

αβγδεζηθικλμνξοπ

Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität
Am Hof 1
D-53111 Bonn
Germany

Visible Language, 31.3
Wallraff, 286-299
wallraff@uni-bonn.de

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Rhode Island School of Design
Providence, Rhode Island 02903

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Martin Wallraff

Early Greek Typography in Milan

A Historical Note on a New Greek Typeface

In the early history of Greek typography, the famous Aldine Greeks all too soon superseded other interesting attempts at adapting the Greek alphabet to the new medium of movable type. Among the centers of printing Greek in Italy, Milan deserves particular attention. Here in 1476, the first book to be printed entirely in Greek initiated a series of typefaces that were both suitable for the new medium and genuinely Greek, since they were based on contemporary penmanship. So it is to be welcomed that a modern revival of one of these typefaces has been created under the name of "Milan Greek."

The coincidence of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the invention of movable type by Johann Gutenberg in Mainz only two years later is remarkable, although, of course, the two epoch-making events are entirely independent. But the waves unleashed by them soon came to a fascinating and highly productive interference in Italy, midway between Germany and Greece, where the influx of Greek scholars from Constantinople and the new German technology brought about an enormous flourishing of classical studies. Hence it was necessary to apply the new technology, which had been developed for Latin, to Greek texts as well; but once the principle was invented this was only a minor step. The problem could be, and in fact was, resolved very soon — although it is not as trivial as it might seem at first sight, given the different and more complicated requirements of the Greek language, both aesthetically and technically.

From an aesthetical perspective the main problem was that the history of Greek handwriting had been much richer and more diverse than that of Latin writing. In particular, there was no equivalent in Greek of the Carolingian minuscule, which enjoyed general appreciation in Italy as a very beautiful and “classical” style, and which at the same time was appropriate for the new medium because it almost entirely lacked ligatures. On the contrary, most Greek hands of the time were extremely rich in ligatures, which caused one technical problem, the other major problem being the accents. There were various ways of tackling these two technical difficulties, and there were very different ideas of what a beautifully printed Greek text should look like. Hence the history of Greek typography in the

fifteenth century is surprisingly multifarious. However, the diversity disappeared very quickly at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when one particular style, the Aldine Greeks, came to universal recognition and served as a model for the entire further development (see figure 1). In fact, these types have influenced the history of Greek typography for several centuries, and to a certain extent even up to this day.

The quality of the Aldine Greeks has been the subject of some controversy. Robert Proctor in his magisterial *Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* (1900) dismissed them devastatingly,¹ but the distinguished typographer Giovanni Mardersteig (1964) and, more recently, Nicolas Barker in his detailed study on the subject (1985) have tried to do them more justice.² But even if one acknowledges the merits of these Greek typefaces, it certainly is to be regretted that one particular tradition monopolized the market — a fact which can only be explained by the exceptional success of Aldus' (or rather Griffo's) Latin types and by the smallness of the market for Greek type in general. And it cannot be doubted that the history of imitations and follow-ons brought to light in particular the drawbacks of the Aldine tradition. Since a large quantity of punches was required for the ligatures, printing Greek was expensive. Where these expenses were avoided, compromises had to be made, which often resulted in a deplorable loss of quality and beauty.

¹ As a consequence of Aldus' achievement "it became a point of honour (and of business) with every printer of Greek books who wished to be in the running, to follow the fashion by basing his type on the common writing hand of the day, the chief characteristics of which, whether written or adapted to the needs of the printer, are an absence of voluminous curves, the endless variety in the size and form of the letters, and an incredible complexity of abbreviation which makes the deciphering of a Greek text no small difficulty to the inexperienced. These faults are of course hardened and emphasized by their translation from the freedom of handwriting into the fixed mould of type. The loss of dignity is not compensated by the unrestrained freedom; the vigorous beauty of form so striking in the older types is replaced by letters which at their best are ungraceful, and all but the most careful hands degenerate into wiry thinness and nerveless imbecility." Proctor, 16 f., cf. also 102 f.

² "Per i nostri occhi ... quest'ultimo carattere greco [sc. il greco 4, carattere Sofocla] di Griffo è non solo incantevole e superiore a tutti i precedenti, ma eccelle entro queste serie come la sua più felice creazione." Mardersteig, 148: "in technical terms it is clear that Francesco Griffo achieved a masterpiece fully equal to the forms he gave to roman and italic type." Barker, 102. (Griffo was Aldus' punchcutter, who also cut the famous type for Pietro Bembo's *De Aetna*.) On Aldus Manutius in general cf. also Stanton (with further bibliography).

