

SELECTED PAPERS FROM THE XXIII WORLD CONGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY

NEOHELLENIC PHILOSOPHY FROM ENLIGHTENMENT TO ROMANTICISM

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ABSTRACT: This paper attempts to present, both historically and analytically, the way philosophy had been exercised and developed in Modern Greece from the middle of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century in connection with its culture and history. It aims to introduce the reader to Neohellenic philosophy and its distinctive characteristics, and to acquaint her with the endeavours of many outstanding Greek intellectuals to continue the Hellenic philosophical and cultural tradition, going back to Greek Antiquity that had been transmitted through the Byzantine learning, while, at the same time, to incorporate into their thinking Western philosophical traditions. My exegesis starts from the fifteenth century, when the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, and the Greek intellectuals went into exile in the West. Dealing with issues of educational reforms and with philosophical and linguistic controversies (seventeenth–nineteenth centuries), I shall examine, systematically and selectively, the Western influences that made possible the revival of traditional philosophy in Greek thought as well as the renewal of Greek cultural identity that led to the Greek War of Independence (1821–1827) and into the modern period of Greek history and intellectual thought.

I. TRADITION AND INNOVATION

IN this paper, I attempt to give an overview of the development of Neohellenic philosophy from Enlightenment to Romanticism and to consider it in its national context, taking into consideration the fact that Modern Greek philosophy has been, on the one hand, the heir to a long tradition of scientific, philosophical and literary thinking, going back to Greek antiquity and transmitted through the Byzantine learning to Modern Greek Hellenism, and on the other hand, the receptor of the philosophical and scientific ideas of the enlightened Europe.

Some historians of ideas argue that Modern Greek philosophy actually begins in 1453, the year of the fall of Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, to the Ottoman Turks. If one were to adopt this as a political hallmark, then, under the authority of the Orthodox Church in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we experienced a survival of Byzantine philosophy and the controversy among Platonism and Aristotelianism, in Italy—where the Greek scholars in exile after the fall of Constantinople were active—and in the centres of the Greek culture, especially the Patriarchal Academy of Constantinople which was re-established in the year 1454 and named “The Great School of the Nation.”¹ Other historians of ideas argue that Modern Greek philosophy starts in 1620 when religious humanism made possible the revival of Greek thought based on the new Aristotelianism.² This originated in Padua and was introduced in the Greek East by Theophilus Korydalleus (1570–1646), a scholar who was head of the Patriarchal Academy for some years up to 1640. Korydalleus’s Neo-Aristotelian teaching was supported by the Orthodox Church and can be characterized as ‘religious humanism.’ This was practised where he taught, for example in the Patriarchal Academy of Constantinople, the School of Athens in the Greek East, and the Princely Academy of Bucharest, and was spread out as an official philosophical doctrine to the important schools of higher education in other parts of the Ottoman Empire where there was a Greek population, as well as in Italy.³ It was taught to successive generations,⁴ although by the eighteenth century his teaching, called derogatively ‘Korydalism,’ was being challenged.⁵ This happened mostly in the eighteenth century when new philosophical and scientific ideas from the West were being introduced into the education system by Greek thinkers.⁶

Following the periodization of Neohellenic philosophy proposed by E. Papanoutsos,⁷ I will focus my discussion firstly on the period from 1669 to 1775, in which a group of talented and ambitious Greeks, known as Phanariots, who belonged to noble families and had high offices in the Ottoman Empire, especially as high officers for the Sultan’s government or as rulers in Moldavia and Wallachia, introduced political, philosophical and literary Enlightenment ideas to the East through their teaching and writings. Actually from 1700 to 1750 in South-Eastern Europe an ‘early Enlightenment’ was taking place, thanks to Alexandros Mavrokordatos (1636–1709), an adherent of the philosophy of Aristotle, who held public office, being Grand Dragoman at the Sublime Porte, and his son Nikolaos (1680–1730), who in 1709 became governor of Moldavia, and later of Wallachia: both aligned themselves with the moderate ideals of ‘enlightened authoritarianism’ (*despotisme éclairé*) and were committed to education for the conduct of life. Through their philosophical and literary works, they introduced to this region the ethical and political thinking of the Western tradition (influenced by thinkers such as La Rochefoucauld, J. Bodin, Locke, Bacon, Hobbes) and, although they derived an inspiration from Aristotle, a concern for Platonism that was new.⁸ Succeeding generations of the Mavrokordatos family up to the War of Independence (1821–1827) were concerned with culture and education and supported innovation or conservatism. Doubts over Aristotelianism, a gradual distancing from the spiritual leadership of the Church, familiarity with the natural world and concern

for science and experimentation characterize the ‘early Enlightenment,’ as well as signs of rationalism as found in the works of Chrysanthos Notaras (1655/60–1731), Vikentios Damodos (1700–1752) and Methodios Anthracitis (1660–1749); the latter was influenced by Malebranche and condemned for his teaching in 1721, considered as heterodoxy.⁹ Nevertheless, it was the period from 1775 to 1821, known as Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment, when Western ideas were diffused and there was a “battle of Ancients and Moderns,” while an interest in the new philosophical and scientific issues was widely popular.¹⁰ Indeed, after the year 1750 the Aristotelian tradition was discredited by the Greek philosophers, who can be characterized as encyclopaedists and polymaths, teaching not only philosophy but also mathematics and the sciences as well as the Greek classics. In certain ways the figures of the Modern Greek Enlightenment of this period have been characterized as ‘sages,’ they were professional philosophy teachers rather than original thinkers, embodying the modern scientific temper rather than articulating it.¹¹

