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A 19th CENTURY GREEK SCHOLAR IN BUCHAREST:

MIHAIL CHRISTARIS AND HIS LIBRARY*

I

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 community¹. As far as education was concerned, the Híge-moniki Scholi², directed at that time by the famous Epirot hellenist Lambros Photiadis³, 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 Christaris⁴, 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 Bucharest⁵. Christaris' interest for European

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1. Alexandru Duțu, "La culture roumaine à l'époque des Phanariotes: héritage et nouvelles acquisitions", *Symposium l'Epoque Phanariote*, Thessalonique 1974, 77-83.

2. Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *Les Académies Princières de Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs*, Thessalonique 1974.

3. On Lambros Photiadis (Jannina 1752-Bucharest 1805) see D. V. Oikonomidis, "Λάμπρος Φωτιάδης (1752-1805)", *Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 3 (1950), 106-140. Also Stephanos Bettis, "Μιχαὴλ Χρησταρῆς διαπρεπὴς Γιαννιώτης ἰατροφιλόσοφος καὶ Φιλικός", *Ἡπειρωτικὴ Ἑστία*, 1972, 1-32 as well as Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *L'Épire et les Pays Roumains*, Jannina 1984, 227.

4. Other pupils of Lambros Photiadis were Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos, D. Schinas, N. Doukas, P. Kodrikas, Z. Pop, Gr. Brincoveanu etc.

5. *Δόγιος Ἐφημς*, 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 Padua⁶; during this period he might have written the anonymous *Greek Nomarchy*, a surmise which is still to be proved⁷.

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 florins⁸ but later provided his entire fortune, despite the fact that he thought it was not yet the proper time for this event⁹.

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 *Méropé* and *Brutus* belong to the "republican tragedies"¹⁰, 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 audience¹¹. 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 Say¹², the well-known French Ideologue, who gave new direc-

6. Christaris dedicates his translation to Lambros Photiadis as an expression of gratitude toward his teacher. Στοιχεία τῆς Ἀριθμητικῆς καὶ Ἀλγέβρας ὑπὸ τοῦ ποτε Μέλζβουργ, μετάφρασις Μιχαὴλ Χρησταρῆ Ἐκ Παταβίου 1804. The dedication is in archaistic Greek: "Τῷ Σοφολογιωτάτῳ Διδασκάλῳ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳς Ἡγεμονικοῦ Γυμνασίου Κυρίῳ μοι Κυρίῳ Λάμπρῳ Φωτιάδῃ τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων ἐμῷ εὐεργέτῃ" (pp. III-VI): In 1791 Athanassios Psalidas had published in Vienna his own translation of Ἀριθμητικὴ πρὸς κοινὴν χρῆσιν τῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος σχολείων.

7. St. Bettis, "Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Νομαρχία καὶ ὁ συγγραφέας τῆς", *Ἡπειρωτικὴ Ἑστία*, 19 (1972), 542-549.

8. J. Philemon, *Δοκίμιον περὶ τῆς Φιλικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, Athens 1834, 27, V. Mexas, *Οἱ Φιλικοί*, Athens 1937, 14, St. Bettis, *Μιχ. Χρησταρῆς*, *op. cit.*, 4.

9. Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos, *Cours de littérature grecque moderne*, Genève, 1827, 54.

10. St. Bettis, *op. cit.*, 5, Léon Fontaine, *Le théâtre et la philosophie au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1978, 12-13, 37, J. R. Vrooman, "Voltaire's theatre: the cycle from 'Oedipe' to 'Méropé'", *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 75 (1970), 220 p. See also Anna Tabaki, "La résonance des idées révolutionnaires dans le théâtre grec des Lumières (1800-1821)", *Actes du III^e Colloque d'histoire du Centre de Recherches Néohelléniques de la F.N.R.S. "La Révolution Française et l'Hellénisme moderne"*, Athens 1989, 471-490.

11. Léon Fontaine, *op. cit.*, 32.

12. Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos, *op. cit.*, 54.

tions to political economy, a science that was to develop in France soon after the Revolution¹³.

