

Daniela Lupu

# The Princely Patronage of Printing in Wallachia under Phanariot Rule

Our paper analyzes the way in which the princely patronage over printing functioned in Wallachia during the rule of the Phanariot princes (1716–1821). In the early historiography of Romanian printing, the assumption was that the Phanariot princes were less interested in printing than the indigenous princes who ruled in Wallachia in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. They were criticized for failing to set up printing presses and for leaving the printing of books to the metropolitans of Ungro-Wallachia. The Phanariots were also accused of having banned the Romanian language from their court and the schools of the Principality and for having supported the establishment of the Church monopoly on printing.<sup>1</sup>

As research into the early printed Romanian books has progressed, it has become clear that most of these accusations were unfounded. It is true that the establishment of the Phanariot rule in the Principality of Wallachia brought about a change in the attitude of the princes towards their responsibilities in the domain of printing. The Phanariot princes were less involved than their predecessors in the establishment of printing presses and editing books, but they did not neglect printing. The way in which they supported printing was in some ways different from the past. We will show here how the princely patronage functioned in this period, and which printing presses and books the Phanariot princes helped to establish and publish.

The main reference source for the books printed during the Phanariot reigns is the monumental work by Ioan Bianu, Nerva Hodoș, and Dan Simonescu, *Bibliografia românească veche* (*Bibliography of the Early Printed Romanian Books*, henceforth: *BRV*) published in four volumes between 1903 and 1944. For our topic, the information contained in volumes II and III (which include the books printed between 1716 and 1821) and IV (with corrections and additions to the first three volumes) is essential. For books discovered after 1944, corrections, and additions to the *BRV* book descriptions, we used the new data published by Daniela Poenaru.<sup>2</sup>

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1 V. Popp, *Disertație despre tipografiile românești în Transilvania și învecinatele țări de la începutul lor până la vremile noastre*, Sibiu, 1838, ed. E. Mârza, I. Mârza, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, p. 134–141; C. D. Fortunescu, “Istoria tiparului în țările românești. Secolul al XVIII-lea”, *Almanahul Graficei Române*, 2, 1925, p. 112–124; C. Erbiceanu, *Bibliografia greacă sau cărțile grecești imprimate în principatele române în epoca fanariotă și dedicate domnitorilor și boerilor români. Studii literare*, Bucharest, 1903, p. 96.

2 D. Poenaru, *Contribuții la Bibliografia românească veche*, Târgoviște, 1973.

A very important source for the subject of this study is the corpus of documents issued by Phanariot rulers and metropolitans regarding the printing presses, granting tax exemptions to printers, as well as the regulations regarding the authorization of book printing in Wallachia. These documents have survived in rather small numbers and are present in several funds in the Central National Historical Archives (Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale, henceforth: ANIC) and the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest (B.A.R.). Some of the documents were published at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, through the efforts of the historians Constantin Erbiceanu<sup>3</sup> and Vasile Alexandrescu Urechia.<sup>4</sup> Others were edited by various authors in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> Particularly valuable are the monographs dedicated to the printing houses or printing centers of the time.<sup>6</sup>

To understand the importance of printing as part of the cultural policies of the Phanariot rulers, it is necessary to study historical works,<sup>7</sup> as well as the history of books and printing itself.<sup>8</sup>

If from a political, fiscal, and economic point of view the Phanariot rule had several negative features, in the field of culture the Phanariot princes' policies did

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3 C. Erbiceanu, "Documente privitoare la istoria bisericească și politică a românilor", *BOR*, 23, 1899, 2, p. 126–156.

4 V. A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1774–1786*, t. I, Bucharest, 1891; V. A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1786–1800*, t. III, Bucharest, 1892; V. A. Urechia, *Memoriu asupra perioadei din istoria românilor de la 1774–1786*, Bucharest, 1893; V. A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1774–1800*, t. VII, Bucharest, 1894; V. A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1800–1830*, t. VI, Bucharest, 1898; V. A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1800–1830*, t. X, Part A, Bucharest, 1900.

5 A. Lapedatu, "Un cuvânt asupra Gramaticii lui Ienăchiță Văcărescu", in A. Lapedatu, *Un mănunchiu de cercetări istorice*, Bucharest, 1915, p. 34; I. Ionașcu, *Documente bucureștene privitoare la proprietățile mănăstirii Colțea*, Bucharest, 1941; A. Sacerdoțeanu, "Documente de cultură românească veche", *Mitropolia Olteniei*, 16, 1964, 5–6, p. 450–457.

6 D. Simonescu, "Din activitatea tipografică a Bucureștilor", *Bucureștii Vechi. Buletinul Societății Istorico-Arheologice «Bucureștii-Vechi»*, 1–5 (1930–1934), Bucharest, 1935, p. 118–135; T. Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească în anii 1740–1750", *BOR*, 83, 1965, 9–10, p. 845–942; T. G. Bulat, "Tipografia Mitropoliei Bucureștilor în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea (1754–1810)", *BOR*, 87, 1969, 7–8, p. 791–816.

7 N. Iorga, *Istoria românilor*, vol. VII: *Reformatorii*, [Vălenii de Munte], 1938; Vl. Georgescu, *Istoria românilor. De la origini până în zilele noastre*, Bucharest, 1992, p. 84–132; P. Cernovodeanu, N. Edroiu (eds.), *Istoria românilor*, vol. VI: *România între Europa Clasică și Europa Luminilor (1711–1821)*, Bucharest, 2012.

8 N. Iorga, "Tipografia la români", *Almanahul Graficei Române*, 8, 1931, p. 32–55; M. Tomescu, *Istoria cărții românești de la începuturi până la 1918*, Bucharest, 1968; C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, L. Demény, *Carte și tipar în societatea românească și sud-est europeană (secolele XVII–XIX)*, Bucharest, 1985; D. Bădără, "Considerații privind tipografiile din Țările Române în prima parte a epocii fanariote", *Buletinul Societății Române de Studii Neoeleene*, 2000–2001 [2002], p. 18–23.

not have the disastrous consequences that were long attributed to them. Various studies have emphasized the importance of printing as part of the cultural policy of the Phanariots. Our approach goes along with the research that has emphasized the fact that, from a cultural perspective, the age of the Phanariot rule was not one of stagnation or regression.<sup>9</sup> On the contrary, it represented a period of development and progress, preparing the national revival of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## 1 Reform Policy and Printing

Since the beginnings of printing in Wallachia, princely patronage functioned both as protection and as financial support to cover the significant costs of printing. Historiography has approached the subject mainly from a financial point of view, especially since for two centuries (the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>) the establishment of printing presses was largely funded by princes, and the rulers were also important publishers. The books printed at their expense were mostly religious texts, with few exceptions. Many of them were donated to monasteries and churches across the country, as well as to Orthodox communities in Transylvania and various provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

However, the contribution of the Phanariot princes to financing printing was gradually reduced, as the historical context of their reigns also changed. Their political position, as “officials” of the Ottoman Empire, and their own pecuniary situation led them to pay greater attention to both the public and personal incomes and expenses.<sup>10</sup> Their primary responsibility was to ensure the fulfillment of the country's duties to the Ottoman Porte (in money and produce), which were constantly increasing.<sup>11</sup> Failure to fulfill these duties on time frequently resulted in the prince's removal from power. They also had to collect money for their own interests: for the purchase and reconfirmation of their position, for gifts to Turkish dignitaries, for the payment of debts to their creditors, as well as for increasing their own revenues.

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9 Many historians and philologists (Dimitrie Popovici, Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, Alexandru Duțu, Paul Cornea, Virgil Cădea, Florin Constantiniu, Vlad Geogescu, Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, Ștefan Lemny, Andrei Pippidi) have contributed over time to the “rehabilitation” of the Phanariot princes and their rule. This work was started in 1898 by Nicolae Iorga, who aimed to make “those stigmatized in textbooks respectable figures”. See N. Iorga, “Cultura română supt fanarioti. Conferință din 8 februarie 1898”, in Gh. Buluță (ed.), *Cultură și civilizație. Conferințe ținute la tribuna Ateneului Român*, Bucharest, 1989, p. 211–228.

10 Cernovodeanu, Edroiu (eds.), *Istoria românilor*, p. 227; S. Columbeanu, “Birul în Țara Românească (1775–1831)”, *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, 7, 1974, p. 263–264.

11 Cernovodeanu, Edroiu (eds.), *Istoria românilor*, p. 259–276.

Many of the Phanariot princes ascended the throne while in a poor material situation, they did not possess any significant personal wealth, but at the end of their reigns, some of them came to possess impressive fortunes (such as Constantin Hangerli<sup>12</sup> and Ioan Caragea).<sup>13</sup> Increasing both public and personal revenues was a constant concern of the Phanariot princes, some of them abusing their power in order to achieve these objectives.<sup>14</sup>

Reformist policies were a defining feature of the Phanariot century, and their initial impetus was the need to increase state revenues by expanding the number of taxpayers, organizing an efficient taxation system, and massively reducing fiscal privileges. Important sources of income were the taxes and duties imposed on the common people, who represented the majority of taxpayers. However, this fiscal policy also included exceptions. Numerous exemptions, whether unlimited or temporary, were primarily granted to the nobility, the monasteries and the clergy, but also to other social categories.<sup>15</sup>

Some of these tax exemptions or privileges had an indirect effect on printing. Representative in this regard is the tax reform introduced by the large-scope charter (*hrisov*) that reorganized the country's institutions and was devised by Constantin Mavrocordat and promulgated on February 7, 1741, by the general assembly of Wallachia (*Adunarea obștească*).<sup>16</sup> One of the provisions of this statute was the exemption of the clergy and monasteries from paying the capital tax (*dajdie*). Constantin Mavrocordat exempted priests from paying some of the taxes they owed to the state,<sup>17</sup> a measure applied during his ten successive reigns in Wallachia and Moldavia (between 1730 and 1769).<sup>18</sup> The provision was maintained, with slight modifications, by some of the rulers who succeeded him.

