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Roxanne Argyropoulos

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THEODOROS KAROUSSOS' INTERPRETATION OF HELLENISM: A CASE OF NATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

Roxane D. Argyropoulos

Abstract: A native of Kefalonia, Theodoros Karoussos (1808–1876) is known as a classical scholar and a teacher, a political personality and a distinguished philosopher. Mostly an autodidact, he was part of the Argostoli intellectual circle of Ioannis Menayas, a follower of the Hegelian system. The perspective of Hegelian theories influenced Karoussos' opinions on the questions of Hellenism and its legacy. The particularity of his intellectual shift towards Hegelianism became apparent when he sought to use contemporary philosophical ideas in order to justify the term "Helleno-Christian", as developed by Spyridon Zambelios, and to revisit Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos' crucial theories.

The problem concerning national philosophy emerged in Europe mainly during the nineteenth century in the context of a larger problem: the one concerning the definition of national identities.[1] Theodoros Karoussos was an important representative of the period that saw the establishment of the new Greek state within the Hellenic cultural tradition. An important figure of the Septinsular intellectual and political intelligentsia, he reinforced the argument of Hellenism's cultural continuity, providing some creative explanations.[2] Nevertheless,

[1] On national philosophies, see, for example, Philippe Gerrans, "La localisation du nationalisme", in *Les nationalismes*, ed. Bernard Baertschi and Kevin Mulligan, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2001, pp. 13–28; Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2006, p. 85. An Austrian philosophy was supported by Otto Neurath and Rudolf Haller, an Italian philosophy by Eugenio Garin, a Portuguese philosophy by Leonardo Coimbra, etc. See Henrique Jales Ribeiro, "Towards a General Theory on the Existence of typically National Philosophies: The Portuguese, the Austrian, the Italian, and other Cases Reviewed", in *Revista Filosófica de Coimbra* 41 (2012), pp. 199–246. For more on Greek national philosophy as culture consciousness, see Roxane D. Argyropoulos, "Η 'νεοελληνικὴ φιλοσοφία' ὡς στοιχεῖο τῆς ἐθνικῆς ἰδεολογίας" [Neohellenic philosophy as an element of national ideology], *Τὰ Νέα τοῦ ΚΕΝΕΦ* 3 (1999), pp. 1–2; Argyropoulos, "Interpretation philosophique de l'hellénisme au tournant du 19e siècle en Grèce", in *Byzantina et moderna: Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hélène Antoniadis-Bibicou*, ed. Gilles Grivaud and Socrates Petmezas, Athens: Alexandria, 2007, pp. 369–374.

[2] They are numerous articles on Karoussos' life and writings. See Pavlos Gratsiatos, *Θεόδωρος Καροῦσος* [Theodoros Karoussos], Kefalonia: I Icho, 1876; P. Hiotis, "Θεόδωρος Καροῦσος ὁ διδάσκαλος: Βιογραφία Β'" [Theodoros Karoussos, the teacher: Biography 2],

Karoussos' case remains relatively unknown to most specialists and has been studied in a very partial and limited way.

Before proceeding further, it is worth reconsidering the complex social and ideological developments of mid-nineteenth century Septinsular culture, where history, to some extent, was inextricably linked to philosophical thought. Aware of the questions formulated by Western philosophy since the seventeenth century, the Septinsular scholars[3] were able to understand the encounter between philosophical ideas and culture.[4] The interesting amalgam of leading philosophical doctrines such as Cartesianism,[5] French empiricism and Scottish eclecticism consequently shaped their philosophical and political trends and affected their intellectual and social development, making the Ionian Islands a cultural bridge with Western Europe. On the other hand, it would be wrong to assume that Septinsular culture manifested a provincial or peripheral phenomenon isolated in its contemporary cultural context. Thus, we may speak of a Septinsular philosophical school as well as a Septinsular historiography, firstly introduced by Spyridon Lambros[6] and emphasised by Dionysios A. Zakythinos.[7]

Ζακύνθιος Ἀνθών 3 (1877), pp. 280–283; Spyridon K. Papageorgiou, "Θεόδωρος Καροῦσος" [Theodoros Karoussos], *Παρνασσός* 1 (1877), pp. 241–252; Ilias Tsitselis, *Κεφαλληνιακά Σύμμικτα* [Kefalonian miscellanea], Athens: Anestis Konstantinidis, 1904, vol. 1, pp. 216–224. As for Alexandros Rizos-Rangabé, in his *Histoire littéraire de la Grèce moderne*, Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1877, vol. 1, p. 216, he qualifies him as "un savant de Céphalonie".

[3] Ioannis G. Delis, "'Η φιλοσοφία στὰ Ἑπτάνησα: Μία σύντομη ἐπισκόπησή της ἀπὸ τὸν 15ο αἰῶνα μέχρι τὴν ἵδρυση τῆς Ἰονίου Ἀκαδημίας" [Philosophy in the Ionian Islands: a brief survey from the 15th century to the foundation of the Ionian Academy], *Κεφαλληνιακὰ Χρονικά* 9 (1999–2003), pp. 29–53.

[4] Antimo Masarachi, *Vite degli uomini illustri dell'isola di Cefalonia*, Venice: Cecchini, 1843. See also Roxane D. Argyropoulos, "Tendances de la philosophie en Grèce au 19e siècle", in *Η φιλοσοφία στα Βαλκάνια σήμερα*, ed. Myrto Dragona-Monachou, Athens: Karadamitsa, 1994, pp. 181–189.

[5] Starting with Vikentios Damodos, see Vasiliki Bobou-Stamati, *Βικέντιος Δαμοδός: Βιογραφία-Ἐργογραφία 1700–1752* [Vikentios Damodos: Biography–work, 1700–1752], Athens: Cultural Foundation of the National Bank, 2001.

[6] Spyridon Lambros, "Η ἱστορικὴ σχολὴ τῆς Ἑπτανήσου" [The historical school of the Ionian Islands], *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 12 (1915), pp. 319–347.

[7] Dionysios A. Zakythinos, "Αἱ ἱστορικαῖ τύχαι τῆς Ἑπτανήσου καὶ ἡ διαμόρφωσις τοῦ ἑπτανησιακοῦ πολιτισμοῦ" [The historical fortune of the Ionian Islands and the making of Septinsular civilisation], *Πρακτικά τοῦ Τρίτου Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου* [Proceedings of the third Panionian congress], Athens: s.n., 1969, vol. 2, pp. 357–380. Also published in Dionysios A. Zakythinos, *Μεταβυζαντινά καί Νέα Ελληνικά* [Post-Byzantine and modern Greek studies], Athens, s.n., 1978, pp. 370–391.