Therefore, it is understandable that the Aldine Greek typefaces, as well as the development of Greek typography before and independently of them, have attracted considerable scholarly attention in our

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΓΑΛΕΩΜΥΟΜΑΧΙΑΣ.

ΤΟΥ ΜΥΩΝ ΚΥΡΕΙΔΟΝΤ' ΕΝ ΟΠΗ ΤΙΝΙ ΞΟΦΩΔΩ ΚΑΙ ΚΑ
 ΠΤΟΚΙ ΑΣΜΕΝΗ ΠΡΟΣΜΕΝΟΝΤ' ΚΡΕΙΜΑ ΚΑΛΩΝΟΜΑΣ
 ΜΥ, ΗΤ' ΓΑΛ' ΤΗΔΕ ΚΑΚΕΪΣΕ ΔΡΟΜΑΪ ΠΤΕΙΒΛΕΨΟΣ
 ΗΥΤ' ΤΩΔΕ ΣΙΩΗΘΩΣ ΔΡΟΜΟΡ' ΑΝΙΧΝΩΜΕΝΗΣ, ΟΚΡΕΪ
 Μ' ΜΗ ΦΕΡ' ΤΑΥΤ' Τ' ΔΙΟΝΗΚΗ ΠΤΕΙΣΚΟΪ ΠΩΔΩΣ' Ψ' ΪΣ
 ΤΣ ΟΜΑΪ ΜΟΝΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΛΘΩΝ, ΟΣ Τ' Δ' ΤΥΡΟΚΛΟΤΡΥ ΑΞΙΪ
 ΑΥΩ ΠΤΕΛΕΪ ΦΡΕ. Η Τ' Ω ΣΥΜΒΟΛ' ΧΗΣΑΜΥ, ΩΤΤΙ ΝΙ
 ΞΥ ΠΩ ΤΑΥΤ' Κ' Ϊ ΞΟΠΩ ΣΙΤ' ΑΪ, Π' ΟΛΕΜ' ΑΪ ΠΟΝ ΔΟΝ ΚΑ
 ΤΑΥ' ΕΪ ΔΕ ΔΡΑΚΕΝ' ΑΪ ΜΕΜΙΛΕ ΤΗ ΚΑΣΙ. ΕΪ ΠΛΕΪΣ' ΜΥΩΝ
 ΑΒΡΟΙΟΝ' ΣΙΩΗΘΡΟΙΚΟΤ' ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΙ, Η Τ' Ω ΓΟΝΕΝ ΣΘΕ
 ΤΗΚΟΤ' Η ΠΑΜ ΠΛΩΣΑ Ψ' ΟΞΥΩΝΑΤΙΣ, Η ΒΗΔ' ΟΜ
 Ψ' ΔΥΘΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤ' ΑΥΤΕ ΞΗΕΣ' ΗΥ ΔΗ ΠΡΟΣΚΕΚΕΣΤΟ
 Τ' ΕΚΑΤΕΡΟΙ, Η Τ' Ω ΚΡΕΪΜΑ ΪΝ Η ΓΑ Λ' Η ΚΡΑΤΗΣΑ
 Σ, ΕΪ Τ' ΟΝΥΞΙ ΤΑΥΤ' ΑΪ Ϊ ΨΑΡΑ ΞΑ ΣΑ, Ψ' ΑΥΛΙΚ' Τ'
 ΝΕΑΝΙ ΕΪΣ ΒΕΪΒΡΩΚ' ΑΪ Π' ΕΛ' Ϊ Τ' ΜΥ ΚΑΘΕΩΡΑΚΩΣ
 ΡΟ ΓΟΝΟΜΥ, ΑΥΘ' ΠΡ' Τ' Δ' ΑΜ ΞΤΑ Ϊ ΚΡΕΪΜΑ Ϊ ΠΕΣΤΕ
 ΨΕ. ΜΥΩ Σ' ΑΥΤΗ, Τ' Ϊ ΨΡΟΣΩΛΙΣ ΑΪ Τ' ΠΑΙΔΩΣ ΧΑΛΕ
 ΠΩ ΠΑΤ' ΘΑΝΑΤ' Τ' Ϊ Τ' ΟΪΝΩ Ϊ ΠΛΥ ΜΑΧΟΜΥ Ϊ ΨΥΛ
 ΚΑ ΤΕΛΘΟΝ ΣΕΣΗ ΜΥ Ϊ ΨΥ ΠΕΡΤΑΤ' ΣΤ' ΕΪ, ΤΑ ΝΩΡΑΤ'
 ΓΑΛ' ΚΑ ΤΕΘΛΑΣΕ. ΗΥ ΝΙΚΗΤΑΙ Τ' ΜΑΧ' ΟΙ ΜΙΕΣ ΩΡΑ
 ΘΗΟΣ.

