Protestants is less easy to summarize. Volumes have been written on this subject and about his "Calvinistic" Confession of Faith, which rocked both the Catholic and the Orthodox worlds. Since this bears directly on the story of the press, I shall refer only to his relationship with George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury (1562–1633). As early as 1616, while still Patriarch of Alexandria, Kyrillos Loukaris began a correspondence with this cleric through the English ambassador at Constantinople. Loukaris was deeply concerned at the time because the Orthodox clergy had no opportunities to receive higher education except in Catholic schools and universities, and when Abbot wrote that, at the suggestion of King James I, Kyrillos could send some well-qualified ecclesiastical students for further study in England, he was only too glad to accept. He chose one, Metrophanes Kritopoulos, a native of Verroia in Macedonia, whom he introduced to Archbishop Abbot in these words:

we received the greatest comfort from the reply of your Blessedness, by which, acting under the command of your king, you advised us to send some of our countrymen to study Theology amongst you with diligence.

Here then is a Greek, by rank a Presbyter, possessing a good knowledge of Greek literature, a child of our Alexandrian Church, of noble birth, and talents prepared to receive deeper learning.[12]

The young man arrived in England toward the middle of 1617, and through the help of the Archbishop he was sent to Balliol College, Oxford, where he remained until 1622. Metrophanes made many friends among the professors and students as is attested by the many distinguished men who signed his *Philotheke* or *Album Amicorum*.[13] After his studies at Oxford were terminated in 1622, Kritopoulos was supposed to have returned by sea to Constantinople. Against the ad-

[11] Bibliography, No. 68, vol. 2, p. 365; No. 17, p. 28; No. 42, vol. 4, pp. 340–342.

[12] Bibliography, No. 68, vol. 2, pp. 384–386; No. 86, pp. 110–114; No. 88, pp. 102–104, 171–172, 213–214, 253, 320, 373.

[13] On Kritopoulos and his Oxford days see Bibliography, No. 39, pp. 72–85; No. 53, pp. 185–202; No. 86, pp. 9–36; No. 20, pp. 146–155.

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vice and much to the displeasure of Archbishop Abbot, however, he decided to linger in London. In his correspondence with Sir Thomas Roe, the Archbishop of Canterbury complained that Metrophanes "fell into the company of certaine Greeks, with whom wee have bene much troubled for collections, and otherwise; and although I knew them to bee counterfeits and vagabonds . . . yet I could not keepe my man within dores, but hee must bee abrode with them, to the expense of his time and mony." [14]

It would seem that Kritopoulos did not leave England until the summer of 1624, as we can see from further letters exchanged between Abbot and Sir Thomas Roe as well as from the entries in his *Philotheke*. From the time he left the Archbishop's residence in the summer of 1623 until he departed for Germany in mid-1624 very little is known of his activities in England. It is most certain that during this time Nikodemos Metaxas and Metrophanes Kritopoulos must have met in London. Metaxas, as already suggested, had gone to London to visit his brother and probably for further study of some sort, but the year of his arrival is not known. Although most writers give 1620 as the approximate date of Metaxas' arrival, no one can justify it on the basis of exact information. In the report of the *Baile* of Venice Metaxas stated that he had studied in London for almost four years, but since we know that he returned to Constantinople with his Greek press in June, 1627, he must have gone to England about 1623 or, at the earliest, toward the end of 1622.[15]

In an undated letter of Kritopoulos to an unidentified friend he mentions Metaxas' arrival:

> You will soon hear about the Περὶ τῶν ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων. Their author and creator is still alive (his name is Theophilos Korydaleus) whose pupil was the Greek Nikodemos who has recently arrived in England and of whom I spoke to you before. He possesses the method of letter writing, worked out by the same Korydaleus, much better than I myself. . . . He wishes to make them available to lovers of knowledge by having them printed. Otherwise, I shall ask him to let you have them in order to copy them whenever you wish. If he should come to Oxford show him this letter and you will undoubtedly get them . . .[16]

[14] Bibliography, No. 88, pp. 171–172 (the letter is dated Croyden, August 12, 1623). Also cited in No. 42, vol. 5, pp. 198–199 and in No. 53, p. 193.

[15] Bibliography, No. 88, p. 253 (letter dated June 23, 1624 of Abbot to Roe mentions that he had seen Metrophanes "2 daies past"); No. 86, p. 37; No. 91, p. 274; No. 103, vol. 2, p. 102.

[16] Bibliography, No. 10, fol. 15r–17v. The manuscript contains altogether eight

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The letter, most probably written from London in late 1623 or early 1624, is addressed to one Matthias Turner, a Balliol friend of Kritopoulos. There are eight letters from Kritopoulos to this correspondent in the same manuscript; these he often addresses "To my beloved son" or "To Turner my son". In the main body of one letter he refers to him as Matthias.[17]

We may conclude that Metaxas and Kritopoulos were known to each other in England and that Kritopoulos was interested in his friend's printing ventures there. Certainly Kritopoulos was in a position to help the young printer. He had many friends and connections in the British world of letters and in the service of the king (among them Patrick Young, the king's librarian). But still the question remains: who was the first to conceive the idea of establishing a press at Constantinople? It is most probable that Kritopoulos had written to Loukaris that Metaxas was interested in printing; and Loukaris, increasingly alarmed by the propaganda activities of the Jesuits, then thought of bringing Metaxas to Constantinople and establishing a printing press there, to counteract the influence of the material the Catholics were distributing.[18]

At any rate, in June 1627 Metaxas arrived in Constantinople aboard the *Royal Defence*, a ship belonging to the Levant Company, and brought with him several cases of books, a press, and printing types, as well as two skilled workmen. In a letter to Doctor Goad from Constantinople dated 7/17 July 1627 Sir Thomas Roe writes: "Here is arriued a coloyre, [monk] that hath beene long in England, called Metaxa, of Cephalonia, who pretends to haue beene acceptable to his grace, and well knowne to yow, from whom he hath brought me welcome remembrances. . . . His comming hither is principally to bring the Greeke stamp, and two Duchmen to order it, and to teach the use, which are aboord an English ship, and wilbe difficult to land without discouery, and dangerous to be knowne to these haters of knowledge." [19]

Accounts of the subsequent activities of Metaxas and of his press

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letters of Kritopoulos to Turner; two are not dated, the remainder being written between 1622 and 1624. See also No. 99, p. 294.

