

Ephemeris and the first steps of the Greek Press

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a changing society

The late eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth are characterized by an impressive growth in the number of Greek grammar books, dictionaries, and scientific and literary publications.¹ This can be seen as a result of political, social, and economic changes which were taking place not only in the Greek communities outside Greece but also in those within the country. The merits of the National Enlightenment Movement are of great importance here too as, among other things, it accounts for the printing of a number of non-religious books, as well as to the publishing of the first group of Greek newspapers. This movement was initiated abroad on western patterns and, not surprisingly, was led by western-bred Greeks.

Clogg indicates that *A salient feature of this intellectual revival was the Greeks' rediscovery of their own past. This expressed itself in a variety of ways, in the practice of adopting the names of the worthies of ancient Greece instead of Christian names, in an appreciation of the Greek language as a direct link with Greece's classical heritage, and in the growth of disputes about the Greek language, with some championing the contemporary vernacular and others advocating the return to Attic Greek as a sole form of the language befitting the descendants of the Hellenes.*² Classicism spread as a cultural movement all over Europe. English, German, French and other European intellectuals discussed and wrote about classical art and philosophy and discovered in the Greeks the descendants of Praxitelis and Socrates. There emerged a feeling of regret for allowing the Greeks to be under Islamic rule for almost four centuries. In the spirit of romantic philhellenism they travelled to Greece, wrote books, drew monuments and landscapes, and published articles about the country and its people.³ Moreover, they 'inspired the naturally curious Greek to ponder upon the glories of his distant past'.⁴

The signs of the economic and political weakening of the Ottoman Empire became obvious. The economic crisis, the revolt of the nationalists within the Empire, and the inflexibility shown by the sultans to carry out some kind of reforms, led to the adoption of a more unjust and oppressive rule in order to control the peoples of the Empire.⁵ These measures brought results opposite to those expected. In 1804 the Serbs declared their armed resistance and eleven years later established their autonomy. After a few years the Albanians too, under the orders of their leader Ali Pasha, rebelled against the Ottoman Turks. The next even bigger blow to the Empire was to

1. An indicative table can be found in Patrinelis, *The Greek book in the Tourkokratea, 1474-1820*, Thessaloniki, 1981, p.27.

2. Clogg, *The movement for Greek independence, 1770-1821, a collection of documents*, London, 1976, p.18.

3. For example, Holland, H., *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia in 1812 and 1813*, London, 1815; Leake, W.M., *Researches in Greece*, London, 1814; Pouqueville, F., *Voyage dans la Grèce*, Paris, 1821; Didot, A.F., *Notes d'un voyage fait dans le Levant en 1816 et 1817*, Paris, 1826.

4. Dakin, D., *The unification of Greece 1770-1923*, London, 1972, p.16.

5. For an interesting analysis of the causes which led the Empire to its final defeat in 1924 see Kitsikis, *History*, or his contribution to the French series *Que Sais-je*, no. 2222, titled *L'Empire Ottoman*, Paris, 1985. Also Dakin, *Unification*.

Regas Velestinlis, *Physics*, Vienna, 1790, printed by J. Trattner (left); Vendotis's translation of W. Robertson's *History of America*, Vienna, 1793, printed by Vendotis (right).



come from the rebellion of the Greeks in 1821 that led, some years later, to the establishment of their first state. In that year *Salpinx Elleniki*, a Greek newspaper, was printed in Kalamata; it was the first to be printed in a free Greek territory.

Before this happened however, a group of Greek publications, called *ephemerides*, had appeared abroad. This can be seen as a result of the growing intellectual needs of the Greek diaspora. Apart from the Greeks who, for various reasons sought refuge in countries outside the Ottoman state, there were also the Greeks who studied at foreign institutions, as well as the expatriated elite of academics, scientists and other cultured people (Koraes, Psalidas, Koumas, and many others). There was also the existence of a Greek commercial bourgeoisie that lived and worked in large European centres such as Vienna, Paris, London, Venice, Odessa and elsewhere, as indicated by Clogg: 'the Turks traditionally scorned commerce as unbecoming a Muslim'.⁶ This is the reason why other peoples, such as the Armenians or the Jews, dominated the Empire's commerce from the very beginning of its establishment in the area of the Balkan peninsula. At the end of the eighteenth century it was the Greeks who were controlling, to a large extent, the Empire's shipping capacity and commerce.⁷ Moreover, the weakening of the French merchant navy that resulted from the revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, left the Greeks in 1813 owning 'at least 615 ships (some of the best American design) totalling 153.580 tons – ships which provided employment for some 17.500 sailors'.⁸ In other words, during the first decade of the nineteenth century the Greeks had in their hands the biggest commercial force in the Levant.

Obviously this situation cannot be discussed without taking into consideration the cultural dimension of Greece, part of which explains why the first Greek newspapers were printed abroad. The

6. Clogg, *Movement*, p.15.

7. Philiass, V., "Social structures in nineteenth-century Greece", in *Aspects of the Greek society in the nineteenth century*, Athens, 1984, pp.11-21.

8. Dakin, *Unification*, p.16.

commercial paths of the Greeks also constituted their connections with the western civilization. *This communication is vivifying for the Greek people, because it has a forceful economic and cultural influence causing changes in an almost primitive society.*⁹ Although from very early on the role of the merchants and their relationship with the national movement was greatly disputed,¹⁰ it was they who, in many cases, sponsored the printing of various publications and supported the edition of the newspapers. One such case is that of J.Prigos, a Greek trader in Amsterdam, who in the 1760s printed books, at his own expense, and sent hundreds of these books to his native land.¹¹ But even if wealthy Greeks had not done so, they still would have created a readership which by having subscription to the various editions could keep them going.

It was a period of revolutions: the 1776 uprising in north America against the British, the rebellions in England and Ireland in the 1780s, as well as those in the Low Countries in 1783 and 1787. In particular, it was the French Revolution of 1789, which permitted enslaved nations to dream of their own freedom. Koraes (1748-1833), a great scholar and teacher of A.F.Didot, was the leading spirit of the Greek diaspora. Living in Paris, he stressed the importance of the French Revolution but also the significant differences between it and the Greek rebellion. *The Greek cause is not similar to that of the French Revolution. Revolts in enlightened Europe are carried out by one part of a nation against the rest of it; in Greece all people are against the conquerors.*¹² His influence was so great that learned people, and even publications early in the nineteenth century, could simply be clarified as either Koraests or anti-Koraests. He attached great importance to the invention of printing and, throughout his life never stopped inciting his compatriots to print newspapers. Some time after the outbreak of the revolution he wrote about, 'Greeks from abroad, returning home, bringing with them printing presses', and asked them to 'establish immediately newspapers to distribute the news describing all the bad things we go through'.¹³ Moreover, Konstantinos Tobras, who is credited with the title of the national printer, was sent to Paris on Koraes's advice to be apprenticed to Didot.¹⁴ To a great extent the development of the Greek Enlightenment Movement and the activities of its most prolific figures, such as Koraes, Gazis, and others, are narrated in the pages of the journals printed in Vienna and Paris. Koraes believed that if his compatriots reached a high degree of education only then would they be able to fight in order to gain their freedom. His writings against Orthodox appeasement show a man faithful to the western liberal spirit and an opponent to the Byzantine culture.¹⁵ Although he never returned to Greece, he wrote letters of advice to the Hellenes and played an active role in the cultural regeneration of the nation until his death in 1833. In 1797 Regas Velestinlis was arrested and executed. His revolutionary message, printed by the press that pub-

9. Vakalopoulos, A., "The economic rising of the Greeks in Turkokratea", in *Nea Estia*, vol.88, Athens, 1970, p.13.

10. For example, popular verses of the nineteenth century such as *Rossanglogallos*, or texts such as *Elleniki Nomarchia* of 1806, which apart from criticizing the clergy, also questioned the attitude of the wealthy and learned Greeks who lived abroad.

