

THE FINLAY LIBRARY.

THE study of mediaeval, Turkish and modern Greek history now attracts considerable attention in Athens. Important works upon these periods have been recently published by Greek scholars; lectures upon Byzantine history in particular are crowded not merely by students, but also by the general public, and several newspapers make a special feature of articles by specialists on social life in the reign of Otho. In these circumstances it is fortunate that the British School has possessed since 1899 the Finlay library, to which the adjacent library of M. Gennadios, opened in April, now provides a worthy counterpart.

The Finlay library, of which I speak from some two years' work among its shelves, consists, apart from general literature and travels, mainly of four divisions: (1) books used by Finlay for the Byzantine, Trapezuntine, Frankish and Turkish periods of his history; (2) books about the War of Independence and the reign of Otho; (3) a collection of Greek newspapers; and (4) Finlay's review articles, *Times'* correspondence, diaries and other documents. Of these the first section is nowadays the least important. Since Finlay's death much has been published about the Byzantine, Frankish and Turkish times, and the Empire of Trebizond, which renders some of his sources inadequate or obsolete. For example, the works of my friends, Don Antonio Rubió y Lluch of Barcelona and M. D. Gr. Kampouroglous of Athens (besides those of the late Th. N. Philadelphus), have revolutionised the history of Athens under the Catalans and Turks respectively; Paranikas and Papadopoulos-Kerameus furnished new sources for that of Trebizond; the Spanish Chronicle of the Morea for Greece; several Byzantine historians have been published in critical editions among the Teubner texts. Not only are these lacking, but of the Bonn edition, poor as much of it is (especially those volumes which cover the Frankish period), there are in the library only twenty volumes; other Byzantine authors are represented by the obsolete edition of Venice: the 37th book of

Nikephoros Gregoras is in that of Parisot. No one now uses the *Histoire du Bas-Empire* of Lebeau, the second edition of which fills nearly a shelf; but, with the aid of Finlay's marginal notes, I have endeavoured to bring up to date the last five volumes (xvii–xxi), which deal with Frankish Greece.¹ And here it should be remarked, that not the least valuable part of Finlay's books consists of the *marginalia*. He annotated his books heavily in the margins, and his pencil notes were usually caustic, for Finlay made few allowances for the weakness of human nature. But, having read many of these works in his copies, I can testify to the value of his running commentaries, especially in the case of authors who had not his intimate personal acquaintance with Greece. Thus in his copies of Buchon and Hopf he has corrected their respective identifications of 'Thalassino' with 'Allassona,' and of the 'Castello de Ostodosia' with a castle at Gavrion instead of at the town of Andros.² Another interesting feature of these books are the autograph letters from their authors, which Finlay has pasted into them. Thus Buchon's *Chroniques Étrangères* contain a long letter from the author, dated four weeks before the September revolution of 1843, asking Finlay for political information to form the basis of articles in the French press, and announcing the speedy completion of *La Grèce continentale et la Morée*. Similarly, a volume, labelled 'Hopf: *Gesammelte Werke*,' contains two autograph letters from that eminent German scholar, one regretting that he had been unable to find in Germany a copy of Sauger's *Histoire des anciens ducs de l'Archipel*, and sending a copy of his own treatise, *De Historiæ Ducatus Atheniensis fontibus*, another (dated 1863) from Syra, asking Finlay to use his influence with the Government to obtain for him the use of a steamer for the purpose of visiting Naxos and Santorin. As not unfrequently happened with Finlay, a peppery correspondence with the Greek authorities—copied into the end of this volume—arose out of this request. 'I am firm,' wrote the historian to the Minister of Marine, 'in my principle of never asking anything in Greece which could not be asked in like circumstances in England.' He added in French to Lt. de Rheineck, who had replied

¹ *Notes on Frankish Greek History*, published in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1926), xxvi. pp. 57–62.

² Buchon, *Recherches historiques*. . . . *Le Livre de la Conquête*, p. 417. Hopf, K., *Geschichte der Insel Andros und ihrer Beherrscher*, p. 3. Cf. Paschales, D. P., 'Ἡ Ἀνδρῶς', i. 608 (Athens, 1925).

on the Minister's behalf: *Pendant un séjour de 40 ans en Grèce je n'ai jamais solliciter (sic) ni fait moi même un passage dans un bâtiment de l'état quoique j'ai eu l'honneur de me trouver à bord des bâtiments grecs dans plusieurs affaires avec l'ennemi (sic) pendant la guerre de la revolution.* Finlay wrote German better than French.

The section comprising books about modern Greek history is far more remarkable. For not only does the library contain all the standard works, enriched and corrected from personal experience by Finlay's pencil-notes, but there are twenty-nine volumes of pamphlets, some extremely rare, bound under such titles as *Σύμμικτα, Greek Pamphlets, Greek Affairs, and Modern Greek History*. One of these contains Palma's *Summary Account of the Steam Boats for Lord Cochrane's Expedition*, with a letter of October 12, 1826 (pasted on the fly-leaf) from Finlay to *The New Times and Representative*, defending Hastings, and a treatise in Italian and Greek on the best means of maintaining the health of armies, by Bruno, *Medico e chirurgo di Lord Byron*, printed at Mesolonghi in 1824. This letter of Finlay is, I believe, his first appearance in print. Another is mainly devoted to the works of that versatile Scot, Edward Masson, who was successively theological student, secretary to Lord Dundonald in his capacity of Grand Admiral of Greece, an eloquent advocate in Greek,¹ 'Attorney-General for the Morea,' a judge of the Areiopagos, Professor of History in the University of Athens, and of New Testament and Ecclesiastical Greek at Belfast, and a copious publicist alike in English and Greek. His writings bound in this volume include three numbers of a literary and legal review, 'Ο Παρατηρητής, which he published at Nauplia in 1838, mainly consisting of translations from Bentham and James Mill; two copies of the *Σελήνη*, described as a 'didactic and recreative periodical,' published in Athens in 1849; three numbers of the 'Ελληνική Σημαία, a 'political and literary newspaper,' published there after his return to his 'country by adoption,' in which he prints an English poem on his 'second arrival' and an open letter to John Bright on the 'Present State of Affairs in Greece,' urging the departure of Count Sponnek, 'George's most fatal foe.' The third number of the rechristened *Πανελληνική Σημαία* contains an English review of Finlay's *History of the Greek Revolution*, Masson's appeal against the execution of the death sentence upon his client, George Mavro-