12 The treasure of Constantin Hangerli (1797–1799) confiscated by the de Ottoman Porte after he was deposed and beheaded on February 19, 1799, was carried from Bucharest to Constantinople in seven chariots, three of which carried coins, while the other four, various types of goods. See V. Mischevca, “Alexandru Hangerli – un principe filolog cu o domnie efemeră”, in L. Rotaru, S. D. Șipoș (coord. eds.), *Latinitate, Romanitate, Românită*, Chișinău/Oradea, 2022, p. 120–134.

13 After a six-year reign (1812–1818), Ioan Caragea left Wallachia and took refuge in Italy, crossing the territory of the Habsburg Empire. His fortune was estimated by his contemporaries at around 123 million thalers. See A. Oțetea, “Fuga lui Caragea”, in C. Daicoviciu, Em. Condurachi, A. Oțetea (eds.), *Omagiu lui P. Constantinescu-Iași: cu prilejul împlinirii a 70 de ani*, Bucharest, 1965, p. 386–387.

14 Cernovodeanu, Edroiu (eds.), *Istoria românilor*, p. 227–228.

15 Cernovodeanu, Edroiu (eds.), *Istoria românilor*, p. 224–229.

16 F. Constantiniu, *Constantin Mavrocordat. Reformatorul*, 2<sup>nd</sup> revised ed., Bucharest, 2015, p. 60–73.

17 Priests still had the obligation to pay the church dues: taxes for the installation of the metropolitan, the local bishop, etc. See Cernovodeanu, Edroiu (eds.), *Istoria românilor*, p. 347–348.

18 Constantin Mavrocordat ruled six times in Wallachia (1730; 1731–1733; 1735–1741; 1744–1748; 1756–1758; 1761–1763) and four times in Moldavia (1733–1735; 1741–1743; 1748–1749; 1769).

Exemption from taxes was very tempting for many well-to-do peasants, so, some joined the ranks of the clergy, though they hardly had any theological education.<sup>19</sup> Constantin Mavrocordat launched a genuine campaign against those who could not prove that they had the knowledge and qualities required of a priest. Priests and candidates at priesthood were examined by commissions composed of their hierarchical superiors and the prince's representatives, and impostors were removed. The situation is described by a contemporary Moldavian chronicler: "We cannot describe the fear the poor priests were seized by, which made them start learning to read, old as they were".<sup>20</sup>

In return for granting tax exemptions, Constantin Mavrocordat demanded that the priests respect the values of Christian morality, be educated, and be able to teach their parishioners as well. To ensure their access to education and create better conditions for the divine services, Constantin Mavrocordat made sure that the number of printed books increased. He ordered that metropolitans and bishops establish schools and printing presses and publish liturgical and theological books in Romanian with the money saved by the Church due to the tax exemptions it benefited from. This policy was applied by most of the rulers who succeeded him.

In the prefaces to the books they edited, the hierarchs urged priests to memorize the fundamental teachings of Orthodox dogma, threatening with excommunication those who were found to be ignorant. An example is the foreword address to priests and deacons by Clement, the bishop of Râmnic (1735–1749), in *Întrebări și răspunsuri pentru șapte taine* (*Questions and Answers for Seven Sacraments*), printed at Râmnic in 1747. Clement stated that Prince Constantin Mavrocordat reproached him that when the priests showed up for trial at the princely court, their behavior was contradictory: "Before His Highness the Prince, you are very clever and answer [quickly], and you are ready to vouch for others, but when His Highness, or one of the boyars, asks you about faith, you turn humble and silent and fail to answer". Because of this, they risked the cancellation of their exemption from taxes: "His Lordship will withdraw the mercy he has shown you, and you will again be counted among the commoners and have to pay heavier duties".<sup>21</sup>

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19 This exemption was not entirely new. It had been granted by Ștefan Cantacuzino in 1714 but cancelled by Nicolae Mavrocordat in 1726.

20 Pseudo-Enache Kogălniceanu, *Letopiseșul Țării Moldovii de la domnia întâi și până la a patra domnie a lui Constantin Mavrocordat voevod (1733–1774)*, ed. A. Ilieș, I. Zmeu, Bucharest, 1987, p. 204.

21 Poenaru, *Contribuții la BRV*, p. 31.

## 2 Princely Patronage in the Field of Printing

The Phanariot princes were educated men. Some of them owned important libraries, others were writers themselves. They were willing to support the printing activity in the country, but in such a way that their “cash” contribution would be as small as possible. The princely patronage of printing continued, even though the financial support for the establishment of printing presses and the publication of books was greatly diminished.<sup>22</sup> The responsibility for financing the printing of church books was taken over by the upper clergy. Most of the liturgical and theological books were printed at the Metropolitan printing press in Bucharest, at the printing press of the Bishopric of Râmnic (County of Vâlcea) and in Buzău (Bishopric of Buzău), with costs covered by the respective metropolitans and bishops.

The princely protection was manifested through tax exemptions granted to the church presses, both for printers and for unskilled workers (*poslușnici*). The documents that survive refer to the workers of printing presses of the Metropolitan See in Bucharest and the Bishopric of Râmnic, but similar exemptions must have been granted to other presses in Wallachia.

Mihai Suțu granted an exemption from taxes (*dijmărit* and *vinărici*) to Stanciu Tomovici, the printer of the Metropolitan printing press, on February 29, 1784,<sup>23</sup> which was renewed in 1797 by Alexandru Ipsilanti.<sup>24</sup> Ion, another printer of the Metropolitan printing press, was exempted from taxes by Alexandru Ipsilanti on December 30, 1796.<sup>25</sup> Constantin Hangerli granted a tax exemption to the Metropolitan printing press for all its 25 workers on September 16, 1798. These exemptions were renewed by Alexandru Moruzzi for 21 people on January 22, 1801.<sup>26</sup> Four priests and printers who worked as typesetters (*zețari*) at the Metropolitan press are mentioned in a list drawn up on January 15, 1815, as having received princely documents for tax exemptions (*pecetluituri*) from Ioan Caragea.<sup>27</sup>

Nicolae Mavrogheni granted the printing press of the Râmnic Bishopric a tax exemption (*dajdie*) for six people, who were “to serve at the printing press”. The prince issued the document on April 12, 1787, at the request of the great treasurer (*mare vistiernic*) Ienăchiță Văcărescu, as a reward for having completed the printing of his *Grammar* in this press (in the months of January–April). The document

22 Bădără, “Considerații privind tipografiile”, p. 18–23.

23 Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1774–1786*, t. I, p. 400.

24 Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1774–1800*, t. VII, p. 46, 86.

25 Erbiceanu, “Documente”, p. 135.

26 Erbiceanu, “Documente”, p. 134–135.

27 ANIC, Fond *Manuscrise*, MS 157, f. 55r.

states that the printing press needed additional workers, so that it could print more books “necessary and useful to the Romanian nation”.<sup>28</sup> The exemption was renewed by Mihai Suțu on June 28, 1792,<sup>29</sup> by Alexandru Ipsilanti on October 27, 1797,<sup>30</sup> by Ioan Caragea on December 13, 1813,<sup>31</sup> and by Alexandru Suțu on October 25, 1819.<sup>32</sup>

Of the ten printing presses that operated between 1716 and 1821 in Wallachia,<sup>33</sup> three were established by princely contribution. Constantin Mavrocordat opened the printing press of the Greek school at Văcărești Monastery in 1741, and in 1745 he reactivated the princely press in Bucharest. They were endowed with typographic tools transferred or borrowed from presses that had not been functioning for a long time (such as the princely press in Bucharest), or were temporarily inactive (the Metropolitan printing press). In 1767, Alexandru Scarlat Ghica established a Greek printing press in Bucharest for the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which was meant to publish books for the Orthodox communities in the Ottoman Empire.

The Phanariot princes encouraged private initiatives in the field of printing. Three of them granted permission to laymen to open private printing presses in Bucharest. These were mainly meant to publish books of a secular content: textbooks, science or fiction books. Nicolae Caragea, in 1783, and Nicolae Mavrogheni, in 1789, authorized the establishment of the Greek printing press of the brothers Lazaru from Ioannina. In 1817, Ioan Caragea approved the request of Doctor Constantin Caracaș and his associates to establish a printing house, granting them the “privilege” of operation for 20 years.<sup>34</sup>

The patronage of printing was just one aspect of the Phanariot princes’ cultural patronage. They also provided financial support to the Princely Academy and schools in Bucharest, awarded scholarships to young people who wished to study and provided stipends to scholars for publishing books abroad. Significant sums were

28 Lăpedatu, “Un cuvânt asupra Gramaticiei”, p. 34.

29 Lăpedatu, “Un cuvânt asupra Gramaticiei”, p. 36.

30 Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1774–1800*, t. VII, p. 46.

31 Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1800–1830*, t. X, Part A, p. 432.

32 Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1800–1830*, t. VI, p. 104–109.

33 D. Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea din Țara Românească în epoca domniilor fanariote (1716–1821)*, Bucharest, 2014, p. 93–156.