11. Skiadas, N., *Annals of Greek printing, 1476-1828*, vol.1, Athens, 1982, p.97.

12. Koraes, A., *Salpisma Polemistion*, Paris, 1821, p.32.

13. Koraes, A., *Letters*, edited by M.Damalas, vol.3, Athens, 1885, p.666.

14. Kavadas, S., *Konstantinos Tobras from Kydonies, The first national printer of the Revolution*, Athens, 1976, pp.8-11.

15. Clogg, R., *A short history of modern Greece*, Cambridge, 1979, 2nd ed., 1986, p.40.

16. Laios, G., "The Markidis Pouliou brothers, George Theocharis and other comrades of Regas; unpublished documents from the Viennese archives", in the *Bulletin of the Historical and Ethnological Society*, vol.12, Athens, 1957, p.214.

17. Laios, G., "George Vendotis from Zakynthos and the first Greek newspaper (1784); unpublished documents from the Viennese archives", in *Epithorisi tis Technis*, vol.2, no.8, Athens, 1955, pp.149-154. The author has based his research on archival material at the Austrian Public Record's Office and has suggested the existence of a Greek newspaper published by Vendotis in Vienna in 1784. However, neither the title nor the contents of that paper are known. According to a number of official letters in the Viennese archives published by Laios, Vendotis's newspaper was a weekly edition. Laios suggested that eight issues came out before it was banned by the Austrian authorities. Droulia, for no reason, writes that it was a bi-weekly edition printed for a two-month period (Koumarianou, A., Droulia, L., & Layton, E., *The Greek book, 1476-1830*, Athens, 1986, p.296).

18. Koumarianou, A., "Η 'Ἡμερίς ἢ τὰ νῦν Ἑλληνικά': The Journal of the Ionian Academy", in *O Eranistis*, no.11, Athens, 1974, pp.363-375.

19. This also happened in foreign bibliographies. For example, see Hutt, A., *The changing newspaper, typographic trends in Britain and America 1622-1972*, London, 1973, p.9.

20. For a brief historic overview see Petrakakos, D., *Journalists and journalism*, Athens, 1921, p.66.

lished the second known Greek newspaper in Vienna, had led him to his death.¹⁶

the first steps of the Greek Press

The second decade of the nineteenth century can be seen as the hectic period of the Greek pre-revolutionary Press. Although the first Greek 'newspaper' is known to have been published in the 1780s,¹⁷ the first two decades of the next century are very important for the history of Greek journalism. This period finds the Greek reading audience having a choice of subscribing to a number of different newspapers and periodicals, an achievement which was to be repeated only after the establishment of the first modern Greek state in the 1830s.

In chronological order and up to 1821, the year of the Greek Revolution, the following titles were published in Vienna: *Ephemeris* (1790), *Ermis o Logios* (1811), *Ellenikos Telegraphos* (1812), *Philologikos Telegraphos* (1817), and *Kalliopi* (1819). In addition *Melissa* and *Athena* (both in 1819) were published in Paris. In Paris also came out the short-lived *Mouseion* (only one issue) in 1819. Furthermore, an announcement in *Logios Ermis* (issue 8, 15.4.1819, p.307) informed readers about the forthcoming publication of a periodical that was to be printed in England. As we now know, this operation failed.¹⁸ All these publications were printed in places other than Greece and, with one exception, by non-Greek printers.

Some digression may be in order here to define the different genres of publications. Various names, such as journal, news-pamphlet, periodical, newsletter, leaflet, magazine, or newsbook, have been used to describe the early newspapers.¹⁹ In the case of the Greek publications mentioned above, things become more complicated, for an item which would have been described today as a journal has printed below its title, 'ephemeris' (*Melissa*), or even 'periodical newspaper' (*Ellenikos Telegraphos*). The English word 'newspaper', the German 'Zeitung', the French 'journal' or the Italian 'gazzetta', are translated in modern Greek as 'ephemeris'. But what does ephemeris mean? The word is derived from ancient Greek ('epi' means about, and 'hemera' means day), and was used in a context similar to modern usage from the years of Plutarch. Consequently, *ephemeron* means the item that is 'short-lived' and 'temporarily valid'; that is to say something which is actually 'valid for a day'. The *ephemeridographoi*, i.e., the people who were compiling an ephemeris, were in the years of Alexander the Great, something like today's journalists. They were responsible for writing down in a chronological order the most important events of the expeditions. Moreover, there was a distinction between the 'royal ephemeris' or, the 'official one', and the 'unofficial one'.²⁰

In this sense most of the printed items mentioned above cannot be called newspapers, because they do not come out daily. As far

as the aspect of time is concerned, it seems that they fit well under the heading 'periodicals'. This word too, is derived from ancient Greek; 'periodos' meaning going round in a circle, which, also applies to time. The first Greek publication which complied in all respects to the meaning of the word ephemeris, as far as time, content, and use are concerned, was also named *Ephemeris*. It was published in Athens and did not appear until 1873. But even nowadays it seems that the most significant aspect of the three criteria, for calling an item 'newspaper', is its ephemeral validity and usage. There are various publications printed daily or only on Sundays (even bi-monthly ones) but if they are to be read and thrown away, then they are still called newspapers. Furthermore, design and production issues may be of great help in this identification exercise: size, and extent, typographic arrangement, and quality of paper are some of the things to be taken into account when defining a newspaper.

Logios Ermis or *Melissa*, for example, exhibit characteristics of a journal. Their encyclopaedic direction is obvious from their contents tables: Bibliography, Greek Archaeology,²¹ Curiosities, Art History, Greek Philosophy, Chemistry, Physics. Mainly based on western data, they aim to educate. Articles from French, English, or German publications, translated by Greeks who lived abroad, found their way into the pages of these periodicals. They were produced to be placed on bookshelves and preserved for future reference. In this sense they regularly printed title-pages, indexes, and contents lists.