Despite the bilingualism of the cultural élite,[8] the idea of an inherited cultural Hellenic tradition from which legitimacy was sought for the construction of the young nation's ideology rapidly presented notable success in the fermentation of Septinsular culture. In fact, the intellectuals of the Ionian Islands recognised that the historical moment had come to express their patriotic ideas and to endow the process of Hellenic thought with new ideological elements. In order to give concrete shape to what was essentially an abstract ideal, a form of nationalism was chosen in which the nation-state derived its political legitimacy as an organic consequence of language,[9] culture, religion and customs. A nation theory arose in the form of cultural identity nationalism,[10] relying on the infrastructure which meets the romantic ideal of the people,[11] a phenomenon easily understandable and inextricably connected with the constant preoccupation of self-definition of the newly constituted Greek state, and when one considers the political roles assumed by the Septinsular intellectuals in the course of national culture and institutions of the Greek kingdom, even before the union with the Heptanese.[12]

Born in Argostoli to a distinguished family that had come from Messina at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Theodoros Karoussos was the son of Dimitrios N. Karoussos, a respected notary whose archives are now preserved

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[8] The eminent scholar Niccolò Tommaseo continued to believe in the idea of an Adriatic civilisation that emanated from Venice to its Dalmatian and Septinsular possessions. It is quite interesting that in his *Dizionario estetico* (1867), he vigorously defended the positive effects of Italian culture on the leading figures of Greek Enlightenment. Cf. Roxane D. Argyropoulos, "Le dialogue de Niccolò Tommaseo avec les intellectuels Grecs: Ses réflexions sur la culture heptanésienne", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 53 (2015), pp. 197–212.

[9] Dimitris Arvanitakis, "Γλώσσα καί ἐθνική ταυτότητα στό Ιόνιο" [Language and national identity in the Ionian], *Τὰ Ιστορικά* 46 (2007), pp. 15–24.

[10] On the meaning of the term, see Cyril Mango, "Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism", in *Byzantium and its Image: History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1984, pp. 40–42.

[11] Roxane D. Argyropoulos, "Η ἱστοριογραφία ὡς μέθοδος αὐτοπροσδιορισμοῦ τῆς νεοελληνικῆς φιλοσοφίας" [Historiography as a self-designation method of Neohellenic philosophy], in *Ἱστοριογραφία τῆς νεότερης καί σύγχρονης Ἑλλάδας 1833–2002* [Historiography of modern and contemporary Greece 1833–2002], ed. Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Triantafyllos E. Sklavenitis, Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Studies, National Research Foundation, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 541–553. Also published in Argyropoulos, *Προσεγγίσεις τῆς νεοελληνικῆς φιλοσοφίας* [Approaches of Neohellenic philosophy], Thessaloniki: Vanias, 2004, pp. 11–25.

[12] Katerina Zacharia (ed.), *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity,* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

in the Local Historical Archives of Kefalonia.[13] Among his contemporaries, he became known as a classical scholar and a teacher, a political personality and a distinguished philosopher.[14] As a notable orator, his reputation rested on his political dedication to the nationalist aspirations of the Ionian Radical Party,[15] whereas his outstanding articles devoted to ancient Greek philosophy and the ideological meaning of Hellenism remain quite understudied. Classical literature and philosophy became a lifelong interest. Historian Panayotis Hiotis presents him in such a way in a series of articles devoted to his biography and published in the magazine *Ζακύνθιος Ἀνθών*.[16] Mostly a self-made scholar, the young Theodoros never received a university education. In his early years, he was raised in the intellectual and dogmatic tradition of the Orthodox Church by a monk, Gerassimos Karoussos,[17] and he had the advantage of attending classes given by Neophytos Vamvas (1776?–1855),[18] at the upper school of the Kastro (Saint George's Castle) of Argostoli, with whom he later corresponded, sharing his interests in literature and philosophy.[19] At that time of his life, Vamvas was still orientated towards Adamantios Korais' linguistic views, while, as we well know, after the War of Independence he moved further away from his master's

[13] Ioannis Doikas, *Λίμπρο ντ' Όρο Παξῶν* [The Libro d'Oro of Paxoi], Corfu: Katsaros, 1983, vol. 3, p. 97.

[14] Papageorgiou, "Θεόδωρος Καροῦσος" [Theodoros Karoussos], pp. 241–252.

[15] Karoussos politically belonged to the Rizospastai (Radical Unionists) movement and in 1852 was elected a member of the Heptanesian Parliament representing his native island. For particular aspects of this movement, see Eleni Calligas, "The 'Rizospastai' (Radical Unionists): Politics and Nationalism in the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands, 1815–1864", PhD diss., University of London, 1994, and Giorgos G. Alisandratos, *Ὁ ἑπτανησιακὸς Ριζοσπαστισμός. Κείμενα γὰ τὸν ἑπτανησιακὸ ριζοσπαστισμό* [Septinsular radicalism: texts], ed. Dimitris Arvanitakis, Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008.

[16] Hiotis, "Θεόδωρος Καροῦσος" [Theodoros Karoussos], pp. 280–283.

[17] Tsitselis, *Κεφαλληνιακά Σύμμικτα* [Kefalonian miscellanea], p. 203.

[18] For Vamvas' position in Greek thought, see Evangelos Moutsopoulos, "Ὁ Νεόφυτος Βάμβας καὶ ἡ θέσις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑλληνικῇ διανοήσει τοῦ ΙΘ' αἰῶνος" [Neophytos Vamvas and his place in 19th-century Greek thought], *Ἐπίσημοι λόγοι ἐκφωνηθέντες κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1969–1970* [Speeches delivered during the year 1969–1970], Athens: University of Athens, 1971, vol. 14, pp. 267–282, and Athanasia Glycofrydi-Leontsini, "'Ο Νεόφυτος Βάμβας καὶ τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς ἐλευθερίας" [Neophytos Vamvas and the problem of freedom], *Νεοελληνική Φιλοσοφία: Θέματα πολιτικῆς καὶ ἠθικῆς* [Neohellenic philosophy: political and moral questions], Athens: Kardamitsa, 2001, pp. 69–141.

