In the end of the 18th century, one of the most important centers of the Hellenic Diaspora was the capital of Wallachia, Bucharest, where the Phanariote regime had considerably contributed to the formation of a large and prosperous Greek community. As far as education was concerned, the Higemoniki Scholi, directed at that time by the famous Epirot hellenist Lambros Photiadis, attracted many young men from Epirus in order to complete their studies. Lambros Photiadis' attitude towards modern Greek language remained conservative, but in the matter of speculation he was against clerical interference and largely contributed to the change of ancient Greek teaching, introducing history and other sciences.

Among Photiadis' students was Mihail Christaris, born in Jannina in 1773, who later studied medicine at the University of Padua and for more than twenty years, lived in Bucharest as a medical doctor, also playing a prominent part in cultural life as a member of the Greco-Dacian Society, founded for the spreading of new ideas in Bucharest. Christaris' interest for European

4. Other pupils of Lambros Photiadis were Iakovos Rizos-Neroulos, D. Schinas, N. Doukas, P. Kodrikas, Z. Pop, Gr. Brincoveanu etc.
5. Δόγματα Εκμηδενικής, 1811, 49.
thought was manifested with his translation in Greek of the *Elements of Arithmetic and Algebra* of G. I. Metzburg in 1804, while a student in Padua; during this period he might have written the anonymous *Greek Nomarchy*, a surmise which is still to be proved.

Christaris played a prominent role in the preparation of the Greek Revolution and took part in the Sacred Bataillon of Alexander Ypsilantis. He was initiated to the Philiki Etaireia in Bucharest on August 30th 1818 at the age of forty-five by Constantine Pentedekas and offered the sum of fifty florins but later provided his entire fortune, despite the fact that he thought it was not yet the proper time for this event.

During the period that Christaris had entered the Philiki Etaireia, he utilised theater as a medium for the diffusion of revolutionary ideas. In 1820, he chose Voltaire’s theatrical pieces, which in France had become the tribune of radicalism and played an important part in the shaping of public opinion. Voltaire's *Mérope* and *Brutus* belong to the “republican tragedies”, in which the author, utilizing subjects from ancient history, wrote about the conflict between absolutism and freedom; sentiments such as patriotism and justice had a direct appeal to the audience. At the same time, Christaris became interested in political and economical thought and, according to Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos, he translated the *Traité d’Economie Politique* of Jean-Baptiste Say, the well-known French Ideologue, who gave new direc-

6. Christaris dedicates his translation to Lambros Phiotiadis as an expression of gratitude toward his teacher. Στοιχεία τῆς Ἀριθμητικῆς καὶ Ἀλγεβρᾶς ύπό τοῦ ποτε Μέτζβουργ, μετάφρασις Μιχαήλ Χρησταρή Ἔκ Παταβίοις 1804. The dedication is in archaistic Greek: “Τῷ Σοφολογιωτάτῳ Διδασκάλῳ τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου Ἡγεμονικοῦ Γυμνασίου Κυρίῳ μοι Κυρίῳ Λάμπρφ Φωτιάδη τῷ Ίωαννίνων ἐμῷ εὐεργέτῃ” (ρρ. III-VI): In 1791 Athanassios Psalidas had published in Vienna his own translation of Ἀριθμητική πρὸς κοινὴν χρήσιν τῆς Ελλάδος σχολείων.


12. Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos, op. cit., 54.
tions to political economy, a science that was to develop in France soon after the Revolution. Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos describes him as a “patriote plein de zèle mais aussi de lumières et de clairvoyance; il était homme à mesurer la grandeur et les périls d’une Insurrection telle que celle des Grecs et il s’efforçait d’en différer l’époque; mais entraîné comme tant d’autres par le torrent impétueux et trompé par un plan, en apparence bien organisé, il s’élança dans l’arène et fut un des premiers défenseurs de notre liberté. Il sacrifia toute sa fortune pour cette cause sainte...” Bearing the pseudonym of Pseudomantis, he became the treasurer of the Philiki Etaireia and, according to Ilias Photinos, he was held responsible for the death of Prince Alexander Soutsos, who was not favorable to the plans of the Etaireia. As a member of the council of Alexander Ypsilantis he played a considerable role between Bucharest and continental Greece where his friend Alexander Mavrocordatos was directing the Revolution as well as the circle of the Metropolitan Ignatius of Arta, living at that time in Pisa. Christaris after the defeat at Dragasani in June 1821, travelled through Germany, Switzerland and Italy in order to find supporters for the Greek Revolution. After his return to Bucharest, he stayed there for some years and probably came to Athens after 1833 and died in 1851.

