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### A Survey of Studies on Adamantios Korais During the Nineteenth Century

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A SURVEY OF STUDIES ON ADAMANTIOS KORAI  
DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

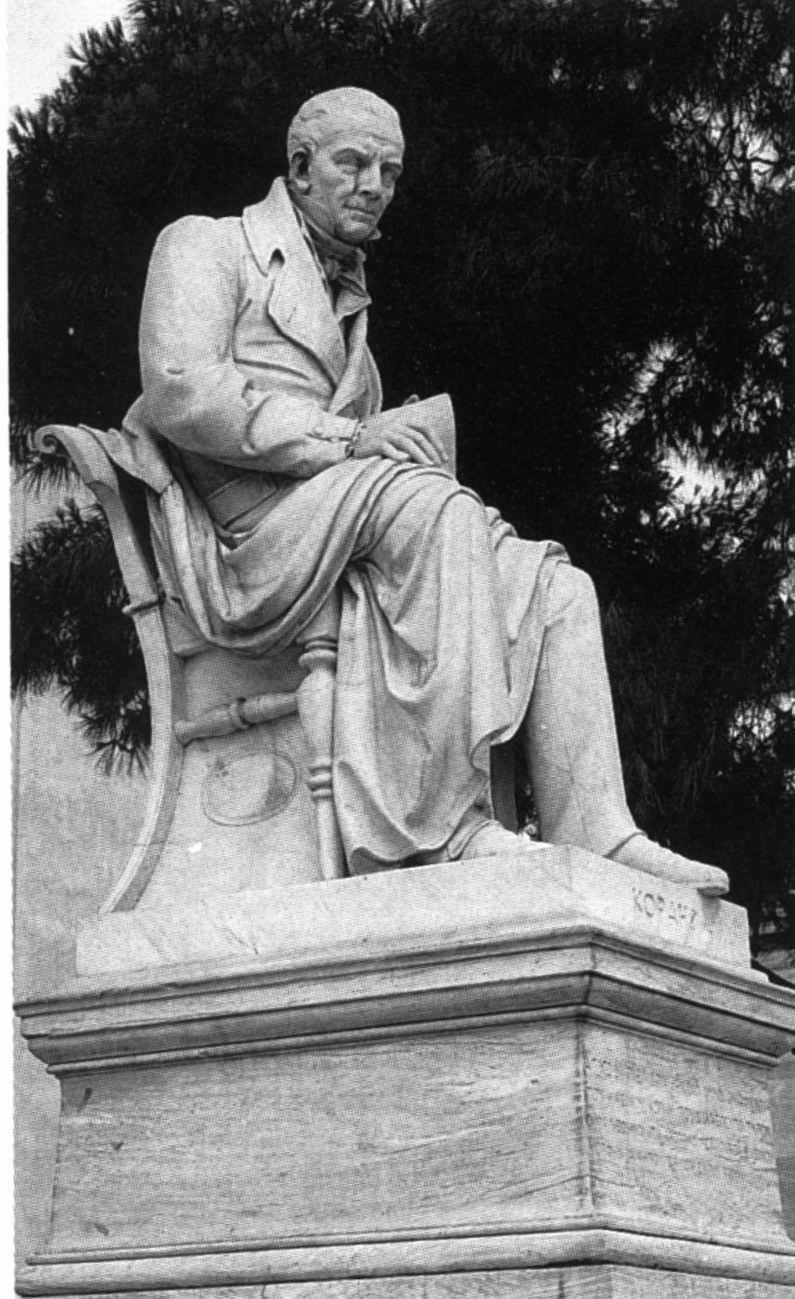
*Emmanuel N. Franghiscos*

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ABSTRACT: With the exception of a biographical entry on Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) published in 1836 by the Hellenist G. R. L. de Sinner in Paris and of a university discourse by Professor Pericles Argyropoulos, published in 1850 in Athens, scholars and intellectuals in the newly founded kingdom of Greece had not included Korais among their research priorities. Eventually the academic foundations of research on Korais would be laid in the decade 1871-80. The Chiot merchants of Marseille in collaboration with a corresponding committee in Athens planned, among other manifestations honouring their compatriot Korais, the publication of his unpublished writings and his correspondence. The year 1881 saw the inauguration of the series *Posthumously found writings* with a volume edited by A. Mamoukas, who included a long biographical introduction. In 1885-6 Korais' correspondence was published by Professor N. Damalas. Earlier, in 1877, in Paris from among the ranks of the "Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France", Neohellenists Brunet de Presle and the Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire had published Korais' correspondence with the classicist Chardon de la Rochette during the French Revolution and with a number of other distinguished French philologists. In a separate edition they published his correspondence with the Swiss philosopher P. Prevost, and Queux de Saint-Hilaire translated and published in French in 1880 Korais' correspondence with the Precentor of Smyrna D. Lotos during the Revolutionary period. In 1889-90 the Greek journalist in Trieste, D. Therianos, published a three-volume biography of Korais, which represents the most important milestone in Korais studies during the nineteenth century. Among more partial approaches to Korais' life and work after Therianos, mention should be made of a critical study in 1903 by the diplomat scholar I. Gennadios, who called Damalas' edition of Korais' correspondence a shame for Greek letters. Although it was too early for nineteenth century authors to see Korais in the perspective of the European Enlightenment, they nevertheless have left important general synthetic works and prepared the ground for subsequent fuller editions of his correspondence.

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In order to locate in time the chronological origins of scholarly research on Adamantios Korais (Smyrna 1748-Paris 1833) – in the sense of identifying the point in time at which a body of publications of a primarily scholarly nature had been assembled, of a mass sufficient to form a judgement, concerning the personality and work of Korais – it will be necessary to revert to the nineteenth century and specifically to its final three decades. Previously, in the years following his death in Paris, where he was permanently resident since the eve of the French Revolution, and in the immediately ensuing years of the liberation of the Greeks (to restrict ourselves solely to the regions that had been



Adamantios Korais: A statue by G. Vroutos (1873). University of Athens.  
Source: *Λεξικό Ελλήνων Καλλιτεχνών*, Athens 1997, Vol. I, p. 269.

integrated into the body-politic of the newly established Greek kingdom) there was no lack of impetus to bring into the foreground the personality of the great scholar: his works were reissued; some of his texts originally published in French were translated; the first collections of his correspondence were published, as were individual unpublished letters; his books circulated, and enriched public libraries; reports appeared in the columns of the Athenian press on the matter of the endowment of Chios' high school with his library; his portrait was prominently displayed in homage at patriotic functions of national commemorations; young people wrote poems and exercises in rhetoric reflecting their gratitude to his person; articles in newspapers and magazines evoked his ideas of political, pedagogical, linguistic and religious content, and referred to the reactions that certain of these had provoked after his death.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the motivations, they nevertheless in every instance merely demonstrated the degree of high regard in which he was held in the esteem of the public, preserving in its collective memory his image as the Greek Nation's Teacher, who had himself lived far from his enslaved country, while assisting in its liberation by his writings and his patriotic counsel. To what extent, however, did this occasional recall of his name to public attention suffice to activate the erudite of those days to study the events of his life and the content of his works, pose questions and assess with validity the magnitude of his contribution to the nation, to culture and to philological scholarship? In other words, to utilise to full advantage the sources of scholarship in these fields, bequeathed by both Korais himself – principally his publications of Greek classics with his prolegomena – as well as of course his autobiography, as also later, by his friends, who published a part, albeit minimal, of his correspondence? Any exceptions would here too be the rule.

There was perhaps moreover a lack of the perspective of time, as also of a tradition in historiography, essential for this sort of analysis – even more for composite works; perhaps the political climate was inauspicious, in this small Hellenic kingdom where attitudes were muzzled and anti-democratic, alien to Korais' political ideology despite the constitutional rehabilitation brought about by the revolution of 3 September 1843.<sup>2</sup> In any case, in the ambience of

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<sup>1</sup> There is a lack of comprehensive compilations of the works of Adamantios Korais with the following exceptions: the Greek national bibliography of the publications and re-publications of Korais' writings, which covers, that is to say, the publishing production of the nineteenth century, such as that by Gkinis-Mexas, Athens 1939-1957; specific Korais bibliography such as that by G. Ladas, Athens 1934; a few publications concerning those sections as survived, in the aftermath of Korais' death, in Greece after liberation.

<sup>2</sup> See John Petropoulos, *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece, 1833-1843*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.

the day, of dogmatic state ideologies and under the pressure of national priorities, the ideas introduced by Korais and his contemporary scholars – that is of such who like him were incited by a spirit of modernisation in the issues of education, science, language, politics, etc. – could not easily be brought forward for discussion at an official level so as to be considered in that period a curb to the drive toward enlightenment, evolving since the eighteenth century and, in Greece, culminating prior to liberation from the Turkish yoke.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps, finally, it was the novel demands and orientations of the country's intellectual leadership (establishing the profile of the newly founded University of Athens, reinforcing university-level tuition; rebuttal of the anti-Hellenic theories concerning the origins of modern Greeks; the diffusion eastward of enlightening Greek civilisation as part of the national Great Idea; the coordination of the national language on the basis of formal and ancient Greek vocabulary)<sup>4</sup> that additionally constituted factors contributing to delaying any prospects of research into the life and works of Adamantios Korais at that time by the community of Greek scholars and academics, some of whom had been intimates of his during his lifetime.

At an early date, however, the task neglected by Korais' compatriots was undertaken by a European Hellenist, the Swiss Gabriel Rodolphe Louis de (Gabriel Rudolph Ludwig von) Sinner, established in Paris from 1828 when he met the great old man.<sup>5</sup> In 1835 he composed an entry for the *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, published by Michaud, under the name of

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<sup>3</sup> C. Th. Dimaras, Paschalis Kitromilides, Yannis Karas and other historians and scholars of the phenomenon writing since the mid-twentieth century and stressing the connection of Greek intellectual movements of the eighteenth and pre-revolutionary nineteenth centuries to their European origins, i.e. the Enlightenment, note the decline and inertia of the diffusion of Korais' ideas following the founding of the modern Greek state.

<sup>4</sup> See C. Th. Dimaras, *Ελληνικός Ρομαντισμός* [Greek Romanticism] Athens 1985, especially the third chapter "Η ιδεολογική υποδομή του νέου ελληνικού κράτους" [The ideological infrastructure of the modern Greek state], p. 325 *et sequ.*, Alexis Politis, *Ρομαντικά χρόνια. Ιδεολογίες και νοοτροπίες στην Ελλάδα του 1830-1880* [The years of Romanticism: ideologies and mentalities in Greece, 1830-1880], Athens 1993. See additionally recent works concerning the founding and development of Athens University: C. Th. Dimaras, "Εν Ἀθήναις τῆς 3 Μαΐου 1837". *Μελέτη ιστορική και φιλολογική* [At Athens, 3 May 1837: an historical and philological study] (University history series), Athens 1987 and Costas Lappas, *Πανεπιστήμιο και φοιτητές στην Ελλάδα κατά τον 19ο αιώνα* [University and students in Greece in the 19th century], Historical Archive of Greek Youth, New Generation General Secretariat – Institute for Modern Greek Research/NRF: Athens 2004.

<sup>5</sup> On Sinner (born 1801) and his literary and other activities, see the eponymous entry in J.-M. Quérard, *La France littéraire*, Vol. IX, Paris (reprint 1964).