II. NEOHELLENIC ENLIGHTENMENT AND ITS ENCOUNTER WITH THE WEST

Focusing on the Neohellenic Enlightenment, a strong intellectual movement that flourished from about 1750 up to 1821, the year of the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence, it should be noted that the Enlightenment’s progressive ideas posed an intellectual challenge to Greek educational standards that were, after the fall of Constantinople (1453), associated with a traditional curriculum imposed by the Eastern Orthodox Church, which was left as the only authority in Greek cultural life after the reopening in 1454 of the Patriarchal Academy of Constantinople. In that institution, from the later fifteenth century onwards, the teaching of philosophy, oriented towards Aristotelian philosophy, was comprised of subjects such as dialectic, rhetoric, ethics, and natural philosophy. It was only during the eighteenth century that Greek educators, mostly clerics coming from various centers and educated in many foreign universities, especially in Venice and Padua, eager for the modernization of both secondary and higher education and for the advancement of knowledge and education, attempted to promote innovative teaching in various institutions, and to modify the curriculum in line with the demands of the Church, the nobility, and the Greek intelligentsia as well as with the needs of wider audiences.¹²

The Greek intelligentsia especially that of the Greek Diaspora (teachers, priests, diplomats, statesmen, bibliophiles, merchants, sailors, and men of letters) encouraged free thought and cultural, social and political change. They exercised a very important role in the formation of new educational models and in the achievement of social and political innovations and reforms. This freedom allowed them to teach and publish in disciplines such as modern sciences, history, political economy, government, education, foreign languages, literature, and philosophy in its wider sense. From the remaining syllabi, publications of works by professors, textbooks and notes produced during classes (most of them still unedited) and from the existing translations of foreign books,¹³ it is possible to reconstruct the

principal ideas and values promulgated in the Academies (located in Constantinople, Mount Athos, Bucharest, Iași, Moschopolis, and Kydonies in Asia Minor) and in the schools of ‘higher education’ established in large mercantile centers of the Greek Diaspora. These were located in cities such as Venice and Vienna, or in the Danubian Municipalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as in the Ionian Islands, Ioannina, Thessaly, Northern Greece, the Peloponnese, the islands of the Aegean Sea, and on the coast of Asia Minor (Smyrna, etc). These schools, which operated under various names, such as ‘Academies,’ ‘Lyceums,’ ‘Seminaries,’ ‘Museums’ or ‘Gymnasiums,’ a variety that suggests the latitude of their functions,¹⁴ became the focus of activity for Greek thinkers and teachers, who had adopted the general values and ideas of the Enlightenment and were willing to enlighten broad audiences through a new educational program. The Neohellenic Enlightenment, considered to be a branch of the European Enlightenment, may be characterized as a mixed “aristocratic-bourgeois” movement that had a pan-Balkan nature, focused on Greek and non-Greek “hellenised” scholars, and a very strong pedagogical and popularizing character. It had eclectically assimilated different tendencies of the corresponding Western movements, especially the English, French, Italian and German, and was the result of a complex and multi-layered interweaving of currents of renewal in the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Balkan area under Ottoman rule, where the Greek language, as a language of learning, took on the role of a *lingua franca*. It is worth mentioning that it had an impact in South-Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean basin, and was connected with dynamic social and cultural centers, represented by some important Greek communities of central Europe (e.g., Hungary), southern Russia (Odessa) and Western Europe (Venice, Vienna, Paris, Leipzig, etc.).¹⁵

Actually the Greek scholars—whilst aiming mostly at educating their countrymen on becoming clerics, administrators, teachers or doctors—developed an educational activity that led to the cultural and national awakening of both Greeks and other Balkan peoples through various educational reforms. These reforms were made possible due to the economic boom of Hellenism that flourished abroad and helped the development of Greek education in various ways, particularly through benefactions from Greek merchants, who offered money, books, equipment, and encouraged the establishment of institutions, schools and libraries.¹⁶ It was a group of enlighteners, among whom were Evgenios Voulgaris, Nikeforos Theotokis, Demetrius Katartzis, Iosepos Moisioidax, Adamantios Korais, Benjamin Lesvios, Konstantinos Koumas, Daniel Philippidis—to mention just a few—that made possible the inflow of Western ideas to broader audiences through their teaching and writings either in the ‘Hellenic’ or in the Modern Greek language.¹⁷

The Greek language controversy—part of the debate among “the Ancients and Moderns,” who were in favour of either tradition or innovation—was actually associated with concerns to introduce politics into education by recognizing educational rights for all social groups. The main advocates of the language controversy agreed that it should be via the modern European scholars, scientists, and philosophers—and not via the Ancient Greek writers—that the Greek nation should be introduced into the contemporary world of scholarship and learning.

In many ways and to a great extent the Greek enlighteners—from Voulgaris and Moisioudax to Korais—helped in the establishment of a new order that led to the mobilisation of Greek society and contributed to the shaping of both national and social consciousness. Indeed at a crucial time of Greek history, the Greek intelligentsia discovered a host of European scientists, philosophers, novelists and historians (Bacon, Newton, Locke, Descartes, Leibniz, Wolff, Voltaire, Kant, Herder, Fichte, Beccaria, Condorcet, Montesquieu, Diderot, Rousseau, Condillac, Muratori, Genovesi, Soave, Wieland, Gibbon, Du Hamel, Gravesande, Heinecke, Musschenbroek, etc.) and attempted to introduce their theories and ideas into the Greek-speaking world, either by incorporating their ideas in their lecture notes or by translating their books into Greek.¹⁸ These translations were published in Europe, mostly in Venice, Vienna, and Leipzig;¹⁹ translation was particularly important as philosophy has been written in a variety of languages. This led to continuous translation activity—which exists till the present—thus creating a common philosophical lexicon within philosophical “national” languages.