¹ Hervé, F., *A Residence in Greece and Turkey* (London, 1837), pp. 48, 271.

michales, the assassin of Capo d'Istria, and a 'Survey of Otho's reign,' addressed to Gladstone. There follow Masson's *Apology for the Greek Church*; three numbers of the *Μνήμων* and one of its English version, *The Hellenic Recorder*, in which, in 1872, the year before his death, he defended the Greek case in the question of the Laurion mines against Serpieri, whose pamphlet, *Une Spoliation*, forms part of the large volume labelled *Laurium* in the library. 'Quod juvenis defendi, non deseram senex,' wrote the eloquent Masson in this swan-song. Finlay in an article in *The Times*¹ was less enthusiastic. A third volume contains a collection of pamphlets on the plague of Poros in 1837, still commemorated by the monument on the opposite mainland to the Bavarian doctor, Rothlaur, who was one of its victims. In a fourth is a curious dialogue of 1827 on 'The Seven Plagues of Greece'—'the Hodjabashis,' the 'Wallachian Dukes' (the Roumanian Phanariotes), 'the flatterers,' 'the mania for titles,' 'the guineas,' 'the ambitions' and 'the still chained press.' A fifth is composed of German pamphlets on the revolution of 1843, including the valuable *Geschichte der Griechischen Revolution* by Baron von St...t, the grandfather of King Constantine's adviser, Dr. Streit. To this the volume, labelled *Greece*, 1843, 1847, forms a sequel, comprising Alexander Soutsos' poetical 'Panorama of the National Assembly' of 1844, with its interesting description of the battle between the 'inside' and the 'outside' Greeks. Another volume contains an anonymous denunciation of *British Diplomacy in Greece*, composed in 1848 by the late Sir P. Colquhoun (as Finlay's pencil note informs us), and strongly criticising the 'quarter-deck' diplomacy of Sir E. Lyons and British consular appointments in Greece; by which Green, an 'ex-crockery dealer [from Nauplia] shut up his shop to become British Consul at the Piraeus.' There follows *A Business-like View of the Greek Question* at the time of the Pacifico affair in 1850 by 'A Greek Merchant,' who handles Finlay's claim with marked asperity. It was characteristic of Finlay to preserve this attack upon himself. To the same date belongs Leake's pamphlet (Finlay's copy was presented by the author), *On the Claim to the Islands of Cervi and Sapienza*. The revolution of 1862 and the interregnum are represented in this collection by several French pamphlets, among them one by T. E. Baltazzi on *Le Prince Alfred et les intérêts français en Orient*, another by Lenormant on the 'causes

¹ February 25, 1873.

and consequences,' a third by Levidis, the well-known publicist, and a long treatise by Professor Saripolos on *Le Passé, le Présent et l'Avenir de la Grèce*. A hostile biography of the Premier Bulgaris tells us the origin of the nickname, 'Artaxerxes,' which Amalia gave him. A whole volume, entitled *Noel, etc.: Murders at Delissi, 1870*, is devoted to pamphlets on the famous arrest of Lord Muncaster and his companions by brigands. It contains M. Gennadios' pamphlet in English, *Notes on the recent murders by brigands in Greece*, the *Letters of Mr. Frank Noel . . . with an Introduction by his father*, giving an interesting account of the history of the estate at Achmetaga (Euboea),¹ still owned by Frank Noel's daughter, and heavily and favourably annotated by Finlay's pencil, and the Greek Blue-Book. One volume is filled with 'Reports on the Greek Loan,' two others with Greek statistics, including Klados' *Almanach* for 1837.

Besides this collection concerning the Greek kingdom as it then was, there are three volumes of pamphlets on the *Ionian Islands* and one on *Crete and Greece, 1867-8*. The Ionian series includes an anonymous treatise (by Bowen) with an anonymous reply (by Papanicolas), an anti-Greek treatise by Dunn Gardner, and Sir Patrick Colquhoun's open letter on the *Dismissal of the Ionian Judges*. The Cretan volume comprises an anonymous English pamphlet, *Facts on the Candian Question*, and a very long article from *Fraser's Magazine* for March, 1869, on the insurrection 'by a Resident in Crete' [W. J. Stillman, then U.S. Consul and afterwards *Times'* correspondent]. Finlay himself wrote, besides an article for *The Saturday Review* of October 5, 1867, two very long essays on *The History of the Insurrection in Crete*, and *The Cretan Insurrection and Hellenism*, the former for *The Times*, the latter for *Blackwood's Magazine* for July, 1869. Both were printed, and are preserved in the folio labelled *Affairs of Greece from 1868 to 1870* (pp. 94-95, 102-104), but neither was ever published. The MS. of this

¹ Other authors describing Achmetaga are: Arnold, R. Arthur, *From the Levant* (London, 1868), i. 226 ff.; Baird, H. M., *Modern Greece* (New York, 1856), p. 263; Bayard Taylor, *Travels in Greece and Russia* (London, 1859), pp. 254-57; Belle, H., *Trois années en Grèce* (Paris, 1881), pp. 82-91; Buchon, A., *Voyage dans l'Eubée, les Iles Ioniennes et les Cyclades en 1841* (Paris, 1911), pp. 46-60; Hill, Octavia, *Life, as told in her Letters* (London, 1913), pp. 427-28; Perdicaris, G. A., *The Greece of the Greeks* (New York, 1845), i. 113; Miller, W., *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), pp. 211-12; and in *Morning Post*, Oct. 11, 1904; Rangabês, A. R., *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* (Athens, 1895), ii. 59; Rodd, Rennell, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892), pp. 56-61; Wyse, Sir T., *Impressions of Greece* (London, 1871), pp. 36-38, 214-44; Finlay, G., MS. 'Journal 3' (1834).