“Koray Diamant”, “un des plus célèbres de notre siècle et le plus grand philologue assurément de la Grèce moderne” [one of the most celebrated of our century and assuredly the greatest philologist of modern Greece], an article published in 1836 in the supplement to Vol. 61 (pp. 358-75), which also circulated as a separate leaflet and was translated into German the following year, with certain explicatory complements to the Notes, by the Swiss historian Conrad Ott.<sup>6</sup>

Sinner did not restrict himself to a conventional biographical sketch. The article was the product of in-depth research and study, in which in a methodical manner the successive phases of the life and work of the subject were treated. Korais’ autobiography and publications formed the fundamental fount for the material, but the author also consulted third sources such as the *Mélanges de critique et de philologie* (Paris 1812) by the French Hellenist Chardon de la Rochette, the recently issued book of grammar by J. Rizo Néroulos, *Cours de Littérature grecque moderne* (Geneva 1828), as well as the *Collected Prolegomena of Adamantios Korais* (Paris 1833), which their author did not live to see in print. In this source the course of his terminal illness was outlined, with descriptions of his funerary ceremony and interment in the cemetery of Montparnasse. Additional biographical material and bibliography were provided by friends and collaborators of the learned Greek, the scholar and publisher Ambroise-Firmin Didot and the doctor Philippos Fournarakis. Thus for a long time the article in the *Biographie universelle* constituted the sole publication concentrating on virtually the complete works of Adamantios Korais, with a comprehensive bibliography, description of contents and the book titles in annotation in the original, from the translation of the *Catechism* of Platon, Metropolitan of Moscow (1782), until the posthumous fifth volume of the *Atakta* (1835) – significant is the omission of the pseudonymous pamphlets of his advanced years aimed against the first governor of free Greece, Ioannis Capodistrias. It should also be noted that this article is to be considered the most

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<sup>6</sup> The separate leaflet with the French text is entitled *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Diamant Coray*, and the corresponding German translation *Über das Leben und die Schriften von Diamant Coray*, Zürich 1837. For C. Ott’s complementary explications, see notes 2, 24 and 49 (the last two being additions by the translator). In note 2 Ott mentions a biographical article on Korais published at the time in Leipzig’s periodical *Zeitgenossen* from the pen of Theodor Kind, a German philhellene scholar which, however, Ott says Sinner could not have consulted, since he had handed his text in to the printers already in 1835. Whether this article’s contribution to better knowledge of Korais is as significant as that of Sinner’s text remains to be seen when it becomes available for research, although it is indicative of the international repute of the Greek scholar.

authoritative of the sources that until then attributed to Korais the authorship of the *Asma polemistiriou* (1800), a patriotic song popular in Greece in her days of enslavement, and also that it contains the first published intent to bequeath his library to the Chios High School. Whilst especially emphasising the critical editions of ancient Greek authors, whether issued as a series (*Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, Πάρεργα Ἑλληνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης*) or the independent Franco-Greek or Greek publications, the biographer evaluated – more frequently with approval and less so with reservations – Korais’ criticism of the texts, at the same time gathering testimonies for the impact of his works on the circles of European classicists. Sinner equally did not fail to refer to Korais’ contributions to the editions of his foreign colleagues, in the guise that is of his provision of critical annotations to the works they published, as well as his cooperation with literary publications of his day such as the English *Museum Oxoniense*, the French *Magazin encyclopédique* and the Greek *Ἐρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος*.

Despite the presentation of the principal production from the pen of the Greek sage from a purely philological point of view, the fact that the biographer noted the interconnection of Korais’ editorial choices and their sequential logic with educational needs of the Greek readership, as also the patriotic politics of their editor (which targeted a consciousness on the part of his compatriots of their political condition; and at the same time a projection thereof directed to other nations; and also his purpose to assist in their acquisition of knowledge of selected models of ancient Greek language and ideas and to improve the national language on historical foundations) – all this led him to the conclusion that Korais’ project was of a political nature, that his aim was Greece’s renaissance and her inclusion among the society of civilised nations and that it was with this objective that he had undertaken writings and activities of a purely political character: speeches addressing associations of French scholars, immediately followed by their issue in print; publication of pamphlets of dissent or arousal of nationalist sentiment; translations of the works of contemporary exponents of the Enlightenment in the field of law (Beccaria) destined to serve the free state’s future institutions; insertions of political texts amongst his introductions to his publications of the period of the Greek War of Independence after 1821. Sinner described Korais’ political thought as moderate, that at some point had exceeded the limits of moderation without however losing its sincere patriotic intent. Sinner expressed this view, summarising his extensive historical and literary report on Korais – together with further observations, such as Korais’ unique genius for the critical emendation of ancient texts and his choice of a middle way in the question of the Modern Greek language, in a brief exposé of linguistic confrontations based on the work of the grammarian J. R. Néroulos.

Despite omissions and errors – clearly few in number –<sup>7</sup> and his limited interest in the more specialised cultural questions which were the subject of Korais’ prolegomena to his books – understandable within the framework of this particular publication, and, of course, despite the impossibility for Sinner to take advantage of a fundamental source, that is the as yet unpublished correspondence of the learned Greek, the result was the presentation from an international forum of the first scientifically valid documentation concerning Korais, and more comprehensive in facts than Korais’ autobiography or entries in earlier biographical dictionaries. Sinner’s biographical essay, either manifestly or covertly, was to supply the material for subsequent biographers in Greece.

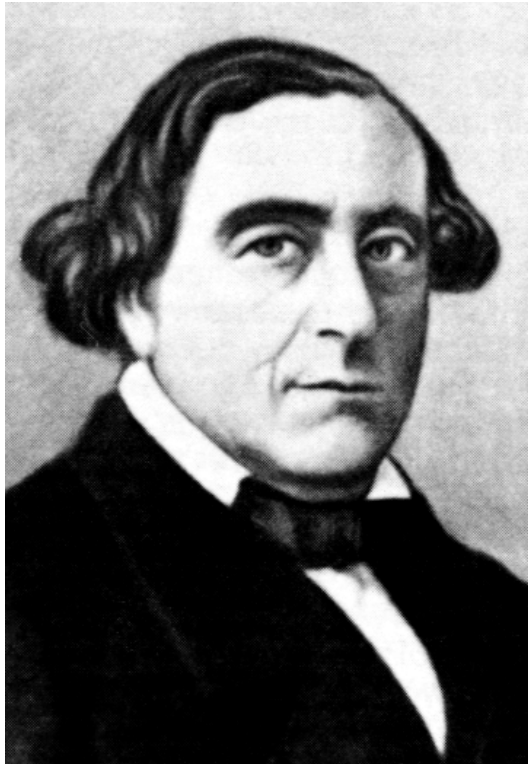
But whilst in France, Korais’ second country – although as observed by Sinner, Korais never acquired French nationality – the representatives of philological scholarship fulfilled their duty toward their great confrère shortly after his death, in Greece conversely, as has been seen, the academic community did not comprise him among the priorities of its research. This was precisely the ascertainment stressed by the professor of Public Law Pericles Argyropoulos, on the occasion in 1850 of the commemoration of the founding of Athens University, in the printed leaflet of his speech, whose subject was Adamantios Korais, with the introductory remark: “This initial and superficial investigation of the works of Adamantios Korais [...] should motivate a more profound research, as is necessitated by the diversity and sheer volume of the great man’s works, whose name was for the first time officially mentioned in a Greek ceremony on 20 May 1850”.<sup>8</sup> Like Sinner, Argyropoulos, in the course of his law studies there, had met Korais in Paris and had been an admirer of his from a young age, as he said in his speech to the University, having had the privilege of being one of the students to pronounce a funeral oration at Korais’ obsequies in 1833. Argyropoulos contributed not only valuable testimony

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<sup>7</sup> One such is for instance the reference to a Greek translation of *Mémoire sur l’état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce* (1803), an inaccuracy evidently traceable to the *Cours de Littérature grecque moderne* by J. R. Néroulos, p. 116, as also to the fact that the edition of *Ιεροκλέους [...] Αστειών* (1812) did not circulate commercially and was therefore rare. Finally, it could not have been possible for the biographer to maintain that there had been a lacuna on the presence and stance of Korais during the French Revolution, if he wrote the article after 1838, publication date of Korais’ correspondence in precisely that period.

<sup>8</sup> See the introductory pronouncement by the author in *Λόγος εκφωνηθείς την 20 Μαΐου κατά την επέτειον εορτήν του Πανεπιστημίου παρά του κ. Π. Αργυροπούλου... κατ’ εντολήν της Ακαδημαϊκής Συγκλήτου* [Speech delivered by Mr. P. Argyropoulos on May 20 at the University’s commemorative celebration, commanded by the University Senate], Athens 1850.





Pericles Argyropoulos.  
Source: *Παγκόσμιο Βιογραφικό Λεξικό*, Vol. I, p. 378.

deriving from personal experience of the physical image and intellectual alertness and charisma of the Old Man of Paris at the time of the Greek War of Independence, but also delved to advantage into every available source: the writings; the autobiography; the article in the *Biographie universelle*; Korais' available collections of letters, which had then just been issued, of his correspondence during the French Revolution with his friend Demetrios Lotos, Precantor of Smyrna (Paris [= Smyrna] 1838); the two *Απανθίσματα επιστολών* [Epistolary anthologies] taken from the private archives of, and published in Athens in 1839 and 1841 by, the Greek scholar's trusted collaborator, the merchant Iakovos Rotas, who was also one of the executors of the Will. These anthologies included for the first time, besides a catalogue of Korais' published works, a list of his unpublished literary work.<sup>9</sup>

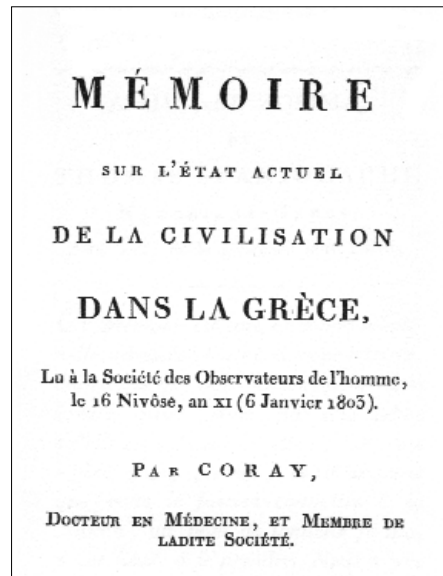
While Sinner, addressing an international public, traced the basic axis of his elaboration along the recording of Korais' editions of the classics – which had

<sup>9</sup> P. Argyropoulos also reproduced these catalogues in his published speech, pp. 50-52.