On the other hand, the Viennese *Ephemeris* of 1790, or *Ellenikos Telegraphos* of 1812, for example, although not coming out on a daily basis, are closer to the spirit of a newspaper. *Ephemeris* conveyed information about events such as the clashes in Europe after the French Revolution and the war of 1787-1792 between Russia and Turkey. They printed everyday news, so their material had the quality of the *ephemerion*, the day by day report, and most likely the reader disposed of them after he had read them. Moreover, the *Greek Telegraph* constituted the earliest example of a Greek ephemeris whose editor had tried, in 1813, to turn it into a daily publication. Another issue to be addressed is the 'place' of reading.²²

As with Greek incunabula, the first Greek 'newspapers' were printed abroad. The reasons for this are not very different from those which led to Milan, Florence, and Venice becoming the basis for what I have described the 'first Greek typographic school'.²³ But here we have to draw a significant distinction between both the content of the newspaper and its readership. It has been stated that Italian printing offices were commercial establishments and that early printed Greek texts were primarily targeted at a foreign readership. Aldus, for example, printed Greek texts for people who taught or learnt Greek and Kalliergis and Sophianos attempted, unsuccessfully, to produce books for their compatriots in 1510 and in 1545 respectively; both returned to classical texts and their European read-

21. The word 'archaeology' was used in those times meaning 'ancient history'.

22. Laios presents us with an extract from an advertisement in the *Wiener Zeitung* (1791, p.3280), where a coffee-shop owner offers, among other services to his clients, the possibility to read the Greek newspaper. Laios, "The Markidis", p.210.

23. Mastoridis, K., "The first Greek typographic school", in *HYΦEN*, vol.1, issue 2, Thessaloniki, 1998, pp.75-86

Ἡ Ἐφημερίς μας θέλει ἐξυπακούσθαι νὰ ἐκδοῖται εἰς χαρκτηρίας καὶ χάρτην ὡς οἱ ἀνά χεῖρας. Δις τοῦ μὲνός θέλουσι σέλλεσθαι ἀνά δύο τετράδια. Ἡ τιμὴ, διὰ τὰς ἀδράς τοῦ τύπου τῶν Παρισίων, καὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς διαπάνω, διορίζεται ἐτησίως φράγκα 40, τῶν ὁποίων τὸ τεταρτημέριον θέλει πληρύνεσθαι ἀνά τριμηνίαν μετὰ τὴν παραλαβὴν τῶν τετραδίων. Παρακαλοῦμεν τοὺς φιλομουσικοὺς ἀγαθοὺς νὰ εὐκολύνωσι τὴν διάδοσιν τοῦ τοιούτου καλοῦ μετὰ τὴν γενναίαν των συνδρομὴν· παρακαλοῦνται δὲ ν' ἀναλάβωσι τὴν ἐπιτροπίαν τῆς καταγραφῆς οἱ Κύριοι,

Ἡ Ἐταιρεία μας συγκροτεῖται ἀπὸ μέλη, τὰ ὅποια πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, εἰδήμονα καὶ τῶν φιλολογικωτέρων καὶ κλασσικωτέρων τῆς Εὐρώπης γλωσσῶν, διατρίψαντα εἰς πολλὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης μέρη, δύναται νὰ ὑπόσχεσθαι τὴν ὅσον ἐνδέχεται ἐνὸς τοιούτου ἐπιχειρήματος τελειοποιήσιν.

Τὰ δῶματα τῶν Συνδρομητῶν θέλουσι διευθύνεσθαι εἰς Παρισίους παρὰ τῷ Τυπογράφῳ Mr. Firmin Didot, Rue Jacob Nro. 24.

Παρακαλοῦνται δὲ οἱ ἐπιστάται νὰ ἐπιμεληθῶσι τὴν ἀποσλὴν τῶν καταλόγων τῶν Συνδρομητῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ τὰ μέσα τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου μηνός, διὰ νὰ γένη ἡ ἐναρξὶς τῆς Ἐφημερίδος μας μετὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ νέου ἔτους.

Ἐν Παρισίῳ τῇ 1ῃ Σεπτεμβρίου 1818.

Οἱ ἐκδοταί
Χρυσόφορος Σ. καὶ Θ., Ρ.
καὶ Ι., Ε. καὶ Δ., Σ.

ἹΡΙΣ, Ἡ ΤΑ ΝΥΤΝ ἙΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ.

A Periodical Work, written in ancient or modern Greek only, and by Natives of Greece; the principal object of which is to make the Friends of the Greek Nation acquainted with the present state of the Knowledge amongst them, and with their endeavours for their regeneration. The Publication of the Work will be by way of Subscription. A Number a Month, of Four Sheets in Quarto, will be published. Three Shillings and Sixpence will be the Price of each Number. Subscriber's Names will be received by Mr. MURRAY, Albemarle Street.


Logios Ermis announces the publication of *Iris* in issue 8 (15.4.1819, p.307). The content of the announcement is informative, not only with regards to the scope of the early Greek news-pamphlets, but also to the means of their survival (left).

The Weekly News, London, 1622 (in Hutt's *The changing newspaper*) (right).

The 30. of May.

**WEEKLY
NEWS FROM
ITALY, GERMANIE,
HUNGARIA, BOHEMIA,
the Palatinate, France, and
the Low Countries.**

*Translated out of the Low
Dutch Language.*



LONDON:
Printed by E. A. for Nicholas Bowne and Thomas Archer,
and are to be sold at their Shops at the Exchange,
and in Paper-street Pall-mal,
5 6 3 3.

ership. The very small needs of the Greek market that developed until the middle of the eighteenth century were easily satisfied by the output of Greek or foreign offices, which for many years, were in business in Italy or elsewhere in Europe.²⁴ To a large extent, the Greek books produced at these establishments were religious texts. For example, from 1700 to 1775 the Greek book production of the Glykis house in Venice which controlled 33.5% of the total Greek book production for the period 1670-1750 was: 80.4% religious, 4.2% grammar, and 15.4% various secular books.²⁵ It took more than two centuries after Sophianos's attempts until things started changing. Some of the reasons why and how this happened have already been discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Nevertheless, although the content of printed matter differed drastically from that of Sophianos's days, the Turkish occupation, the conservatism of the Patriarchate and the level of illiteracy, led to the failure of any serious attempt at printing in the Greek East.²⁶ Bartholdy, blaming mainly the Greeks, wrote in 1805 that *there are no libraries at all in Greece. I have seen in some shops on Tenos island a small number of missals and books of psalms brought by seamen and exhibited in order to be sold. In the East there is not even a single printing house worth mentioning...*²⁷ Consequently, the printing of the first Greek 'newspapers' could not take place anywhere else than in a large centre, where a free Greek community worked and educated itself. On 31 December 1790, seventeen months after the storming of the Bastille, *Ephemeris* was published by the brothers Markidis Pouliou in Vienna.

24. Patrinelis, *The Greek book*, p.30. A table produced by the author shows the average number of Greek books published per year: 4.8 books for the years 1474-1600, for the seventeenth century 8.2, and for the eighteenth century 16.7 books.

25. Figures based on data from Veloudis, G., *The Greek printing house of the Glykis in Venice, 1670-1854*, Athens, 1987, pp.141-142.