article for *The Times*, which runs in print to 1006 lines, is contained in the volume entitled *Letters on Greek Affairs*, 1867, and was called by the author in a covering letter of October 3, 'as impartial an account of the Cretan insurrection as it is in my power to write.' On April 9, 1868, he wrote to ask whether it had been received; on August 28 Delane replied, enclosing the proof for correction, and on September 5 Finlay sent back the 'trifling changes' (*Letters on Greek Affairs*, 1868). This, the longest of all Finlay's newspaper articles, far too long, indeed, for any newspaper, deserves publication, although most of the information is second-hand, for he was only in Crete for a brief visit. Finlay was severe upon both parties, blaming the Ottoman Government for having 'neglected the reclamations of the Christians,' and the Greek for having 'engaged in an underhand attempt to dismember the Ottoman Empire.' He discounted the statements of both sides in the characteristic sentence: 'Both parties secured the services of men who spoke and wrote half a dozen languages with ease; but who could not speak or write the truth in any language.' He adds: 'For six months the Ottoman Pashas reported . . . by every post that they had suppressed the insurrection; and the Cretan chiefs announced . . . by the Austrian steamer weekly that they had annihilated an Ottoman army and slain or captured a Pasha.' Even the cold historian admits that 'the affair of the monastery of Arkadi was glorious . . . as affording an example of self-sacrifice, courage, and patriotism,' but he waxes sarcastic over the adventures of the blockade-runner named after the monastery. Yet he closes with a tribute to the services rendered by the British and the Greek peoples to the Cretan refugees in Greece, 'now said to exceed 40,000.' The article for *Blackwood* gives an historical summary of Cretan history, largely based on Pashley and Spratt, but is mainly a repetition, often even verbal, of the above treatise. It carries the history of the insurrection, however, down to its close, describing how Petropoulakes drove past the Turkish Legation in Athens, followed by volunteers 'carrying a banner with the Spartan motto ΤΑΝ Η ΕΠΙ ΤΑΝ.' Finlay ends *more suo* with the bitter-sweet remark: 'Our subject has compelled us to dwell on the errors of the Hellenic Government and people; we regret that it has prevented us from noticing equally those virtues which the Greek nation undoubtedly possesses.' He usually took the latter for granted, but emphasised the former.

Finlay annotated heavily the standard books on modern Greek history. In view of the new edition of Sp. Trikoupes' *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως*, it may be of interest to publish his caustic judgment of that historian, written on the fly-leaf of his copy of Vol. I. : 'Mr. Tricoupi appears systematically to conceal the cruelties perpetrated by his countrymen. . . . As a diplomatic agent of the Greek Government he represents the ideas and manners of the Greeks as more nearly allied to the civilization of Western Europe than to the thoughts and practices of Oriental nations. I believe he is wrong. The Greeks think and act like Asiatics, and hence our difficulty in comprehending them, for they talk like Europeans . . . Tricoupi . . . imitates the external forms of Thucydides more than the spirit of that great historian. He cannot plead ignorance of the cruelties perpetrated at his native town, Mesolonghi, yet he conceals them. He records the noble conduct of the inhabitants in defending the town with pride. He ought to have felt that it was his duty to record their crimes, and to have done so, though with regret.' 'Thucydides,' he adds in a note to p. 7, 'was an exile'—forgetting that exiles are usually embittered. The fly-sheet of Vol. I. of his copy of von Prokesch-Osten's *Geschichte des Abfalls der Griechen* bears a letter from the author, dated 1864, which sums up modern Greek history : *C'était la destinée fatale de la Grèce de n'avoir été comprise par aucun de ses gouvernemens. Capo d'Istria s'y méprenait—les Bavares n'y entendaient mot—les Puissances protectrices, sans exception, avec une ignorance grossière, lui ont fait cadeau du chiton de Déjaneire—le Roi Othon, malgré ses intentions incontestablement bienveillantes & honnêtes, n'était pas de la force à faire triompher le bon sens sur l'anarchie—& le Gouvern. d'aujourd'hui me paraît une dérision. . . . Vous avez la satisfaction de vous dire que vous avez constamment aimé la Grèce—que vous avez toujours été sur la brèche pour défendre ses vrais intérêts & que vous avez profité de vos loisirs pour éclairer du flambeau historique les espaces presque inconnues de l'époque byzantine. On ne peut plus parler de ces temps sans recourir à vous.* Finlay's copy of Millingen's *Memoirs* has several *marginalia* about Byron, and contains a letter from the author, then at Mesolonghi, dated October 16, 1824, about Byron's illness and its treatment. His copy of von Maurer's *Das Griechische Volk* is punctuated with sarcasms. He describes the ex-Regent's 'continual quotation of the *Σωτήρ*' as 'a base fraud : Maurer paid its editor,' accuses him of 'wilful falsity,' and sums up his Regency

as ‘μελλούσας δόξας καὶ μέλλοντα ὄνειρα.’ Of Thiersch’s¹ glowing forecast of agriculture, he wrote: ‘We have now had the experience of three years to prove all this is *Schwärmerey*; in nations you may improve, but if you try to change you only destroy. Our rulers have only written down their incapacity by attempting to change & failing—1836.’ The library, like modern Greek historical literature, is poor in Memoirs; but in those of Dragoumes there is pasted a long letter from the author on payment of members and the Senate. There is a good collection of British Blue Books. In that containing Finlay’s claim to compensation for land included in the Palace garden is pasted a statement, from the *Glasgow Herald* of April 19, 1850, ‘drawn out by himself, and transmitted to us for publication’; that on *The Relations between Greece and Turkey* in 1854 contains a private letter from Church remarking that Otho ‘ought to have thought well of it before he ventured on a war with all the Powers of Europe’; that partly devoted to *Cretan Papers*: 1867, is supplemented by the first number of a Boston journal, *The Cretan*, of April, 1868, printing a long statement by Samuel G. Howe, who forty years earlier had published *An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution*, in the margin of which (pp. 178—79) Finlay has written some personal reminiscences: ‘Lord Byron told me that, on his finding that a young boy (Louka) in the boat [crossing to Mesolonghi] could not swim, he told him to keep on his back & he would save him, when his surgeon called out, “Oh! my Lord, save me too.”’ There are also three Greek volumes of *Finance and Statistics* (1858—72).

There are some notable omissions, such as Stademann’s *Panorama von Athen*, from this section of the library. In compensation there are numerous Byroniana (supplemented by Mr. S. C. Atchley), including a copy of *Sardanapalus*, on the fly-leaf of which Finlay has corrected the statement that it was ‘given me at Missolonghi, March 1824, by the author,’ thus: ‘Strictly speaking this volume was not given. It was among Lord Byron’s books at Missolonghi, and on his disclaiming the ownership, it was taken away with his consent and appropriated without his objecting.’ In a presentation copy of the English translation of Elze’s *Lord Byron*, Finlay has written: ‘There are in my opinion many errors in this volume and now and then a tinge of nonsense with regard

¹ *De l’État actuel de la Grèce*, ii. 57.

to Byron's thoughts and fancies, though there is a great deal of truth also. Athens, July, 1872.' The translator, the Rev. A. Napier, had written to his sister-in-law, who knew Finlay, a letter (buried amid the pages of Kennedy's *Conversations on Religion*), stating that 'had I the honour of being sufficiently acquainted with Mr. Finlay I would even go so far as to ask him whether he would condescend to add a chapter to this new biography descriptive of Lord Byron as the Liberator,' and offering to send the proof-sheets to him for correction.