Τὰ δ' ὄφρα ματσο πρὸσωπα.

Κρεῖμο. Τυροκλόπος. Κήρυξ. Χορός θραπαινίδων.
 Ὀμυρέτ' κρεῖμα. Ἄπελος. Προλογίζετ' ὁ Κρεῖμο.

Figure 1 Aldus Manutius, Greek 1 (1494)

century. The dating, the historical background, and especially the writing hand that served as a model, have been cleared up for many Greek prints of the time; samples of all prints of some significance are available in good reproductions.³ In view of these favorable presuppositions, it is all the more surprising that the history of Latin typography in our century which is characterized by so many successful revivals of fifteenth century typefaces of great vigor and beauty (e. g. Bembo, Dante, Jenson, Centaur) is almost entirely unparalleled in Greek. The only example of such a revival that has come to some practical significance is "New Hellenic" (1927) by Victor Scholderer, a very beautiful typeface which is based on a pre-Aldine Venetian font of 1492.⁴

This font, as well as the models for two or three other modern revivals which have never become as popular as "New Hellenic," belong to a group which Proctor called the "Graeco-Latin class,"⁵ because they were originally intended for the insertion of more or less short passages of Greek into a Latin text. Unsurprisingly, this class was the first to be developed, Greek letters being printed for the first time as early as 1465 (in an edition of Lactantius by C. Sweynheym and A. Pannartz in Subiaco, the first surviving book ever printed in Italy!).⁶ The advantages of these faces are the lack of ligatures, which made them appropriate for the new medium, and the fact that they matched the aesthetical standards of similar Latin typefaces. However, the problem is that they often reflect what one particular scholar — or, even worse, one printer — thought to be Greek rather than an actual Greek handwriting of past or present. At a time when direct

³ Cf. Proctor, Scholderer and Barker.

⁴ The issue of the face was accompanied by an exhibition in the British Museum and a study of the history of Greek typography by V. Scholderer. In this book, a sample of the font can be found (after figure 60, for the historical model cf. p. 6 and figure 12); in the second edition of 1995 there is also a historical note on the type by J. H. Bowman (57-63). There are two digitized versions, one by The Monotype Corporation, and one by The Greek Font Society ("GFS Neohellenic").

⁵ Proctor, 13 f., cf. also 83-93 with detailed descriptions of the actual prints.

⁶ Cf. Proctor, 26 f.; Scholderer, 1 f. and figure 2. In the same year, possibly even slightly earlier than the Lactantius, there was also a first instance of Greek printing in Germany, in the Cicero printed by Peter Schöffer at Mainz; cf. Proctor, 24-26; Scholderer, figure 1. Its Greek letters, however, are very crude.

contact with the genuine Greek tradition had become possible and to a certain extent even fashionable, this approach was bound to fail — even if the alternative was more expensive. The Graeco-Latin tradition of printing Greek led to an early climax of considerable beauty in the typeface of the famous Nicolas Jenson of 1472 (see figure 2),⁷ but subsequently the focus shifted to a different method. Contemporary Greek writing hands were sought which were both beautiful and appropriate for the new technology (and, of course, readable). Here, Venice had the natural advantage of being the traditional gate to the Byzantine east, and hence a prime center of classical studies. As mentioned above, *la Serenissima* was eventually victorious thanks to Aldus Manutius.

