



Handwritten Newspapers

*An Alternative Medium during the Early Modern
and Modern Periods*

Edited by Heiko Droste and Kirsti Salmi-Niklander

Studia Fennica
Historica 26

THE FINNISH LITERATURE SOCIETY (SKS) was founded in 1831 and has, from the very beginning, engaged in publishing operations. It nowadays publishes literature in the fields of ethnology and folkloristics, linguistics, literary research and cultural history.

The first volume of the *Studia Fennica* series appeared in 1933. Since 1992, the series has been divided into three thematic subseries: *Ethnologica*, *Folkloristica* and *Linguistica*. Two additional subseries were formed in 2002, *Historica* and *Litteraria*. The subseries *Anthropologica* was formed in 2007.

In addition to its publishing activities, the Finnish Literature Society maintains research activities and infrastructures, an archive containing folklore and literary collections, a research library and promotes Finnish literature abroad.

STUDIA FENNICA EDITORIAL BOARD

Editors-in-chief

Pasi Ihalainen, Professor, University of Jyväskylä, Finland
Timo Kallinen, Professor, University of Eastern Finland, Finland
Laura Visapää, Title of Docent, University of Helsinki, Finland
Riikka Rossi, Title of Docent, University of Helsinki, Finland
Katriina Siivonen, Title of Docent, University of Turku, Finland
Karina Lukin, Title of Docent, University of Helsinki, Finland

Deputy editors-in-chief

Anne Heimo, Professor, University of Turku, Finland
Saija Isomaa, Title of Docent, University of Tampere, Finland
Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Title of Docent, University of Tampere, Finland
Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, Postdoctoral Researcher, University of Jyväskylä, Finland
Salla Kurhila, Professor, University of Helsinki, Finland
Kenneth Sillander, Title of Docent, University of Helsinki, Finland

Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, Secretary General, Dr. Phil., Finnish Literature Society, Finland
Tero Norkola, Publishing Director, Finnish Literature Society, Finland
Anu Miller, Secretary of the Board, Finnish Literature Society, Finland

oa.finlit.fi

Editorial Office

SKS

P.O. Box 259

FI-00171 Helsinki

www.finlit.fi

Handwritten Newspapers

An Alternative Medium during the Early
Modern and Modern Periods

Edited by Heiko Droste and Kirsti Salmi-Niklander



STUDIA FENNICA HISTORICA 26

The publication has undergone a peer review.



© 2019 Heiko Droste, Kirsti Salmi-Niklander and SKS
License CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 International

Cover Design: Timo Numminen
EPUB: Tero Salmén

ISBN 978-951-858-156-0 (Print)
ISBN 978-951-858-159-1 (PDF)
ISBN 978-951-858-158-0 (EPUB)

ISSN 0085-6835 (Studia Fennica. Print)
ISSN 2669-9605 (Studia Fennica. Online)
ISSN 1458-526X (Studia Fennica Historica. Print)
ISSN 2669-9591 (Studia Fennica Historica. Online)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21435/sfh.26>

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 International License.
To view a copy of the license, please visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>



A free open access version of the book is available at <https://doi.org/10.21435/sfh.26>
or by scanning this QR code with your mobile device.

Contents

HEIKO DROSTE & KIRSTI SALMI-NIKLANDER
Handwritten Newspapers. Interdisciplinary Perspectives
on a Social Practice 7

I Print, publicness, and the state

HEIKO DROSTE
How Public Was the News in Early Modern Times? 29

MICHAŁ SALAMONIK
New Times Bring New Practices. Girolamo Pinocci and the *Mercuriusz
Polski* 45

FREDRIK THOMASSON
Gustavia Free Press? Handwritten and Printed Newspapers in the Swedish
Colony Saint Barthélemy 60

II Material aspects and intermediality

MARK ALAN MATTES
The Intermedial Politics of Handwritten Newspapers
in the 19th-Century U.S. 81

MARY ISBELL
Diplomatic Editions of a Handwritten Shipboard Newspaper 98

KLIMIS MASTORIDIS
On the Graphic Language of the Handwritten Greek *Ephemeris* 115

III Social practices and in-group communication

CHRISTIAN BERRENBORG & KIRSTI SALMI-NIKLANDER

Handwritten Newspapers and Community Identity in Finnish
and Norwegian Student Societies and Popular Movements 131

HRAFNKELL LÁRUSSON

Handwritten Journals in 19th- and Early 20th-Century Iceland 147

RISTO TURUNEN

From the Object to the Subject of History. Writing Factory Workers
in Finland in the Early 20th Century 170

EMESE ILYEFALVI

Further Contexts of a Writing Practice. Alternative Protestant Newspaper
Culture in Transylvania in the First Third of the 20th Century 193

