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Greek Printing in Wallachia: The Mavrogheni Printing Press in Bucharest (1818–1830)

1 Printing in the “Phanariot Century”

Between the years 1711 and 1821, during the “Phanariot century”, the ruling princes of the Danubian Principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia, were appointed by the sultan and quickly replaced, like any provincial governor, although they enjoyed a certain regime of autonomy within the Ottoman Empire. But who the Phanariot rulers, Greek or Greek-identified families of Constantinople, were, and how they came to occupy the throne is not for us to discuss here. The condemnation of the Phanariots’ reigns, an era of hegemony of the Greek culture, was a particular focus of the Romanian scholarship of the mid-19th century, usually integrated with the despotic system of government and the resentment of foreigners as a whole.¹ Until 1820, the language of education and culture in Wallachia was Greek, and Romanian was the language of administration and the Church. The first Romanian secondary school opened its doors in Bucharest in 1818. I would like to highlight the fact that, despite the negative fame they gained in the Age of Nations, the Phanariot princes were determined to do their job well, and, in the field of culture, they stood out as supporters of printing. In the early 19th century, there were only two printing presses operating in Wallachia, both of which belonged to the Church: the Metropolitan printing press and the press of the Bishopric of Râmnic. These were on the verge of insolvency; the Metropolitan printing press even found itself unable to print the required liturgical books. Evidently, the Church did not publish books of a secular content.²

1 Ș. Lemny, “La critique du régime féodal phanariote: clichés mentaux et perspectives historiographiques”, in A. Zub (ed.), *Culture and Society. Structures, Interferences, Analogies in the Modern Romanian History*, Iași, 1985, p. 22; M. Chioveanu, “The Constitutive Other: Topical and Tropical Phanariot in Modern Romania”, *Studia Politica. Romanian Political Science Review*, 9, 2009, 2, p. 213–229.

2 On the printing activity in the early 19th century, see D. Simonescu, *Din activitatea tipografică a Bucureștilor (1678–1830)*, Bucharest, 1935, p. 13, 16; N. Camariano, “Tipografii grecești în Principatele Române”, *Néa Ellás/Grecia Nouă*, March 31, 1946, p. 1; C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, L. Demény, *Carte și tipar în societatea românească și sud-est europeană (secolele XVII–XIX)*, Bucharest, 1985; E. M. Mârza, F. Bogdan, *Repertoriul tipografilor; gravurilor; patronilor; editorilor cărților românești: (1508–1830)*, Sibiu, 2013 (2nd ed.); D. Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea din Țara Românească în epoca domniilor fanariote (1716–1821)*, Bucharest, 2014, p. 124–125; Doru Bădără, *The Beginning of Printing and Print*

2 The Founders of the Company

The story of the company starts in 1817 with the founders. Their purpose was to print secular books in the Romanian and Greek languages, mainly literary fiction and schoolbooks. One of the owners was Constantine Caracaș (Gr. Karakasas, 1773–1828), a prominent physician in Bucharest, a native of Macedonia, with medical studies in Vienna (Fig. 1).³ He died of the plague on October 31, 1828.⁴ The other partners were boyars, clerks, and merchants: the *stolnic* Răducanu Clineanu (Fig. 2) and the *sluger*⁵ Dumitrache Topliceanu (Fig. 3). Clineanu had become rich by trading wood during the reign of Constantin Ipsilanti (1802–1806).⁶ Topliceanu was a civil servant and judge,⁷ and later, in the 1830s, he was appointed deputy inspector of the Danube Quarantine Committee, in charge with the sanitary supervision of the Principality at the border with the Ottoman Empire.⁸

Two members of the editorial board are mentioned in the books printed at Mavrogheni before 1830: Răducanu and Topliceanu. Caracaș's name is mentioned as a member of the editorial board (*ephor*) in a few books only. However, in 1830, when the printing press changed ownership, only one name appears on the sale-purchase contract: Irina, the widow of Doctor Caracaș, daughter of the physician Silvestru Filitti. Two years after Caracaș's death, on October 11, 1830, the widow, Irina, sold the printing press for 25 thousand lei, or 793.65 gold coins,⁹ which represented a teacher's decade of wages, or the annual income of a high-ranking state official.¹⁰ The buyers were Nicolae Rădulescu and his nephew, Ion Iliade, or Heliade (1802–1871). In the following years, Ion Heliade Rădulescu continued to publish Greek books at Mavrogheni.

Culture in the Romanian Principalities, in R. Dîpratu, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 123–144.

3 P. Gh. Samarian, *Medicina și farmacia în trecutul românesc. Asistența publică în trecutul românesc până la 1834*, vol. II, 1775–1834, Bucharest, 1938, p. 46, 83, 84.

4 G. I. Ionescu-Gion, *Portrete istorice*, Bucharest, 1894, p. 44; Samarian, *Medicina și farmacia în trecutul românesc*, vol. III, Bucharest, 1938, p. 306.

5 *Stolnic* and *serdar* were boyars' ranks at the court of the Danubian Principalities.

6 Lupu, *Țiparul și cartea din Țara Românească*, p. 124.

7 T. Dinu, *Bucureștiul fanariot*, vol. III, București, 2021, p. 227.

8 *Almanahul Statului pe anul 1853, tipărit cu slobozenia înaltei stăpâniri*, Bucharest, 1853, p. 68.

9 Simonescu, *Din activitatea tipografică a Bucureștilor*, p. 19; G. Potra, M. Caratașu, "I. Heliade Rădulescu și cărțile grecești tipărite la București", *BOR*, 115, 1977, 9–12, p. 945; Lupu, *Țiparul și cartea din Țara Românească*, p. 129.

10 P. Negulescu, G. Alexianu, *Regulamentele Organice ale Valahiei și Moldovei*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1944, p. 63.

The printing press operated in the Mavrogheni Monastery, founded by prince Nicholas Mavrogheni in the 1780s. The monastery was outside the city, in a peripheral neighborhood, very close to the city's northern barrier.¹¹ The Church of the Life-Giving Spring (*Izvorul Tămăduirii*) is the only monument still preserved today from the former monastic complex (Fig. 4).¹² The printing press paid rent to the monastery.¹³ In the courtyard there was a fountain, part of the city water distribution network. On some title pages of the books printed here it is mentioned as “The Fountain Printing Press” (Rom. *Tipografia de la Cișmea*), “The Privileged Printing Press” (Rom. *Tipografia Privilegiată*), or “The Newly Established Printing Press” (Gr. *Νεοσύστατο Τυπογραφείο*, Rom. *Nou Făcută Tipografie*). In the 1830s, Heliade moved its headquarters from the Mavrogheni Church to the Obor – Pantelimon neighborhood in Bucharest.¹⁴ The company changed its name to “The Heliade Printing Press” (Rom. *Tipografia lui Eliade*). Heliade Rădulescu ended his printing activity in 1863.¹⁵

3 Printing, State, and Monopoly

The founders of the company demanded monopoly rights over the production of secular books. Even though there was no precedent, prince Ioan Caragea (1812–1818) granted them this privilege on November 3, 1817.¹⁶ On May 25, 1820, prince Alexandru Suțu (1818–1821), Caragea's successor, reconfirmed the privilege for 20 years, and therefore until 1838 no private person could open another printing press in Wallachia.¹⁷ Moreover, given the bankrupt situation of the Church's

11 On the location of the monastery, see C. C. Giurescu, “Istoricul ctitoriilor bucureștene ale lui Nicolae Mavrogheni”, *BOR*, 80, 1962, 3-4, p. 349–350; Ș. Ionescu, “Orașul București în timpul domniei lui N. Mavrogheni (1786–1789)”, *Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie*, IV, 1966, p. 69–86; M. Stan, “‘Târgul de afară’ de la capul Podului Mogoșoaiei”, *Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie*, VII, 1969, p. 254.

12 C. Mucenic, “Povești cu tâlc despre București și casele, bisericile, târgurile, străzile lui”, Bucharest, 2022, p. 15.

13 V. A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1800–1830*, t. X, Part A, Bucharest, 1900, p. 431 (see the *hrisov* of November 3, 1817).

14 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 129; Potra, Caratașu, “I. Heliade Rădulescu și cărțile grecești tipărite”, p. 946.

15 M. Anghelescu, *Ion Heliade Rădulescu*, Bucharest, 1986, p. 343.

16 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, part A, p. 427, 428–432; Urechia, “Domnia lui Ioan Caragea, 1812–1818. Biserica. Școalele. Cultura publică”, *AARMSI*, S. II, t. XX, 1899, p. 107.

17 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, part A, p. 429; Urechia, *Istoria românilor, Seria 1800–1830*, t. XII, Bucharest, 1898, p. 107.

printing press of the time, the Mavrogheni printing press received the right to publish religious books, obviously with the metropolitan's blessing. As regards books with a secular content, the government, through its delegate, the great *postelnic*, exercised a kind of "censorship."¹⁸ The editorial board consisted of four members: the three owners and the great *postelnic*.¹⁹ The "newly founded printing press" also did works of charity, printing school books for poor children and allocating 5% of its profit to the Filantropia (Philanthropy) hospital.²⁰ The hospital, a project of Constantin Caracaș, was part of the early generation of modern hospital establishments in Bucharest. It was built in 1810 in the vicinity of the Mavrogheni church.²¹

The entrepreneurs also had an unusual request: they wished to publish newspapers and other periodicals, following the model of those of Vienna. The proposal enjoyed the support of the *dragoman* (translator) of the Russian consulate in Bucharest, George Leventis, but also of the members of the Filiki Eteria, an organization established in 1814 in Odessa, in the Russian Empire, with the intention to raise the Christian population to fight against Ottoman rule.²² The prince's answer was peremptory: "We, the Ruling Prince, do not allow journals to be printed, as requested by the founders of this printing press".²³

In exchange for privileges, the founders of the company had committed to the government to print official documents, i.e., the princely chancellery documents. The printing company was compelled to put the business into operation within six months.²⁴ Why the rush? Prince Caragea was engaged in reforms, and the Code of civil and criminal laws, known as *Legiuirea lui Caragea* (*Caragea's Code of Laws*), did not suffer any delay. The *Code of Laws*, drafted in 1817, was first printed in Greek in 1818, in Vienna: *Νομοθεσία τοῦ Ὑψηλοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου Αὐθέντου καὶ Ἡγεμόνος πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας, κυρίου Ἰωάννου Γεωργίου Καρατσά βοεβόδα*

18 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, Part A, p. 432 (article 10). The *postelnic* was a high official position in government, held by boyars in Moldavia and Wallachia.

19 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, Part A, p. 431 (article 7).

20 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, Part A, p. 431 (articles 3 and 4).