But at an earlier stage Milan and Florence, too, played an important role. These two cities were also centers of Renaissance culture and attracted a number of Greek scholars. In particular, Milan developed a tradition of printing Greek which had a significant potential. The *Epitome* (a short handbook of grammar) by Konstantinos Laskaris, printed in Milan in 1476 (see figure 3), was not only the first book to be printed entirely in Greek, but it was also the first instance of a Greek typeface designed after the handwriting of a contemporary Greek scholar.⁸ The type was by Demetrios Damilas, a Greek himself, who, however, did not choose his own handwriting as a model, but the hand of a compatriot, presumably the Constantinopolitan Michael Apostolis, because it suited his needs better: it had fewer ligatures, and was more easily readable, without lacking the vigor and vitality of genuine Greek

⁷ Cf. Proctor, 33 and figure 8 (32); Scholderer, 2 f. and figure 7; Barker, 24 f. and figure 2 (23). Barker, 8, expressed himself against Proctor's attribution of the Jenson type to the Graeco-Roman class, arguing that "it is clearly based on the writing of an able and native Greek calligrapher" (24). In absence of clear evidence for this assertion (the example given in n. 3 is not sufficient) I would rather admit that Proctor's nomenclature is not quite appropriate, but there can be little doubt about the close relationship of the Jenson type with the earlier representatives of this class. Almost simultaneously with Jenson, another very similar type by Wendelin of Speyer appeared, cf. Proctor, 30 f. The Jenson/Speyer fonts have found several followers, some of which, it is true, have been used for continuous Greek typesetting. The most famous and most beautiful of them is the Complutensian polyglot of 1514 (Proctor, plate 24; Scholderer, figure 24), which Proctor considered to be beautiful enough to base his own "Otter type" on it (Scholderer, figure 59). However, it could be shown that there is no evidence whatever for the old manuscript tradition, upon which it is allegedly based; cf. Woody, 144 f.

⁸ In particular Proctor, 51-58 (and plate 1), deals with the font at some length, giving a very penetrating and detailed description of it; cf. also Scholderer, 3 f. and figure 8; for Barker see following note. Layton, 70-78 discusses the claim of the book to be the first of its kind.

⁹ The identification of the scribe has been brought forward by Barker, 30 f. His hypothesis gains some plausibility from the juxtaposition of Apostolis's handwriting and the Milan print (28 f.); on Apostolis cf. also 14.

Verba super hac re Aristotilis philosophi scripsi : ut uel auctoritas clari atque inclyti uiri tam infamibus nos uoluptatibus detereret. Διατί οἱ κατά τὴν τῆς ἀφῆς. ἢ γένσεως ἡδονῆν. ἢ γίγνομένην. οὐ ἄν ὑπερβάλλωσιν. ἀκρατεῖς λέγονται. οἷτε γὰρ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἀκόλαστοι οἷτε περὶ τὰς τῆς τροφῆς ἀπολάσεις. τῶν δὲ κατά τὴν τροφήν. ἀπενίωῶν μὲν ἐντὴ γλώττῃ τὸ ἡδύ· ἀπενίωῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ λάρυγγι. διὸ καὶ φιλοξενος γεράνου λάρυγγα ἔνχετο ἔχειν. οἱ δὲ κατά τὴν ὄψιν· καὶ τὴν ἀκοήν. οὐκέτι· ἢ διὰ τὸ τὰς ἀπὸ τούτων. γινομένας ἡδονάς. κοινὰς εἶναι ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις. ἅτε οὐκ ὄνσαι κοινὰ ἀτιμώτατα εἶσι καὶ μάστιγα ἢ μόναι ἐπονεῖ δῖσοι. ὡς τε τὸν ὑπὸ τούτου ἠττώμενον ψέγομεν. καὶ ἀκρατῆ. καὶ ἀκόλαστον λέγομεν. διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν χειρῶν ἡδονῶν ἠττώσθαι. οὐσῶν δὲ τῶν αἰσθησεῶν πέντε. τὰ ἄλλα ζωὰ ἀπὸ δύο μόνων τῶν προειρημῶνων ἡδέται. κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἄλλας. ἢ ὄλως οὐ χῆδέται. ἢ κατὰ συμβεβηκός τούτο πάσχει. ὁρῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸ ὄρων. ἢ ὀσφραϊνόμενον χαίρει. ὅτι ἀπολαίνει. καὶ ὅταν πληρωθῆ. οὐδὲ τί τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἡδέα ἀντῶ. ὡς περὶ οὐδὲ ἡμῖν ἡτοῦ ταρίχου. ὅλμῃ ὅταν ἀληνῆ χωμεν τῶν φαγεῖν· ὅταν δὲ ἐνδεῖς ὦμεν ἡδέια. ἢ δὲ τὸν ῥόδου αἰεῖ ἡδέια. Id est: Cur incontinentes eos appellare solemus : qui

