

Elisa Bianchi

*Valeriano Albini in Venice: copyist and librarian  
at the monastery of Sant'Antonio di Castello*

**Abstract**

This paper firstly explores biographical events in the life of the copyist Valeriano Albini: it begins with a survey of his manuscript production, especially during the period he spent in Venice between 1539 and 1543 as librarian at the monastery of Sant'Antonio di Castello, and follows this with a review of the epistolary evidence of his erudite friend and main patron Guillaume Pellicier, ambassador of the King of France. It then undertakes an analysis of Valeriano's autograph *colophons* and presents data about the copying times calculated for this professional copyist in the period under consideration in order to understand the rhythms of his work as he faced commissions from various patrons of the time (above all Guillaume Pellicier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza). These data are put in relation to the epistolary witnesses that provide some evidence of Valeriano's commitments.

**Keywords**

Valeriano Albini; Guillaume Pellicier; monastery of Sant'Antonio di Castello (Venice); XVI Century; Greek manuscripts

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To avoid overloading the apparatus of footnotes, I have decided to limit the bibliographical references of the analysed manuscripts to only those contributions useful for the discussion. In quoting each manuscript for the first time I have provided the *diktyon* number within brackets through which I refer to any digitisations available online and to the main information dealing with the codex, including the main bibliography.

All translations proposed in this contribution are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

This contribution is focused on the copyist and canon Valeriano Albini from Forlì (*fl.* 1528-about 1547)<sup>1</sup> and his copying activity during the second of the two periods he spent in Venice at the Camaldolese monastery of Sant'Antonio di Castello between the years 1539 and 1543<sup>2</sup>. This is preliminary research to a forthcoming thorough investigation concerning the codicological and palaeographical characteristics of the manuscripts produced during his long career as a copyist. His activity has so far been examined mainly in relation to his patrons or to the models that he used for copying<sup>3</sup>, but it has never been the subject of an exhaustive and systematic study with a diachronic approach<sup>4</sup>.

Valeriano, a canon from the order of the Lateran Regulars, travels extensively during his life, has contacts with high political and cultural personalities, and plays an outstanding role at the monastery of Sant'Antonio in Venice, where, holding the prestigious position of librarian (succeeding his master Agostino Steuco in this role)<sup>5</sup>, he has access to an enviable collection of Greek, Latin and Hebrew manuscripts which came to the same monastery through

<sup>1</sup> VG 369-372; *RGK* I 336, II 452, III 530. About him and his activity see especially the two contributions by SICHERL 1982a, pp. 333-347, 1982b, and also BERNARDINELLO 1979, p. 71, n. 8i; CATALDI PALAU 1986a, pp. 202-204, 221, 225 tab. 1. See also the recent contribution by PICCIONE 2022, pp. 32, 35-36. WHITTAKER 1977 attributed several manuscripts nowadays not ascribable anymore to Valeriano (see especially the overview provided in *RGK*).

<sup>2</sup> About the monastery's library see below note 6.

<sup>3</sup> First of all, Martin Sicherl's contribution on the identification of the models used by Valeriano Albini in the production of his manuscripts is still extremely important: SICHERL 1982a, 1982b. About patronage and patrons see especially TURA 2009, pp. 418-419; ALONGE 2019, p. 170. See also SOSOWER 1998.

<sup>4</sup> The essential starting point, even though it dates back to 1986, is still the study undertaken by CATALDI PALAU (1986a), who focused on Valeriano Albini's activity in Venice in the context of the copyists around Pellicier. The data collected by the scholar were largely used here, especially with regard to the identification of manuscripts attributable to Valeriano and the analysis of the hands of the other scribes. Therefore, I will refer appropriately to this contribution (CATALDI PALAU 1986a), whenever I have used it.

<sup>5</sup> About this see DILLER - SAFFREY - WESTERINK 2003, p. 33 and also TAYLOR 2020, p. 419. About Steuco see below note 17.

the testamentary bequest of Cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461-1523)<sup>6</sup> in 1523, the year of his death.

In this contribution I will give an overview of the years Albini spends in the lagoon city, in close contact with Guillaume Pellicier (1497-1567)<sup>7</sup>, the French king's ambassador in Venice from 1539 to 1542, and in probable collaboration with, above all, Bartolomeo Zanetti (1486/1487-*post* 1547)<sup>8</sup>, and other copyists who frequent Pellicier's residence, such as Ioannes Katelos (*fl.* 1541-1543)<sup>9</sup>, Georgios and Nikolaos Kokolos<sup>10</sup>, Nikolas Malaxos and Alfonso da Cortona<sup>11</sup>, to name but a few of the best known.

### 1. Life and manuscripts

Valeriano Albini, native from Forlì, is a rather prolific copyist, active in various places in central and northern Italy between 1528, the year of his first chronologically and topically dated *colophon* (Venice, monastery of

<sup>6</sup> About the biographical events of the Cardinal Grimani and his book collection see especially BRUNELLI 2002, and the following contributions: FREUDENBERGER 1936; GALLO 1952; PERRY 1978; ZORZI 2003, pp. VII-VIII, and JACKSON 2008 (for the reconstruction of the book collection and identification of its manuscripts); furthermore, the already mentioned TURA 2009 and ELIA - PICCIONE 2021, pp. 54-55.

<sup>7</sup> About his life see CATALDI PALAU 2011, pp. 2-6. About his episcopate see PIEYRE 2020; on the cultural and diplomatic relationships he built in Venice see ZELLER 1880, pp. 85-145 and ALONGE 2019, pp. 168-174. About his library see CATALDI PALAU 1985 and 1986b; SOSOWER 1998; CATALDI PALAU 2011; and the recent contribution by PICCIONE 2022.

<sup>8</sup> VG 49; *RGK* I 31, II 45, III 56. On his activity as a scribe see especially CATALDI PALAU 1986a, pp. 215-217, 224, 230-231, and CATALDI PALAU 2000. See also GASPARI 2010a, pp. 233-241; GASPARI 2010b; and GASPARI 2021 (especially in relation to his son Camillo); SOSOWER 2010, pp. 217-232; FARAGGIANA DI SARZANA 2016; PICCIONE 2021, pp. 179-182, 187 (in connection with Pellicier). For purpose of completeness, I point out Surace's very recent contribution, to which it was not possible to have access prior to the publication of this work (SURACE 2024).

On Bartolomeo Zanetti's activity as a printer, I refer to LAYTON 1994, pp. 513-519. See also the following selection of primary works: KONTOSOPOULOS 1954, pp. 338-339; NORTON 1958, pp. 33-34; LAYTON 1981, pp. 136-137; RHODES 1982 and 1985; CASTELLANI 1992 and CASTELLANI 1994. About his possible relationship with Valeriano see below paragraph 2.b.

<sup>9</sup> VG 173-174, 213; *RGK* II 220, III 278. About this scribe see especially CATALDI PALAU 1986a, pp. 205-207, 222, 226 (and pl. 2), and the recent survey carried by PICCIONE 2021.

<sup>10</sup> About Georgios see VG 78 and *RGK* I 65, II 84, III 107; about Nikolaos VG 349 and *RGK* I 310, II 429. See also CATALDI PALAU 1986a, pp. 207-209, 222-223, 226-227.

<sup>11</sup> About Malaxos see VG 350-351; *RGK* I 312, II 432, III 502, CATALDI PALAU 1986a, pp. 211, 227 and pl. 4; I refer also to the works carried out by DE GREGORIO (1991, 1995b, 1996) about the *Malaxoi*. About Alfonso da Cortona see especially CATALDI PALAU 1986a, pp. 218-219, 223, 232 and pl. 5.

Sant'Antonio di Castello) in the manuscript Bonon. 2280 [*diktyon* 9716]<sup>12</sup>, and 1545, the year of his last *colophon* (Rome) in the two codices Ambr. B 155 sup. [*diktyon* 42377]<sup>13</sup> and Escor. T.I.11 [*diktyon* 15403]<sup>14</sup>. It is possible to follow his activity as a copyist through the indications that he provides in the *colophons* placed at the end of his manuscripts or at the end of the codicological units that compose them<sup>15</sup>. This kind of evidence makes it possible to evaluate Valeriano's activity and follow him on his many journeys between Venice (1528) and Rome (1547)<sup>16</sup>.

It is known that Valeriano learns the language of Plato at the school of Greek and Latin that the Camaldolese monk Agostino Steuco (1497/1498-1548)<sup>17</sup> managed at the monastery of Sant'Antonio in Venice, located in the southeastern part of the Castello district, which was demolished in 1810 to make way for the Napoleonic gardens<sup>18</sup>. Direct evidence of this period of education can be found in the *colophon* added by Valeriano at the end of the second codicological unit of Bonon. 2293 [*diktyon* 9720]<sup>19</sup>, ff. 151-185, entirely written in

<sup>12</sup> The manuscript Bonon. 2280 is a composite by 4 units: I (ff. 1-168), Valeriano Albini; II (ff. 169-253), Fulgenzio Guglielmi Forlivese; III (ff. 254-304), Konstantinos Mesobotes; IV (ff. 305-317), Valeriano Albini. For a description of this manuscript and its history see OLIVIERI 1895, pp. 397-399; LOBEL 1928; DEGNI 2015, pp. 202, 204.

<sup>13</sup> About the manuscript see BASSI - MARTINI 1906, p. 171. According to the study carried out by CATALDI PALAU 1982, Ambr. B 155 sup. is apograph of the composite manuscript Lond. Royal 16 D XVIII [*diktyon* 39822]. Its first codicological unit, in fact, written by Arnout van Eyndhouts (RGK I 28, II 39, III 48), contains precisely in 57 folios the same text as the Ambr. B 155, i.e. *De amoribus Hisminii et Hisminiae* by Eustathius Makrembolites. I refer to a future study for an in-depth examination of Valeriano's working methods in Ambr. B 155 with respect to the antigraph he used.

<sup>14</sup> About the manuscript see REVILLA 1936, p. 428; MERCATI 1952, p. 169.

<sup>15</sup> The manuscripts fully written by Valeriano often consist of several codicological units, brought together *ab antiquo* into organised composed codices. Therefore, when I speak of a 'codicological unit' of a given manuscript, I am referring to exactly one of the independent units of which it is composed, according to the definition of units given in MANIACI (1996, p. 76) in the lighting of the further synthesis in ANDRIST - CANART - MANIACI 2013, especially pp. 22-24.

<sup>16</sup> Actually, the last known dated manuscript by Valeriano dates back to 1545, but his activity as a copyist seems to have continued at least up until 1547, the year in which his name appears for the last time in the loan register of the Vatican Library transmitted by Vat. lat. 3966. See below, note 44.

<sup>17</sup> About this monk see FREUDENBERGER 1935, pp. 59-60; and also LAVENIA 2019.

<sup>18</sup> About the history of the monastery see DILLER - SAFFREY - WESTERINK 2003, p. x.

<sup>19</sup> About this manuscript see WACHSMUTH 1833, p. 318 (apograph of Monac. 427 [*diktyon* 44875]); FRIEDLEIN 1873, p. 1 (*siglum* B<sub>1</sub>); OLIVIERI 1895, p. 400; BURRI 2013; DEGNI 2015, p. 204; MARTINELLI TEMPESTA 2020, p. 228. The manuscript Bonon. 2293 consists of two units, the first one (ff. 1-150) penned by Konstantinos Mesobotes, the second one by Fulgenzio Guglielmi Forlivese; we know the identity of this copyist thanks to the *colophon* added by Valeriano at the end of the second unit (f. 185r): «Φουλεγέντιος Φωρολιβιεύς ὁ Γουλιήλμου προυγενώλεως ταύτην βιβλον μετέγραψεν,

1529 by Fulgenzio Guglielmi Forlivese<sup>20</sup>. Valeriano adds to this unit penned by Fulgenzio a *colophon*, probably some time later between 1530 and 1531 when Valeriano is already in Bologna<sup>21</sup>, in which, handling the Greek language well, he expressly mentions Steuco's teaching activity at the time Fulgenzio copied the manuscript at the monastery of Sant'Antonio in 1529: «ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ, ἐγὼ τε, καὶ ἄλλοι παμπληθεῖς φίλομαθεῖς ἐσπουδάζομεν τοῖς λόγοις, ἐλληνικοῖς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ Αὐγυστίνου Εὐγουβίεως διδασκάλου, ἀνδρὸς σοφωτάτου τε καὶ πάνυ εὐσεβοῦς» (= «At that time, I and other learned men were practising Greek and Latin literature under the mentorship of the master Augustino from Gubbio, a very wise and absolutely pious man»). It can therefore be hypothesised, with Freudenberg<sup>22</sup>, that Steuco's school begins in 1527 at the latest, and that Valeriano attends it, certainly not alone, at least up until 1529<sup>23</sup>, when he begins the journey to Reggio Emilia following his master Steuco, who is destined by the Order to take on the position of Prior of the local rectory of San Marco's<sup>24</sup>. The following year, in 1530, Steuco becomes *praepositus*, and in 1531 prior again with his trusted collaborators and former students such as Leonardo Malaspina, Valeriano Albini and Fulgenzio Guglielmi Forlivese<sup>25</sup>.

On 1 March 1531 Valeriano is already at the monastery of San Salvatore in Bologna<sup>26</sup>, where he finishes writing ff. 61-148 (corresponding to the second codicological unit) of Bonon. 2294 [*diktyon* 9721]<sup>27</sup>, as we learn from the *colophon* on f. 148r (i.e. the end of this codicological unit); but Steuco has been

Ἐνετιῆσι (sic) ἐν κοινοβίου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντονίου ἀπὸ τῆς θεγονίας (sic) ἐνίαυτῶ χιλιοστῶ πεντακοσιοστῶ τε, καὶ εἰκοστῶ ἐνάτῳ σκίρροφωριῶνος τρίτῃ ἰσταμένου κελεύσαντος Περεργίνου Βονωνίεως τοῦτο τε πάσης ἡμετέρας πολίτείας κράτος ἔχοντος, ὧ καὶ πάντες πάντα εὐχονται ἀγαθὰ· ὦν γὰρ πατὴρ ἀγαθός τε καὶ σπουδαῖος, καὶ φίλολόγος πολλοῖς ἀλόμασι ταύτην βιβλιοθήκην ἐπήγειρε· ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ, ἐγὼ τε, καὶ ἄλλοι παμπληθεῖς φίλομαθεῖς ἐσπουδάζομεν τοῖς λόγοις, ἐλληνικοῖς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ Αὐγυστίνου Εὐγουβίεως διδασκάλου, ἀνδρὸς σοφωτάτου τε καὶ πάνυ εὐσεβοῦς» (for contextualizing this *colophon* see FREUDENBERGER 1935, p. 60 and note 92). For a first translation of this *subscriptio* see also ALLEN 1890, p. 30.

<sup>20</sup> On this copyist see especially MERCATI 1952 and BERNARDINELLO 1979, pp. 71-72, n. 82.

<sup>21</sup> The *colophon* must have been copied by Valeriano at the San Salvatore in Bologna between 1530 and 1531, as deduced by Mercati, to whom I refer for a historical-content analysis: MERCATI 1952.

<sup>22</sup> FREUDENBERGER 1935, p. 60.