To the books upon modern Greek history accumulated by Finlay, Messrs. Wace, Woodward, Welch and Heurtley have added others dealing with events since his death. Thus, there are the Cretan Blue Books from 1889 to 1900, and a bound copy of the draft of the Cretan Constitution of 1899, with notes and corrections by Finlay's successor, the late J. D. Bouchier, who rendered such great services to the Cretan cause and whose memoirs deserve publication. There are Constantine's official report on the campaign of 1897 and the results of the censuses of 1907 and 1920. There is Dr. Zervos' monumental volume on *National Legacies and Gifts*. The familiar works on the Macedonian question—now rendered obsolete by the ethnographic change effected by the immigration of the refugees from Asia Minor—are followed by two shelves full of war and post-war pamphlets, including Mlle. Stephanopoli's standard treatise on the Dodekanesian question, others on Northern Epeiros, and Males' 'Η Σάμος ὑπὸ τὸ Ἀυτόνομον Πολίτευμα down to the union. Nor are wanting such brilliant novels as Mr. Brailsford's *Broom of the War-God*, illustrative of the war of 1897, and Frappa's *À Salonique sous l'œil des dieux!* descriptive of life there during the recent campaign, to keep company with Hope's *Anastasius*, Morier's *Photo the Suliote*, Xenos' *The Devil in Turkey*, and that true narrative, *The Brigands of the Morea, A Narrative of the Captivity of Mr. S. Soterópoulos* in Bagdon's translation, with Finlay's caustic pencillings. A further new section consists of new works on Finlay's period. The most notable of these are the incomplete 'Αρχεῖον τῆς κοινότητος Ὑδρας, 1778–1832, and 'Αρχεῖα Λαζάρου καὶ Γεωργίου Κουντουριώτου [the father of the recent President], 1821–32, of which the library has only four volumes, the first volume of the archives of Andreas Lontos (1789–1847), and the two of Rangabés' 'Απομνημονεύματα. Rangabés consulted Finlay about the Scottish family of Skene, with which his sister

was intermarrying and his 'Memoirs' contain references to such well-known former English residents in Athens as Bell, Bracebridge of Atherstone (who figures often in Finlay's 'Journal 3'), and Parish, the diplomatic historian of the Greek monarchy. His son proposes to publish a further instalment. The three recent big works on modern Greek history,¹ and Romas' archives are lacking; but among the added biographies we may note those of Lord Lyons and Jules Ferry, the latter specially valuable for the description of Athens in 1872-73 when Ferry was Minister there. A biography of George Gennadios forms one of fourteen volumes presented by his son, and including treatises by the latter. An album of recent political proclamations and poetry, which will one day have historical importance, has been impartially formed by Mr. Welch. It contains the Venizelist and Constantinist hymns, the Royalist announcement of the political funeral of Venizelos after the elections of 1920, voting papers, marked *Κωνσταντίνος Β.*, 'officially handed to voters in the plebiscite of 1920,' and 'the Venizelist Creed.' There follow the documents of the revolution of 1922—'the proclamation dropped on Athens by an aeroplane from the revolutionary army of Cols. Plastiras and Gonatas in Mitylene' on September 26, demanding Constantine's abdication, and the official Gazette of October 5, containing Constantine's letter of abdication of September 27 to the Premier, M. Triantaphyllakos, and his farewell message to the Greek people on the same day, with a note by the new Premier, Krokidâs, that 'the present message was written by the King's own hand in pencil.' Next come the proclamations during the counter-revolution of October, 1923—that of Generals Leonardopoulos and Gargalides and Col. Zeras, 'a rebel pamphlet from the Peloponnesos,' the prohibition of all traffic in Athens and the Piraeus without special permit, and the surrender of the rebels at Kaza. Photographs of the bomb outrage at the British Legation on March 12, 1924, form a footnote to the history of that residence. This volume should be continued in accordance with the traditions of the library, which should be kept up to date as a complete storehouse of mediaeval and modern Greece—materials for future Finlays.

The library has no copies of the eight earliest Greek newspapers, of which the chief was the *Λόγιος Έρμής*, and naturally so, because they all were published between 1793 and 1821 outside Greece, six at Vienna

¹ See Miller, W., *Modern Historians of Modern Greece*. In *History* (1925), x. 110-123.

and two at Corfù,¹ nor of the earliest journal published in Greece. But the next three are all represented. A single stout volume contains original copies of the 'Ελληνικά Χρονικά and the *Telegrafo Greco* of Mesolonghi, started respectively—I give all dates in new style—on January 13 and March 20, 1824. The first number of the former contains a long 'extract from the letter of Lord Byron to the Greek Administration,' dated 'from Cephalonia, November 30, 1823,' introducing Col. Leicester Stanhope, frankly stating that there would be no hope of a loan if unity were not maintained, and that the Great Powers 'would be told that the Greeks are incompetent to govern themselves.' No. 4 has an account of Byron's voyage from Cephalonia to Mesolonghi; Nos. 5 to 7 are occupied with Lord Erskine's letter to Mavrocordatos. Of special interest is the manuscript article in praise of the Hungarians, pasted in at the end of Nos. 20 and 21, with a footnote in Finlay's handwriting: 'In consequence of the insertion of this article, No. 20 was seized by the police and cancelled.' No. 27 denied the German rumour that Mesolonghi had illuminated at the news of the death of Sir Thomas Maitland, the first Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. No. 29, published on April 21 with a mourning border, announces that of Byron; No. 30 of April 24 describes his funeral; No. 31 gives Trikoupes' funeral oration over him; No. 38 contains the decree fixing May 23 as a day of mourning throughout Greece for him. Full particulars of the numbers of this periodical contained in the bound file of it will be found in Appendix (II) below. Of the *Telegrafo Greco* there are Nos. 1 to 21 and 29 to 32. No. 5 contains an account of Byron's death and funeral, No. 8 of the *post-mortem* examination and of the transport of his remains to Zante. This volume likewise comprises most of the first 142 numbers (as shewn in Appendix (II) of the *Φίλος τοῦ Νόμου* of Hydra, started on March 22, 1824, edited by the Italian Ciappe, and censured by Lazaros Kountouriotēs, grand-uncle of the recent President of the Greek Republic.¹ These are followed by two numbers of a weekly French paper, also published at Hydra in 1827, *L'Abeille Grecque*. Three other volumes, however, contain a complete set of all the published 296 numbers of the *Φίλος τοῦ Νόμου* down to June 8,

¹ X [= Mr. Kalogeropoulos, librarian of the Parliament] in *Ἔσθια* (1886), xxi. 43-45, 74-76, 102-105, 134-36, 167-69, 182-85, 218-21. The *Ἐλληνικά Χρονικά* were reprinted and dedicated to the Duchesse de Plaisance, by K. N. Levides in 1840.