remained unknown to the broader public – and especially the highlighting of his contribution to textual criticism, Argyropoulos, speaking to a Greek audience, without diminishing the creative gift of Korais’ genius for classical scholarship, opted to examine his *œuvre*, his concepts and his stance toward the serious issues arising in his personal scholarly course as much as in connection with the resurgence of the Greek nation to rebirth and freedom, both from the viewpoint of their ideological consequences, what he described as the rules of “historical stage-setting” and of critical argument. In the biographies of eminent men, Argyropoulos noted, one ought to examine “how they influenced their fellow citizens by these writings, what they innovated through their ideas, which notions they implanted in the fertile soil nurturing the people, and what were the fruits they bore”.<sup>10</sup> Rejecting the immoderate bombast expressed on Korais’ persona and contributions, Argyropoulos proceeded to interesting explications and ascertainments. Among other points, he presented Korais as an offspring of the French Revolution and of European philosophical movements; he extolled Korais’ daring mental calibre as a literary critic, the innovator of the method of comparison of texts (juxtaposition of Ancient and Modern Greek), as well as his performance in the other scientific fields in which he was involved (medicine, linguistics, political science, theology); he underscored the reformatory and innovatory spirit diffused in his approach to matters of education and its impact on the minds of enslaved Greeks despite the defamatory reactions it had elicited; he labelled Korais’ system of language as a “tool for culture”, quoting characteristic axioms of Korais’ on the subject of language; he recalled the fiery and rousing effect of his patriotic counsels on the spirits of the freedom fighters; he noted, similarly to Sinner, that all Korais’ writings, not only those of specialised content, were permeated by politics, since their objective was of a general political nature, i.e. the galvanising of the Greeks; he stressed Korais’ insistence on the correlation of politics and ethics; he pointed out Korais’ democratic convictions and social (middle-class) ideology; he recognised Korais’ right of intervention in Greek ecclesiastical matters; he underlined the significance of Korais’ extant correspondence as a valuable testimonial for the better understanding of his character. On the other hand, however, he did not hesitate to query the correctness of certain of Korais’ postulations – such as, for example, the untimeliness of the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence (for according to Korais the nation was then as yet not sufficiently well educated). The speaker countered this last not with ideological arguments but with the statement that

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<sup>10</sup> P. Argyropoulos, *Λόγος* [Speech], p. 4.



the proper timing of a national revolt is not subject to precise predictions. On other points, such as those concerning the regime (opposition to monarchy) and linguistics (antithesis to archaïsm of the Greek tongue), Argyropoulos judged that they had already been cancelled after the War by the state of affairs and ensuing developments. Concerning Korais' antagonism, in the late years of his life, against Governor Capodistrias and the Phanariot politicians the speaker – himself of Phanariot origins – without naming Korais' opponents characterised it as unjust and divisive, adopting the interpretation that it was the result of a misguided and involuntary attachment to sentimental links with Chios and its inhabitants, serving purely local interests.

This ground-breaking, global and penetrating treatment by the Greek university professor, provocative as it was, although it came to public notice both at the time and later<sup>11</sup> in anthological form by other editors, failed to fulfil his ardent wish to foster proliferation of further studies on the subject of the life and works of Korais in the 1850s. It may therefore not be considered the starting point for scholarship on Korais, although it constituted a point of reference for subsequent researchers. This did nevertheless not signify that in

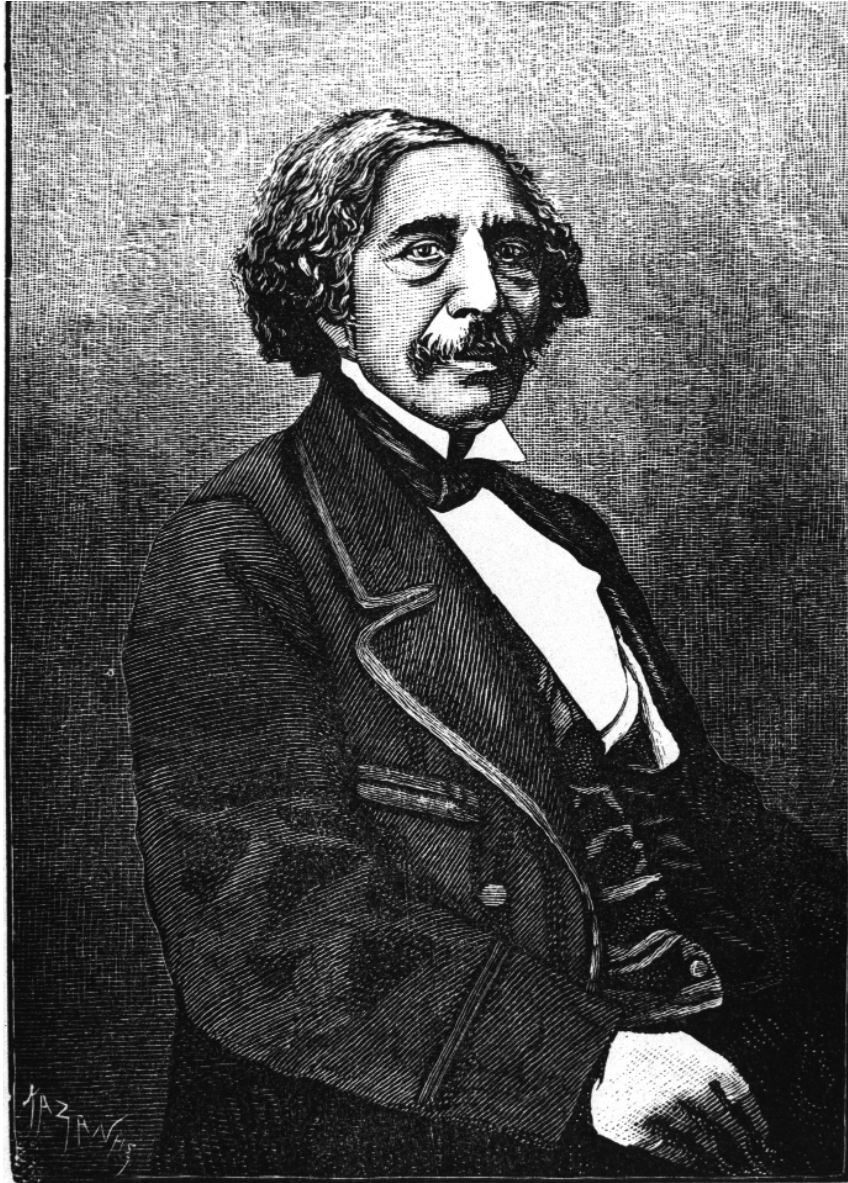
<sup>11</sup> The text of the speech was excerpted in the same year of 1850 in the Athenian periodical *Eutérpion*, Vol. IV, no. 74 and in the 1865 Calendar *Χρυσολίς*, Venice. A reprint is also known from 1877 (no. 3 in the series “Βιβλιοθήκη της Εορτίας”) in the framework of the celebrations marking, as will be seen, the placement of Korais in the national Pantheon.

the said period there was a dearth of publications to see the light, although they were sporadic, both within and outside the Greek borders, evoking Korais' place in modern Greek letters. Amongst them mention should primarily be made of the translation by A. Constantinides (Athens 1835) of one of the most significant and at the same time least known of Korais' works, the momentous *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce* (1803), an essay presenting at an international level the progress made by contemporary Greeks in the fields of commerce and education, and which constituted the first official manifesto on the rights of the subjugated Greek people addressed to the Western world. Simultaneously, in the Athenian periodical *Pandora* Skarlatos D. Byzantios, lexicographer and author of the voluminous treatise entitled *Constantinoupolis*, whilst expressing admiration for Korais' literary achievement in his work on the medieval verse of Ptohoprodromos (*Atakta*, Vol. I), published his own amendments to passages that had "eluded the perspicaciousness of even (the great) Korais himself".<sup>12</sup> There followed in 1854 the issue of Andreas Papadopoulos-Vretos' *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία* [Modern Greek literature], which in fact constituted the authoritative compilation of the works of Greek scholars from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, wherein the biography of Korais is based on his autobiography, with a specific, ideologically charged reference to his opposition to Ioannis Capodistrias, whose collaborator the book's editor had been, acting as a protagonist in the arena of the political antagonism between the two men.<sup>13</sup> Korais' books are not exhaustively listed therein but are frequently referred to with effective explicatory notes. Additionally to the above there was the publication in 1859 in Trieste's Greek newspaper *Hemera* by its editor Ioannis Isidorides Skylitsis of the complete correspondence – albeit censored by its editor, as was later proved – between Korais and Pantoleon Vlastos (1818-22), a merchant in Vienna of Chiot origin and martyr in the cause of freedom of the Greeks.<sup>14</sup> There is no doubt that greater interest in Korais' legacy would have been stirred up if at the end of that decade there had reached to the stage of publication the project for the issue of a hitherto unpublished epistolary collection and other remaining unknown works of Korais, first undertaken by two Chiot compatriots of his, Kallinikos Kreatsoulis, Dean of Marseille's Greek Orthodox Church, and Andreas Z.

<sup>12</sup> "Certain marginal annotations to the two poems of Theodoros Ptohoprodromos published by A. Korais", *Νέα Πανδώρα* 3 (1852-53), pp. 85-90.

<sup>13</sup> *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία* [Modern Greek literature], Athens 1854, Part II, pp. 281-284.

<sup>14</sup> Emm. N. Franghiscos, "Λογοκριτικές και γλωσσικές επεμβάσεις στις επιστολές του Κοραΐ" [Censorship and linguistic interventions in Korais' letters], *Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου Κοραΐς και Χίος*, Vol. II, 1985, pp. 226-230 (the volume available only in offprints).



Andreas Mamoukas. Woodcut.  
Source: *Ποικίλη Στοά*, 1885, p. 80.  
[INR Neohellenic Portraiture Archive]

Mamoukas, a civil servant and already the publisher of a series of historical texts. However, the very nature of the contents of this collection (comprising some one hundred letters written by Korais in the period of the Greek War of Independence, his *Σημειώσεις εις το Προσωρινόν Πολίτευμα της Ελλάδος* [Notes on the Provisional Constitution of Greece] (1822), among other items, amounting to a political intervention in the established institutions of the liberated Greek nation) motivated a greater interest in the study of Korais' work.<sup>15</sup> A contribution of this sort by Chiots, as was later to come to the fore in favourable historical circumstances, proved to be decisive.

Two further works of literary history, Constantinos Sathas' *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία* (1868) with its *Παράρτημα* (1870) and *Βίοι Παράλληλοι* by Anastasios Goudas (1870), came out in the ensuing decade to propel the level of exposure to Korais' works, to their content and effect. Aside from published biographies, both Greek (Sathas) and foreign, the conclusions arrived at in their individual research together with unpublished material provided by private persons (Goudas), the authors of these books devoted numerous and original pages to Korais compared to the biographies of other Greek intellectuals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This suggested an appreciation of Korais' leading role in the intellectual currents of those days.<sup>16</sup> The originality of Sathas' approach – going so far as to include descriptions of illustrations and etchings decorating early published works of Korais – lies for instance in his insertion of excerpts from early politically and patriotically motivated mostly anonymous works by Korais: *Αδελφική Διδασκαλία* (1798) (reprinted in Athens in 1852); *Σάλπισμα Πολεμιστήριον* (1801) and *Mémoire* (1803). Moreover, in *Παράρτημα της Νεοελληνικής Φιλολογίας*, in treating the history of the Modern Greek language question, Sathas projects the phase of the linguistic conflicts of the first two decades of the nineteenth century by placing it prominently in the framework of Korais' linguistic theory, with texts in chronological order as well as accompanied by a historical evaluation of their contribution (“following the achievement of liberty by Greece, Korais' version of Greek was forgotten, even by his former supporters and allies”).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Stergios Fasoulakis, “Ο Ανδρέας Μάμουκας και το κοραϊκό έργο” [Andreas Mamoukas and Korais' work], introduction to the photostat reprint of A. Z. Mamoukas' introduction to the first volume of the series *Αδαμαντίου Κοραή τα μετά θάνατον ευρεθέντα συγγράμματα* [Adamantios Korais' posthumously found writings] (1881), Athens 1989, pp. XIV-XVII. For this prologue, see below.