The tensions between ‘western’ and ‘classical’ influences, the controversies over the modernization of the teaching methods, and the language question were issues variously discussed by Neohellenic Enlightenment scholars, being relevant also to questions related to the organization of Modern Greek education. There is no doubt that the language controversy was highly influential in the development of the Modern Greek written language. At the same time, it also enabled Greeks to understand the importance of language in the transmission of new ideas. In addition the Greek *literati* advocated the need for the learning of the language of the Ancients as well as that of other European languages. Above all, the Ancient Greek language and Greek scholarship meant to them that they were the descendants of the original possessors of a country, having “retained a Right to the Possession of their Ancestors.”²⁰ Indeed the proponents of the Enlightenment used the Greek word “*metakenosis*,” a term elaborated in the early nineteenth century by the well known Greek scholar Adamantios Korais,²¹ mentioned already above, who gained an international reputation as an editor of classical texts in his famous *Biblioteca Hellenica* (*Ελληνική Βιβλιοθήκη*). The term “*metakenosis*” literally meant the “pouring from one vessel into another,” that is taking the new ideas of western knowledge and adjusting them to the Greek tradition.

During the Neohellenic Enlightenment, that is from 1750 until the first half of the nineteenth century, the Greek intellectuals engaged in “philosophy,” a word adopted by many of the great educators as a signal or watchword. ‘Philosophy’ meant something more than logic, metaphysics, ethics and epistemology. It was generally conceived as a rationalistic mode of thought, independent of superstitious or dogmatic elements in all fields, and very frequently extended to the physical or natural sciences, and even to mathematics, covering also theology. It should be pointed out, however, that “for all this generality in the meaning of the term, ‘philosophy,’ as introduced and fought over by the Greeks of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, does include an astonishing amount of philosophy in the conventional, academic sense—astonishing, that is, in relation to the fact that in and through ‘philosophy,’ broadly speaking, what was being introduced

was education, at least higher education, and critical culture as such.”²² The Greek scholars also spoke of “a sound philosophy,” or of “true” philosophy, free from atheism and superstitions,²³ and by the end of the nineteenth century some of them were asserting the superiority of philosophy over science, or calling attention to the metaphysical and axiological presuppositions of science, as in the case of Vrailas-Armenis who remarked, criticizing positivism: “Positivism may be encyclopaedic knowledge and a more or less successful systematization of the natural sciences; but it is never true philosophy. Philosophy does not follow the natural sciences but leads them, because it studies the understanding, through which and from which comes every science, and provides to every science the objects and the method.”²⁴ Vrailas, among others, kept his philosophy in close touch with his Orthodox faith and spoke of philosophy, following Clement of Alexandria, as *propaideia* (preparatory education for religion), meaning, by the word religion, Christianity.²⁵

In many cases, the Greek scholars associated philosophy with moral philosophy and the Enlightenment’s ideas concerning human rights in citizenship and education.²⁶ In fact, as teachers and educators, they always had a special interest in moral education, and moral philosophy was generally perceived by them to be the most suitable academic subject for the regeneration of individuals and society. They sought—through their teachings and publications as well as through their translations and editions of the Ancients and the Moderns—to render people virtuous and active citizens and were interested in offering a sound liberal education and “an archetype of perfection” in promoting traditional and Enlightenment values. At the same time, they were deeply interested in politics and in promoting the notions of liberty and democracy, of virtue and human happiness, stressing the importance of rules, laws, and institutions, of natural and civic rights, and in many ways paved the way to the liberation of their countrymen from Ottoman rule (1821–1827) and to the formation, in 1828, of the Modern Greek nation-state. After all, after a long period of awakening a new phase of the national history began that concluded with the formation of the concept of the modern state.

Greek enlighteners aimed to educate the youth by teaching the importance of virtue for the pursuit of the good life and by indicating the necessity of rules and principles for the conduct of life. They commented on the topic of virtues and vices—having been influenced mostly by Aristotle, the Stoics and Christian ethics—and discussed Enlightenment’s promotion of human rights in relation to intellectual and religious freedom and to metaphysical, political, and social liberty.²⁷ Ancient texts on virtue-ethics—such as Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, the *Rhetoric to Alexander*, the pseudo-Aristotelian *De virtutibus and vitiis*, Epictetus’s *Handbook*, and the Stoic text *Tablet of Cebes*—were used by Greek teachers who commented on them or paraphrased them into Modern Greek for moral purposes and in order to teach philosophy and grammar.²⁸

In addition, novels and plays—associating philosophy with literature and ethics with politics—were translated by Greek intellectuals aiming at the political, aesthetic, and moral education of the youth, in an effort to introduce new literary genres and Enlightenment ideas. Novels by Wieland, Voltaire, Rousseau, Ramsay, Fénelon, Barthélemy, Gessner, Marmontel, Restif de la Bretonne, and theatrical

plays by Molière, Alfieri, and others were translated into Modern Greek language during the Neohellenic Enlightenment in order to promote ethical and political teaching.²⁹ Ancient, Byzantine and European treatises on the subject of educating a king or a prince and general treatises on ethics and statecraft were also translated, paraphrased and taught by Greek educators. These treatises constituted examples of the literary genre that since the thirteenth century has been called *specula principum*.³⁰ Furthermore Greek intellectuals produced new editions of Classical philosophical or literary works for a wider use, aiming at the revival of interest in antiquity and the promotion of cultural identity; that is apparent in the editorial project of Adamantios Korais who, eager to instruct his compatriots in the duties of citizenship and the art of legislation, edited for political purposes in his series of the “Hellenic Library” a translation of Cesare Beccaria’s *On crimes and Punishments*, a book originally published in April 1764 and translated in France by Morellet in 1765 (Greek first translation in 1802, and second translation in 1822) and Aristotle’s *Politics* and *Nicomachean Ethics* in 1821 and 1822 respectively. Korais’s *Prolegomena* (*Προλεγόμενα*) to the *Politics* are considered as an expression of political thought and a contribution to the Greek Revolution. It is important to note that from Enlightenment to Romanticism Greek intellectuals were engaged in writing and discussing the notion of freedom and free will, on freedom and its relation to law, on individual and political liberty, freedom of expression and action, on tolerance and religious freedom as well as on human and civil rights. In 1791 in the journal *Ephimeris* of the Markidon Pouliou brothers there was published a Greek translation of the *Déclaration des Droits de l’Homme et du Citoyen*, which in 1797 Rhigas Velestinlis (1757–1798), the foremost representative of the new politics, followed in his *Νέα πολιτική διοίκησης*. His radicalism was also expressed in his patriotic hymn “*Thourios*,” which proclaimed a revolutionary message both to other intellectuals of the Diaspora, such as Korais who wrote *Fraternal Instruction* and the anonymous patriot who published in 1806 the *Hellenic Nomarchy*, being a call to reform, and to subjugated Greeks.³¹