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..."¹⁴. 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 Etaireia¹⁵. As a member of the council of Alexander Ypsilantis¹⁶ 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 Pisa¹⁷. Christaris after the defeat at Dragasani in June 7th 1821, travelled through Germany, Switzerland and Italy in order to find supporters for the Greek Revolution¹⁸. After his return to Bucharest, he stayed there for some years and probably came to Athens after 1833 and died in 1851¹⁹.

II

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

13. Georges Gusdorf, *La conscience révolutionnaire. Les Idéologues*, Paris 1978, 532-536.

14. Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos, *op. cit.*, 53-54.

15. Ilias Photinos, *Οἱ ἄθλοι τῆς ἐν Βλαχία Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως τὸ 1821 ἔτος*, éd. Emm. G. Protopsaltis, Athens, 41. About Alex. Soutsos, see *ibid.*, 20.

16. Academia Republicii Populare Romine, Institutul de Istorie, *Rascoala din 1821. Eteria în Principatele Romine*, vol. IV, ed. by Andrei Otețea, Nichita Adamiloaie, Alexandru Vianu, Bucharest 1960, 67; vol. V, 265. This war council was formed except M. Christaris by Nicholas and George Ypsilanti, the brothers of Alexander Ypsilanti, George Lassanis and general Orfano, *op. cit.*, 288, 450.

17. *Ἱστορικὸν Ἀρχεῖον Ἀλεξάνδρου Μανροκορδάτου*, fasc. 1, Athens 1963, 18 fasc. 2, Athens 1965, 22, fasc. 3 Athens 1968, 572, 650, fasc. 4 Athens 1974, 76-77. See also Emm. G. Protopsaltis, *Ἰγνάτιος Μητροπολίτης Οὐγγροβλαχίας (1766-1828)*, Athens 1959, Academy of Athens, 167.

18. Emm. Xanthis, *Ἀπομνημονεύματα περὶ τῆς Φιλικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, Athens, 172, St. Bettis, *op. cit.*, 18, 196.

19. St. Bettis, *op. cit.*, 21. Christaris is held responsible also for the assassination of Tudor Vladimirescu, see St. Bettis, *op. cit.*, 15-16.

the *Traité élémentaire de morale et de bonheur* by Jean-Zacharie Paradis de Raymond (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 Raymond's 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 Raymond 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 Raymond's 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

20. Jean-Zacharie Paradis de Raymond, *Traité élémentaire de morale et de bonheur* [pour servir de prolégomènes ou de suite à la Collection des moralistes, Lyon, Barret, 1784, 2 vol. in -18 ou Paris an III (1795), 2 vol., in -16] translation in Greek by M. Christaris, Vienna 1816, 16. Christaris possessed the whole collection in his library.

21. *Ibid.*, 1ε'.

22. *Ibid.*, 1στ'.

23. *Ibid.*, 1γ'.

24. *Ibid.*, 1γ'-1ε'.

25. *Ibid.*, 1δ'.

acts. Christaris believes that man is not evil and was made good by nature even before society was created²⁶. 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 politics²⁷. 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..."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 virtue²⁹. He agrees as well with Thales that three principles are needed to man's happiness: health, wealth and education³⁰. 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 government³¹.

Ignorance is for Christaris an illness of reason and makes us unworthy to be called men³². 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 homes³³. 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 system³⁴. He recognizes the need for female instruction and points out that both boys and girls should

26. *Ibid.*, 154-155.

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.

28. Jean-Zacharie Paradis de Raymond, *op. cit.*, 156.

29. *Ibid.*, 158.

30. *Ibid.*, 153.

31. *Ibid.*, 162.

32. *Ibid.* 109.

33. *Ibid.*, 170.

34. Paschalis M. Kitromilidis, "The Enlightenment and Womanshood: Cultural Change and the Politics of Exclusion", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 1 (1983), 43-46,

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: Rigas 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.

35. J.-Z. Paradis de Raymond, *op. cit.*, 172, where Christaris praises Catherine Rasti, a young woman who translated in 1816 from the French a geographical book by Etienne Jouy.