<sup>16</sup> Sathas, *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία* [Modern Greek literature], Athens 1868, pp. 662-672; An. N. Goudas, *Βίοι Παράλληλοι* [Parallel lives], Vol. II, 1st edition, 1870, pp. 81-121.

<sup>17</sup> *Νεοελληνικής Φιλολογίας Παράρτημα. Ιστορία του ζητήματος της νεοελληνικής*

Examples of the critiques of philologists other than Greeks and further testimony to the esteem in which Korais was held in French academic circles are comprised in A. Goudas's *Bíoi Paráλληλοι* [Parallel lives], complemented with a picture of how Korais was seen by his Greek contemporaries and in later times by quoting earlier texts, at times permeated by appreciation and regard for his works and bequest to the nation and at others by criticism of his ideas, especially on religion. Goudas himself, similarly to Argyropoulos before, disagreed with Korais' position as to the untimeliness of the Greek War of Independence, marshalling historical arguments and hypothetical syllogisms in order to prove the contrary.<sup>18</sup> Clearly, both these biographical pieces have to be considered the pioneers of the publications, more systematic from the point of view of both research and method, of the ensuing decade, essentially the founding period of scholarship on Korais. Previously, in 1865, a French Neohellenist, Brunet de Presle, who as a young man had personally known Korais and the circle of Greeks in Paris, and later became one of the leading figures in establishing Korais studies, had given a description of the activities of precisely this community of scholarly Greeks in his maiden speech in the Imperial Library, on the occasion of his succeeding C. B. Hase.<sup>19</sup> In 1869 Pallasios G. Vlastos published in Constantinople's periodical *Heptalofos* a well-written biographical study in several pages entitled "Adamantios o Korais",<sup>20</sup> based on the text of this speech published in Trieste's newspaper *Clio* and on earlier bibliography (Sinner, Rotas, Argyropoulos, Sathas *et al.*) in parallel to recourse to sources from Korais' work itself. Finally, the reissue of the text of the Ptohoprodromic poems (originally published by Korais in *Atakta*, 1828), without their commentary, in the university professor Dimitrios Mavrofrydes' *Εκλογή μνημείων της νεωτέρας*

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*γλώσσας* [Appendix to Modern Greek literature], Athens 1870, pp. 236 *et sequ.* Cf. pp. 296 *et sequ.*, 309 *et sequ.* Appendix to p. 211.

<sup>18</sup> In his opinion the 1821 War of Independence was spawned by the oppression and persecution of the Greeks by the Turks. It is doubtful whether it would have broken out and been successful at a later date, when Turkey was politically and militarily more powerful and the Greek provinces had been settled with Turkish populations, *Bíoi Paráλληλοι* [Parallel lives], pp. 111-119.

<sup>19</sup> Published in *Revue des Cours littéraires*, issue of 15 April 1865, under the title "M. Hase et les savants Grecs émigrés à Paris sous le premier Empire et la Restauration". It came out serialised in translation in the Trieste newspaper *Clio*, nos 201, 203, 205, May 1865 and in the *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* [National calendar] of 1867.

<sup>20</sup> *Επτάλοφος*, I, no. 2 (1869), pp. 57-78. The appearance of such an article in a Constantinopolitan journal is of particular importance since, being the seat of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, reactions there were generally negative to Korais' ecclesiastical views. See note 23.

*ελληνικής γλώσσας* (1866),<sup>21</sup> a valuable contribution despite its deficiencies in promoting the study of older Modern Greek literature, once again gave the tone for the recognition of Korais' acuteness as a literary scholar.

For Greece, the decade of 1870 started out in a euphoric climate despite the onerous shadow cast by recent or concurrent events, military, political and social (collapse of the Cretan uprising, the Dilessi massacre, governmental instability, etc.).<sup>22</sup> Its outset coincided with the 50th anniversary of the Greek War of Independence. The high patriotic morale of the period fostered a spirit of attribution of honours both to the surviving heroes of the struggle and to memorialisation of the great figures of a glorious past who had led the Greeks in warfare, politics and intellectual stature to their liberation. Such gestures were seen as a national debt incumbent upon their descendants in the Greek kingdom as much as in the broader areas where Greeks still lived enslaved or in the diaspora. In the case of Korais, the initiative was undertaken by his Chiot compatriots in Marseille, who established a network for their action with other centres of Greeks abroad and mainly with Athens, the national Greek capital, which was to be the central base for the celebrations of Korais' consecration in the national Pantheon.

From 1872 on and in the ensuing fifteen years, much of their planning was put into effect, such as the removal of his mortal remains from Paris, the erection of a grandiose memorial in the First Cemetery and a statue in front of the University, issue of hitherto unpublished works of his together with a major portion of his correspondence, with the consequential accompanying ceremonies and publications, topical speeches, articles in the press, public emotion and such.<sup>23</sup> Clearly, the entire movement to re-establish and promote the Korais' heritage was operating under favourable circumstances, that is in

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<sup>21</sup> *Εκλογή μνημείων* [Selection of records], pp. 17-72. The omission of Korais' comments caused Karl Krumbacher in 1891 to castigate the issue of the Ptohoprodromos poems by D. Mavrofydes as bad. The German Byzantologist considers Korais' comments as of primary significance for the linguistic interpretation of those texts, providing bibliographic information on the favourable reception they received from European scholars, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, Munich 1891, p. 400. Cf. the History's Greek translation by G. Sotiriades, Athens 1900, Vol. III, p. 43.

<sup>22</sup> For a general survey, see Richard Clogg, *A Brief History of Modern Greece*, Cambridge University Press 1986.

<sup>23</sup> On the Korais Committee's editions, see Georgios G. Ladas, *Βιβλιογραφικά έρευνα αναφερόμενα εις τα έργα του Αδαμαντίου Κοραή* [Bibliographical research referring to the works of Adamantios Korais], Athens 1934, p. 44 and Apostolos Daskalakis, *Ο Αδαμάντιος Κοραΐς και η ελευθερία των Ελλήνων* [Adamantios Korais and the liberty of the Greeks],



conditions wherein Greek society was undergoing transformation, government being modernised according to Western prototypes and progress being made in completing the national integration of the country under the enlightened political leadership of statesmen such as Harilaos Trikoupis.

Research and writing for the completion of the publication programme, principally focused on the posthumous editing and printing of Korais' works, deposited in the eponymous library in Chios, was assigned to the person who had, albeit unsuccessfully at the time, at the end of the decade of 1850, undertaken a similar endeavour, A. Z. Mamoukas. The first volume he had time to have printed before his own death in 1884, in the series that was entitled *Μετά θάνατον ευρεθέντα συγγράμματα* [Posthumously found writings] constituted the most significant contribution to date of familiarisation with Korais' life and work, while the matter of the publication of the correspondence was thenceforth in the hands of the theologian, university professor and also a Chiot, Nikolaos Damalas. Mamoukas himself prefaced the volume wherein an unpublished lexicographic composition, the *Υλη Γαλλογραικικού Λεξικού* [Material of a French-Greek dictionary] that Korais himself had prepared for publication, with a lengthy introduction in which he methodically evaluated the material on Korais he had gathered in his own search in the sources until then either known or uncharted, whether in print or in archives. Following the course of Korais' life and writings, he added comments and clarifications mainly in the notes, that is to say without interrupting the flow of narrative, presenting biographical material concerning not only Korais himself but his family traditions; Mamoukas too recorded, enriching them, the data of Korais' recognition in the literary world of Europe; he provided answers to questions of bibliography and authorship, for instance relative to the anonymous patriotic pamphlet *Άσμα Πολεμιστήριον* [War song] (1800), which he reproduced. He also printed the translation of Herodotos, the issue of which had remained partial. Mamoukas complemented Korais' biography with anecdotal material based on the testimony of persons who used to frequent Korais' Parisian home; he collated the accounts of events relating to Korais' death, inheritance matters and the fate of his library. He supplemented all this with the chronicle of the 1872 Chiot initiatives in Korais' honour and with an account of his own role as representative of the Marseille and Athens committees. Mamoukas richly deserved the title he gained as the first systematic Greek scholar of Korais,

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Athens 1979, pp. 645-646. For publications in the press see, despite definite deficiencies, G. Valetas' "Βιβλιογραφία Αδαμαντίου Κοραΐ" [Adamantios Korais' bibliography] at the front of vol I-1 of the edition *Κοραΐς. Άπαντα τα πρωτότυπα έργα* [Korais: The complete original works], Athens 1964, pp. 54-55, cf. p. 20 containing a brief account of the celebrations.

for his laborious research, scholarly meticulousness and conscientiousness over and above his profound love of his subject.<sup>24</sup>

And, whilst in this same decade of the 1870s, in the overall framework of the Chiots' initiative the question of the reissue of Korais' classical editions was raised in scholarly terms – at a period when the field of textual criticism and publishing of ancient texts had been promoted –<sup>25</sup> there was a proliferation in the press, both domestic and foreign, as well as in integral collections, of publications of his letters to diverse recipients, Greeks and others, no longer isolated and incidental but now organised in integral collections. Of these publications, the greatest impression was made by those from Paris, the city the Greek sage had made his home for nearly 45 years, where he achieved the reputation of an eminent philologist, and at the same time of the spiritual leader and semi-official representative of his nation. In the bosom of a scientific society, the “Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France”, founded and financially supported also by dozens of Greeks, principally of the diaspora and comprising numerous Chiots,<sup>26</sup> two French scholars, philhellenes interested in modern Greece, Brunet de Presle – one of the society's founding members – and the Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, motivated by feelings of regard and gratitude toward Korais, collaborated to bring out his correspondence with his close friend, the French philologist Chardon de la Rochette during the French Revolution (1790-96)<sup>27</sup>. The editors had purchased the letters from their previous owner, and hastened to announce their find to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.<sup>28</sup> A part was initially published

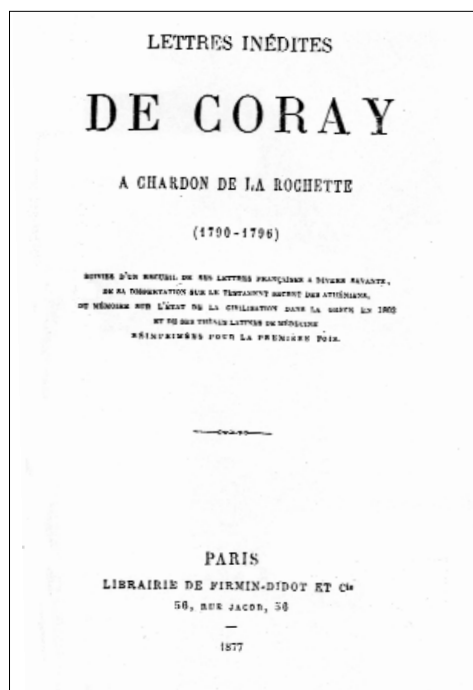
<sup>24</sup> Stergios Fasoulakis, “Ο Ανδρέας Μάμουκας” [Andreas Mamoukas], *op. cit.*, p. XXI. In the same year the editors of the *Λεξικόν Ιστορίας και Γεωγραφίας* [Lexicon of history and geography] reproduced the text of Mamoukas' introduction under the entry Constantinople, Vol. III.