² Emerson, *A Picture of Greece in 1825*, i. 340-41.

1827, of which that describing the sortie from Mesolonghi possesses topical interest in this the year of its centenary. Another volume holds the first Athenian newspaper, 'Εφημερίς Ἀθηνῶν, of which Great Britain may claim to be the founder, as the printing-press was presented by Col. Leicester Stanhope on behalf of the Greek Committee of London. This venerable mother of an immense progeny—for the names of the Athenian journals fill many pages of the catalogue in the Parliament library—was born on September 1, 1824, at Salamis, and the first number contains Stanhope's letter, and the second, published in Athens, the Athenians' reply,¹ and the news of the arrival of Admiral Clifford on the *Euryalos* in the Piraeus, where another British ship was already undergoing repairs. Nos. 4 and 37 mention the organisation of a school in Athens, the summons from Nauplia of the famous 'teacher of the Nation,' George Gennadios, father of the ex-Minister in London; Nos. 4 and 88–89 the re-establishment of the 'Philomuse Society,' which had stopped in 1821. No. 5 describes the burial of a British naval officer in the Monastery of St. Spyridon at the Piraeus. No. 15 announces the arrival, as *locum tenens* of the see of Athens, of Neophytos, bishop of Atalante, whose name figures in the tourists' accounts of the early 'thirties. No. 21 gives the population of Athens in November, 1824, as 9,040. No. 42 mentions the presence in Athens in February, 1825, of the Italian Philhellene, Santarosa, the centenary of whose death was celebrated last year. Nos. 47–48 contain the decree converting the mosques of the bazaar and of the column into a Lancastrian school and public library. No. 64 of June 7, 1825, was printed at Salamis, where the Athenians had again taken refuge on receipt of bad news from Salona. After 103 numbers, on November 23 the paper started a new series, with No. 37 of which this volume and the newspaper ended on April 27, 1826. Only one number of each series (11 and 8 respectively) is missing, and the latter has been supplied in MS.

The library also contains five volumes of the fifth of these early Greek newspapers, the official gazette, Γενική Ἐφημερίς τῆς Ἑλλάδος, first published at Nauplia on October 19, 1825, under the editorship of Pharmakides, then (as the seat of Government was successively moved) at Aigina on December 6, 1826, at Poros on April 11, 1827, at Nauplia again (under the editorship of Chryseides) on July 4, again at Aigina on

¹ Sourmelès, 'Ιστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, pp. 72–75.

September 5, at Argos on July 15, 1829, at Aigina again on August 26, and finally from October 30, 1830, at Nauplia. Among its historical curiosities are a letter from the besieged Akropolis by Sourmelês, the future historian of Athens, the official announcements of the election of Capo d'Istria and of the fall of the Akropolis, a description of the battle of Navarino from a person who was present on the *Cambrian*, the arrival of Capo d'Istria on the *Warspite* (commanded by the same Captain Parker who was to blockade the Piraeus during the Pacifico Affair in 1850), and the presentation of his letters to the President by Edward James Dawkins, the first British 'Resident,' on November 22, 1828.¹ A sequel to this gazette is its successor, the still extant *Ἐφημερίς τῆς Κυβερνήσεως*, of which there are ten volumes in the library, from its first number, dated Nauplia, February 28, 1833, containing Otho's proclamation on landing there, down to the end of 1844 and all 1866. Finlay has inserted in these volumes some interesting historical documents, such as the supplement to the *Moniteur Grec* (published at Nauplia, December 6, 1832), containing a letter of the three members of the Greek delegation addressed to Captain Lyons of the *Madagascar*, describing their reception in Munich; the speech of Bishop Neophytos near the Theseion on February 14, 1833, urging concord on Otho's arrival in Greece²; a notice, addressed to 'Major Finlay,' of the death of Princess Cantacuzene, Armansperg's eldest daughter, together with an elegy by Panagiotes Soutsos on her grave—marked in Stademann's plan of Athens—on the islet of Psyttaleia, where also rest some of our sailors of the blockade of 1850³; the programme of the removal of Karaïskakes' remains from Salamis to the site of his monument at New Phaleron; and the order of the day of July 13, 1835, signed by General Smaltz, directing General Gordon to restore order in Northern Greece, as described by Finlay (who accompanied him) in his *History*⁴ and papers.

Other early Greek journals in the shelves are forty numbers of the weekly *Ἀνεξάρτητος Ἐφημερίς* of 1827–28, published successively at Hydra and Aigina; two volumes of *Le Courrier de Smyrne* (1828–31); a volume containing stray numbers of two other Smyrniote papers of

¹ *Γενική Ἐφημερίς*, Oct. 28, 1826; April 21, June 16, Oct. 31, 1827; Jan. 26, Nov. 29, 1828.

² Reprinted in Wordsworth, c., *Athens and Attica* (ed. 3), p. 213 n².

³ *Panorama von Athen*. Plan, No. 96. Consular Registers (Piraeus), vol. i.

⁴ vii, 158–61; *English Historical Review*, xxxix. 390–91.