26. Bokus, G., *Early Greek printing establishments in the East, 1627-1827*, Athens, 1998. Bokus in his research discusses ten in all establishments in the area of the 'Greek East' for the years 1627-1821.

27. Bartholdy, J., *Travelling impressions from Greece 1803-1804*, Athens, 1993, pp.167-168.

From 1781, the restricting laws concerning the distribution of printed matter in the Austro-Hungarian territories had already been lifted and, as a result of this democratization process, licenses were given to the above-mentioned Greek publishers.²⁸ The Austrian authorities had no interest whatsoever in dissatisfying the large Greek community, which numbered many thousands of Greeks of Austrian or Ottoman nationality.²⁹ Moreover, the biggest proportion of Austrian commerce with the Ottoman Empire was controlled by merchants belonging to that community. 'Out of some 120 banks and commercial houses in Vienna at the end of the eighteenth century about ninety were Greek'.³⁰ So all these factors led to the publication of *Ephemeris*, and most of them had significance on the printing of other Greek editions in Vienna and elsewhere.

early Greek 'newspapers'

At the time *Ephemeris* came out in Vienna, the newspaper in Europe already had a history of three centuries. For example, the German word 'Zeitung' was printed as a title for the first time in 1502 in the *Neue Zeytung von Orient und Auffgange*. Moreover the *Aviso*, printed in Wolfenbüttel, and the *Relation* printed in Strasbourg, date back to 1609.³¹ The first English news-pamphlets were printed in Holland in 1621, bearing similar characteristics with the Dutch 'corantos'. In the early 1620s Thomas Archer and Nicholas Bourne printed their *Weekly News* in London, and Th. Renaudot has been credited as the editor of the first French *Gazette* that came out in 1631.³² By the first quarter of the seventeenth century newspapers had been established in most large European centres. Obstacles such as their relatively high price, censorship by the public authorities, political turmoil, and high levels of illiteracy retarded, but did not stop, their development and successful distribution. At the turn of the nineteenth century when *Ephemeris* appeared, the newspaper constituted a necessary element of the European reading culture.

Despite the obvious differences in typographic arrangement between say, the English newspapers and those of the Continent, they both had reached individual standards as far as their presentation was concerned. This was not the result of new inventions or great improvements in the graphic arts field: on the contrary it could be said that printing technology did not advance much at all in the course of the first three centuries after the invention of printing in Europe.³³ Nevertheless, the factor which played a significant role in the gradual standardization of newspaper elements, was the printing tradition of the countries where they were published, a tradition which in many cases spanned more than three centuries. Cranfield for example, in his chapter on the character and physical development of the provincial newspaper, wrote that 'By 1760, the provincial newspaper had reached what was to be its final form for some years to come'.³⁴

28. Laios, "The Markidis", pp.202-210.
 29. Skiadas writes about 400.000 Greeks (no reference is given) living in various commercial centres of Austria. Skiadas, N., *Annals of Greek printing, 1476-1828*, 3vols, Athens, 1976-82, vol.1, p.103; Kordatos refers to Konstantas and Philipidis, who have written about the expatriation of 80.000 families from Greece to Austro-Hungary, especially after the wars between Russia and Turkey at the end of the eighteenth century. Kordatos, J., *Regas Pheraios and the Balkan confederation*, Athens, 1945, p.10. However, these numbers, if reliable, reduce later on, and the Greeks living in 1814 in Vienna are estimated to be 4.000.
 Turczynski, E., "Die deutsch-griechischen Kulturbeziehungen und die griechischen Zeitungen, 1784-1821", in *Probleme der neugriechischen Literatur*, Berlin, 1960, vol.2, p.80.
 30. Dakin, *Unification*, p.11.
 31. Gutenberg-Dokumentation, "Zur Geschichte der Zeitung in Deutschland", Information Z1, Gutenberg-Museum, Mainz.
 32. Hutt, A., *The changing newspaper; typographic trends in Britain and America, 1622-1972*, London, 1973, pp.9-10. See also Westmancoat, J., *Newspapers*, London, 1985, p.19.

33. Steinberg, S.H., *Five hundred years of printing*, 2nd edn, Harmondsworth, 1961, p.20.

34. Cranfield, G.A., *The development of the provincial newspaper 1700-1760*, Oxford, 1962, p.47.

To claim that the design of the early Greek 'newspapers' was in one way or another important internationally would be a great exaggeration. But they were different, and this becomes obvious when we compare them with the newspapers or the journals of the same period published over the rest of Europe. Some facts cannot be ignored. The Viennese newsbooks, together with the few published in Paris, were the forerunners of the printed Greek newspaper. Through their pages Greek journalism made its first steps. Pharmakidis, editor of *Ermis* in 1813, was also the editor of the first newspaper ever printed on Greek soil, and later on became *ephemeridographos* to the first official newspaper to be published by the Greek government.

Typographically, it was a transitional period from the old Greek type to the modern Didot design. The struggle of the second to survive is recorded in the pages of those publications. Nothing could anticipate at that time the complete domination of Greek typography for the next hundred and fifty years by the Didot letter. Woodcuts, lists, graphic devices and the overall arrangement of the pages brought those samples into life. The differences between them as far as their content and design are concerned indicate the beginning of a transitional period, a period which was necessary to the Greek newspaper in order to define its own characteristics and find its own place among other printed matters. This is the reason why these early ephemerides looked different from their European contemporaries. In addition to this is the fact that their publishers were not motivated by profit.

35. There has not yet been found a complete body of the *Ephemeris*. The libraries which keep in their collections various volumes of this paper were named in Laios, G., *The Greek Press of Vienna, from 1784 to 1821*, Athens, 1961, pp.31-32. See also, Vranousis, L., *Ephemeris: the oldest Greek newspaper that has survived; photo-reproduction*, 6 vols, Athens, 1995, vol.1, pp.130-144.

36. Laios, "The Markidis", p.207. On this matter Karykopoulos even copies Skiadas's mistake (probably a typesetting error in Skiadas, *Annals*, vol.1, p.114) writing that Baumeister's office was established in 1872. Karykopoulos, P., *200 years of Greek Press, 1784-1984*, Athens, 1984, p.14.

Εφημερίς (Ephemeris)³⁵

The first issue of this bi-weekly paper can be dated Vienna, 31 December 1790. Its editors employed for the title the word 'ephemeris', which is still in use in Greece. The paper was printed at the office of Joseph von Baumeister, a doctor of law science who, in 1782, published an announcement advertising his establishment.³⁶ The announcement informed the people of Vienna that the printing office was housed in 'alten Fleischmarkt Nr.744, on the first floor'. Baumeister advised the people to employ the services of this new establishment stating the reasons: he 'would print on nice paper employing beautiful printing types in low prices, but above all, corrections would be carried out very carefully'.

Laios writes that many members of the Greek community placed their printing orders with Baumeister. Moreover, it was in his office that George Vendotis started printing his Greek newspaper in 1784 of which no samples have been found until now. Vendotis learnt the art of printing by working as editor and corrector at the Glykis house in Venice and at Baumeister's office in Vienna. In 1791 he decided to establish his own firm. After his death in 1795 his widow sold the printing office to J.Zweck who printed the second pre-revolutionary



EN BIENNH, TPITH, TH 31. Δεκεμβριῆς 1790.