<sup>23</sup> SICHERL 1982a, p. 323.

<sup>24</sup> See LAVENIA 2019.

<sup>25</sup> See FREUDENBERGER 1935, p. 71.

<sup>26</sup> About this period in Bologna I refer especially to DEGNI 2015.

<sup>27</sup> About this manuscript see OLIVIERI 1895, p. 401; BURRI 2013; DEGNI 2015, p. 204; MARTINELLI TEMPESTA 2020, p. 228. Bonon. 2294 is composed of three units: I-II written by Valeriano, III written by Mesobotes.

in Bologna at least since February of the previous year<sup>28</sup>, when he attends the coronation of Charles V (1500-1558) in the entourage of cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1468-1549, the future pope Paul III), and perhaps Valeriano is already with him. In the first codicological unit of the same Bonon. 2294 (ff. 1-60) there is another *colophon* by Valeriano's hand (on f. 59r), dated October 1530 but with no indication of place: it is likely, even if not sure, that the first unit was written in the same place as the second a few months later<sup>29</sup>.

It is certain, however, that Valeriano between December 1532 and January 1533 is in Mirandola at the monastery of Santa Maria Maddalena, where he finishes the two codicological units of Bonon. 2304 [*diktyon* 9723]<sup>30</sup>, respectively dated 1 December 1532 (f. 239r, corresponding to the end of unit I), and 10 January 1533 (f. 260v, corresponding to the end of unit II). As early as April 1533, Valeriano moves to Gubbio to the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio, where, between April 1533 and October 1535, he completes the eight blocks<sup>31</sup> of the first codicological unit of Bonon. 1497 [*diktyon* 9710]<sup>32</sup> together with Konstantinos Mesobotes<sup>33</sup> – and with the hand of Arnout van Eyndhouts<sup>34</sup> sporadically appearing among the *marginalia* –, as well as the manuscript Par. gr. 1823 [*diktyon* 51449]<sup>35</sup>, finished on 10 March 1536 (f. 130r), and at least two of the three units of Bonon. 2290 [*diktyon* 9718]<sup>36</sup>, completed in 1536 (f. 98v) and 1537 (f. 208v) respectively. The codex Par. gr. 452 [*diktyon* 50026]<sup>37</sup> in the monastery of S. Maria del Vado in Ferrara was completed on 31 March 1538 (f. 217v).

<sup>28</sup> LAVENIA 2019.

<sup>29</sup> It is, however, impossible to be certain about this because, although both units use the same layout and the same watermark of a ladder within a circle surmounted by a six-pointed star (71 × 42 mm) similar to BRIQUET n. 5922 (Amburg 1506: <https://briquet-online.at/5922>), the numbering of the quires starts again on f. 59 (quires 1-8: [α<sup>ov</sup>]-η<sup>ov</sup>; quires 9-19: α-ια) and, therefore, the two units, being independent, could have also been completed in two different places.

<sup>30</sup> About the manuscript and its history see OLIVIERI 1895, pp. 402-403; DEGNI 2015, pp. 202, 204.

<sup>31</sup> For the definition of 'block' see GUMBERT 2004.

<sup>32</sup> About the manuscript see OLIVIERI 1895, pp. 387-389; DEGNI 2015, pp. 203-204; CABALLERO SÁNCHEZ 2018, pp. 58-60, 138; MARTINELLI TEMPESTA 2020, p. 228.

<sup>33</sup> About this copyist see VG 241, 246; RGK I 97, II 131, and MARTINELLI TEMPESTA 2020.

<sup>34</sup> RGK I 28, II 39, III 48. About this Flemish scholar who stayed in Venice as Hurtado's librarian between the end of 1542 and 1547 see especially HARLFINGER 1971, pp. 198-202 and CATALDI PALAU 1998, pp. 551-552, 554.

<sup>35</sup> For a description of the manuscript see the catalogue entry by Jocelyn GROISARD: <https://archi-vesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc2o88oc>.

<sup>36</sup> About the manuscript and its history see PUNTONI 1896, pp. 369-370; DEGNI 2015, pp. 203-204.

<sup>37</sup> About the manuscript see especially MARTINELLI TEMPESTA 2020, p. 230; RINCEL 2022, pp. 246-251.

Exactly one year flies by before Valeriano returns to Venice once again to complete the first dated manuscript of his ‘second Venetian period’, as one might define it on the basis of his biographical events and his numerous movements. The Augustinian canon finishes writing Par. gr. 1830 [*diktyon* 51456]<sup>38</sup> in March 1539 at the monastery of Sant’Antonio di Castello. However, we must assume an intermediate stage between March 1538 in Ferrara and March 1539 in Venice, namely Rome: in fact, probably with Steuco, who on 24 October 1538 has been appointed librarian of the Vatican Library by Pope Paul III, Valeriano spends a few months in Rome, where he has the opportunity to meet and get to know Guillaume Pellicier in person – as we learn from the Frenchman’s own correspondence –<sup>39</sup> and there to forge a relationship of collaboration and mutual esteem with him that would continue over time in the following years, and that would lead him to work alongside the ambassador, in the lagoon city.

To this ‘second Venetian period’ 17 (probably 18)<sup>40</sup> manuscripts – of which 13 are signed – can be traced back to Valeriano, all written between 1539 and 1543<sup>41</sup>: these witnesses will be investigated in the next paragraphs (2.b-2.c).

To conclude this brief survey of Valeriano’s biographical events, the latest evidence places the canon in Rome in 1545, as Prior of the monastery of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, where he may have drafted the already mentioned Ambr. B 155 sup. (which records only the chronical datum, without any topical elements), and Escor. T.I.11, a manuscript also dated 1545 and written «εἰς Ῥώμην», which belonged to the library of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza<sup>42</sup>. More-

<sup>38</sup> For a description of the manuscript see the catalogue entry by Jocelyn GROISARD: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc2o868w>.

<sup>39</sup> TAUSSERAT-RADEL 1899, p. 174, letter n. 95.

<sup>40</sup> The starting point for the re-examination of the manuscripts attributable to Valeriano in this period is the account given by CATALDI PALAU (1986a), revised and evaluated based on the most recent bibliography. The manuscript Eton MS 2921 (K.I.11) [*diktyon* 15561] may have been penned in Venice, but it has no topical indication, but rather a generic 1539. The hypotheses are twofold: 1) one could place the manuscript in Venice, like all other manuscripts written in 1539; or 2) one could instead consider that the very absence of the indication is evidence that Valeriano completed the manuscript elsewhere (as inferred by SICHERL 1982a, p. 326 for Bonon. 2294), perhaps in Ferrara, where the canon was staying during 1538. Since the manuscript is now destroyed, the *subscriptio* has been taken from the catalogue of the manuscripts of the Eton College: JAMES 1895, p. 6, n. II.

<sup>41</sup> I also include Par. gr. 473 [*diktyon* 50047], although it was completed in September 1543 [on rasura the number 3] (f. 238r), when Pellicier had already returned to France, as is likely to have happened also with Leid. BPG 67B.

<sup>42</sup> REVILLA 1936, p. 428. I have not been able to view any images of the codex. Mercati wrote thus in his short and effective contribution on the writing of Valeriano and Fulgenzio: «La nota, però, di tenore e d’andatura incerta, insolita, anziché della mano del forlivese, sarebbe d’un contemporaneo? al quale tuttavia non esito a prestare fede» (MERCATI 1952, p. 169 note 2).

over, between December 1547 and April 1548 (shortly after Steuco's death in Venice on 17 March)<sup>43</sup> Valeriano is identified in the loan register of the Vatican Library transmitted by Vat. lat. 3966 (f. 106r): «Valerianus prior Sancti Laurentij accepit transcribendum Pappum, et Eunapium, redditurus ad placitum. Decembris. 7. Anno 1547», and by another hand «fu restetuito in libreria presente m. Nico Magiorano et m. Fausto e m. Gilermo ali 9 di april 1548»<sup>44</sup>.

We therefore lose all trace of him in Rome in 1548, between the Vatican library and the monastery of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura.

There are so far 41 manuscripts that can be traced back to Valeriano's hand and activity, either entirely penned by him, produced in collaboration with other copyists, or simply annotated by him in the margins<sup>45</sup>. Among these specimens, there are 27 manuscripts with an autograph *colophon*, while 14 manuscripts have none.

The 41 specimens are listed in two separate tables (TABLES 1 and 2), the first of which includes manuscripts without a *colophon*, while the other includes those with chronological and/or topical indications.

## 2. Venice and Sant'Antonio di Castello monastery: manuscripts written by Valeriano Albini

### 2.a. Valeriano Albini copyist of Guillaume Pellicier

Guillaume Pellicier's correspondence, as is well known, is a very important resource for understanding some of Valeriano's biographical vicissitudes, where manuscripts do not always provide useful information to contextualise his activity.

During the second period of his stay in Venice (1539-1543), Valeriano is librarian at the monastery of Sant'Antonio di Castello. This is a crucial role for his work as a copyist, as he happens to have an important collection of Greek

<sup>43</sup> See MERCATI 1952, p. 170, who emphasised the importance of this specific timing between Steuco's death and Valeriano's return of the loan from the Vatican Library.

<sup>44</sup> About this loan in the Vatican Library see BERTOLA 1942, p. 114, tav. 121; MERCATI 1952, p. 169, and JONES 1986, p. 31.

<sup>45</sup> There would actually be 40 manuscripts (for a first list of his codices see CATALDI PALAU 1986a), but I have also considered Bonon. 2293, written by Konstantinos Mesobotes (unit I) and Fulgenzio Guglielmi Forlivese (unit II); Valeriano only added the *colophon* on f. 185r. This estimate is obtained on the basis of the palaeographic and philological bibliography (mentioned where appropriate throughout this article) focused on Valeriano Albini and on the copyists who collaborated with him, and on the basis of the main palaeographic repertories such as VG, RGK, and the *Pinakes*.

manuscripts to copy, especially for what appears to be his most demanding ‘client’, Guillaume Pellicier, a passionate humanist and scholar of Pliny, «capace di agire in prima persona nella raccolta di testi per il re, sulla base dell’alto profilo intellettuale e culturale»<sup>46</sup>. As it is known, in his correspondence Pellicier writes several times during the summer of 1540 that he has various copyists working continuously at his Venetian residence – the Palazzo Ducale where the French ambassadors usually stay – in Piazza San Marco<sup>47</sup>. He provides this information in a letter to his king, François I (1494-1547), on 19 August 1540: «Sire, il vous plaira sçavoir que depuis que suys en ceste ville, suyvant vostre commandement à mon parlement, j’ay tousjours eu jusques à ceste heure force escripvains; et de présent en ay encores huict, compris ung hébrieu qui m’escript des choses les plus rares que je puy trouver en ceste langue là»<sup>48</sup> (= «Sire, you will be pleased to know that since I have been in this city, according to your order, I have always had a large number of scribes, and nowadays I have eight, including a Jewish man who writes for me some of the rarest things I could find in that language»). He repeats this in a letter of 1 September of the same year to Antonio Rincon (d. 1541)<sup>49</sup>: «Et de moy je tiens tous les jours ordinairement huict Grecz qui ne font aullre chose que en escripre, ainsi qu’il a pieu au roy me commander encores par la dernière dépesche que ay receue de la court»<sup>50</sup> (= «And at my place there are regularly eight Greeks who do nothing but write [*i.e.* copy], as the King ordered in the last dispatch I received from court»).

His numerous connections in the city allow Pellicier to benefit from the important services of Antonios Eparchos<sup>51</sup> (often mentioned in his correspondence and apostrophised as *gentilhomme grec*), and Bartolomeo Zanetti, who, especially after the bankruptcy of his printing house in 1541<sup>52</sup>, has devoted

<sup>46</sup> ALONGE 2019, p. 168.

<sup>47</sup> See ALONGE 2019, p. 139. On the ‘atelier’ held by Pellicier in his house see especially CATALDI PALAU 2011, pp. 2-3; ALONGE 2019, pp. 67-174; PICCIONE 2021, pp. 179-180; PICCIONE 2022, pp. 31-34.

<sup>48</sup> TAUSSEERAT-RADEL 1899, p. 56, letter n. 31.

<sup>49</sup> Spanish diplomat, exiled to France where he first became Maître de l’Hôtel, then French ambassador to Wallachia (1522-1523), and finally to the Sublime Porte in Istanbul (1538-1541). On him see CAZACU 1979; ARGENIO 2020.

<sup>50</sup> TAUSSEERAT-RADEL 1899, p. 79, letter n. 44.

<sup>51</sup> *RGK* I 23, II 32, III 36; for a list of the manuscripts written by him see OMONT 1892, pp. 97-107. About this scribe from Corfù and the trade of Greek manuscripts in Italy see especially MONDRAIN 2002, pp. 480-486, LAZARIS 2018, and RINCEL 2022, pp. 230-238 on the list of manuscripts given to the King of France François I.

<sup>52</sup> About the failure of the business of Zanetti, first alluded to by Antonfrancesco Doni, I refer to the following contributions: CASTELLANI 1994, pp. 5-6, 8, and CASTELLANI 2008, p. 196.

himself to the copying of Greek works, as is also testified by the presence of his hand in many of the manuscripts belonging to Pellicier's library<sup>53</sup>.

On 8 October 1540, the French ambassador sends a letter to Pierre Duchastel, custodian of the Fontainebleau library, whom he asks to be informed of the titles of the works that might be of interest to the King: «J'ay receu le catalogue de la librairie du roy, de quoy j'ay esté bien aise pour pouvoir entendre quelz y fault en icelle et quelz desireriez avoir les premiers, ce que je me attendz bien que m'advertirez par le premier pour avoir receu le catalogue de ceulx de Santo Anthonio»<sup>54</sup> (= «I have received the catalogue of the royal library: I was very happy to hear what is missing in the library and what you would like to have as soon as possible; on this point I am waiting for you to let me know as soon as you receive the catalogue of the Sant'Antonio collection»). In this regard, it is interesting to note that the catalogue of Fontainebleau received by Pellicier probably indicates the books (authors and/or texts) already present in the library, but also what is missing from the list of books desired by the King. Moreover, it is well known that the French ambassador entrusts Valeriano with the task of drawing up the complete inventory of the monastery's collection mentioned in this letter, so that Pierre Du Chastel could compare the titles present in Venice with those already possessed by the French library<sup>55</sup>. This is testified by a letter dated 2 December 1540 addressed precisely to the bishop of Tulle, in which Castello's collection is depicted as exceptional and rich in preciousness, not only in Greek: «[the library of Sant'Antonio di Castello] est douée non seulement de bons livres grecz, mais aussi de très rares en hébreu, et encores en latin de telz que pour leur anticquité l'on peult amender beaulcoup de bons lieulx es meilleurs et plus anciens aucteurs en icelle longue; et en oultre par ce moyen l'on pourroit à l'aventure recouvrer de trop plus excellans et rares livres grecz que, comme j'entendz, ledict seigneur cardinal a arrière soy»<sup>56</sup> (= «[the library of Sant'Antonio di Castello] is endowed not only with good Greek books, but also with very rare ones in Hebrew, and even rarer ones in Latin, such that for their antiquity one could amend many good books, and the best and most ancient authors in this language; and in addition, by this

<sup>53</sup> For a list of manuscripts copied by Bartolomeo and belonging to Pellicier, see mainly CATALDI PALAU 1986a, pp. 215-217, and pl. 12-13.