During the Enlightenment and Early Romanticism, the importance of education (*Bildung*) and culture was particularly emphasized, being connected to the idea of human perfection, excellence or self-realization that every individual could achieve through a humanistic pedagogy. The relationship between education, philosophy and the arts was stressed by both Enlighteners and Romantics who pointed out that art motivates moral action in the same way that philosophical thinking does. The idea of the ‘beautiful soul’—i.e., the profound affinity existing between beauty and goodness that makes the unity of aesthetic and ethical values possible—has been a theme in European culture that started with Ancient Greek philosophers’ metaphysical speculations and was again introduced during the eighteenth century, via Medieval Christian thought. Several thinkers in England, France, and Germany referred to moral and aesthetic perfection with terms that were addressed to contemporary discussions of morality. They employed these terms, and especially that of the ‘beautiful soul’³² and of the Hellenic ideal of *kalokagathia*, in novels and plays that aimed at moral and aesthetic education.³³ Throughout the nineteenth century the idea of the ‘beautiful soul’ continued to play a substantial role in

many theoretical and popular accounts as in Schiller's *Über Anmut und Würde* (*On Grace and Dignity*).³⁴ The figuration of the 'beautiful soul' also appeared in Rousseau's and Wieland's novels; both writers, inspired by Plato, were deeply concerned with the problems of pedagogy and the relationship of arts to morality; their works were translated and used by the Greek educators as a tool of moral and political education.³⁵

In the field of philosophy in particular, the advocates of the European philosophical ideas dealt also with a number of different branches of philosophy, such as epistemology, ethics, metaphysics, logic, history of philosophy, philosophy of education, philosophy of science, philosophy of religion, aesthetics, social and political philosophy, and also with cosmology, physics, mathematics, geography, history, and literature; they were also engaged in translating the works of various philosophers, such as R. Descartes' *Discourse On Method*, F. Ch. Baumeister's *Logic and Metaphysics*, A. G. Baumgarten's *Metaphysics*, J. G. Heinecke's *Elements of Philosophy*, J. B. Duhamel's *Logic*, Edme Purchot's *Logic*, Francisco Soave's *Elements of Logic, Metaphysics and Ethics*, A. Genovesi's *Elements of Metaphysics* and his *Logic*, Muratori's *Ethical Philosophy*, Condillac's *Logic*. They also translated Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, and his *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, Montesquieu's *L' esprit des lois*, Rousseau's *Emile*, and his *Discourse on the Origin and the Foundations of Inequality among Men*, La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes* as well as works of Voltaire and Marmontel. They also summarized the *System of Practical Philosophy* by W. T. Krug, who was a disciple of Kant and his successor at the University of Königsberg, and Tenemann's *Manual of the History of Philosophy* as well as Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* and Charles Rollin's *Histoire Ancienne* (1750), a historiography that led to a developing interest in Antiquity.

The influence of different schools of philosophy, e.g., empiricism, rationalism, idealism, sensualism, eclecticism, is also found in their Philosophy 'Manuals' taught in high schools. Some of them, like Nikeforos Theotokis (1731–1800) and Evgenios Voulgaris (1716–1806), introduced the exact sciences. Voulgaris in particular introduced the thought of Locke and was the first to translate Voltaire's *Memnon* (1766) and the *Essay on the Discord in the Churches of Poland* (1767), to which he added his treatise on *Religious Tolerance*, inspired by the French Philosopher's famous *Traité sur la tolerance* and Locke's *Epistola ad tolerantiam*.³⁶ Voulgaris was committed to the model of 'enlightened authoritarianism,' particularly during the time he spent as librarian in the court of Catherine the Great (1772–1774). On the other hand the philosophical spirit of Kant and Schelling, the example of Goethe and a host of other names entered Greek intellectual life through their writings, which were translated or used for educational or ideological purposes. Nevertheless, fear of political innovation and of undermining orthodoxy led the Greek Church to view Voltaire and Rousseau with suspicion and they tried to convince the learned men not to be engaged with ideas contrary to the Christian faith, thus claiming that "The Platos, the Aristotles, the Cartesians, the triangles and the logarithms induce an indifference to divine matters."³⁷ Neohellenic Enlightenment is characterized by controversies and criticisms of culture, social structures, and Church institutions,

since it aimed at the progress of society, the renovation of institutions and the rationalization of religion.

III. PHILOSOPHY IN A NATIONAL CONTEXT

It is worth noting that not only Enlightenment, but also Romanticism with its liberal ideas and revolutionary spirit reminded Greeks of their educational inheritance, the continuity of their history as well as of their cultural and philosophical tradition, from Antiquity through Byzantium to the present,³⁸ and enforced their national identity. The spirit of French Encyclopaedism was diffused in South Eastern Europe and in Greek territories in particular. It has been noted that the publication of the first Grammar book, of the first Lexicon and of the first Anthology of folk songs during that period amounted to the de facto first Declaration of Independence; actually it must be said that the publication of Grammar books, Dictionaries, and Political Declarations before the Revolution manifested the Greeks' intense activities towards opening the way for the identification of their national consciousness and of national independence. To this effect helped Rhigas Velestinlis, mentioned above, who was influenced by the American and French Revolutions and Constitutions and is considered as having introduced Modern Greece to political thought, which became increasingly widespread during the whole nineteenth century. Indeed, the Greek intellectuals who pursued an educational policy attempted to improve pedagogical practices and to enforce moral and civic education: by means of philosophy and sciences, history and the arts, they attempted to teach the importance of established principles of justice and proposed the ideal of a just society, which entails the existence of certain institutions that presuppose a certain number of reasonable and free citizens. Towards that aim, philosophy played its role and helped Hellenism to flourish and to obtain a national context. The movement of the Enlightenment therefore completed its course during the first decades of the nineteenth century, a period that is connected with the preparation for the national Revolution of 1821; in this dynamic period a host of scholars through their publications and engagement with political issues led the nation from enlightenment to romanticism, from Ottoman occupation, through the struggle for liberation, to the establishment of the Modern Greek state.