In Bucharest, Mihail Christarlis translated for the use of Greek schools

15. Ilias Photinos, Oi άθλοι τής εν Βλαχία 'Ελληνικής Έπαναστάσεως το 1821 έτος, ed. Emm. G. Protopsaltis, Athens, 41. About Alex. Soutsos, see ibid., 20.
the Traité élémentaire de morale et de bonheur by Jean-Zacharie Paradis de Raymondis (1746-1800); this work which had an enormous success expressed the pre-revolutionary French moral theory. Its author supports the view that morality depends upon four main factors: health, wealth, freedom and tranquility²⁰. In Paradis de Raymondis' book, printed for the first time in 1784, the part played by society in the formation of morality is stressed as well as that of man's self-love, for as Paradis de Raymondis points out "nobody thinks that only ecclesiastical and political laws are sufficient"²¹. To this Christaris replies in a footnote of his translation that "true religion is nothing else than morality drawn down from heaven; and, if all men do not follow her, the cause is to be found elsewhere and not in saintly religion. What has this so-called morality achieved so far? In any event the failure must not be attributed to her"²². For Christaris a sound knowledge of morality can even prevent political developments and he stresses out that the atrocities of the French Revolution could not have been committed if a previous education in morals had been applied²³. He thinks that morality must preserve man within society: "Morality's primary task is to manifest social links, to consolidate their principles, to prove that it is to the benefit of all concerned within society, if they are to be preserved and conserved unmolested; moreover, to show what contributes to them is the form of virtue and what harms them is the shape of vice"²⁴.

Christaris at the end of his translation of the Traité élémentaire de morale et de bonheur adds forty pages in which he comments Paradis de Raymondis' philosophical ideas; in these comments we see the shaping of Christaris philosophical thought, influenced by French liberalism as well as ancient Greek philosophy. He admits that self-love and the desire for happiness should follow reason. Self-love is, for Christaris, the basic moral principle and the foundation of the other sentiments such as interest, egoism, ambition, arrogance even instincts²⁵; self-love is focused on conservation and pleasure which is the source of all men's rational and irrational desires and the cause of his good and evil

²¹. Ibid., iε'-
²². Ibid., ιογτ'.
²³. Ibid., ιγ'-
²⁴. Ibid., ιγ'-ιε'.
²⁵. Ibid., ιδ'.
acts. Christaris believes that man is not evil and was made good by nature even before society was created\textsuperscript{26}. He writes that “many ancient and modern philosophers think that man is by nature either good or evil but becomes good or evil with education, religion and politics\textsuperscript{27}. On the contrary others believe that man becomes good or evil only according to his nature... But for the observer of the nature of things, I mean for the observer of the animals’ organism, of their acts and moral habits, and after the philosophical examination of the history of the barbarian and enlightened nations, he can be informed that nature knows without the help of culture how to make virtuous men and benefactors of humanity and that good education has also a large power over the heart of man...”\textsuperscript{28}.

Aristotle’s influence upon Christaris’ thought is to be found in his acceptance of the role played by necessity in creating social bounds between men as also in his way to approach the question of happiness which is to be found both in pleasure and virtue\textsuperscript{29}. He agrees as well with Thales that three principles are needed to man’s happiness: health, wealth and education\textsuperscript{30}. Health is given by temperance as for wealth, it has social purposes, because the rich must take care of the poor; he agrees with Aristotle that wealth must be moderated and reduced by government\textsuperscript{31}.