Figure 2

Nicolas Jenson
(1472)

writing.⁹ Only a few years later this type was further developed by Bonus Accursius who had a new font cut for his edition of Theocritus and Hesiod which was similar to the first one, but was more regular in weight, had even fewer ligatures, a somewhat larger x-height and, at the same time, slightly narrower letter-spacing, so that a more harmonious overall impression was achieved.¹⁰ A further step was taken in 1492 when Demetrios Chalkondyles, one of the leading Greek scholars of the time, came from Florence to Milan. He initiated the *editio princeps* of Isocrates' speeches, which appeared in 1493. According to the colophon of the book, the type was by Errikos the German and Sebastianos from Pontremolo.¹¹ Nothing is known of the latter, but there can be little doubt that the former

¹⁰ Cf. Proctor, 61-63 and plate 2; Scholderer, 4 and figure 9; Barker, 35 and figure 7 (32). Barker assumes the type to be inspired by the handwriting of a member of the Gregoropoulos family, see figure 8 (33).

¹¹ Cf. Proctor, 70 f. (where also the text of the colophon is given) and plate 4; Scholderer, 4 and figure 11; Barker, 35 and figure 9 (34).

ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΘΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΛΕΞΕΩΝ ἘΚ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟΣ.

Τὰ τῶν λέξεων πάθη ἕως δύο γενικώτατα δι-
αφορῶνται ποσότητι καὶ ποιῶν· καὶ τοῦ μὲν
ποσοῦ ἔδδη ἔνδρα καὶ πλειομασμός· τοῦ
δὲ ποιῶν μετ' ἀθεσίς καὶ μετ' ἀληψίς· ἀμφο-
τέρων δὲ ὁμοῦ σμειθρότων τμησίς γινέται· ἐστὶ
δὲ ὡς ἐν κεφαλῶν ἢ πῶν πάθη πέντε· πλειομασ-
μός· ἔνδρα· μετ' ἀθεσίς· μετ' ἀληψίς· Τμησίς·

Πλειομασμός·

Πλειομασμός μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τριῶσθις χρόνων ἢ χρό-
νου σοιχῶν ἢ σοιχῶν· ἔνδρα·

ἔνδρα δὲ τ' ὁμοιωτίου χρόνου ἢ χρόνων σοιχῶν
ἢ σοιχῶν ἐλάττωσις· Μετ' ἀθεσίς·

Μετ' ἀθεσίς δὲ ἐστὶ σοιχῶν μετακίνησις ἐκ τῆς ἰδί-
αστάξεως ἐφ' ἑτέραςτάξεως ὅιον δαρτὰ ἀπὸ ἰδρα-
τὰ· κραδία ἀπὸ καρδία· κάρτος ἀπὸ κράτος·
καλῆται δὲ καὶ ἐνάλλαξις καὶ ὑπέρθεσις·

Μετ' ἀληψίς·

Μετ' ἀληψίς δὲ ἐστὶ σοιχῶν μετακίνησις· ὅιον ἡ-
τεδαγός ἀπὸ ἀπεδαγός· ἀμνηστότης ἀπὸ ἀμο-
τότης·

Τμησίς·

Τμησίς δὲ ἐστὶ σωβέτου λόγου ἀγάλωσις ἕως δύο
λέξεως· ὅιον ἀκρά τολίς ἀπὸ ἀκρόπολις·

Τούτων δὲ τῶν πέντε παθῶν τὰ μὲν, ἕως ἔδδη τί-

Figure 3

Demetrios Damilas

(1476)

is Heinrich Schinzenzeler, whose relative Ulrich was a leading printer in Milan at the time. The type is a slight improvement on the previous one (new variants of some letters, e.g., *gamma*, *zeta*, final *sigma*) and it is relatively heavy — an impression which is intensified by the small amount of space between the lines and the heavy inking of this print.