[19] On Vamvas' influence upon Karoussos, see Gratsiatos, *Θεόδωρος Καροϋσος* [Theodoros Karoussos], pp. 5–7.

standpoint.[20] Before being appointed to the Ionian Academy,[21] Vamvas remained in Kefalonia from 1825 to 1828,[22] where he also preached in churches.[23] In his lectures, he combined the eclecticism of François Thurot (1768–1832), with the theories of the Scottish school, especially the common sense realism expounded by Dugald Stewart, predominant in early nineteenth-century Europe.[24] In his *Στοιχεῖα τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Ἠθικῆς* [Elements of moral philosophy], Vamvas centred on religious toleration and the understanding of individual rights and duties.[25]

An important feature of Karoussos' multitalented character is the fact that he became a polyglot. He showed an early gift for languages, becoming fluent in French, German, Italian and English.[26] He learned English from Colonel Charles

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[20] Korais' friendship with Vamvas has been studied by C. Th. Dimaras, "Δύο φίλοι: Κοραής και Βάμβας" [Two friends: Korais and Vamvas], *Ἱστορικὰ Φροντίσματα Β': Ἀδαμάντιος Κοραῆς* [Historical essays 2: Adamantios Korais], Athens: Poreia, 1996, pp. 135–195. Also worth mentioning in regard to Vamvas is Panagiotis Michailaris, "Νεόφυτος Βάμβας" [Neophytos Vamvas], in *Κληρικοί στόν Ἀγῶνα* [Clerics in the struggle], ed. Vassilis Panayotopoulos, Athens: Ta Nea, 2010, pp. 81–113.

[21] On the Ionian Academy of Corfu, see G. P. Henderson, *The Ionian Academy*, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1988.

[22] Spyridon G. Moschonas, *Δύο μορφὲς τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ Διαφωτισμοῦ στὴν Κεφαλονιά (Βικέντιος Δαμωδός–Νεόφυτος Βάμβας)* [Two figures of the Greek Enlightenment in Kefalonia: Vikentios Damodos and Neophytos Vamvas], Athens: self pub., 1995.

[23] For more information on Vamvas' educational activities in Kefalonia, see Tsitselis, *Κεφαλληνιακά Σύμμικτα* [Kefalonian miscellanea], pp. 217–218; Spyridon G. Moschonas, "Η Σχολὴ τοῦ Κάστρου τῆς Κεφαλονιᾶς καί ἡ συμβολή τοῦ Νεοφύτου Βάμβα στό ἔργο της" [The Kastro school of Kefalonia and the contribution of Neophytos Vamvas], in *Το Ιόνιο Κράτος 1815–1864: Πρακτικά τοῦ Διεθνοῦς Συμποσίου Ἱστορίας (Κέρκυρα, 21–24 Μαΐου 1988)* [Proceedings of the International Symposium on History (Corfu, 21–24 May 1988)], ed. Panagiota Moschona, Athens: Centre for the Study of the Ionian, 1997, pp. 289–299.

[24] Athanasia 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, Seoul, 2008*, ed. Hans Lenk, Berlin: Lit Verlag, pp. 93–117. Also consult the translation of Dugald Stewart's *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, which Vamvas produced while he taught at the Ionian Academy: *Ἐγχειρίδιον Ἠθικῆς Φιλοσοφίας: Διδασκαλία στὴν Ἰονικὴ Ἀκαδημία 1829–1830*, ed. Panagis Aliprantis, Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Studies, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2009.

[25] Concerning Vamvas' liberalism, see Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013, pp. 304, 311–312; Nicholas *Eliopoulos*, "Neophytos *Vamvas* and Religious Toleration", *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 8 (2011), pp. 61–83.

[26] Karoussos presented the *Elements of Logic* of the English logician and theologian Richard Whately (1787–1863), who served as archbishop of Dublin. He was perhaps the

James Napier, military resident of Kefalonia from 1822 to 1830, in exchange for teaching him modern Greek.[27] The knowledge of these languages helped him remain in constant touch with Western thought, performing a mediating role between Greek culture and Western Europe.[28] Later, his literary and philosophical attainments gained him the friendship of a group of intellectuals from the flourishing Greek community of Trieste, who were associated with the political and literary newspaper *Κλειώ*, whose co-editor, Dionysios Therianos, was a fervent admirer of Korais. For a short period, Karoussos lived in Trieste, where he was appointed headmaster of the Greek school.[29] However, for health reasons, he felt the need to return to his homeland, spending the rest of his life in Argostoli as a teacher, in the high schools of Argostoli, Paxoi and Lixouri.

In Greece, the period from 1850 to 1885 was marked by intense intellectual activity. The various ideas concerning Hellenism were widely divergent.[30] Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos' scheme did not pass without debate and resistance as it mixed two historically different phenomena.[31] In a series of articles, mostly

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single most important figure in the revival of Aristotelian logic in the early nineteenth century, "Ἔκθεσις τοῦ συστήματος τῆς λογικῆς του K. R. Whately", *Πανδώρα* 9 (1859), pp. 470–474 and 485–488.

[27] Tsitselis, *Κεφαλληνιακά Σύμμικτα* [Kefalonian miscellanea], p. 217.

[28] Karoussos translated in Greek an extract from Paul Janet's *Histoire de la science politique dans ses rapports avec la morale*, in *Ἑστία* 1 (1876) pp. 355–357 and 374–378. Paul Janet (1823–1899) was a follower of Victor Cousin and Hegel.

[29] Lucia Marcheselli, *Klio: La cultura umanistica nei periodici greci di Trieste*, Trieste: Università di Trieste, 1968.