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 *Γραμματική*, 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*⁴³.

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 composant sur un plan entièrement neuf un ouvrage de Catéchisme politique"⁴⁴. These words bring us to the *Catechism of the Main Social Duties* (Κατήχησις τῶν κυριωτέρων 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 autonomy⁴⁵. 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 relations⁴⁶.

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 resources 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 lecture⁴⁷. 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 régimes⁴⁸. He thinks that political freedom is the first

43. C. Th. Dimaras, *Ἑλληνικός Ρωμαντισμός*, Athens 1982, 138.

44. Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos, *op. cit.*, 54.

45. Cf. Emmet Kennedy, "The French Revolutionary Catechisms: Ruptures and Continuities with Classical, Christian, and Enlightenment moralities", *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 199 (1981), 353-362.

46. Roxane D. Argyropoulos, "Les droits de l'homme dans la pensée morale et politique des Lumières en Grèce", *Actes du IIIe Colloque d'Histoire...*, *op. cit.*, 69-85.

47. Mihail Christaris, *op. cit.*, 34-37.

48. *Ibid.*

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.

55. F. G. Laurençon, *Nouvelles observations sur la Valachie*, Paris 1822, 115-116.

of the Kaïreios Library on the island of Andros⁵⁶. This catalogue was given in 1833 to Theophilos Kaïris⁵⁷, 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 “ἐκ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Μιχαήλ Χρησταρῆ τοῦ Ἱατροῦ” demonstrates that here we have a part only of Christaris’ Library, a selection probably made by Theophilos Kaïris; 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 homeland⁵⁸ and, at the same time, it provides us the selection made by Theophilos Kaïris for the school of Andros. At the end of the catalogue we can read the following note written by Mihail Christaris himself: Φανέρωσις. Τὰ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταλόγῳ σημειωθέντα βιβλία ἀφιερώνω εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἀνδρῶ Ὀρφανοτροφεῖον, τὸ ἤδη συσταινόμενον διὰ συντόνου σπουδῆς τοῦ σεβαστοῦ κυρίου Θεοφίλου Καίρη. Τούτων ἀπάντων μετὰ τὸν θάνατόν μου νὰ γείνη Κύριον, καὶ μηδεὶς τῶν συγγενῶν μου νὰ ἔχη δικαιωματικὴν τινα ἀντιποίησιν. Ταῦτα ἔγραφα ἰδιοχείρως καὶ βεβαιῶ μὲ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν μου διὰ νὰ ἔχωσι τὸ ἀπαιτούμενον κύρος τῇ καὶ Ἀυγούστου τοῦ ἁωλγ’ ἔτους Μιχαήλ Χρησταρῆς Ἱατρός.

The fact that Theophilos Kaïris 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 Evgénios Voulgaris probably a work of Lambros Photiadis. Ἀποσημειώματα εἰς τὴν λογικὴν τοῦ Εὐγενίου [Λάμπρου Φωτιάδου]· τοῦτο ἔλαβον ἐγὼ ὁ ἴδιος ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳς εὗρισκόμενος· Θεόφιλος Καίρης.

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

56. D. Polemis, “Τὸ ἀρχεῖον Εὐαγγέλου Δερτούζου”, *Πέταλον*, 2 (1980), 166, document 410, file no. 2.

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

58. On the diffusion of European books in the Greek space see C. Th. Dimaras, “Τὸ δυτικὸ βιβλίον στὸν ἑλληνικὸ χῶρον” as well as Loukia Droulia, “Les foyers de culture en Grèce pendant la domination ottomane: le cas des bibliothèques” both studies are published in the *Proceedings of the Symposium on The Book in Preindustrial Societies*, Center for Neohellenic Research, National Research Foundation, Athens 1982, 166-188, 189-206. Cf. Κέντρο Νεοελληνικῶν Ἑρευνῶν Ε.Ι.Ε., *Τετράδια Ἐργασίας*, 9, “Νεοελληνικὲς Βιβλιοθήκες (17ος-19ος αἰ.)”, Athens 1987, 305 p. Also *Bibliotheken und Aufklärung*, ed. by Werner Arnold and Peter Vodosek, Wiesbaden 1988, X+213 p.