34 See, in the present volume, the chapter signed by Ștefan Petrescu.

granted to support schools, monasteries and churches in Constantinople,<sup>35</sup> in the Greek territories of the Balkan Peninsula, and the Middle East.<sup>36</sup>

### 3 Presses Founded by the Phanariot Princes

#### 3.1 The Văcărești School Printing Press (1741)

Founded in 1741, during the third reign of Constantin Mavrocordat in Wallachia (1735–1741), the printing press of the Văcărești Monastery near Bucharest had a short existence. From January to September, three church books were printed with the mention “at the Văcărești School printing press”, all of them in Romanian. In 1741, it was the only printing press operating in Bucharest, because the Metropolitan press was in a process of reorganization since 1739 and would only reopen in 1742.

The first historians of Romanian printing believed that the school mentioned on the title pages, and therefore the printing press itself, had been founded by the Văcărești boyars.<sup>37</sup> However, as documents regarding the old schools in Bucharest were more carefully studied, it became clear that a “college” had been founded within the Monastery of Văcărești. The monastery was constructed by Prince Nicolae Mavrocordat starting in 1716 and became a *metochion* of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in 1721.<sup>38</sup> The school, where classes were taught in Greek, had been established by Nicolae Mavrocordat during his second rule in Wallachia (1719–1730). It was designed as a school for the study of philosophy and mathematics, with teachers recommended by Chrysanthos Notaras, the Patriarch of Jerusalem (1707–1731).<sup>39</sup>

35 A. Camariano-Cioran, “Aides pécuniaires fournies par les Pays Roumains aux écoles grecques (I)”, in L. Rados (ed.), *Relații româno-elene. Studii istorice și filologice (Secolele XIV–XIX)*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 703–732.

36 A. Camariano-Cioran, “Aides pécuniaires fournies par les Pays Roumains aux écoles grecques (II)”, in L. Rados (ed.), *Relații româno-elene. Studii istorice și filologice (Secolele XIV–XIX)*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 733–754.

37 M. Gaster, “Tipografia în România”, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, XV, 1868, p. 145 (cf. Simedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean”, p. 847, n. 15); G. Ionescu, *Călăuza tipografului, cu un rezumat din istoria tipografiei de la invențiune și până în zilele noastre*, Bucharest, 1906, p. 132.

38 The construction works began in 1716, were interrupted in 1718, then resumed in 1719. According to an inscription, the monastery was finished in September 1722. However, it was probably already completed in June 1721, when it was dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher based on a donation charter issued by Nicolae Mavrocordat. See O.-D. Marinescu, *Mănăstirea Văcărești din București. De la origini până astăzi*, Bucharest, 2012, p. 65–68.

39 Simedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean”, p. 848–849.

Nicolae Mavrocordat's son, Constantin Mavrocordat, continued the construction of the monastic complex and had a chapel built, which was completed in 1736, as well as a second enclosure and a second gate tower. The Văcărești Monastery also housed part of the famous library of the Mavrocordat family.

As indicated on some of the title pages of the books that came out of the Văcărești press, the printing house was not located at the Văcărești Monastery, but at the Monastery of Saint Sava (also a *metochion* of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem), where the Princely Academy functioned. At Saint Sava, a place had been especially designed for a printing press since the rule of Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688–1714).<sup>40</sup>

In 1741, the printing press of the Văcărești School published the Book of Divine Liturgies (*Liturghier*, see Fig. 1) and two booklets from which priests and candidates for priesthood could learn dogmatic and pastoral theological concepts: *Învățătură bisericească a vlădicăi Antim* (*Church Teaching of Bishop Antim*),<sup>41</sup> and *Întrebări bogoslovești și răspunsuri* (*Theological Questions and Answers*).<sup>42</sup> *The Church Teaching* is the second edition of a work written by Metropolitan Antim the Iberian (1708–1716), published in 1710 in Târgoviște,<sup>43</sup> which defined the main duties of the priests. *Theological Questions* is a collection of writings by Saint Athanasios the Great, translated from Greek by Ianache, formerly, the second seneschal of the Wallachian court (*postelnic*). To be easily memorized, these “teachings” were presented in a catechetical form, as questions and answers.

The Euchologion (*Molitvenic*) was published in 1741, after Constantin Mavrocordat's rule in Wallachia ended and he was replaced, in September, by Mihai Racoviță (1741–1744). The book only indicates that it was published “in the city, in Bucharest”,<sup>44</sup> which means that the printing press was closed after Constantin Mavrocordat's departure.

All four books were printed by the priest (*popa*) Stoica Iacovici, a printer highly esteemed by the Mavrocordat family. Funding for the printing of these books was not provided by Constantin Mavrocordat. The Book of Divine Liturgies and the Euchologion, books used in liturgical services, were published with the financial support of Ananias, the Metropolitan of Caesarea in Palestine (Fig. 2). He was also the administrator of the monasteries dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre in Wallachia

<sup>40</sup> The prince had a “stone house” built there between 1710–1714, meant to host the library of the monastery and the Greek printing press of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The press was operational between 1714–1719. See Sîmedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean”, p. 850–856.

<sup>41</sup> *BRV* II, p. 54; *BRV* IV, p. 238.

<sup>42</sup> *BRV* II, p. 54–55.

<sup>43</sup> *BRV* I, p. 481.

<sup>44</sup> *BRV* II, p. 55–56; *BRV* IV, p. 239.

and a trustworthy person for the Mavrocordat family.<sup>45</sup> The booklets for the instruction of priests do not mention the printer. The cost of publishing was probably covered by the priest Stoica Iacovici.<sup>46</sup>

On July 20, 1742, the Prince of Wallachia Mihai Racoviță granted the Metropolitan Neophytos of Crete (1738–1753) written permission to “search for” and take over all the printing materials existing in different places in Bucharest that belonged to the Metropolitan printing press.<sup>47</sup> It follows from this document that the Văcărești School printing press used material borrowed or rented from the Metropolitan press.

### 3.2 The Princely Printing Press (1745–1746)

After returning to Bucharest to become the ruler of Wallachia for the fourth time (1744–1748), Constantin Mavrocordat opened the princely printing press in 1745.<sup>48</sup> It was suggested that the matrices for Cyrillic type and the printing woodblocks for illustrations were transferred to the new press from one of the three main printing presses in Bucharest: that of the Văcărești school,<sup>49</sup> the Metropolitan printing press,<sup>50</sup> or the printing press founded by Constantin Brâncoveanu.<sup>51</sup> Since there is no evidence of an order for printing equipment to be acquired from abroad, which would not have been kept secret if issued, the only viable hypothesis is that the equipment of the princely printing press was supplemented by tools previously used by other typographers.

The first book printed at the princely printing press in 1745, “by order of the prince”, was *Pravoslavnică mărturisire* (*The Orthodox Confession*),<sup>52</sup> composed by Petru Movilă, the metropolitan of Kyiv (1632–1646), which was also the inaugural publication of the princely press founded by Constantin Brâncoveanu in Buzău in

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45 In 1730, Anania was appointed hegumen of the Văcărești Monastery by Nicolae Mavrocordat. In 1736, he was appointed by Constantin Mavrocordat as a steward (*ispravnic*) charged with the construction of the monastery chapel.

46 Simedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean”, p. 903.

47 Simedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean”, Annex VII, p. 931–932.

48 During the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu, several presses held the official title of Princely Printing Press: the press of Bucharest, between 1690 and 1705, the press of the Buzău Bishopric, between 1691–1704, and the press of the Snagov Monastery, between 1696 and 1701.

49 Ionescu, *Căluza tipografului*, p. 132; Ionașcu, *Documente bucureștene*, p. 142; Tomescu, *Istoria cărții*, p. 97.

50 Simonescu, “Din activitatea tipografică”, p. 129, n. 6.

51 Simedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean”, p. 866–867.

52 *BRV* II, p. 87–88.

1691. Constantin Mavrocordat entrusted the management of the printing press to the priest Stoica Iacovici, a protégé of the Mavrocordat family, who was the most important master printer in Bucharest between 1715 and 1749. He printed four liturgical and theological books in Romanian, without mentioning the editor's name (Fig. 3). Two other books were published in 1746 without any mention of the press. There are strong arguments that these books were printed with costs covered by the priest Stoica Iacovici.<sup>53</sup>

The princely press operated until 1746 at the Colțea Monastery. From there, the Metropolitan Neophytos of Crete took over part of the equipment on October 6, 1748, after Constantin Mavrocordat had ascended the throne of Moldavia in April.<sup>54</sup> His successor in Wallachia, Prince Grigore II Ghica (1748–1752), handed over the rest of the equipment to the metropolitan on April 3, 1749.<sup>55</sup>

Constantin Mavrocordat was one of the Phanariot princes who paid special attention to printing (Fig. 4). Studying the dynamics of book printing in this period, we noticed that he ordered the reopening of the printing press of the Văcărești school and the princely press in Bucharest just when the printing press of the Metropolitan See was not operational, in 1739–1741 and 1744–1746. We believe that this is not a coincidence, but evidence of the ruler's interest in ensuring a steady pace of printing books, in sufficient copies to meet the needs of the local Orthodox clergy and those beyond the borders of Wallachia.

### 3.3 The Greek Printing Press (1767–1769)

In 1767, at the request of Patriarch Ephrem of Jerusalem (1766–1771), Prince Alexandru Scarlat Ghica (1766–1768) set up a new printing press in Bucharest, endowed with tools acquired from Western Europe.<sup>56</sup> The activity of the press began in 1767 with *Ὁρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία*,<sup>57</sup> a new edition of the *Orthodox Confession*, a fundamental work of Orthodox dogmatic literature. The title page mentions that it was printed “in the recently established printing press of the Orthodox nation of the Rhomaioi” (“Ἐν τῇ Νεοσυσταθείσῃ Τυπογραφίᾳ τοῦ Ὁρθοδόξου Γένους τῶν Ῥωμαίων”). The

53 Simedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean”, p. 899–903.

54 Simedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean”, Annex XV, p. 935.

55 Simedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean”, Annex XVII, p. 937–938.

56 The printing tools were brought to Bucharest by the scholar Gheorghe Constantin (A. Decei, “Din tipăriturile orientale la București, în secolul al XVIII-lea”, *Revista istorică română*, XV, 1945, III, p. 370).