[17] Bibliography, No. 69, vol. 4, p. 1521; No. 109, vol. 2 (Fasti) col. 407.

[18] For the correspondence between Kritopoulos and Patrick Young, see Bibliography, No. 110, pp. 124–130 and No. 98, pp. 305–307.

[19] Bibliography, No. 88, p. 663. The letter is addressed to Thomas Goad, domestic chaplain to George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury.

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are drawn mainly from the reports of the ambassadors of Great Britain and Venice. Sir Thomas Roe in a report dated 10 February 1627/28 says: "IN June 1627. here arriued, vpon the Royall Defence of London, one Nicodemo Metaxa, a Greeke coloyre, borne in Cephalonia, who had remayned some yeares in England, and was well knowne to many learned men, and to the principle merchants of the Leuant companye; being brother to gentlemen of that island, with whome our nation doth maynteyne great trade and correspondence. He brought with him the Greeke stampe, made at his expence, and diuers bookes printed in England." Apparently, as soon as Metaxas arrived, he sought the help of Kyrillos Loukaris in obtaining a permit to import his press and books, and the Patriarch in turn asked Sir Thomas Roe for his help in this matter; we find in a later report, for example, this statement:

> after conference with the two patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, (then by accident in this cyttye) who with the Duch ambassador came to my house to consult of the manner, I thought it most safe and less scandalous, to goe openly in a matter that could not be concealed. And hauing first, by Cyrillus, acquaynted the vizier, and obteyned his leaue, I tooke it vp, and all his bookes, thorough the custome house vnsearched, which no man els could haue done.

Metaxas and his assistants were finally established at a rented house not far from the British Embassy but nearer to the French, and set to work.

> As soone as Metaxa was settled, [the report continues] and his print in order, the French and the Jesuites tooke offence; as sett vp to publish bookes agaynst the church of Rome, or at least to take away their trade of teaching children, by the printing of catechismes. First, they attempted to draw him into their gouernment, and inuited him to their monasterye, intimating that adhæring to them would take off some ill suspition raysed vpon him for hauing studied in England. When they could not winne him by flatteries, their first bayte, they reported him to be an hereticque and a Lutheran, because he tooke protection of mee, whom they neuer spared. Agaynst the stamp they excepted for the armes of his majestie, which they sayd was scandalous; and being in the frontispice of euery booke, was *malum augurium*, and did foreshow, that within they did sauour of heresye: for what better could be expected from an hereticall founteyne, or from the man that conversed with hereticques? [20]

It is interesting to compare these comments with the reports on the same matter sent to his Prince and Senate by the *Bailo* of Venice, Sebas-

[20] Bibliography, No. 88, pp. 760–761.

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tiano Venier, where it becomes clear that all would not be smooth sailing.

No. 47 [4 September 1627] To his Most Serene Highness.
There arrived here, a month and a half ago, on an English ship, a Greek monk from Cephalonia belonging to the House of Metaxa; he brought to me letters of recommendation from the illustrious superintendent of that island, and also from another important Senator. For this reason I saw him with pleasure, because, in addition to being a subject of Your Grace, he belongs to a leading family with great connections in his homeland and I was prepared to receive him at this house. This he did not accept, having already found a place to stay in the neighborhood of the English ambassador. However, he comes very often to my table. He told me that he has moved here out of curiosity. He seems to be a man of some learning, having studied for two years in Athens, and then for about four years in the city of London where he was known to their Excellencies the ambassadors Valaresso and Pesaro. In the discussions he has always appeared to be a very devoted and very faithful subject of the Serenissima Repubblica. He has declared himself to be against the Jesuits and very attached to the Orthodox faith. . . . Twelve days ago I found out that he has brought here many cases of Greek books and, in order to introduce the printing of Greek in this city, Greek printing characters and an expert. When he came to visit me one day I interrogated him closely on these particulars. He [Metaxas] told me that while he was in England, the Greek patriarch here [Loukaris] had sent to an hieromonachos [21] who was studying there, a work of a Saint Isidoro,[22] who was once bishop of Thessalonica and one by a certain famous Greek scholar [23] who had taken part at the Council of Florence and who had been patriarch of this city when it was taken by the Sultan Mehmed. Both works had as subject the Holy Spirit and Purgatory, matters of controversy with us Catholics. He had also sent a composition of another, who had long studied in Padua,[24] together with another work of this patriarch [Loukaris] against the Jews.[25] He has brought here a certain quantity of these books along with the press. In order to export the press a great favor had been granted since there are very severe restrictions on such matters in that Kingdom; he also told me that he brought with him a Flemish technician; he has assured me that all this had been

[21] The hieromonachos, i.e. priest-monk, referred to here is beyond doubt Metrophanes Kritopoulos.

[22] The reference to Saint Isidoro is puzzling. There were no works of such a hierarch printed. Could the *Bailo* have meant either Neilos Kabasilas, Archbishop of Thessalonica (Bibliography, No. 31) or Gregorios Palamas, Archbishop of Thessalonica (Bibliography, No. 70)?

[23] The Patriarch of Constantinople Gennadios Scholarios (Bibliography, No. 24).

[24] Maximos Margounios, Bishop of Kythera (Bibliography, Nos. 51 and 52).

[25] Bibliography, No. 47.

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done at the instigation of this Very Reverend Patriarch who intended to print books from time to time in order to instruct the Greeks: catechisms and such things in order to lift them from their ignorance and to oppose the efforts of the Jesuits whom he sees insinuating themselves everywhere. I rebuked him diplomatically because he had told me nothing of these things when he had arrived, and it had been inconvenient for me since he is a subject, that I had to find out from others what he should have told me at the outset. . . . He confessed his error; he swore to me that he did not keep silent because of lack of devotion toward the Most Serene Republic, and I believe him. He kept silent only because he thought that since the said books are dealing with Dogma contrary to our Religion, it was unnecessary to reveal that he had brought them. . . . The British ambassador has confirmed the story and has added a few particulars omitted by the monk, because I think he [the monk] was embarrassed to admit them, namely that the number of books is considerable, and that, motivated by zeal for his dogma he has invested from seven to eight thousand reali with a good chance of not being able to be reimbursed for a long time to come because he has found the patriarch, as I am told, in difficult financial straits and concerned with other problems so that the patriarch is reluctant to embrace what had been done at his suggestion. However, he has added that the Flemish ambassador, who seems to have great influence over the patriarch, has shown interest in the project, and is willing to keep the press at his own residence. . . . The books have not yet been distributed; the monk has told me that a certain number of books had been stolen at the instigation of the Jesuits and some others with the help of a Turk, and have been taken away from the market. . . . I am sending to Your Excellencies one copy of each of the above mentioned books (and it will not matter to you that there happens to be included the one written by the patriarch against the Jews) so that all the particulars of this transaction can be made clear; a transaction which is important in itself and for its consequences, and also because it involves a subject of the Most Serene Republic, who, however, was motivated only by zeal for his rite and is no longer able to withdraw.