Τῷ Φιλαναγωγῷ.

Ἰδὲ ἡ πρόποσις ἐπιθυμηθεῖσα, ἡ ὑπο-
 σχεθεῖσα εἰς τὴν ἀπλὴν διαλέκτου
 ἐφημερίδα, ὡς ἐναντίον φυτῶν, ὅπου ὀλίγον
 κατ' ὀλίγον ἀυξάνει εὐανθεῖ, ἢ τέ-
 λωσι εὐκαρῶντας ἀρεξενεῖ μῦρα καλὰ
 ἢ μὲν ὅλον ὅπου αὐτὴ ἡ ἐφημερίδα με ἐν
 τέτοιον φυτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφωρῆν ἐκ-
 τασιν ἢ ἐμβασιῆτις ἀρμοδίως δύναται,
 ἢ ὡς εἶπε νὰ παρομοιωθῇ, με ὅλον
 τῷτο διαφέρει πάλιν ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ πολὺ
 κατὰ τὴν καλλιέργειάν της, ὡς ἂν ὅπου
 ἐνα τέτοιον φυτῶν φυσικῶς τυτέσι καὶ
 χωρὶς κόπον ἀνθρώπων φθάνει εἰς τὴν
 ῥηθεῖσαν ἀκμὴν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἄλλως
 ἔχει τὸ νῦν ἐπιχειρήματα τῆς ἐφημερί-
 δος, ὡς ἂν ὅπου αὐτὴ ὄχι μόνον ἐργα-
 χειρῶν ἀπατεῖ, ἀλλὰ ἢ δαπάνη

τὴν μικρὰν ἢ μεγάλον πόνον, ἢ ἕκτασι
 τὰ αὐτὰ νοοῖ, ὅτι αὐτὴ, κατὰ τὸν
 εἰς τὴν εἰδησιὸν ὁρισμὸν της μίαν συλλο-
 γὴν ἢ ἐκβολὴν διαφόρων πηγῶν.
 Ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν διὰ τὸ πρῶτον εἰμε-
 θα βίβαιοι, ὅτι θέλωμεν ἐργασθεῖ ὡς
 φιλόσοφοι. Διὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον με ὅ-
 λον ὅπου ἡ συνδρομὴ τῶν φιλαναγωγῶν
 τόσον μικρὰ ἔσται, ὅπου μόνον τὸ χαρ-
 τίον δύναται νὰ πληρωθῇ. Με ὅλον
 τῷτο ἡμεῖς διὰ φοβήθημεν τὸ νὰ προ-
 χωρήσωμεν εἰς τὸ ἐπιφωρῆν ἐπιχει-
 ρημά μας, ἐλπίζοντες ὅπου ὀλίγον κατ'
 ὀλίγον συγγενεούμενοι οἱ φιλαναγω-
 γοὶ με τὴν παρῶσαν ἐφημερίδα νὰ ἡ-
 θελον συνδρομὴν διὰ τὴν τελειάν της
 ἀκμὴν, ὡς ἂν ὅπου οἱ συντρέχοντες δι-
 δόντες τιμὴν τὴν διωρισμένην εἰς τὸ καισ-
 σαροβασιλικὸν Ὀμπερσχοφ Πισαμτ

Ephemeris, first issue, Vienna, 31.12.1790.

Greek newspaper, that is *Logios Ermis*.³⁷ The Markidis brothers were already working for Baumeister when he was appointed teacher at the Royal Court in 1792. After that the two Markidis undertook the direction of his printing house.³⁸ Both managed to get Austrian citizenship, something which proved to be immensely helpful in later years. For the next five years, in addition to conducting other matters, they carried on printing the *Ephemeris*, the first Greek newspaper of which actual samples survive.

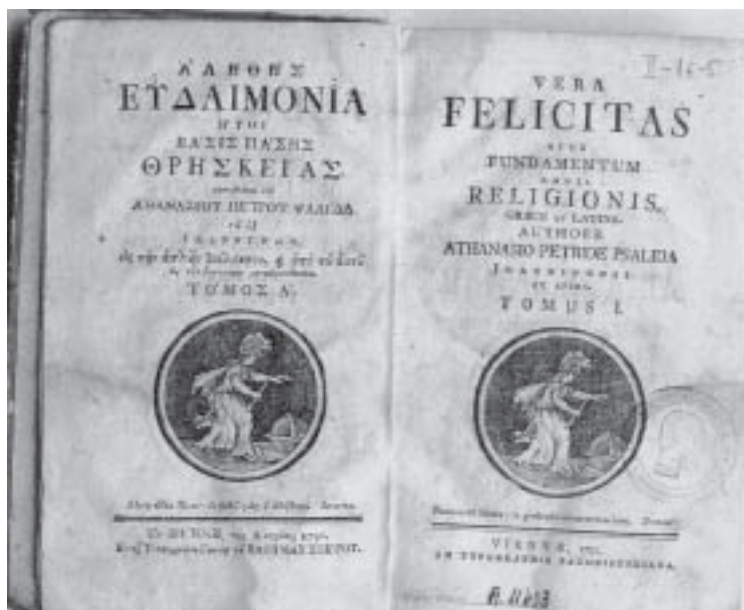
The *Ephemeris* consisted of four, and some times six, pages; and in the beginning its size was 230x180mm. The text in the first issue ran in two columns that were separated by a vertical thin rule. Half of its first page was occupied by three elements: a) the issue number, b) a woodcut, c) the date line. It must have been a great event for the Greek community in Vienna; the publication of the first ever newspaper printed in the Greek language. Instead of advertising in the newspaper, the publication of the *Ephemeris* was an attraction in its own right. I have already mentioned the advertisement of a coffee-shop owner printed in the *Wiener Zeitung*, where among other services he offered to his clients the opportunity to read the Greek newspaper.³⁹

37. Koumariou et al., *The Greek book*, p.296.

38. Laios, "The Markidis", pp.210-211, 243-245.

39. See footnote 22.

Baumeister's edition, Vienna, 1791
(Library of the Society for Macedonian
Studies, Thessaloniki).



Ephemeris constituted the only example among the pre-revolutionary Greek newspapers whose pages contained a large number of illustrations. In its first issue the indication 'Nro. 1.' with large Latin characters was printed centred on the head margin above a badly aligned woodcut. This was an illustration that covered the entire width of the printed area and a third of its depth. The picture was surrounded by a double-line border and showed a woman, probably representing the goddess Athena or Greece, receiving the *Ephemeris* from a child angel. The newspaper depicted in the woodcut resembled the size of the European newspapers printed at the time (medium or even royal folios), whereas the *Ephemeris* was printed in half that size. Various reasons for that could be, bearing in mind that the format was later on further reduced. Small sizes were handled more easily in printing and distribution. Furthermore, as early European newspapers needed a transitional period to depart from bookish conventions, so did the Greek newspapers.⁴⁰ Above the rising sun the winged 'Pheme' blows her trumpet. A beehive, referring to hard work, and a spring, for learning, completes the image. This illustration was printed in all 1791 issues.