<sup>54</sup> TAUSSEERAT-RADEL 1899, pp. 117-118, letter n. 61. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza too was in possession of a catalogue containing a list of Greek codices available in Sant'Antonio monastery: on this matter see especially GRAUX 1880, pp. 404-405.

<sup>55</sup> See ALONGE 2019, p. 170, and also ALONGE 2022.

<sup>56</sup> TAUSSEERAT-RADEL 1899, p. 175, letter n. 95. See also ALONGE 2019, p. 170.

means one could by chance recover many more excellent and rare Greek books than, as I understand, the said Cardinal has on his own»).

First of all, it is significant that Pellicier uses the verb *amender* here, as is remarkable the use of *corriger* a little later in the same letter, where the ambassador describes the editorial activity, so to speak, and collation to submit all the texts<sup>57</sup>: the copyists at his residence are dedicated «journallement à rescrutier et corriger bons aucteurs grecz avecques le plus d'exemplaires que l'on peult trouver»<sup>58</sup>.

Returning, however, to the question of the catalogues to be copied, Pellicier also mentions those he has procured from the libraries of Rome and Urbino; but with regard to the catalogue of the Vatican Library, he writes that he is still waiting for a better one from the librarian Agostino Steuco: «je attendz de jour en jour celluy [i.e. the catalogue] de Rome, lequel M. le bibliothécaire du pape [i.e. Agostino Steuco] mon singullier frère et amy, me doit envoyer mieulx en ordre au premier jour»<sup>59</sup>. And a little further on: «Nous continuons tousjours l'oeuvre à faire escripre, et avons entre aultres escripvains dedans Saint-Anthoine mesmes ung religieulx [i.e. Valeriano Albini], lequel je congnois depuys que estoys à Romme pour m'avoy rescript quelques pieces de livres. Lequel painct aussi bien et aussi correct que nul aultre que soit icy, qui, pour gouverner la librairie du dict Saint-Anthoine, plus aisement nous peult servir de ce que vouldrons faire transcrire d'icelle que tout aultre; car aultrement n'y a ordre de deschesner et tirer les livres d'icelle de là dedans, si n'est par la licence et commandement de monseigneur le révérendissime cardinal Grimani<sup>60</sup>, lequel est à Romme»<sup>61</sup> (= «We are still continuing the work of writing, and among other scribes in Sant'Antonio we also have a religious man [i.e. Valeriano Albini], whom I have known since my days in Rome for writing for me a few books. He writes as well and correctly as nobody else here, and, being in charge of the library of said Sant'Antonio, he can help us more easily with what we will want to have transcribed from it; because there is no other way to unchain and remove books from this library than with the agreement and

<sup>57</sup> For the examination of this letter and its historical-cultural contextualisation see PICCIONE 2021, pp. 179-180.

<sup>58</sup> TAUSSERAT-RADEL 1899, p. 177, letter n. 95.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 176, letter n. 95.

<sup>60</sup> To be identified with Marino Grimani (1488-1546), bishop of Ceneda and patriarch of Aquileia, nephew of the Cardinal Domenico Grimani (see BRUNELLI 2002). See also TAUSSERAT-RADEL 1899, p. 175 note 1.

<sup>61</sup> TAUSSERAT-RADEL 1899, pp. 174-175, letter n. 95.

order by the most reverend cardinal Grimani, who is in Rome») <sup>62</sup>. Valeriano, as is well known and as can be deduced from this last evidence, is thus an important contact in the Venetian monastery, and he is one of the copyists working for Pellicier, one of the few copyists exclusively mentioned by name <sup>63</sup>. From this letter, in specific, we learn that Pellicier obtains the manuscripts from the library in Castello to be copied due to the intercession of Valeriano, who allows the codices to be taken out of the plutei and thus be removed for copying. His role is crucial also in carrying out daily library-related activities (loans, moving books and having access to them): we can assume his intervention also in the copying of those codices belonging to Pellicier in which Valeriano's hand does not appear, but which are apographs of manuscripts held at the monastery of Sant'Antonio and thus come from the collection of Greek codices in Domenico Grimani's library.

Moreover, Valeriano is considered the most capable copyist among the others, and an excellent calligrapher and erudite in the Greek language, so much so that the French ambassador is certainly not reticent to praise his correctness in Greek (though it is not always impeccable), and to use the verb *peindre* to describe his copying activity, perhaps with a specific intent to express appreciation for its graphic beauty, or perhaps considering it as a simple synonym of *escripre/transcripre/rédiger* <sup>64</sup>, used whereas elsewhere in referring generically to the task of having books written. For instance, the verb *transcripre* appears again a year later in a letter (to which I will return in more detail in the next section) dated 14 December 1541 and addressed to Philippe de la Chambre (about 1490-1550), cardinal of Boulogne. In this missive, Pellicier relates a French king who is pleased with the copying of Greek codices conducted by his ambassador in Venice: «[...] très grant plaisir que je continue à faire transcripre et rescrutier livres grecz ainsi que j'ay bien avancé» <sup>65</sup> (= «he is very happy that I continue to transcribe and find Greek books as I have done so far»).

<sup>62</sup> I thank Raphaële Mouren for this translation.

<sup>63</sup> The other copyist mentioned more than once is Demetrios Zinos (about him I refer to my recent contributions with bibliographical update: BIANCHI 2022a and 2022b).

<sup>64</sup> It is not certain what Pellicier was referring to with the verb *peindre*: he was probably addressing the technical datum, i.e. the activity of transcription, and not the specific rendering of Valeriano's writing. On the contrary, the editor of the Pellicier's epistolary suggested that the choice of this verb could refer specifically to the calligraphic hand of Valeriano: TAUSSERAT-RADEL 1899, p. 174, note 5. In this article, I will not discuss Valeriano's writing because I am considering here just a part of his activity as a copyist in relation to a circumscribed period; I will postpone an in-depth analysis of his graphic features as a whole to a future work.

<sup>65</sup> TAUSSERAT-RADEL 1899, p. 482, letter n. 318.

Another detail emerges from the letter of 2 December 1540: it seems possible to infer that there are copyists at work (*dedans*) at the monastery Sant'Antonio, including some lay people (only apostrophised as *escripvains*), since mentioned by Pellicier in contrast to Valeriano Albini, who is specifically addressed as a clergyman (*religieux*). It is thus certain that the ambassador has at his service (and that of the king of France, one may assume) several copyists (4 in July 1540, up to 8 and more during the same year)<sup>66</sup> working at the Palazzo Ducale, and that he has others, canonical and otherwise, working (especially) for him at the nearby monastery of Sant'Antonio. As we shall see in the next paragraph, based on the data gathered so far, Valeriano would seem to have worked more for Pellicier and his private library than for the king François I. This means that the French ambassador, despite being in Venice with the main task of collecting and having Greek manuscripts produced for the French royal library, hires his most talented copyist for himself, having him copying texts for his own private collection.

### 2.b. The copying activity of Valeriano and his manuscripts from the 'second Venetian period'. First considerations

Some of the manuscripts studied so far – such as Berol. Phill. 1548 and 1549 – show the hands of Valeriano and Bartolomeo Zanetti in the same cultural context<sup>67</sup>. It would therefore seem possible that in his second period in Venice Albini also works in connection with Zanetti and his so-called *atelier*<sup>68</sup>, likely under commission from Pellicier. This does not necessarily mean that Valeriano and Zanetti worked in close collaboration, but it does indicate that the

<sup>66</sup> Four copyists are mentioned in the letter to the bishop of Tulle dated to 22 July 1540 (letter n. 13); eight are reported in two different letters, one addressed to the French King and the other to Tulle, both dated to 19 August 1540 (letter nn. 31-32): see respectively TAUSSERAT-RADEL 1899, p. 28, letter n. 13; p. 56, letter n. 31; p. 57, letter n. 32. In MAZZATINTI (1886, p. CIII and note 6) the copyists at the service of Pellicier appear to be twelve.

<sup>67</sup> Within the project already mentioned above, “Greek manuscripts in Renaissance Venice: the library of Guillaume Pellicier and its contribution to Europe’s intellectual heritage”. In particular, the two copyists worked within the same codicological unit in Berol. Phill. 1548, in two different units in Berol. Phill. 1549.

<sup>68</sup> On the issue about the *atelier* of Bartolomeo in relation to the Berolinenses manuscripts see HARLFINGER 1971, and what he wrote about on p. 293 note 4: «Unter den Berliner Handschriften bestätigt sich diese Vermutung z. B. schon durch die schreibtechnische Anlage des im Jahre 1542 entstandenen Phill. 1518: Bartolomeo hat den drei anderen Kopisten des Manuskripts durch das Vorschreiben der ersten Seite (f. 1r) ein Muster für ihre Arbeit an die Hand gegeben». See also GAMILLSCHEG 1991, with the addition of CATALDI PALAU 2000, pp. 100-102. See also SOSOWER 1992 and CANART 2000.

two were present and active in a well-defined cultural context, mainly related to the personality of the French ambassador: in any case this observation will be verified in the near future on the basis of the data collected on the entire Pellicier collection as part of the ongoing project<sup>69</sup>. Nevertheless, the possible connection between these two copyists constitutes a fact to be taken into due consideration: it is in fact particularly noteworthy since from the analysis of Albini's entire production it is possible to note that the copyist tends to work alone, starting and completing codicological units independently, and rarely admitting the collaboration of other scribes in the transcription of the same unit<sup>70</sup>.

This occurs only in the manuscripts Basil. F. VI. 46 [*diktyon* 8950]<sup>71</sup>, Berol. Phill. 1423 [*diktyon* 9326]<sup>72</sup>, Leid. BPG 67B [*diktyon* 37702]<sup>73</sup>, Monac. gr. 392 [*diktyon* 44840]<sup>74</sup>, Ott. gr. III [*diktyon* 65353]<sup>75</sup>, Oxon. St. John's College, 32 [*diktyon* 48793]<sup>76</sup>, a total of 6 specimens out of 41, all belonging to codices without *colophon*.

An initial examination of these six exemplars – undertaken mainly on the available bibliography<sup>77</sup> – reveals interesting data about the collaborators of Valeriano in relation to the patrons involved in the commission:

1. **Manuscripts copied for Pellicier.** In two cases of manuscripts belonging to Pellicier's personal library, Berol. Phill. 1423 and Leid. BPG 67B (first codicological unit), Valeriano cooperates with copyists from the cultural circle orbiting around the ambassador<sup>78</sup>, namely: **a.** in Leid. BPG 67B, a manuscript with works by Synesius of Cyrene, he cooperates with Ioannes Katelos, author of the *colophon* dated 13 March 1543 (with referen-

<sup>69</sup> See above note 67.

<sup>70</sup> I have not offered refined codicological data here, however, it should be considered that almost all Valeriano's manuscripts often consist of several distinct codicological units assembled *ab antiquo*; therefore, in this contribution I will refer to the specific codicological units and not to the manuscript, unless it consists of only one unit.

<sup>71</sup> OMONT 1886, p. 416.

<sup>72</sup> For a description of this codex and its history see STUDEMUND - COHN 1890, p. 5; CATALDI PALAU 1986a, pp. 218-219 and pl. 5; and RINCEL 2022, pp. 301-313 and 660-713.

<sup>73</sup> For a description of this codex see MEYER - HULSHOFF POL 1965, pp. 106-109.

<sup>74</sup> About the codex see PAPADAKI 2021, p. 140.

<sup>75</sup> FERON - BATTAGLINI 1893, p. 65.

<sup>76</sup> SOSOWER 2007, pp. 45-54.

<sup>77</sup> See CATALDI PALAU 1986a, with the unique exception of Berol. Phill. 1423, autographically studied at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

<sup>78</sup> CATALDI PALAU 1986a, p. 226.

ce to the first codicological unit only); **b.** in Berol. Phill. 1423, witness of Origenes' *Philocalia*, he collaborates with an anonymous copyist (in the role of 'leader-responsible'), with Alfonso da Cortona, and probably with Bartolomeo Zanetti (in the role of editor)<sup>79</sup>.

2. **Manuscripts copied for other patrons.** Valeriano collaborates again with Zanetti in the editing of a manuscript produced for Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, namely Oxon. St. John's College, 32, in which there are also the hands of Arnout van Eyndhouts – Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's secretary and librarian in Venice – and of Nikolaos Pachys – a copyist close to Pellicier's 'circle'<sup>80</sup> and to Zanetti's so-called *atelier*<sup>81</sup>. Valeriano collaborates again with Arnout in Ott. gr. 111, a copy of the *Epitome Historiae Romanae Cassii Dionis* by Johannes Xiphilinus possessed by Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514-1585)<sup>82</sup>; with Petros Karnabakas<sup>83</sup> – another copyist linked to Arnout and Mendoza – in the few folios of Basil. F. VI. 46, containing Euripides' *Electra*; and with Manuel Glunzounios<sup>84</sup> in Monac. gr. 392, a miscellany of mainly philosophical texts.

In this cluster of manuscripts in which Valeriano works in collaboration with other copyists, I have noticed that he does not play the role of coordinator (or leader) in charge of the copying activity, but merely lends his services maintaining a certain autonomy: so far, in fact, I have found no clues suggesting that Valeriano plays a role beyond that of scribe. He mainly collaborates with copyists linked, roughly, to Pellicier and Zanetti on the one hand, and to Mendoza and Arnout on the other. Although a simplified bipartition<sup>85</sup>, this

<sup>79</sup> I propose here this identification with the benefit of the doubt even if the handwriting present in the margins of Berol. Phill. 1423 (on ff. 7r [inner margin], 8v [outer margin], 10r [lower outer corner («γραπτέον οὐκ ἀληθέουσαι»)], 11rv [outer margin], 12r and 12v [inner margin], 13rv [outer margin], 14r, 15r-16r, 17r, 18r-19r, 20rv, 21v-22v, 24r) shows all of Bartolomeo Zanetti's graphic features, such as the tracing of single letters like *epsilon*, *lambda*, *rbo*, *tau*, and of ligatures like *delta-iota*, *epsilon-rbo*, double *tau*. The script though is here remarkably cursive (more than is usual in his handwriting), but nonetheless with the axis oriented to the right, as is usual for Zanetti.

<sup>80</sup> On this scribe RGK II 435, III 511, and CATALDI PALAU 1986a, pp. 200, 224.

<sup>81</sup> See GAMILLSCHEG 1991 and CATALDI PALAU 2000, pp. 100-101.

<sup>82</sup> About him see the entry in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, FRAGNITO 2018, and the recent *Proceedings* edited by CLAUSI - LUCÀ 2018.

<sup>83</sup> RGK I 346, II 474, III 551. See also BRAVO GARCÍA 1982.

<sup>84</sup> RGK I 248, II 341, III 409; see also the recent contribution by PAPADAKI 2021.

<sup>85</sup> It is known that Zanetti not only worked copiously for Pellicier, but also served Mendoza in copying Oxon. Auct. E. I. II [*diktyon* 46991] and Oxon. St. John's College, 32 mentioned above; so did Pachys, close to both ambassadors.

classification helps to clarify the network of relations that bound copyists and patrons together, and to better delineate the dynamics that took place in this still little-known environment between the Palazzo Ducale and the monastery of Sant'Antonio.