<sup>25</sup> Georgios A. Christodoulou, *Σύμμικτα κριτικά* [Critical miscellany], Athens 1986, pp. 265-277, in which as appendix the extensive exposé of 1874 by the Greek scholar Theagenis Livadas in Trieste's newspaper *Clio* is reproduced, with a related letter from Professor W. Wagner to the same paper, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-79. Cf. Emm. N. Franghiscos, “Μια έκθεση των Φ. Ιωάννου, Κ. Παπαρηγόπουλου και Σ. Κουμανούδη προς την Επιτροπή Κοραΐ (1873)” [A report by Ph. Ioannou, K. Paparigopoulos and S. Koumanoudes addressed to the Korais Committee (1873)], *Ο Ερμηνεύτης* 13 (1970), pp. 330-331.

<sup>26</sup> *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques en France* 14 (1880), pp. XX-LII, XV-XIX.

<sup>27</sup> About him see Luciano Canfora, *Vita di Chardon di la Rochette commissario alle Biblioteche - Carteggio inedito (1800-1807; 1811-1814)*, Messina 2003.

<sup>28</sup> See the *Avertissement* in the complete edition of *Lettres inédites de Coray à Chardon de la Rochette (1790-1796)*, Paris 1877, pp. IX-X.



in the Society's *Annuaire* [Yearbook] in 1873.<sup>29</sup> In the same year the first of the letters were presented in detail to the Greek public, with comments in the columns of Trieste's Greek newspaper *Clio*<sup>30</sup> and five years later they were published in translation but without comments in the Smyrniot magazine *Bíon*.<sup>31</sup> The impact upon Korais' state of mind of the extreme revolutionary developments had been expressed quite openly in the written communications with his friend, with whom he had common literary interests also apparent from their correspondence. The complete edition eventually came out in 1877, printed by the well-known publisher Firmin Didot. The volume comprised unpublished letters from other sources, addressed to various well-known French Hellenists and scholars of the Parisian literary circle such as Villoison,

<sup>29</sup> *Annuaire* 7 (1873), pp. 297-329.

<sup>30</sup> *Κλειώ*, nos 647 and 648 of 1873. The anonymous editor of the publication may be Theagenis Livadas, G. Ch. Christodolou, *op. cit.*, p. 235 (wherein also the analysis of the letters, pp. 236-264).

<sup>31</sup> *Bíon* (1878-79), I, nos 1-4, 6, 8, 11, 18/19. Translator of the letters, the author and journalist G. P. Yperides, the periodical's editor.

Thurot, Boissonade, La Porte du Theil, Barbié du Bocage, Firmin Didot *et al.*, while it also contained among other material Korais' autobiography translated into French, the *Mémoire*, as well as his Latin Theses of the Montpellier medical school ("réimprimées pour la première fois") [first reprint], as was stressed by the publishers in the book's title. An interesting presentation of the collection by Marc Monnier in the *Journal des Débats*,<sup>32</sup> centred on Korais' human reactions to the situations he experienced during the *Terreur*, was translated and published in the Athenian magazine *Ἐστία*.<sup>33</sup>

Paris in those days became the foremost publishing centre for new writing and epistolary collections in Korais scholarship: in 1875 a comprehensive compendium circulated in French, by the scholar of Cretan history Jacques C. Bolanachi, with the biographies of two of the greatest personages of modern Hellenism, Rhigas Velestinlis and Korais, albeit without providing new information;<sup>34</sup> and, in 1877, also in French in two volumes, the *Histoire littéraire de la Grèce moderne*<sup>35</sup> [History of the literature of Modern Greece] by A. R. Rangabé, a multifarious nineteenth-century Greek author, politician and diplomat, of which an entire chapter was devoted to the Chiot scholar, his influence on education in Greece and especially on the Language Question, with interesting observations on Korais' linguistic views. Rangabé summarised the content of Korais' writings, bringing forth his desire to imprint on the minds of his compatriots on the one hand the virtues inculcated by the texts of ancient Greek classics and on the other, France's social ideas, the country he had selected to live in, as intellectual intermediary with a view to transmitting the messages of humanity's progress to his native land, a role that ranked him amongst the prime reformers of his country.<sup>36</sup> In the same year, 1877, when as has been seen

<sup>32</sup> *Journal des Débats*, 27 juillet 1877.

<sup>33</sup> *Ἐστία* 4 (1877), pp. 587-88. Translator the historian Ant. Miliarakis.

<sup>34</sup> *Hommes illustres de la Grèce moderne. Rhigas et Coray*, Paris 1875. Korais' biography, pp. 39-63.

<sup>35</sup> The work was published in French in the same year, first in Berlin under a slightly different title (*Précis de l'histoire...*) translated into German by the Hellenist Daniel Sanders, Leipzig 1882. In its first version it had been serialised in the French-language periodical from 1853 to 1856. For further bibliographical information, see P. D. Mastrodimitris, *Εισαγωγή στη Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία* [Introduction to modern Greek literature], Athens 2005, p. 510. Virtually contemporaneous with the publication of Rangabé's book, the *Geschichte der neugriechischen Litteratur* [History of modern Greek literature] by the German philologist Rudolph Nicolai came out in Leipzig in 1876, censured however for certain inexactitudes as to Korais' works, as pointed out by Dionysios Therianos in *Αδαμάντιος Κοραΐς* [Adamantios Korais], Vol. II, Trieste 1890, p. 124.

<sup>36</sup> Vol. I, pp. 76-90.

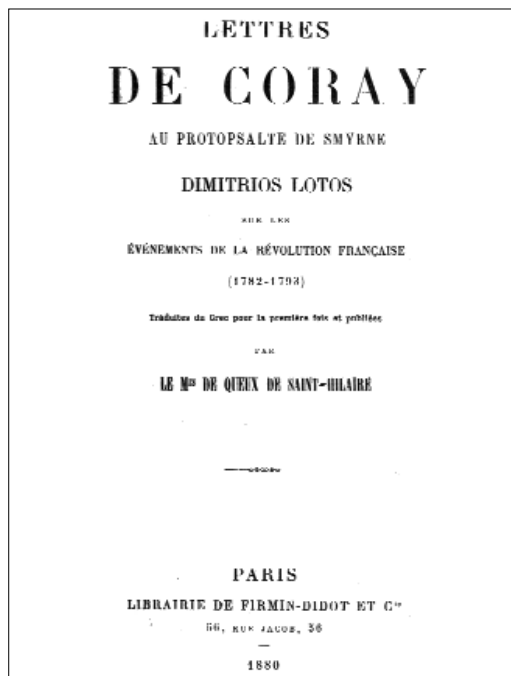
the correspondence with Chardon de la Rochette circulated in completed form – a further series of unpublished letters by Korais’ was published in the *Annuaire*, addressed this time to Pierre Prevost,<sup>37</sup> professor at the University of Geneva, minor excerpts of which the Swiss philosopher himself had made known in an article in the *Bibliothèque universelle* in August 1833 – a few months after Korais’ death – referring to the educational and national issues preoccupying the Greek scholar from 1806 to 1830, during which period the two had corresponded.<sup>38</sup> These letters had been reprinted three years later, in 1880, together with other letters to French friends, in the Appendix of the volume edited by Queux de Saint-Hilaire, comprising Korais’ correspondence with Smyrna’s Precentor, Demetrios Lotos, in the years of the French Revolution, in translation by the French editor based on its first Greek edition in 1838.<sup>39</sup> Their contents were the lengthy epistolary accounts of a Greek student – of advanced years, for Korais was 34 when their correspondence began – and subsequently doctoral laureate of the Montpellier medical school and later, following upon his settling in Paris in 1788, an eyewitness to the great political upheaval in France. He was a dazzled observer, a scrupulous chronicler, not only of the collapse of the *ancien régime* and the establishment of the Republic but of the sequels of military and diplomatic confrontations in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century, facing the momentous events with the emotions and the viewpoint of a liberal spirit, opposed to extreme aberration yet desirous of political and social change in his own country. These dispatches – so to speak – from Paris in the ferment of revolution thus arrived on the scene within the same period, to complement for his French-speaking readers, the most personal confidentialities of the correspondence between a Korais who was anxious about his own life with Chardon de la Rochette, concurrently arousing the interest of French historiography in the testimony of a Greek intellectual observer.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> “Nouvelles lettres françaises inédites de Coray adressées à M. P. Prevost de Genève”, *Annuaire* 11 (1877), pp. 189-218.

<sup>38</sup> The article of the *Bibliothèque universelle* circulated as a reprint under the title “Quelques notes relatives au docteur Coray”. The correspondence between the two men continued anyway after 1830, despite Prevost’s assertion that the last letter he received from Korais was in July 1830. See p. 16 of the reprint.

<sup>39</sup> *Lettres de Coray au protopsalte de Smyrne Dimitrios Lotos sur les événements de la Révolution française (1782-1793). Traduites... par le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire*, Paris 1880. Letter to Prevost, pp. 245-275.

<sup>40</sup> Other than the introduction by Queux de Saint-Hilaire and the later analysis by D. Therianos, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 1889, p. 180 *et sequ.*, see on the subject the more recent contributions to the debate by Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Tradition, Enlightenment and*



The publications of the French Neohellenists, simply and informatively commented and excellently presented (despite some incorrect dating and moreover certain notable interventions in the wording of the original letters

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*Revolution*, Harvard University 1978, pp. 230-250; “Αυτόπτης φοβερών πραγμάτων’. Η συζήτηση για τη Γαλλική Επανάσταση και ο Αδαμάντιος Κοραΐς” [‘Eyewitness to fearful events’: The debate on the French Revolution and Adamantios Korais], *Νέα Εστία* 114 (Christmas 1983), pp. 63-74; *Η Γαλλική Επανάσταση και η νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη* [The French Revolution and South-Eastern Europe], Athens 2000, pp. 92-125, as also the communications by Cr. Stevanoni, “La condanna di Luigi XVI nella testimonianza di un Greco”, *Scritti in onore di Caterina Vassalini*, Verona 1974, pp. 475-488; J.-F. de Raymond, “La Révolution française observée par Coray et reçue par la Grèce”, *Actes du colloque de Besançon, Région, Nation, Europe: unité et diversité des processus sociaux et culturels de la Révolution française*, Paris 1988, pp. 659-672; Catherine Koumariou, “Vivre la Révolution: Témoignages grecs de 1789”, *Actes du IIIe colloque d’Histoire. La Révolution française et l’Hellénisme moderne*, Centre de Recherches Néohelléniques / F.N.R.S, Athènes 1989, pp. 59-67; Héléne Papaemmanouil-Karathanassi, “La Révolution française dans la correspondance de A. Coray”, *Πρακτικά επιστημονικού συμποσίου Η Γαλλική Επανάσταση στην Ελλάδα και στη Γαλλία: γράμματα-τέχνες-ιστορία* [Proceedings of the symposium The French Revolution in France and Greece: letters-arts-history], Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Department of French Literature: Thessaloniki, 1993, pp. 213-231.

together with errors in translation),<sup>41</sup> brought to the fore the European dimension of Korais' personality and activities, and certainly were ahead of the equivalent publications of the ensuing decade in the framework of the publishing programme of the Marseille and Athens committees.