1827, *Le Spectateur Oriental* and *L'Observateur Impartial*; and a volume with fifty-six numbers—43 to 45 are missing—of the famous bi-weekly Hydriote *Apollon* of 1831, which expressed the opposition to Capo d'Istria. No. 59 contains the well-known poem of Alexander Soutsos on 'The Heroes Constantine and George Mavromichales, each premeditating the tyrannicide of I. Capo d'Istria,' and comments on his murder in the words, 'as citizens, we are very far from condemning the deed'—an opinion shared by Finlay in his 'Journal, 1829–32.' There are the first year (1834–35) of the Greco-French *Σωτήρ* (containing the programme of Otho's entry into Athens, the new capital), and twelve volumes of the 'Αθηνα (to which Finlay contributed four pseudonymous letters), beginning with No. 97 in 1833 and ending, with large gaps, in 1863, in one of which is inserted the trilingual programme for the ceremony of Otho's majority and his proclamation on that occasion, while another contains some copies of the 'Ελπίς for 1837. Inside the volume for 1854–5 I found the draft of a letter from Finlay to Leake, dated October 20, 1844, in which he wrote that 'the great object of Lord Palmerston and Sir Edmund Lyons seems now to be to ruin Greece. . . . Greece between her rulers and protectors seems . . . between the devil and the deep sea. I see no escape, & therefore have given up modern Greek politics. . . . The king has no talent for either organization or legislation. Sir Edmund Lyons is even more ignorant of administrative business than the king. . . . England and France had two Chambers, so Sir Edmund Lyons & Mr. Piscatory [the French Minister] thought Greece required two.' He adds: 'I am surprised Grote has not undertaken so easy a journey,' as that to Greece.¹ With it is a most curious leaflet, ordering the commemoration 'on the hill towards Patisia' of the ἀνάθεμα on Zographos (for having concluded the unpopular commercial treaty with Turkey in 1840),² of which those on Sala at Nauplia in 1715 and on the supporters of Hadji Ali 'the Hasekês' in 1785 were precedents, and that on M. Venizelos in 1916 a sequel. There is also an 'Extract from Lord Aberdeen's private letter to Sir E. Lyons, dated December 6, 1843' (not printed in the Parliamentary Paper on the events of that year), in which the writer instructs his Minister 'to take the Bavarian Minister into your full confidence,' while 'with regard to the details of the Con-

¹ *English Historical Review*, xxxix. 394.

² É. Driault et M. Lhéritier, *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce*, ii. 199.

stitution you had better allow Piscatory to take the active part. In those matters in which you differ . . . do not press them to extremity.' A covering letter of Lyons to Finlay, asking his advice, accompanies it. Other letters from Lyons contain the sarcasm: 'for anything in favour of the Greek Gov^t. I must refer you to Strong's *Greece as a Kingdom*'; an allusion to the intrigue of the monks of Megaspelaion against the Mavrocordatos Cabinet in 1841¹; and the quaint remark that if Kolettis 'is come to play a part here, he must . . . *cut off his tail*, which is become so offensive.' Of later Greek newspapers there are five volumes of the *Αἰών* (1869–73), five of *La Grèce* (1862–70), three of the *Ἐθνοφύλαξ* (1865–67), two of the *Ἀδύγη* (1859–62) and eleven of the *Παλιγγενεσία* (founded immediately after the revolution of 1862) down to 1873, besides some smaller journals. Specially valuable to historians are the six volumes of the 'Hansard' of the Assembly of 1862–64, followed by four of that of the ordinary Parliament for 1865–66 and 1871.

Of Finlay's manuscript remains, articles and *Times*' correspondence I have written in *The English Historical Review*,² while Mr. Wace has extracted from the Finlay papers the materials for his two articles published in the *Annual*,³ upon Finlay's father and *Hastings and Finlay*. He also drew on the two volumes of the MS. 'Journal' (1821–24) of the American Philhellene, Lieut.-General George Jarvis, in English, German, Greek and French, preserved in the library. Jarvis⁴ was born and educated in Germany, left Altona for Greece, where he arrived with Hastings in 1822, was at Mesolonghi in 1824 and 1826, captured at Navarino and mixed up in the attempt to murder Trelawny in the Parnassian cave in 1825, and distributed relief in 1827. Finlay preserved a trilingual notice 'posting' him for having declined a duel with Castle in 1827. He is last mentioned at Argos in 1828, where he died. The late Prof. Lampros once said to me that Finlay's correspondence in *The Times* should be republished as a continuation of his history, from 1864 to 1874. Having perused his 142 published and 24 unpub-

¹ Karolides, P., *Σύγχρονος Ἱστορία τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, ii. 312.

² xxxix. 386–98; 552–67.

³ B.S.A., xxii. 110–32; xxiii. 126–38.

⁴ J. P. Miller, *The Condition of Greece in 1827 and 1828*, often mentions him and gives his biography, p. 231 n.; J. Millingen, *Memoirs of the Affairs of Greece*, p. 192; S. G. Howe, *An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution*, p. 252 n.; *Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe*, *passim*, esp. p. 29; B.S.A. xxii. 111, *L'Abeille Grecque*, October 10, 1827; Rev. J. Hartley, *Researches in Greece and the Levant*, pp. 365, 372.

lished articles, I cannot share this opinion. They are rather essays than a continuous narrative of facts; they occasionally overlap; there is tendency to repeat the writer's favourite criticisms of Greece; and throughout the attitude is that rather of a professor lecturing his pupils than of a historian calmly relating events. Finlay never realised that a foreign resident in a country cannot allow himself the same latitude of criticism as a native. To the last he judged Greece by a standard, laid up perhaps in heaven, but not found on earth, and he failed to grasp the Italian maxim: *tutto il mondo è paese*.

Among the personal treasures of the library are the interleaved corrections and reviews of his *History*, several interesting photographs, and the rare 2d. Mulready envelope, addressed to him by Sir E. Lyons. Into Marsden's *Brief Memoir of . . . Leake*, 'the first and steadiest champion of Grecian liberty' (as a letter from Finlay described 'the great scholar and geographer'), there are pasted 73 letters from Leake to Finlay 'relating to Greece & the affairs of Greece from 1830 to Decr. 1859'—two others of 1852 are among the Finlay MSS. ('Correspondence I'), which contain many from Finlay to Leake, mentioned by me elsewhere.¹ The letters are both archaeological and political; the first (August 6, 1830) thanks Finlay 'for the route through Tzakonia to Monemvasia' (afterwards incorporated in the *Peloponnesiaca* ²), and trusts 'that the revolution in France will ultimately be beneficial to Greece, and give liberty to a larger portion of the country.' The second (1831) mentions Copeland's survey of the Euboean coast, and, alluding to a letter from Finlay in a London newspaper, remarks that 'relief from the Turkish yoke cannot but be followed by some improvement, though our late Government took care that it should be the minimum.' The third (1833) says: 'The name of your estate Liosa is a corruption of Eleusa. . . . I think you may fairly subscribe yourself ΕΛΑΙΟΤΣΙΟΣ,'³ and ninety-one years before the present Republic, prophesies that the Greeks' 'tendency to republican forms of government is indigenous. . . . Ten years ago Greece might have been a republic under the protection of England.' On January 1, 1834, he mentions his publication in *The Times* ⁴ of part of a letter from Finlay about the excavation of Athens,

¹ Finlay Library, Q. 9, 16 and 31, *Eng. Hist. Review*, xxxix, 397.