A number of woodcut illustrations in the rococo style were printed throughout the paper's span of life. They did not serve the text in any sense but were printed to decorate or fill in the white space on a page. Many of them, despite the fact that they did not carry the word 'Ephemeris', were employed to decorate the upper part of the front page and were printed above the date. Such examples of differently designed illustrations can be found in a number of 1792

40. Giles V. & Hodgson F.W., *Creative newspaper design*, Oxford, 1990, pp.38-44. See also, Hutt, *The changing*, p.13, 15-42, and Mastoridis, K., "Typography and newspapers, from the pre-revolutionary 'ephemerides' to the modern Greek Press", in *Epta Imeres, The Sunday Kathimerini*, Athens, 7.4.1996, p.25.

and some early 1793 issues. However, they were not used in a consistent manner. The date was made distinct from the main text by being set within two pairs of double rules, each consisting of a thick and thin rule occupying the whole width of the printed area [fig.1]. Nevertheless, in all front pages of 1792 the date was printed without even the title of the paper. This was the result of the Markidis's decision to introduce in 1792 a title-page that could be used by the subscribers as a cover for the annual volume of *Ephemeris*.

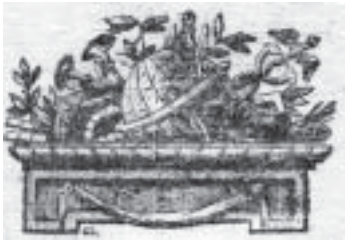
In February 1793 a new illustration was introduced and this was to be printed on the front page until the newspaper's last issue in 1797.⁴¹ Its size was 55x83mm and, for the first time, the title of the newspaper was clearly indicated. The word 'Ephemeris', in calligraphic style, was cut white on black within a rectangular frame surrounded by the figures of Athena, an angel and Hermes. The rectangular case, probably representing the ark of knowledge, was placed on top of a panel wide enough to accommodate the date [fig.2]. On the last page of a very few issues, other auxiliary illustrations, smaller in size, were also employed. Such examples can be found on pages 1022 and 1026 of 1793, and 756, 1064, and 1147 of 1794.

We could broadly classify these illustrations into three categories. To the first belong the 'dedicated' woodcuts, which carried the title *Ephemeris* and were engraved to be used only in the paper's production. To the next category belong those which either Baumeister or the Markidis brothers would have also employed in various other jobs undertaken by their printing house. Such examples constitute the woodcuts found in *Αποφθέγματα* by Anastasios Perdicaris [fig.3] and in *Μυθολογικόν* by the philosopher Pilpai [fig.4], both printed at Baumeister's office in 1783 and 1785 respectively. Similarly, the woodcut printed on the front page of some 1792 issues was also found in *Σκριπούρα Δοππία* which was published in 1794 [fig.5]. However, in a number of the books produced by Baumeister or the Markidis brothers, that I have examined at the Library of the Society for Macedonian Studies and the Public Library of Thessaloniki, I found only one example, of any of the above-mentioned woodcuts.⁴² Finally, to the third category belongs a coloured cartographic representation that was printed on a separate leaf accompanying the issue of 16 May 1791. It depicted the castle of Ismael, an Ottoman leader, in a battle between the Russian and Turkish forces in the war of 1790.

In the first issue of 31 December 1790 large capitals were used to print the place and the date, except for the month which was set in upper and lower-case characters. These were set between fourteen parallel thick and thin rules which create a strange optical effect. The middle of these fourteen rules and of the printed area was marked by the setting of a typical eighteenth-century flower in the style of the time. However, the characters employed to set both the

41. We cannot be absolutely sure of this, however, as we lack any issues printed in 1795, 1796, and 1798. Nevertheless, it seems that there was a consistent use of this woodcut as it appears in all known 1793 issues as well as in the 1797 issues.

42. On page 43 of the book *Αλήθης Ευδαιμονία, ήτοι Βάσις Πάσης Θρησκείας, συντεθείσα υπό Αθανασίου Πέτρου Ψαλίδα του εξ Ιωαννίνων εις την απλήν διάλεκτον, και υπό του αυτού εις την Λατινικήν μεταφρασθείσα*, vol.1, printed at Baumeister's office in 1791, the woodcut is similar to that of page 1026 of *Ephemeris*. There is a number of similar flavour woodcuts in the same book (on pages 42, 43, and 44) that were probably engraved by the same person. However, I was not able to identify the craftsman's signature (Guitner?).



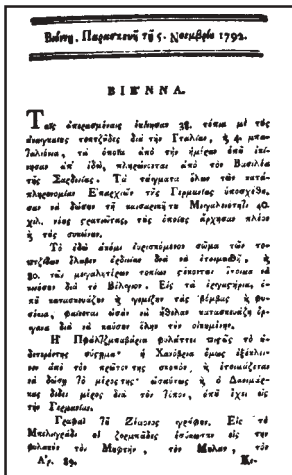
Woodcut printed in *Ephemeris* (30.1.1792).



Woodcut printed in *Ephemeris* (17.2.1792).



Woodcut printed in *Ephemeris* (20.2.1792).



1. Front page of *Ephemeris* (5.11.1792).



2. The 1793 illustration.



3. Woodcut illustration found in *Αποφθέγματα* (Baumeister, Vienna, 1783) and in *Ephemeris*, 31.12.1792, p.892.



4. Woodcut illustration found in *Μυθολογικόν* (Baumeister, Vienna, 1785) and in *Ephemeris*, 29.12.1794, p.1147.



5. Illustration found in *Σκριπούρα Δοπρία* (Markidis, Vienna, 1794) and in *Ephemeris*, 4.1.1793.

place and the date of *Ephemeris*, except for their bad alignment, show a great variation in size. For example, in 'TPITH' the second T is smaller than the rest of the letters, the same as I is, in the word 'BIENNH'. But apart from that it seems that there were other problems too, whose repetition had probably annoyed readers.