[30] The notion of Hellenism is the central point of a great number of writings during the second half of the nineteenth century, see Roxane D. Argyropoulos, *Ἡ φιλοσοφικὴ σκέψη στὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τὸ 1828 ὥς τὸ 1922: Ἀνθολογία κειμένων μὲ εἰσαγωγή καὶ σχόλια*, vol. 1, *Εὐρωπαϊκὲς ἐπιδράσεις καὶ προσπάθειες γιὰ μία ἐθνικὴ φιλοσοφία, 1828–1875* [Philosophical thought in Greece from 1828 to 1922: an anthology with an introduction and notes, vol. 1, Western influences and efforts to shape a national philosophy, 1828–1875], Athens: Gnosi, 1995, pp. 423–490. Even in 1885, Dionysios Therianos, for example, criticised the semantic confusion regarding this term, "Ὁ ἑλληνισμὸς κατὰ λεκτικὴν καὶ πραγματικὴν ἔννοιαν" [Hellenism in its linguistic and real meaning], in *Φιλολογικαὶ ὑποτυπώσεις* [Philological sketches], Trieste: F. H. Schimpff, 1885, pp. 18–110. See alongside Nikos Sigalas, "Hellénistes, hellénisme et idéologie nationale: De la formation du concept d''hellénisme' en grec moderne", in *L'Antiquité grecque au XIXe siècle: Un exemplum contesté?* ed. Chryssanthi Avlami, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000, pp. 239–291. See also Michel Bruneau, "Hellénisme, *Hellinismos*: nation sans territoire ou idéologie?", *Géocarrefour* 77 (2002), pp. 319–327.

[31] Roxane D. Argyropoulos, *Les intellectuels grecs à la recherche de Byzance (1860–1912)*, Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Studies, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2001, pp. 44–45.

published in the influential Athenian journal *Πανδώρα*,[32] which was co-edited by Paparrigopoulos, Karoussos became the advocate of the former's theories, which infused the term Hellenism with a strong sense of cultural and ideological identity. Above all, drawing attention to the history of philosophy, he maintained that Hellenic cultural continuity is to be found in the central encounter of philosophy, with religion, history and language being basic forms of national ideological identification. Some of his noteworthy ideas on national consciousness concern the role and the significance of language in giving expression to the people. According to Dionysios Linardatos' testimony, Karoussos underlined that language influences national character and passionately expressed his firm belief in the power of language to unify Greeks of different regions.[33] Interestingly, while belonging to the time of the emergence of romantic ideas, he trusted, on the one hand, Korais' assertions on linguistic matters[34] and, on the other, tried to conciliate them with the Ionian Islands' vernacularists.[35] From this point of view, he expressed confidence in the common spoken language of the educated people, the *kathominoumeni*, a kind of simple katharevousa that he defended as an essential element in the understanding of Hellenism's gradual historical formation. He was aware that language change depends on the progressive development of the history and life of the people. For Karoussos, as for Korais, a middle way exists in the language question, a solution that obviously gained the approval of *Πανδώρα*'s editors.[36] He was equally opposed to linguistic archaism and linguistic vulgarism, for they do not represent, as he assumes, the spirit of

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[32] Apostolos Sachinis, *Συμβολὴ στὴν ἱστορία τῆς Πανδώρας καὶ τῶν παλιῶν περιοδικῶν* [Contribution to the history of *Pandora* and other old periodicals], Athens, s.n., 1964.

[33] Theodoros Karoussos, *Δοκίμιον τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς ἀρχαίας παρ' Ἕλλησι Φιλοσοφίας, ἐκδίδοται κατ' εντολὴν τοῦ συγγραφέως ὑπὸ Διοννσίου Λιναρδάτου* [Historical essay on ancient Greek philosophy published by Dionysios Linardatos], Athens: Anestis Konstantinidis, 1888, p. 1.

[34] Theodoros Karoussos, review of *Ἱστορία τῆς παρ' Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφίας* [History of Greek Philosophy], by Albert Schwengler, trans. Dimitris A. Hantzeris, Athens: X. Nikolaidou Filadelfeos, 1867, *Πανδώρα* 19 (1868), p. 52; Petros Petratos, "Ὁ Ἀ. Κοραῆς καῖ ἡ Κεφαλονιά: Ἡ ὀνοματοδοσία τῆς λέσχης «Μουσεῖον ὁ Κοραῆς» (1843)" [A. Korais and Kefalonia: the naming of the "Museum Korais" club (1843)], *Ὁ Ἐρανιστής* 25 (2005), p. 293.

[35] On the language question, see Peter Mackridge, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766–1976*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Also Panayotis D. Mastrodimitris, "Επτανησιακὴ γλωσσικὴ θεωρία 1818–1911" [Septinsular linguistic theory, 1818–1911], in *Τὸ γλωσσικὸ ζήτημα: Σύγχρονες προσεγγίσεις* [The language question: contemporary approaches], ed. Giorgos Babiniotis, Athens: Foundation of the Greek Parliament, 2011, pp. 285–323.

[36] Theodoros Karoussos, "Νύξεις εἰς τὸ περὶ νεοελληνικῆς γλώσσης ζήτημα" [Suggestions on the Neohellenic language question], *Πανδώρα* 7 (1857), p. 533.

the age.[37] Disapproving their abuses, he had a rational linguistic view, and felt obliged to respect the common people's language.[38] In his eyes, what he calls the kathomiloumeni mirror the Hellenic linguistic tradition as well as the different phases of the koine's long course. He was, therefore, closer to the actual outcome of standardised Greek.[39] He expresses his views thus:

> Language comprises the mirror of Greek civilisation, reflecting exactly its different phases, changing along with each of them and being in perfect harmony with the whole system of ideas and sentiments of each one of those periods; studying in a philosophical perspective the main changes of our forefathers' language, we observe at the same time the history of the kathomiloumeni, we explore the reasons of its genesis in the past. Starting from this point, surveying and examining her trends and orientations, we are persuaded about the worth and the convenience of the actual form of our language to the content of contemporary national sentiment, consisting the fusion of ancient and modern civilisation, of classicism and Orthodoxy, of ancestral patriotism and Christian love.[40]

Karoussos' writings remained substantially influenced by Western thought. Almost all the assumptions and ideas that went into his writings came directly from Western sources.[41] Though his philosophical training kept him within the

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[37] Ibid., p. 530.

[38] He draws attention to the grammatical forms *ἵνα*, *οὐ*, *ἐστίν* that ought to be replaced by *νά*, *δέν*, *εἶναι*. See Theodoros Karoussos, "Σκέψεις περὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ" [Thoughts on the study of Hellenism], *Πανδώρα* 4 (1853), p. 353; Roxane D. Argyropoulos, "Φιλοσοφικὲς ἀντιλήψεις τοῦ Θεοδώρου Καρούσου γιὰ τὸν Ἑλληνισμό" [Theodoros Karoussos' philosophical views on Hellenism], in *ΣΤ΄ Διεθνούς Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου: Πρακτικά* [6th International Panionian Congress: Proceedings], Zakynthos, 23–27 September 1997, Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2002, vol. 3, pp. 59–68. Also published in Argyropoulos, *Προσεγγίσεις* [Approaches], pp. 172–183.