No. 63 [13 November 1627] To His Most Serene Highness.
Metaxas has started to operate the press brought from England and it seems that the patriarch is greatly interested, as well as all the Greeks. For this purpose, he [Metaxas] has rented a large house which the French Ambassador wanted to take away from him but the British Ambassador came to his assistance by speaking on his behalf to persons of high rank. He is now printing the homilies of a certain Margounios, who is held in high esteem among the Greeks. The Jesuits are saying that [the Orthodox] are spreading the heresies of the archbishop of Spalato and by speaking about them with bad manners they are contributing greatly in making the patriarch and all the nation indignant because [the Greeks] maintain that they are not at all deviating from dogmas which they had always held, and that at

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the present time they are only trying to alleviate the ignorance which reigns among them.

No. 79 [8 January 1628] To His Most Serene Highness.
A work of the patriarch is now being printed. The press is going to be moved to the Patriarchate; as far as I can understand, and in my opinion, I think that every fear of the worst happening is now over.

No. 85 [22 January 1628] To His Most Serene Highness.
On Sunday morning, in a great uproar and at the orders of the Caimacan there was a raid on the house where the monk Metaxas kept his press, which was confiscated along with all the books and other of his belongings; they took prisoners the servants who were present, along with one Michael Kavakis, a Greek notable, from whom they demanded to know the whereabouts of the said Metaxas. The latter, who was on his way to the residence of the British ambassador, where for some time he had been lodging, passed through the crowd [of soldiers] which had orders to arrest him; but they did not recognize him nor could he imagine what was happening. The rumour now circulating is that he is counterfeiting, that he is falsifying the seal of the King, and that he is printing books in order to send them to the country of the Cossacks; that in the printed books there are accusations against Mohammed their prophet; that the monk is not actually Greek, as he maintains, but either Albanian or English, and a thousand other such extravagant rumours. Since that house is not too far away from this, I was contemplating sending interpreters and other [officials] in order to see that they did not take away his belongings, to see to it that everything be sealed and left there, and also to find out what was the cause of such a fierce attack; however, I desisted from doing so although I am certain of the innocence of the man; I thought it would not serve any particular purpose and that instead it would be better if the [Turkish] officials had a free hand to search all over until there remained no doubt of his innocence. Kavakis, who was detained, was taken to the Caimacan who knew him, and he [Kavakis] told him what it was all about; then he was immediately set free while the other servants were detained; he [Kavakis] later reported that the Pasha was baffled and very confused. It was decided to leave the handling of the affair to the patriarch himself the following Monday, since he was the man principally interested in the affair of the press. On Tuesday, the afore-mentioned ambassador of Great Britain also visited the Caimacan (as I mentioned previously) and spoke to him about all this, letting him know how badly he had acted in taking this decision without becoming better acquainted with the facts, since it was he himself who had initially granted the license for the press to the patriarch; at this point the Caimacan admitted his error and apologized, saying that many rumours had reached his ears about this subject. When the ambassador said that he supposed that the rumours were instigated by the French and their followers, he freely admitted it to him, adding that

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he would make them regret it; he said that he would examine the books in order to see if they actually contained what it was alleged that they contained. Considering that it would be appropriate to defend a subject of Venice (belonging to an honorable and still worthy family) who was innocent and unjustly persecuted . . . I sent my interpreter to the Caimacan in order to assure him that this man was a subject of Venice, and an honorable man, and that surely he would not have come here to do something harmful to this Empire, and if that were the case, I myself would certainly not have defended him but on the contrary I would have punished and rebuked him. As far as the press was concerned, although I myself never mentioned it to him, I knew, however, that he [the Caimacan] had given permission to the patriarch for it and that such printing presses were ordinary things in Christendom and that the poor man was unjustly persecuted and accused. . . . The prevailing opinion, confirmed by the disclosure of the Caimacan, is that the whole thing was brought about by the French ambassador and his followers, a thing which has greatly upset the Greeks because of what happened. They wanted to go and demonstrate tumultuously and to protest to the Caimacan but they were prevented from doing so by the patriarch . . .[26]

Some brief reports sent by Kyrillos Loukaris to Sir Thomas Roe during this period fill in a few more details:

[7/17 January 1628]
By order of the Caimacan I had to appear in his presence this morning. . . . I want now to inform you of what has occurred today. I went to the Caimacan. . . . The Caimacan asked me the whereabouts of Metaxas. I told him that he was here; he asked why he did not come; I answered that yesterday they had frightened him and I did not know where he is hiding. He interrogated me about the press; I explained to him how it was brought here, and as I was trying to make him understand that for us it was a necessary thing and harmless to them, they immediately produced a copy of the book Contra Judeos and they called a porter who had recently become a Turk and he began to read, but he did not understand what it was all about; he only said that it spoke against the Jews and that it blasphemed the way the Christians blaspheme. Each one began to give his own opinion. The Kandilesker said that anything which was new must be suppressed; at this point everybody began laughing and the Pasha dismissed them and remained with the Kandilesker. The book has remained in the hands of Kiaush. . . . I do not know what will happen. As I was leaving I said to the Pasha: "Sire, two men have been arrested, release them"; he replied, "let it go for today and tomorrow I will release them". This is what happened until now and I want to bring it to your attention.

[26] Bibliography, No. 107. The greatest part of these despatches was also translated into Greek by K. Mertzios; see Bibliography, No. 61, pp. 36–42.