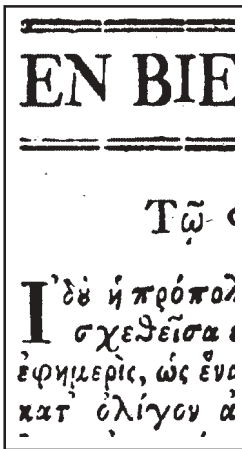
The Markidis brothers did not apologize for their indifference to such design matters. However, two years after the publication of their first issue, and maybe under pressure from readers' complaints, the editors did apologize for the large number of mistakes to be found in *Ephemeris*. On the last page (1026) of the 30 December 1793 issue they wrote: *some typical mistakes, which may be spotted by the sympathetic reader, should be attributed to the compositors who are of a different language, as well as to time pressure. We have enough time only to print the newspapers impromptu and to correct them once, diverting our attention from other necessary typographic works of ours which need to be done, and indeed recalling the old apophthegm which used to be said about books 'nobody will ever find sky clear from clouds and books without mistakes', even though books are corrected twice or thrice...*

It seems, however, that the reason given by the editors of the *Ephemeris* in an attempt to explain to their readers why there were so many mistakes in the paper, was not in fact, the only one. The case of one of their compositors seems to be interesting as it indicates that the owners of printing establishments at the time employed unqualified personnel in order to save money, which is something which also happens today. Compositors were paid better salaries than pressmen, as their work was seen as more specialized, and maybe this was what the Markidis brothers tried to avoid by employing somebody who was less competent. In 1797, the Austrian authorities started interrogating the personnel of the Markidis office in order to extract information about the printing of Regas's revolutionary leaflets. Bees writes that the Austrian official documents refer to 'one of the compositors named Franz Huggele', who 'was an idiot, as his behaviour, the characteristics of his face, and his grimaces revealed'.⁴³ Nevertheless, the Markidis brothers finished their apology by promising their readers that they would try to be more careful from then on.⁴⁴

The left-hand column of the first issue of the paper revealed a centred heading titled 'Τᾶ ὀέέάίάᾶίβ^". A line space separated this heading from the text that followed. It was an address to the readers and constituted the first editorial printed in a Greek newspaper. Here the Markidis brothers explained the necessity of such a publication, promising that they would do whatever possible to improve its content. They also stated that, despite the limited number of subscriptions, which, 'just cover the expenses on paper supply', they have decided to proceed with the printing of the ephemeris. The setting of a dropped initial in the beginning of the first para-

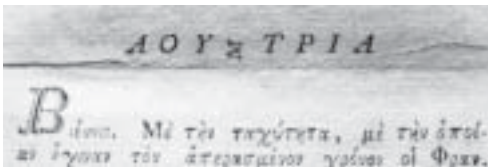
43. Bees, N., "Extracts from the Viennese *Ephemeris* about Regas Velestinlis and his collaborators", in *Nea Estia*, vol.30, Athens, 1941, p.791.

44. *Ephemeris*, 30.12.1793, pp.1025-1026.



graph, a 26pt I equalling the depth of two text lines, constituted a unique example among the newspapers which belonged to this group. Setting the first paragraph full out, a standard practice for the publications of the period under discussion, was completely abandoned with the introduction of printing within Greece.

In later issues, raised initials were set in the beginning of the first text line of the paper, as for example in the 29 October 1792 issue. In most cases, these letters were of the roman upright design and were used to complement the inclined Greek type. There are instances, however, where inclined 36pt ornamented capitals were employed. For example, this is how issue 26 (1 April 1793) or issue 91 (11 November 1793) begin. Moreover, in the heading of the first example the lack of inclined Greek capitals led the compositor to place a rotated M in the position of Σ in the word ΑΟΥΣΤΡΙΑ. This, or the practice of mixing Greek upright with inclined roman capitals, were repeatedly employed when inclined capitals were favoured to set the headings.



The word ΑΟΥΣΤΡΙΑ, with the setting of M instead of Σ.

Ι Σ Π Α Ν Ι Α .
Γ Α Λ Λ Ι Α .

An M in the place of sigma in the word ΙΣΠΑΝΙΑ (Spain), followed by an upright Π, and two modified As in the place of lamdas in the word ΓΑΛΛΙΑ (France).

Folio numbers were centred on the head margin within parentheses with two ornaments on either side. Capital letters were employed when a word needed to be emphasized. However, emphasis was rarely used by the editors and an example can be found in the last page announcement of the issue of 7 December 1792. The same also applied to the use of quotation marks, which seem to have been unknown to the editors. Obviously, this has to do with the content of the paper. As it mainly consisted of news and reports edited by Markidis, there was no need for quotation marks. Capital letters were also employed to print the headings, which were centred and, in most cases, with additional line spaces above and below. However, there are instances where the page was compactly set in order to accommodate as much information as possible. In such cases, the headings were placed to align with the upper part of the first paragraph's raised initial. Examples can be found in issues 61, and 65 (1793). This shows a flexibility in setting which is directed more from necessity than from design decisions.

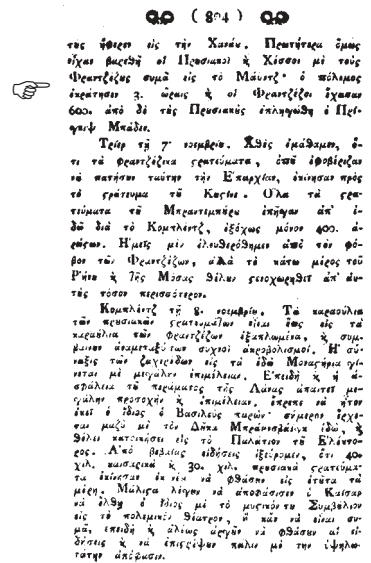
Two sizes of types were employed, cut to the old Aldine/Garamond style. The 1791 issues and those printed after 1792 were set in 12pt. The smaller, 10pt types, were employed to print all 1792 issues of *Ephemeris*. One of the main features of the 1792 font was its small x-height. Its overall inclination to the right was disrupted by some characters whose design was almost upright, for example, the open theta (ϑ) and psi (ψ). Moreover, there is lamda (λ) which could be described as reverse inclined, because it seems to slop more to the left than to the right. Some other clear characteristics displayed by this text type are: 1) the και conjunction is replaced by ϛ, a Greek equivalent to &; 2) the diphthong ου is replaced by the single character υ; 3) similarly, στ is set as Ϛ; 4) a double λ ligature

λ; 5) a σθ ligature ς; and 6) π and its alternative form ϖ were both used indiscriminately. Finally, the lines were 3pt leaded, but occasionally the text was set solid. A combination of both practices can be seen on the last page of issue 95 (26.11.1792). This is a result of the ‘impromptu’, as the Markidis brothers called it, printing of the newspaper. The term ‘printing’ would normally have embraced the planning and setting of the *Ephemeris*, but after a glance at various issues it is obvious that it was not planned beforehand. It is obvious, for example, that inter-linear spacing was applied in accordance with the quantity of the material that was to be published. This is also true for the inter-word spacing, especially during the first two years when, in many instances, the contents of an issue are not enough to cover even its four pages. Words within the text were, in most of the 1792 issues, excessively spaced. As a result, white space occupies more than 40% of the printed area in the first paragraph of the issue published on 7 December 1792.

The 10pt types were used until issue 26 (1.4.1793). From then on the larger, 12pt types, which had been set solid in the printing of the 1791 issues of *Ephemeris*, were re-employed. This font too incorporated an open form of beta, but the way it was used did not conform to the rules followed by later newspapers.⁴⁵ Here again, lamda appears as reverse inclined and to the upright designs belong the open theta, double lamda, and the alternatives for pi (ϖ) and sigma-taf (^). Both fonts employed in *Ephemeris* belong to a group of types whose use was wide-spread in Germany and Austria-Hungary. They were also employed in the setting of *Ermis*.