After the official creation of the Modern Greek State in 1828 and the establishment of the University of Athens in 1837, and until the end of the nineteenth century, philosophy became more academic and professional. It was taught both systematically and historically and efforts were made for it to acquire a national character as it sought to strengthen the national morale by the teaching provided by the various ancient Greek philosophical systems. Philosophy in combination with other sciences and especially with history sought to cultivate Modern Greek self-consciousness and to demonstrate that Greece (Hellas) as an established State had the right, equally with the other States, to lay claim to its position in history, and equally to show its obligation to preserve its freedom and to seek the integration of the nation.³⁹

Following the establishment of the Greek State and for some time afterwards (1828–1875), philosophy developed as a professional and academic pursuit, being taught at the University of Athens, which was established in 1837 by King Otto, and at the Ionian Academy, established in Corfu by Lord Guilford in 1824, during the period of the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands.⁴⁰ The Ionian Academy, an institution considered as the first Modern Greek University established by the British for the education of the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands, was closed in 1864, when the islands were united with Greece. Philosophy in this institution was taught in an eclectic way in an attempt to reconcile empiricism with rationalism, and with other European trends such as Scottish common sense philosophy, Kantianism, Hegelianism, and German Idealism. The impact of Scottish philosophy is obvious in the lectures delivered in the Ionian Academy by the professors Nikolaos Pikkolos, Neophytos Vamvas, Andreas Kalvos and Petros Vrailas-Armenis who introduced to their students the philosophical and aesthetic ideas of Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart and Hugh Blair.⁴¹ Non-academics, such as Nikolaos Loutzis, Ermannos Loutzis, Ioannis Menayias, Theodoros Karousos, Pavlos Gratsiatos and Frangiskos Pylarinos, helped to introduce German Idealism and Hegelianism.⁴² In the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens, the only Greek University until 1926, philosophy has been taught systematically and historically and has attempted to acquire a national character by the teaching of various ancient Greek philosophical systems although dominated by German and French influences. The professors were concerned with the “use of ancient philosophy as preparatory discipline, and the appropriation of many elements from it”: they were interested in studying the Greek philosophers, particularly Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, although Plato’s influence has been more extensive. They also connected philosophy with Christianity and with the expectations of the nation, and believed in its national role, connecting philosophy with politics and history. In the two first decades of the twentieth century, university professors such Alexandros Kotzias, Margaritis Evangelidis, Constantinos Logothetis, and Nikolaos Louvaris, mostly influenced by German philosophy, mainly Hegelianism, although acknowledging their debt to the European tradition of thought, attempted to establish the continuity of Hellenism and develop a Hellenocentric discourse. At the same time, Neo-Kantianism dominated Greece’s philosophical scene, while later other philosophical trends, such as phenomenology or existentialism evolved inside and outside academia.

Generally speaking, the Greek intellectuals, during the whole of the nineteenth century, were concerned with mapping the evolution of philosophy by utilizing the dual scheme of progress and fall of civilization in the context of which the study of Greek Antiquity was placed. In addition, during that period influences from abroad made possible the transmission throughout a wide geographical area of different philosophical movements and trends of European philosophy, which were either incorporated and examined critically and analytically in books or represented through translations and abridgments of particular works. Cartesian rationalism, English empiricism, the Scottish School of Common Sense, French Encyclopaedism, Kantianism, the French Ideologues and Physiocrats,⁴³ French Eclecticism⁴⁴ as well as Positivism and Socialism⁴⁵ dominated the philosophical field. On the one

hand, the Greeks during that period of time dealt with every field of philosophy and produced works in metaphysics, epistemology, logic, philosophy of science, philosophy of religion, aesthetics, ethics, political theory, philosophy of history and history of philosophy; on the other, they advanced philosophy as a way of life and of awakening their fellow citizens: liberty of thought and action, individual autonomy, respect for laws and institutions such as education and jurisprudence, connection of philosophy with history, were considered as a necessary condition for the strengthening of both national and social Self.