21 Samarian, *Medicina și farmacia în trecutul românesc*, vol. II, p. 88–89.

22 E. de Hurmuzachi, *Documente privind istoria României. Rapoartele consulare prusiene de la Iași și București, 1763–1844*, vol. X, Bucharest, p. 85 (report of von Miltitz to Ludwig von Kreuchely, December 11, 1820); N. Camariano, "Από την ιστορία του ελληνικού τύπου. Μια απόπειρα της Φιλικής Εταιρείας να εκδώσει εφημερίδα εις το Βουκουρέστι. Δυο άγνωστα έγγραφα", *Νέα Ελλάδα /Grecia nouă*, 78, May 6, 1946, p. 1; A. Pippidi, "Nicolae Mavros. Locul său în viața politică și intelectuală", in M. Coman, O. Cristea et al. (eds.), *Andrei Pippidi, mai puțin cunoscut. Studii adunate de foștii săi elevi cu prilejul împlinirii vârstei de 70 de ani*, Iași, 2018, p. 410.

23 The *anafora* of October 12, 1817; see Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, Part A, p. 434.

24 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, part A, p. 430 (article 1).

(*Legislation of His Highness and Most Venerable Sovereign and Emperor of All Hungro-Wallachia, Lord Ioannis Georgios Karatsis Voivode*). The important Greek-language publishing centers of the early 19th century included Iași,²⁵ Pest, Vienna, and Venice, and previously, in the 1780s, Greek printing presses had also operated in Wallachia. Between 1801 and 1820, about 25% of the Greek printed books were published in Vienna.²⁶ A Romanian edition of Caragea's *Code of Laws* was also necessary, in order to be distributed to the courts in the country. Could the Mavrogheni printing press fulfill this task? On April 19, 1818, after the completion of the six-month term, the printing press opened its doors with pomp. But the typographers and the equipment needed for such an enterprise were lacking.²⁷

On this festive occasion, the poet Iancu Văcărescu (1786–1863), whose grandfather, Ienăchiță, is the author of the first Romanian grammar, composed a poem called *Tipografia* (*The Printing Press*).²⁸ The first editorial project of the Mavrogheni press was the *Legislation*, as suggested by the verse “*Pravila-ncepe să tipărești*” (“You start printing the law”).²⁹ Caragea's *Code of Law*, promulgated in the summer of 1818, remained in use until 1864, when modern civil and criminal codes were adopted. According to the decree enacting the *Code of Law*, the judges were to use the Greek version published in Vienna until they received the Romanian edition. The decree mentions the printing press of the Bishopric of Râmnic,³⁰ which shows that, as suggested by Andrei Veress, Nestor Camariano, and Daniela Lupu, the printing press at Mavrogheni was not yet operational.³¹ Other Romanian printing presses operated in Brașov and Pest in the Habsburg Empire, in Iași and at Neamț Monastery in Moldavia. Several scholars have shown in the past, and others have recently demonstrated that the *Code of Law* was most certainly printed in Brașov. The Mavrogheni printing press in Bucharest is mentioned on the title page of the *Code of Law*, but we are talking

25 N. Camariano, “Nouvelles informations sur la création et l'activité de la typographie grecque de Yassy 1812–1821”, *Balkan Studies*, 7, 1966, 1, p. 61–76.

26 C. Güthenke, *Placing Modern Greece. The Dynamics of Romantic Hellenism, 1770–1840*, Oxford, 2008, p. 118; V. Seirinidou, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη (18ος-μέσα 19ου αιώνα)*, Athens, 2011, p. 306–315.

27 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 126.

28 The poem is published in the volume I. Văcărescu, *Poezii alese din ale d. marelui logofăt I. Văcărescu*, Bucharest, 1830, p. 53–55.

29 Văcărescu, *Poezii alese*, p. 54.

30 The Code of Law was promulgated by the decree of August 9, 1818. See D. D. Stoenescu (ed.), *Vechile legiuri românești. Legiuirea Caragea după ediția de la 1818*, Craiova, 1905, p. 19; A. Rădulescu (ed.), *Legiuirea Caragea: ediție critică*, Bucharest, 1955, p. XV.

31 A. Veress, *Bibliografia româno-ungară. Românii în literatura ungară și ungarii în literatura română, 1781–1838*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1931, p. 222–223; N. Camariano, “Ediția critică a Legiurii Caragea”, *Studii. Revista de istorie*, X, 1957, 1, p. 186–187; Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 126–127.

about a “false editorial address”, a common fact at the time.³² This hypothesis is also supported by the printing technique, typefaces, and illustrations.³³

I have also identified other editions about which we do not know for sure whether they were printed at Mavrogheni or not. On some of them, the place is mentioned, but not the printing press, and on others, neither the printing press, nor the place is mentioned. The four books printed at Mavrogheni in 1821 raise some questions. Because of the Eteria movement in the Principality, which drove hundreds of boyars and merchants from Bucharest to take refuge in Brașov,³⁴ we cannot be sure that those books were really published in Bucharest and not in Brașov. In the spring of 1821, Constantine Caracaș fled Bucharest and settled in Brașov; he would return around 1824.³⁵ During the uprising against the Ottoman rule, another partner, Topliceanu, remained in Bucharest; in June 1821, after the defeat of the Eteria movement, the new regime sent him to Brașov in order to persuade the refugees to return home.³⁶

4 Quantitative research

As I stated before, the Mavrogheni printing press was set to work with great difficulty. After the owners grandly inaugurated an empty building in April 1818, another year passed before they brought the press and the printers to Bucharest. Typographers and engravers came to Bucharest from Neamț Monastery: Ghervasi the monk, Constantie the hieromonk, Isaia the monk, and a typographer. I have found no information about the paper and the implements that they used.³⁷

My research stops in 1830 for historical considerations, but also for practical reasons. For the books printed until 1830, we have systematic information in the online database *Cartea românească veche* (*Old Romanian Books*, commonly called CRV).³⁸ After 1830, book production increased spectacularly, and after 1840,

32 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 127.

33 D. Râpă-Buicliu, *Cartea românească veche. Studia bibliologica*, Cuvânt înainte acad. Virgil Cândea, Galați, 2000, p. 159–167; L. Manea, *Circulația cărții vechi (manuscrisă și tipărită) în spațiul nord-dunărean*, Brăila, 2013, p. 118.

34 A. Oțetea, *Tudor Vladimirescu și mișcarea eteristă în Țările Române 1821–1822*, Bucharest, 1945, p. 217–221.

35 Samarian, *Medicina și farmacia în trecutul românesc*, II, p. 95.

36 I.C. Filitti, *Frământările politice și sociale în Principatele Române de la 1821 la 1828*, Bucharest, 1932, p. 74.

37 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 128.

38 I. Bianu, N. Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche*, vol. III. 1809–1830, Bucharest, 1936.

numerous printing presses were set up in the Principality. Thus, researchers do not have at hand an effective working tool that would give them the opportunity to order the information chronologically and make quantitative considerations.

The profit target of the Mavrogheni printing press estimated by the government for the year 1820 was of 8,000 thalers.³⁹ A teacher could make this money in four or five years with a salary of 1,750 thalers per year.⁴⁰ Indeed, the year 1820 was extremely productive, far above the standards of the time: 18 books in Greek and Romanian.⁴¹ Eleven Greek books were published in 1820 alone. Of the 25 books published in the first three years of operation, between 1818 and 1821, 14 contain religious text and 11, secular. In the first three years, the printing press totaled 22% of the production of secular books printed in Wallachia in over 100 years. Between 1716 and 1821, ten printing presses operated in Wallachia, producing 311 publications,⁴² of which only 50 were secular works, and the rest, religious.⁴³ Between 1818 and 1830, the period studied in this contribution, 80 editions were published, whereas 18 in Greek, representing 22.5%. Topics covered included theatre (7), religion (4), school textbooks (2), novel (1), poetry (1), ancient literature (1), history (1), and medicine (1). Between 1822 and 1838, including the years when the printing press came into the hands of Heliade Rădulescu, 29 Greek titles were published.⁴⁴

The key to understanding the phenomenon of Greek printing production in the Danubian Principalities consists of the networks of merchants and intellectuals in the Greek-speaking communities of Central and Eastern Europe. These communities were formed following the migration of Greek-speaking populations from the Ottoman territories to the Romanian Principalities, the Habsburg Empire, and the Russian Empire. The Greek scholar Philipos Iliou has shown, based on the lists of subscribers published at the end of the volumes, that the production of Greek books in the Principalities between 1750 and 1821, in presses of Bucharest and Iași, was at a level close to that of Greek printing presses in Vienna. In the previously mentioned time frame, 4,235 copies were printed in Bucharest, 3,108 in Iași, 7,495 in Vienna, and 5,971 in Constantinople.⁴⁵ For most of the Mavrogheni publications, we have no information about the number of subscribers or the circulation. For this

39 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. XII, p. 106.

40 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, Part A, p. 341.

41 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 256.

42 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 256.

43 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 259.

44 Potra, Caratașu, "I. Heliade Rădulescu și cărțile grecești tipărite la București", p. 947.

45 P. Iliou, "Pour une étude quantitative du public des lecteurs grecs à l'époque des Lumières et de la révolution (1749–1832)", *AIESEE, Actes du premier Congrès International des Études*

reason, we cannot make a comparative analysis with other Greek printing centers. After 1821, numerous printing presses were established in the free Greek territories, and the circulation of propaganda volumes, school textbooks, and newspapers was impressive. In 1823, the Glykis printing press in Venice produced 150,000 copies of an *Alphabet Book*!⁴⁶ It is of course an exception. At the time, a volume in Greek did not exceed 5,000 copies, and the average figure was 1,000.⁴⁷

The book market in Wallachia was different: it was not intended for commercial mass production. Most subscribers to the books printed at Mavrogheni were boyars, merchants, and clerics. Of course, few were serious readers, some perhaps barely literate, but ordering a book was about validating social status, how much they wanted to be seen by their countrymen as “lovers of the muses” and patriots.⁴⁸ For example, the 1820 volume of psaltic music by Petros Ephesios, which we will discuss in more detail below, had a circulation of no less than 631 copies in the Principality. Volumes also reached the Balkans: Melenik (5), and Adrianople (18).⁴⁹ Another example would be Gottfried Gabriel Bredow’s *Summary of Universal History* (*Συνοπτική γενική ιστορία*), a history book published in 1827: 417 copies (227 were ordered in Bucharest alone).

5 A Few Notes on the Religious Books

The first book published at the Mavrogheni press was the translation from Greek into Romanian of the *Apologia* of Athanasios Parios (1722–1813).⁵⁰ This work was published in 1798 in the Patriarch’s Greek printing press in Constantinople, by order of the Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory V (1746–1821).⁵¹ Enlightenment ideas of “freedom” and “equality” are presented in opposition to faith in Christ.⁵² The

Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes, IV, Sofia, 1969, p. 475–480; Papacostea-Danielopolu, Demény, *Carte și tipar*, p. 242–243.

46 F. Iliou, *Κυκλοφορίες των Ελλήνων Βιβλίων. Τα μεγάλα «τραβήγματα» το 1823*, extract from the periodical *Ο Πολίτης*, 13, 1977, p. 14.