57 *BRV* II, p. 176.

title page of the book *Διδασκαλία χριστιανική* (*Christian Teaching*)<sup>58</sup> published in 1768, which mentions that the printing press “was founded by His Highness, our Lord, Prince Alexandru Scarlat Ghica, out of his great generosity”, confirms that he was the founder.<sup>59</sup> The prince thus fulfilled the wish of the Patriarch Ephrem of Jerusalem to revitalize the support for the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire and to fight Catholic proselytism among the Orthodox communities of Asia Minor.

In three years, six liturgical, theological, and didactic books were published, most of them edited by Patriarch Ephrem to be “distributed as gifts” on behalf of the Holy Sepulcher. Among them there is a catechism for the Christian Orthodox communities in Anatolia and Trebizond whose mother tongue was Turkish. The *Christian Teaching*<sup>60</sup> belongs to the class of books known as *karamanlidika*, a generic term for books published in Turkish using the Greek alphabet instead of the Arabic one.<sup>61</sup> This was the first *karamanlidika* book printed in Bucharest.<sup>62</sup>

The press continued its activity under Grigore III Ghica (1768–1769), who succeeded Alexandru Scarlat Ghica in October 1768. The printing equipment (punches and matrices for Greek typefaces) may have been presented by Grigore III Ghica to the Metropolitan Grigore II (1760–1787), as Nicolae Iorga suggested.<sup>63</sup> The press closed in 1769, when Bucharest was occupied by the Russian troops, during the Russian-Turkish War (1768–1774).

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58 Some authors doubt that this was a new press, considering that it was a Greek section of the Metropolitan printing press. See Tomescu, *Istoria cărții*, p. 98; Papacostea-Danielopolu, Demény, *Carte și tipar*, p. 178.

59 Decei, “Din tipăriturile orientale”, p. 369–370.

60 *BRV* II, p. 184–188.

61 Decei, “Din tipăriturile orientale”, p. 369–371; C. Giurescu, “Livres turcs imprimés à Bucarest (1701–1768)”, *Revista istorică română*, 15, 1945, III, p. 280.

62 D. Simonescu, “Cărți arabe tipărite de români în secolul al XVIII-lea (1701–1747)”, *BOR*, 82, 1964, 5–6, p. 549–550; D. Simonescu, “Impression de livres arabes et karamanlis en Valachie et en Moldavie au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, 5–6, 1967, p. 68–69.

63 Iorga, “Tipografia la români”, p. 49.

## 4 The Private Presses Founded under the Protection of the Phanariot Princes

### 4.1 The Printing Press of the Lazaru Brothers of Ioannina (1783–1784, 1789)

Nicolae and Ioan Lazaru of Ioannina (Epirus), printers by trade, founded a Greek press in Bucharest in 1783, under the protection of Prince Nicolae Caragea (1782–1783).<sup>64</sup> The *Μέγα Αλφαβητάριον* (*Great Alphabet Book*), the first book printed there on March 1, 1783, tells us more about the founding of the printing press: “This new press of the Greek Orthodox people was established under the brilliant princely patronage and protection of our pious Prince”.<sup>65</sup>

Shortly after, the business ran out of money, and they asked the prince’s help. The way this aid was provided illustrates the system of the princely protection. On May 5, 1783, Nicolae Caragea ordered the boyars in charge with the schools’ administration to give Nicolae Lazaru the amount of 250 thalers from the “coffer” (funds) of the schools. In exchange, he was to provide the schools with an unspecified number of *Alphabet Books*.

The printing press here has been established by Nicolii Lazăru, with our knowledge and will, at great expense and with much labor, for the use and benefit of the country [...]. And to print other useful books and cover its expenses, we order that you, trustee boyars [...], provide 250 thalers to [...] Nicolii Lazăr and receive copies of this [*Alphabet Book*].<sup>66</sup>

The next year, the Lazaru brothers printed a scientific work entitled *Σημειώσεις Φυσιολογικαί* (*Physical Writings, or Notes on Nature*),<sup>67</sup> written by the hierodeacon Iosif Moesiodax (1725–1800), professor of Sciences at the Princely Academies in Iași and Bucharest. We believe that the great debts that Nicolae Lazaru accumulated over time (almost 1,000 thalers)<sup>68</sup> and the legal actions that his creditors took against him led to the closing of his printing press in 1784.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> See D. Lupu, “The Lazaru brothers of Ioannina, paper merchants, editors and owners of a print press in Wallachia (second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century)”, in Arch. P. Chițulescu, I. Feodorov (eds.), *Culture manuscrite et imprimée dans et pour l’Europe du Sud-Est*, Brăila, 2020, p. 67–74.

<sup>65</sup> Note on the back of the title page, *BRV* II, p. 283.

<sup>66</sup> Urechia, “Memoriu”, p. 385–386.

<sup>67</sup> *BRV* II, p. 300.

<sup>68</sup> Urechia, “Memoriu”, p. 590–591, 1089–1090.

<sup>69</sup> On the debts of Nicolae Lazaru, see D. Lupu, “Tipografia grecească a fraților Lazaru din București (1783–1784, 1789)”, *Revista română de istorie a cărții*, 8, 2011, p. 50–51.

In 1789, the Lazaru brothers reopened the press with the support of Nicolae Mavrogheni (1786–1790). The prince offered them new headquarters near his recently founded monastery (1786–1787), dedicated to the Mother of God of the Life-Giving Spring (*Izvorul Tămăduirii*), on the northern outskirts of Bucharest (today, the Mavrogheni Church).<sup>70</sup> The press was located next to the monumental fountain on the monastery grounds, also built by Mavrogheni, and commonly called *Çișmea* (“fountain”, a word borrowed from Turkish) or *Çișmeaua Mavrogheni* (“Mavrogheni Fountain”), which explains why the Lazaru brothers’ press became known as “the Printing Press at the Life-Giving Spring near the *Çișmea*”, or “The Fountain Printing Press” (Rom. *Tipografia de la Çișmea*).

In February 1789, a booklet was published, entitled *Συνοπτική Περίληψις τῶν ἡρωϊκῶν κατορθωμάτων τοῦ... Μαυρογένη Βοεβόδα* (*Mavrogheni’s Acts of Bravery*, see Fig. 5), to celebrate the prince’s victories in the ongoing Austrian-Russian-Turkish War (1787–1792).<sup>71</sup> The Lazaru brothers dedicated it to Nicolae Mavrogheni, indicating in the preface that it was printed “in our new printing house, the one established with the princely and brilliant support of Your Highness, at the holy and princely monastery of the Life-Giving Spring”.<sup>72</sup> The volume includes a poem composed by Manolache (Emanuel) the Persian, the prince’s secretary, and eulogies written by high officials (laymen and clerics), as well as teachers and students of the Princely Academy (Fig. 6).

In July, they published *Περιγραφή τῆς Βλαχίας* (*The Description of Wallachia*),<sup>73</sup> an anonymous translation from French into Modern Greek of part of General Friedrich Wilhelm Bauer’s book *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur la Valachie* (published in 1778 “at Francfort et Leipsic”). After this date, the press ceased its activity.

#### 4.2 The Privileged Printing House of Doctor Constantin Caracaș and Associates (1817–1821)

In 1817, Ioan Caragea (1812–1818) approved the request of the physician Constantin Caracaș and his associates, the former great *stolnic* (steward) Răducanu Clinceanu and the former great *sluger*<sup>74</sup> Dumitrache Topliceanu, to establish a press in

<sup>70</sup> C. C. Giurescu, “Istoricul ctitoriilor bucureștene ale lui Nicolae Vodă Mavrogheni”, *BOR*, 80, 1962, 3–4, p. 339–363.

<sup>71</sup> *BRV* II, p. 333–334.

<sup>72</sup> Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1786–1800*, t. III, p. 543.

<sup>73</sup> *BRV* II, p. 332–333.

<sup>74</sup> The boyar who was in charge with the supplies necessary to the princely court.

Bucharest. As they had received a princely privilege to operate for 20 years, it was called “The Privileged Printing House” (Rom. *Tipografia privilegiată*). The printing press was placed near the fountain of the Mavrogheni Monastery. This is why on the title pages of a few books it was named also “The Press at the Mavrogheni Fountain” (Rom. *Tipografia privilegiată de la Cișmeaua Mavrogheni*).

The charter by which the press was founded, issued by Prince Ioan Caragea on November 3, 1817, is a seminal documentary source for the history of book printing in Romania.<sup>75</sup> Its ten articles include information on the equipment of the printing press, the way the printing of books was authorized, and the duties the owners had in relation to the state. The privilege was renewed by the following prince, Alexandru Suțu, on May 25, 1820.<sup>76</sup>

The associates were authorized to publish books in Romanian and Greek on both religious and “political” (secular) subjects that fell into the categories “philological” (science), or “*phillada*” (textbooks) for the education of children. By the end of the Phanariot era, 25 books and brochures were published, 14 in Romanian and 11 in Greek.<sup>77</sup> As the story of this press is discussed in detail by Ștefan Petrescu in this volume, I shall not insist on it.