IV. CONCLUSION

Studying the history of philosophy offers a challenging engagement with the ideas and the history of the past. Indeed, in this paper, I have attempted to offer an account of Modern Greek philosophy, bearing in mind the fact that to interpret past philosophers and to present their thoughts is in itself a way of evaluating the past and the present. Viewing the Enlightenment and Romanticism as fields of application of comparative studies, I have discussed questions raised by Greek intellectuals during the Ottoman Rule and throughout the nineteenth century, and in relation to the relevant ideological currents and the social reality of Hellenism in relation to its heritage, Ancient and Byzantine, as well as to the historical circumstances and the current philosophical, scientific and social ideas of Western Europe. Philosophy and its relationship to its history was a question to which Modern Greek intellectuals paid attention. Although Modern Greek philosophy was completely overlooked in Western histories of philosophy, with the exception of the 1928 edition of Uberweg's history of philosophy, which included a brief account on Modern Greek philosophy, written by Theophilos Voreas (1873–1953), Professor of philosophy at the University of Athens,⁴⁶ Greeks have produced biographies of the most eminent men in letters and sciences from the eighteenth century onwards.⁴⁷ But it was only in the middle of the twentieth century that two monographs on the history of Neo-Hellenic philosophy were published: in 1949 a *Brief History of Modern Greek Philosophy* by Dimis Apostolopoulos (1909–1962) and in 1951 *Philosophy in Greece since the Resurrection of the Nation* by Maria Kissavou. In 1953, with the publication of an anthology with an introduction as part of the Basic Library of "Aetos," entitled *Νεοελληνική φιλοσοφία (Neohellenic philosophy) (1600–1850)* by Evangelhos Papanoutsos, an eminent philosopher and educator, the interest in persons and topics relating to Modern Greek thought has been enhanced. Since then, a great number of articles and essays have been written about Modern Greek philosophers in encyclopedias and periodicals, in Greece and abroad. Bibliographies and monographs have been published, which discuss the philosophers of modern Hellenism and their efforts to establish a national philosophy; many articles examine a wide range of topics and many University professors and intellectuals have been introducing current philosophical trends, some engaging with the theories and ideas of contemporary philosophers of the twentieth century of the Greek Diaspora, such as Panagiotis Condylis and Cornelius Castoriadis. In all the Greek universities of the twentieth century, after the thirties, a variety of tendencies and all areas of

philosophical inquiry are represented; among them, analytical philosophy which emerged in Greek philosophical circles. As far as its historiography, there is still a need for a new and comprehensive history of Modern Greek philosophy which will present critically its main tendencies from the Enlightenment to the present and give an account of the general course of events over time, or of the nature and methods of historiography.⁴⁸

Modern and contemporary Greek philosophy has, and still does, balance between the transferring of European trends of thought and original research on philosophical questions; it was and still is the genuine research and labor of university professors and of the intellectuals who moved in a more independent manner, through publications and translations in journals, books, encyclopedias and dictionaries of ideas destined to a wider educated public; from the eighteenth century up to the present, in and outside of academia, philosophy in Greece underwent a considerable evolution of scientific research and promoted active participation through societies, centers and periodical publications in the philosophical forum, gaining its position in modern and contemporary philosophy. After all, the Greeks knew, in the words of J. Ortega y Gasset, that “philosophy was one fruit, among others, that was born in Greece when its people entered the “period of freedom.”

NOTES

1. N. K. Psimmenos, *Η Ελληνική φιλοσοφία από το 1453 ως το 1821. Ανθολογία κειμένων. (The Greek Philosophy from 1453 until 1821. An Anthology of texts with Introduction and Commentary)*, 2 vols, Gnossi Publications, Athens, 1988–1989, vol. 1, Introduction.
2. G. P. Henderson, *The Revival of Greek Thought 1620–1830* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1970), Introduction, 7.
3. From the sixteenth century onwards there were established the “Patmias School” in Patmos (1534), the “Small School” at Ioannina (1648), a school at Kozani (1664), the Phlangianon “Museum” at Venice (1665), the Great School at Ioannina (1676), the Evangelhiki School at Smyrna (1717) as well as many others, too many to mention here. All these schools provided religious and secular education, which included philosophy. C.Th. Dimaras notes that in 1786 there were 35 “schools” operating in Greek territories, and by 1820 there were ten times that number of “middle or lower-grade” schools. Cf. Henderson, *The Revival of Greek Thought*, p. 10n6.
4. Korydalleus studied at the Greek Catholic College of St Athanasios in Rome and at the University of Padua; he was influenced by the teaching of Cesare Cremonini and was engaged in the direct study of the Aristotelian texts and also in the study of the ancient commentators. Neo-Aristotelianism was spread by him into other Greek communities and into the Greek homeland itself and his writings had a great impact on Neohellenic philosophy and its teaching. See C. Tsourkas, *Les débuts de l’enseignement philosophique et de la libre pensée dans les Balkans. Le vie et l’oeuvre de Theophile Corydalée (1570–1646)*. Série Historique, No. 9 (Bucharest: Institut d’Études et de Recherches Balkaniques, 1948); and C. Noica, “La signification historique de l’oeuvre de Theophile Corydalée,” *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 11 (1973): 285–306.