Nonetheless, the parallel course of action taken in both France and Greece and the climate thus shaped, with the infrastructure it set up, as will be seen opened the way to further promotion of Korais scholarship. The publication of Korais' letters in three volumes by N. Damalas (1885-6), although, as it appears, A. Mamoukas' editing principles were not adhered to and wanting from the point of view of scholarly method (we are nowadays also aware of certain illicit tampering on the part of the editor with the contents and their wording),<sup>42</sup> still constituted an event of cultural and national magnitude, as it was the first collective compilation and the richest harvest of the letters: seven hundred and fifty of Korais' letters, published or not, addressed to Greek recipients, comprising friends and acquaintances of the intimate circle of Smyrna, sponsors and trusted collaborators in his published works, teachers and scholars, school directors, dignitaries and elders, magazine publishers, merchants, Chiotis of the diaspora, politicians and soldiers of the days of the War of Independence and more.

The human aspect of Korais' persona was revealed, with his peculiarities of temperament, of thought, of work method, as was in general the daily life of an expatriate man of letters, but also his public profile, his anxious and anguished preoccupation with the progress of education of his subjected compatriots, the fate of Chios after its devastation by the Turks, the positive results of the struggle for liberation from the Turkish yoke and the rehabilitation of the liberated nation within the family of European sovereign countries. The composition of the collection was mainly based on the wealth of material contained in I. Rotas' files, who had published the two epistolary *Απανθισμάτα* [Anthologies] in 1839 and 1841, having inherited the large

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<sup>41</sup> Emm. N. Franghiscos, "Χρονολογικά στις επιστολές Κοραή" [Chronological observations on the letters of Korais], *Ο Εραμιστής* 2 (1964), pp. 280-284; by the same, "Λογοκριτικές και γλωσσικές επεμβάσεις" [Censorship and linguistic interventions], p. 242. In regard to the errors of translation, they concern the letters from Queux de Saint-Hilaire to D. Lotos according to professors Aikaterini Koumariou and Vassiliki Contoyanni, who have in preparation a revised republication of the translation and comments.

<sup>42</sup> Emm. N. Franghiscos, "Λογοκριτικές και γλωσσικές επεμβάσεις", p. 230 *et sequ.* Title of the edition: *Αδαμαντίου Κοραή Επιστολαί. Επιμέλεια Νικολάου Μ. Δαμαλά.* [Letters of Adamantios Korais: edited by Nikolaos M. Damalas], Athens 1885-1886. Mention will be made below as to their reception.

archive of original letters of the Viennese merchant and confidential friend of Korais, Alexandros Vasileiou.<sup>43</sup> It would in fact have been more comprehensive, had those in possession of certain letters, kept by their ancestors as an invaluable treasure, not preferred, possibly out of reasons of understandable vanity, to proceed to separate publication thereof as a tribute to their relatives' connection to Korais instead of offering them for inclusion in the Athenian collective edition. One such was the case of the splendid edition printed in Leipzig in 1885, containing Korais' correspondence with the members of the Prassakakis family, Chiot merchants in Marseille.<sup>44</sup>

As for the remainder of publications in the series *Posthumously found writings*, other than the volumes of the French-Greek lexicon and of the correspondence, from 1887 to 1891 various essays by Korais were issued, edited by N. Damalas with brief introductions and occasional editorial intervention, in publications that were however not up to the standard of their contents: medical (notations in French on Hippocratic works); grammatical (explications on ancient grammarians, a grammar – unfinished – of Modern Greek, grammatical observations on medieval Greek verse); lexicographical (Notes on Hesychios' *Lexicon*) *et al.*, reflecting Korais' occupation on occasion with scholarly subjects of interest to him.<sup>45</sup> The onset of the decade of 1880 was, as has been seen, marked by the circulation of Mamoukas' fundamental work while its end was capped by the publication of yet another monumental historical and literary synthesis: the monograph on Korais in three volumes by the scholar and journalist Dionysios Therianos. In between, besides popularised publications such as the special issue in 1883 of the magazine *Ἔστια* on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the learned Greek (reproduction of texts by Korais and on the subject of Korais), was evinced as much in the reception and presentation of the volumes of *Posthumously found writings* – albeit not

<sup>43</sup> The Rotas archive is deposited in the library of the Academy of Athens. It preserves also copies of the letter sent by himself to Korais, comprised, as are all surviving letters addressed to Korais, in the latest edition of the correspondence, by the *Όμιλος Μελέτης του Ελληνικού Διαφωτισμού* [Society for the Study of the Greek Enlightenment] under the supervision of C. Th. Dimaras, Athens 1964-1984, 6 vols.

<sup>44</sup> Title of the edition: *Ανέκδοτοι επιστολαί Αδαμαντίου Κοραή προς την οικογένειαν Πρασσακάκη* [Unpublished letters from Adamantios Korais to the Prassakakis family]. On the unwillingness of their possessor to hand them to the editor of the Athenian edition, see vol Γ<sup>2</sup> of the latter (Epilogue), p. 1000.

<sup>45</sup> Titles of the volumes, see G. Ladas, *Βιβλιογραφικά έρευναι*, pp. 43-44, and Ap. Daskalakis, *Ο Αδ. Κοραΐς και η ελευθερία των Ελλήνων* [Ad. Korais and the liberty of the Greeks], pp. 645-646.



invariably with a favourable response –<sup>46</sup> as in approaches to partial aspects of Korais studies, such as his contribution to the critical revival of Hippocratic texts, or his linguistic theory, in fact by foreign as well as Greek academics living in European countries, publishing in English- and French-language journals, the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (I. Bywater)<sup>47</sup> and the *Revue critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* (Yiannis Psycharis),<sup>48</sup> or publishing their studies in Latin (M. Beaudouin). This last was alone in devoting a complete study to Korais' linguistic views and written expression, encountering Yiannis Psycharis' negative reaction.<sup>49</sup> On the contrary, the scholars and academicians of Greece, linguists or not, in the vigorous arguments on the Language Question in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially the decade 1880-90, were content to restrict themselves in their relevant publications merely to evoking Korais' example, either to locate – and not always systematically – grammatical and stylistic peculiarities, either to query some of Korais' writings' basic components, such as the correctional theory of language from the viewpoint of the principles of modern linguistics, or else to pinpoint his relation or incompatibility with the conflicting linguistic currents of the “purists” and the “demoticists”.<sup>50</sup>

While the publication on a European scale of specialised studies – albeit in restricted numbers – indicated that attention had not ceased to be paid to Korais, the broader academic community – due principally to the promotion by his French admirers of Korais' personality and scholarship, while at the same time his recognition as classicist and literary critic *par excellence* remained undiminished in the field of publishing the texts –<sup>51</sup> in an Italian city with a

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<sup>46</sup> See e.g. the anonymous critique of the 6th volume containing Korais' comments on Apollonius' *Περί συντάξεως* [On syntax] and the unfinished *Γραμματική της κοινής γλώσσας* [Grammar of the common language], *Εφημερίς*, no. 154, 2.6.1888, p. 6. The critic, knowledgeable in the matter, castigated the publisher for selecting from the Koraic residual works these, in his opinion useless to scholarship, for the absence of commentary, and the didactic prologue on language by N. Damalas.

<sup>47</sup> Ingram Bywater, “A Bio-bibliographical Note on Coray”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1 (1880), pp. 305-307.

<sup>48</sup> Jean Psycharis, “Korais et Mondry Baudouin”, *Revue critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* XX (1886), pp. 198-200. Republished in *Quelques travaux de Linguistique, de Philologie et de Littérature hellénique*, Paris 1884-1928, Vol. I, pp. 158-161.

<sup>49</sup> M. Beaudouin, *Quid Korais de neohellenica lingua senserit*, Bordeaux 1883. See Psycharis' negative criticism in the previous publication.

<sup>50</sup> Vincenzo Rotolo, *A. Korais e la questione della lingua in Grecia*, Palermo 1965, pp. 136-149.

<sup>51</sup> The first to collect testimonies systematically on the impact of Korais' critical writings



Dionysios Therianos. Woodcut.  
Source: *Κλειώ ΣΤ'* (1890) 1.  
[INR Neohellenic Portraiture  
Archive]

flourishing Greek colony, Trieste, the Zakynthian Dionysios Therianos (1834-97), a journalist with profound literary and historical cultivation, with profundity of thought, a collaborator of the locally published Greek press as well as that of Athens,<sup>52</sup> issued his three-volume work *Αδαμάντιος Κοραΐς* between the years 1889-90, parts of which had already been published in the Triestian press. It should be noted that he had earlier included occasional references to the Greek scholar in other of his publications, as for example his

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on the European literary circles during virtually the entire nineteenth century was D. Therianos, for the needs of his biography, as will be seen below. We have today the Ph.D. thesis of Nikolaos Kalospyros, *Ο Αδαμάντιος Κοραΐς ως κριτικός φιλόλογος και εκδότης. Ένα κεφάλαιο στην ιστορία των κλασικών σπουδών στην Ευρώπη του 19ου αιώνα* [(το χφ. *Χίου 490*)] [Adamantios Korais as critic, philologist and publisher: a chapter in the history of classical studies in Europe in the 19th century], Athens 2004, and in particular the third chapter, wherein lies a wealth of bibliographical material, however rather uncoordinated, on the subject.

<sup>52</sup> Lucia Marcheselli, *Vita e opere di D. Therianos*, Rome: Università degli Studi di Trieste, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, no 2, 1971.

*Φιλολογικά υποτυπώσεις* (1885). This time however it was a case of a synthesis of grandiose conception and execution, with the intent of enhancing Korais' position as the greatest intellectual personality of modern Hellenism. He naturally diverged diametrically from the modest characterisation of the author "that it is a simple and average outline with the sole claim, that it treats the subject of Korais in greater detail than ever before".<sup>53</sup> A publication of about 1,100 pages (138 of which consist of appendices with reproductions of texts of Korais', either in the original or in translation, such as the *Mémoire* – edited by the Triestian Greek intellectual Theagenis Livadas, who had at other times written articles on Korais) did not differ merely as to extent from earlier reviews of the life and works of the Greek sage, but was also of exceptional quality and well-defined methodology.

The narration, first of all, articulated in alignment in four chapters covering as many time periods, (Ch. I 1748, birth – 1787, accomplishment of medical studies at Montpellier; Ch. II, settling in Paris, outbreak of the French Revolution – 1804, publication of Heliodoros' *Ethiopics*, exposé of the language theory; Ch. III 1821, commencement of the *Hellenic library* – 1819, end of the dispute on the the Language Question; Ch. IV 1821, outbreak of the Greek War of Independence – 1833, death) incorporated among the rest comprehensive biographic material culled from the two recent collections of Korais' correspondence, Parisian and Athenian, in such a manner as to give a sense of new, multi-levelled and concurrently internal perusal of his biography. Furthermore, the stages of Korais' intellectual, scientific and ideological formation up to the start of the nineteenth century (family traditions, higher education, Dutch literary school, Montpellier medical school and Hippocratism, the circle of Parisian Hellenists, the French Revolution, Napoleonic Wars) acquired a historical substance lending meaning to the biographic events. In any case, Therianos had already had recourse to the assistance of history as a means to interpreting and making sense of affairs in his lengthy introduction to the work, wherein the entry of Korais upon the scene was qualified as a historical necessity, in order to reverse the impasses of Greek intellectual life, whether former or contemporary. This position had to be verified retrospectively, in no other way than a comparative examination of the history of education and of letters after the fall of Constantinople and an evaluation of the contribution of the best-known Greek intellectuals up to the nineteenth century to the intellectual and national awakening of the subject people. The literary and critical nature of this philological outline, based on a

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<sup>53</sup> Vol. I, p. 87.

direct overview of the texts of Greek authorship over five centuries, was supported by an historical context, which is to say by a description of the conditions under which Greek society – in particular during periods of foreign rule – delineated and developed its intellectual course.