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8/18 January, 1628
Yesterday as soon as I arrived home I gave a brief account to your Excellency of what had occurred at the house of the Caimacan and why I had left behind one of my own men to find out as much as he could. He returned toward evening and told me that they are looking for Metaxas. From what I understand the Caimacan is very badly informed. . . . He had the book Contra Judeos read diligently in order to be able to find some word which could be misconstrued but I hope to God that he will not succeed to any great degree. . . . Yesterday they [the officials] spoke and made interrogations about the affair so clumsily that it was unbelievable. Among other things they were saying that Metaxas was English and not a Greek monk and I had a difficult time persuading them that he is what he is.

7/17 March, 1628
Permission has been granted to take away the press tomorrow morning. . . . I am letting your Excellency know so that you may tell me what you have decided.

8/18 March, 1628
Once the Caimacan had decided to give back the press, he desired that his order be executed immediately; since there was no time to find anybody to do it, he ordered Jacob Celepi to take it away and to send it to me. He took it but not having had sufficient time he was not able to send it here to me but took it to his own home. . . . It seems to me that it would be good if the press was taken from the house of Jacob Celepi to the house in which it was originally. And from there, whenever fate wishes. If this should not be to your liking, then I shall do whatever your Excellency commands.[27]

The press and Metaxas are mentioned briefly in subsequent reports of the Venetian ambassador. In a despatch dated Constantinople, 15 April, 1628 he mentions that the property of Metaxas had been returned to him and that he was declared innocent; several of his possessions had, however, been lost in the process. He further states that he hoped that Metaxas would be persuaded not to use the press any more, since this was the wish of the Venetian government. In another despatch, dated 24 June, 1628 he mentions that Metaxas, being a good subject of Venice, had consented to cease his printing activities, although at a considerable loss to himself; and that as compensation the Patriarch had elevated him to the rank of Archbishop. He was later

[27] Bibliography, No. 26, l. 1–2; l. 3–4r; l. 72; l. 86. These letters were partly translated into Greek by M. Manousakas; see Bibliography, No. 50, pp. 542–543. I wish to thank Professor Manousakas for generously allowing me to use his film of the original letters which he plans to edit and translate for publication.

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consecrated Archbishop of Cephalonia, Zante and Ithaca, 1628–1646.[28] On August 19, 1628 the *Bailo* reports that the press of Metaxas had been removed from Constantinople, and that although the Dutch ambassador had offered to buy it, Metaxas had refused the offer. On March 3, 1629 he says that the Governor-General of Crete had reported that a number of Greek books had arrived there and that the Governor had confiscated them and had refused permission for their sale; the Governor assumed that they had been sent there at the instigation of the Greek Patriarch and the British ambassador. Apparently many of the books had been stolen, and some were given by Metaxas (before the latter's departure from Constantinople) to the Dutch ambassador in order to be sold. And one final report from the *Bailo* in Constantinople dated 28 April, 1629, states that he had learned that the Greek books had been taken to Crete by a monk named Giancarolla.[29]

The arrival of the books in Crete is mentioned also by Francesco Moresini, the Governor-General of Crete, who in his report to the Venetian Prince entitled "Relatione di Candia del General Moresini 1629," lists as works printed by one Metaxas: A treatise on the Supremacy by Meletios the Alexandrian; a dialogue with a monk; still another, dealing with the Supremacy and on other ecclesiastical differences by an Archbishop of Thessalonica; a dialogue by a Greek with some unnamed Cardinals; a treatise of one Valan [Barlaam] on Purgatory; a treatise of the Bishop of Philadelphia against those who say that the Greeks are schismatics.[30]

When Metaxas arrived in Cephalonia to assume his duties as Archbishop of Cephalonia, Zante and Ithaca, he took the press and some of his books with him. Mention of them is found in reports made to Venice by the superintendents of Cephalonia and Zante.[31] In one despatch dated Zante, May 7, 1634, the latter wrote to the Doge:

> Having received with appropriate reverence the instructions of Your Most Serene Highness, in conjunction with the rumors spread at the Court of Rome, about the Greek schismatic books, which have been circulating in the East and in particular about those which were being used here for teaching children by one Kyrillos from Athens, I have made careful and prompt inquiries employing the most discreet means. This is what came

[28] Bibliography, No. 61, pp. 43–46; No. 38, pp. 12–13.
[29] Bibliography, No. 61, pp. 47 and 54.
[30] Bibliography, No. 64, p. 121. The works mentioned here are contained in Legrand 168.
[31] Bibliography, No. 91, pp. 284–285; No. 103, vol. 2, pp. 111–112.

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out of the inquiries: One Theophilos (not Kyrillos) Korydaleus (Corridaleo) who usually wears the habit of a Greek priest, has been residing in this city for the past six years and teaches young people. It is said that he has some ideas which are opposed to the dogmas of the true religion. . . . However, he does not seem to try to disseminate them to others. He only expresses himself freely when he finds himself with some of the Greek priests.

Neither is it known that he is distributing schismatic books or that he teaches young people with them. However, I found out that many printed books are to be found in the hands of one of the Greek priests, books which had been printed by Nikodemos Metaxas, who calls himself the Archbishop of Zante and Cephalonia, and who is now there [Venice] and that the books have the following title: Brevis et compendiosa explicatio Symboli Fidei in which they appear to deal in a manner of a dialogue between an Orthodox and a Latin; and that in a dedicatory epistle to the Archbishop of Canterbury in England, Nikodemos praises this Korydaleus highly.[32] These imprints, as I am informed, are in the form of pamphlets and do not constitute a continuous volume and it seems that his Excellency the Superintendent-General Mr. Pisani had once taken interest in these books when he was in this island and that he had sent some of these imprints to Your Most Serene Highness and I have definite information that the Archbishop Nikodemos also possesses these books.[33]

Here end the reports of the history of the first Greek press in the Eastern world. Contrary to early statements that the press had been destroyed and thrown into the sea, we know that, although there is no evidence that the press ever functioned after it was taken away from Constantinople, Metaxas was in possession of his press and books in Cephalonia.

II

Bibliographers up to now agree generally on attributing to the press of Nikodemos Metaxas three theological tracts printed in Constantinople between November 1627 and the beginning of January 1628.[34] The initial information was furnished by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who in his Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πατριαρχευσάντων mentions briefly this first press: "During the patriarchate of Kyrillos Koukaris [sic] the aforementioned Nikodemos Metaxas and some others brought

[32] This must refer to the dedication of the Korydaleus book to Bishop John Williams; see Bibliography, No. 36.