5. This term was coined by Iosipos Moisiodax, who referred to the ‘the yoke of servile Aristotelianism’; it became “a term of deprecation, a synonym for the sort of scholasticism of Korydalleus’s works,” and was generally connected to the “battle of Ancients and Moderns” of the early eighteenth century. See Iosipos Misiiodax, *Απολογία (Apologia)* (Vienna, 1780), 12. See also G. P. Henderson, *The Revival of Greek Thought*, 17; N. K. Psimmenos, *Η Ελληνική φιλοσοφία*, v. 1, Introduction, 4, and P. M. Kitromilides, *Ιώσηπος Μοισιόδαξ: Οι συντεταγμένες της βάλκανικής σκέψης τον 18ο αιώνα* (Athens; MIET, 1985).
6. Vikentios Damodos (1700–1752), after his studies in Italy, established a school in his native village of Havriata, in Kephallonia, and was the first to introduce modern European philosophy into Greece. One of his students was Evgenios Voulgaris, the most learned of the Greeks of the eighteenth century, considered as the father of Modern Greek philosophy.
7. E. Papanoutsos, *Νεοελληνική φιλοσοφία*, 2 vols (Athens: Aetos Publications, 1956), v. 1, Introduction.
8. G. P. Henderson, *The Revival of Greek Thought*, 20–27. I must mention here the failure of Platonism to become a serious rival to Aristotelianism in Greek education as observed by A. Anghelou, *Πλάτωνος τύχαι* (Athens, 1963), 68.
9. Anna Tabaki, “Greece,” in A. C. Kors, Editor in Chief, *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, Volume 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 157–160; and Anna Tabaki, “Les Lumières néo-helléniques. Un essai de définition et de périodisation,” in *The Enlightenment in Europe, Les Lumières en Europe, de Roland Mortier, [European Science Foundation] Concepts et Symboles du Dix-huitième Siècle Européen, Concepts and Symbols of the Eighteenth Century in Europe* (Berliner Wissenschafts, Verlag, 2003), 45–56.
10. G. P. Henderson, *The Revival of Greek Thought*, Introduction.
11. Raphael Demos, “The Neohellenic Enlightenment (1750–1821,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 19 (1958): 523–541.
12. C. Th. Dimaras, “Greece 1750–1850,” in *Perceptions of the Ancient Greeks*, ed. K. J. Dover (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 203–224.
13. R. Argyropoulou, “Νεοελληνικές μεταφράσεις φιλοσοφικών έργων (1760–1821),” *Deukalion* 21 (1978): 131–142.
14. Tryfon Evangelidis, *Η παιδεία επί τουρκοκρατίας*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1936), 81; D. Glenos, *Η αζία των ανθρωπιστικών γραμμάτων στην Ελλάδα* (Athens, 1945), 37; C. Chatzopoulos, *Ελληνικά σχολεία στην περίοδο της οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας (1453–1821)* (Thessaloniki: Vaniis Publishers, 1991), 226–302.
15. A. Tabaki, “Greece,” 157–160, and Idem, “Les Lumières néo-helléniques. Un essai de définition et de périodisation,” 45–56.
16. G. P. Henderson, *The Revival of Greek Thought*, 1–11.
17. I must mention here the Greek language controversy, which started when Greek Enlightenment writers began to argue about what was the most suitable type of language that should be followed in their educational and scholarly writing. During this period the language they used ranged from the classical Attic of the archaist Evgenios Voulgaris (1716–1806) to the transcription of the spoken tongue by the vernacularist Demetrios Katartzis (c.1730–1807). Ancient Greek was known as ‘Hellenic,’ while various terms were used to refer to Modern Greek, including ‘common language,’ ‘common style,’ ‘simple language’ or ‘simple style.’ The Greek authors rarely used the word ‘modern’ to refer to the language of their day, while the term ‘style’ (‘ύφος’) was commonly used to refer to language variety rather than style.

Cf. P. Mackridge, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766–1976* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); in particular P. Mackridge, “Korais and the Greek Language Question,” in P. M. Kitromilides, ed., *Adamantios Korais and the European Enlightenment* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, Oxford University, 2010), 128.

18. A. Glycofrydi-Leontsini, “The Reception of New Philosophy in Eighteenth Century Greece,” *Newsletter of the British Society for the History of Philosophy*, (1991–1992): 24–27.

Staikos K. and Sklavenitis, T., *The Publishing Centres of the Greeks from the Renaissance to the Neohellenic Enlightenment (Exhibition Catalogue)*, EKEBI, Athens, 2001, 156–165.

19. This was the opinion of Locke who, in the seventeenth century, pointed out: “Who doubts but the Grecian Christians descendants of the ancient possessors of that Country may justly cast off the Turkish yoke which they have so long groaned under when ever they have a power to do it?” See John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Laslett (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960), II, §192 (cited in I. D. Evrigenis, “Enlightenment, Emancipation, and National Identity: Korais and the Ancients,” in *Adamantios Korais and the European Enlightenment*, 91–108).

20. A. Papaderos, *Metakenosis. Griechenlands Kulturelle Herausforderung durch die aufklärung in der Sieht des Korais und des Oikonomos* (Meisheim an Glan, 1970).

21. G. P. Henderson, *The Revival of Greek Thought*, Introduction, 3–4.

22. Moisiodox in his *Apology* regards “sound” philosophy as relating to knowledge, having an explicit and humanistic purpose and being an infallible guide through error and deception (*Apology*, Vienna, 1780, 98), while for Neophytos Vamvas philosophy is connected with the search for knowledge and truth and is based on reason and experience (N. Vamvas, *Ομιλία υπέρ της αληθούς φιλοσοφίας κατά την έναρξην των μαθημάτων της χειμερινής εξαμηνιαίας του 1842 εν τω Οθονείω Πανεπιστημίω*. *Mnemosyne X. Nikolaidou Filadelfeos*, 16pp.).

23. P. Vrailas-Armenis, *Φιλοθέου και Ευγενίου Επιστολαί, ήτοι Σύντομος περί ψυχής και Θεού διδασκαλία (Letters of Philotheos and Eugenios or A Brief Teaching on the Soul and God,* 1884), in P. Vrailas-Armenis, *Φιλοσοφικά έργα, Corpus*, ed. E. Moutsopoulos and A. Dodou, 2, 71, 174, 331 (cited by C. Cavarinos, *Modern Greek Thought* [Belmont, MA: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1969], 22).

24. P. Vrailas-Armenis, *Περί πρώτων ιδεών και αρχών δοκίμιον* (1851, *Essay Concerning First Ideas and Principles*), in P. Vrailas-Armenis, *Φιλοσοφικά έργα, Corpus*, ed. E. Moutsopoulos and A. Dodou, 1, Introduction, 18 .

25. A. Glycofrydi-Leontsini, “The Role of Philosophy in Citizenship Education during the Neohellenic Enlightenment,” in *Politics in Education*, ed. P. Kemp and A. Sørensen (Institute International de Philosophie, LIT Verlag, 2012), 56–74.

26. A. Glycofrydi-Leontsini, *Neohellenic Philosophy. Political and Moral Questions* (in Greek) (Athens: Athens University, 2002), 17–244.

27. Ibid. See also A. Glycofrydi-Leontsini, “Moral and Political Texts in the Age of the Greek Enlightenment: Tradition and Innovation,” Tenth International Congress on the Enlightenment (Dublin 25–31 July 1999), *Comparaison/Σύγκριση* 12 (2001): 71–81, and A. Glycofrydi-Leontsini, “Ο Πίναξ του Κέβητος και η παρουσία του στην Δυτική και Ελληνική γραμματεία,” in *Φιλοσοφίας Αγώνισμα, Μελέτες προς τιμήν του Καθηγητού Κωνσταντίνου Βουδούρη* (Athens: Ionia Publications, 2004), 135–162 (reprinted in *Αισθητική και τέχνη. Κριτικές θεωρήσεις* [Athens: Symmetria, 2006]`, 223–260).