[39] On these arguments, see Panagiotis Hiotis, *Περὶ δημοτικῆς ἐν Ἑλλάδι γλώσσης: Διατριβή* [On popular language in Greece: A disseration], Zakynthos: Avgi, 1859. Cf. Triantaphyllos E. Sklavenitis, "Η εθνική ιδεολογία και η επτανησιακή ελληνοφωνία" [National ideology and the use of Greek language in the Heptanese], in *Πολιτισμικές εκφράσεις της επτανησιακής ταυτότητας 17ος–20ός αιώνας* [Cultural expressions of the Septinsular identity, 17th–20th centuries], *Εταιρεία Παξινών Μελετών*, *Πρακτικά ΙΘ' Συμποσίου* [Society of Studies on Paxoi, 19th Symposium: Proceedings], Paxoi, s.n., 2014, p. 368.

[40] Karoussos, "Σκέψεις περὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ" [Thoughts on the study of Hellenism], p. 353.

[41] His major work *Δοκίμιον τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς ἀρχαίας παρ᾽Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφίας* [Historical essay on ancient Greek philosophy] – printed posthumously by Dionysios Linardatos in 1888 – is based on G.W.F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* (1837), Eduard

orbit of the Greek Enlightenment,[42] he developed quite independently. Clear liberal threads remain in his thought, connecting liberty and perfectibility as the basic characteristics of human nature. His liberalism was closely tied to the belief that progress presents a cumulative constant tendency in history, echoing on that point Condorcet's theory on human perfectibility. As Ilias Tsitselis relates, Karoussos attempted to distance himself from both Scottish common sense realism[43] and French eclecticism that tried to reconcile empiricism with rationalism.[44] He turned his acumen to the dominant philosophy of the time represented by German idealism, which proved to be an intellectual awakening for him. He strongly shared G.W.F. Hegel's fascination, praising him for having transformed contemporary philosophy in a new way.

Karoussos developed a close relationship with Ioannis Menayas (1811–1870),[45] a key figure of Kefalonian intellectual life and also a pupil of Vamvas at the upper school at the Kastro.[46] During his studies in philosophy at the universities of Berlin, Munich and Leipzig, Menayas had made the acquaintance of Schelling and became a follower of German idealism, in particular the Hegelian system.[47] He is known for popularising Hegel, and his lectures from the 1850s at the lyceum of Argostoli were disseminated by his students.[48] Argostoli was, in fact,

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Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (1844–1845) and Albert Schwegler, *Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie* (1859).

[42] Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "Επτανησιακὸς Διαφωτισμός: Τὰ ὅρια τῆς ἰδιομορφίας" [Septinsular Enlightenment: the limits of singularity] in *Πρακτικὰ Ζ΄ Πανιόνιο Συνέδριο, Λευκάδα, 26–30 Μαΐου 2002* [Proceedings of the 7th Panionian Congress, Lefcada, 26–30 May 2002], Athens: Society of Studies on Lefcada, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 243–257.

[43] For the Scottish commonsense realism, see Jonathan Friday, "Dugald Stewart on Reid, Kant and the Refutation of Idealism", *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 13 (2005), pp. 263–286.

[44] On the convergences between Scottish and French Eclecticism, see Émile Boutroux, *De l'influence de la philosophie écossaise sur la philosophie française*, Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1897.

[45] Georgios. K. *Gratsiatos,* "Εγελιανοὶ ἐν Ἑλλάδι" [Hegelians in Greece], *Ἀρχεῖον Φιλοσοφίας καὶ Θεωρίας τῶν Ἐπιστημῶν* 3 (1932), pp. 225–241. For Menayas' life and work, see Georgia Apostolopoulou, *Ὁ Ἐγελιανὸς φιλόσοφος Ἰωάννης Μενάγιας: εἰσαγωγή, κείμενα, μαρτυρίες* [The Hegelian philosopher Ioannis Menayas: introduction, texts, testimonies], Ioannina: University of Ioannina, 1988.

[46] Gratsiatos, who also belonged to Menayas' circle, speaks about Karoussos' friendship with the latter, *Θεόδωρος Καροῦσος* [Theodoros Karoussos], pp. 10–11.

[47] For Hegel's followers in Greece, see Georgia Apostolopoulou, "Hegel-Studien in Griechenland", *Hegel-Studien* 21 (1986), pp. 189–218.

[48] For Septinsular Hegelianism, see Giorgos Veloudis, "Ο έπτανησιακός έγελιανισμός (φιλολογία–τέχνη–ιδεολογία)" [Septinsular Hegelianism (literature–art–ideology)], in

a noteworthy centre of nineteenth-century Hegelianism, which some leading figures of the Radical movement identified with. Notable personalities such as Panayotis Panas, Iosif Monferratos and Ilias Zervos arrived at the formulation of their political movement as a part of a universal historical progression of the spirit towards freedom.[49] The truth is that they loaded Hegelianism with their national aspirations. As for Karoussos, who was sympathetic to Albert Schwegler and Eduard Zeller, he may be regarded as a conservative neo-Hegelian. Yet, he echoes the idealistic historicism of Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen (1803–1863), a German follower of Hegel and a historian whose impact also prevailed on Spyridon Zambelios and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, claiming that what constitutes Greek history as a whole is the spirit (Geist) of the Greek people.[50]

Hegel's idealism decisively shaped Karoussos' intellectual outlook,[51] and within the latter's own opinions that were focused on Hellenism and the legacy of ancient Greek philosophy, we observe an Hegelian reading of these questions.[52] The particularity of his intellectual shift towards Hegelian philosophy becomes apparent when he attempts to interpret contemporary Greek ideology through the appropriation of Hegelian concepts and terminology. It was only an appropriation and not an interpretation of Hegelianism, simply because Hegel was not a follower of the conception that the nation-state relies on national culture and because, in Hegelian terms, philosophy is the universally self-consciousness of culture.[53] Aiming to systematise and clarify some admitted ideological confusions, Karoussos expounded from a Hegelian philosophical angle the continuity and

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Μονά-Ζυγά: Δέκα νεοελληνικὰ μελετήματα [Ten Neohellenic studies] Athens: Gnosi, 1992, pp. 79–96.