List of Contributors 214

Abstract 217

Index of Names 218

Thematic Index 221

On the Graphic Language of the Handwritten Greek *Ephemeris*

Research about Greek handwritten newspapers has never been carried out in a systematic way. Despite the fact that a number of these newspapers have been recorded, they have not managed to take the place they deserve in the few important works on the history of the Greek press published up to now.¹ One reason for this might be that they are seen as “auxiliary” or even inferior to those set and printed by mechanical means. Another is their nature, as most of those existing constitute short term personal or collective efforts towards the production of political or satirical-political publications against different modes of authoritarian suppression.² To the above we could also add the lack of substantial data about the usually badly preserved artefacts that are scattered in various collections around the country or abroad. Their ephemeral nature, however, as well as their content, visual appearance, and even the methods of reproduction and distribution could provide arguments in favor of a different story; a story that values modern scribal culture and approaches its study as part of the broader research into the conversion of verbal to visual graphic language.

The present chapter constitutes an attempt to introduce aspects of the little known and largely neglected modern Greek scribal history to a wider audience discussing the physical properties and the typographic features of the handwritten *ephemeris*. Moreover, it suggests that visual graphic language constitutes an integral part of that history and it should be studied alongside and in combination with already established research objectives.

Ephemeris

Many words of Greek origin found in various languages are employed in a different way, conveying meanings other than in Greek. The English word “newspaper”, the German *Zeitung*, the French *journal*, and the Italian *gazzetta*³ are translated in modern Greek as *ephemeris*. But what does *ephemeris* mean?

1 See, for example, Droulia & Koutsopanagou (eds) 2008.

2 Mastoridis 2005, 185–190.

3 About the “gazzetta”, see Infelise 2016, 241–260.

The word derives from ancient Greek; *epi* means about and *hemera* means day. Consequently, an ephemeron is an item that is short-lived and temporarily valid; that is to say something which is actually valid for a day. The word was used in a context more or less similar to modern usage since the time of Plutarch, and as Samuel explains, “it could mean daily record and it was used in that sense by the middle of the third century B.C.” Samuel concludes his discussion by stating “this brief study of the meaning of the word *ephemeris* has shown that the meaning is not limited to ‘daily journal’, but can include ‘business ledger’, and simply ‘journal’ as well.”⁴

For artefacts to be categorized as *ephemerides*, time is an important factor. But time is also critical for those items which are not *ephemerides*, are produced at regular (or not so regular) intervals, and are usually identified as periodicals, magazines, or journals and the like. Again, this word has its origin in Greek, for *periodos* means going round in a circle, which also applies to time. Nowadays, time and physical appearance may seem enough to determine the nature and define the boundaries between different genres of ephemeral publications. But it was not always so. For example, the first Greek newspaper, titled *Ephemeris*, whose first issue appeared in Vienna in 1790, looked like a book and was coming out twice a week.

In the case of the English compound word “newspaper”, it is obvious that the first noun is important to this definition exercise. We should bear in mind, however, that the “news” in the 18th century differed dramatically from what we think of as the “news” published nowadays. In a letter of 1794, Georgios Afxentiadis Zoupaniotis writes to Konstantinos Koumas:

You are asking about the gazetes, what they are, and the noveles, ephimerides, saitunkia, from Zeit, which means time in German. These are printed in Vienna by dedicated people, including every item that is new in the whole of Europe, and Turkey, and – so to speak – in the whole world, and everybody who loves and is eager to learn about the new things concerning the wars and other events, pays 14 florins to receive them biweekly.⁵

It seems clear to Afxentiadis that despite the different terms used to describe such publications, content and use played a significant role.

The Greek ephemeris

The small number of Greek *ephemeridoperiodika* of the Enlightenment era, mostly printed in Vienna from the 1790s up to the beginning of the Greek War of Independence in 1821, signaled the beginnings of the Greek press.

4 Samuel 1965, 1–12.

5 Academy of Athens, Digital archives, KEMNE collection: *Ioannis Oikonomou Larissaios Codex-1~059-60*, Letter, copy, “Georgios Auxentiadis [Zoupaniotis] to Konstantinos [Koumas]”, 15 January 1794. Also, Tabaki 2005, 93. The Greek words are written as follows: *γαζέταις* [gazettes], *νοβέλαις* [novels], *εφημερίδες* [ephemerides], *ζαϊτούνκια* [Zeitungen].

Their size and look were similar to books and their articles were primarily educational and encyclopaedic.⁶ Nine years later, the Greek state was established and it was recognized for the first time by the Great Powers in February 1830 through the London Protocol.