On the other hand, by presenting Korais' main published works, i.e. the volumes of *Hellenic library* and the parallel series of ancient authors, as well as his articles in literary journals together with his collaboration in the publications of his European colleagues, in each corresponding chapter and with separate annotation for each instance, Therianos made use of similar methodological principles. The form of explication he applied was usually tripartite, chronologically based (Korais' publications at their dates, the editions preceding Korais', the equivalents of more recent publishers) in the desire to position Korais' stature as classical philologist in the course of time by this comparative juxtaposition. He adopted, that is, Sinner's original formulation, enriching it with a plethora of data from sources, with a series of evaluatory appraisals: examples from Korais' interpretations and conjectures adopted by publishers, corrections validated by written codifications – or in others erroneously entered, critiques of contemporary and modern scholars and publishers, arguments of defence against certain of their criticisms, always however in the light of Therianos' own point of view as to Korais' lapses or mistakes, linguistic, interpretative, factual and other faults in the texts, as he himself had last treated them and had been subsequently studied by the community of academics in the international bibliography etc., with the objective of establishing the critical ability of the Greek publisher, and revealing the debt owed to his work by subsequent philologists.

In his critical commentary, Therianos also included the views Korais had expressed in the "Improvised cogitations on Greek education and language", in the prologue to the first volumes of *Hellenic library* (1805-14), on diverse subjects of ancient grammatical theory, taking advantage of the views of contemporary grammarians and linguists. Therein Korais had summarised his educational vision, in which besides his proposed reforms of the content of material of grammar textbooks he described the means whereby conventionally established educational traditions and systems in Greek schools could be overcome and improved in general by innovation, introducing novel ideas for the Modern Greek language and indicating fresh fields of activity in the overall area of education and culture, with appeals to the sensitivity and willingness to subscribe to the effort on the part of all social classes and groups. Therianos, devoting a large part of his third chapter to these inspired texts, attributed to them a self-contained substance that he characterised as "the most significant

and expedient of all philological monuments [...] from the time of the fall of Byzantium until the renaissance of Greece” – comparing them to Fichte’s speeches to the German nation in the days when it groaned under the Napoleonic yoke – <sup>54</sup> for they had in any case followed an independent course of publication in the lifetime of their author. Additionally, in regard to the manner of Therianos’ approach to the remainder of Korais’ writings, equally treated methodologically on chronological and not thematic criteria, here too his intention can only be ascertained to examine all facets of the data of which they were composed, whether it was the translations of religious Catechisms, the medical manuals and works on criminal legislation, or the political and patriotic pamphlets and militant texts concerning the issue of the language, or the Modern Greek dictionaries or interventions in ecclesiastical matters. In this way, from the history and the conjunctures created by these publications, from the analysis of their content, the objective for which they were written, and the reception they were given in their day and subsequently, from the publication of the appendices and their commentaries, Therianos’ motivation in the direction of multi-dimensional research happened to lead him further into highly detailed analyses, such as checking in comparison the texts as initially issued with subsequent reprints,<sup>55</sup> or in juxtaposition with writings of Greeks and others of the same mind, contemporaries of or later than Korais.<sup>56</sup> At other times Therianos was impelled to outline historical reviews covering important aspects of the formation of the Neohellenism relevant to the object of the publications, such as were for instance the issues of national identity (the use of the names [Hellene/Greek]),<sup>57</sup> language,<sup>58</sup> institutions,<sup>59</sup> ecclesiastical subjects (translation of the Bible) etc<sup>60</sup>.

Of course Korais’ political views, his linguistic concepts and his stance toward the Church, as they appeared in the pages of his books as well as in his

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<sup>54</sup> Vol. II, p. 9.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. linguistic, stylistic and other differences between the two editions of the translation of *Dei delitti e delle pene* by Beccaria, 1802 and 1823, Vol. I, pp. 332-34.

<sup>56</sup> E.g. comparison of the translation of Platon of Moscow’s *Ορθοδόξος Διδασκαλία* [Orthodox teaching] by Korais (1782) and G. Ventotis (publ. P. Lampanitziotis, 1783), Vol. I, pp. 115-118.

<sup>57</sup> In the analysis of the leaflet *Διάλογος δύο Γραικών* [...] *Τι πρέπει να κάμωσιν οι Γραικοί εις τας παρούσας περιστάσεις* [Dialogue of two Greeks [...] What the Greeks have to do under the present circumstances], 1805, Vol. I, pp. 375-376.

<sup>58</sup> Vol. II, p. 271 *et sequ.*

<sup>59</sup> In the pages relative to the translation by Beccaria, Vol. I, pp. 339-340.

<sup>60</sup> In the analysis of the contents of Vol. II of *Ατακτα* (1829), in which Korais paraphrases the letter of the Apostle Paul to Titus, Vol. III, p. 127.

letters, three spearheads of his ideology constantly recycled until then in academic and journalistic articles, also came into Therianos' exposé at their relevant place. In the case of the system of Korais' ideological convictions, his position was one of research, bringing into play as tools for their analysis not only his own reserves of knowledge of history and literature but his critical thought as well, in conjunction with his habitual methodology, that is the verification of their endurance and justification through time. In the course of such investigation he frequently allowed his personal ideology to transpire in the subjective angle of certain of his judgements. Therianos considered for example Korais' position on the untimeliness of the War of Independence – to begin at the political level – as had other of his predecessors, as excessive (remarking that “education alone did not suffice to achieve the ultimate triumph”) but nonetheless saw it as justified by the turn of events very shortly following the onset of the struggle for liberation (discord, factionalism, evidence of lust for power, inequity, etc).<sup>61</sup> One would on the other hand expect him to comprehend the fierce polemics of the Old Man of Paris against Ioannis Capodistrias' regime as the fundamental expression of his faith in democratic principles on which he had been nurtured above all since the French Revolution and in citizens' rights that had been violated by autocratic rule, as the eruption, in a word, of his liberal conscience, the content of which Therianos had been concerned with at other points of his book.<sup>62</sup> By interpreting Korais' militant dissidence merely as emanating from misleading bad advisers and the effects of his advanced age, although he was but adopting older interpretations, he was nevertheless allowing the odour of suspicion to persist that behind the advocate of Greece's first Governor were concealed motives of regional solidarity: Capodistrias happened to be an Ionian Islander as was his supporter Therianos.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Vol. III, pp. 5, 8 *et sequ.*

<sup>62</sup> Let alone when precisely in the account of the dispute, he noted as the origin of Korais' motivations: “Bearing the hale and hearty memory of the great and excellent events of the French Revolution, the pseudonymous Pantazides [i.e. Korais]” etc., Vol. III, p. 94.

<sup>63</sup> On the interpretation of having been led astray in his advanced age, see Vol. III, pp. 99, 106. In defending Capodistrias against the charges of his opponents and of certain historians and although he fears lest he should deviate from “the specific limits of the present treatise”, Therianos devotes a good number of pages to the issue, imbued with passion, sometimes emphatically stressing the origins of the Governor from the Ionian Islands (“the politician from Corfu”, “the eminent Corfiot”, “the Corfiot with high ideals”). He appears in general to be on the defensive regarding Korais' grievances against the Ionian Islanders, see e.g. Vol. I, p. 333.

Moreover, in commenting on the proposal Korais had put forward in 1826 for the institution in Greece of a non-monarchical republican regime modelled on that of the Americans and referring to the form of government in Greece of his day, Therianos maintained that a regime of constitutional monarchy comprised the majority of the conditions Korais had postulated and that indeed in many instances provided wider freedoms than an “unadulterated democracy under a figurehead sovereign”.<sup>64</sup>

Lastly, his reference to Korais’ anguish at the fate of Chiot refugees who had fled abroad following the devastation in 1822 of their island by the Turks, and particularly at the danger of losing their Greek identity menacing the young people, gave Therianos the opportunity to express his own anguish at the conditions of existence of the Greek communities of the diaspora, which he described in the blackest of terms.<sup>65</sup>

He re-employed the methodological form of synchronic-diachronic analysis also for the consideration of the Language Question. On the one side were placed Korais’ linguistic theory and application in his texts, with the linguistic disputes of the first decades of the nineteenth century on the other, the evolution of the written word in modern times. In the opinion of the author, the innovations put forward by Korais found no response; the formation of the Modern Greek language was not brought about along the lines of Korais’ judicious correctional method. Reasons of ideology (demotacists, purists); cultural (imposition of French and European cultural models, irresponsibility in translations); educational (semi-literacy of practitioners in education and in journalism, neglect of the study of Ancient Greek) – reasons annotated in detail by Therianos, with explications of a critical nature, had contributed to the language of his day having been adulterated and degenerated into a “parody of the most perfect of all languages”.<sup>66</sup> Proceeding further beyond the Greek example he had occasion to prove that the historical evolution of European languages had showed similar phenomena.<sup>67</sup>

Concerning Korais’ religious sentiments, starting from the 1782 translation of Platon of Moscow’s *Catechism*, and ending at the *Hieratic Vademecum* (1831), Therianos admitted to the significance for the learned man of religion as a condition of enlightenment and ethical benevolence, comprehending Korais’ motive for intervening in ecclesiastical matters, meaning the necessity

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<sup>64</sup> Vol. III, p. 61.

<sup>65</sup> Vol. III, pp. 30-31.

<sup>66</sup> Vol. II, p. 249 *et sequ.*, Appendix, p. 254.

<sup>67</sup> Vol. II, p. 268-270.

for elevation of the clergy and improvement of the faults in ecclesiastical formalities. Most importantly, mentioning excerpts of confessions – mainly from Korais’ letters, he declared him innocent of the charges of atheism and deviation from Orthodox dogma he had suffered on occasion.<sup>68</sup>

To borrow the term employed by Therianos for certain Notes in the *Hieratic Vademecum*<sup>69</sup> of the “lesser treatises”, inspired as he always was in his formulations by his conversation with and admiration for the extensive and multifaceted works of Korais, an *oeuvre* nourished by his public image, the biographical narrative was enriched by testimonies from Korais’ correspondence to describe and delve deep into the human aspects of Korais’ personality as scholar, those that were unseen by the many yet directly connected to the execution of his daily duties, whether in the solitude of his study or in the circle of his external connections and affairs. References to the living and working conditions, the annoyances and hindrances he faced, the manner of function of his reflexes and reactions to events and people that surprised him, pleasantly or otherwise, whom he saw as oppressive or threatening, in the general manifestations of his spiritual and moral world, and so on, Korais was presented in a vital and familiar aspect, with the sentiments, attitudes and behaviour belonging to a moderate and free personality, that was however quite often capable of manifesting excessive intensity. Sporadic or concentrated in certain pages of the biography,<sup>70</sup> these references sometimes gave rise to a more composite record of data, as for example the instance of the Greek scholar’s financial circumstances and the “material history” of his publications or the opportunities of his election to membership of France’s academic institutions.<sup>71</sup>

Unavoidably, in the face of such extensive bio-bibliographical research, stamped with wisdom, critical discernment and methodological expertise, one could single out certain imperfections and omissions, technical or substantive, which, though without cancelling its scientific character and credibility, demonstrate that the author was occasionally carried away by the habits of his journalist background. For one thing, the more than one thousand pages of the three volumes are presented from start to finish as a continuous and uninterrupted text. Apart from its external division into Introduction, Chapters (none of which have titles) and appendices, not even the separate

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<sup>68</sup> Vol. III, p. 139. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11 and Vol. I, p. 112.