Ignorance is for Christaris an illness of reason and makes us unworthy to be called men\textsuperscript{32}. Therefore he urges youngs to acquire education, which will give them freedom and protection against misfortune. Christaris incites the parents as well to educate their children, for education will bring happiness in their homes\textsuperscript{33}. In the frame work of education, Christaris attacks the condition of women in traditional Ottoman-Greek society, where they were excluded from schools and the existing educational system\textsuperscript{34}. He recognizes the need for female instruction and points out that both boys and girls should

\textsuperscript{26. Ibid., 154-155.}
\textsuperscript{27. About the meaning of politics in 18th century Greece see Roxane D. Argyropoulos, “Η έννοια της πολιτικής στον Ελληνικό στοχασμό του φθίνοντα 18ου αιώνα”, in Philosophy and Politics, ed. of the Greek Philosophical Society, Athens 1982, 262-267.}
\textsuperscript{28. Jean-Zacharie Paradis de Raymondis, op. cit., 156.}
\textsuperscript{29. Ibid., 158.}
\textsuperscript{30. Ibid., 153.}
\textsuperscript{31. Ibid., 162.}
\textsuperscript{32. Ibid. 109.}
\textsuperscript{33. Ibid., 170.}
go to school nevertheless in the minds of most people still prevails a bad and wrong opinion that girls should not be educated"35. His "feminist" attitude places him among the most radical exponents of the Greek Enlightenment: Righas Velestinlis, Athanassios Psalidas, Ad. Coray, Benjamin of Lesbos.

Another purpose of education is for Christaris the improvement of senses, which are imperfect; he condemns overmuch learning without reasoning and yet thinks that very few books are really worthy to be read36. A considerable role in education is played by passions, which are modifications of the senses or of self-love. Passions, Christaris suggests, are neither good nor evil; he regards the measure (...) as the ideal attitude and blames both Epicurus and Zeno for their opposite theories on happiness37, for passion is different from the desired object, the pleasure and the interest we can have38.

Christaris was interested in the problems of translation as well as the questions of the evolution of the Greek language from its archaistic forms to more modern expressions. He believes that the level of a language is proportional to the standard of a nation's culture39. Neologism is a solution for new ideas, but those who are interested in words only, rather than in things, become harmful to the nation, preventing his enlightenment40. Although a pupil of Lambros Photiadis, known for his archaistic attitude towards the neohellenic language, Mihail Christaris became a promoter of rather romantic language theories, but was not involved in the factional quarrels of Greek Enlightenment. "I don’t pretend to be the leader of any faction" he declares and remarks that it is people who produce language and scholars should only cultivate the instrument which the nation utilises in its thoughts, accordingly to the method of logic and philosophy, so that the entire nation is able to recognize language as its own property41. It remains clear that Christaris views about Greek language are essentially identical with Demetrius Katartzis’ language theory, famous in his controversy with Lambros Photiadis42.

36. Ibid., 172.
37. Ibid., 182.
38. Ibid., 153.
39. Ibid., ζ.’.
40. Ibid., ζ’-η’.
41. Ibid., η’.
42. See the correspondence between D. Katartzis and L. Photiadis edited by Neophytos Doucas in his Πραματική, Vienna 1812.
Christaris appears as an upholder of Katartzis, whose ideas will later be developed by Romanticism and especially by Dionysios Solomos in his *Dialogue on language*.

In his *Cours de littérature grecque moderne*, Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos writes in 1827 about Christaris that “manquant du nécessaire supporte avec un courage stoïque ses malheurs et travaille encore pour sa patrie en compo­ sant sur un plan entièrement neuf un ouvrage de Catéchisme politique”

These words bring us to the *Catechism of the Main Social Duties* (Κατήχη­σις τῶν κυριοτέρων κοινωνικῶν καθηκόντων) of Mihail Christaris, published in Bucarest in 1831. Last but not least, this work composed of 209 pages is perhaps the most representative political work of the neohellenic Enlighten­ment, in which Christaris, influenced by the French Catechisms (de Pradt, Morand) introduces the idea of social autonomy.

In comparison to other works of Greek political thinkers of this period, dealing with the problem of human rights and duties, Christaris’ book is the most progressive and sur­passes the problematic of Rhigas Velestinlis, Benjamin of Lesbos, Constantine Koumas, Neophytos Vamvas, even that of Adamantios Coray, all of whom saw the question of human rights and duties in the context of interindividual relations and less in that of social relations.