Although the printing of Greek has a history almost as old as that of other European countries, as the first book set entirely in that language came out in 1476,⁷ systematic printing and accordingly publishing in the area of what is now Greece only started in the 1820s, after the uprising against Ottoman rule. But before the appearance of the first printed newspaper of the Greek Revolution in August 1821, a handful of handwritten ones were produced. There was an urgent need to convey the message of the struggle, not only across the country but also abroad, and the handwritten papers constituted the only alternative to the absolute lack of printing equipment and materials, as well as of experienced craftsmen.⁸

Social, political, economic, and cultural factors played a significant role throughout time, shaping not only the character of the medium called newspapers, but also that of their readership. In cases such as Greece, we should be prepared to further discuss a number of special “contextual issues” that affected the character of the *ephemerides*. Here is an example: the extent of road construction, even as late as 1867, did not exceed 381 kilometers in the whole country; obviously, this situation had, among other things, a major impact on newspaper production and distribution. In general, the idiosyncratic development of printing in the country created a condition that affected not only the practice but also the study of the art.

Some scholars claim that newspapers were not strictly printed artefacts, for they could also be published in non-printed forms. Indeed, there is an element of truth in this statement but it would be hard to deny that the birth of the *ephemeris* in the modern sense owes much to the invention of the printing press and that its growth is closely related to technological advancements.⁹ Apart from the nature of the newspaper that can be studied through its content and readership, there is always the actual artefact – the examination of its physical properties is important to understand how and why it was produced. Different characteristics need to be described and analyzed through a discussion of areas such as the design, the methods and materials, and the producers. Finally, regardless of the “form”, it is hardly disputable that the need for communication lies at the core of all attempts towards the publication of an *ephemeris*.

6 For a discussion about the layout and the production of these early newspapers, see Mastoridis 1999, 24–74.

7 Koumarianou, Droulia & Layton 1988, 49.

8 Mastoridis 1999, 75, 78.

9 For such a discussion, see Atwood 1993.

The Greek handwritten ephemeris of the 19th century

Three handwritten newspapers are known to have been produced in the early 1820s, after the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire began, but only two survived. Information about the newspaper of Galaxidi, also known as “*pseudoephemerida*” because of the lies printed as facts in it, is based on a single reference from almost 150 years ago.¹⁰ Five issues of *Aetoliki*, the handwritten *ephemeris* that was coming out at five-day intervals in Messolonghi between August and September 1821, are now known, as well as a single issue of the third paper of this group, *Acheloos*, that was produced on 24 February 1822 in Vrachori (Agrinio).

No information has yet been traced as to how many copies of these newspapers were produced. The way in which they were produced, however, makes the gathering of such data almost impossible. The first copy was written by the originator, who might also have produced a couple more, and then it was reproduced by others, in Greece or abroad. An indication of the need for single-leaf documents – such as official proclamations and acts printed by the Central Administration – might, however, give us a rough idea; in a letter sent on 8 February 1822 from the senators of Western Greece to the Minister of the Interior we read that “fifty copies of each act are not enough in order to please everybody in Western Greece...”¹¹

Acheloos is bigger in size than *Aetoliki* (430x265 against 390x240mm) but apart from that their layout is very similar, with their arrangement falling within the conventions of the double-column printed newspapers. They both bear a masthead but *Acheloos*’ is more thoroughly organized and better executed; overall, *Acheloos*’ content is carefully arranged and “the ‘imitation’ of different sizes of the letters, from the title down to the text letters, and the symmetrical placement of the headings owe much to printing conventions. Moreover, the lines under the first and second title, as well as the double line underneath the date, show a printing influence.”¹² The first printed newspaper produced on Greek soil was titled *Salpinx Elleniki* [Greek Trumpet] and its first issue came out in August 1821 in Kalamata.

A special kind of ephemeris: The satirical press

As was the case with the *ephemerides* of the 1820s, two examples dating from the last decades of the 19th century show clearly that decisions favoring the production of Greek handwritten newspapers were absolutely technology-dependent. The first is probably the earliest lithographed example of a Greek handwritten newspaper; the weekly *Mathitis* [Student] was printed at the “lithographeion of Th. Sarkas” in Athens in 1886. [Figure 1.]