[49] Gratsiatos also describes the ties between Menayas and the Radical Movement, *Θεόδωρος Καροϋσος* [Theodoros Karoussos], p. 20.

[50] Ioannis Koubourlis, *Οἱ ἱστοριογραφικὲς ὀφειλὲς τῶν Σπ. Ζαμπέλιου καὶ Κ. Παπαρρηγόπουλου: Ἡ συμβολὴ Ἑλλήνων καὶ ξένων λογίων στὴ διαμόρφωση τοῦ τρίσημου σχήματος τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ἱστορισμοῦ (1782–1846)* [The intellectual debts of S. Zambelios and K. Paparrigopoulos: Greek and foreign scholars' contribution in shaping the tripartite scheme of Greek historicism, 1782–1846] , Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2012, pp. 375–376.

[51] Gratsiatos, *Θεόδωρος Καροϋσος* [Theodoros Karoussos], p. 2, and Tsitselis, *Κεφαλληνιακά Σύμμικτα* [Kefalonian miscellanea], p. 217.

[52] Georgia Apostolopoulou, "'Ο Θεόδωρος Καροῦσος ὡς ἱστορικὸς τῆς φιλοσοφίας" [Theodoros Karoussos as a historian of philosophy], in *Τὸ Ἰόνιο: Οἰκολογία–Οἰκονομία–Ρεύματα Ἰδεῶν* [The Ionian: Ecology–economy–currents of ideas], Athens: Centre for Ionian Studies, 1990, pp. 130–140.

[53] Shlomo Avineri, "Hegel and Nationalism", in *Debating the Political Philosophy of Hegel*, ed. Walter. Kaufmann, New Brunswick: AldineTransaction, 2010, pp. 109–136.

discontinuity debate generated by Zambelios and Paparrigopoulos.[54] As we well know, Paparrigopoulos' *Ἱστορία τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους* [History of the Hellenic Nation][55] responded to profound needs in modern Greek society and collective consciousness,[56] providing an outlet for the articulation of feelings and predispositions which were widespread but still inchoate in the collective mentality.

While setting the basis for the formation of national identity, Zambelios and Paparrigopoulos generated a vast debate concerning not only a closed and restricted circle of specialists and academics; it was addressed to the youthful modern Greek society of their time, deliberately to strengthen their national self-knowledge. As soon as Zambelios introduced the term Helleno-Christian, the difficulties raised by its interpretation were subject to various criticisms due to the ideological antithesis between the Hellenic spirit and Byzantine Christianity.[57]

Conscious of the conceptual indeterminacies that it aroused, Karoussos belonged, however, to those who almost immediately accepted and supported the new ideology. Above all, through the development of his ideas on the formation of a national Greek history, he attempted to revisit Paparrigopoulos' crucial theories and emphasised the need to use contemporary philosophical ideas in order to justify them. Clearly, he was the most profound exponent of the Helleno-Christian conception. He became vividly concerned in promoting a better understanding of this new notion, which became a canvas on which the new state's ideology was shaped. He begun to develop an answer to the problem, trying to subject Zambelios' and Paparrigopoulos' theories to a new critical evaluation from a philosophical angle.[58]

One year after the publication of Zambelios' work *Ἄσματα δημοτικὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐκδοθέντα μετὰ Μελέτης ἱστορικῆς περὶ μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ*

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[54] For more on Zambelios' contribution, see Ioannis Koubourlis, *La formation de l'histoire nationale grecque: L'apport de Spyridon Zambélios 1815–1881*, Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2005.

[55] Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους* [History of the Hellenic nation], 5 vols, 2nd ed., Athens: Anestis Konstantinidis, 1885–1887.

[56] Constantinos Th. Dimaras, *Κ. Παπαρρηγόπουλος: Ἡ ἐποχή του–ἡ ζωή του–τὸ ἔργο του* [K. Paparrigopoulos: his era–his life–his work], Athens: Cultural Foundation of the National Bank, 1986, pp. 294–298 and 318–322.

[57] Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "On the Intellectual Content of Greek Nationalism: Paparrigopoulos, Byzantium and the Great Idea", in *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*, ed. David Ricks and Paul Magdalino, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 25–33. Also Dean Kostantaras, "Byzantine Turns in Modern Greek Thought and Historiography, 1767–1874", *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 12 (2015), pp. 164–197.

[58] Theodoros Karoussos, "Τίνα τὰ κέντρα τῆς ἐθνικῆς ἑνώσεως" [Which are the centers of national unity], *Πανδώρα* 5 (1854), p. 493.

[Folk songs of Greece: published with a historical study of medieval Hellenism], Karoussos not only adopted the tripartite periodisation introduced by Zambelios (ancient, medieval and modern Hellenism), but extended into a fourth, succeeding period that included the Alexandrian philosophical school that had appropriated not only Neoplatonism but also the spirit of Christianity.[59] Religion always played a considerable part in Karoussos' thought and, as his pupil Pavlos Gratsiatos (1844–1917) observed, his faithfulness to Orthodoxy was associated with his patriotic commitment.[60] Writing on the intellectual impetus towards national unity in Greece, Constantinos Th. Dimaras has stressed that we ought to recall Karoussos for associating Athens with Byzantium.[61] In fact, in his article "Which are the Centres of National Unity", Karoussos linked Byzantium and Athens. For, according to him, in modern times the ideals of Orthodoxy combined with the classical Hellenic spirit as the nation's unifying force.[62]

Although, in 1846 Paparrigopoulos had expressed his conviction that Greece required a national historiographer more than a philosopher of history,[63] nevertheless Karoussos responded, some years later, recognising how ambiguous the crucial theory of an Helleno-Christian civilisation still was.[64] The vague and abstract term of Hellenism created a semantic confusion in all minds, and he felt the need to elaborate a rigorous inquiry into this problem.[65] On this point,

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[59] John M. Dillon, *The Golden Chain: Studies in the Development of Platonism and Christianity*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1990.

[60] Gratsiatos, *Θεόδωρος Καροϋσος* [Theodoros Karoussos], pp. 11–19.