On the contrary, in the manuscripts copied by Valeriano on his own, important sources are undoubtedly the *colophons* where he takes care to indicate analytically the date, appreciable especially to better contextualize the copying activity and to evaluate his rhythms of work.

As is well known, cases in which scribes take care to note the conclusion of their work specifically in detail are not common<sup>86</sup>; what is more, as in the case of Valeriano, *colophons* are not written with systematicity and regularity (see TABLES 1 and 2). It is not always clear what needs may have urged the copyist to fix his act of copying over time, whether the needs of the trade or requirements related to social and private life<sup>87</sup>. Nevertheless, *colophons* are an essential point for following Valeriano's work in Venice and for understanding, at least in part, the development of his activity and his relationships within the *milieu* in which he operated. Precisely in the case of Valeriano, it is not clear when he felt the need to offer a reasonably accurate indication to mark the formal conclusion of the engagement between patron on the one hand and librarian or scribe on the other. Indeed, the reasons why Valeriano was sometimes very specific in determining the conclusion of the copying act and, at other times, was instead very vague, are not known. In the *colophons* of this period, mostly penned in the same distinctive red ink used for titles and rubrics, Valeriano (see TABLE 3):

1. specified day/month/year six times (Escor. X. I. 04, Lond. Add. 10063, Par. gr. 473, Par. gr. 1687, Par. gr. 1830 [unit I], Taur. B. V. 20);
2. specified month/year two times (Berol. Phill. 1520 [see Plate 1] and Berol. Phill. 1525);
3. indicated just the year five times (Eton Ms. 2921, Montepess. 127, Par. gr. 1830 [unit II], Par. gr. 2376, Vat. Barb. gr. 252);
4. simply subscribed under his own name in Berol. Phill. 1549.

<sup>86</sup> For a brief survey of the usage in the Latin West, I mainly refer to DEROLEZ 1995; REYNHOUT 2006, PAPAĞAGI 2016 and SCHIEGG 2016. For the Greek context I refer especially to the work by GAMILLSCHEG 1995 (with previous bibliography); see also DE GREGORIO 1995a, especially about the different levels of graphic education of copyists in the act of copying manuscripts and copying *colophons*.

<sup>87</sup> SUPINO MARTINI 1995.

In addition, it can be observed that Valeriano writes his name in different ways, providing different information, according to a varying order; I have grouped the full transcriptions of the block related to his name in TABLE 3, to show also how the spelling fluctuates from one specimen to another. For completeness, I have transcribed in full in TABLE 4 the *colophons* of the manuscripts belonging to this ‘second Venetian period’.

To supplement the evidence inferable from the manuscripts, Pellicier’s rich correspondence, referred to several times in this investigation, again becomes useful. Wishing to deepen the relationship between the copying activity and the many duties connected with the role of canon at the Venetian monastery, Pellicier’s letter n. 212 to Cardinal Alessandro Cesarini (d. 1542) is illuminating:<sup>88</sup> according to it, the copyist appears absorbed by so many commitments distracting him from his copying task, even keeping him away from the monastery of Sant’Antonio. On 11 June 1541, the French ambassador therefore writes this letter to Cardinal Cesarini asking him to relieve Valeriano of some of his duties: «venendo io in Italia, mi fu dal mio principe tra gli altri principali incharchi strettamente commesso, che io dovessi proveder in Italia de tutti quei libri greci che sariano giudicati degni d’esser posti nella libreria, che con gran contento di tutti e dotti prepara di fare, et fin hora non son manchato di far quanto per me è stato possibile, et non pochi le ne ho fatti avere, che erano in queste libreria di Venetia. Ma son stato quasi in mezzo corso intrattenuto con gravissimo mio discomodo et dispiacere, perche havendo io un certo padre fra Valeriano, dell’ordine di San Augustino de canonici regolari, il qual mi servirea qui in San Anthonio à riscrivere, et a riscontrare, m’è a questo capitolo da molti occupationi suto impedito» (= «When I came to Italy, I was strictly ordered by my prince, among other principal duties, to provide in Italy all those Greek books considered worthy of being placed in the library, something that I am preparing to do with the great satisfaction of all scholars; and so far I have not failed to do all that has been possible for me, and I have obtained many texts that were in the Venetian library. But I have been almost in the middle of my task with great discomfort and sorrow, because, although I have a certain father, the canon Valeriano, of the order of Saint Augustine of the canonical Regulars, who would serve me here in Sant’Antonio to write and verify, he has been prevented by many occupations given to him from the Capitolo»). He also writes to Agostino Steuco to support his request to the Capitolo, «vedendo io che’l prior de Santo Anthonio non dà minori occupationi a fra Valeriano hora, che

<sup>88</sup> TAUSSERAT-RADEL 1899, p. 321, letter n. 212.

desse avanti, che havesse ricevuta la lettera del R<sup>mo</sup> et Ill<sup>mo</sup> Grimani molto calda in favor mio ... ragionai per lo spatio di tre hore [i.e. with him], et prontamente mi promise farmi far copia di quanti libri io voleva» (= «Seeing that the Prior of Sant'Antonio gives Valeriano no less task now than before having received Grimani's very heartfelt letter in my favour ... I spoke with him for three hours, and he promptly promised me that he would let him copy as many books as I wanted»). Valeriano is thus overwhelmed with the occupations of the Capitolo, but, despite the intercession of Cardinal Marino Grimani (1489-1545)<sup>89</sup> in Pellicier's favour, the canon's situation does not seem to improve. And the ambassador is worried about this circumstance, because he especially entrusts Valeriano with the pursuance of his duties: in fact, there is another letter, the one dated 14 December 1541 quoted above, addressed to the Cardinal of Boulogne, in which Pellicier complains about some of the Greeks at his service because of their lack of competence, so much so that, if it were not for his erudite Latin speakers (among which is Valeriano), Pellicier would have difficulty completing the task entrusted to him by the King: «...les Grecz qui sont icy sont la pluspart gens bizarres et peu sçaventz ... sans l'ayde d'aulcuns personnaiges de nostre langue latine, me trouveroys bien empesché de parachever ce que j'ai encommencé»<sup>90</sup> (= «The Greeks who are here are for the most part strange people and not very learned ... without the help of some Western [Latin] people, I would find it very difficult to complete what I have begun»). It thus emerges that the group of copyists working for Pellicier is heterogeneous, made up of Greek and Western men, and seems to be composed not only of professionals but also of men, particularly Greeks, whose competence is not considered up to the task required to them, according to the complaints of the French ambassador. A little further on, he also presents Valeriano with the following words, perorating the cause that was so close to his heart, namely, to completely free the canon from the commitments of the Capitolo: «Dont entre les aultres ayant trouvé ung religieux de Saint Augustin, nommé Valériano, fort docte et bon escripvain en grec, et l'ayant jà assez longtemps expérimenté, je désyreroys grandement pour le service du roy le pouvoir recouvrer...»<sup>91</sup> (= «Among others, having found a religious of Sant'Agostino, named Valeriano, a very learned and good scribe in Greek, and having already experimented with him for some time, I greatly desire to be able to have him for the service of the King»). The ambassador goes on in his request

<sup>89</sup> About him see above note 60.

<sup>90</sup> TAUSSEERAT-RADEL 1899, p. 482, letter n. 318.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibidem*. See also the letter n. 95 above mentioned (notes 39, 61).

asking also for the pope's intercession, if necessary, to get Valeriano even to leave the order, thus securing the full availability of his favourite copyist in Venice. However, as emerges from the studies conducted by Giovanni Mercati, Valeriano does not obtain secularization, since it is known that in September 1543 he is still at the Camaldolese monastery, subscribing and apostrophising himself in Par. gr. 473 (f. 238r) as «κανονικός τῆς πολιτείας καλουμένης τοῦ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν»<sup>92</sup>. Moreover, not only he did not achieve secularisation, but neither, so it seems, a reduction in his commitments towards the Capitolo. In fact, Valeriano was in charge of copying manuscripts even in the years after 1541 – that is, throughout the whole period he spent in Venice: but, from 1541 onwards, the workload he had to face became so heavy that it possibly have caused a slowdown in the rhythm of his activity compared to the first two years (1539-1540), as will be seen in the next paragraph (2.c).

In TABLES 5-6 I list the manuscripts (both with and without *colophons*) penned by Valeriano Albini in the period between 1539 and 1543<sup>93</sup>. Among the 18 manuscripts attributable to this five-year period, ten codices are copied – probably on commission – for the private library of Guillaume Pellicier<sup>94</sup>; three for the king of France through the Cremonese humanist Girolamo Fondulo<sup>95</sup> and Pellicier himself; and two others for the book collection of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza<sup>96</sup>. To the present the patronage and the destination of three manuscripts – Eton, MS 2921 (K.I.II), Par. gr. 1687 and Taur. B. V. 20 – are unknown.

The numerical discrepancy between the manuscripts destined for Pellicier's personal library (10) and the specimens that flowed into the French Royal Library (3) is rather significant, as it seems to suggest on the one hand the greater effort expressed by Valeriano in enriching Pellicier's personal collection and, on

<sup>92</sup> For the full transcript of this *subscriptio* see below TABLE 4.

<sup>93</sup> I have taken into consideration all the manuscripts written in 1543, including the codex finished in September when Pellicier had already returned to France, in order to calculate the daily average over the entire year.

<sup>94</sup> There may be eleven codices belonging to the library of Pellicier. In fact, although the provenance of Par. gr. 1687 is unknown, this manuscript bears the same gilded coat of arms of the Strozzi family that is also present on the 'alla greca' binding in Berol. Phill. 1639, which came into Pellicier's collection as a gift from the Florentine family. It is possible (but not certain) that Par. gr. 1687 may also have had the same history as Berol. Phill. 1639. About the provenance of this codex see CATALDI PALAU 2011, p. 19.

<sup>95</sup> On Fondulo's (Pellicier's predecessor in Venice) activities as a valuable intermediary for the King of France in the discovery and research of Greek manuscripts and books, see mainly PIOVAN 1977 and ALONGE 2019, pp. 168-169.

<sup>96</sup> MARTÍNEZ MANZANO 2018, pp. 340 note 71 (Escor. X. I. 04), 373 (Vat. Barb. gr. 252).

the other, consequently, his lesser effort in contributing to increase the French royal library. This situation is more likely the result of the specific will not so much of the copyist as of Pellicier, who worked hard and meticulously to expand his own library collection and was extremely confident in the expertise of the canon of Castello – as is clear from the Frenchman’s correspondence: Pellicier, therefore, seems to have commissioned and kept for himself some copies penned by Valeriano even when the relevant texts were lacking in the royal library, and hired the copyist directly for his own personal project, almost neglecting (or putting on the back burner, as it were) the interests of his King. And this seems plausible for more than half of the texts transmitted by Valeriano’s manuscripts for Pellicier’s private library, which are lacking in the well-known catalogue of Greek codices from Fontainebleau compiled by Angelos Bergikios and handed down by Par. gr. 3064 [*diktyon* 52709]<sup>97</sup>. I think this is relevant information, as it suggests that the copying of such works was the result of an exclusive choice expressly made by Pellicier to populate his own library: the ambassador, therefore, did not simply have duplicate texts requested by the King, but commissioned them independently, according to his own tastes and discretion.

In some cases, it is possible to identify the contents of the codices transcribed by Valeriano for Pellicier’s library in the French Royal Library catalogue. However, since the descriptions of individual items in the royal catalogue are not always detailed and analytical, comparing the authors present in the manuscripts with their respective catalogue’s entries does not always make it possible to tell whether a text transcribed for Pellicier was not also transcribed for the King because it was already in the Royal Library. Furthermore, it is also necessary to consider that Valeriano’s manuscripts, as they appear nowadays, are often made up of more than one codicological unit produced by him at different times, that might have circulated separately at least for a certain period of time; therefore, in the case of composite manuscripts, when comparing the codices of Valeriano with the Fontainebleau catalogue, it is appropriate to take their peculiar structure into due consideration and proceed by evaluating the codicological units separately.

Here below I briefly illustrate what emerges from an initial comparison with Bergikios’ catalogue; for each manuscript copied by Valeriano for Pellicier I have indicated the author and/or the text that possibly finds a match in

<sup>97</sup> The catalogue written by Angelos Bergikios can be dated between 1544 – the year in which the library of Blois was incorporated into that of Fontainebleau – and 1546 – for the mention of the cardinal of Armagnac whose books were transferred to the royal library by the end of 1545. See OMONTE 1889, p. 355.

the Fontainebleau catalogue, pointing out whether the identification concerns the entire content of the manuscript, one of its codicological units (in the case of a composite manuscript) or only one of its parts:

1. the miscellaneous works by Synesius preserved in the composite manuscript Leid. BPG 67B (unit I [= ff. 1-300]) seem to be identifiable with n. 111 of the catalogue<sup>98</sup>: «**Συνεσίου** λόγοι διάφοροι»;
2. a part of the homogeneous codex Montpress. 127 (ff. 33-50, i.e. the works by Themistius) could be (very) dubiously linked to the catalogue item n. 142<sup>99</sup>: «**Θεμιστίου** ἅπαντα»;
3. there is a possible correspondence between the item n. 167 of the catalogue and the work by Polyaeus handed down by the homogeneous Par. gr. 1687 (*Stratagemata* by Polyaeus), albeit this content appears among other titles which are however absent in the Parisinus: «**Αἰλιανού** ποικίλη ἱστορία, καὶ **Πολυαίνου** στραταγήματα, καὶ μονωδία Κωνσταντινουπόλεως»<sup>100</sup>.

Among the manuscripts made by Valeriano for Pellicier, those exemplars with authors/texts untraceable in the Fontainebleau catalogue are all the others, namely: Berol. Phill. 1423 (ORIGENES, *Philocalia*); Berol. Phill. 1520 (DAMASCIUS, *Quaestiones et solutiones de primis principiis; Quaestiones et solutiones in Platonis Parmenidem*)<sup>101</sup>; Berol. Phill. 1525 (PALLADIUS, *Commentarius in Hippocratis librum sextum de morbis popularibus* [= unit I])<sup>102</sup>; Berol. Phill. 1548 (ISAAC ARGYRUS, *Methodus geodesiae* [= unit II])<sup>103</sup>; Berol. Phill.

<sup>98</sup> OMONT 1889, p. 361. This title is already present at the n. 41 of the above-mentioned list by Foudulo (OMONT 1889, p. 372).

<sup>99</sup> OMONT 1889, p. 362.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 363.

<sup>101</sup> The items nn. 80 and 115 of the catalogue of Fontainebleau deal with works by Iohannes Damascenus (OMONT 1889, pp. 359 and 361), but their content does not seem to match with that of Berol. Phill. 1520; furthermore, at n. 108 (OMONT 1889, p. 360) there is a manuscript with the generic content «*Δαμασκηγός*», identified by Omont (*ibidem*, p. 360 note 108) in Par. gr. 1120, witness containing two works by Damascenus not present among those written by Valeriano, i.e. *Dialectica* [CPG 8041] and *Expositio Fidei* [CPG 8043].