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' Ὑσμίνην καὶ Ὑσμινίαν* from the 1792 Leipzig edition, the *Ποιημάτια Ἱατρικά* of Dimitrios Karakassis, the Greek translation of the *Elements of Logic and Moral Philosophy* of Heinecke by Grigorie Brincoveanu, the *Διατριβὴ ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῆς ἐνestsώσης ἡμῶν γλώσσης* of George Krommydis, Moscow 1808, and from the manuscripts, we have the five following titles: *ἐν Ἐπιστολάριον χειρόγραφον περιέχον διαφόρων ἐπιστολὰς καὶ προσέτι ἐγκώμια καὶ ποιημάτια*

μακαρίτου Λάμπρου Φωτιάδου, ἐν Φρασάριον βιβλίον δηλονότι περιέχον φράσεις ιδιωματισμοὺς διαφόρων συγγραφέων Ἑλλήνων, ἐν Παροιμιατάριον ἑλληνικὸν χειρόγραφον, ἐν Χειρόγραφον περὶ ῥητορικῆς τέχνης Γερασίου Βλάχου, Ἀποσημειώματα εἰς τὴν λογικὴν τοῦ Εὐγενίου⁵⁹.

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 Kaïris library existing in Andros today contains several titles which correspond to the Christaris' collection⁶⁰. 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 Enlightenment⁶¹, 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.

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National Research Foundation
Athens - Greece*

59. This last manuscript, a work of Lambros Photiadis, remains unpublished.

60. A. S. Tiliakos, "Κατάλογος Βιβλιοθήκης Θεοφίλου Καΐρη", *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Κυκλαδικῶν Μελετῶν*, 5 (1965), 746.

61. Paschalis M. Kitromilidis, "Πολιτικός Οὐμανισμός καὶ Διαφωτισμός: συμβολὴ στὴ διερεύνηση τῆς ιδεολογικῆς λειτουργίας τῆς πολιτικῆς θεωρίας τοῦ Montesquieu", in *Philosophy and Politics*, *op. cit.*, 297-300.

*The Catalogue of M. Christaris' Books**Ἐκ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Μιχαήλ Χρηστοῦ τοῦ Ἱατροῦ**Livres Français*

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Vol.</i>
Essai sur l'Histoire de la Nature par Pavoty et Coulouzan	1815	3
Elémens de la Philosophie de l'esprit humain par Dugald Stewart. traduits de l'Anglais	1808	3
Traité de l'Economie politique par J. B. Say. quatrième édition	1819	2
Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la Richesse des nations [Adam Smith] traduit de l'Anglais	1800	4
Cours d'Economie politique par Henri Storch	1823	4
Théorie des Richesses Sociales par le Comte Frédéric Skarbek	1829	2
Le Droit de la Nature et des Gens par le Baron de Pufendorf	1750	2
Science du Publiciste par Fritot	1821	
Elémens de la Science du Droit par Lepage	1820	2
Traité des principes généraux du Droit et de la Législation par Ray	1828	1
Système de la Nature par Mirabaud	1774	2
Esquisse d'un Tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain. Cinquième édition an VI républicain [Condorcet]		5
Histoire des Sciences dans la Grèce an VII républicain		5
Lettres Athéniennes traduites de l'Anglais par A. L. Villeterque an XI		3
Principes philosophiques politiques et moraux par Veiss	1806	2
L'Art de parler et d'écrire correctement la langue française par Levizou	1815	2
Manuel d'Anatomiste par Maygrier. Seconde édition	1811	1
Traité complet d'Anatomie par Boyer	1810	4
Observations sur la nature et le traitement de la Apoplexie par Portal	1811	1
Manuel du Libraire par Brunet fils	1814	4
Traduction des œuvres médicales d'Hippocrate	1801	4
Physiologie d'Hippocrate	1802	1
Politique de tous les cabinets de l'Europe	1802	3
Institutions physiologiques Blumenbach traduites du Latin par Pagnet	1797	
Aphorismes d'Hippocrate traduits par Villenbrune	....	1
Caractères de Théophraste traduits par Levesque	1802	1
Collection des moralistes anciens	....	9
Traité élémentaire de Morale et de Bonheur [J.-Z. Paradis de Raymondis]	1795	2
Essai sur les garanties individuelles par Daunou	1819	1
Traité des maladies des Enfans par J. Capuron	1813	1
Cours pratique et théorique de langue latine par Lemaire troisième édition	1817	1
Principes généraux et raisonnés de la grammaire française par Restant	....	1
Petit Catéchisme par de Pradt	1820	1