47 Iliou, *Κυκλοφορίες των Ελλήνων Βιβλίων*, p. 16.

48 Papacostea-Danielopolu, Demény, *Carte și tipar*, p. 243.

49 Papacostea-Danielopolu, Demény, *Carte și tipar*, p. 248.

50 On the 1819 edition of *Apologia*, see O. Popescu, “Hasty Opinions, Outdated Clichés. The Need to Study Historical Sources with Care”, in P. Chițulescu, I. Feodorov (eds.), *Culture manuscrite et imprimée dans et pour l’Europe du Sud-Est/Manuscript and Printed Culture in and for South-Eastern Europe*, Brăila, 2020, p. 75–85.

51 The Ecumenical Patriarchate established a press that began operating after 1798. See Papacostea-Danielopolu, Demény, *Carte și tipar*, p. 197.

52 P. Kitromilides, *Νεοελληνικό Διαφωτισμός*, Athens, 1999, p. 439.

Bucharest edition in June 1819 is a re-edition of the one of Neamț (1816). In the foreword, *To the Righteous Readers*, the supervisors (Rom. *eforii*) of the printing press state that “the work was translated from the Greek language by the blessed Gherontie the monk, which proves that our Lord Jesus Christ is the true God against the voltairists [followers of Voltaire’s ideas] and the pagans, meaning the godless of this age”.⁵³ The same Gherontie translated the works of John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus, which were also re-edited at Mavrogheni.

In addition to patristic works, which represent most religious books printed at Mavrogheni, some liturgical books were also published. E.g., there was an 1820 Pentecostarion, a translation from the Greek, covering the chants of the eight weeks after Easter. In the foreword, *To the Orthodox Readers*, the typographers insist on the urgent request of this book: “It was too much needed”. There were only two editions in the Romanian language: the one of 1743, translated by the bishop of Râmnic, Damaschin (1708–1725), and the more recent one, a revision of Damaschin’s edition, “by exhortation of the blessed Metropolitan Neophytos and his sanctity, the bishop of the Holy Bishopric of Argeș, Joseph (1793–1820)”. The 1820 Pentecostarion was the translation of a Greek manuscript of the Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos, under the care of Veniamin, metropolitan of Moldavia between 1803 and 1842. Bishop Damaschin, the editors explain, had translated the chants taking as reference a Slavonic manuscript.⁵⁴

Among the religious books in the Greek language, of which there were four, I mention here two works of psaltic music edited by Petros Manouil Ephesios, founder of the school of chanters of the Șelari church in Bucharest.⁵⁵ *The New Anastasimatarion* of Petros Ephesios, a collection of short prayers on the

53 Eforii tipografiei (“the press supervisors”), “Către drept credinciosul cititor”, in *Apologia adecă cuvânt sau răspuns împotriva socotelii celor fără de Dumnezeu și dovedire acelu întru sfinți părintelui nostru Ioanni Hrisostomul împotriva iudeilor și a ellinilor, iar acum și a volteriştilor, cum că domnul nostru Iisus Xristos este Dumnezeu adevărat care acum întâiu aicea s-au dat în tipariu în zilele prea înălțatului nostru Domn Alexandru Nicolae Suțu cu blagoslovenia prea sfințitului și de Dumnezeu alesului arhiepiscop și mitropolit a toată Ungrovlahia kyrioy kyr Dionisie, prea cu cheltuiala a dumnealor Răducanul Clenceanul biv vel stolnic și Dimitrache Topliceanul biv vel sluger în cea de nou făcută tipografie a dumnealor în București la anul 1819, iunie. De monahul Isaia tipograf din mănăstirea Neamțului, Bucharest, 1819.*

54 C. Caracaș, R. Clincenu, D. Topliceanu (supervisors), “Către pravoslavnicii cititori”, in *Penticostarion ce cuprinde întru cine slujbă ce i să cuvine din sfânta și luminata duminică a Paștilor până la duminica tuturor Sfinților, acum iarăși tipărită în zilele prea înălțatului nostru domn Ioan Alexandru Nicolae Suțul voevod, cu blagoslovenia prea Sfințitului și de Dumnezeu alesului arhiepiscop și mitropolit a toată Ungrovlahia chiriu chir Dionisie. În cea de Dumnezeu întru pravoslavie păzită politie București la anul de la mântuirea lumii 1820, Bucharest, 1820.*

55 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 129.

Resurrection of the Lord, and the *Brief Doxastarion*, a selection of doxologies performed on various feasts, by Petros Lampadarios of Peloponnese, one of the greatest composers of psaltic music of the 18th century.⁵⁶ Taking for granted the 1845 testimony of Anton Pann, an apprentice of Petros Ephesios in 1820, many historians assumed that there was a church music printing press, separate from the one at Mavrogheni.⁵⁷ In reality, Petros Ephesios printed his books at Mavrogheni, not elsewhere. He was the sole owner of the typefaces used to print the psaltic music.⁵⁸ On the title page of the two editions, the “newly established printing press”, namely Mavrogheni, is mentioned. From the testimony of Petros Ephesios in the preface of *The New Anastasimatarion, To the Fellow Countrymen Lovers of the Muses*, we learn that the goldsmith Serafim Hristodoulou of Bucharest made the typefaces. The financial support came from the great *vornic* Grigore Băleanu.⁵⁹ This is the first printed book that contains psaltic musical notation according to the new method introduced in the Orthodox Church at the beginning of the 19th century (Fig. 5).

6 The Bucharest Theater and Translations

The Mavrogheni printing press was the first in Wallachia to publish an unprecedented number of volumes of literary fiction, poetry, and plays. Most of them are translations. In 1816, princess Ralu, Caragea's youngest daughter, founded a theater in Bucharest, called the “Cișmeaua Roșie” Theater (the “Red Fountain” Theater), which was located at the junction of Berthelot Street and Calea Victoriei. This was the Bucharest Theater, called by Anna Tabaki “the theater of the Greek Enlightenment”.⁶⁰ Political and moral messages and values, such as love of country,

⁵⁶ Dinu, *Bucureștiul fanariot*, p. 233.

⁵⁷ N. M. Popescu, *Viața și activitatea dascălului de cântări Macarie ieromonahul*, Bucharest, 1908, p. 16, 19, 24; Simonescu, *Din activitatea tipografică a Bucureștiului*, p. 19; M. Tomescu, *Istoria cărții românești de la începuturi până la 1918*, Bucharest, 1968, p. 122.

⁵⁸ Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 129.

⁵⁹ Petros Ephesios, “Φιλόμουσοι ὁμογενεῖς”, in *Νέον Ἀναστασιματάριον, μεταφρασθὲν κατὰ τὴν νεοφανῇ μέθοδον τῆς μουσικῆς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, μουσικολογιωτῶν Διδασκάλων καὶ ἐφευρετῶν τοῦ νέου μουσικοῦ Συστήματος, νῦν πρώτον εἰς φῶς ἄχθεν διὰ τυπογραφικῶν χαρακτήρων τῆς Μουσικῆς. Ἐπὶ τῆς θεοστηρίκτου Ἡγεμονίας τοῦ Ὑψηλοτάτου ἡμῶν Αὐθέντου πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας κυρίου κυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρου Νικολάου Σούτσου Βοεβόδα ἀρχιερατεύοντος τοῦ Πανιερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίου Διονυσίου. Ἐκδοθὲν σπουδῇ μὲν ἐπιπόνῳ τοῦ Μουσικολογιωτάτου κυρίου Πέτρου τοῦ Ἐφεσίου, Φιλοτίμῳ δὲ προκαταβολῇ τοῦ Πανευγενεστάτου ἄρχοντος μεγάλου Βορνίκου κυρίου Γριγορίου Μπαλλιάνου*, Bucharest, 1820.

⁶⁰ A. Tabaki, *Despre Iluminismul neelen. Curenți de idei și canale de comunicare cu gândirea occidentală*, Bucharest, 2015, p. 173.

respect for democratic legitimacy and revolt against tyranny, were transmitted from the theatre stage to the general public. The Mavrogheni printing press published six volumes of plays in 1820. The plays of Voltaire (*Brutus*, *Méropé*) and of Vittorio Alfieri (*Orestes*, *Philip II*) were translated into Greek (Fig. 6). The financial support to the theater is a “duty to the country” (πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα χρέος). On one of the volumes, George Leventis, dragoman of the Russian Consulate, appears as a sponsor. In the foreword, the editor Christoforos Krateros assures us that the target audience of the book consists of students and young people who were sent by George Leventis to study “in Enlightened Europe” (εἰς τὴν φωτισμένην Εὐρώπην), to spread the Lights to their “nation” (γένος). Krateros points out that the purpose of theater is to shape morals and enrich the language.⁶¹

I have also collected some information about the translators. From a note published in the Vienna newspaper *Logios Ermis* (*The Learned Mercury*), we learn that *Brutus*, by Voltaire, was translated by Doctor Mihail Christaris in Bucharest.⁶² Another translator of the era was Georges Serouios of Constantinople, teacher of the children of Iacob Rizos Rangavis (1779–1855), a high-ranking boyar from prince Suțu’s court.⁶³ The last was probably the translator of Alfieri’s plays.⁶⁴ During these years, the young and charismatic actor Constantin Aristia (1800–1880) asserted himself as a star of the Bucharest Theater. In 1827, he published the translation in Greek of the play *George Dandin ou le mari confondu* by Molière.⁶⁵

61 Ch. Krateros (ed.), *Συλλογή διαφόρων τραγωδιῶν ὅσαι παρεστάθησαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου. Μεταφρασθεῖσαι εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἡμῶν γλῶσσαν καὶ ἐκδοθεῖσαι διὰ συνδρομῆς τῶν φίλογενῶν καὶ φιλομούσων. Τόμος πρῶτος*, Bucharest, 1820, p. 5.

62 “Απόσπασμα ἐπιστολῆς Ἀναγνώστη Τσετσώνη” (April 21, 1820), *Ermis o Lógiος*, 12 Ιουνίου 1820, no. 15, p. 376; A. Camariano, *Relații româno-elene. Studii istorice și filologice (secolele XIV–XIX)*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 269. On Christaris, see A. Camariano-Cioran, *L’Épire et les Pays Roumains*, Ioannina, 1984, p. 227–230.

63 S. Athini, Y. Hourias, *Νεοελληνική Γραμματεία 1670–1830*, Kallipos Open Academic Editions 2015, at <https://dx.doi.org/10.57713/kallipos-670>, p. 302; C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines (1774–1859)*, Thessaloniki, 1998, p. 60.

64 Athini, Hourias, *Νεοελληνική Γραμματεία*, p. 302; D. C. Ollănescu, “Teatrul la români”, *AARMSI*, S. II, t. XIX, 1898, p. 37.