10 Sathas 1868–1869, 212–216.

11 Mastoridis 1999, 78.

12 For more on the layout of *Acheloos*, see Ibid., 75–78.

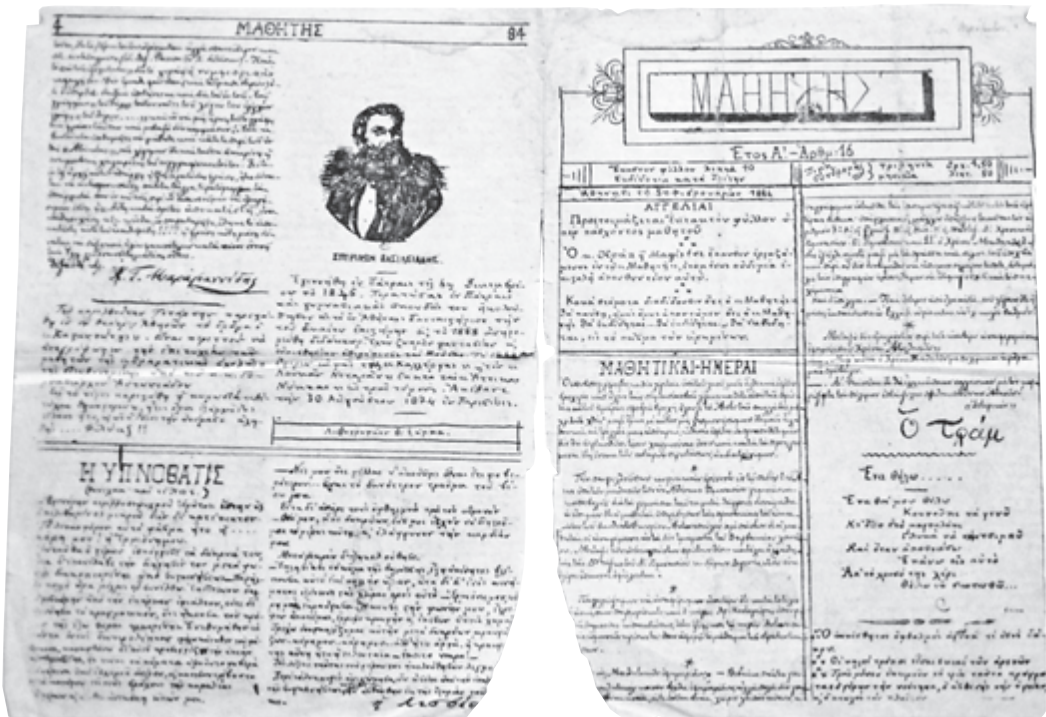


Figure 1. Mathitis.

Lithography was employed as an alternative to the dominant letterpress, offering to the editor of *Mathitis* the freedom to produce his handwritten newspaper quickly and in as many multiple copies as necessary.¹³ The size of this short-lived *ephemeris* was 315x235mm, the text was divided in two columns, and the headlines were all in capital letters. The arrangement of all title matter, with information about subscription fees, imitated that of the newspapers printed by letterpress. Even a feuilleton is found on the lower part of the second page, continuing onto the last one. The handwriting ornamentation and illustrations, as well as the personal signatures of the contributors underneath their pieces (articles, poems etc.), made *Mathitis* look different from other newspapers.

Twelve years later another handwritten lithographed newspaper appeared, but it was for only one issue and can be accounted for by special circumstances. The weekly satirical *Sphyrá* [Hammer] first came out in 1896 measuring 347x246mm, and according to the Ministry of Interior Affairs official figures published in 1900, it had a circulation of 2000 copies.¹⁴ The Sunday 11 October 1898 issue was handwritten and lithographically printed due to a (letterpress) printers' strike. Its editor, M. Athanasiadis, apologized to readers for the handwritten issue, saying that some of them may think that

13 About lithography, its techniques, use and impact, see the works by Michael Twyman. For example, Twyman 1998, 47–50, as well as Twyman 2001.

14 Ministry of Interior Affairs 1900.

it was “written with the feet.” However, in a small “statement” addressed to the editor, one of the paper’s contributors wrote:

The printers’ strike broke out onto our pens. Enough troubles we had with the letterpress misprints, now we must worry about the lithographed mistakes too... I’m afraid, I now realise that my handwriting is not as miserable as I used to think before I lithographed this, and thus I lose all chance of not being read. Conclusion: If lithography became popular, as popular as the lithographed hearts of the young ladies, the teachers of calligraphy would die from starvation, exactly as the letterpress printers would. However, because they are angry due to the strike, I will not make such a wish now but I will state that if you are going to publish another lithographed issue I will not write and I will stop bothering your readers.¹⁵

The articles in both lithographed examples referred to above were first written by the editor and the contributors themselves on transfer paper; then, they were transferred to the stone in reverse and in the end they were printed the correct way round. It seems some of them were anxious as to whether their “calligraphy” would be legible or not. Nevertheless, there was no reason for the contributor to *Sphyrá* to reconsider his opinion: after that issue, the newspaper continued to be printed letterpress.