28. On the educational and political character of the theater during the Neohellenic enlightenment, see A. Tabaki, “Du théâtre philosophique au drame national: étude du lexique politique à l’ère des révolutions. La cas grec,” in *From Republican Polity to National Community. Reconsiderations of Enlightenment Political Thought*, ed. P. M. Kitromilides. SVEC 9 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, Oxford University Press, 2003), 62–85.
29. A. Glycofrydi-Leontsini, “Teaching Princes: A Vehicle of Moral and Political Education during the Neohellenic Enlightenment,” *Classical Russia 1700–1825* 3–5 (2008–2010): 71–90.
30. P. M. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution. The Making of Modern Greece* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 200–259.
31. For the myth of the ‘beautiful soul’ in antiquity, an idea that exists in Plato’s *Symposium*, see Lusius Apuleius, *Metamorphoseon sive lusus Asini XI*, libri IV 28–VI 24 (Venetia: Aldi, 1521), and in particular *Psyche und Cupido. Eine Märchen des Apuleius*, translation by Julius Bretkopf und Härtel, Leipzig, 1872.
32. R. E. Norton, *The Beautiful Soul. Aesthetic Morality in the Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 1–9, 283.
33. F. C. Beiser, “A Romantic Education. The Concept of *Bildung* in Early Romanticism,” in *Philosophers on Education. New historical Perspectives*, ed. O. A. Rorty (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 290.
34. A. Glycofrydi-Leontsini, “The Role of Philosophy in Citizenship Education during the Neohellenic Enlightenment,” 56–74.
35. G. P. Henderson, *The Revival of Greek Thought*, 53–75.
36. A. Glycofrydi-Leontsini, “Η κριτική της αλήθειας στον Νεοελληνικό διαφωτισμό,” in *Neohellenic Philosophy: Moral and Political Questions* (Athens, 2001), 245–270.
37. R. Argyropoulos, *Les intellectuels grecs à la recherché de Byzance (1860–1912)*. Collection Histoire des Idées 1 (Athènes: Institut de Recherche Néohelléniques, 2001).
38. R. Argyropoulou, *Η φιλοσοφική σκέψη στην Ελλάδα από το 1828 ως το 1922. Ανθολογία κειμένων με εισαγωγή και σχόλια*, 2 vols (Athens: Gnosi publications, 1995–1996). In the first volume R. Argyropoulou discusses the European influences and the efforts for a national philosophy, while in the second volume philosophy is examined within the limits of science and religion.
39. A. Glycofrydi-Leontsini, “Παιδεία και φιλοσοφία στα νησιά του Ιονίου (16ος–19ος αιώνες),” in *History and Culture of the Ionian Islands*, ed. Th. Pylarinos (Athens: Region of the Ionian Islands, 2007), 123ff. (English translation “Education and Philosophy in the Ionian Islands (16th–19th Century),” *ibid.*, 321–329). See also A. Glycofrydi-Leontsini, “The Reception of Scottish Philosophy in the Ionian Islands during the British Protectorate,” in *The Ionian Islands. Aspects of their History and Culture*, ed. Hirst, A. and Sammon (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 293–317.
40. A. Glycofrydi-Leontsini, “Neohellenic Aesthetics and the European Enlightenment,” *Transactions of the Eighth International Congress on the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, Oxford University Press, 1992), 1522–1526. See also A. Glycofrydi-Leontsini, “The Impact of Scottish Philosophy on Modern Greek Philosophy via French Eclecticism: A Study of Intercultural Impacts and Exchanges in the History of Philosophy,” in *Comparative and Intercultural Philosophy: Proceedings of the IIP Conference (Entretiens) Seoul 2008*, ed. Hans Lenk (Berlin: Verlag Lit, 2009), 93–117.

41. G. Apostolopoulou, "Hegel-Studien in Griechenland," *Hegel-Studien* 21 (1986): 189–218, and idem., "Οι Έλληνες μαθητές του Schelling: μια σύντομη επισκόπηση," *Dodoni* 20 (1991): 9–23.
42. R. Argyropoulos, "La pensée des Idéologues en Grèce," *Dix-Huitième Siècle* 26 (1994): 423–434.
43. R. Argyropoulos, "La diffusion de la pensée de Victor Cousin en Grèce au XIXe siècle," *Rue Descartes* 1 (2006): 30–34.
44. For the impact of socialist ideas and the history of socialism in Greece from 1875 till 1974, see P. Noutsos, *Η σοσιαλιστική σκέψη στην Ελλάδα από το 1875 ως το 1974. Εισαγωγή, επιλογή κειμένων, υπομνηματισμός*, 4 vols (Athens: Gnosi Publishers, 1990), vol. 1, Introduction.
45. Th. Boreas, "Die neugriechische Philosophie," in Fr. Überweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*. Fünfter Teil: *Die Philosophie des Auslandes vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis auf die Gegenwart*, von Traugott Konstantin Österreich (Berlin: E.S. Mittler & Sohn), vol. 5, 363–368.
46. K. Sathas (1842–1914) has written the biographies of some 1500 Greeks who 'shone in the field of letters' between 1453 and the outbreak of the Greek war of Independence, in his *Modern Greek Philology* (Νεοελληνική φιλοσοφία, Athens, 1868).
47. R. Argyropoulou, "Η Ιστοριογραφία ως μέθοδος αυτοπροσδιορισμού της Νεοελληνικής φιλοσοφίας" (Historiography as a Method in Approaching the Neohellenic Philosophy), in *Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece 1833–2002* (Athens: KNE/ EIE, 2004), 541–452.