## 5 The Books Published by the Phanariot Princes

There is no explicit mention on the title pages of church books that they were printed with princely funds. The prefaces to some liturgical books mention that they were printed at the behest or at the suggestion of a prince (“with the good advice and the will of Your Highness”), but not with his money.<sup>78</sup>

Of the approximately 311 books published in Wallachian printing presses during this period, only two directly mention that they were published by a ruling prince. Nicolae Mavrocordat published in 1716 the work of his father Alexandru Mavrocordat *Ιστορία Τερά ἧτοι τὰ Ιουδαϊκά* (*Sacred History: That Is, the Jewish One*),<sup>79</sup> and his own work, *Περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων* (*On Duties*), in 1719.<sup>80</sup> Both were printed in Bucharest in the press of Antim the Iberian at the Monastery of All Saints (now known as the Monastery of Antim).

75 V. A. Urechia, “Domnia lui Ioan Caragea, 1812-1818”, *AARMSI*, S. II, t. XX, 1898, p. 89–92.

76 Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1800–1830*, t. XII, p. 105–109.

77 On the activity of this press, see D. Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 124–129.

78 From the preface to the Gospel (Râmnic, 1746) dedicated by the editor of the book, Bishop Clement, to Constantin Mavrocordat (cf. *BRV* II, p. 90).

79 *BRV* I, p. 509–512.

80 *BRV* II, p. 1-2.

It is likely that the official administrative and law books printed at the princes' behest were published in Bucharest with princely funds: *Așezământul sfintelor mănăstiri* (*The Settlement of the Holy Monasteries*) by Constantin Mavrocordat,<sup>81</sup> and the two law codices of the Phanariot era: *Συνταγματικὸν Νομικόν/Pravilniceasca condică* (*The Small Handbook of Laws*) of Prince Alexandru Ipsilanti, published in a bilingual Greek-Romanian edition in 1780,<sup>82</sup> and Caragea's *Code of Laws*, first published in Greek in 1818, at Vienna.<sup>83</sup> The Romanian version of *Legiuirea lui Caragea* (*Caragea's Code of Laws*) was also printed in 1818, possibly with funds coming from the owners of the Privileged Printing Press, Doctor Caracaș and his associates.<sup>84</sup>

After 1800, the custom was also introduced in Wallachia of publishing books based on the subscription system. Those interested in a book paid in advance the cost of one or more copies. The prince Alexandru Suțu (1818–1821) participated in this form of collective patronage, which was widely used in the Greek printing presses of Venice and Vienna.<sup>85</sup> He appears on the list of subscribers to the first church hymn books printed with musical signs in the Romanian Principalities, as well as in the entire Orthodox East, by Petros Ephesios (ca. 1770–1840). A teacher at the school of music of the church of Saint Nicholas Șelari in Bucharest, he published in 1820 the *Νέον Αναστασιματάριον* (*The New Anastasimatarion*)<sup>86</sup> and the *Σύντομον Δοξαστάριον* (*The Brief Doxastarion*).<sup>87</sup> The chants, transposed in *chrysantic* notation, the new notation system for psaltic music, were printed with musical note signs created by Petros Ephesios himself. Alexandru Suțu paid in advance for 100 copies of the *New Anastasimatarion* and an unspecified number of copies of *The Brief Doxastarion* (Fig. 7).

Printing was an important element in the reform policies of the Phanariot princes and in their strategies for enhancing their prestige abroad. Although they were in the service of the Ottoman Empire, princes looked more and more to the West and its scholars, whose appreciation they were striving to obtain.

Some of them used their resources to publish their own works abroad: in 1722, the book *On Duties* by Nicolae Mavrocordat was published in Leipzig in a Latin and Greek edition, under the Latin title *De officiis*. As mentioned above, in 1818, Ioan Caragea published his code of laws in Greek at Vienna (Fig. 8). Others used printing to make their reforms known in the West. The Charter of Constantin Mavrocordat

<sup>81</sup> Without the year of publication.

<sup>82</sup> BRV II, p. 246–249.

<sup>83</sup> BRV II, p. 271–276.

<sup>84</sup> BRV III, p. 225–227; BRV IV, p. 304.

<sup>85</sup> Papacostea-Danielopolu, Demény, *Carte și tipar*, p. 241–250.

<sup>86</sup> BRV III, p. 351–356.

<sup>87</sup> BRV III, p. 358–361.

of February 7, 1741, which included reforms in the fiscal, agrarian, administrative, and judicial domains, was published in July 1742 in the famous magazine *Mercure de France*, titled *Constitution*.<sup>88</sup>

Many princes, such as Constantin Mavrocordat, Alexandru Ipsilanti, Grigore III Ghica, and Nicolae Mavrogheni, supported the publication of several books (scientific, educational, or theological) at the Greek presses of Venice, Vienna, and Leipzig. The prefaces to these books praised them and presented them as learned princes who were reformers and protectors of the letters and sciences.<sup>89</sup>

## 6 The Phanariot Princes and Censorship

It was in this period that the first documents were issued authorizing the printing of sacred and secular books. Mihai Racoviță formalized the Church censorship of liturgical, theological, and Christian reading books (ethical and sapiential) by two acts issued upon the demand of Metropolitan Neophytos of Crete: the princely order of December 3, 1741, and the charter of July 20, 1742.<sup>90</sup>

The metropolitan was authorized to examine the contents of the church books and to approve their printing (“to give his blessing”) in the territory under his ecclesiastical jurisdiction (princely order of December 3, 1741).<sup>91</sup> The liturgical and dogmatic books had to be checked before printing: “lest, by deviating from the straight line and the truth, Christians who read and listen be harmed instead of benefit” (charter of July 20, 1742).<sup>92</sup>

The first act of princely censorship in Wallachia is the order issued by Mihai Suțu in 1784, addressed to Metropolitan Grigore II (1760–1787) on July 25, and to the Bishop of Râmnic, Filaret (1780–1792), on August 1. The prince ordered them to ask for his approval before printing any Greek work, “because it is appropriate for me as a ruler to know what is being printed at the Greek press, both here in Bucharest and in the country”.<sup>93</sup> It is difficult to believe that church presses could have printed anything against the interests of the court. We believe that the document focused especially on the Lazaru brothers’ Greek printing press, which closed in

88 A-M. Cassoly, “Autour de l’insertion dans le « *Mercure de France* » de la « *Constitution* » de Constantin Mavrocordato”, *RESEE*, 19, 1981, 4, p. 751–753, 759.

89 Erbiceanu, *Bibliografia greacă*, p. 93–136.

90 The documents were published by Simedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean”, p. 924–932.

91 Simedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean”, Annex VII, p. 931.

92 Simedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean”, Annex VI, p. 930; A. Sacerdoțeanu, “Documente de cultură românească veche”, p. 454.

93 Urechia, “Memoriu”, p. 516.

1784. Because they printed lay books, they could be suspected of printing texts that would harm the authority of the prince and the Ottoman Empire, or the Christian morals. The princely order was not followed by regulations for verifying the texts or, if they were issued, they are not known.

For secular publications (didactic, scientific, and literary), Ioan Caragea introduced the princely censorship in 1817 (Fig. 9). The rules for inspection and approval were included in the charter by which the “Privileged Printing Press” was established. The authorization for printing was issued by the prince after the text was verified by his chamberlain (*marele postelnic*).<sup>94</sup>

## 7 Conclusions

The analysis of the documents that concern the printing activity in Wallachia and the books that were published in this period led us to the following conclusions.

Although from a political, fiscal, economic, and military perspective, the Phanariot rule *did* have some negative aspects, from a cultural perspective it initiated an opening to the Western European, most particularly French, civilization, especially after 1774. The Phanariot princes were the patrons of printing activities in ways that were sometimes different from the earlier ones, more in tune with the times in which they lived and the Western European model they wanted to follow.

The Phanariot princes transferred the responsibility of publishing church books to the metropolitans and bishops. They asked Church leaders to set up printing houses and finance the printing of religious books, granting priority to liturgical books in Romanian. They successfully accomplished this task until the end of the Phanariot era. Most of the ecclesiastical books, necessary both for the clergy's training and the people's education, were printed at church printing presses.

Though the contribution of the Phanariot princes to the financing of printing activities decreased, they did not neglect typographic activities. Some of them founded printing presses and edited or contributed to the publication of certain books. They encouraged private initiatives in the field of printing, granted tax exemptions to printers and people working in church presses, and issued rules regarding the authorization to print church and secular books in Wallachia.

Schools and presses, both Romanian and Greek, were founded under their patronage, and more books were published in Romanian than in Greek. During their rule, the process of introducing the Romanian language in the divine services was finalized, with Romanian editions of all liturgical books published.