² Pp. 299–300.

³ *The Topography of Athens and the Demi* (ed. 2), ii, 123.

⁴ December 3, 1833. There is much about this in Finlay's 'Journal 3.

which Leake denounced as 'a mad scheme,' though 'if Corinth had been made the capital, they might have indulged their fancies at Athens.' Interesting is the remark in a letter of 1835, that 'The best thing that could happen to the Sultan would be the extension of the boundaries of Greece and Servia till they meet'—now accomplished. Another (of 1836) asks Finlay to send him 'Your corrections of my map of Attica,' for 'a new edition of the Top^y. of Athens'; one of 1837 thanks him 'for the journal of your late tour.' Letters of 1839 and 1840 lament the then—and later—prevalent British opinion 'that Greece concerns us not'; another of 1840 enunciates the maxims that 'A *fool* cannot long act the *despot* among the Greeks,' and that 'Among Turks, military forces, not treaties, determine boundaries.' Several letters of 1841 testify to Leake's efforts on behalf of the insurgent Cretans; two of 1842 shew the difficulties of publishing Finlay's great work, and Murray's refusal because 'Gibbon has covered the ground.' The Greek revolutionary year 1843 produced the remarks: 'I never expected much from a Bavarian sovereign under a triple protection,' and, 'It is something to be relieved of German pedantry.' 'Greece,' Leake wrote in 1844, 'excites more interest here at present than she has for many years, and all but a few ultras seem pleased with her late revolution.' But 'it has been a great misfortune . . . that so few Greeks have been educated here.' Several letters contain severe criticism of Grote—his need of compression and his lack—shared by Thirwall but less excusable—of personal knowledge of Greece: to Leake, as to Finlay, he was a *Stubengelehrter*. The letters of 1850 denounce Palmerston's policy in the Don Pacifico affair, 'hope' that 'the Greeks do not view us in the hateful light we deserve,' and agree with Finlay 'that we ought to give up all the Ionian Islands except Corfù.' Those of the Crimean War period declare the Greek frontier to be the cause of the insurrections beyond it in 1854, and that 'there must at last be an independent Greek State extending as far north as the language is spoken.' The penultimate letter deals with the Ionian Islands. A letter from S. Trikoupes—then Minister in London—aptly closes the series with the words, 'Our lamented friend died as he lived, an ardent Philhellene.'

The same cupboard contains the invitation to Finlay's funeral, which gives the correct year of his death at Athens—1875—not 1876, as stated in the Oxford edition of his *History*. On December 13, 1823,

exactly eleven years before it became the capital, he had arrived there for the first time.¹ His house in Hadrian Street, the Mayfair of early Othonian Athens, still stands; his bust, 'turning its back on most of his compatriots,' is prominent in the cemetery; his library preserves his memory in the place where, amidst many disappointments, his great work was done.

WILLIAM MILLER.

APPENDIX I.

Allusions to Finlay in Books

- Anonymous [= Alexander S. Finlay]: *Letters on a Journey to Bombay* (1837), pp. 11, 13, 15.
- Baird, H. M.: *Modern Greece* (New York, 1856), p. 28.
- Bosanquet, R. C.: *The Finlay Collection and its Sources*. In *J.H.S. Suppl. Paper*, No. 4, *Excavations at Phylakopi* (London, 1904), pp. 224-27.
- Buchon, A.: *Voyage dans l'Eubée, les Iles Ioniennes et les Cyclades en 1841* (Paris, 1911), p. 76.
- Carlisle, Earl of: *Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters* (London, 1854), pp. 194, 201.
- Clark, W. G.: *Peloponnesus* (London, 1858), Dedication.
- Cochrane, G.: *Wanderings in Greece* (London, 1837), ii. 25.
- Correspondence respecting the Demands made upon the Greek Government: Mr. Finlay's Claim* (London, 1850), pp. 1-50.
- De Quincey, T.: *Works* (Edinburgh, 1862), vii. 317-52. [Review of *Greece under the Romans*.]
- De Vere, Aubrey: *Picturesque Sketches of Greece and Turkey* (London, 1850), i, 166 ff.
- Dumont, M. A.: *Collection préhistorique de M. Finlay à Athènes* (Toulouse, 1872).
- Freeman, E. A.: *The History and Conquests of the Saracens* (Oxford, 1856). Dedication.
- — *Historical Essays* (Ed. 2. London, 1892), pp. 235-82. [Review of *The Byzantine Empire*.]
- Gamba, Count P.: *A Narrative of Lord Byron's Last Journey to Greece* (Paris, 1825), pp. 192, 218-19.
- Gordon, T.: *History of the Greek Revolution* (London, 1832), ii. 122.
- Grote, G.: *A History of Greece* (London, 1884), iv. 273-76.
- Hartley, Rev. J.: *Researches in Greece and the Levant* (London, 1831), p. 365.

¹ 'Journal 3,' Dec. 13, 1834.