Most of the time the overall style and playful content of the satirical newspapers was reflected in their layout too. This was especially true for the handwritten ones, which were more “loosely” designed without any pretentious attempts to imitate slavishly their printed counterparts. Almost all editors tried to come up with an interesting masthead, which occasionally turned out to be an elaborate text and image combination. Not so much due to the paper sizes employed, but mainly because their producers were trapped in a printing conventions logic, two and less frequently, three-column arrangements were preferred to accommodate their content. But in general, the layout of most handwritten papers, especially those of the 1880s, looks similar to the arrangement of the ones printed by letterpress.

ELIA, the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive based in Athens, is the place where a good number of mostly satirical, Greek handwritten newspapers of the late 19th and early 20th century are preserved; they constitute part of a voluminous corpus of publications that belong to this genre. The moving spirit behind the unrivalled collections and the great work accomplished by ELIA, the late Manos Haritatos, wrote in 2002:

Why the handwritten form after all? An immediate response would be that there are many practical reasons for this: absence – or for any other reason unavailability – of a printing press, without excluding the possibility of a decision based on aesthetics. When somebody feels an urgent need to communicate (not just once and in one way), then he devotes the necessary effort and time to create a handwritten newspaper. In most cases, special care is given to the imitation of a printed, ‘regular/normal’ newspaper. The masthead is very important; there are elaborate logos, artistic, sometimes completely childish and other imitations of

15 Mastoridis 1999, 264–265.

the 'adult printed matter'. As far as the content is concerned, the existing variety depends on the kind of the paper and the readership, to which it is directed, as well as of the age, the mood and the interests of the editor or the editors. The handwritten newspaper constitutes a valuable asset, for each issue is unique.¹⁶

In 1983 Anastasios Peponis wrote that "the satirical papers belong to a noteworthy category of newspapers... The political satire constituted one of the basic means of political control and of expression of the tendencies prevailing in public opinion."¹⁷ Despite the fact that satirical newspapers have been classed as "underground" publications along with a number of left-wing, socialist and anarchist publications, neither their circulation nor their content justified such an action. Furthermore, the introduction of caricatures into Greek newspapers and the unconventional style of writing, which inspired many journalists of the "sober" press, owed much to these papers. The fact that they have been seen as second-class publications led to their condemnation into oblivion. Things would have been even worse if a number of Greek dailies had not been direct descendants of satirical newspapers, something that helped the latter to find indirectly a place in the history of the Greek press.

Social units and their handwritten ephemerides

In an article from 1993 Roy Alden Atwood stated that "communities capable of publishing a newspaper were not just geographically fixed entities, like towns or cities, but included social units that could be geographically mobile, like soldiers, sailors, construction crews, or train passengers."¹⁸ The most identifiable communities that published handwritten Greek newspapers were the Asia Minor front soldiers, after their retreat at the beginning of the 1920s, and communist political prisoners and exiles, mainly of the period 1936–1949.

The largest number of handwritten newspapers produced during the last stage of the Greek military expedition in Asia Minor could be regarded as part of the broad family of satirical Greek newspapers, mainly due to their content. Many of them were reproduced by the use of spirit duplicators that were kept at military headquarters. The weekly *I Loghi* [The Spear], for example, has an elaborated masthead that covers ¼ of its front page; a spear cutting through the three-dimensional capital letters of the title. Information is well arranged, the letters are thoughtfully designed, and an impressive – in execution – image, drawn within a circular area, covers more than half of the page area of the 16 April 1922 issue. Although there are distinct differences among the various newspapers in relation to the quality of their graphic language, their overall arrangement imitates that of the printed papers. *To Tsarouchi* [The Rustic Shoe] of May 1922 constitutes another such example.

16 Haritatos 2005, 506.

17 Peponis 1983, 112.

18 Atwood 1993, 450.



Figure 2. I Loghi (left) and To Tsarouchi (right).

[Figure 2.] The campaign, which started in 1919 and ended up with the catastrophic defeat of the Greek army in 1922, led to a massive and violent exchange of populations. According to Konstantinos Papalexandrou, around twenty handwritten papers were probably published between 1921 and 1922. In a 1929 article he wrote:

Boredom was the main reason behind the publication of the ephemerides of the Asia Minor front; they sprung up as the army, after the retreat from Sangarios, settled in permanent camps without any military activities ... The front had its own life, its own psychology and interests, sentiments, emotions and gossip – which the Athenian Press could not even think of ... This strange community had its own needs, one of which was for members to communicate with each other.¹⁹