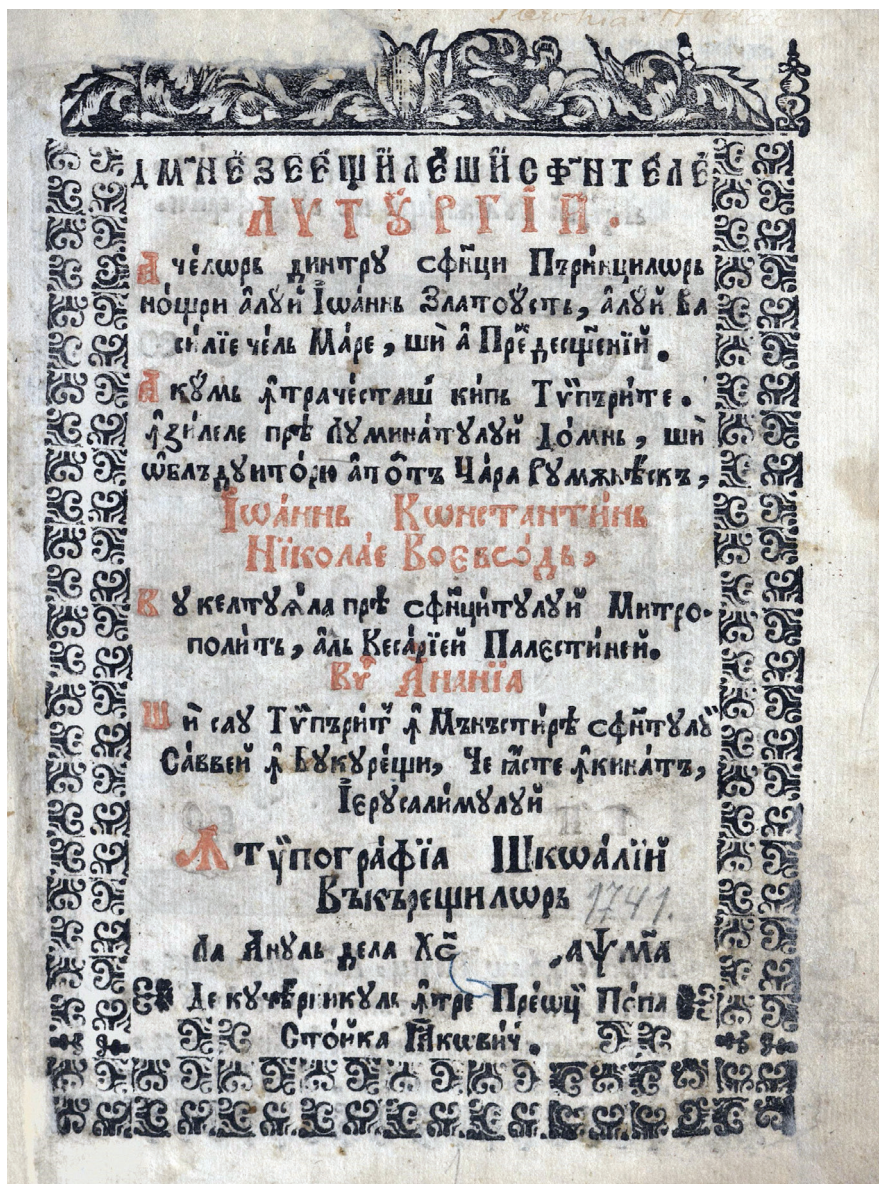
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94 Urechia, “Domnia lui Ioan Caragea”, p. 92.

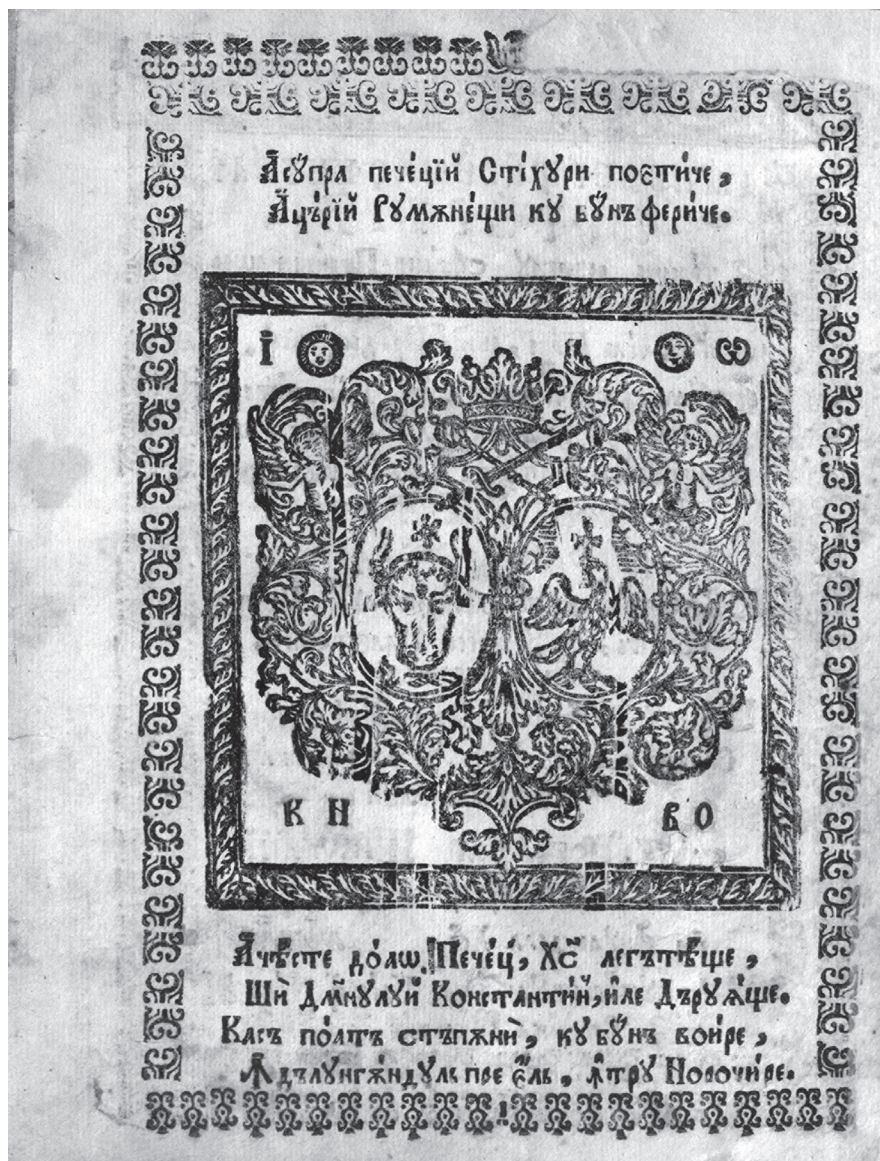
Some of the princes financially supported scholars to publish their books in the country or abroad (Venice, Vienna, and Leipzig) and were patrons of literary societies. The publishers and editors of the various editions dedicated books to them and praised them as customary with the princes of yore. Engravings representing their princely coats of arms were printed on the verso of the title pages of the books that were published through their generosity or goodwill.

The Phanariot princes considered printing to be a valuable instrument in their projects of reforming society, mainly in the field of education. It was used as a means of disseminating literacy, consolidating Orthodoxy at home, as well as supporting Orthodoxy in Transylvania and support the Orthodox Christians south of the River Danube and in the Near East.

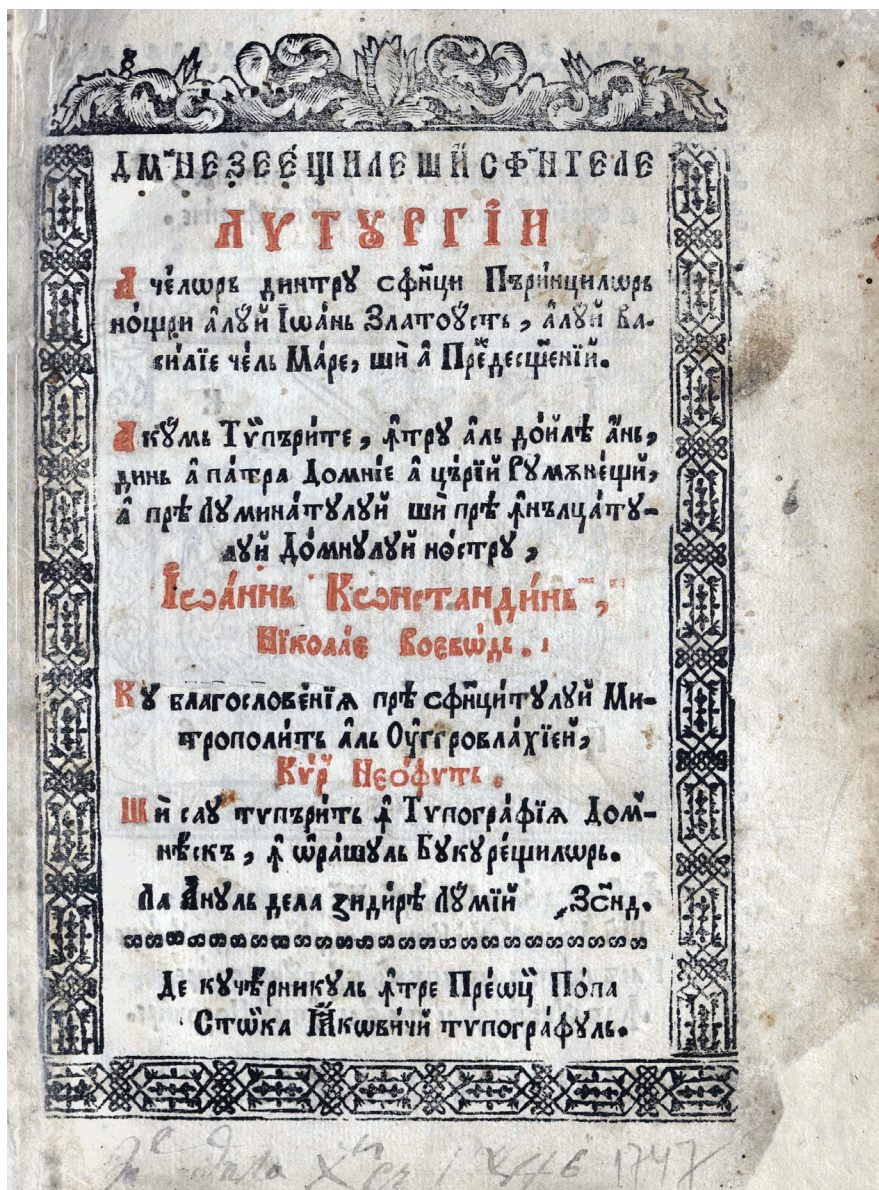
**Note:** All reproductions are published by permission of the Municipal Museum of Bucharest, owner of the books presented below.