65 Molière, Γεώργιος Δαντινός, *Ὁ ἐντροπιασμένος σύζυγος Κωμωδία εἰς πράξεις τρεῖς συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ περιφήμου Γάλλου Μολιέρ μεταφρασθεῖσα δὲ εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην ἡμῶν διάλεκτον παρὰ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Ἀριστείου*, Bucharest, 1827.

7 Prose and Poetry

My attention was drawn to the Greek translation, in 1820, of the novel *Harito and Polydor* by the French abbot Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (1716–1795). The novel, entitled *Les amours de Caryte et de Polydore* in the first edition of 1760, is a sentimental prose based on a subject inspired from Greek Antiquity, a literary genre popular at the time (Fig. 7). The narrative is fictional and instructive, interspersed with rich information on history, religion, philosophy, and art. To give it a touch of historical authenticity, the author claims to have translated this work from Greek into French. The Greek translator of the 1820 edition is a certain “Byzantine patriot” (Φιλογενής Βυζάντιος), as stated on the title page. We should mention that there was another translation of this novel in Pest in 1801, by Konstantinos Georgiadis Koutzika.⁶⁶ The Bucharest translator does not mention this edition.⁶⁷

A prolific translator and author of the time was the priest Polyzois Kontos (1775–1821). Born in Ioannina, Kontos traveled to Vienna, Pest, London, and Paris, and in 1804 he settled in Bucharest, where he first worked as a teacher for the children of Constantine Ipsilanti, prince of Wallachia between 1802 and 1806. Paschalis M. Kitromilides mentions him as the author of a verse satire on the French Revolution, *Dialogues of the Dead* (Νεκρικοί Διάλογοι), printed in 1793.⁶⁸ The author of the satire is undoubtedly a tenacious defender of Orthodox values. However, there is also an enlightened component in the thinking of this priest. The Christian message, in his view, had to reach the people through the spoken language. He published three books at Mavrogheni printing press, two on theology (one in Greek, and its Romanian translation) and a volume of religious poems in Greek: *Ἠθικαὶ φαντασίαι* (*Moral Fancies*).⁶⁹ While discussing Greek poetry, I must mention Paris Mumuleanu’s collection of poems printed in 1820 at the Mavrogheni press in Romanian, with Cyrillic letters. In the preface of this volume, the first printed collection of Romanian verse, the poet acknowledges that he was inspired by the Phanariot poetry of Athanasie Hristopoulos (Hristopul), who “also moved my

66 *To Χαριτώ και Πολύδωρος τοῦ ἀβὰ Barthélemy*, transl. by K. Georgiadis Koutsíou and Frankiskos Patzkou, Pest, 1801; Athini, Xourias, *Νεοελληνική Γραμματεία*, p. 243.

67 “Πρόλογος τοῦ παραφραστοῦ”, in *Τὰ κατὰ Χαριτω καὶ Πολυδώρων μυθιστορία, παραφρασεῖσα ἐκ τοῦ Γαλλικοῦ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπλὴν διάλεκτον παρὰ τινὸς φιλογενοῦς Βυζαντίου*, Bucharest, 1820, p. 1–7.

68 K. Th. Dimaras, *La Grèce au temps des Lumières*, Geneva, 1969, p. 104–106; Kitromilides, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, p. 274.

69 E. Lazăr, *Cărturari greci în Țările Române (secolele XIX–XIX)*, Bucharest, 2009, p. 139–140.

passions, and with whose help I composed these trifles”.⁷⁰ Mumuleanu published two more volumes of Romanian poetry at the same printing press in 1822 and 1825.

8 Schoolbooks

The only work of ancient tradition that was printed in the Mavrogheni press was the *Collection of Aesop's Fables* translated into Demotic Greek by a certain “Th. D.” of Adrianople (Fig. 8). Aesop's *Fables* was without any doubt one of the most widely published books in the world. Th. D. was a teacher in Adrianople, and his volume was to be used for the education of children. Aesop's fables were part of the school curriculum. In the preface to the volume, *Letter to Nicolaos Georgiadis of Smyrna*, the translator asks his friend in Bucharest to help him print the fables at the “newly founded printing press”.⁷¹ Georgiadis had been a professor in Smyrna and Bucharest and was among the contributors to the journal “Logios Ermis” in Vienna.⁷² The author mentions two recent editions: the volume by Adamantios Korais, published in Paris in 1810,⁷³ and the one in the printing press of Nicolaos Glykis in Venice.⁷⁴ The Bucharest edition, the author assures us, restores the missing passages and pays more attention to the quality of the translation.⁷⁵

In the series of books intended for schools, it is worth mentioning the publication in Bucharest, in 1823, of the 3rd revised edition of the *New Pedagogy* (an *Alphabet Book*) by Ioannis Kokkonis (1796–1864). The first edition was published in

70 P. Mumuleanu, “Înainte cuvântare”, in *Rost de poezie adică stihuri acum întâi alcătuite în limba românească de Paris Mumuleanu*, Bucharest, 1820.

71 Th. D., “Επιστολή πρὸς τὸν ἐν Βουκουρέστιω Νικόλαον Γεωργιάδην τῶν Σμυρναίων”, dated December 10, 1820, in *Συλλογὴ αἰσωπειῶν μύθων, μεταφρασθέντων εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην γλῶσσαν, εἰς τοὺς ὁποίους ἐπρόστέθησαν καίτινα καθήκοντα τῶν παιδῶν ὑπὸ Θ.Δ.*, Bucharest, 1821, p. 5.

72 E. N. Frankiskos, “Νικόλαος Γεωργιάδης, συνεργάτης του Λόγιου Ερμή”, *Ο Ερανιστής*, 10, 1972–1973, p. 67.

73 The Paris edition is *Μύθων αἰσωπειῶν συναγωγὴ. Πάρεργα Ἑλληνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης*, Paris, 1810, p. 6; Th.D., “Επιστολή πρὸς τὸν ἐν Βουκουρέστιω Νικόλαον Γεωργιάδην τῶν Σμυρναίων”, p. 6.

74 Th. D., “Επιστολή πρὸς τὸν ἐν Βουκουρέστιω Νικόλαον Γεωργιάδην τῶν Σμυρναίων”, p. 7.

75 Th. D., “Επιστολή πρὸς τὸν ἐν Βουκουρέστιω Νικόλαον Γεωργιάδην τῶν Σμυρναίων”, p. 5.

Constantinople in 1817.⁷⁶ The 7th edition was also published in Bucharest, in 1836.⁷⁷ We do not know whether the author was ever in Bucharest. Born in Kastri, in the Peloponnese, Kokkonis was educated in Smyrna and later worked as a teacher in Constantinople. In 1822, during the Greek War of Independence, Kokkonis was on the island of Hydra, and two years later in Paris. After the formation of the Greek national state, from the position of inspector general of the schools, Kokkonis laid the foundations of the new educational system and helped establish institutions to support education⁷⁸ (Fig. 9).

Another Greek-speaking author published at Mavrogheni was Dimitrios Nicolaos Darvaris (1757–1823). The famous Aromanian scholar, a native of the Clisura,⁷⁹ studied in Bucharest and Halle, and published in Vienna numerous works for the use of schools.⁸⁰ His books have seen numerous editions in the Greek-speaking world. In 1827, the Mavrogheni printing press reprinted the *Eklogarion Graikikon* (*A Greek Chrestomathy*, 1st ed.: Vienna, 1804), a collection of texts for the education of young people.⁸¹ We should also mention the editions published in Bucharest in 1831 and in Pest in 1838 and 1840.⁸² In 1827, another volume by Darvaris, *A Collection of Wise Teachings* (1st ed.: Vienna, 1811), was translated into Romanian by Iancu Nicola Moldovean,⁸³ also known as the translator of the *Handbook on Patriotism* (*Manual de patriotism*), published in Iași in 1829.⁸⁴ Grigore Pleșoianu and Gheorghe Librier published a *Greek-Romanian Alphabet Book* in 1825. In 1827, Manole Vasile published

76 The third edition of this book is indicated on the title page of the book: *Παιδαγωγία νέα. Εὐμέθοδος διὰ τῆς ὅποιας δύνανται τὰ παιδιὰ εὐκόλως νὰ προχωρήσουν εἰς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν συνεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου Κοκκῶνος Σμυρναίου, ἐκδόσεις τρίτη, μετὰ τινος προσθήκης καὶ ἀφαιρέσεως*, Bucharest, 1823; Chr. Tzikas, I.Π. Κοκκῶνης, *ο ρόλος του στην θεμελίωση και τα πρώτα βήματα της δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης στην Ελλάδα*, Athens, 1999, p. 30.

77 C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, “Les lectures grecques dans les principautés roumaines après 1821 (1821–1860)”, *Balkan Studies*, II, 1, 1970, p. 161.

78 Δεύκωμα τῆς ἑκατονταετηρίδος τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας. 1837–1937, Athens, 1937, p. 22–23.

79 Clisura or Vlachokleisoura (Kleisoura) was an Aromanian (Vlach) settlement in Ottoman Macedonia (today in Greece).

80 Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines*, p. 328.

81 Ἐκλογάριον γραικικὸν εἰς χρῆσιν τῶν πρωτοπείρων τῆς Ἀπλῆς διαλέκτου συλλεχθὲς ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Νικολάου του Δαρβάρους τοῦ ἐκ Κλεισούρας τῆς Μακεδονίας τύποις δὲ τὸ τρίτον ἐκδίδονται δαπάνῃ καὶ ἐπιδιωρθῶσει φιλογενοῦς τινὸς καὶ φιλομούσου, Bucharest, 1827.

82 Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines*, p. 329.

83 D. N. Darvaris, *Culegere de înțelepciune, scrisă în limba grecească de dumnealui Dimitrie Nicolau Darvar iar acum tălmăcită în cea rumânească de Iancu Nicolae Moldovean*, Bucharest, 1827.

84 The author of the *Manual de patriotism* was Nikolas Skoufos, founder of the Eteria in 1814. See N. Camariano, “Despre un manual de patriotism publicat la Iași în 1829”, *Revista istorică română*, 4, 1943, p. 119.

at the Mavrogheni press a new edition of the *Greek – Romanian – Bulgarian Alphabet Book*. Pleșoianu, a teacher at the central school in Craiova, famous for his school textbooks, threatened to sue Vasile Manole for plagiarism.⁸⁵ Pleșoianu's *Greek – Romanian Alphabet Book* had six editions, the last in 1866.⁸⁶ Pleșoianu and Iancu Nicola are part of the young generation of authors and translators. They were students of Heliade Rădulescu at the Saint Sava High School.⁸⁷

I will conclude my essay with a history book. In 1828, the Mavrogheni printing press published the work of the German historian Gottfried Gabriel Bredow (1773–1814) *A Summary of Universal History*, translated from German into Greek by Ioannis Skarlatos.⁸⁸ This work was published successively in German in 27 editions between 1799 and 1861. It was also translated into other languages, including English.⁸⁹ The Greek translation came at a crucial time for the Greek nation: the War of Independence. In the preface, the translator exclaims: “How necessary a brief history was for our schools [...], and not only for schools, but also for readers in general”.⁹⁰ Bredow's work, first published in 1799, was revised and enriched with each edition. The edition of Bucharest ends the thread of the historical narrative with the Greek revolution of 1821: “The most unexpected thing that happened to humanity was the revolution of the Greeks, especially the Peloponnesians, against the Ottomans, in 1821”.⁹¹

9 Conclusions

I intended, in my research, to survey the history of the books printed in Greek at Bucharest in the first half of the 19th century. I have narrowed down the research area to the first ten years of the operation of the printing press of Mavrogheni. The Mavrogheni printing press was not only a private business, but also a state insti-

85 Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines*, p. 282; N. Bănescu, “Un dascăl uitat: Grigore Pleșoianu”, *AARMSI*, S. II, t. XXVIII, 1915, p. 373.