<sup>102</sup> The content of the second unit of Berol. Phill. 1525, written by Joannes Katelos (ff. 99-111, i.e. only Galenus' text, and not Palladius') is possibly identifiable with the n. 181 of the inventory: «*Γαληνού εἰς τὸ περὶ διαίτης Ἱπποκράτους, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ*» (OMONT 1889, p. 360). The peculiar interest of Pellicier towards Galenus is well known from the epistolary, where Pellicier asked Rabelais to try obtaining the best manuscripts with Galenus' works and have them copied: about the relationship between Rabelais and the French ambassador see especially HUCHON 2021, p. 41. On the other hand, there is no trace of the Palladian work transmitted by the first unit copied by Valeriano.

<sup>103</sup> The item n. 207 (OMONT 1889, p. 365) matches with the content of the second unit, which is written by Joannes Katelos: «*Ἡρωνος γεωδασία, καὶ Εὐκλείδου, καὶ περὶ μέτρων*».

1549 (IOHANNES PHILOPONUS, *In Nicomachi introductionem arithmeticae I-II* [recensio II]); Lond. Add. 10063 (OLYMPIODORUS PHILOSOPHUS, *In Platonis Phaedonem commentarius*, and *In Philebum*); some sections of the above mentioned Montpess. 127 (in particular the works by IULIANUS [ff. 1-18, 50-64] and THEOPHRASTUS [ff. 19-31]); Par. gr. 1954 (PRISCIANUS, *Interpretatio Theophrasti De sensu*, and *Interpretatio Theophrasti De phantasia*); and Voss. gr. Q. 13 (ALBINUS [ALCINOUS], *Introductio in Platonem* [= unit V]).

By comparing these data inferable from the manuscripts copied by Valeriano with Bergikios' catalogue, it emerges that the texts commanded to Valeriano by Pellicier, which are absent at Fontainebleau, have not been copied also for the King of France, but solely and exclusively for his ambassador. This situation may have occurred because: 1) the King was not interested in these texts and authors, or because 2) Pellicier kept Valeriano only at his own service, committing himself – with tastes and desires partly different from those of his sovereign – more to the constitution of his own collection than to the royal one, at least as far as Valeriano's activity is concerned. The outlined situation is certainly peculiar, since – we should not forget – one of Pellicier's main duties in Venice was finding and having Greek manuscripts copied for the King. With Mercati we could therefore say that «Valeriano fosse ritenuto dall'intelligente Pellicier ... il copista da accaparrare prima di tutti in Venezia, dove non mancavano Greci»<sup>104</sup>.

### 2.c. The copying activity of Valeriano and his rhythm of works

Assuming that Valeriano's copying activity was absorbed by the task of transcribing codices for Pellicier rather than for the King of France, the data in our possession, namely the manuscripts and the *colophons*, give us the opportunity to go into the details of that activity, measuring the rhythm of his work. In TABLES 5 and 6 I have arranged the manuscripts written during this 'second Venetian period' respectively provided with *colophon* and without, adding some material indications, such as the total number of *recto* and *verso*, lines per folio and letters per line.

The sample of data collected is not particularly large but, with a total of 18 manuscripts, it nevertheless allows for some consideration about Valeriano's work, albeit provisional since new manuscripts ascribable to this 'second Venetian period' may still emerge in future investigations; these data, though temporary, have been found to be in line with the epistolary data (as will be seen).

<sup>104</sup> MERCATI 1952, p. 167.

Future comparison of the data from these manuscripts with others copied in the rest of Valeriano's activity will also allow the overview to be supplemented and corrected by comparative evaluations as well.

The characteristics of the manuscripts of this period are rather homogeneous, as is generally the case with all Valeriano's production in his nearly two decades of activity: the layout of the folios is regular, with wide blank margins, and a very simple writing-frame with only two double external lines ruled with *tabula ad rigandum*; the number of lines is mostly between 30 and 32, especially in the specimens that Valeriano writes alone; the average number of lines per folio is instead more variable in the cases where he collaborates within the same unit with other copyists, as happens very clearly in Berol. Phill. 1423 (in which Valeriano only transcribes the first few folios, before passing the work on to Alfonso da Cortona), and in Leid. BPG 67B (where he collaborates with Ioannes Katelos, who subscribes the unit to March 1543). The number of letters per line is also a fairly regular datum, based on the codices that I have been able to analyse in detail: in the exemplars with *colophons*, the length of the lines reveals a situation of high control from Valeriano in the arrangement of the text within the overall layout of each line and page. The decoration is simple; the friezes and initials (both major and minor) are written in red ink, a type of decoration that does not slow down a linear copying activity. Therefore, almost the entire writing surface is occupied by the text, without excessive blank space delimiting the different textual sections (for an example see Plate 2). Valeriano's writing, which can be ascribed to the group of the so-called 'baroque' scripts of the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>105</sup>, also displays uniform characteristics in this 'second Venetian period': the *ductus* is cursive, the tracing exuberant though controlled<sup>106</sup>, with fluttering strokes at the ends of letters and accents; the size of the letters is homogeneous; the swellings are especially at letters with rounded form, located most frequently (but not only) at the beginning of the written lines.

Based on the material data taken from the manuscripts referable to the period 1539-1543 we can try to hypothesize the copying rhythms sustained by Valeriano, keeping in mind a variable that cannot be 'measured', namely, the commitments related to his duties as canon and librarian at the monastery of Sant'Antonio, repeatedly complained about in Pellicier's letters<sup>107</sup>. In addition,

<sup>105</sup> HARLFINGER 1977, p. 337. See also the overview by ELEUTERI - CANART 1991, p. 15.

<sup>106</sup> In only two cases in this period the manuscripts penned by Valeriano show a more accentuated cursive *ductus* and a more neglected layout: these are Berol. Phill. 1423 and Berol. Phill. 1548.

<sup>107</sup> See above paragraph 2.b.

as Shooner himself warns in relation to the speed of copying in the case of the *peciae*<sup>108</sup>, the variable circumstances affecting the copying rhythms are numerous and can change considerably, even given the assumed professionalism of the copyist; these are, for example: the variable clarity of the copy model; the changing light conditions; the support more or less willing to receive the writing; the greater or lesser knowledge of the copied text. In addition, as Gumbert notes, there are factors intrinsic to writing, such as the *ductus* and the dimensions of the letters; then there is the variable of time dedicated to copying work (which is usually inversely proportional to the performance of the copyist), even during the hours when the canon is free from monastic duties, and the issue of Sundays, during which monks could devote themselves to writing if the activity is intended as part of spiritual edification<sup>109</sup>. Eventually, one could also add the daily efficiency limit of the copyist, the possible downtimes during the work of transcription<sup>110</sup>, as well as the time devoted to the preliminary stages of writing, such as the preparation of the support and the setting up of the layout by ruling the sheets (with *tabula ad rigandum* in the case of Valeriano). These are difficult components to evaluate in the abstract and to render into the count.

Moreover, in our case it is also necessary to consider in the computation the five manuscripts which, although they were certainly penned for Pellicier while Valeriano was in Venice, do not convey any indication of date or place. Consequently, in order to calculate the work rhythms of our canon in his ‘second Venetian period’, I will calculate the average daily work he achieved over the five Venetian years and year by year, distributing evenly over the five years the total number of sheets of these undated specimens.

Considering the single folio (with *recto* and *verso* singularly counted) as the unit of measurement, and six working days per week – therefore excluding Sundays – these are the data obtained for the number of folios written in a year, in a month, in a week, and in a day<sup>111</sup>:

<sup>108</sup> SHOONER 1988, p. 34.

<sup>109</sup> GUMBERT 1995, p. 58.

<sup>110</sup> For these last two variables I refer to the Seminar organised in 2022 by the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze entitled *I tempi della copia*, with papers by Martina Lanza, Annarita Armillotta, and David Speranzi (on the copying activity of the Cretan scribe Ioannes Rhosos). The seminar (streamed online: <https://www.youtube.com/live/n5jsZZ232cM?si=cOuIiMV3DZSovOww>) focused on the copying rhythms of medieval copyists elaborated (in the case of the surveys carried out by Lanza and Armillotta) on the basis of the chronological indications of the *Manoscritti Datati d'Italia* series (henceforth *MDI*).

<sup>111</sup> For statistical practice I have rounded to the first decimal.

Fig. 1. Overview of the annual average of folios written by Valeriano

<i>Year</i>	<i>Folios per year</i>	<i>Folios per month</i>	<i>Folios per week</i>	<i>Folios per day</i>
1539	1049.6	87.5	20.2	3.4
1540	1428.6	119.1	27.5	4.6
1541	593.6	49.5	11.4	1.9
1542	610.6	50.9	11.7	2
1543	728.6	60.7	14	2.3

In order to have a more precise estimate, I have taken as an additional unit the number of lines penned by Valeriano. Although I do not have all the data for each manuscript<sup>112</sup>, I believe that the average calculated for the productivity in relation to lines is plausibly close to reality, since the copyist uses – within the manuscript production of this period – a fairly constant number of lines, containing approximately a regular number of letters, for an average of 43 letters per line.

Fig. 2. Overview of the annual average of lines written by Valeriano

<i>Year</i>	<i>Lines per year</i>	<i>Lines per month</i>	<i>Lines per week</i>	<i>Lines per day</i>
1539	31404.4	3587	603.9	100.7
1540	43044.4	1477	827.8	138
1541	17724.4	1541.5	340.9	56.8
1542	18497.9	1768	355.7	59.3
1543	21215.4	3587	408	68

Generally speaking, it can be seen that in the first two years (1539-1540) the daily average of 3.4 folios (*recto, verso*) is higher than the data provided by studies conducted so far on dated Latin and vernacular manuscripts, exhibiting an average of: a) 2.85 folios per day according to Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato (1980)<sup>113</sup>, and b) about 2-3 folios per day according to Johann Peter Gumbert (1995)<sup>114</sup>. On

<sup>112</sup> Indeed, data are missing from the destroyed specimen Eton, MS 2921 (K.1.11) and from the manuscripts that I have not been able to view (Leid. BPG 67B, Montpess. 127, Voss. gr. Q. 13), about which I could trace from the cataloguing descriptions only the number of lines, but not the number of letters per line.

<sup>113</sup> Data obtained from a sample of 63 manuscripts: BOZZOLO - ORNATO 1983.

<sup>114</sup> Survey carried out on a sample of about 400 manuscripts: GUMBERT 1995, p. 61. Another paper focused on the speed of copying is LUNA 1989.

the contrary, the calculated average proves to be indicatively closer to the data emerged during the recent seminar organized by the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence *I tempi della copia*<sup>115</sup>: the calculated average is 4.5 folios/day and 164 lines/day, compared to Valeriano's average of 3.4 folios/day (in 1539) and 4.6 folios/day (in 1540), with an average of 100.7 lines/day (in 1539) and 138 lines/day (in 1540).

In the following three years the rhythm of work sharply decreases: 56.8 lines/day (in 1541) and 59.3 lines/day (in 1542), i.e., an average of 1.9 folios/day and 2 folios/day (in 1541 and 1542, respectively); and 68 lines/day (in 1543) and 2.3 folios/day, equivalent to almost two and a half sides per day in the last year spent in Venice.

It is clear that the daily average that can be obtained from the data shows a sharp discrepancy between the first two years and the last three, with a decrease in productivity that is around 50%: the average calculated over the first two-year period is 4 folios/day (equivalent to 119.3 lines/day), compared with an average of 2.1 folios/day for the following three years (corresponding to 61.4 lines/day).

On the other hand, if Valeriano had maintained the average of 3 folios/day, i.e., in line with Bozzolo's and Ornato's, and Gumbert's data, we could assume that the canon worked 290 days per year in the first two-year period (1539-1540), and 211 days per year in the following three-year period (1541-1543); taking instead the average of the *MDI*, i.e., 4.5 folios/day, Valeriano would have dedicated 196 days per year to copying task in the first two-year period (1539-1540), and only 95.4 days per year in the following three-year period (1541-1543).

The clear decrease in the amount of work expressed between 1541 and 1543 can perhaps be explained by the workload of the commitments linked to the Capitolo that Valeriano had to deal with, and of which Pellicier's correspondence gives us evidence, particularly in the letter of 11 June 1541 mentioned above. Or, it cannot even be ruled out that this decrease in productivity may lead us to assign precisely between 1541 and 1543 the manuscripts that were certainly copied in this period of interest but lacking a *colophon*.

The year 1540 is appreciable as a specific case study as it provides more detailed information regarding Valeriano's work. Considering, in particular, the end of the year 1540, it is possible to say something more about the rhythm of his work within the realization of a specific manuscript: on the basis of the information provided by his *colophon*, on 8 November 1540 the canon finished

<sup>115</sup> About this seminar see note 110. In addition to these two indicators (folio/line), also the number of letters was also calculated and used as an indicator of working speed and productivity.

Par. gr. 1687, consisting of 315 folios, and completed about a month later, in early December (according to what he wrote in the *colophon*), Berol. Phill. 1525, consisting of 196 folios (with the usual average of 30 lines per folio). Assuming that Valeriano 1) started Berol. Phill. 1525 the day after finishing Par. gr. 1687 (i.e., 9 November), and 2) finished the Berolinensis by 10 December (i.e., early December, as the *colophon* reads: «μηνὸς δεκεμβρι(ου) ιστάντ(ος)»), the copyist would have worked 32 days in total, averaging 6.1 folios/day and 183.8 lines/day, thus clearly exceeding the annual average, which, according to the calculations proposed earlier, is around 4.6 folios/day and 138 lines/day for 1540. On the other hand, we cannot know if Valeriano started Berol. Phill. 1525 before finishing Par. gr. 1687, and thus worked on both manuscripts simultaneously for at least some time. If so, the daily average may have been different, but we have no evidence as to whether Valeriano ever dedicated himself to several works at once or whether he preferred to devote himself to one task at a time.

There is also another manuscript to consider in support of the data collected for the year 1540: in late July Valeriano, according to the autograph *colophon*, completed Berol. Phill. 1520 (see Plate 1), consisting of 712 folios (with an average of 30 lines each): assuming the annual average calculated for the year 1540 (i.e., of 4.6 folios/day and 138 lines/day), Valeriano would have completed the manuscript in 154.8 days. Since he finished the manuscript at the end of July, this would mean that the copyist could have started it 5.2 months earlier, that is, during February of the same year, or, considering the Easter days as a period of inactivity, towards the end of January. This is an interesting datum, in my opinion, since it clearly shows that Valeriano, although he finished only one manuscript in the entire first half of the year, plausibly devoted himself to his copying activity with the rhythm of work usual for him up to that time (referable to the two-year period 1539-1540).

Another curious case, although very different from what happened in 1540, concerns the two manuscripts completed in December 1541, Taur. B. V. 20 (4 December) and Lond. Add. 10063 (31 December). Supposing that Valeriano started Lond. Add. 10063 on 5 December (i.e. the day after he finished the Turin manuscript), we may assume that he worked about 23/25 days (thus considering a break for the religious holiday of Christmas) at a very high rate of about 11/12 folios/day compared to the average calculated for this year 1541 (i.e. 1.9 folios/day). Considering, therefore, the very consistent amount of work that Valeriano would have maintained to finish Lond. Add. 10063 in this short period of time, we may assume with some plausibility that the copyist in this case did not work on one manuscript at a time, but on two manuscripts simultaneously as early as November (contrarily to the more dubious case of Par. gr. 1687 and Berol. Phill.