The Milan tradition, as it is preserved in these three examples, is attractive for two reasons. Firstly, it is more genuinely Greek than the Graeco-Latin group, because it is based on contemporary Greek penmanship; secondly it is more readable and more appropriate for the medium of movable type than the Aldine typefaces, because it is able to dispense with many ligatures without looking boring or clumsy — an effect which is achieved by different variants of many letters which are used according to the context. It has to be admitted that the Aldine Greeks look more graceful at first (and probably also at second) sight. But it has to be asked whether the Milan Greeks do not offer an enormous potential thanks to the above mentioned advantages, which could not be properly developed because they were superseded by the Venetians.

These qualities make the Milan tradition particularly suitable for a modern revival. Such a revival has now been attempted by the skilled London typographer Ralph Hancock. His new typeface "Milan Greek" is based on the last of the above mentioned prints, the Isocrates of 1493 (see *figure 4*). Despite its historic character it is primarily intended as a usable and readable font for high quality computer typesetting of ancient as well as modern Greek. Therefore, a

However, the extremely variegated letter widths, and thus much of the vigor of the original could be preserved; hence, *alpha*, *gamma*, *lambda*, *mu*, *pi*, *sigma* and *tau* are relatively wide, whereas *epsilon*, *zeta*, *iota* and *xi* are quite narrow. Nevertheless, the overall impression is very harmonious, which is achieved by careful letter-spacing and kerning. (The font can be used without kerning, but it profits very much by it.)



Most of the minuscules follow the original closely. Like in many early Greek typefaces, there were different variants of many letters, to match the context and to imitate the liveliness of handwriting; of course, these variants had to be given up, as they would only confuse modern readers. Likewise, it was not sensible to keep the ligatures, which are not too numerous in the Milan print anyway. But in some cases it was possible to choose among the variants of the original the one that is closest to the shape familiar to modern readers (even if it is not necessarily the most common type in the original). This is the case with *alpha*, *beta*, *gamma*, *delta*, *pi* and *tau*. Only two letters had to be designed entirely afresh, *eta* and *nu*, because they are

too different from the type nowadays in use. The letters zeta and xi deserve particular mention; they always have been a headache for Greek typographers. Here, quite a satisfactory solution has been found. The zeta follows the original closely with its somewhat unusual but perfectly recognizable left-bowing top, whereas the xi standardizes the chaotic (and not very beautiful) zigzag in such a way that the basic structure is preserved and a more harmonious match with the rest of the alphabet is achieved. The xi also makes the connection with the upper case Xi (one of the most peculiar letters of the Greek alphabet) plausible. The majuscules in general have no precedents in the Isocrates print of 1493, because the font of Schinzenzeler and Pontremolo had only minuscules. So, the upper case of "Milan Greek" is basically "invented" to match the lower case, with occasional reminiscences of the majuscules in the earlier Milan fonts, which however are rather clumsy.

The new font also contains a beautiful series of matching old style figures, and, of course, all the accents and episema necessary for properly printing classical Greek (*digamma*, *sampi*, *koppa*, asterisk, c-shaped *sigma*, different types of brackets).¹²

Like the original, which belongs to a family that was used for the first book to be printed entirely in Greek, the new typeface seems to be particularly suitable for continuous Greek typesetting, but of course it can also be used for insertions in Latin text: in that case it looks best when combined with one of the humanist faces like Bembo or Jenson. It is to be hoped that efforts like this will find followers: modern computer technology

¹² For further details and to obtain the font, contact Ralph Hancock, 17 Queen's Gate Place, London SW7 5NY, United Kingdom, email hancock@dircon.co.uk

makes it so much easier for everybody to obtain typographically satisfactory results. In practice, however, it is to be observed that most such printed material is of lower quality than that which has been conventionally produced. This applies in particular to the printing of Greek, presumably because this is and always has been a relatively small market. Therefore, a certain idealism is required – an idealism which classical scholars have often had in the past, and which the beauty of the Greek alphabet certainly deserves.

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Martin Wallraff spends most of his days dealing with old books — very often early prints of Greek Church fathers, because his research focuses on the question of how these texts were read in Renaissance Europe. He graduated from Heidelberg University in 1993; since then he has done research in Cambridge, Jerusalem and Rome. At present, he teaches Church history at the University of Bonn. His recent publications include articles on late antiquity as well as early modern history and a monograph on the fifth-century Church historian Socrates.

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The large characters throughout the article are Milan Greek by permission of their designer Ralph Hancock.