86 Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines*, p. 77.

87 Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines*, p. 46.

88 *Συνοπτική γενική ιστορία τῶν ἀξιολογωτέρων συμβεβηκότων τοῦ κόσμου εἰς χρῆσιν τῶν κοινῶν σχολείων συντεθεῖσα μὲν ὑπὸ Γ.Γ. Βρεδῶβ. Μεταφρασθεῖσα δὲ ἔκ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ παρὰ Ἰω. Σκαρλάτου*, Bucharest, Newly Established Press, 1828. The German edition: *Handbuch der alten Geschichte, Geographie und Chronologie*, Eutin, 1799.

89 The first English translation, London, 1827: G. G. Bredow, *A Compendium of Universal History from the Earliest period to the year 1859*. Translated by Ch. Th. Stafford, London, Longman and Roberts, 1861.

90 “Προκηρύξις”, in *Συνοπτική γενική ιστορία*; Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines*, p. 284.

91 Bredow, *Συνοπτική γενική ιστορία*, p. 178.

tution, which exercised monopoly rights. Here, the government printed chancery documents, official letters, etc. Heliade Rădulescu printed here the *Organic Regulations (Regulamentul organic)* in 1832, which constituted the first constitutional charter of Wallachia.

The printing press of Mavrogheni appeared in a moment of crisis in the printing market in Wallachia and responded to immediate practical needs. It also printed religious books, engaging in a task that traditionally belonged to the Church. The Mavrogheni printing press printed literary works: prose, poetry, and theater plays. Moreover, an important part was played by the book production for educating the younger generations in the spirit of the times. Most of the works were translations or reprints. I have identified only three authors with original works: Petros M. Ephesios, in the field of psaltic music, the cleric Polyzois Kontos, with two works on moral and Christian teachings, and Dr Constantin Caracaș, author of an original work on medical life in Wallachia.⁹² The publication of this book was also a commitment made by Heliade in the sale-purchase contract⁹³ (Fig. 10).

In the 1820s, numerous schoolbooks, general knowledge books, hygiene and public health books, and practical books useful to people in their everyday life, were published in Romanian at Mavrogheni. In the 1820s, and especially after 1830, the Romanians' interest in their national language increased. The Greek book considerably narrowed its readership segment to members of the Greek-speaking emigration. In 1836, the brothers Mihail and Simion Hristidis, born in the Balkans, were determined to establish another Greek printing press in Bucharest, but they were obstructed by the 20-year monopoly of Eliade's press, formerly, the Mavrogheni press. To remove any obstacle, the Hristidis Brothers entered a five-year business partnership with Heliade.⁹⁴

Bucharest was an important center of the Greek-speaking diaspora and had a tradition of almost 150 years in the printing of Greek books. Greek book production did not cease in the Principality after 1830, to the contrary. In 1830, the Kingdom of Greece appeared on the map of Europe and became the center of national aspirations for Hellenism everywhere. In the new regional geopolitical context, merchant communities in the Danubian cities would come up with new ideas and respond to other needs of the Greek book market.

92 C. Caracaș, *Topografia Țării Românești/Τοπογραφία της Βλαχίας*, ed. by G. Filitti, Bucharest, 2018. The work was published first by P. Gh. Samarian, *O veche monografie sanitară a Munteniei. Topografia Țării Românești de Constantin Caracaș*, Bucharest, 1937.

93 Potra, Caratașu, "I. Heliade Rădulescu și cărțile grecești tipărite la București", p. 945.

94 Potra, Caratașu, "I. Heliade Rădulescu și cărțile grecești tipărite la București", p. 946–947.

As my research yielded rich and original information that was never collected in a comprehensive record, I have added here a table of the *Greek Books Printed at the Mavrogheni Press, 1818–1830* (Table 1) and a chart of the *Book Production of the Mavrogheni Press, 1818–1830* (Chart 1).

Tab. 1: Greek Books Printed at the Mavrogheni Press, 1818–1830

	Year	Title	Author/ Translator/Editor
1	1820	Τὸ ψαλτήριον τοῦ Δαβίδ. Ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Αὐγουστίνου συνεπιτμηθέν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Λατινίδος εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα μεταγώστισθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ σοφοῦ ἱεράρχου Εὐγενίου τοῦ Βουλγάρεως. Ἐνθα προσετέθησαν καὶ τινες εὐχαὶ καὶ στίχοι ἱκετήριοι πρὸς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον. Τύποις δὲ ἐκδοθέν φιλαδέλφῳ προαιρέσει τοῦ Στολνίκου Κωνσταντίνου Μπερῆ ἐπὶ τῷ διανεμηθῆναι εἰς χρῆσιν ψυχωφελῆ τῶν τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας πρόνοιαν ποιουμένων. Τῷ 1820 Σωτηρίῳ ἔτει μηνὶ Ἀπριλίῳ, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου Τυπογραφείῳ. <i>The Psalter of David.</i> Written by Saint Augustine, translated from Latin to Greek by the wise hierarch Eugenios Voulgaris. It was supplemented with the wishes and verses of prayers to the Most Holy Theotokos. This book was published with the support of stolnic Constantinos Beris.	Saint Augustine Eugenios Voulgaris
2	1820	Φίλιππος Τραγωδία, συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Βίκτορος Ἀλφιέρου, καὶ εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην ἡμῶν διάλεκτον. Παρεστάθῃ εἰς τὸ ἐν Βουκουρέστιν Θέατρον πρώτην φορὰν κατὰ τὸν Μάϊον τοῦ 1820, ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου, 1820. <i>Philippo</i> , a tragedy written by Vittorio Alfieri in the vernacular. It was performed at the Bucharest Theatre for the first time in May 1820.	Vittorio Alfieri
3	1820	Βροῦτος τραγῳδία παρὰ Βολταίρου μεταφρασθεῖσα ἐλευθέρως διὰ στίχων Ἰαμβικῶν. Παραστάθῃ εἰς τὸ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ Θέατρον πρώτην φορὰν κατὰ τὴν 17 Μαρτίου τοῦ 1820 ἔτους, ἐν τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου κατὰ ἔτους 1820. <i>Brutus</i> , a tragedy by Voltaire, freely translated into Iambic meter. It was performed at the Bucharest Theatre for the first time on March 17, 1820.	Voltaire

	Year	Title	Author/ Translator/Editor
4.	1820	Συλλογή διαφόρων τραγωδιῶν ὅσαι παρεστάθησαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου. Μεταφρασθεῖσαι εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἡμῶν γλῶσσαν καὶ ἐκδοθεῖσαι διὰ συνδρομῆς τῶν φίλογενῶν καὶ φιλομούσων. Τόμος πρῶτος, ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου, 1820. <i>A collection of various tragedies performed at the Bucharest theater. It was translated into the vernacular and published with the help of patriots' subscriptions and of those loved by the muses; 1st volume.</i>	Christoforos Krateros
5	1820	Συλλογή διαφόρων τραγωδιῶν ὅσαι παρεστάθησαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου. Μεταφρασθεῖσαι εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἡμῶν γλῶσσαν καὶ ἐκδοθεῖσαι διὰ συνδρομῆς τῶν φίλογενῶν καὶ φιλομούσων. Τόμος δεῦτερος, ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου, 1820. <i>A collection of various tragedies performed at the Bucharest theater. It was translated into the vernacular and published with the help of patriots' subscriptions and of those loved by the muses; 2nd volume.</i>	Christoforos Krateros
6	1820	Μερόπη τραγωδία μετάφρασις ἐλευθέρᾳ ἐκ τοῦ Γαλλικοῦ εἰς τὸ νέον Ἰαμβικόν. Παραστάθη εἰς τὸ πεζὸν ἐν τῷ ἐνταῦθα θεάτρῳ πρῶτην φορὰν κατὰ τὴν 20 Ἀπριλίου τοῦ 1819 ἔτους. Ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου, 1820. <i>Méropé, a tragedy, freely translated from the French into the new Iambic meter. It was performed at the Bucharest Theatre for the first time on April 20, 1819.</i>	Voltaire
7	1820	Ὁρέστης τραγωδία συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Βικτώρος Ἀλφιέρου, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς μεταφρασθεῖσα εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην ἡμῶν διάλεκτον. Παρεστάθη εἰς τὸ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ θέατρον πρῶτην φορὰν κατὰ τὴν 21 Νοεμβρίου τοῦ 1819. Ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου, 1820 <i>Orestes, a tragedy written by Vittorio Alfieri, translated from Italian into the vernacular. It was performed at the Bucharest Theatre for the first time on November 21, 1819.</i>	Vittorio Alfieri
8.	1820	Τὰ κατὰ Χαρίτω καὶ Πολυδώρων μυθιστορία, παραφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τοῦ Γαλλικοῦ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπλὴν διάλεκτον παρὰ τινὸς φίλογενοῦς Βυζαντίου. Ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου κατὰ τοὺς 1820. <i>The Novel of Harito and Polydor, translated from French into the vernacular by "a Byzantine patriot".</i>	Jean-Jacques Bar- thélemy