1525 seen before): he may have finished first Taur. B. V. 20, and later, by the end of the month, he would also have completed the second manuscript, probably in according to the timetable of his patron's commissions. It is certainly curious that, based on the information from the manuscripts and their relevant *colophons*, Valeriano seemed to be less prolific throughout 1541, copying two manuscripts just towards the end of the year, even if to the present day we have no data that would allow us to better understand what Valeriano actually did during the first part of 1541, whether he copied one or more of the manuscripts without *colophons*, for instance. The low productivity that Valeriano's activity seems to face between 1541 and 1543 is actually 'relative' to the productivity he expressed during the first two years in Venice, and not 'absolute', as the average calculated for this three-year period (1.9 folios/day in 1541; 2 folios /day in 1542; 2.3 folios / day in 1543) is just slightly lower than the average illustrated above, calculated by Bozzolo, Ornato and Gumbert (about 2-3 folio per day). An overall analysis of the copying times Valeriano expressed throughout his career certainly remains to be done, in order to have a complete frame of reference.

### 3. First conclusions

From this initial analysis on Valeriano's manuscripts and Pellicier's correspondence, as well as on the basis of the available bibliography, it has been possible to acquire new data on the Venetian context in which Valeriano operates, especially in relation to his main patron, Pellicier. For the latter, in fact, the canon transcribes many more specimens than for any other patron; and only Valeriano, among the other Western copyists in Pellicier's service, is mentioned several times in his letters and identified by name. The ambassador esteems and expresses appreciation for Valeriano, and hires him to transcribe texts destined for his personal library: but, according to the epistolary evidence, this activity of the canon is sometimes slowed down by his numerous commitments for the Capitolo, from which Pellicier in fact tries to free him.

Indeed, he directly asks Valeriano to copy a variety of texts for his own library, even when they are lacking in the French library at Fontainebleau, thus sidelining the assignment he was given by the King himself: this situation has been verified for more than half of the works transmitted from the manuscripts copied by Valeriano for Pellicier's library collection. As I have already mentioned in this paper, the sketched situation is particularly important to understand how the ambassador chose and collected texts and manuscripts for himself: the commissioning of the works of his interest, regardless of the

King's wishes and requests, was the result of an exclusive choice of Pellicier, who, therefore, did not simply ask for a duplicate of the texts requested by the King, but also for others independently, according to his own taste.

While awaiting further data that may emerge as part of the project now ongoing on Pellicier's book collection, it is already possible to have a more precise overview of the circle of copyists at his service; indeed, it has emerged from the epistolary evidence that there were several lay copyists active at the monastery of Sant'Antonio and, in particular, some Greeks at his service, whose preparation he lamented. Pellicier does not hesitate to write that if it were not for the men *de nostre langue latine* he would be in trouble to complete the task he began: «sans l'ayde d'aulcuns personnaiges de nostre langue latine, me trouveroys bien empesché de parachever ce que j'ai encommencé»<sup>116</sup>.

Furthermore, Valeriano's specific skills also begin to emerge more clearly, as he is involved in collecting antigraphs – also because of his role as librarian at the library of Sant'Antonio's – and in the transcription of the specimens; but the analysis of the manuscripts suggests that the canon is never involved in collating the texts copied by him or by other scribes.

Specifically regarding Valeriano's copying activity, the manuscripts he transcribes during the 'second Venetian period' show very homogenous characteristics of preparation, layout and decoration. In all these codices, Albini works alone and prefers to seal the completion of his work with a speaking *colophon*, containing variable information presented on the basis of a sort of simple canvas consisting of the name block and topical elements: he never specifies the patron – who was of a high level – but tends to be more precise in describing the geographical and temporal coordinates of his copy. When he specifies that he completed the drafting of the copy at Sant'Antonio di Castello, he undoubtedly wishes to relate his copy to the provenance of the antigraph from Sant'Antonio, perhaps also to suggest the reliability of the model, recovered from the renowned Grimani's library. With regard to codices written in this period, and on the basis of the studies conducted by Sicherl on the antigraphs used by Valeriano<sup>117</sup>, it is possible to ascertain that for most codices (with few exceptions) showing the specification of the place of copying at Castello, the corresponding antigraph belonged to the Grimani's library. Numerically speaking, the verified copies are 9 out of 12<sup>118</sup>.

<sup>116</sup> TAUSSEERAT-RADEL 1899, p. 482, letter n. 318.

<sup>117</sup> SICHERL 1982a.

<sup>118</sup> This concerns the following manuscripts: Berol. Phill. 1520, Berol. Phill. 1525, Escor. X. I. 04, Montepess. 127, Par. gr. 1687, Par. gr. 1830, Par. gr. 2376, Taur. B. V. 20, Vat. Barb. gr. 252.

I have therefore considered here the manuscripts produced in Venice during the five-year period 1539-1543 spent at the monastery of Sant'Antonio, but the writing activity of Valeriano Albini deserves further investigation in the future that will analyse his entire period of activity, his manuscripts and their codicological characteristics, and the evolution of his handwriting, peculiar within the graphic landscape of the time because of its accentuated 'baroque' flavour: the perspectives of investigation are thus multiple and concern all the graphic, codicological and cultural aspects of our canon's writing activity, which took place between the monastery of Sant'Antonio in the Sestiere di Castello and Pellicier's residence at the Palazzo Ducale overlooking Piazza San Marco.

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TABLE I. Manuscripts without any *colophon*<sup>119</sup>

N.	<i>Diktyon</i>	Shelfmark	Folios written by Valeriano	Short content of the part written by Valeriano
1	8950	BASEL, Universitätsbibliothek, F. VI. 46	f. 8rv*	EURIPIDES, <i>Electra</i> ( <i>fragmenta</i> )
2	9326	BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz), Ms. Phill. 1423 (19)	ff. 1r-2v, 4r-12r, l. 23*	ORIGENES, <i>Philocalia</i>
3	9449	BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz), Ms. Phill. 1548 (144)	ff. 77r-85v (= unit II)	ISAAC ARGYRUS, <i>Methodus geodesiae</i>
4	9450	BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz), Ms. Phill. 1549 (145)	ff. 1r-159v (= the whole manuscript)	IOHANNES PHILOPONUS, <i>In Nicomachi introductionem arithmeticae I-II [recensio II]</i>
5	65286	CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. gr. 45	ff. 84r-139v (= unit V)	APPIANUS, <i>Historia Romana</i>
6	65353	CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. gr. 111	ff. 1r-142v*	IOHANNES XIPHILINUS MONACHUS, <i>Epitome Historiae Romanae Cassii Dionis</i>
7	15513	EL ESCORIAL (Madrid), Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, y. I. 07 (Andrés 300) <sup>120</sup>	ff. 1r-280v (= the whole manuscript) <sup>121</sup>	- PAPPUS ALEXANDRINUS MATHEMATICUS, <i>Synagoge</i> ; - AUTOLYCUS ASTRONOMUS, <i>De sphaera quae movetur</i> ; - ID., <i>De orbitibus et occasibus</i> ; - HYPsicLES, <i>Anaphoricus</i> ; - ARISTARCHUS SAMIUS ASTRONOMUS, <i>De magnitudinibus et distantibus solis et lunae</i>
8	37617	LEEWARDEN, Tresoar, Fries Historisch en Letterkundig Centrum, 37 (Omont 29)	ff. 1r-102v (= the whole manuscript)	- SYRIANUS PHILOSOPHUS, <i>In Aristotelis metaphysica</i> ; - ID., <i>De Providentia</i>
9	37702	LEIDEN, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPG 67B	ff. 28r-113v <sup>122*</sup> (= section of unit I)	- SYNESIUS CYRENENSIS, <i>Calvitii encomium</i> ; - ID., <i>Dion</i> ; - ID., <i>De providentia sive Aegyptius</i> ; - ID., <i>Oratio de regno ad Arcadium imperatorem</i>
10	38120	LEIDEN, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. gr. Q. 13	ff. 52r-54v (= unit V)	ALBINUS [ALCINOUS], <i>Introductio in Platonem</i>
11	39818	LONDON, British Library, Royal 16 D XIV	ff. 106r-117v (= unit II)	GEORGIUS GEMISTUS PLETHO, <i>Descriptio Thessaliae</i>
12	44840	MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gr. 392	ff. 18r-36r*	DEMETRIUS CYDONES, <i>De contemnenda morte</i>
13	48793	OXFORD, St. John's College, 32	ff. 1r-215v*	EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, <i>Praeparatio evangelica</i>
14	51581	PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 1954	ff. 1r-28r (= the whole manuscript)	- PRISCIANUS PHILOSOPHUS, <i>Interpretatio Theophrasti de Sensu</i> ; - ID., <i>Interpretatio Theophrasti De Phantasia</i>

<sup>119</sup> I have provided a list without actually getting across all structural aspects of Valeriano's manuscripts, although I have taken it into account when analysing the specimens, especially when Valeriano collaborated with other copyists. In fact, for the purpose of this article, I have therefore chosen to address only a few material aspects of the copying activity of Valeriano to better understand his activity.

In the case of a homogeneous manuscript entirely written by Valeriano, I have specified in brackets whether the copyist copied the entire codex. On the contrary, in the case of a manuscript written in collaboration with other scribes, I have indicated just the folios written by Valeriano, by adding an asterisk nearby the number of the folios. If the manuscript is composite, I have specified in brackets the folios and the relevant codicological unit copied by Valeriano; furthermore, I have also specified when Valeriano copied all units of a composite manuscript. I have not indicated the presence of blank sheets.

<sup>120</sup> I couldn't see any image of the manuscript.

<sup>121</sup> Written about 1548 in Rome, in according to the hypothesis proposed by ANDRÉS 1965, pp. 184-186.

<sup>122</sup> Ioannes Katelos wrote a *colophon* on f. 300v, which witnesses the place and the date when this first unit has been completed: Venice, 13 March 1543. Therefore, it is possible that also the folios written by Valeriano could possibly be completed in the same period and in the same place.

TABLE 2. Manuscripts with *colophon* and indication of date and/or place

N.	<i>Diktyon</i>	Shelfmark	Folios written by Valeriano	Date and place	<i>Colophon</i>	Short content of the part written by Valeriano
15	9421	BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz), Ms. Phill. 1520 (116)	ff. 1r-356v (= the whole manuscript)	July 1540, monastery of Sant'Antonio di Castello in Venice	f. 356v (= end of the manuscript)	- DAMASCIUS PHILOSOPHUS, <i>Quaestiones et solutiones de primis principiis</i> ; - ID., <i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Platonis Parmenidem</i>
16	9426	BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz), Ms. Phill. 1525 (121)	ff. 1r-98r (= unit I)	December 1540, monastery of Sant'Antonio di Castello in Venice	f. 98r (= end of unit I)	PALLADIUS MEDICUS, <i>Commentarius in Hippocratis librum sextum de morbis popularibus</i>
17	9560	BERN, Burgerbibliothek, 369 <sup>123</sup>	ff. 1r-18r (= the whole manuscript)	<i>colophon</i> without any indication of date or place	f. 18r (= end of the manuscript)	- DEMETRIUS MOSCHUS, <i>Hypothesis et scholia in Orphei De lapidibus</i> ; - ORPHEUS, <i>De lapidibus</i>
18	9710	BOLOGNA, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1497 (587)	ff. 1r-27r (= unit I)	<i>colophon</i> without any indication of date or place	f. 27r (= end of unit I)	ATHENAGORA ATHENIENSIS, <i>Supplicatio pro Christianis</i>
			ff. 28r-49r (= unit II)	<i>colophon</i> without any indication of date or place	f. 49r (= end of unit II)	ATHENAGORA ATHENIENSIS, <i>De mortuorum resurrectione</i>
			ff. 52r-60v (= unit III)	<i>colophon</i> without any indication of date or place	f. 60v (= end of unit III)	PSEUDO-IUSTINUS, <i>Epistula ad Zenam et Serenum</i>
			ff. 62r-81r (= unit IV)	<i>colophon</i> without any indication of date or place	f. 81r (= end of unit IV)	- PSEUDO-IUSTINUS, <i>Cohortatio ad Gentiles</i> ; - ID., <i>Expositio rectae fidei</i>
			ff. 82r-91v (= unit V)	October 1535 (f. 91v)	f. 91v (= end of unit V)	ORIGENES, <i>Epistula ad Iulium Africanum</i>
			ff. 162r-207v (= unit VII; these last folios are not recorded in <i>RGK</i> ) <sup>124</sup>	7 April 1533 (f. 207v)	f. 207v (= end of unit VII)	- HERON ALEXANDRINUS, <i>De machinis bellicis</i> ; - ID., <i>De geodaesia</i>
19	9718	BOLOGNA, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2290 (220)	the whole manuscript, composed in three units, as follows: ff. 1r-98v (= unit I)	1536, S. Ambrogio monastery in Gubbio (f. 98v)	f. 98v (= end of unit I)	OLYMPIODORUS PHILOSOPHUS, <i>In Platonis Phaedonem commentarius</i>
			ff. 101r-130r (= unit II)	no <i>colophon</i>	---	OLYMPIODORUS PHILOSOPHUS, <i>In Philebum</i>
			ff. 131v-208v (= unit III) <sup>125</sup>	1537, S. Ambrogio monastery in Gubbio (f. 208v)	f. 208v (= end of unit III)	IAMBlichus PHILOSOPHUS, <i>De mysteriis</i>
20	9720	BOLOGNA, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2293 (223)	just the <i>colophon</i> on f. 185r (= unit II) <sup>126</sup>	quires written by Fulgenzio Guglielmi Forlivese in 1529 in the monastery of Sant'Antonio in Venice at the behest of Father Pellegrino Fabretti from Bologna, as we learn from the <i>colophon</i> written by Valeriano Albini	f. 185r (= end of unit II)	THEON SMYRNAEUS PHILOSOPHUS, <i>De utilitate mathematicae</i>

<sup>123</sup> A short description of this manuscript is in OMONT 1886, p. 423, and in ANDRIST 2007, p. 185.

<sup>124</sup> Unit VI is written by Konstantinos Mesobotes.

<sup>125</sup> The second unit is independent of the first, despite the absence of *colophon*, because it has an independent foliation.

<sup>126</sup> On the peculiarities of this manuscript see above paragraph 1 and note 19.