[33] Bibliography, No. 62, p. 13.

[34] Bibliography, No. 9, vol. 1, pp. 18–20; No. 40, pp. 361–364; No. 91, pp. 276–277; No. 42, vol. 1, pp. 234–243; No. 33, pp. 178–184; No. 23, pp. 295–300; No. 89, pp. 82–94.

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a Greek press to Constantinople and they printed the Syntagma of Palamas and that of Scholarios, the Dialogues of Margounios on the Procession [of the Holy Spirit] and some Epistles of Meletios of Alexandria and of Barlaam the monk against Purgatory and a work of Gabriel of Philadelphia on the Five differences; however, the Latins succeeded, by bribing the natives with much money, to throw the press into the sea."[35]

This passage has been widely quoted by scholars. The prevailing opinion is that the first tract printed by Metaxas in Constantinople, Legrand no. 166, gives the place and date of publication (fig. 1) while the other two tracts, Legrand nos. 167 and 168, were printed sometime later. Since the press was under severe attack, the latter tracts were printed secretly with no indication of place or date of publication purposely to avoid further persecution. Only one commentator has suggested that at least a single book might have been printed elsewhere, but this view is undocumented and even doubted by the author himself.[36]

Before we examine the three tracts attributed to the Constantinople press, let us cast a brief glance at Metaxas' printing and editing activities while he was still in England. There he edited and perhaps assisted in the printing of two works of his former teacher, Theophilos Korydaleus, Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων and Ἔκθεσις περὶ ρητορικῆς (Legrand no. 144, STC 15083)[37] which were printed together with separate title-pages at the shop of William Stansby, London, in 1625. The letter of dedication is written by Nikodemos Metaxas and addressed to John Williams (1582–1650), Bishop of Lincoln. It is dated London, March 1, 1624. In his description of this tract Legrand suggests that there were copies printed with a dedication to Pachomios Doxaras, Bishop of Cephalonia, and perhaps others with a dedication to Korydaleus (see discussion pp. 197–200). The copy examined by Legrand (at the British Museum), the copies in the National Library of Greece and in the Houghton Library at Harvard University, as well as all

[35] Bibliography, No. 18, book xi, chapt. i, par. 7, p. 1174. The reference to this passage in No. 42, vol. 1, p. 243, fn. 1, is erroneous.

[36] Bibliography, No. 15, p. 77: Observation made in discussing the work of Neilos Kabasilas (Bibliography, No. 31): "In the opinion of many, this was printed in England in 1624; however, according to the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos, it was printed in Constantinople by Nikodemos Metaxas, which is probably more correct."

[37] All references to STC are taken from Bibliography No. 81. For the Legrand citations see No. 42.

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copies in existence today in England bear the dedication to Bishop Williams. The only copy in existence known to this writer bearing the dedication to Pachomios Doxaras is a copy at the Library of the Greek Patriarchate of Alexandria. Concerning the alleged dedication to Korydaleus, it is likely that Sathas, the authority referred to by Legrand, confused the present work, written by Korydaleus, with another work (Legrand 143) which is dedicated to Korydaleus.

But William Stansbury was not the only London printer with whom Nikodemos Metaxas came into contact. An examination of the "Constantinople" tracts in an effort to discover where he received his training as a printer and acquired his press, initials, and ornaments has led to some interesting results.[88]

While trying to verify the initials and ornaments of the first work attributed to the press of Nikodemos Metaxas in Constantinople (Legrand 166) I was able to trace two of the initial letters to the Eliot's Court Press (figs. 3 and 4). This provided some kind of beginning, for, although the remainder of the initials and ornaments in this document are not traceable to that press, nevertheless, by examining a great number of its imprints and those of its member printers I could attribute all the ornaments and all but one of the initials of Legrand 168 to it. Furthermore, in the process of comparison it became increasingly evident that Legrand 168 was printed not in Constantinople but in London at the Eliot's Court Press under the editorship of Nikodemos Metaxas while he was still in England. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that, except for some initials which Metaxas probably purchased for his own use later, all the ornaments and the remainder of the initials were still in use by the associates of the Eliot's Court Press long after his departure from England.[89] (See figs. 2, 5 to 16 for STC citations of ornaments and initials.)

[88] In verifying the initials and ornaments of the "Constantinople tracts" I had access to the materials gathered by W. A. Jackson for the STC revision, among which are facsimiles of English printers' ornaments and initial letters collected and annotated by F. S. Ferguson as well as photostats from the Society of Antiquaries of the Collection of Broadsides catalogued by Robert Lemon. I would like to thank Miss Katharine Pantzer, who is continuing work on the revision at Harvard, for making the STC materials available to me and for much valuable information concerning English printing.

[89] For an informative discussion on the Eliot's Court Press and the printers associated with it see Bibliography, No. 80. For identification of some of the initials and ornaments see Bibliography, No. 79. For the purposes of this paper see in particular p. 199, no. 8; p. 206, no. 25 and no. 27; and p. 207.

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Legrand 167 is easier to account for, mainly because the printer's device used on the title-page of each of the tracts brought together in this volume is identifiable through McKerrow.[40] Again, as with Legrand 168, it is possible to trace the ornaments and initials to the shop of the printer William Jones; only two Greek initials, a Δ and an Ω, were not traced (I was able to examine only two Greek books printed by this press), but it would be safe to deduce that these two Greek initials also belong to the stock of William Jones. On the other hand, the errata pages printed at the end of this tract and consisting of eight pages, quire A^4, were printed by the Eliot's Court Press (fig. 17). Likewise, as in the case of Legrand 168, the printer's device, ornament, and most of the initials were still used by William Jones after Metaxas' departure from England, and the same conclusion can be drawn as for Legrand 168, i.e. that this tract was also printed in England prior to 1627. (See figs. 18 to 28.)

The report of the Venetian ambassador says that the manuscripts from which these tracts were printed were sent from Constantinople by Kyrillos Loukaris to Metrophanes Kritopoulos, who perhaps collaborated with Nikodemos Metaxas in editing and preparing them for publication. Metaxas must have been very busy during the years 1624 and 1625 of his London stay. The tracts in Legrand 167 and 168 were probably printed sometime in 1624 before Metrophanes Kritopoulos left England for Germany. By then Kritopoulos had collected a considerable number of books by gift or purchase, which he had packed in four large cases and left with some of his Greek compatriots residing in London. These were later sent to him in Venice.