A very advanced political work, the *Catechism of the Main Social Duties* appears as an echo of the French political thought of 1789; Montesquieu, d’Holbach, Helvétius, Rousseau are cited as well as texts from the French Re­volution; his political ressources are the Bill of Human Rights, the works of Condorcet, Destutt de Tracy, Volney, Daunou and others. This utilization of the French revolutionary ideology proves that Christaris separates 1789 as a political event from the starting point of a new era in the field of social and political history. As many others Greek thinkers of the 19th cen­tury, Christaris applies for the French Revolution a double lecture. Christaris accepts Destutt de Tracy’s opinion that without society there can not be human right or duty; he moreover admits that human rights and duties are regulated by political régimes. He thinks that political freedom is the first

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44. Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos, *op. cit.*, 54.
47. Mihail Christaris, *op. cit.*, 34-37.
principle and the basis of the existence of a nation⁴⁹; freedom and wealth are social purposes with the presupposition that society must become a public authority from which every citizen's act results⁵⁰.

Christaris admits in principle three powers in the government of a state; the legislative, the executive and the judiciary, although aware of modern theories, such as that of Joseph Ray, who accepts only two powers⁵¹. Legislative power is not to be found in general will, expressed by social contract; but—as Christaris believes—law expresses the structure of society, an opinion he borrows from Benjamin Constant⁵². Law is seen by Christaris not in the way of Beccaria, Vattel, Rousseau or Tracy but as Fritot envisages it in his Science du publiciste: "law is in general a rule that government gives to society and that every individual must follow, when it does not overturn the natural sentiments and the principle of morality..."⁵³. In his analysis on law Christaris discusses Bentham's opinions as that of Burlamaqui⁵⁴. In general, Christaris insists on the idea that social science must lead the nations of Europe and not ignorance or superstition. In the frame of neohellenic political thought Christaris's book stands at the same level as that of Benjamin of Lesbos and Ad. Korais with his critique of nobility and his belief in equality before the law. But with his interest for the new Greek state he is very close Ioannis Kokkonis' Peri Politeion, published during the same period, and which intends to present to the new Greek nation patterns of political thinking not only deriving from the heritage of the Enlightenment but also from Romanticism.

III

As we have seen, Christaris, as well as Coray, combined his interests for medicine with those for literature and political thought; these trends of his personality are to be found in his library. Christaris "un très honnête homme fort instruit et dans son art et dans la littérature grecque" as F. G. Laurençon describes him in 1822, owned a very important library⁵⁵. A part of Christaris library is known to-day in a manuscript catalogue existing in the Archives

⁴⁹. Ibid., 69.
⁵⁰. Ibid., 65.
⁵¹. Ibid., 96.
⁵². Ibid., 161.
⁵³. Ibid.
⁵⁴. Ibid., 171.
of the Kaireios Library on the island of Andros. This catalogue was given in 1833 to Theophilos Kairis, when the latter visited Bucharest in order to collect money and books for the school founded by him in his native island. The indication which exists at the top of the first folio of the manuscript "έκ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Μιχαήλ Χρησταρῆ τοῦ Ἰατροῦ" demonstrates that here we have a part only of Christaris' Library, a selection probably made by Theophilos Kairis; therefore this manuscript has a double importance, since it gives us the picture of a distinguished Greek scholar's library of the Diaspora, of his benevolent attitude toward his homeland and, at the same time, it provides us the selection made by Theophilos Kairis for the school of Andros. At the end of the catalogue we can read the following note written by Mihail Christaris himself: Φανέρωσις. Τά ἐν τῷ παρόντι κατάλογῳ σημειωθέντα βιβλία ἄφιε τοῦ εἰς τό ἐν Ἀνδρῳ "Ἀνδρων Ορθραντοφεῖον, τό ἵδη συσταίνομεν διὰ συντόνου σπουδῆς τοῦ σιβαστοῦ κυρίου Θεοφίλου Καϊρη. Τούτων ἄπαντων μετὰ τῶν θάνατόν μου νὰ γείνῃ Κύριον, καὶ μηδεὶς τῶν συγγενῶν μου νὰ ἔχῃ δικαιωματικὴν τινα ἀντιπόψιν. Ταῦτα ἔγραφα ἰδιοκείρως καὶ βεβαιώ μὲ τὴν ὑπογραφήν μου διὰ νὰ ἔχωσι τὸ ἄπαιτομενον κύρος τῇ κα, Ἀὐγοῦστου τοῦ ἀωλῆ ἔτους Μιχαήλ Χρησταρῆς Ἰατρός.