[61] See Constantinos Th. Dimaras, "Η όρμὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐθνικὴ ἑνότητα μέσα στὸν ἑλληνικὸ ρωμαντισμό" [The impetus towards national unity in Greek Romanticism], *Ἑλληνικὸς Ρωμαντισμός* [Greek romanticism] Athens: Ermis, 2009, p. 424.

[62] Karoussos, "Τίνα τὰ κέντρα" [Which are the centers], p. 83.

[63] Quoted in Ioannis Koubourlis, "European Historiographical Influences upon the Young Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos", in *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, & the Uses of the Past (1797–1896)*, ed. Roderick Beaton and David Ricks, London: Ashgate & Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London, 2009, p. 55.

[64] Karoussos, "Σκέψεις περὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ" [Thoughts on the study of Hellenism], p. 354.

[65] Similar thoughts on Hellenism, as a subject raising an interpretation, can be found in Petros Vrailas-Armenis. See Roxane D. Argyropoulos, "'Η φιλοσοφική θεμελίωση τῆς ἱστορικῆς συνέχειας τοῦ ἑλληνισμοῦ στὸν 19ο αἰῶνα: Θεόδωρος Καροῦσος–Πέτρος Βράϊλας-Ἀρμένης" [The philosophical explanation of Hellenism in the 19th century: Theodoros Karoussos–Petros Vraïlas-Armenis], in *Πρακτικά ΚΑ΄ Πανελληνίου Ιστορικού Συνεδρίου* [Proceedings of the 21st Historical Congress], Thessaloniki: Hellenic Historical Society, 2001, pp. 217–222. Also published in Argyropoulos, *Νεοελληνικὸς ἠθικὸς καὶ πολιτικὸς στοχασμός: Ἀπὸ τὸν Διαφωτισμὸ στὸν Ρομαντισμό* [Modern Greek ethics and political reflection: from the enlightenment to romanticism], Thessaloniki: Vanias, 2003, pp. 260–269.

his argumentation appears to have been motivated by the increased reaction of Greek intelligentsia. In order to diminish it, he firmly believed that his task, both as a classical philologist and a historian of philosophy, was to examine closely and clarify concepts whose meaning still remained too obscure.[66] The method he chose was interdisciplinary; a combination of philosophy, literary criticism and linguistics shaped the character of his thought and constitutes, I think, his subtle contribution to the modern Greek history of ideas. According to Karoussos, philosophical thought as a central feature had been common to all phases of Hellenic culture and should be interpreted in the light of the prevailing contemporary philosophical system. On the other hand, he held Greek philosophical thought since antiquity as a cultural continuity, insisting on the gradual process in which Hellenism evolves as self-actualising. He points out that its study should contribute to the treatment and consolidation of the national character and convictions that led the Greeks to the path of liberty.[67] In his approach, he highlights the fundamental problem of historicity in the progression of national consciousness and the fact that a continuity of ideas subsists in the course of philosophy, as shaped by earlier practices which survive into the present, although accompanied by changes corresponding to dominant currents. Karoussos claimed that ancient Greek culture had not faded away. At the same time, he endeavours to promote the Greek character of Byzantine philosophical thought, and he remarks that we owe to the Byzantine state the conservation of the language, religion and more generally of nationality of the Greeks.

What most interested him was the possibility to explain the dialectical combination between the two apparently antithetical legacies of pagan ancient Greece and Christian Byzantium, leading into a new synthesis expressed by the Helleno-Christian idea. Quite easily, he assimilated Hegelian conceptions into his interpretation. As is well known, Hegel argued that the meaning of Geist is the absolute mind or spirit that provoked through history a purification process, a conjunction that preserves the contradiction between thesis and its antithesis.[68] In a similar way, Karoussos replaced the term of Geist with that of Hellenism, a multivaried historical phenomenon whose successive phases should be examined by modern Greeks for a better understanding of their national character. Consequently, Hegel's philosophy shaped Karoussos' intellectual development,

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[66] Argyropoulos, "Φιλοσοφικὲς ἀντιλήψεις τοῦ Θεοδώρου Καρούσου" [Theodoros Karoussos' philosophical views], pp. 172–183.

[67] Karoussos, "Σκέψεις περὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ" [Thoughts on the study of Hellenism], p. 351.

[68] The term Zeitgeist, often attributed to Hegel, was never actually used by him. In the *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* he used the expression "der Geist seiner Zeit".

providing him with an analysis of the phrase "die Geist seiner Zeit " (the spirit of his times), and, according to Karoussos' translation in Greek, the global spirit of the time, "*τὸ καθολικὸν τῆς ἐποχῆς πνεῦμα*".[69] It is apparent that his method is a retrospective unfolding; in light of Hegel's philosophy of history, he recognises the tendency to exhibit the unfolding of an inner spiritual principle progression which is represented by the spirit of Hellenism, whose historical fulfilment was not achieved through a series of smooth transitions but through a process of tensions and conflicts. Karoussos remarks that each period represents a phase of Hellenism's evolution, a particular step in his long struggle to arrive at self-consciousness. In the following passage he reveals his main positions:

> In unfolding Hellenism, we unfold our own nature, the origin and the genesis of our contemporary national spirit. The nutrition and the vivification of our spirit and heart with our literature's juice and essence produces, as an immediate result, the preponderation and evolution of our principles, ideas or convictions. This is the only clear source with which the contemporary generation of the Greek race is able to flourish and gain force in order to realise the grand goal of national unity.[70]

He came to accept the Hegelian contrast between the "internal" and the "external", and throughout his own philosophical development emerge from Hegel's *Science of Logic*.[71] He uses the terms of *Innerlichkeit* (inwardness) and that of *Äusserlichkeit* (externality), indicating what is inessential in a variety of contexts, not always in contrast with each other. In Hellenism's evolution, Karoussos argues that language corresponds to the exterior part, providing form to the thought, and adding that for this reason, its study must come first. Thus, he concludes:

> For language, as far as we have seen, is the form (*εἶδος*). Therefore, as long as we are occupied with grammar and critique, our knowledge shall remain forever simply vacuous and superficial if we do not also penetrate the inner and real part of Hellenism. Of course, this mine is inexhaustible; it offers unceasingly new material to those wishing to exploit it.[72]

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[69] Karoussos, "Σκέψεις περὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ" [Thoughts on the study of Hellenism], p. 354.

[70] Ibid., p. 351.