After leaving England he proceeded to Germany and Switzerland and finally arrived in Venice on November 1, 1627, where he remained until 1630. His English collection reached him during the first half of 1629.[41] Kritopoulos had borrowed money from the wealthy Epirote merchants, Georgios and Epiphanios Hegoumenos, in order to pay some of the debts he had incurred in England for the purchase of books. In a document dated Venice, October 28, 1630 he states: "I owe them twenty-four Venetian pounds . . . for two sets of books which were printed by Nikodemos Metaxas; in addition, eighteen Venetian pounds

[40] Bibliography, No. 57, p. 158, no. 423.

[41] Bibliography, No. 39, pp. 147–150; No. 42, vol. 5, pp. 215–216. For a list of books dedicated to Metrophanes Kritopoulos which he left to the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria, see Bibliography, No. 66, pp. 3–28.

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for the purchase of some books by Aristotle. All of which I promise to reimburse the above mentioned brothers, either from Constantinople or from Alexandria with much gratitude."[42] The books he mentions as printed by Metaxas doubtless refer to Legrand 167 and 168, in which case they must have been printed sometime prior to Kritopoulos' departure from England in mid-1624, since so far as can be shown, Kritopoulos and Metaxas did not meet again thereafter. The Patriarchal Library of Alexandria lists Legrand 167 and 168 among its holdings.[43]

Meanwhile, Metaxas seems to have been buying initials and ornaments and was generally preparing to purchase his own press to carry with him to Constantinople. This writer believes that the types and the press were purchased from Eliot's Court Press, a conclusion reached after examination of a small book bearing the imprint of an Eliot Court Press member printer, John Haviland, but unquestionably printed by Nikodemos Metaxas from type, ornaments and initials he owned. He had probably kept and operated his press at the shop of John Haviland until his departure from England (of course, he was not independently licensed to print in London). The book in question (Legrand 143) is a thirty-two page publication entitled: *Βιβλίον τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου, Βεβαίωσις καλούμενον* printed in 1625 at the expense of Ieremias, former Bishop of Maina. It contains a petition by Ieremias to Kyrillos Loukaris for the sanctification of the hermit Gerasimos Notaras, signed by the Bishop and elders of Cephalonia, the patriarchal privilege granted by Loukaris in July 1622 for the canonization of Gerasimos, who became the patron saint of Cephalonia, and the office and order of service for his feast day. Although his name is not in the book the volume is clearly connected with Nikodemos Metaxas. The dedication is written by Païsios Metaxas (a kinsman of Nikodemos), at that time the Grand Vicar of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and is addressed to Theophilos Korydaleus. Ieremias Katsaïtis is likewise closely con-

[42] This document was first published in Bibliography, No. 7, pp. 378–379; it is also quoted in No. 42, vol. 5, pp. 208–209 and in No. 59, pp. 48–50.

[43] Bibliography, No. 1, vol. 2, p. 245, no. 744 (Legrand 167); no. 745 (Legrand 167); p. 246, no. 746 (Legrand 167); p. 271, no. 835 (Legrand 168); p. 312, no. 977 (Legrand 167); p. 313, no. 981 (Legrand 168); vol. 3, p. 270, no. 850 (Legrand 168). I take this opportunity to thank Dr. Th. D. Moschonas, Librarian of the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria, for examining the above-mentioned copies, verifying them against Legrand, and for providing me with the information that these copies do not bear marks of ownership. I wish also to offer my thanks to him for furnishing me with the information concerning the variant dedication of the Korydaleus work (Bibliography, No. 37).

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nected with Cephalonia. He belonged to an illustrious family of that island and was the abbot of the monastery built by Gerasimos Notaras.[44]

It is interesting to note that the famed statesman and Greek bibliophile, John Gennadius, apparently reached the conclusion that Legrand 143 was printed by Nikodemos Metaxas, although his passing reference to it offers no explanation for his opinion.[45]

Unquestionably the *Βιβλίον* is the first book printed with Metaxas' own type; if copies of this book existed in England they would doubtless puzzle many a British bibliographer unless he were aware of the pre-history of the Greek press of Constantinople.

A study of the ornaments and initials used in the book gives us a clue to the various printers with whom Metaxas had dealings and from whom he had bought material. The ornament and printer's device (the royal coat of arms of England) were purchased from the printer Augustine Matthewes (fig. 35) and probably the initial E (fig. 29), although this is a very common type of initial owned by many printers. Initials E, Π, and O came from the shop of William Jones (figs. 24, 21, 30). Only initial H seems to belong to Eliot's Court Press. It was used by virtually all the member printers of that press (fig. 31). Although this letter does not appear in any other of the Metaxas imprints, it would be safe to assume that he had purchased it for later use in Constantinople. I have not been able to find it in Eliot Court Press imprints after 1625, but of course it has been impossible to examine every single book.

We now come to the most problematic tract of all, Legrand 166, which bears the imprint "'*Επυπώθη ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, δαπάνῃ τε κ', ἐπιμελείᾳ τοῦ πανοσιωτάτου κ', λογιωτάτου ἐν Ἱερομονάχοις Κυρίου Νικοδήμου τοῦ Μεταξᾶ. Ἐν ἔτει ,αχκζ*"; i.e. "Printed at Constantinople, at the expense and under the supervision of the most holy and erudite among priest-monks,[46] Mr. Nikodemos Metaxas, in the year 1627." The dedication signed by Metaxas is dated: "In Constantinople, November 1, 1627." Metaxas considers this work as "*προοίμιον καρπὸν τῆς τυπογραφίας*," "the first fruit of typography," which led subsequent scholars to interpret this as the first work printed by him; and

[44] Bibliography, No. 76, p. 92; No. 72, pp. 17–30; No. 48, pp. 37–42; No. 103, vol. 2, pp. 253–260 and 269.

[45] Bibliography, No. 19, p. 57.

[46] An hieromonachos in the Orthodox Church is a priest under monastic discipline.