The fact that Theophilos Kairis was the receiver of the Catalogue of Mihail Christaris’ Library is testified by a phrase written in the margin and concerning a manuscript with notes from the Logic of Evgenios Voulgaris probably a work of Lambros Photiadis. "Ἀποσημειώματα εἰς τὴν λογικὴν τοῦ Εὐγενίου [Λάμπρου Φωτιάδου]: τοῦτο ἔλαβον ἐγὼ ὁ ἰδιός ἐν Βουκουρεστίων ἑυρισκόμενος· Θεόφιλος Καϊρης.

This Catalogue consisting of 342 volumes is divided into five parts: the first deals with French books, the second with Italian books, the third with


57. About Theophilos Kairis (1784-1853), see the recent Proceedings of the Symposium on Theophilos Kairis, ed. by the Center for Neohellenic Research, National Research Foundation, Athens 1988.

books written in Latin, the fourth with Greek books and manuscripts and the fifth with German books. In the first part entitled “Livres Français” we have works from 1750 up to 1829; the older is *Le Droit de la Nature et des Gens* by the baron von Pufendorf in two volumes and the most recent are *The Esquisse* of Condorcet, the *Complete Works* of Benjamin Constant in eight volumes, the *Catéchisme Constitutionnel* by Morand and the *Mémorial Pharmaceutique* by Pierquin. These three titles give us the directions of Christaris’ interests in medicine, law and social sciences. In a number of 131 volumes, 23 titles deal with subjects on law, philosophy, political economy, 20 titles concern medicine, 11 titles French literature and language, 4 titles are related to the study of the Latin, English and German languages; we also have a book of French cooking entitled *La nouvelle cuisinière bourgeoise*. Among the books concerning law and philosophy, I would like to point out the French translation of Adam Smith’s *Researches on the Wealth of Nations* as that of the *Elements of Philosophy* by Douglas Stewart in 2 volumes, the *Traité de l’économie politique* by Jean-Baptiste Say in its fourth edition of 1819, the *Cours d’Economie politique* by Henri Storch, the *Eléments de la science du droit* by Lepage, the *Système de la Nature* by Mirabaud, the *Esquisse d’un tableau historique des progrès de l’esprit humain* by Condorcet, the *Essai sur les garanties individuelles* by Daunou, the *De la Réorganisation de la Société Européenne* by Saint-Simon and many others. As we see, Christaris in his library possessed the most recent books of his time on philosophy and modern political thought and had a keen interest in political science, which is testified in his work on social duties. In this catalogue we find most sources that Christaris used in the redaction of his *Catechism*. The medicine books are the next large category of Christaris’ library; in the part “Libri Italiani” containing 140 volumes, we have 40 titles of works on medicine. In the part “Libri Latini” we have only 20 titles of books concerning law, medicine, botany and Latin language learning; an edition of 1591 dealing with the aphorisms of Hippocrates is the rarest book of this catalogue.

The part “Ελληνικά βιβλία” is smaller with only 17 titles of books and five titles of manuscripts; from the Greek books we can mention the theatrical drama of Eustathius Makrembolitis entitled Τῶν καθ’ ὤμιν καὶ ὤμιν from the 1792 Leipzig edition, the *Ποιημάτια* *Ιατρικά* of Dimitrios Karakassis, the Greek translation of the *Elements of Logic and Moral Philosophy* of Heinecke by Grigorie Brîncoveanu, the Διατριβή ἐπί τῆς καταστάσεως τῆς ἑνεστώσης ἡμῶν γλώσσης of George Krommydis, Moscow 1808, and from the manuscripts, we have the five following titles: ἐν Ἐπιστολάριον χειρόγραφον περιέχον διαφόρον ἐπιστολάς καὶ προσέτι ἐγκώμια καὶ ποιημάτια
μακριτου Λάμπρου Φωτιάδου, ἐν Φρασάριον βιβλίον δηλονότι περιέχον φράσεις ἰδιωματισμοῦς διαφόρων συγγραφέων 'Ελλήνων, ἐν Παροιμιατάριον ἕλληνικόν χειρόγραφον, ἐν Χειρόγραφον περὶ ὑποτικής τέχνης Γερασίμου Βλάχου, 'Αποσημειώματα εἰς τὴν λογικὴν τοῦ Εὐγενίου.