The above extract provides some hints for answering the question who were the originators, editors and publishers of these newspapers? There is, however, a parallel story with a strong political aspect that needs further research. A small number of communist soldiers of the Asia Minor front risked their lives communicating their strong anti-military views through the publication of their newspapers.²⁰

19 Papalexandrou 1929, 224.

20 Harontakis 2003, 18–26.

Two decades later, in the first issue of *Avgi* [Dawn], a 1943 handwritten newspaper published by EPON (United Panhellenic Organisation of Youth) in Efxinoupoli, the front-page editorial read as follows: “After many sacrifices and efforts we have managed to publish the first issue, handwritten, because we are encountering large technical difficulties. We hope that later, after improving our finances, we will be able to present a better paper, design and content wise.”²¹

In the case of Greece, political prisoners and exiles were the most active and important originators of handwritten *ephemerides* in the 20th century. During the 1930s dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas, Second World War, and the Greek Civil War of 1946–1949, the sociopolitical conditions in Greece led to the production of a large number of handwritten newspapers, something that was to be repeated, though in a different context and on a smaller scale, during the years of the military dictatorship of 1967–1974. The defeat of the communists during the Civil War signaled the repeat of attacks and repression against them which was to last for the next twenty five years. Left-wingers were persecuted and sent to prisons, labor camps, and into exile. For example, almost 30,000 people were detained in August 1950 on the island of Makronisos. These communities, under dramatically difficult conditions, managed to produce a significant corpus of handwritten newspapers whose content tried to help people survive with dignity.²² A large number of these handwritten newspapers were discovered after a flood in the basement of the Greek Communist Party (KKE) building in Perissos, Athens, in 1994.²³

Apart from the broadsheets, which were to be hung on a door or the wall, measuring from 580x860 to 500x1350mm, there were also others published with four or more pages and in small sizes (210x300, 300x400mm etc.).²⁴ Many were written as single copies and their content was read aloud at group gatherings; the latter being an old common practice in the history of the press worldwide. Others were reproduced through the use of carbon paper, a few were copied by hectographs and rarely – when prisoners managed to have access – by the use of manually driven duplicators.

Among the many impressive – in terms of their typographic execution – examples, we find *Desmotis Agonistis* and *Filakismeni Agonistria* [Imprisoned Fighter] and *I Efimeridoula mas* [Our Small Newspaper] of 1946, as well as *Eleftheros Desmotis* [Free Prisoner] of 1957, and *Spitha* [Spark]. [Figure 3.] At first sight, it becomes clear that those responsible for their production spent time making great efforts to achieve a pseudo-printed result, not only in the overall design of the paper (macrotypography) but also in the very structure and arrangement of the letters (microtypography). Common sense design issues, like the hierarchy of various information units or legibility

21 *Avgi*, Year 1, issue 1 (1 December 1943), Efxinoupoli, item no. A3.1.3.4.4., Educational Centre, Library–Archive “Charilaos Florakis”, Athens, Greece (offered by ELIA). A significant collection of Greek underground newspapers of 1936–1974 is kept by the Contemporary Social History Archives (ASKI) in Athens.

22 See, for example, the Anafi case in Kenna 2008, 115–157. For a discussion about the role of handwritten newspapers in popular movements, see Salmi-Niklander 1997.

23 Servos 2003.

24 For a contemporary approach to wall newspapers’ reality, see Crowley 2007.



Figure 3. Filakismeni Agonistria.

when reading under difficult conditions, are taken into consideration. If the handwritten letters of the scribes of the 1820s *Acheloos*, for example, owe much to the Aldine/Garamond printing types, which were based on calligraphic forms of the 15th and 16th century, the letterforms created for the headings of *Filakismeni Agonistria* or the masthead of *Spitha* imitate – with a certain degree of freedom due to the methods and the tools employed – the printing types found in printers' typecases.

The “imitation” of different letter sizes, from the title down to the text letters, and the symmetrical placement of the headings, owe much to printing