	Year	Title	Author/ Translator/Editor
9	1820	Ἡθικαὶ φαντασίαι τοῦ ἐν ἱερεῦσιν ἐλλογίμου Διδασκάλου Κυρίου Πολυζῶη Κοντοῦ, ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ Πλοέστιον διατριβῆς αὐτοῦ προσφωνηθεῖσαι τῷ Πανιερωτάτου καὶ Θεοπροβλητῷ Ἀγίῳ Μητροπολίτῃ Οὐγγροβλαχίας κύριω κύριω Διονύσιω, ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου, 1820. <i>Moral Fancies</i> by the eloquent teacher and priest Polyzoēs Kontos; his address to the Most Reverend and God-Chosen Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia, Agios Dionysios.	Polyzoēs Kontos
10	1820	Νέον Ἀναστασιματάριον, μεταφρασθὲν κατὰ τὴν νεοφανῆ μέθοδον τῆς μουσικῆς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, μουσικολογιωτῶν Διδασκάλων καὶ ἐφευρετῶν τοῦ νέου μουσικοῦ Συστήματος, νῦν πρῶτον εἰς φῶς ἄχθεν διὰ τυπογραφικῶν χαρακτήρων τῆς Μουσικῆς. Ἐπὶ τῆς Θεοστηρίκτου Ἡγεμονίας τοῦ Ὑψηλοτάτου ἡμῶν Αὐθέντου πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας κυρίου κυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρου Νικολάου Σούτσου Βοεβόδα ἀρχιερατεύοντος τοῦ Πανιερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίου Διονυσίου. Ἐκδοθὲν σπουδῇ μὲν ἐπιπόνῳ τοῦ Μουσικολογιωτάτου κυρίου Πέτρου τοῦ Ἐφεσίου, Φιλοτίμῳ δὲ προκαταβολῇ τοῦ Πανευγενεστάτου ἀρχοντος μεγάλου Βορνίκου κυρίου Γριγορίου Μπαλλιάνου. Ἐν τῷ τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείῳ, 1820. <i>Neo Anastasimatarion</i> , translated according to the new method of music by musicologists from Constantinople, teachers and inventors of the new musical system, brought to light by means of the musical type. In the reign of our Highness the divine-right ruler, prince of the entire country of Ungro-Wallachia, Alexandros Nikolaos Soutsos, and of His Eminence the Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia Agios Dionysios. It was published by the musicologist Mr. Petros of Ephesus, with the generous financial support of the publication by His Grace, the great Lord Vornic Grigorios Ballianos.	Petros Efesios
11	1820	Σύντομον δοξαστάριον τοῦ αἰιδίμου Πέτρου Λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου, μεταφρασθὲν κατὰ τὴν νέαν μέθοδον τῆς Μουσικῆς τῶν Μουσικολογιωτῶν Διδασκάλων τοῦ νέου Συστήματος. Ἦδη εἰς φῶς ἄχθεν ἀναλώμασι τῶν Ἐκδοτῶν. Ἐν τῷ τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου νεοσυστάτῳ Τυπογραφείῳ, 1820 <i>A concise Doxastarion</i> of the late Petros Lampadarios Peloponnesios, translated by the Musicology teachers according to the new method of Music. It was published with the editors' financial support.	Petros Lampadarios Peloponnesios

	Year	Title	Author/ Translator/Editor
12	1821	Συλλογή αίσωπειών μύθων, μεταφρασθέντων εις τήν καθομιλουμένην γλώσσαν, εις τούς όποίους έπρόστέθησαν καίτινα καθήκοντα τών παιδων υπό Θ.Δ., έν Βουκουρεστίω, 1821. A collection of Aesop's <i>Fables</i> , translated by T.D. into the vernacular, to which he added some duties of children.	Aesop T.D.
13	1823	Παιδαγωγία νέα. Εύμέθοδος, διά τής όποίας δύνανται τά παιδιά εύκόλως νά προχωρήσουν εις τήν ανάγνωσιν συνεθείσα υπό Ιωάννου Κοκκώνος Σμυρναίου, έκδόσεις τρίτη, μετά τινος προσθήκης και άφαιρέσεως, έν τώ Νεοσυστάτω Τυπογραφείω του Βουκουρεστίου, 1823. <i>The New Pedagogy</i> . A method by which the children can easily proceed to reading, written by Ioannis Kokkonis Smyrnaios, 3 rd edition, with additions and alterations.	Ioannis Kokkonis
14		Γεώργιος Δαντινός, Ό έντροπιασμένος σύζυγος Κωμωδία εις πράξεις τρείς συγγραφέϊσα παρά του περιφήμου Γάλλου Μολιέρ μεταφρασθεΐσα δέ εις τήν καθομιλουμένην ήμών διάλεκτον παρά του Κωνσταντίνου Άριστείου. Έν του έν Βουκουρεστίω νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου, κατά τούς 1827. Georgios Dantinos, <i>The Thwarted Husband</i> , a comedy in three acts written by the famous French Molière and translated into the vernacular by Konstantinos Aristias.	Molière Konstantinos Aristias
15	1827	Έκλογάριον γραϊκικόν εις χρήσιν τών πρωτοπείρων τής Άπλής διαλέκτου συλλεχθές υπό Δημητρίου Νικολάου του Δαρβάρειως του έκ Κλεισούρας τής Μακεδονίας τύποις δέ τόν τρίτον έκδίδονται δαπάνη και έπιδιορθώσει φιλογενοΰς τινός και φιλομούσου, έν τώ νεοσυστάτω Τυπογραφείω του Βουκουρεστίου, 1827. A Greek <i>Chrestomathy</i> for the use of the novices in vernacular language, collected by Dimitrios Nikolaos of Darvarios of Kleisura, Macedonia. The 3 rd edition was published with the financial support of patriots and of those loved by the muses.	Dimitrios Nikolaos Darvaris
16	1828	Συνοπτική γενική ιστορία τών αξιολογωτέρων συμβεβηκότων του κόσμου εις χρήσιν τών κοινών σχολείων συντεθείσα μέν υπό Γ.Γ. Βρεδών. Μεταφρασθεΐσα δέ έκ του Γερμανικού παρά Ιω. Σκαρλάτου, έν Βουκουρεστίω, έν τώ Νεοσυστάτω Τυπογραφείω, 1828. A <i>Compendium of universal history</i> of the most important world events; for the use of public schools; written by G. G. Bredow. It was translated from the German into Greek by Io. Skarlatos, in Bucharest.	G.G. Bredow Ioannis Skarlatos

Year	Title	Author/ Translator/Editor
17	1829 Δι'έξαστιχῶν Παραφράσις. Τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Συμβόλου τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἀνατολικῆς, Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ἦτοι Σαφήνεια τῶν δώδεκα Ἀρθρῶν τῆς Πίστεως τῶν Χριστιανῶν. Καὶ τὶς Παρεπομένη ἠθικὴ Παράνεις πρὸς τὴν δογματικὴν φιλομάθειαν. Καὶ παράφρασις τῆς πρὸς ὀρθόδοξον Ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ αἰοδίσμου καὶ σοφωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Κυρίου Νικηφόρου τοῦ Θεοτόκη περὶ τοῦ τίνες οἱ συσματικοὶ καὶ οἱ σχίσται τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἀποστάτου Δεκαμήλου ἐφευρετοῦ τοῦ νέου σχίσματος, λεγομένου Οὐνίας. Προσφωνηθεῖσαι καὶ ἀφιερωθεῖσαι τῷ Πανιερωτάτῳ καὶ Ἐλλογιμωτάτῳ Ἁγίῳ Ἐπισκόπῳ Ραμνίκου Κυρίῳ Κυρίῳ Νεοφύτῳ. Νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδίδονται διὰ δαπανῆς τοῦ ἐντιμοτάτου Κυρίου Εὐσταθίου χατζή Γιαννάκη Καριάδη Γουριώτου του Θεσσαλοῦ εἰς κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν. Ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ Νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφίου, 1829. <i>Hexametre Paraphrase of the Holy Symbol of the Eastern Orthodox, Catholic and Apostolic Church.</i> Clarity of the Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith. Moral advice and doctrinal teaching. And a paraphrase of the Letter of the late and enlightened Metropolitan Lord Nikiforos of Theotokos to the Orthodox believers about the schismatics of the Church and the Apostate Decamelos, founder of the new sect called Uniate. An address to the Most Reverend and Holy Bishop of Râmnic, Kyr Neophytos. It is published at the expense of the honorable Lord Eustathios, Hagi Giannakis Kariadis Gouriotis Thetsalos, for the public benefit.	Polyzoes Kontos
18	1830 Τοπογραφία τῆς Βλαχίας καὶ ἀνθρωπορικαὶ παρατηρήσεις ἀναφορικῶς πρὸς τὴν ὑγείαν καὶ νόσους τῶν κατοίκων αὐτῆς, ὑπὸ κυρίου ἱατροφιλοσόφου Κ. Καρακάσα, ἐν Βουκουρέστιοις, ἔκ του τυπογραφείου Ι. Ἡλιάδου, 1830. <i>Topography of Wallachia and anthropological observations referring to the health and diseases of its inhabitants</i>, by the iatrophilosopher K. Karakasa, in Bucharest.	Konstantinos Karakasas (Rom. Caracas)

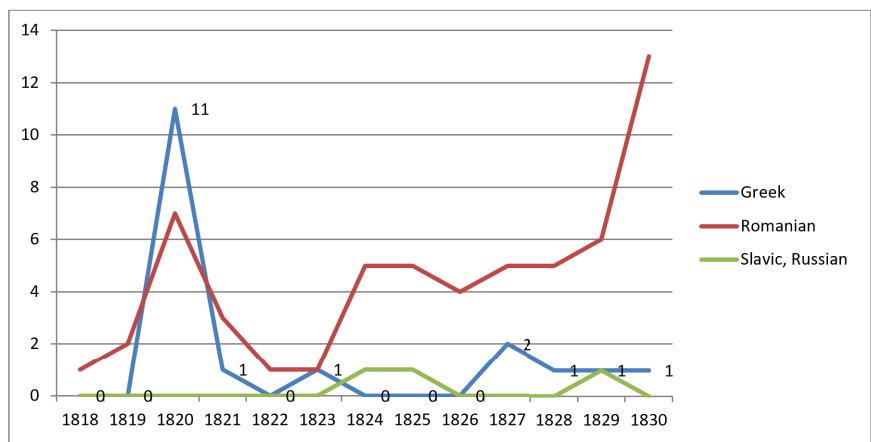


Chart 1: Book production of the Mavrogheni press, 1818 to 1830.



Fig. 1: Anonymous painter, *Dr. Constantin Caracaș*, oil painting, 1806 (?). Family collection: Ana Hariton, born Goga (By permission of Constantin Hariton).



Fig. 2: Anonymous painter, *Răducanul-Clinceanu*, oil painting, 1838. Family collection: Zoe N. Moscu-Dunka (In Dan Simonescu, *Din activitatea tipografică a Bucureștilor (1678–1830)*, Bucharest, 1935, p. 17).



Fig. 3: Anonymous painter, *Dumitrache Topliceanu*, oil on canvas. Collection of Zoe N. Moscu-Dunka (In Dan Simonescu, *Din activitatea tipografică a Bucureștilor (1678–1830)*, Bucharest, 1935, p. 17).



Fig. 4: Church of the Life-Giving Fountain, founded in 1787 by Nicolae Mavrogheni, prince of Wallachia in 1786–1790 (© Ziarul Lumina, by permission).