Médecine expectante par Vitet	1803	6
Elémens de la langue Angloise par Viret	1796	1
Grammaire Allemande pratique par Meindiger	1801	1
Recherches sur l'origine du Despotisme oriental	1773	1
Collection Complète des ouvrages de Benjamin Constant	....	8
Traité des Maladies de la peau par P. Rayer avec des planches	1826	3
Traité sur les Gastralgies et les Entéralgies par Barras	1827	1
Nouveau Formulaire médical par Sainte-Marie	1820	1
Catéchisme constitutionnel par Morand	1829	1
Mémorial Pharmaceutique par Pierquin	1829	1
Dictionnaire Grec-François par Planche	1817	1
Dictionnaire François-Latin par Noël	1824	2
Dictionnaire François-Grec	1824	1
Dictionnaire universel de la langue française par Guttel	1819	2
Dictionnaire universel de la langue française avec le latin par Boiste. quatrième édition	1812	1
Code civil des François	1805	1
Dialogue pour la vie sociale par Beauval	1811	4
L'Europe tourmentée par la Révolution en France	1815	
La Nouvelle Cuisinière Bourgeoise	1816	
Grammaire Française simplifiée par Cartille	1803	1
Lettres Modernes par D. Villecomte	1819	1
Méthode pour entendre grammaticalement la langue latine par Gaultier	1804	2
Grammaire Latine par Boinvilliers	1815	1
Grammaire Latine de Lhomond	1813	1
La Coalision et la France	1817	1
De la Réorganisation de la Société Européenne par le Comte de Saint-Simon	1814	1
Nouvelle Méthode pour reconnaître les maladies internes de la Poitrine par Avenbrugger traduite du latin par Convisart	1808	1
Cours d'Etudes Médicales	1803	5
Relation de quelques expériences faites avec la vapeur du Goudron par Crichton	1817	1
Médecine Pratique et Moderne	1782	2
Traité des Maladies Chroniques par Martinet	1803	1

Libri Italiani

Lezioni di Fisica moderna di Moratelli	1803	4
Elementi di Chirurgia di Richter tradotti dal Tedesco da Volpi	1794	6
Istruzione Medico-pratica di Storch	1787	2
Arte d'Ostetricia di Stein tradotta dal tedesco	1805	2
Nuovi Elementi di Fisiologia di Richerand tradotti	1803	3
Istituzioni chirurgiche di Monteggier	1804	5
Compendio di nuova Dottrina medica tradotta di Brown da Raifori	1790	1