- Hastings, F. A. : *Memoir on the Use of Shells* (London, 1828), pp. vi.–viii.
[The unsigned letter to Hastings was by Finlay.]
- Hervé, F. : *A Residence in Greece and Turkey* (London, 1837), i. 228–39, 296.
- Howe, Samuel Gridley, *Letters and Journals of* (London, 1907), pp. xiv, xvi, xvii, 216, 226 [his home at Aigina], 227, 255, 261, 287 [character], 289, 298, 333, 338, 341–3, 344, 349 [character].
- Kampouroglous, D. Gr. : *Αἱ Γυναικες τοῦ Μεγάλου Κόσμου* (Athens, 1924), pp. 59–60, 63.
- In *Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος* (Athens, 1925), p. 70.
- Klenze, L. von : *Aphoristische Bemerkungen gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland* (Berlin, 1838), p. 737.
- Leake, W. M. : *Peloponnesiaca* (London, 1846), pp. 258–61, 299–300, 304.
- *The Topography of Athens and the Demi* (ed. 2, London, 1841), i. 216 n.³; ii. 7 n., 29 n.¹, 50 n., 73 nn., 75 nn., 103 n.¹, 115 n.², 121 n., 124 n.
- *Greece at the End of Twenty-three Years' Protection* (London, 1851), p. 16 n. The letter quoted was Finlay's.
- *On Some Disputed Questions of Ancient Geography* (London, 1857), pp. 53–55.
- Miller, J. P. : *The Condition of Greece in 1827 and 1828* (New York, 1828), p. 45, 89, 100.
- Miller, W. : *The Finlay Papers. George Finlay as a Journalist*. In *The English Historical Review* (1924), xxxix. 386–98, 552–67.
- Millingen, J. : *Memoirs of the Affairs of Greece* (London, 1831), pp. 95, 146, 168.
- Mure, W. : *Journal of a Tour in Greece* (London, 1842), ii. 50, 108.
- Neezer, Ch. : *'Απομνημονεύματα τῶν πρώτων ἐτῶν τῆς ιδρύσεως τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Βασιλείου* (Constantinople, 1911), p. 41.
- Osman Bey : *Les Anglais en Orient* (Paris, 1877), pp. 29–36, 368.
- Parry, W. : *The Last Days of Lord Byron* (London, 1825), p. 250, 259.
- Perdicaris, G. A. [U.S.A. Consul] : *The Greece of the Greeks* (New York, 1845), i. 99.
- Rangabês, A. R. : *'Απομνημονεύματα* (Athens, 1894), i. 380.
- Ross, L. : *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland* (Berlin, 1863), pp. 35, 41, 43.
- *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln* (Halle a/s, 1912), i. 109 ff.
- Rumbold, Sir H. : *Recollections of a Diplomatist, 1849–1873* (London, 1902), ii., pp. 146–48.
- S. Doc. 67 [= U.S. Senate papers on Greece] (Washington, 1854), p. 25.
- Senior, W. N. : *A Journal kept in Turkey and Greece* (London, 1859), pp. 263–66, 299–302, 311–19, 340–50, 359–62. [Finlay's copy of the French translation, *La Turquie Contemporaine* (Paris, 1861), which mentions him by name (pp. 252–55, 286–89), contains pencil notes identifying 'G.F.' with 'N.O.' (pp. 298–305), 'S.T.R.' (pp. 323–32), and 'D.E.F.' (pp. 342–46)].

- Slade, Capt.: *Records of Travel in Turkey, Greece, etc.* (London, new ed., 1854), pp. 189-190. [This version of his marriage provoked on June 12, 1834, a furious letter from Finlay, of which there is a copy in 'Letter-Book, 1827-36.' It says: 'When you wrote it, you must have known that it was a mean libel, for which no apology could be offered unless it could help to sell anything written under the pressure of want.']
- Stanhope, Col. Leicester: *Greece in 1823 and 1824* (London, 1925), pp. 78, 139, 150, 156, 185, 221, 299, 326, 331, 442-43.
- Tuckerman, C. K. [U.S. Minister in Athens 1868-71]: *The Greeks of To-day* (London, n.d.), p. 89. [Finlay has written in the margin of his copy: 'My character,' and 'no' to Tuckerman's description of him as 'my friend.']
- Wace, A. J. B.: *Hastings and Finlay*. B.S.A. xxii. (1916-18), 122-32.
 ——— *A British Officer on Active Service, 1799*. B.S.A. xxiii. (1918-19), 126-38.
- Welcker, F. G.: *Tagebuch einer griechischen Reise* (Berlin, 1865), i. 68, 72, 104, 120, 156.
- Wilde, W. R.: *Narrative of a Voyage* (Dublin, 1840), ii. 440, 448-52.
 'Αστραπή (Athens), August 19, 1921, O.S. [His house.]
 Εικονογραφημένη Εὔα (Athens), July 7, 1923. } [His marriage.]
 'Εμπρός (Athens), March 4, 1921, O.S. }

APPENDIX II.

Early Greek Newspapers.

- (1) 'Ελληνικά Χρονικά. The following numbers are contained in the bound volume, entitled 'Ελληνικά Χρονικά, Telegrafo Greco, Φίλος τοῦ Νόμου' (Shelf-Marks K 7, 18):
- 1st series, commencing Jan. 1st/13th, 1824—Nos. 1-41, 44-46, 48-50, 54, 55, 58, 60, 61, 65-67, 69, 80-86, 88, 89, 91, 92, 94 (the last dated Nov. 19th/Dec. 1st, 1824).
- 2nd series, commencing Jan. 1st/13th, 1825—Nos. 26-42, 44, 45, 48, 49, 79, 80, 82-87, 89-94 (the last dated Nov. 21st/Dec. 3rd, 1825).
- The principal gaps comprise all the issues between Nov. 19th/Dec. 1st, 1824, and April 1st/13th, 1825; between June 20th/July 2nd, 1825 and Oct. 3rd/15th, 1825, and between Nov. 21st/Dec. 3rd, 1825 and Feb. 20th/March 4th, 1826, when it ended.
- (2) *Telegrafo Greco* (bound in same volume):
 Nos. 1-21, 29-32 (the last dated Oct. 11th/23rd, 1824).
- (3) (a) Φίλος τοῦ Νόμου (bound in same volume):
 Nos. 1-34, 36-55, 63-65, 96, 104-14, 117-40, 142, and duplicates of Nos. 123-25 (bound in at end of run).

- (b) *Φίλος τοῦ Νόμου* (bound in three volumes, Shelf-Marks K 7, 24-26) :
 Nos. 1-296, forming the complete set (March 10th/22nd, 1824, to
 May 27th/June 8th, 1827).
- (4) *Ἐφημερίς Ἀθηνῶν* (Shelf-Marks K 7, 5) :
 1st series (commencing Aug. 20th/Sept. 1st, 1824), complete from No. 1
 to 103, excepting No. 11.
 2nd series (commencing Nov. 11th/23rd, 1825), complete from No. 1
 to 37 (of April 15th/27th, 1826, which ends the paper), excepting No. 8,
 which has been supplied in MS.
- (5) *Γενικὴ Ἐφημερίς* (Shelf-Marks K 7, 19-23) :
 Six years' run, in five vols. ending Dec. 31st (O.S.), 1830.
- (6) *L'Abeille Grecque* (published at Hydra), bound up with Nos. 1, 2, 3a,
 Nos. 12 (June 16th/28th) and 25 (Sept. 22nd/Oct. 4th), 1827, only.