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since they did not suspect that the other two tracts had been printed earlier in England, they placed them at a later date, i.e., between November and January 6, 1627/28, when the press was seized and suppressed. But this period would have been too brief for the completion of such large books. The tract contains two works: The *Homilies* of Maximos Margounios, Bishop of Kythera, and the treatise *Against the Jews* by Kyrillos Loukaris. Each work is paged separately and has separate signatures. Furthermore, in the one copy known to me today, the copy also described in Legrand (that of the National Library in Athens), the work of Margounios is not mentioned on the title-page (fig. 1). The title-page of Legrand 166 bears the identical head piece and royal arms as Legrand 143 (fig. 35). This ornament appears throughout the work, which leads us to suppose that Metaxas' purchased stock was scanty. Additional initials which Metaxas purchased in England which do not already appear in Legrand 143 are a T belonging to the stock of Augustine Matthewes (fig. 32), and a Y (fig. 33) used by the early printer John Day (1522–1584), the dispersion of whose stock after his death makes it difficult to discover the source of Metaxas' purchase. Others include the initials Ω and Δ, which appear in Legrand 167 already cited (figs. 27, 28) and which presumably come from the stock of William Jones, an O (fig. 30) also from William Jones, two additional initials A and I (figs. 3 and 4) purchased from Eliot's Court Press, and a T (fig. 34) from William Jones. What other initials and ornaments were purchased by Metaxas in England we shall never know, since he was given such little opportunity to print.

According to the reports of both the *Bailo* of Venice quoted earlier and of the British ambassador and other contemporary sources, the work of Kyrillos Loukaris *Against the Jews* was printed in England. Indeed, the *Bailo* refers to the work as being in existence prior to the actual setting up of the press in Constantinople. We also have the evidence of the British ambassador: "and hauing gotten another booke written by the patriarch, printed in England, and brought by Metaxa, they studied it, to fynd out some clause agaynst Mahomett; the subiect being to proue the divinitye of our Sauiour, especially agaynst the Jewes";[47] and in yet another source: "And having procured a copy of a Book written by *Cyril*, and printed in *England*, in defence of our B.

[47] Bibliography, No. 88, p. 761.

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Saviour's Divinity, which he chiefly intended against the *Jews*." [48] Work upon this book must have occupied Metaxas during the period in London from 1626 until his departure sometime before June 1627.

If we accept the fact (and all indications lead us to believe this) that the treatise against the Jews was printed by Metaxas in England, then the *Homilies* of Maximos Margounios, the title-page and the dedicatory epistle of Legrand 166 were the only items printed in Constantinople. There is also mention of one other work which was in press at the time of its attack and seizure. The *Bailo* mentions it,[49] and the British ambassador also mentions it: "but the patriarch hauing sent a little treatise to the press, made by himselfe (being only a declaration of the fayth and tenetts of the Greeke church, without any mention of controuersye, or censuring the opinions of others . . . which he had resolued to dedicate to his late majestie of blessed memorye, and to send it by me to be printed in England by his licence; but now hauing oportunitye to doe it here . . . this prouoked the rancor of the French, and the spight of the Jesuites." [50]

No trace of this unfinished work has remained. Could it have been the Greek original of the famous *Confession of Faith* which was later printed in Latin in Geneva in 1629? Thomas Smith believes this to be so: "The *Dutch* Embassadour *Cornelius Van Haghe*, having obtain'd a copy of the Confession of Faith in *Latin*, which he had begun to print in *Greek* at *Constantinople*, at the time the Press was broke, sent it into *Christendom*; and it was first printed at *Geneva*, about the end of the year 1630." [51]

In summary, then, we are left with the conclusion that Nikodemos Metaxas printed not three tracts but only half a tract in Constantinople and that the others were actually printed during his stay in England from 1624 to 1627. This of course does not diminish his unique achievement of being the first printer of Greek books in the Orthodox East, and the mere fact that the other tracts attributed to the Constantinople press were printed in England is of lesser importance. Were it not for his efforts and those of Kyrillos Loukaris, who had provided the manuscripts, the books would not have appeared in print. It is

[48] Bibliography, No. 94, p. 266.
[49] See p. 149 above (Report no. 79).
[50] Bibliography, No. 88, p. 761.
[51] Bibliography, No. 94, pp. 271–272. For the editions of the *Confession of Faith* of Kyrillos Loukaris, see Bibliography, No. 42, vol. 1, nos. 189–195, and no. 225.

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almost a miracle that, considering the turbulent political and religious climate in which he found himself at the time of his stay in Constantinople, he managed to print anything at all.

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Figures

Fig. 1 Ornament (top): —STC 17622, R. Blower, 1615 ($E3^v$, $G2^v$, $T2^v$)*/ STC 7229, A. Matthewes, 1622 ($A1^r$, $Y1^r$)/Legrand 143, J. Haviland, 1625 (Fig. 29)

Printer's device: —STC 6901.5, A. Matthewes, 1625 (Lemon, 265)/Legrand 143, J. Haviland, 1625 (Fig. 29)

Fig. 2 Ornament (top): —STC 3452, J. Haviland, 1622 ($G1^r$, $Qq1^r$, etc.)/ STC 25381, J. Haviland, 1624 ($B1^r$, $M5^r$)/ STC 17731, J. Haviland, 1627 ($B1^r$)/ STC 1861, J. Haviland, 1629 ($A2^r$)

Ornament (bottom): —STC 23753, J. Haviland, 1627 ($C4^v$)/STC 17731, J. Haviland, 1627 ($P3^r$)/STC 13047.5, J. Haviland, 1631 ($B1^r$)/STC 4196, J. Haviland, 1636 ($¶2^r$)

Fig. 3 —STC 12748, J. Haviland, 1622 ($F8^r$, $N6^r$)/Legrand 168, [Eliot's Court Press, c. 1624]/STC 1148, J. Haviland, 1625 ($S4^r$, $Ff1^v$, etc.)/STC 3916, J. Haviland, 1625 ($L7^r$)

Fig. 4 —STC 5604, Eliot's Court Press, 1614 ($C5^r$, $D2^v$, etc.)/STC 12119, J. Haviland, 1622 ($¶2^r$, $S6^r$, $Tt3^v$)/STC 21199, J. Haviland, 1623 ($B1^r$)/STC 1148, J. Haviland, 1625 ($D3^v$, $I3^v$, $N4^v$, etc.)