N.	Diktyon	Shelfmark	Folios written by Valeriano	Date and place	Colophon	Short content of the part written by Valeriano
21	9716	BOLOGNA, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2280 (305)	ff. 1r-170v (= unit I)	- tenth day of the month of <i>Ecatombeon</i> 1528, Sant'Antonio monastery in Venice (f. 167v); - 1529, Sant'Antonio monastery in Venice (f. 168r) <sup>127</sup>	ff. 167v, 168r (= end of unit I)	CLAUDIUS PTOLEMAEUS, <i>Geographia</i>
			ff. 309r-322v (= unit IV)	<i>colophon</i> without any indication of date or place	f. 321v (= end of unit IV)	- PORPHYRIUS, <i>Introductio in Tetrabibulum Ptolemaei</i> ; - DEMOPHILUS ASTROLOGUS, <i>Scholia in Ptolemaei opera</i>
22	9721	BOLOGNA, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2294 (21)	ff. 1r-60v (= unit I)	October 1530 (f. 59r)	f. 59r (= end of unit I)	- DEXIPPUS PHILOSOPHUS, <i>In Aristotelis categorias commentarium</i> ; - MICHAEL PSELLUS, <i>De syllogismis</i> ; - HERMES TRISMEGISTUS, <i>Corpus hermeticum</i> I-XIV
			ff. 61r-148r (= unit II)	1 March 1531, monastery of San Salvatore in Bologna (f. 148r)	f. 148r (= end of unit II)	- ALEXANDER APHRODISIENSIS, <i>Quaestiones</i> (liber IV); - ID., <i>Ethicon problematon</i> .
23	9723	BOLOGNA, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2304 (586)	the whole manuscript, composed in two units, as follows: ff. 1r-239v (= unit I)	- 1 December 1532, monastery of Santa Maria Maddalena in Mirandola (f. 239r)	f. 239r (= end of unit I)	EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, <i>Demonstratio Euangelica</i>
			ff. 240r-260v (= unit II)	10 January 1533 (f. 260v)	f. 260v (= end of unit II)	TATIANUS, <i>Oratio ad Graecos</i>
24	64798	CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 252	ff. 41r-112v (= unit II)	1539, Sant'Antonio monastery in Venice (f. 112v)	f. 112v (= end of unit II)	- PORPHYRIUS, <i>Sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes</i> ; - ID., <i>De abstinentia</i>
25	14962	EL ESCORIAL (Madrid), Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, X. I. 04 (Andrés 346)	ff. 1r-112r (= unit I)	1 November 1542, Sant'Antonio monastery in Venice (f. 112r)	f. 112r (= end of unit I)	- EUCLIDES, <i>Catoptrica</i> ; <i>Phaenomena</i> ; <i>Optica</i> ; - THEON ALEXANDRINUS, <i>Recensio Euclidis Opticorum</i> ; - EUCLIDES, <i>Data</i>
			ff. 113r-264v (= unit II)	1542 (f. 264v)	f. 264v (= end of unit II)	- AUTOLYCUS ASTRONOMUS, <i>De sphaera quae movetur</i> ; - ID., <i>De ortibus et occasibus</i> ; - HYPsicLES, <i>Anaphoricus</i> ; - ARISTARCHUS SAMIUS ASTRONOMUS, <i>De magnitudinibus et distantis solis et lunae</i> ; - THEodosius TRIPOLITA, <i>De habitationibus</i> ; - ID., <i>De diebus et noctibus</i> ; - THEON SMYRNAEUS PHILOSOPHUS, <i>De utilitate mathematicae</i>
26	15565	ETON, College Library, Ms. 100 (Bl.1.9)	ff. 1r-70v (= the whole manuscript)	1534, Gubbio (?) <sup>128</sup> (f. 70v) <sup>129</sup>	f. 70v (= end of the manuscript)	- IUSTINUS MARTYR, <i>Epistula Ad Zenam et Serenum</i> ; - ATHENAGORAS, <i>Supplicatio pro Christianis</i> ; - ID., <i>De resurrectione mortuorum</i> ; - TATIANUS, <i>Oratio ad Graecos</i>

<sup>127</sup> These two different *colophons* are written on two consecutive folios and with the same ink, but they record two different dates.

<sup>128</sup> In according to the hypothesis advanced by SICHREL 1982a, p. 330.

<sup>129</sup> I couldn't see the manuscript.

N.	<i>Diktyon</i>	Shelfmark	Folios written by Valeriano	Date and place	Colophon	Short content of the part written by Valeriano
27	15561	ETON, College Library, Ms. 2921 (K.I.II) [manuscript destroyed]	ff. 1r-18r (= the whole manuscript)	1539, Sant'Antonio monastery in Venice (f. 18v)	f. 18r (= end of the manuscript)	DEMETRIUS CYDONES, <i>De contemnenda morte</i>
28	38831	LONDON, British Library, Add. 10063	ff. 1r-141r (= the whole manuscript)	- 31 December 1541, Sant'Antonio monastery in Venice	f. 141r (= end of the manuscript)	- OLYMPIODORUS PHILOSOPHUS, <i>In Platonis Phaedonem commentarius</i> ; - ID., <i>In Philebum</i>
29	42377	MILANO, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 155 sup. (Martini-Bassi 154)	ff. 1r-56v (= the whole manuscript)	1545 (f. 56v)	f. 56v (= end of the manuscript)	EUSTATHIUS MAKREMBOLITES, <i>De Hysmines et Hysminiae amoribus</i>
30	43579	MONTPELLIER, Bibliothèque Universitaire, Section médecine, 127 (Omont 68; 62)	ff. 1r-64v (= the whole manuscript) <sup>130</sup>	1540, Sant'Antonio monastery in Venice (f. 31r)	f. 29v (= end of the manuscript) <sup>131</sup>	- IULIANUS FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS IMPERATOR, <i>Misopogon</i> ; - THEOPHRASTUS PHILOSOPHUS, <i>Characteres</i> ; - THEMISTIUS RHETOR, <i>Basanistes sive philosophus (Or. 21)</i> ; - ID., <i>In patris obitum (Or. 20)</i> ; - IULIANUS FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS IMPERATOR, <i>De sole ad Salustium</i>
31	45991	NAPOLI, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, II A 13	ff. 1r-23r (= the whole manuscript)	September 1534, Sant'Ambrogio monastery in Gubbio (f. 23r)	f. 23r (= end of the manuscript)	ATHENAGORAS, <i>Supplicatio pro Christianis</i>
32	46549	NEW HAVEN, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, 424	ff. 1r-78v (= unit I)	1531, Sant'Antonio monastery in Venice (f. 78v)	f. 78v (= end of unit I)	- PS. EUCLIDES, <i>Catoptrica</i> ; - EUCLIDES, <i>Phaenomena</i> ; - THEON ALEXANDRINUS, <i>Recensio Euclidis Opticorum</i> ; - EUCLIDES, <i>Data</i>
33	50026	PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 452	ff. 107r-228r (= unit II)	end of March 1538, Santa Maria del Vado monastery in Ferrara (f. 217v)	f. 217v (= end of unit II)	- IOHANNES CLIMACUS, <i>Scala paradisi</i> (with DANIEL RAITHENUS, <i>Vita Iohannis Climaci cum epilogo metrico</i> , and <i>Iohannis Rhaiteni et Climaci epistulae mutuae</i> ); - IOHANNES CLIMACUS, <i>Liber ad pastorem</i> ; - IOHANNES RHAITENUS, <i>Epistula ad Iohannem Climacum</i>
34	50047	PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 473	ff. 1r-237r (= the whole manuscript)	4 September 1543, [on rasura the number 3], Sant'Antonio monastery in Venice (f. 238r)	f. 238r (= end of the manuscript)	EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, <i>Demonstratio Euangelica</i>
35	51311	PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 1687	ff. 1r-158r (= the whole manuscript)	8 November 1540, Sant'Antonio monastery in Venice (f. 158v)	f. 158v (= end of the manuscript)	POLYAENUS RHETOR, <i>Strategemata</i>
36	51449	PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 1823	ff. 1r-130r (= unit I)	10 March 1536 (f. 130r)	f. 130r (= end of unit I)	- OLYMPIODORUS PHILOSOPHUS, <i>In Platonis Phaedonem commentarius</i> ; - DAMASCIUS PHILOSOPHUS, <i>In Platonis Phaedonem</i> ; - ID., <i>In Platonis Philebum scholia</i>

<sup>130</sup> The order of the quires has been changed, and it must be restored as follows: ff. 33-64, 1-32.

<sup>131</sup> See the note before.

N.	<i>Diktyon</i>	Shelfmark	Folios written by Valeriano	Date and place	<i>Colophon</i>	Short content of the part written by Valeriano
37	51456	PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 1830	the whole manuscript composed in two units, as follows: ff. 1r-278v (= unit I)	7 March 1539 (f. 277v)	f. 277v (= end of unit I)	PROCLUS PHILOSOPHUS, <i>Theologia Platonica</i>
			ff. 279r-330v (=unit II)	March (f. 330v)	f. 330v (= end of unit II)	PROCLUS PHILOSOPHUS, <i>Institutio theologica</i>
38	52008	PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 2376	ff. 173r-236v (= unit III)	1539, Sant'Antonio monastery in Venice (f. 236v)	f. 236v (= end of unit III)	- GEORGIUS GEMISTUS PLETHO, <i>De virtutibus</i> ; - ID., <i>Contra Scholarii defensionem Aristotelis</i> ; - BESSARION CARDINALIS, <i>Epistulae et quaestiones ad Plethonem</i> ; - GEORGIUS GEMISTUS PLETHO, <i>De differentiis Platonis et Aristotelis</i>
39	15403	EL ESCORIAL (Madrid), Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, T. I. 11 (Revilla 131)	ff. 1r-160v (= unit I)	1545, Rome (f. 160v)	f. 160v (= end of unit I)	- MAXIMUS PLANUDES, <i>Commentarius in Diophanti Arithmetica</i> ; - DIOPHANTUS ALEXANDRINUS MATHEMATICUS, <i>Arithmetica</i> ; - ID., <i>De polygonis numeris</i>
40	56002	ROMA, Biblioteca Angelica, Gr. 96	ff. 1r-50r (= the whole manuscript)	no indication of date or place	f. 50r (= end of the manuscript)	- ATHENAGORAS, <i>De resurrectione mortuorum</i> ; - ID., <i>Supplicatio pro Christianis</i> ; - IUSTINUS MARTYR, <i>Epistula ad Zenam et Serenum</i>
41	63755	TORINO, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, B. V. 20 (Pasini 298)	ff. 1r-114v (= the whole manuscript) <sup>132</sup>	4 December 1541, Sant'Antonio monastery in Venice (f. 114?) <sup>133</sup>	f. 114v (= end of the manuscript)	- HERON ALEXANDRINUS, <i>Pneumatica</i> ; - ID., <i>De automatorum fabrica</i>

<sup>132</sup> The manuscript has been heavily damaged by fire in 1904 (see GRILLO 2019, p. XLII). It corresponds to the ancient shelfmark «c.II.1» of the handwritten catalogue by Francesco Domenico Bencini: see ELEUTERI - ELIA 2024, p. XXII.

<sup>133</sup> The *colophon* was lost because of the fire in 1904.

TABLE 3. Forms and epithets related to Valeriano's name from the manuscripts with *colophons* of the period 1539-1543, grouped for type and chronologically ordered<sup>134</sup>

<i>Name + Provenance + Patronymic + Designation</i>	
Οὐαλεριᾶνος Φορολιβιεὺς ὁ Ἄλβιν(ου) κανονικός	Par. gr. 1830 (unit I); year 1539
Ὁ Οὐαλεριᾶνος Φορολιβιεὺς ὁ Ἄλβίνος, κανονικ(ός)	Lond. Add. 10063; year 1541
Ὁ Οὐαλεριᾶνος Φορολιβιεὺς ὁ Ἄλβιν(ου) μοναχός	Escor. X. I. 04 (unit I); year 1542
Οὐαλεριᾶνος Φορολιβιεὺς ὁ Ἄλβιν(ου) [...] μοναχός	Escor. X. I. 04 (unit II); year 1542
Ὁ Οὐαλεριᾶνος Φορολιβιεὺς ὁ Ἄλβίνου, κανονικ(ός)	Par. gr. 473; year 1543
<i>Designation + Name + Provenance + Patronymic</i>	
Ἄδελφός Βαλεριανός Φορολιβιεὺς ὁ Ἄλβινου	Eton. MS. 2921; year 1539
ὁ ἀδελφός Βαλεριᾶνος Φορολιβιεὺς ὁ Ἄλβίνου	Par. gr. 1830 (unit II); year 1539
Ἄδελφός Οὐαλεριᾶνος Φορολιβιεὺς ὁ Ἄλβιν(ου)	Vat. Barb. gr. 252; year 1539
<i>Name + Designation + Provenance + Patronymic</i>	
Ὁ Οὐαλεριᾶνος μόναχός Φορολιβιεὺς ὁ Ἄλβίνου	Berol. Phill. 1525; year 1540
<i>Name + Provenance + Patronymic</i>	
Οὐαλεριᾶνος Φορολιβιεὺς ὁ Ἄλβιν(ου)	Par. gr. 1687; year 1540
Οὐαλεριανός Φορολιβιεὺς ὁ Ἄλβίνου	Taur. B. V. 20; year 1541
<i>Designation + Name</i>	
Ὁ ἀδελφός Βαλεριανός	Par. gr. 2376; year 1539
<i>Name + Designation</i>	
Οὐβαλεριᾶνός ἀδελφ(ός)	Berol. Phill. 1520; year 1540
Οὐαλεριᾶνος μόναχος	Montepess. 127; year 1540

<sup>134</sup> I have transcribed the *colophons*, including any errors made by Valeriano during the drafting process. These errors include the use of grave accents before enclitic particles, the use of circumflex accents where acute accents are needed, the absence of accents, and the repetition of entire words, as seen in Montepess. 127 (TABLE 4, n. 9). I have placed abbreviations in round brackets and standardized capital letters according to current usage.