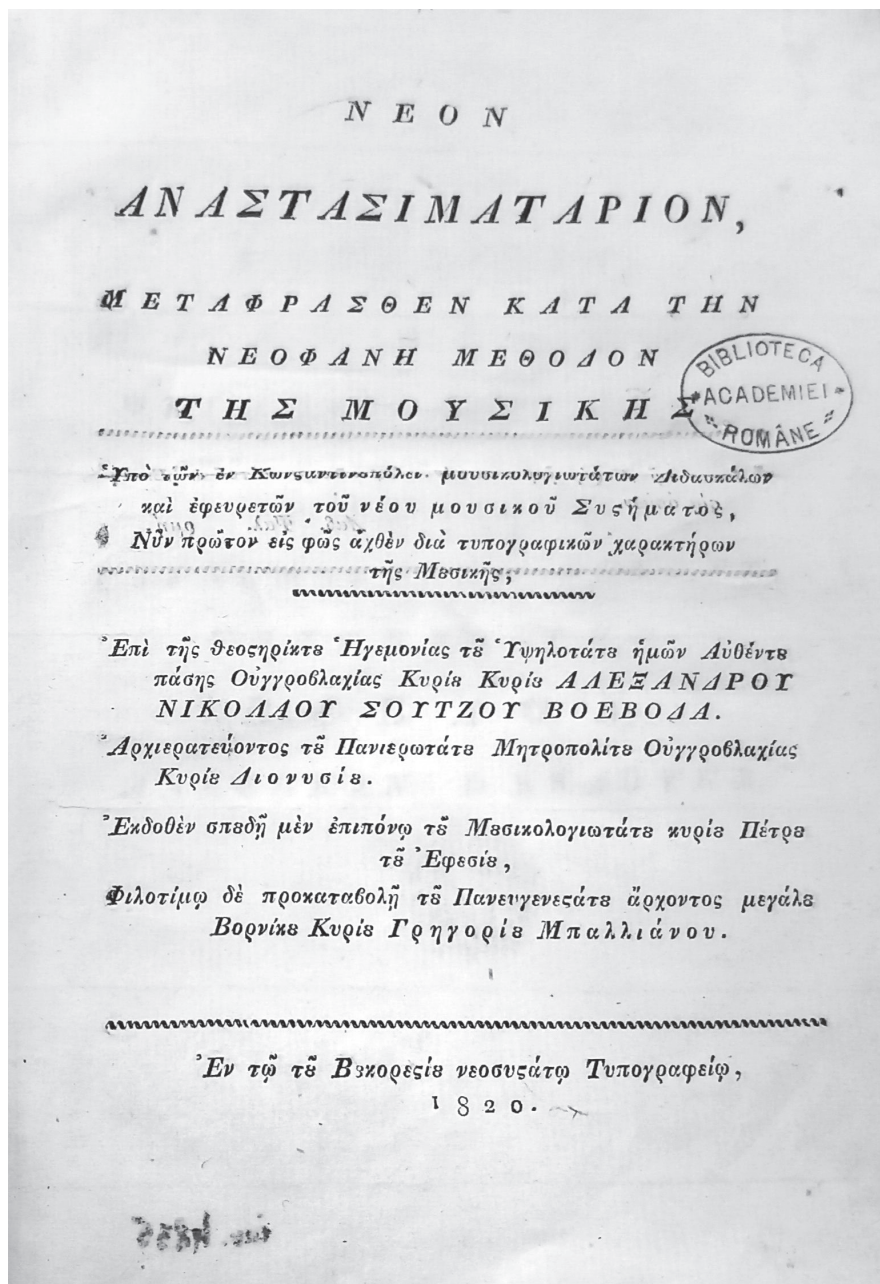


Fig. 5: Νέον Αναστασιματάριον, Bucharest, 1820, title page (B.A.R.).

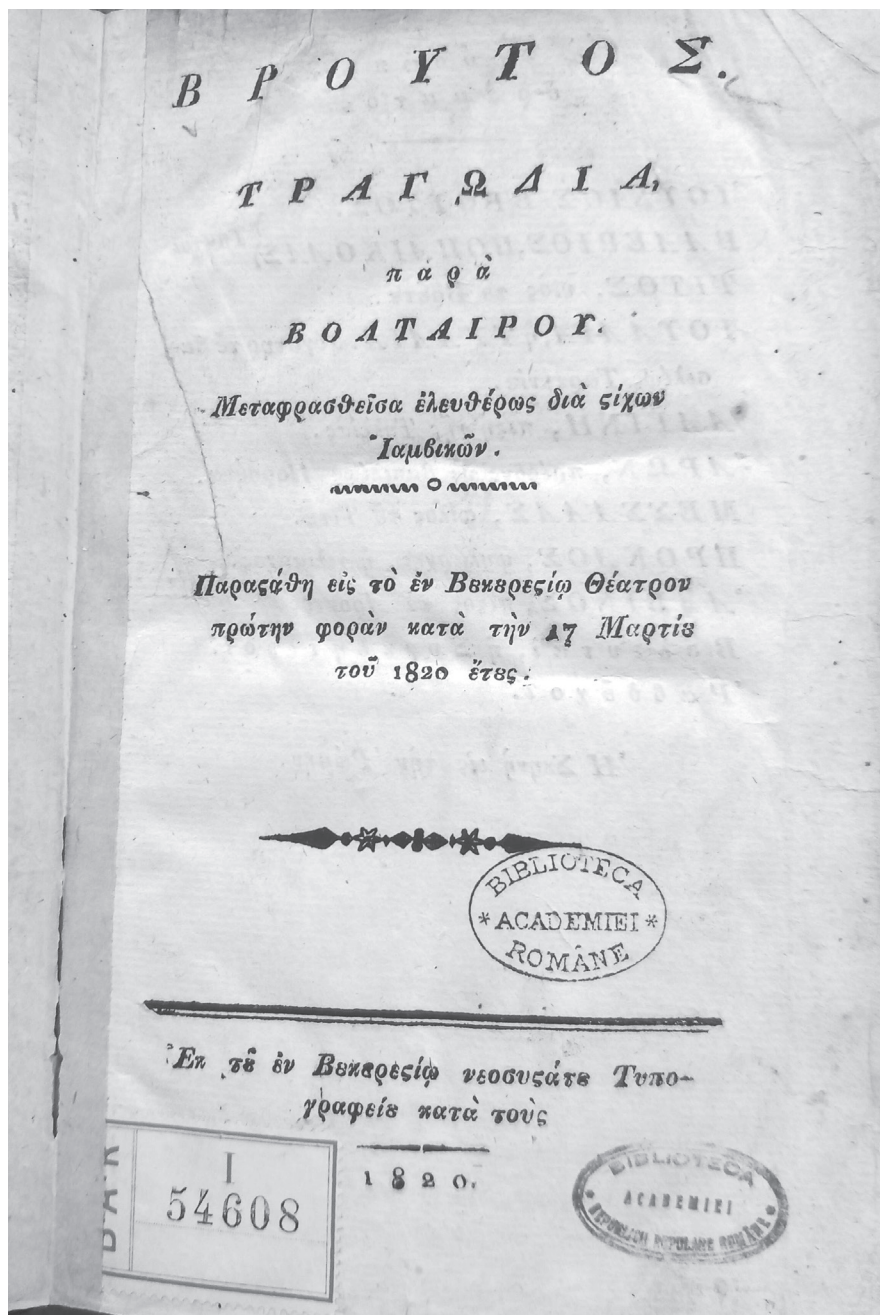


Fig. 6: *Brutus* (A Tragedy), by Voltaire, Bucharest, 1820, title page (B.A.R.).

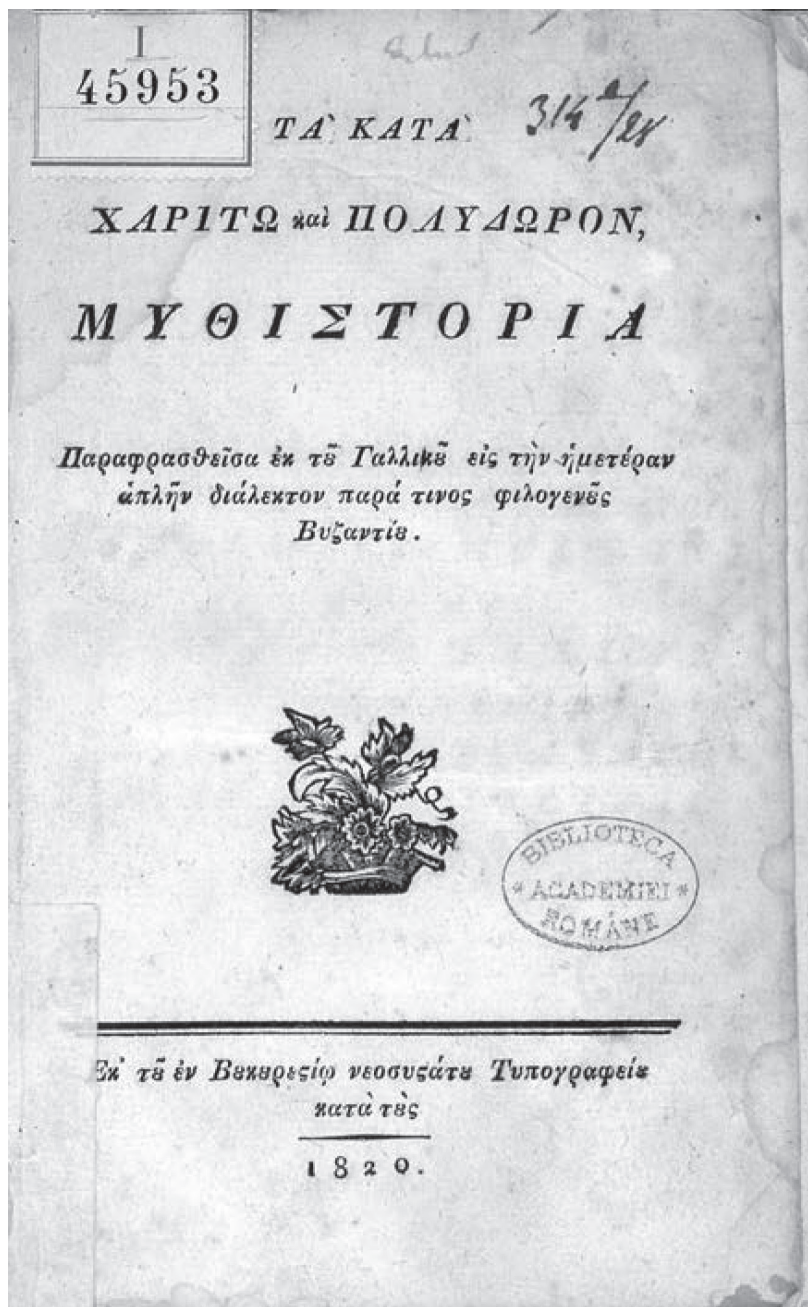


Fig. 7: Novel of Charito and Polydor, translated from French to our vernacular language by a Lover Byzantine, Bucharest, 1820, title page (B.A.R.).