Prospetto d'un Sistema più Semplice di Medicina di Brown	1796	1
Elementi di Medicina pratica di Weicard	1802	5
Anatomia Chirurgica di Palfino	1758	3
Medicina domestica di Buchan	....	5
Trattato di Materia Medica di Cullen tradotto dal Conte Dalladecima	1800	6
La Chimica per le Donne 2 volumi in		1
Lezioni critiche di Fisiologia e Patologia di Tomasini	1803	3
Trattato completo delle malattie sifilitiche di Swediaur traduzione del dottor G. Greco	1802	2
Della maniera di medicare le febbri e le infiammazioni di Quarin traduzione italiana del prof. Gatti tomi quattro legati in	1796	2
Nuova Scelta di Commedie Melodrami e Tragedie di Filippi	1807	3
Raccolta di opere mediche	1806	4
Idee di Fisiologia medica di Francesco Vacra	1801	1
Sinonimia chimica farmaceutica di A. Porati	1816	1
Saggio di osservazioni cliniche di E. Horn traduzione dal tedesco	1803	4
Zoonomia di F. Darwin	1803	6
Dizionario chirurgico tradotto di G. Ferrari	1794	4
Nuovi elementi di Terapeutica e di materia medica di Alibert tradotti dal francese	1816	4
Genesis del Diritto penale di Romagnosi due tomi in uno	1807	1
Leggi fisiologiche di Mojon	1821	1
Medicina legale di Barzellotti	1819	2
Dizionario geografico portatile di Vosgien	1800	2
Nuovo Trattato di Medicina pratica di Roberto Thomas	1818	4
Del Contagio venereo di N. Barbantini	1820	4
Manuale di Patologia e Terapia tradotto dal tedesco in italiano da Bal-larini	1824	2
Epitome delle istituzioni di Medicina pratica razionale di G. Barzel-lotti	1826	2
Trattato della gonorrea virulente ect. di B. Bell tradotto dall'inglese	1800	2
Compendio sulle Malattie veneree di I. Fritze tradotto dal tedesco da Monteggia	1806	1
Epitome delle istituzioni teorico-pratiche di materia medica farmaceu-tica di Barzellotti	1827	1
Mercurio delle scienze mediche diversi fervicoli		
Della Peste di G. Passeri	1821	1
Grammatica della lingua francese di A. Fabre	1824	1
Le Lettere Scelte di T. Cicerone tradotte in italiano dall'abate Antonio Ambrogi	1820	1
La Medicina statica di Santorio de Santori	1784	1
Nuova Grammatica italiana e francese di L. Goudarra	1772	1
L'Arte di ricettare	1803	1
Della Cura fisica e politica dell'uomo di G. Pozzi anno repubblicano il	X	1
Lettere moderne di Villeconte	1805	1
Epistole di Cicerone ai famigliari tradotte in italiano	1794	3
Il Bagno dei bambini	1801	1

Risultati di osservazioni e sperienze sull'inoculazione del Vajaolo vac-		1
cino anno	X	1
Elementi di Medicina pratica di Guglielmo Cullen	1796	
Grammatica della lingua tedesca di D. A. Felippi	1818	1
Medicina legale e Polizia medica di Mahon	1804	3
Tossicologia pratica	1809	1
Della maniera di curare le malattie umane di P. Frank traduzione		
italiana	1815	9
Grammatica della lingua latina	1818	1
Ricerche sopra l'origine e la sede dello Scrubuto ect.	1803	1
Lezioni di Patologia ragionata del D. A. Onofrio	1815	1

Libri Latini

Institutiones medicae Curtii Sprengel	1809	4
Institutiones physiologicae Blumenbachii	1798	1
Initia institutionum clinicarum Hildembrand	1807	1
Fundamenta Materiae medicae Friderici Cartheuser		2
De Febribus Quarini		2
Epictiti Enchiridion et Cevitis Tabula		1
Institutionum Medicinae practicae Bursarii	1786	8
De curandis hominum morbis Frank	1792	7
Ratio Instituti clinici Petri Frank		
Nuova Medicinae Elementa Capuron	1815	1
Formulae Remediorum ect. Hartmann	1779	1
Pharmacopea Anestriaca		1
Dictionarium novum latino-gallico-graecum	1665	1
Lexicon medicum graeco-latinum B. Castelli	1795	2
Apparatus latinae lourtionis auctore A. Scot	1613	1
Desiderii Erasmi colloquia familiaria	1713	1
Enarratio brevis Aphorismorum Hippocratis	1591	1
Herbarium Linei ήτοι Βοτανολόγιον κατά τὸ σύστημα τούτου τοῦ συγ-		
γραφέως τούτου		1
Calepinus septem linguarum	1736	1
Tulii Ciceronis Epistolarum	1771	1
Grammatica latina		1