**Fig. 1:** Title page, *Liturghier* (Book of the Divine Liturgies), Bucharest, the Văcărești School Printing Press, 1741.



**Fig. 2:** Prince Constantin Mavrocordat's coat of arms and encomiastic verses in the *Liturghier*, Bucharest, 1741.



**Fig. 3:** Title page, *Liturghier* (Book of the Divine Liturgies), Bucharest, 1746.

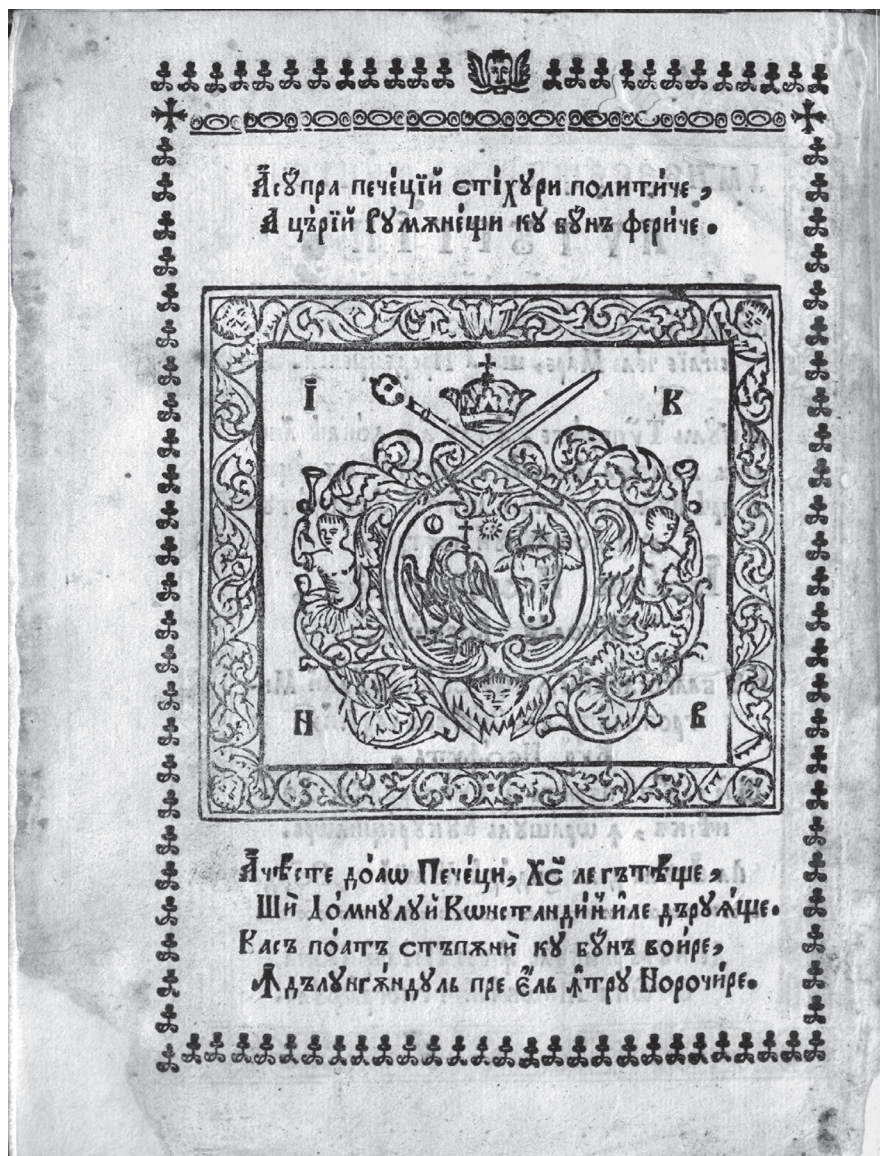


Fig. 4: Prince Constantin Mavrocordat's coat of arms and encomiastic verses in the *Liturghier*, Bucharest, 1746.

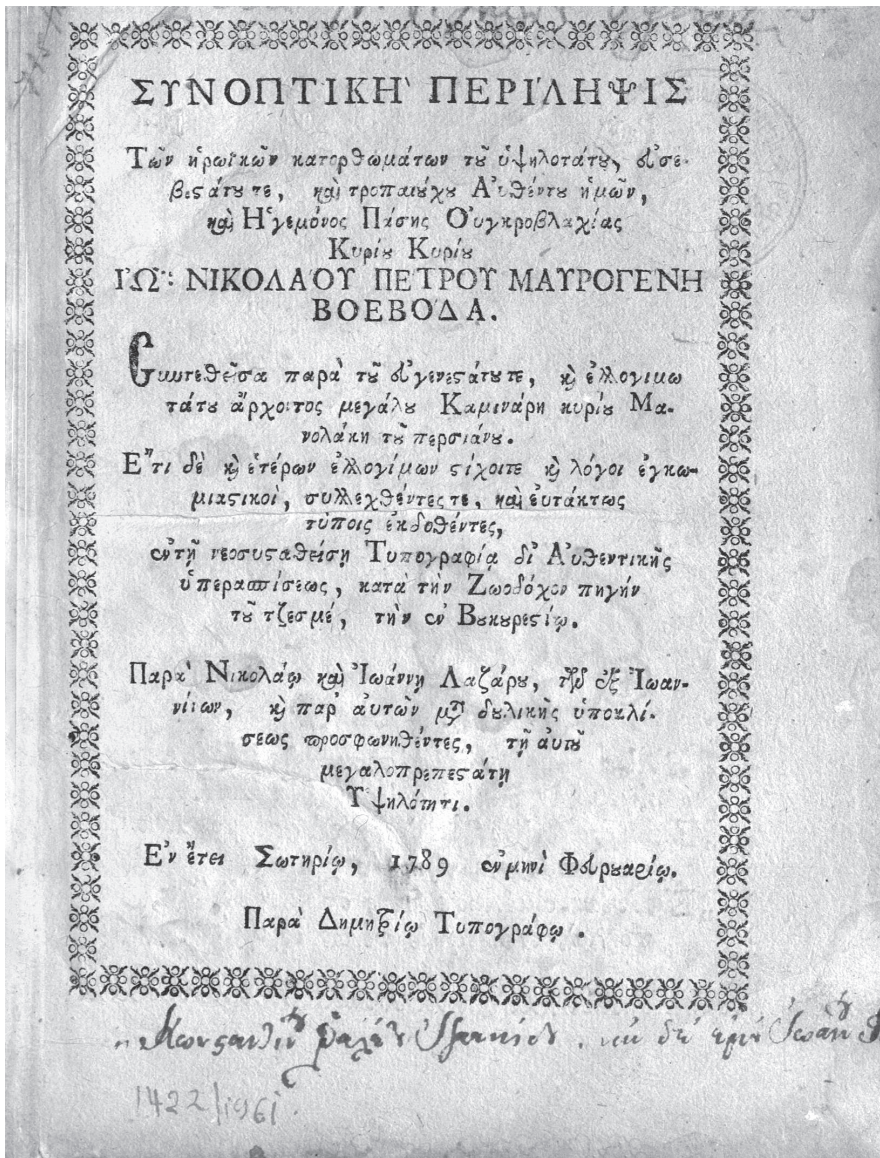
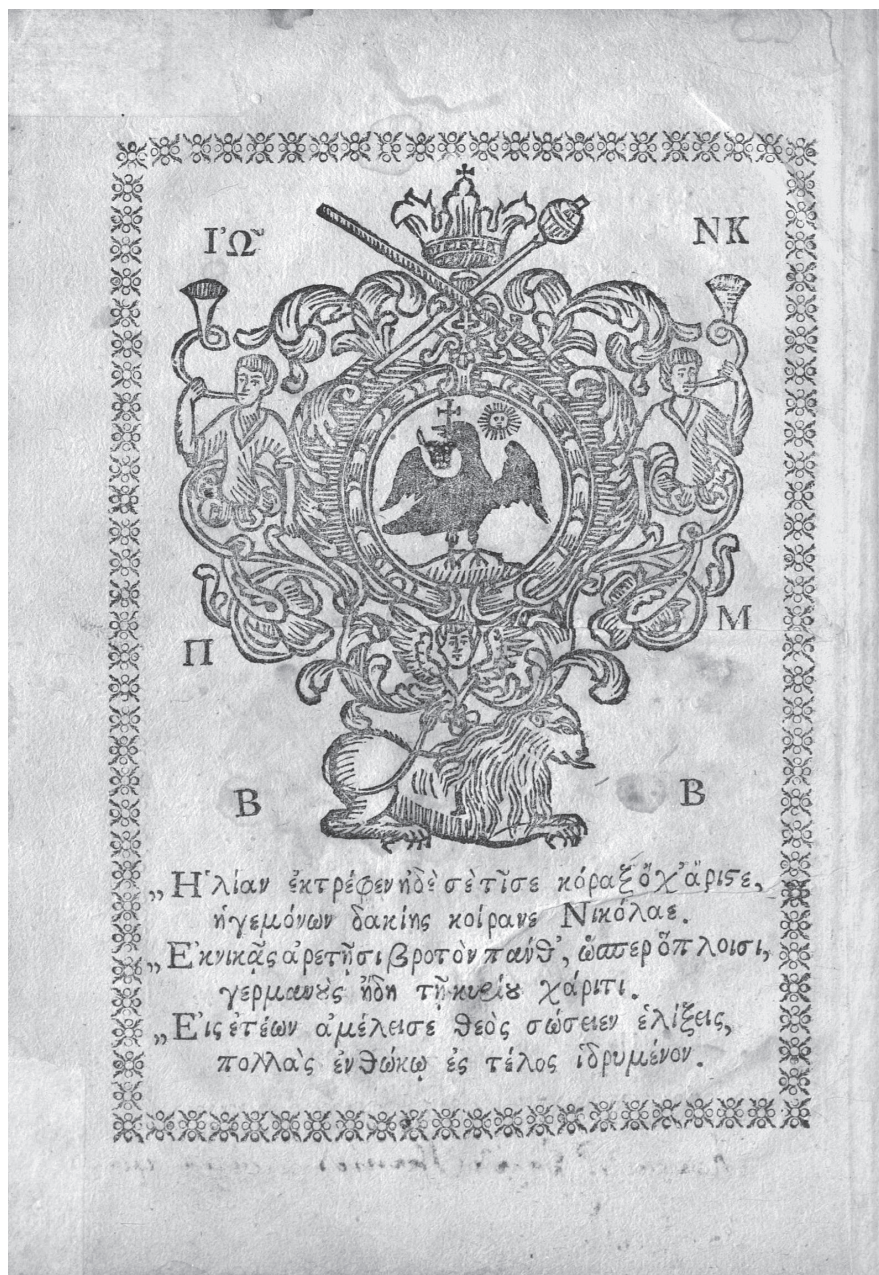


Fig. 5: Συνοπτική Περίληψις τῶν ἡρώικων κατορθωμάτων τοῦ... Μαυρογενῆ Βοεβόδα (Mavrogheni's Acts of Bravery), Printing Press of the Lazaru brothers, Bucharest, 1789.