During the second year of its publication the size of *Ephemeris* was decreased to 180x120mm and the number of pages increased to eight, twelve and even sixteen. The two bound, and consequently trimmed, volumes that were inspected at the Public Library of Kozani measured 175x115mm. In addition, the double-column setting was abandoned for a single column with an 80mm measure. Here again, the average number of words per line remained low as a result of wide inter-word spacing. This average rarely exceeded 7.5 words to a line and continued to be so even when the text started being printed with the larger 12pt type.

Despite its pocket size, *Ephemeris* remained close to the spirit of a newspaper as far as the content was concerned. Its various headings indicate this clearly. ‘Austria’, or ‘Vienna’ were the most commonly used headings on the front page of the newspaper; these were followed by similar headings of various countries, such as Germany, Holland, Portugal, Spain, Italy and France. The *Ephemeris* conveyed information about events such as the clashes in Europe after the French Revolution, or the war of 1787-92 between Russia and Turkey. It also printed news about the Greeks living in places controlled by Turkish authorities. In the *Ephemeris* of 1797, we find the earliest, and for a long time to come the only, ‘personal’ adver-



45. See, for example, how the two forms of beta were used in *Logios Ermis*'s setting on page 6, seventh line from the top, in the 1.1.1811 issue (*Ermis o Logios*, photo-reproduction, Athens, 1988).

tisements printed in Greek newspapers. For example, on page 466 a 'young man, a little bit(!) lame but very wealthy, wants to be married to a woman, who should own a fortune of at least ten thousand florins...' And on page 384 (1797) was published an advertisement by the ophthalmologist Joseph Guten who examines 'poor people between 10 and 12 before midday and cures them with the necessary medicines free of charge'. So, the material of the *Ephemeris* has the quality of the *ephemeron*, it gave day by day reports, and fully justified its title.

In this sense it differs from all those publications that belong to the group of pre-revolutionary Greek newspapers, except for the *Greek Telegraph*. The latter is close to the *Ephemeris* in spirit, despite the fact that it came out fifteen years after *Ephemeris* ceased production. There is a simple explanation for this: the *Greek Telegraph* came out in January 1812, but in reality it began publication in July 1811 with the title *Ειδήσεις διά τὰ Ανατολικά Μέρη* (News for the Orient). Its editor was Euphronios Popovits and its owner a man called Joseph Hall. Since 1797 Hall had a close relationship with the *Ephemeris*; in that year he had been appointed by the Austrian Chancellery as official censor of the paper.⁴⁶

In December 1797 Regas was arrested by the Austrian police, together with seventeen of his comrades, and taken to Vienna. 'The eight Turkish nationals, among them Regas, were handed over (quite illegally) to the Turkish *kaimakami* of Belgrade' who was ordered by the Porte 'to fake the accidental death of Regas and his seven associates'.⁴⁷ The first martyr of the freedom of Greece, as Regas has been called, and the rest of his comrades, 'were strangled to death and their bodies thrown into the Danube'.⁴⁸ The Markidis brothers were accused of helping Regas by printing and distributing his manifestos, thus spreading his revolutionary message against the Ottoman occupation of the Balkans. In February 1798 the Austrian authorities ordered the closure of the press and expelled the Markidis brothers from their country.⁴⁹ The fact that they were Austrian citizens saved their lives.

It took twelve years after *Ephemeris* ceased production for the second Greek newspaper to appear. The *News for the Orient* too was published in Vienna. This long period might have discouraged us from attempting to trace any influences of the *Ephemeris* on its successors. However, Hall's Greek newspaper was most definitely influenced by *Ephemeris*.⁵⁰ As far as *Ermis* is concerned, it differs from *Ephemeris*, because it belongs to a group of publications which can be classified somewhere in between newspapers and journals. Nevertheless, I have not been able to trace any references to the contents of the *Ephemeris* in later Viennese or Parisian publications. The *Ephemeris* was produced by the owners of a printing house which, in addition to the newspaper, had also to deal with jobbing printing and the printing of books. The Markidis brothers, apart from

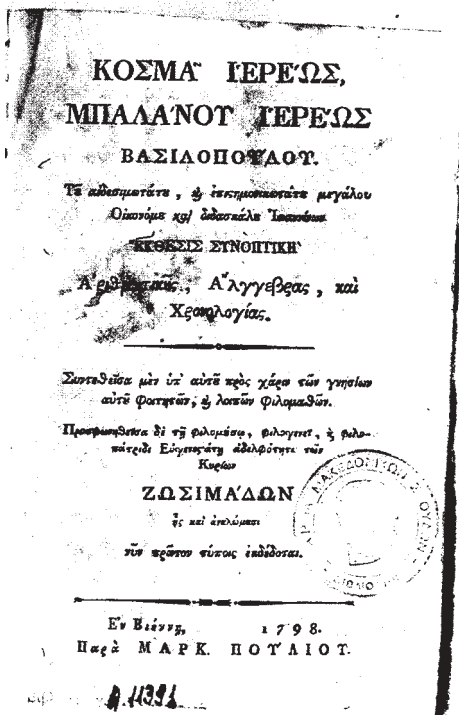
46. See the content of the three documents (no.30, 33, and 35) published by Laios. Laios, "The Markidis", pp.258-260.

47. Dakin, *Unification*, p.23.

48. Clogg, *Short history of modern Greece*, Cambridge, 1979, p.45.

49. Laios, "The Markidis", pp.259-260.

50. Mastoridis, K., "Casting the Greek newspaper; A study of the morphology of the ephemeris from its origins until the introduction of mechanical setting", PhD Thesis, University of Reading, Department of Typography & Graphic Communication, Reading, 1997, pp.62-75.



□ κθεσις συνοπτική, αριθμητικής, αλγέβρας και χρονολογίας, printed by Markidis, Vienna, 1798 (Library of the Society for Macedonian Studies, Thessaloniki).

financing the paper, were also editing and printing it. This must be seen as a great advantage which helped to keep this newspaper alive for more than seven years. This venture, namely a general printing establishment, that also published a newspaper, is a situation not repeated in the history of Greek Press for several decades.

Fifty-five years ago Bees wrote that *‘the Markidis brothers and the Ephemeric which was published by them in Vienna during the years 1790-1798, must become the topic of a specific scientific treatise’*.⁵¹ Such a treatise is still to come and, despite the work done by Enepekidis and Laios in the Austrian archives, we are still without a full and comprehensive account of the history of the paper. Nevertheless, for as long as we lack a complete body of *Ephemeric*, its study will remain fragmentary, just as fragmentary as the work done on the history of Greek printing and the Greek newspaper.⁵²

51. Bees, "Extracts", p.798.

52. In 1995, two years after the death of L.Vranousis, the "Academy of Athens" published his work on *Ephemeric* which had been started in 1958. A large volume of more than 1000 pages of information (and many unfinished notes), written by Vranousis, accompanied the photo-reproduction of the until now known issues of the paper. Despite the deficiencies of the photo-reproduction this work undoubtedly constitutes a tool for those who are interested in the history of the paper.