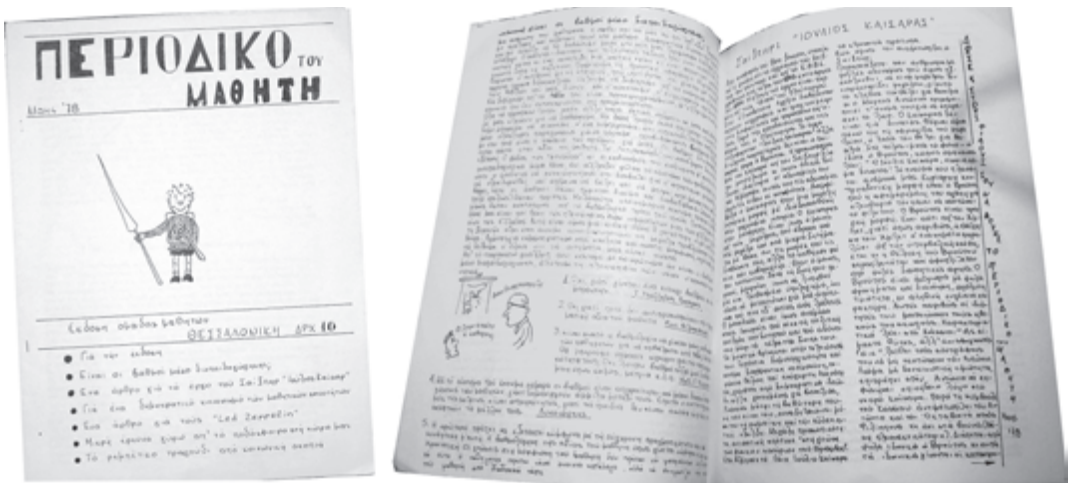


Figure 4. Periodiko tou Mathiti.

conventions. Similarly, the way the originators integrated text and images, or even the “look” of the latter, drawings and caricatures alike, relates directly to printing conventions and style. Some use a second color, but even a few fully colored examples can be found. Mostly from oral testimonies we know that those who could write beautifully were chosen to perform this duty – something confirmed by visual evidence. Others developed their skills in a technique called *psilographia* (handwriting in tiny but legible letters) so that editors could make the best possible use of the space available. When we talk about “editors”, in the case of these newspapers it is obvious that various people were involved in the writing as well as in the production process. Somebody, on behalf of the communist party, had overall supervision and was responsible for the content of these publications.

Conclusion

Communication is at the core of all past attempts at publishing a handwritten newspaper, exactly as it is in the case of the machine-made or the printed ones. Communication was also at the heart of our attempt to produce a handwritten periodical as secondary school students in the late 1970s. The decision to do it that way was mostly resource-dependent; we could not afford the photocomposition costs. Everything was handwritten and then printed by offset litho. Flipping through its A4 pages now, forty years after publication, I realize that the overall design of the issue of May 1978 of the *Periodiko tou Mathiti* [The Student’s Magazine] looks unconventional. [Figure 4.] This is not so much because it departed from common patterns found in printed items as because of its handwritten flavor. Moreover, as it was meant to be a journal and not a newspaper – something that was clearly stated in the inaugural editorial – this had an obvious effect on “design” decisions. For example, a blank page follows the front page, there is a mixture of single

and double-column arrangements in the same double spread, “promotional” text runs vertically on a page, and, finally, the overall arrangement of the front page is much closer to that of a periodical. *The Student’s Magazine* example indicates the importance of the physical properties of an artefact when studying its nature through content and readership.

As was stated in the beginning of this chapter, research on the design and printing history of the Greek *ephemerides* remains limited mainly due to a lack of local and national records centers and accessible specialized archives, but also due to the poorly organized and maintained libraries within the country; the latter were hit hard by the financial crisis in past years. Furthermore, the ephemeral nature of the newspaper turns the preservation of records and artefacts into a cyclopean task, especially in a country like Greece where politics always intrudes into everyday life. This is even more true of the handwritten *ephemerides*; their non-print (or non-mechanically reproduced) nature – even when they “came out” in multiple copies and not as single items to be hung on a wall – placed them until recently in a field not worth studying. The way in which they were originated and used was most of the times governed by special conditions which need to be further researched. This is a difficult task due to the nature and scarcity of the material. Hopefully, the digitization projects that have been initiated by a number of Greek libraries on EU funds will continue, thus providing a chance for researchers to study the existing artefacts of a scribal culture which constitutes an integral part of Greek visual graphic language history.

Sources

Archival sources

Academy of Athens, Digital archives, KEMNE collection

Ioannis Oikonomou Larissaios Codex~1~059-60, Letter, copy, “Georgios Auxentiadis [Zoupaniotis] to Konstantinos [Koumas]”, 15 January 1794.

ELIA, the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, Athens

Avgi (Αυγή), Year 1, issue 1, 1 December 1943, Efxinoupoli, item no. A3.1.3.4.4.

Educational Centre, Library–Archive “Charilaos Florakis”, Athens

Contemporary Social History Archives (ASKI), Athens

Collection of Greek underground newspapers 1936–1974.

Literature

Atwood, Roy 1993: “Captive Audiences. Handwritten Prisoner-of-War Newspapers of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition and the War between the States”. Presented at the Annual Convention of the American Journalism Historians Association (AJHA), Salt Lake City.