Fig. 5 —STC 5604, Eliot's Court Press, 1614 ($B6^v$, $Z6^v$, $Ff4^v$, etc.)/STC 20776, E. Griffin, 1616 ($A4^r$)/STC 14971, J. Haviland, 1627 ($A2^r$)/STC 11953, J. Haviland, 1628 ($A2^r$, $Ff2^r$, $Ll3^r$)

Fig. 6 —STC 1148, J. Haviland, 1625 ($B3^v$, etc.)/STC 14971, J. Haviland, 1627 ($B1^r$)/STC 12637, J. Haviland, 1628 ($Z5^r$)/STC 1149, J. Haviland, 1629 ($B3^v$, $H3^v$, etc.)

Fig. 7 —STC 23753, J. Haviland, 1627 ($B1^r$)/STC 1161, J. Haviland, 1629 ($B1^r$)/STC 1861, J. Haviland, 1629 ($B1^r$)/STC 23740, A. Griffin, 1637 ($A2^r$)

Fig. 8 —STC 1108, J. Haviland, 1623 ($O2^v$)/STC 13628, Eliot's Court Press, 1624 ($A1^r$)/STC 12635, J. Haviland, 1625 ($T2^r$, $Hhhhh3^r$, etc.)

Fig. 9 —STC 5604, Eliot's Court Press, 1614 ($L1^v$, $S4^v$, $T2^r$, etc.)/STC 6015, J. Haviland, 1623 ($B4^r$)/STC 1147, J. Haviland, 1625 ($T2^r$)/STC 1124, J. Haviland, 1629 ($M1^r$, $T2^r$, $Y3^r$)

Fig. 10 —STC 6037, H. Bynneman, 1581 ($Eeee1^r$)

Fig. 11 —STC 6037, H. Bynneman, 1581 ($Ddd8^r$)

Fig. 12 —STC 25381, J. Haviland, 1624 ($M5^r$)/STC 1148, J. Haviland, 1625 ($F2^v$, $Ll1^r$, $Qq2^v$)/STC 12637, J. Haviland, 1628 ($Z6^r$)/STC 1149, J. Haviland, 1629 ($F2^v$, $Ll1^r$, $Qq2^v$)

Fig. 13 —STC 3916, J. Haviland, 1625 ($O1^v$)/STC 12637, J. Haviland, 1628 ($Y6^r$)/STC 1149, J. Haviland, 1629 ($Q2^r$)/STC 11954, J. Haviland, 1631 ($A3^r$)

Fig. 14 —STC 766, E. Griffin, 1619 ($Z4^r$)/STC 19621b, J. Haviland, 1623 ($Nn2^v$)/STC 25381, J. Haviland, 1624 ($B7^v$)/STC 12635, J. Haviland, 1625 ($Bbbbb1^r$)

* The main part of Ralph Blower's stock had passed to William Jones about 1617, perhaps even earlier, although some of his materials were also found in the hands of the printer Augustine Matthewes. See Bibliography, No. 57, p. 166.

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Fig. 15 — STC 245, E. Griffin, 1618 (M5[r])/STC 21199, J. Haviland, 1623 (A3[r])/STC 17382, J. Haviland, 1623 (A8[r], E1[r])/STC 17375, E. Griffin, 1638 (E6[v])

Fig. 16 — Unidentified

Fig. 17 — STC 10737, Eliot's Court Press, 1626 (C1[r])/STC 24033, J. Haviland, 1626 (E2[r])/STC 12637, J. Haviland, 1628 (C6[r])

Fig. 18 — STC 14656, W. Jones, 1618 (A2[r])/STC 5663, W. Jones, 1621 (A2[r])/STC 20209, W. Jones, 1630 (¶2[r])/STC 14715, W. Jones, 1630 (A3[r])

Fig. 19 — McKerrow no. 423 =/STC 24040, W. Jones, 1635**

Fig. 20 — STC 20253, W. Jones, 1629 (I2[r])/STC 20209, W. Jones, 1630 (Bb8[v], Ff2[v], etc.)/STC 7101, W. Jones, 1630 (B1[r])

Fig. 21 — STC 10559, W. Jones, 1620 (H1[v])/Legrand 143, J. Haviland [i.e. N. Metaxas] 1625 (B2[r])

Fig. 22 — STC 17221, W. Jones, 1623 (A2[r])/STC 14747, W. Jones, 1625 (A2[r])/STC 4155, W. Jones, 1628 (A1[r])/STC 20253, W. Jones, 1629 (B1[r])

Fig. 23 — STC 6286, W. Jones, 1617 (¶4[r])/STC 20209, W. Jones, 1630 (Mm5[r])

Fig. 24 — STC 17622, R. Blower, 1615 (E3[v])

Fig. 25 — STC 5658, W. Jones, 1625 (B1[r])/STC 14715, W. Jones, 1630 (B1[r])

Fig. 26 — STC 6286, W. Jones, 1617 (A4[r])/STC 3370, W. Jones, 1620 (title-page)/STC 20398, W. Jones, 1620 (G2[r])/STC 24820, W. Jones, 1628 (C8[v], D8[v])

Fig. 27 — Legrand, 166, N. Metaxas, 1627

Fig. 28 — Legrand 166, N. Metaxas, 1627

Fig. 29 — STC 17332, A. Matthewes, 1622 (S3[r])

Fig. 30 — STC 5664a, W. Jones, 1622 (B1[r])/Legrand 166, N. Metaxas, 1627

Fig. 31 — STC 19854a, A. Hatfield, 1607 (H7[r], P1[r], etc.)/STC 21201, E. Griffin, 1620 (A3[r])/STC 21199, J. Haviland, 1623 (A5[r])/STC 14625, J. Haviland, 1625 (B10[r])

Fig. 32 — STC 26041, A. Matthewes, 1620 (L3[r], V3[v])/STC 17332, A. Matthewes, 1622 (E3[r], H3[r], L1[r], N3[r], etc.)/STC 21141, A. Matthewes, 1625 (F2[r])/STC 17331, A. Matthewes, 1625 (B3[r], H3[r], I3[r], K3[r], etc.)

Fig. 33 — STC 19848, John Day, 1560 (N1[r])

Fig. 34 — STC 22104 [W. Jones] 1624 (A6[r]) This edition is a forgery of STC 22103 with the engravings and initial letters copied./STC 15554, W. Jones, 1628 (A5[r] i.e. B1[r]) This is another issue of the 1624 edition with imprint on cancel title-page.

Fig. 35 — See fig. 1

** Bibliography, No. 57, p. 158.

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