TABLE 4. Full transcription of the *colophons* of Valeriano's manuscripts in the period 1539-1543, ordered chronologically

<p><b>1.</b> PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 1830, ff. 277v-278r (I U.C.), Venice – 7 March 1539 (red ink)</p> <p>Οὐαλεριᾶνος Φορολιβιεύς ὁ Ἀλβίν(ου) κανονικός τῆς πολιτείας τ(οῦ) ἀγί(ου) Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς, καλουμ(έν)ης, ταύτην τὴν βίβλον Ἐνέτισί ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Ἀντωνί(ου), ἔγραψε, ἐν ἔτη [η on rasura] τ(οῦ) Κυρίου ἡμ(ῶν) ἀφ(θ) ἐπτά τ(οῦ) μαρτί(ου) φθειρομ(έν)η</p>
<p><b>2.</b> <i>Ibidem</i>, f. 330v (II U.C.), [Venice]<sup>135</sup> – 1539 (red ink)</p> <p>τῷ συντελεστῇ τ(ῶν) καλῶν Θεῶ, χάρις :- ὁ ἀδελφὸς Βαλεριᾶνος Φορολιβιεύς ὁ Ἀλβίνου τ(ῆς) πολιτεί(ας) τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς μόναχος, ἔγραψε, ἔτη [η on rasura] τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμ(ῶν) ἀφ(θ) : ταύτην τὴν βίβλον</p>
<p><b>3.</b> CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 252, f. 112v, Venice – 1539 (red ink)</p> <p>Ἀδελφὸς Οὐαλεριᾶνος Φορολιβιεύς ὁ Ἀλβίν(ου), ταύτην βίβλον ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τ(οῦ) ἀγί(ου) Ἀντωνί(ου) Ἐνέτησίν ἔγραψε, ἔτη, τ(οῦ) Κυρίου ἡμ(ῶν) ἀφ(θ)</p>
<p><b>4.</b> ETON, College Library, MS 2921 (K.1.11) [ms. destroyed], f. 18r, Venice – 1539<sup>136</sup></p> <p>Ἀδελφὸς Βαλεριανὸς Φορολιβιεύς ὁ Ἀλβίνου ἔγραψε ἐν μοναστηρίῳ τοῦ ἀγίου Ἀντωνίου Ἐνετίω(ν) ἔτη ἀφ(θ)</p>
<p><b>5.</b> PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 2376, f. 236v, Venice – 1539 (red ink)</p> <p>Ὁ ἀδελφὸς Βαλεριανὸς ἔγραψε ταύτην βίβλον ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τ(οῦ) ἀγί(ου) Ἀντωνίου Ἐνετίσ(ιν) ἔτ(ει) τ(οῦ) Κυρίου ἡμ(ῶν) ἀφ(θ):- ψευδόμενος οὐδεὶς λανθάνει πολὺν χρόνον<sup>137</sup></p>
<p><b>6.</b> BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz), MS. Phill. 1520, f. 356v, Venice – end of July 1540 (red ink)</p> <p>Οὐβαλεριᾶνὸς ἀδελφ(ὸς) τῆς πολιτεί(ας) τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμ(ῶν) ταύτ(ην) ἔγραψε βίβλον Ἐνέτῆσίν ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Ἀντωνί(ου) ἔτει τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμ(ῶν) ἀφ(μ) μην(ὸς) Ἰ(ου)λι(ου) φθείροντ(ος)</p>
<p><b>7.</b> PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1687, f. 158v, Venice – 8 November 1540 (brown ink)</p> <p>Ταύτην δὲ βίβλον Οὐαλεριᾶνος Φορολιβιεύς ὁ Ἀλβίν(ου) Ἐνετίσι ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Ἀντωνί(ου) μοναστηρίῳ ἔγραψε, ἔτη τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) ἀφ(μ) ὀγδόῃ τοῦ μην(ὸς) νοβεμβρι(ου) ἰσταμ(έν)η</p>
<p><b>8.</b> BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz), MS. Phill. 1525, f. 98r, Venice – Beginning of December 1540 (red ink)</p> <p>Ὁ Ουαλεριᾶνος μόναχος Φορολιβιεύς ὁ Ἀλβίν(ου) ταύτην ἔγραψε βίβλον Ἐνέτησίν, ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Ἀντωνί(ου) μοναστηρίῳ ἔτη τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμ(ῶν) ἀφ(μ): μην(ὸς) δεκεμβρι(ου) ἰστάντ(ος). Χάρις τῷ Θεῶ</p>

<sup>135</sup> The place is deduced from the first unit.

<sup>136</sup> Since the manuscript is now destroyed, the *subscriptio* has been taken from the catalogue of the manuscripts of the Eton College: JAMES 1895, p. 6, n. 11.

<sup>137</sup> This is a line from the Pseudo-Menander, *Monostichoi* (v. 841); see *Menandri Sententiae*, p. 81.

<p><b>9.</b> MONTPELLIER, Bibliothèque Universitaire, Section médecine, 127 (Omont 68; 62), f. 31v, Venice – 1540 (ink not known)</p> <p>Οὐαλεριανὸς μόναχος ἔγραψε ἔγραψε ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου μοναστηρίῳ ἐνέτισιν 'αφμ'<sup>138</sup></p>
<p><b>10.</b> TORINO, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, B. V. 20 (Pasini 298), f. 114 (?), Venice – 4 December 1541 (ink not known)</p> <p>Οὐαλεριανὸς Φορολιβιεύς ὁ Ἀλβίνου τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Σωτήρος ἡμῶν καλουμένης πολιτείας κανόνικος ταύτην βίβλον ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου μοναστηρίῳ Ἐνετοῖσιν ἔγραψε ἔτει τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως 'αφμα' δεκεμβρίου τετάρτη φθίνοντος.<sup>139</sup></p>
<p><b>11.</b> LONDON, British Library, Add. 10063, f. 141r, Venice – 31 December 1541 (red ink)</p> <p>Ὁ Οὐαλεριᾶνος Φορολιβιεύς ὁ Ἀλβίνος, κανονικ(ός), ἔγραψε ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου μοναστηρίῳ, Ἐνετῆσι, ἔτει τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, 'αφμα', ἐσχάτη δεκεμβρίου.</p>
<p><b>12.</b> EL ESCORIAL (Madrid), Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, X. I. 04 (Andrés 346), f. 112r (I U.C.), Venice – 1 November 1542 (red ink)</p> <p>Ἐγράφησαν καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Εὐκλείδ(ου) δεδομένα ἦτοι τῆς Θέωνος ἐκδόσεως 'αφμβ' νοβεμβρίου πρώτη διὰ χειρ(ός) μου Οὐαλεριάν(ου) Φορολιβιεύς ὁ Ἀλβίν(ου) ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἁγί(ου) Ἀντωνί(ου) μοναστηρίῳ μοναχοῦ.</p>
<p><b>13.</b> <i>Ibidem</i>, f. 264v (II U.C.), [Venice] – 1542 (ink not known)</p> <p>Ὁ Οὐαλεριᾶνος Φορολιβιεύς ὁ Ἀλβίν(ου) μόναχος τῆς τοῦ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν καλουμένης πολιτείας παρούσαν ἔγραψε βίβλ(ον) ἔτει 'αφμβ'. Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι ἀμήν.</p>
<p><b>14.</b> PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 473, f. 238r, Venice – 4 September 1543 [on rasure the number 3] (red ink)</p> <p>Ὁ Οὐαλεριανὸς Φορολιβιεύς ὁ Ἀλβίνου, κανονικ(ός) τῆς πολιτ(εί)ας καλουμένης τ(οῦ) Σ(ωτῆ) ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν ταύτην γε βίβλιον ἔγραψε ἐν τῷ τ(οῦ) ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου μοναστηρίῳ Ἐνετῆσιν [ἴησιν on rasura] ἔγραψε, ἔτ(ει) τοῦ Κ(υρίου) ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ 'αφμγ' [γ on rasura] τετάρτη μηνός Σεπτεμβρί(ου) ἰσταμένη. Δόξα Θεῷ ἡμῶν.</p>

<sup>138</sup> Taken from the description written by ASTRUC-MORIZÉ: <https://ideal.irht.cnrs.fr/document/819492> (accessed June 2024).

<sup>139</sup> Valeriano seems to imply here the term *ἔτους* (genitive), agreed with the participle *φθίνοντος* to indicate the closing of the year. On the use of the verb *φθίνω* combined with indications of time such as month and year see LSJ, *s.v.* *φθίω*, <https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/ljsj/#eid=113718> (accessed August 2024). This verb is not recorded in the *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*.

TABLE 5. Manuscripts written by Valeriano Albini between 1539 and 1543 with *colophon* (chronologically ordered)<sup>140</sup>

N.	Shelfmark	Total number of folios (recto+verso)	Lines per folio (average)	Letters per line (average)	Colophon	Patron
1	Par. gr. 1830	658	ll. 30	ll. 43	7 March 1539 (unit I) 1539 (unit II)	Girolamo Fondulo on behalf of the French King
2	Eton, MS 2921 (K.1.11) [manuscript destroyed]	35	information not detectable	information not detectable	1539	unknown
3	Par. gr. 2376	128	ll. 30	ll. 43	1539	Girolamo Fondulo on behalf of the French King
4	Vat. Barb. gr. 252	144	ll. 30	ll. 38	1539	Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
5	Berol. Phill. 1520	712	ll. 30	ll. 43	End of July 1540	Guillaume Pellicier for his own library
6	Par. gr. 1687	315	ll. 30	ll. 45	8 November 1540	Unknown [Family Strozzi? Gift for Pellicier?] <sup>141</sup>
7	Berol. Phill. 1525	196	ll. 30	ll. 43	Beginning of December 1540	Guillaume Pellicier for his own library
8	Montpens. 127	122	ll. 30	--- <sup>142</sup>	1540	Guillaume Pellicier for his own library

<sup>140</sup> When the manuscript is an organised composite, I have taken into account only those codicological units completed by Valeriano, and have omitted the other units in which he does not appear. Exceptional cases are explained individually. In the case of the destroyed codex, I have indicated only the number of total folios with the text, based on the available catalogues and descriptions; in these cases I have been unable to obtain the number of lines per folio and letters per line.

<sup>141</sup> See above note 94.

<sup>142</sup> I have not been able to trace this information.

N.	Shelfmark	Total number of folios (recto+verso)	Lines per folio (average)	Letters per line (average)	Colophon	Patron
9	Taur. B. V. 20 (Pasini 298) [manuscript heavily damaged] <sup>143</sup>	228	ll. 25 <sup>144</sup>	ll. 32 <sup>145</sup>	4 December 1541	unknown
10	Lond. Add. 10063	281	ll. 31	ll. 48	31 December 1541	Guillaume Pellicier for his own library
11	Escor. X. I. 04	527	ll. 30/31	ll. 34	1 November 1542	Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
12	Leid. BPG 67B	172	ll. 23/25	--- <sup>146</sup>	March 1543? <sup>147</sup>	Guillaume Pellicier for his own library
13	Par. gr. 473 <sup>148</sup>	473	ll. 31	ll. 49	4 September 1543	Guillaume Pellicier on behalf of the French King

<sup>143</sup> See the description in GULMINI 1989, pp. 57-58, n. 54.

<sup>144</sup> Information taken from GULMINI 1989, p. 57.

<sup>145</sup> Indicative data taken from images in GULMINI 1989.

<sup>146</sup> I have not been able to trace this information.

<sup>147</sup> Ioannes Katelos, responsible for the first codicological unit together with Valeriano, wrote a *colophon* on f. 300r, with the following chronological and topical indication: «Μαρτ. ιγ' αφεγγ' ἐν τῇ Βενετία» (13 March 1543, Venice). See MEYËR - HULSHOFF POL 1965, p. 107.

<sup>148</sup> As mentioned earlier, since I wanted to calculate the average annual rhythm of Valeriano's work, I decided to also take this manuscript into consideration, although it was produced when Pellicier had already left Venice, as is likely to have happened also with the Leiden manuscript [n. 12].

TABLE 6. Manuscripts written by Valeriano Albini between 1539 and 1543 without *colophon*

N.	Shelfmark	Total number of folios (recto+verso)	Lines per folio (average)	Letters per line (average)	<i>Colophon</i>	Patron
14	Berol. Phill. 1423	21	ll. 32	ll. 46/49	no indication of date	Guillaume Pellicier for his own library
15	Berol. Phill. 1548	18	ll. 31	ll. 54	no indication of date	Guillaume Pellicier for his own library
16	Berol. Phill. 1549	318	ll. 30	ll. 39/42	no indication of date <sup>149</sup>	Guillaume Pellicier for his own library
17	Par. gr. 1954	55	ll. 30	ll. 35/39	no indication of date	Guillaume Pellicier for his own library
18	Voss. gr. Q. 13	6	ll. 24	--- <sup>150</sup>	no indication of date	Guillaume Pellicier for his own library

<sup>149</sup> On f. 159v Albini wrote in red-ink: «Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον. Οὐαλεριάνου (*sic*) Φορολιβιέως πόνος».

<sup>150</sup> I have not been able to trace this information.



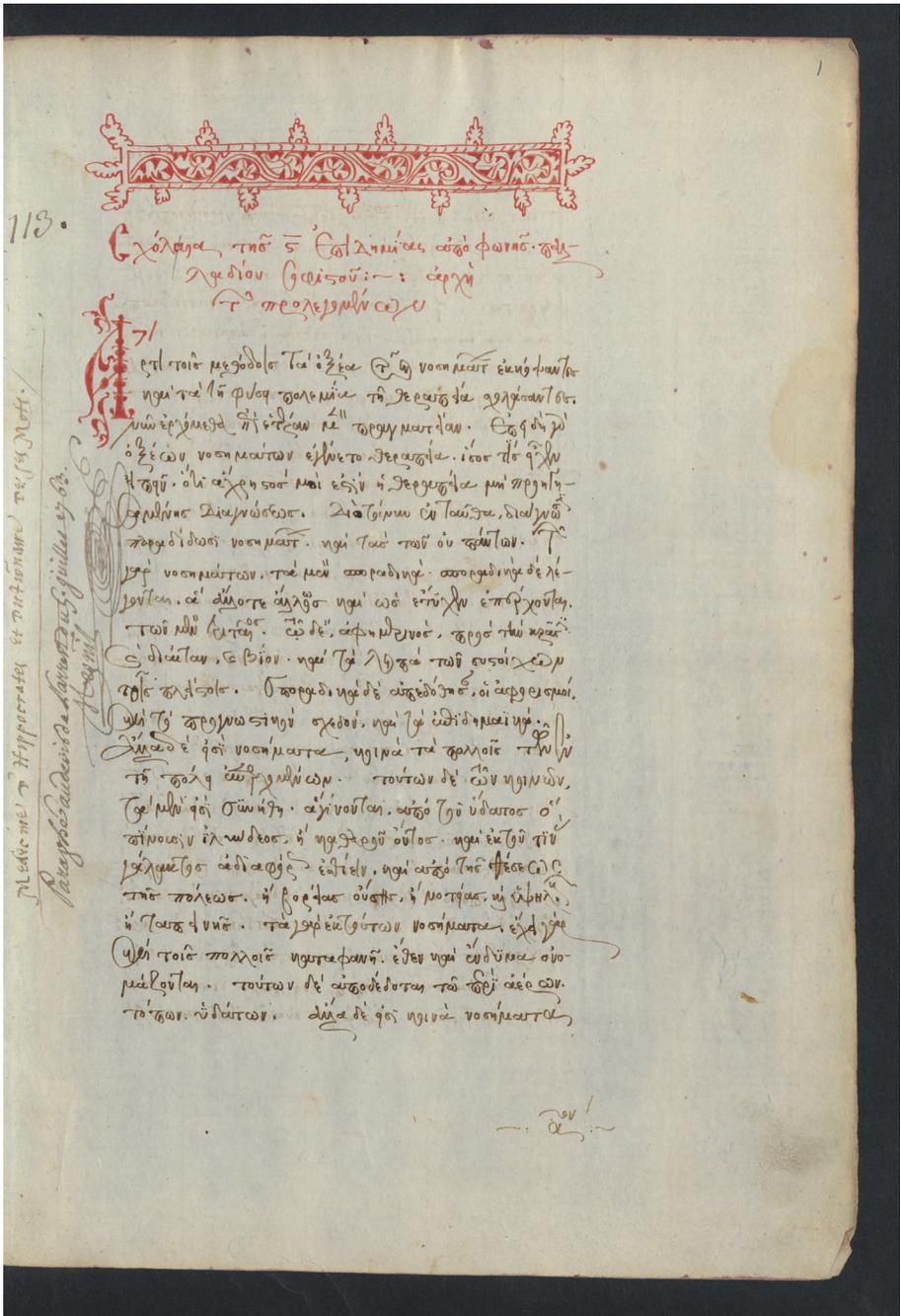


Plate 2. BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz), Ms. Phill. 1525, f. 1r © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