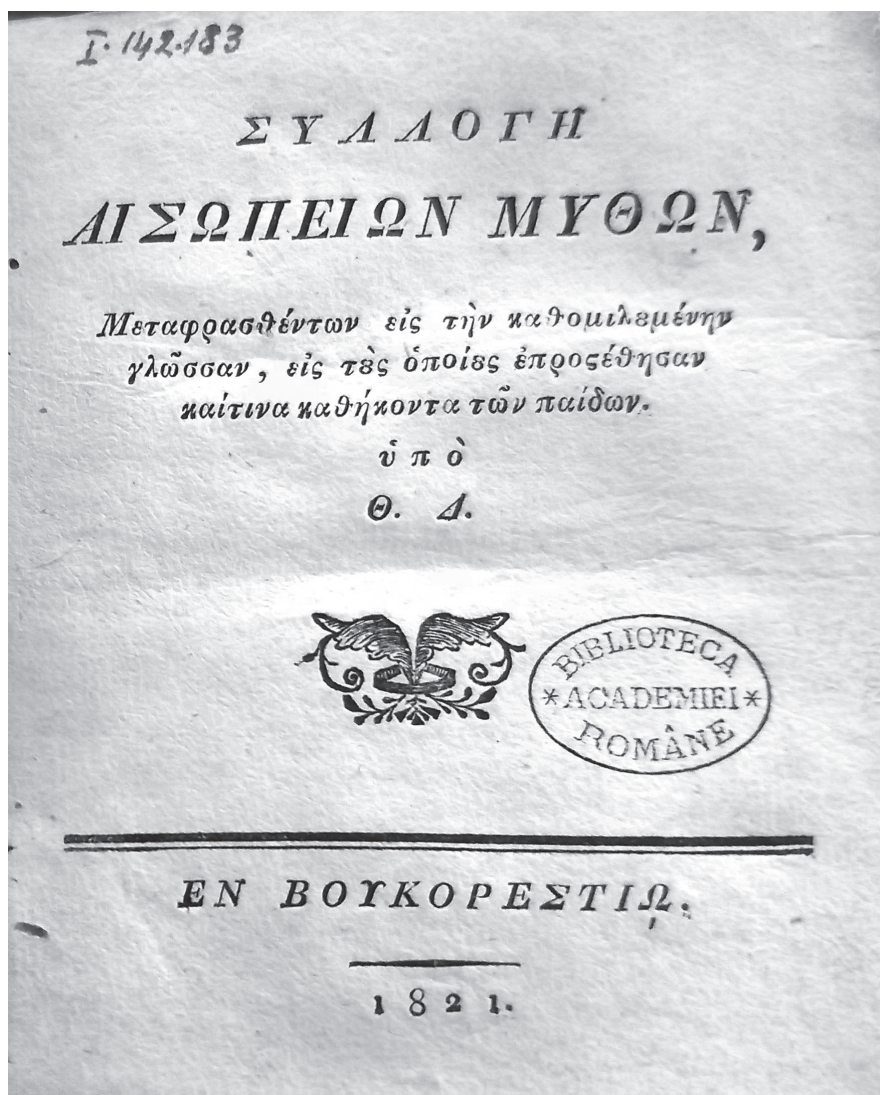


Fig. 8: Collection of Aesop's Fables, Bucharest, 1821, title page (B.A.R.).

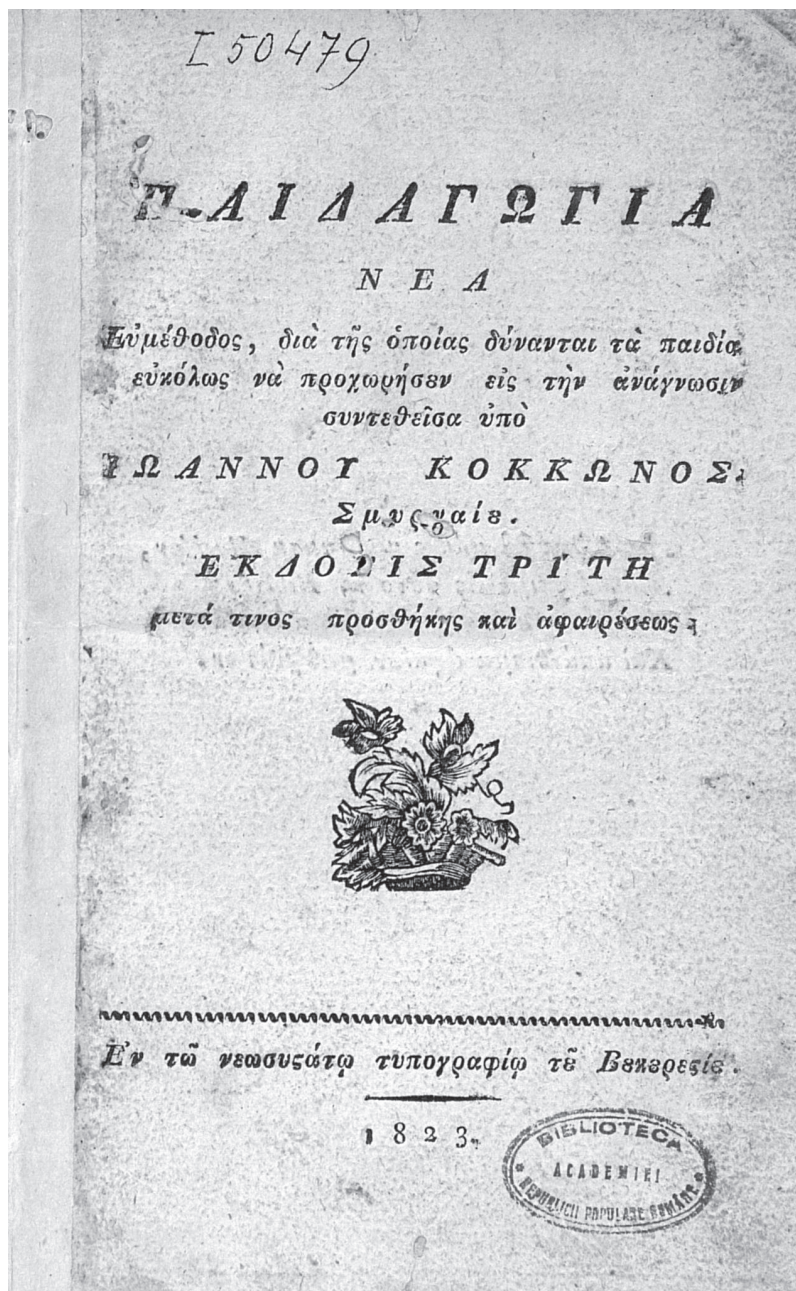


Fig. 9: I. P. Kokkonis, *The New Pedagogy*, Bucharest, 1823, title page (B.A.R.).

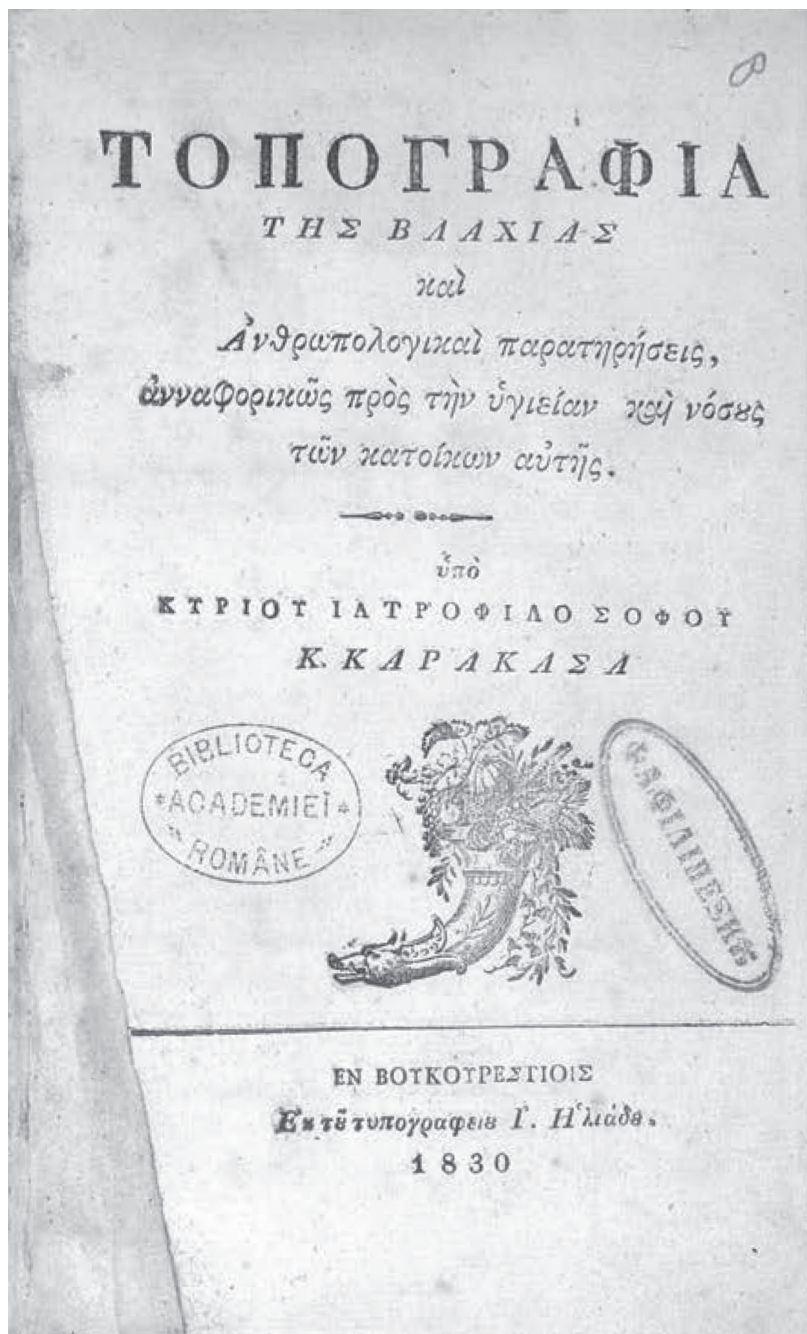


Fig. 10: Constantine Caracș, *Topography of Wallachia*, Bucharest, 1830, title page (B.A.R.).

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2. *Penticostarion ce cuprinde întru cine slujbă ce i să cuvine din sfânta și luminata duminică a Paștilor până la duminica tuturor Sfinților, acum iarăși tipărită în zilele prea înălțatului nostru domn Ioan Alexandru Nicolae Suțul voevod, cu blagoslovenia prea Sfințitului și de Dumnezeu alesului arhiepiscop și mitropolit a toată Ungrovlahia chiriu chir Dionisie, 1820.*
3. *Rost de poezie adică stihuri acum întâi alcătuite în limba românească de Paris Mumuleanu, 1820.*

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