Ἑλληνικά Βιβλία

Στοιχεῖα τῆς Ἀριθμητικῆς καὶ Ἀλγέβρας ὑπὸ τοῦ ποτε Μέτζβουργ,		
μετάφρασις Μιχαήλ Χρησταρῆ	1804	1
Ἀντιπανάκιον ὑπὸ Ἀναστασίου Γεωργιάδου	1801	1
Δημητρίου Καροκάσση ποιήματα Ἱατρικὰ		1
Στοιχεῖα τῆς Λογικῆς καὶ Ἠθικῆς Φιλοσοφίας ὑπὸ Ἀἰνεκκίου μετα-		
φρασθέντα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γρηγορίου Μπραγκο-		
βάνου		

Ἱστορία τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθνῶν παρά συγγραφέων Ἑλλήνων ὁ πρῶτος τόμος λείπει	1811	4
Συλλογὴ διαφόρων Τραγωδιῶν. Τόμος πρῶτος		
Θουκυδίδου Ὀλόρου περὶ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ Πολέμου κείμενον ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μετάφρασις Νεοφύτου Δούκα	1801	10
Διατριβὴ ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμῶν γλώσσης [Γεωργίου Κρομμύδου]	1808	1
Λεξικὸν τῆς Γαλλικῆς Γλώσσης τοῦ Ζαλίκोगλου	1815	1
Ἀριστοτέλους προβλημάτων ὅσα ἱατρικὰ μὲ λατινικὴν ἐξήγησιν παρὰ Ludovici Septalii	1632	1
Εὐσταθίου [Μακρεμβολίτου] Τῶν καθ' Ὑσμίνην καὶ Ὑσμινίαν, Δράμα	1792	1
Ἱστορία τῆς παλαιᾶς Δακίας παρά Διονυσίου Φωτεινοῦ	1818	3
Ἐπικαὶ καὶ Ἐλεγειακαὶ γνῶμαι	1746	1
Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν τοῦ Πομπ. Τρόγου	1817	1
Ἀνακρέοντος Γῆτου μέλη μ' ἐξήγησιν τοῦ κειμένου καὶ σχόλια Ἰταλικά	1787	1
Οἰκονομία πρακτικὴ καὶ γενικὴ πάντων τῶν τῆς ἀγροικίας κτημάτων ὑπὸ Δ. Π. Γοβδελά	1816	1

Deutsche Bücher

Praktische französische Grammatik von Meindinger	1798	1
Praktische englische Sprachlehre von Fich	1802	1
Praktische Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache von Bröder	1813	1
Lateinische Grammatik von Christian Gottlob	1820	1
Französische Sprachlehre. (Grammaire Française) von Mozin	1821	2
Neuer Französischer Briefsteller	1804	2
Französische und Deutsche Gespräche	1811	1
Deutsch-griechischer Handwörterbuch	1790	1
Praktische lateinische Grammatik	1799	1
Lateinische und deutsche Gespräche [sic] von Moser	1811	1

Προσθηκαὶ πέντε ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων

- Ἐν Ἐπιστολάριον χειρόγραφον περιέχον διαφόρων ἐπιστολὰς καὶ προσέτι ἐγκώμια καὶ ποιημάτων μακαρίτου Λάμπρου Φωτιάδου
- Ἐν Φρασάριον βιβλίον δηλονότι περιέχον φράσεις ἰδιωματισμοὺς διαφόρων συγγραφέων Ἑλλήνων
- Ἐν Παροιμιατάριον ἑλληνικὸν χειρόγραφον
- Ἐν Χειρόγραφον περὶ ῥητορικῆς τέχνης Γερασίου Βλάχου
- Ἀποσημειώματα εἰς τὴν λογικὴν τοῦ Εὐγενίου [Λάμπρου Φωτιάδου]· τοῦτο ἔλαβον ἐγὼ ὁ ἴδιος ἐν Βουκουρεστίοις εὕρισκόμενος· Θεόφιλος Καίρης.