Crowley, David 2007: “Fleet Street of walls”, *Eye* 65:17, 2007, 4–8.

Droulia, Loukia & Gioula Koutsopanagou (eds) 2008: *Encyclopaedia of the Greek*

- Press 1784–1974. 4 volumes. [Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ελληνικού Τύπου, 1784–1974]. Athens: Institute of Historical Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation.
- Haritatos, Manos 2005: “The Press at ELIA” [Ο Τύπος στο ΕΛΙΑ]. In: Droulia, Loukia (ed.), *The Greek Press, 1784 until Today. Historical and Theoretical Approaches*. [Ο ελληνικός τύπος 1784 ως σήμερα. Ιστορικές και θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις]. Conference proceedings (23–25 May 2002, Athens). Athens: Institute of Historical Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 501–507.
- Harontakis, Dimitris 2003: “The newspapers of the soldiers of the Asia Minor front 1921–22” [Οι εφημερίδες των στρατιωτών του Μικρασιατικού μετώπου 1921–22], *The news of ELIA* [Τα Νέα του ΕΛΙΑ], vol. 62. Athens: ELIA, 18–26.
- Infelise, Mario 2016: “The History of a Word. Gazzetta/Gazette”. In: Raymond, Joad & Noah Moxham (eds), *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 241–260.
- Kenna, Margaret E. 2008: “Conformity and Subversion. Handwritten Newspapers from an Exiles’ Commune, 1938–1943”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 26:1, 2008, 115–157.
- Koumariou, Aikaterini, Loukia Droulia & Evro Layton 1988: *The Greek Book 1476–1830* [Το ελληνικό βιβλίο 1476–1830]. Athens: National Bank of Greece.
- Mastoridis, Klimis 1999: *Casting the Greek newspaper. A study of the morphology of the ephemeris from its origins until the introduction of mechanical setting*. Thessaloniki: ELIA.
- Mastoridis, Klimis 2005: “Typographic experiments in 19th century Greek newspapers” [Τυπογραφικοί πειραματισμοί στην ελληνική εφημερίδα του 19^{ου} αιώνα]. In: Droulia, Loukia (ed.), *The Greek Press, 1784 until Today. Historical and Theoretical Approaches* [Ο ελληνικός τύπος 1784 ως σήμερα. Ιστορικές και θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις]. Conference proceedings (23–25 May 2002, Athens). Athens: Institute of Historical Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 185–190.
- Ministry of Interior Affairs 1900: *The Press in Greece* [Ο Τύπος στην Ελλάδα], no. 5. Athens: Publications of the Department of Public Economy.
- Papalexandrou, Konstantinos 1929: “The newspapers of the front” [Οι εφημερίδες του μετώπου], *Ellinika Grammata* [Ελληνικά Γράμματα] 4:41, 1929, 224–230.
- Peronis, Anastasios 1983: “Communication, information (books, press, radio, television)” [Επικοινωνία, πληροφορία (βιβλίο, τύπος, ραδιόφωνο, τηλεόραση)]. In: *Greece. History and civilisation* [Ελλάδα: ιστορία και πολιτισμός], vol. 9. Athens: Malliaris–Education, 100–142.
- Salmi-Niklander, Kirsti 1997: “The Enlightener and The Whipper. Handwritten Newspapers and the History of Collective Writing”, *Elektroloristi* 4:2, 1997.
- Samuel, E. Alan 1965: “Alexander’s ‘Royal Journals’”, *Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 14:1, 1965, 1–12.
- Sathas, Konstantinos 1868–1869: “Letter” [Γράμμα], *Pandora* [Πανδώρα] 19, 212–216.
- Servos, Dimitris 2003: *Banned handwritten newspapers from prisons and places of exile* [Παράνομες χειρόγραφες εφημερίδες απ’ τις φυλακές και τις εξορίες]. Athens: Sighroni Epohi.
- Tabaki, Anna 2005: “Ephemeris or periodiko? Towards a typology of the periodical press aborning” [‘Εφημερίς’ ή ‘περιοδικό’; Προς μια τυπολογία του περιοδικού Τύπου εν τη γενέσει]. In: Droulia, Loukia (ed.), *The Greek Press, 1784 until Today. Historical and Theoretical Approaches* [Ο ελληνικός τύπος 1784 ως σήμερα. Ιστορικές και θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις]. Conference proceedings (23–25 May 2002, Athens). Athens: Institute of Historical Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 92–99.
- Twyman, Michael 1998: *The British Library Guide to Printing. History and Techniques*. London: The British Library.
- Twyman, Michael 2001: *Breaking the Mould. The First 100 Years of Lithography*. London: The British Library.