**Fig. 6:** Prince Nicolae Mavrogheni's coat of arms and encomiastic verses in *Συναπτική Περίληψις τῶν ἡρώικων κατορθωμάτων τοῦ... Μαυρογένη Βοεβόδα*, Bucharest, 1789.

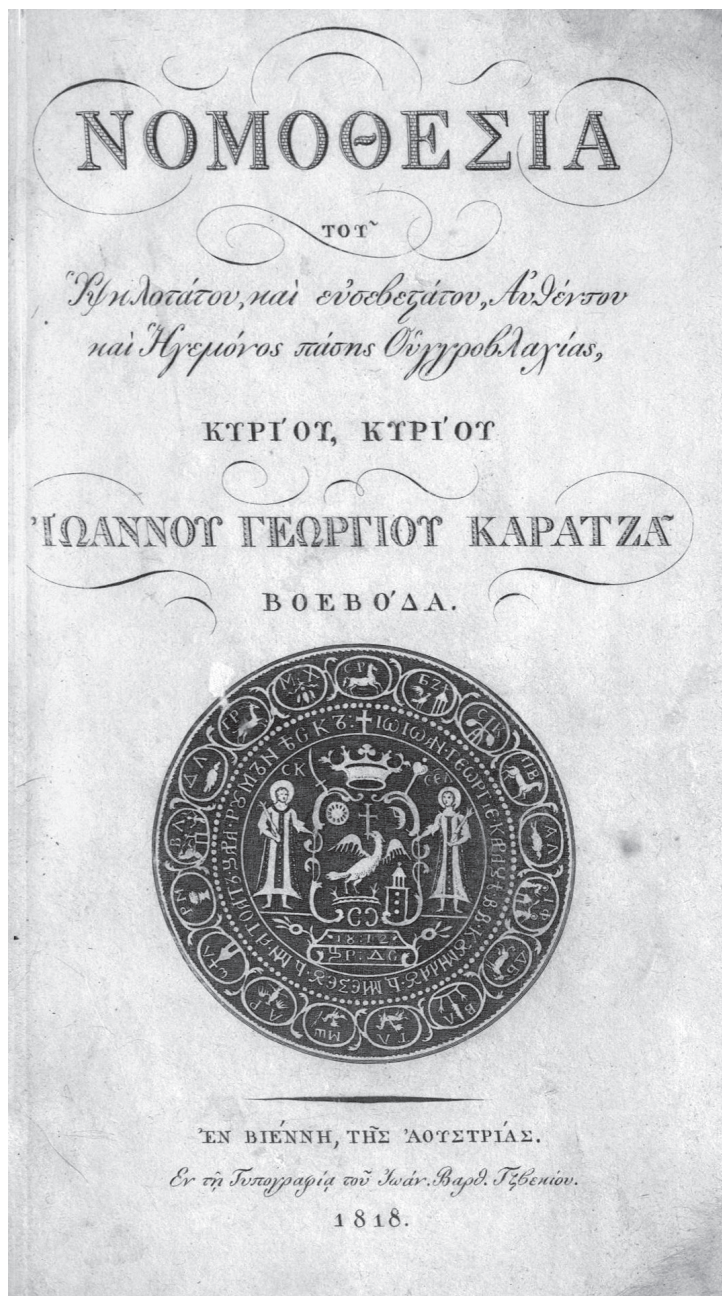
## Καταγραφὴ τῶν φιλομούσων Συνδρομητῶν.

## Σώματα

## Ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ.

|                                                                                                                                    |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Ὁ Ὑψηλότατος καὶ Θεοσεβέστατος Ἀνθέντης καὶ Ἡγεμὼν<br>πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κύριος Κύριος Ἀλέ-<br>ξανδρος Νικολάος Στέφανος Βοεβόδα. | 100 |
| Ὁ Πανιερώτατος ἅγιος Μητροπολίτης πάσης Οὐγ-<br>γοβλαχίας Κύριος Κύριος Αἰονύσιος.                                                 | 30  |
| Ὁ Πανιερώτατος ἅγιος Πογωνιανῆς Κύριος Αἰονύσιος.                                                                                  | 2   |
| Ὁ Πανιερώτατος ἅγιος Ἱεραπόλεως Κύριος Νεόφυτος.                                                                                   | 3   |
| Ὁ Πανιερώτατος ἅγιος Τρωάδος Κύριος Βενέδικτος.                                                                                    | 1   |
| Ὁ Πανοσιολογιώτατος ἅγιος Ἀρχιμανδρίτης τῆς Ἀθηντατικῆς<br>Κῆρης Κύριος Σεραφεῖμ.                                                  | 1   |
| Ὁ Πανοσιώτατος ἅγιος ἀρχιμανδρίτης Κύρ. Ἰωσήφ Ἀσσιτιώτης.                                                                          | 2   |
| Ὁ Πανοσιώτατος Ἱερομόναχος Κύριος Ἰωακείμ Κωνσταντινίδης.                                                                          | 1   |
| Ὁ Πανοσιώτ. Ἱερομόναχος Κύριος Πολύκαρπος ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων.                                                                            | 1   |
| Ὁ Πανοσιώτατος Κύριος Ἰωακείμ Συναΐτης.                                                                                            | 1   |
| Ὁ Πανοσιολογιώτατος Κύριος Ἀθανάσιος Κῆρς ἐν Κυθωναῖς.                                                                             | 3   |
| Ὁ Πανοσιώτατος Σκενοφύλαξ Κύριος Κύριλλος Κυθωνιεύς.                                                                               | 3   |
| Ὁ Πανοσιώτατος καὶ μεσικολογιώτατος Κύριος Ἀνθίμος<br>Ἰδραῖος.                                                                     | 3   |
| Ὁ Ὀσιολογιώτατος Κύριος Ἱερόθεος Μπερνάζος.                                                                                        | 1   |
| Ὁ ἐν Σύμῳ ἅγιος ἐκκλησιαρχὴς τῆς ἁγίας Φωτεινῆς<br>Κύριος Παρθένιος.                                                               | 2   |
| Ὁ Δογιώτατος Ἱεροδιάκονος Κύριος Ἰωακείμ Θεσσαλονικεύς.                                                                            | 1   |
| Ὁ Δογιώτατος Ἱεροδιάκονος Κύριος Νεόφυτος Πάριος.                                                                                  | 1   |
| Ὁ Μεσικολογιώτατος Κύριος Ἰωαννῖνος ἐκ Γιμορτζίνας.                                                                                | 1   |
| Ὁ Δογιώτατος Ἱεροδιάκονος Κύριος Ἰάσων.                                                                                            | 1   |
| Ὁ Δογιώτατος Ἱεροδιάκονος Κύριος Κύριλλος.                                                                                         | 1   |
| Ὁ Δογιώτατος Ἱεροδιάκονος Κύριος Ζαχαρίας.                                                                                         | 1   |
| Ὁ Αἰδεσιμώτατος Κύριος Κωνσταντῖνος.                                                                                               | 1   |
| Ὁ Αἰδεσιμώτατος Κύριος Νικόλαος Δελβινακιώτης.                                                                                     | 1   |
| Ὁ Αἰδεσιμώτατος Κύριος Ἰωάννης, πρωτόπαπας.                                                                                        | 1   |
| Ὁ Αἰδεσιμώτατος Σπυρίδων Σατοβιζινός ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων.                                                                                 | 1   |
| Ὁ Αἰδεσιμώτατος Κύριος Νικόλαος Γεωργιάδης Ζιτζαῖος.                                                                               | 1   |
| Ὁ Ἀρχὼν Παχάρνικος Κύριος Δημήτριος Ζαμάνης.                                                                                       | 3   |
| Ὁ Ἀρχὼν Σεβάρης Κύριος Γεωργιάκης Ν. Ὀλυμπιώτης.                                                                                   | 1   |

Fig. 7: List of subscribers in Νέον Ἀναστασιματάριον, Bucharest, 1820.



**Fig. 8:** Title page, *Νομοθεσία Καρατζά* (Caragea's Code of Law), Printing Press of Ioannes Bartholomeo Zweck, Vienna, 1818.



**Fig. 9:** Blasius Höfel, *Prince Ioan Caragea* and his personal coat of arms in *Νομοθεσία Καπατζά*, Vienna, 1818.

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