The fate of Mihail Christaris' library is still unknown, for, the donation to the school of Andros never actually took place; in 1839 the school was closed, and as we know, Theophilos Kaïris suffered persecutions and tragic events until his death in 1853. The catalogue of Kairis library existing in Andros today contains several titles which correspond to the Christaris' collection. Our researches in the Athens National Library proved fruitless, yet, perhaps a research in Roumania would reveal to us the vestige of Christaris' rich library. M. Christaris' collection as presented by this Catalogue expresses different features of his intellectual background: a bibliophile and a scientist aware of the intellectual problems of his time. The importance of this catalogue lies to the fact that we find the major sources of Christaris' thought as it appears in his Catechism as well as his others activities. Mihail Christaris, one of the most radical personalities of neohellenic Enlightenment, continues in South-Eastern Europe the liberalism of the French Revolution and appears to be both a receiver and a propagator of modern ideas in this part of Europe.

Center for Neohellenic Research
National Research Foundation
Athens - Greece

59. This last manuscript, a work of Lambros Photiadis, remains unpublished.
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<td>Petit Catéchisme par de Pradt</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Médecine expectante par Vitet 1803 6
Eléments de la langue Engloise par Viret 1796 1
Grammaire Allemande pratique par Meindiger 1801 1
Recherches sur l'origine du Despotisme oriental 1773 1
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Traité des Maladies de la peau par P. Rayer avec des planches 1826 3
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Tullii Ciceronis Epistolarum 1771 1
Grammatica latina 1

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Στοιχεία τῆς Ἀριθμητικῆς καὶ Ἀλγέβρας ὑπὸ τοῦ ποτὲ Μέτζβουργ, μεταφραστικὲς Μιχαήλ Χρησταρή 1804 1
'Αντιπανάκιον ὑπὸ Ἀναστασίου Γεωργίαδου 1801 1
Δημητρίου Καρακάσση ποιημάτια 'Ιατρικά 1
Στοιχεία τῆς Λογικῆς καὶ Ἡθικῆς Φιλοσοφίας ὑπὸ Ἀλεκκίου μεταφρασθέντα εἰς τήν Ἕλλαδα φωνῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γρηγορίου Μπραγκοβάνου 1
Ιστορία τῶν ἀρχαίων ἔθνων παρά συγγραφέων Ἑλλήνων ὁ πρῶτος τόμος λείπει 1811 4
Συλλογή διαφόρων Ῥαγωδίων. Τόμος πρῶτος 180: 10
Θούκυδιδοῦ Ὀλόρου περὶ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ Πολέμου κείμενον Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μετάφρασις Νεοφύτου Δούκα 1808 1
Διατριβὴ εἰς τῆς καταστάσεως τῆς ἑνεστότης ἡμῶν γλώσσης [Γεωργίου Κρομμύδου] 1815 1
Λεξικὸν τῆς Γαλλικῆς Γλώσσης τοῦ Ζαλίκογλου 1818 3
'Αριστοτέλους προβλημάτων διὰ ιατρικὰ μὲ λατινικὴν ἐξήγησιν παρὰ Φιλοχαίνου Λουδοβίκου 1632 1
Ἐστυδιὸν [Μακρεμβολίτου] Τῶν καθ’ Ἡσίμαν καὶ Ἡσίμανιν, Δράμα 1792 1
Ἰστορία τῆς παλαιᾶς Δακίας παρὰ Διονυσίου Φωτεινοῦ 1818 3
Ἐπικά καὶ Ἐλέγειακοὶ γνώμαι 1746 1
Ἄνακρέοντος Γηῆσυ μὲ ἐξήγησιν τοῦ κειμένου καὶ σχόλια Ἰταλικὰ 1787 1
Οἰκονομία πρακτική καὶ γενικῆ πάντων τῶν τῆς ἀγροκίας κτημάτων ὑπὸ Δ. Π. Γοβέλδα 1816 1

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*Ἐν Φρασάριον βιβλίον δηλονότι περιέχον φράσεις ἰδιωματισμοῦ διαφόρων συγγραφέων Ἑλλήνων
*Ἐν Παροιμιάριον Ἑλληνικῶν χειρόγραφον
*Ἐν Χειρόγραφον περὶ ρητορικῆς τέχνης Γερασίμου Βλάχου
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