[71] On Hegel's linguistic, see Jere O'Neill Surber (ed.), *Hegel and Language*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006.

[72] Karoussos, "Σκέψεις περὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ" [Thoughts on the study of Hellenism], p. 353.

In a way, Karoussos surpassed Paparrigopoulos' pioneering project. Explaining the successive periods of Greek philosophy, he acknowledges that the fusion of Hellenism with Christianity can be studied in the case of Socrates,[73] seen as a forerunner of Christ,[74] and can also be discovered in the Hellenisation of the Alexandrian school of philosophy, through the union of Neoplatonism with the spirit of Christianity. Thereby, the dominant themes of his interests are drawn from Homer, Plato, Socrates and the Christian Platonist philosophers of Alexandria. Regarding Homer, he admits that his epic poems describe the "infancy of Greek nation" (*ἡ πρώτη ἡλικία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*)[75] providing us the first elements of social and practical life in ancient Greece.[76] As for Socrates, he compares him to the figure of Jesus Christ:

> Therefore, Socratic teaching, in its goals as much as in its principles, reveals great similarities with Christian teaching; for as an exclusive object of its teachings, Christianity also takes man and as the centre of its studies, man's moral regeneration and blessedness.[77]

Karoussos' idealism can also be found in his immoderate fondness for Plato.[78] Tsitselis relates that from his earliest years, Plato had been an object of worship for him;[79] as for Spyridon K. Papageorgiou, he remarks that Plato was his inseparable friend, for one could seldom see Karoussos without a Platonic dialogue in his hands.[80] His essays on Plato mark a turning point in his philosophical interests. He seems to have been mostly moved by the *Symposium*, *Phaedrus*, *Euthydemus*, *Philebus*, *Protagoras* and *Gorgias.* His comments provide useful information regarding his intellectual biography, for Plato's philosophy is mostly understood through the lens of Hegel. In his exaltation of Hegelianism as the complete and

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[73] In 1876, Karoussos presented Alfred Fouillée's work *La philosophie de Socrate* (Paris, 1874) in the journal *Βύρων*.

[74] In his critical review of Ernest Renan's *Vie de Jésus* (Paris, 1863), Karoussos regarded religion as having equal value with the sciences of nature, *Πανδώρα* 15 (1864), pp. 73–82, 97–102.

[75] The perception of Homer as the source for the knowledge of Greek nation's infancy was expressed before Hegel by Giambattista Vico, *Scienza nuova*, in *Opere*, ed. Paolo Rossi, Milan: Rizzoli, 1959, p. 118.

[76] Theodoros Karoussos. "Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν μελέτην τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν Ποιημάτων" [Introduction to the study of Homeric poems], *Πανδώρα* 11 (1860), p. 399.

[77] Theodoros Karoussos, "Ὁ Σωκρατισμὸς καὶ ὁ Χριστιανισμός" [Socratism and Christianity], *Πανδώρα* 15 (1865), p. 495.

[78] From 1866 to 1874, in a series of 13 articles that appeared in *Πανδώρα*, *Κλειώ* and *Βύρων* under the general title *Πλατωνικαὶ Μελέται* [Platonic studies], Karoussos focuses on the meaning of some Platonic dialogues.

[79] Tsitselis, *Κεφαλληνιακά Σύμμικτα* [Kefalonian miscellanea], p. 223.

[80] Papageorgiou, "Θεόδωρος Καροῦσος" [Theodoros Karoussos], p. 247.

definitive revelation of the world of ideas, we can find Plato's views; for the real is the ideal, the intelligible.[81] He takes up the Platonic spiritualist tradition, claiming that Greek the spirit found its self-consciousness in Plato. He writes:

> The ancient Greek spirit acquires its consciousness in Platonic philosophy, which upholds the different elements of our national life, has submitted to the torment of our mind, the metaphysic, political, national principles on which Greek civilisation is founded […] although the realisation of this attempt has been reserved by Providence in another time, in another social structure based on the foundations of the Christian religion.[82]

Having identified the aims of philosophy, his further concern consisted in providing a clear and coherent account of the interaction of philosophy and education. Inaugurating the academic year at the Petritseios School in Lixouri, he discussed the importance of education in shaping national philosophy. Philosophical theories become concrete in education, because philosophy sets up the ideals that are to be achieved. Education, therefore, may be seen as a means to realise the ideals of national philosophy. With insistence, he recognises that philosophy and education are closely linked together:

> Philosophical and national education are notions connected to each other and inseparable; for among the main characteristics of the Greek spirit has always been a tendency towards philosophy.[83]

In concluding this presentation of Karoussos' thought, there can be no doubt about his contribution to the establishment of Greek ideological identity. The result of his reflections is a rather individual piece of work, placing him among the representative intellectuals of his time. He assigned a special emphasis to the term "Hellenism", understanding it in the broader sense and exploring it both as a phenomenon in the trajectory of history and as a concept that had thoroughly insinuated itself in Greek reality. Claiming a gradual development of philosophical ideas in the process of national identity, he defended philosophy as a powerful factor. He explained the development of Hellenism not only in a

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[81] The belief in a link between Platonic ideas and German idealism can also found in Pavlos Gratsiatos, who, in 1915, was the first to publish in Greek the translation of Hegel's *Shorter Logic.*

[82] Theodoros Karoussos "Πλατωνικαὶ Μελέται: *Συμπόσιον*" [Platonic studies: *The Symposium*], *Πανδώρα* 17 (1866), p. 200.

[83] Theodoros Karoussos, *Λόγος εἰσαγωγικὸς εἰς τὴν σειρὰν τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐκφωνηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν ἔναρξιν τῶν μαθημάτων τῆς ἐν Παλαιῷ Κεφαλληνίας Πετριτσείου Σχολῆς* [Inauguration speech to the philosophy lectures delivered at the beginning of the academic year at the old Petritseios school in Kefalonia], Kefalonia: I Kefalonia, 1856, p. 10.

narrow sense, but as a wider manifestation of the universal spirit. On the other hand, his strong interest in Hegelianism led him to enlarge this current of ideas, associating it intellectually with modern Greek thought, pointing out the creative relationship of Christian doctrine with Hegelian ideas in a single grand scheme. As a deep thinker, Karoussos provides an example of the infiltration of the dominant contemporary philosophical theories in Greek national philosophy, understood here as a connection between theory and ideology.

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