<sup>69</sup> Vol. III, p. 141.

<sup>70</sup> See Vol. II, p. 183 *et passim*.

<sup>71</sup> On Korais’ finances and the “material history” of his publications, see Vol. II, p. 191 *et sequ.* Cf. Vol. I, p. 130 *et sequ.* On his academic candidatures see Vol. II, p. 211 *et sequ.*



sections of the entities were foreseen to have headings, to facilitate the perusal and use of such a voluminous work. This deficiency was partially remedied, albeit it is not of absolute utility, by the insertion at the beginning of each volume of a summarizing table of contents and, at the end of the third, of an index – certainly not comprehensive – of names and matters. The work suffers further from a lack of annotation and, although not invariably, reference to the pages of sources, particularly evident in quotations from Korais' and others' correspondence, many of which are not in chronological order. Meticulous as he was to throw light on every facet of the life and works of the Greek scholar, Therianos nevertheless neglected to have recourse to two invaluable sources of information regarding the sojourn of Korais as a youthful merchant in Holland: the letter dated 1774, the earliest known to date of his correspondence, published already in 1870 in the newspaper whose editor was Therianos himself, the *Clio* of Trieste,<sup>72</sup> a letter sent by Korais from Amsterdam to his business partners, defending himself against the accusations of his servant Stamatis Petrosu that Korais neglected his professional duties; as well as a series of letters of complaint written by the latter in a pithy low-class style, between the years 1772-74 on the subject of Korais' professional conduct and private occupations in the Dutch capital, until then unpublished except for some excerpts. The Athenian journalist Gregorios Kampouroglou had been willing to let Therianos have them, to complement Korais' biography with the significant testimonies they contained, but he met with no response.<sup>73</sup> Where on the contrary the author could be criticised for an excessive display of erudition and polymathy would be the points where he violated the rules of writing economy and of scientific method, deviating from his main objective and bringing up matters that had no place in this particular monograph, especially when in other instances, aware as he was of the inappropriate, he desisted from expatiating for no good reason.<sup>74</sup>

Regardless of the above faults, the passage of over a hundred years since Therianos' writings were published has in no way diminished their value,

<sup>72</sup> *Κλειώ*, no. 967 (30/11. 6. 1870).

<sup>73</sup> Philippos Iliou (ed.), *Σταμάτης Πέτρου, Γράμματα απο το Άμστερνταμ* [Stamatis Petrou, letters from Amsterdam], Athens 1976, p. 12. The edition reproduces the letters, with a lengthy introduction and comments, together with the 1774 letter from Korais.

<sup>74</sup> For some instances of overstepping the limits, see Vol. I, pp. 67-68, 90, 93, 267-68, 369-371 and Vol. II, pp. 125-26 (observations and comments on works of various Greek scholars). Even these historical interventions, on every occasion generously entrenching the phases of Korais' life under examination, sometimes appear to overreach the narrow horizons of a biographical account. As to self-awareness of the danger of verbosity, see Vol. II, p. 239 and herewith note 63.

despite his overly puristic and stilted style, without doubt difficult for the reader of today to follow.<sup>75</sup> In its planning and execution, the work's contribution to knowledge of Korais' life and works is still today considered unsurpassed, and at the same time offers future researchers a wealth of informative material, models of methodology and also stimulates to seek further treatment of the desiderata in Korais research, with the exploration of their limits. It is particularly worth noting that in the pages of the biography, for possibly the first time in Greek print, at the appropriate point mention is made of the eighteenth century, the period in which frenetic intellectual activity amongst Greeks may be ascertained, as the "age of enlightenment" in the sense of describing the times of Frederick the Great of Prussia.<sup>76</sup> Besides, the "lights" and "enlightened Europe" are terms whose use is here reproduced drawn from the original Greek sources. The notion of a *siècle des lumières* was to become crystallised decades later in the neologism "Enlightenment", which would henceforth, in modern Greek historiography, mark the intellectual and ideological movement of Greek scholars of the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth centuries, connected to the penetration of the ideas of European Enlightenment into the Greek East, wherein the presence of Korais had played a leading role.<sup>77</sup>

It is though astonishing that in all that has been published since Therianos' work, up to the beginning of the twentieth century, many of them publications distinguished for the seriousness and depth of their research, of that three-volume biography there is hardly a single bibliographical mention in publications. This does not refer to the publication of the Stamatis Petrosu letters by G. K. Kampouroglou in 1891-2 in the Athenian periodical *Parnassos*,<sup>78</sup> which in any case lacked the required commentary, nor to the negative observations of Emmanuel Roïdes, an excellent writer and critic, as to the antiquated style of the biography, incidentally expressed in his *Εἰδωλα* [Idols] (1893) – a condemnation of pedantry by someone who was himself a purist and indeed in comparison with the very language of Korais – irrespective of his disagreement with the latter's correctional theory.<sup>79</sup> I allude here to the

<sup>75</sup> The work of Therianos has been reprinted in Athens in 1977.

<sup>76</sup> Vol. I, p. 63.

<sup>77</sup> See C. Th. Dimaras, *La Grèce au temps des Lumières*, Genève: Droz, 1969.

<sup>78</sup> "Επιστολαί ανέκδοτοι περί του ιδιωτικού βίου του Κοραή" [Unpublished letters on Korais' private life], *Παρνασσός* 14 (1891/92) and 15 (1892/93). Cf. note 71.

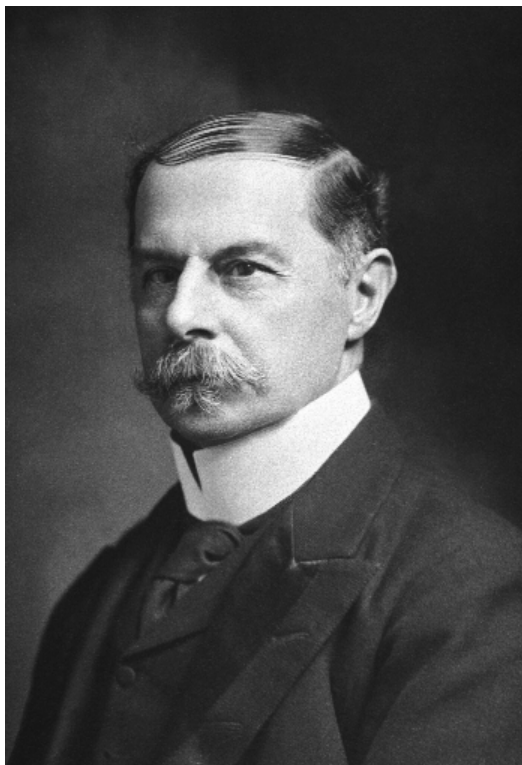
<sup>79</sup> Alkis Angelou (ed.), *Εμμανουήλ Ροΐδη Άπαντα* [Complete works of Emmanuel Roïdes], Athens 1978, Vol. I, p. 331.

writings of the Smyrniot scholar Nikolaos Ch. Kostis, appearing in various Athenian literary and historical journals, and of the learned man, diplomat and hearty admirer of the Greek sage, Ioannis Gennadios. While the former contributed fresh material, based on archival sources, especially on the society and people of Smyrna of the circle of the youthful Korais, making only a single reference to Therianos,<sup>80</sup> the latter, published in 1903 in Trieste's newspaper *Νέα Ημέρα* and also in a separate reprint, an extensive essay entitled *Κρίσεις και σκέψεις περί των επιστολών του αιδίμου Κοραή* [Judgements and reflections on the letters of Korais of blessed memory], referred to the milestones in the history of Korais studies preceding Therianos'. To be precise, Gennadios discussed and appraised the publications of Korais' correspondence of some twenty years before. This fact substantiates the inclusion of this publication in the cycle of nineteenth-century Korais bibliography, despite Gennadios' additional preoccupation therein with the clarification of various questions of authorship and biography.

Whilst defending the language and style of Korais' letters, characterising them as a literary achievement, in a period where the popular demotic had already long been ensconced in modern Greek literature, and while also throwing light on certain particular aspects of the correspondence – which he called “a true national treasure” – Gennadios wondered at the treatment of this treasure at the hands of later writers. For the edition that had salvaged its greater part, that of the *Posthumously found writings* under the editorship of Nikolaos Damalas, he reproached the editor for an “indelible shame cast upon Greek letters”.<sup>81</sup> Gennadios gave scientific support to his totally scornful attitude toward the Athenian collection, expressed in criticisms of an analogous severity, pointing out its inherent weaknesses and problematic methodology, especially in comparison to the Parisian edition of the letters addressed to Chardon de la Rochette: the lack of commentary, the misplaced classification of the material according to recipient instead of in chronological order, the unverified dating of writing of such as were undated, the absence of a chronological table of the letters, the deliberate – to Gennadios' mind – omissions and suppressions of missives, the poor typographical standard of appearance of the collection, and so on. Later research has come to confirm the validity of most of Gennadios' objections which, besides, others had shared

<sup>80</sup> See the article “Συμπληρωματικά τινά περί Βερνάρδου Κευν και Κοραή” [Some complementary material on the subject of Bernard Keun and Korais], *Αρμονία* 1 (1900), pp. 729-741.

<sup>81</sup> *Κρίσεις και σκέψεις* [Judgements and reflections], p. 14.



Ioannis Gennadios. Photograph.  
Source: Dragoumis family  
archive.  
[INR Neohellenic Portraiture  
Archive]

from the earliest date of circulation of the Athenian collection;<sup>82</sup> on the other hand, however, its complete rejection must be considered excessive.

Gennadios' critical comments on the publications of the correspondence were followed by various historico-literary precisions, first on the question of the disputed authorship of *Άσμα Πολεμιστήριον* [War song], which he reproduced, as Mamoukas had previously done, confirming its authenticity as Koraic verse, also from testimony in the correspondence, and further on the

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<sup>82</sup> Of significance is a letter from Dimitrios Vikelas, an author active in cultural and social affairs, famous for his contribution to the revival of the Olympic Games in 1896, addressed to Emm. Harilaos in May 1886 from Paris when Vikelas had received the volumes of the letters. Expressing a number of observations similar to those of I. Gennadios, he concluded: "All of this does not diminish the value of the gift offered to Hellenism by the Committee", Nikolaos Tsikis, *Επτά ανέκδοτες επιστολές του Δημητρίου Βικέλα* [Seven unpublished letters of Dimitrios Vikelas], Athens 2004, p. 36. In any case, the book presentations in the press of the day gave the edition a warm reception and note merely minimal weaknesses such as typographical errors, etc.

respect commanded by Korais in the circles of his European colleagues and on his relations with Dutch philhellenes in the days of the War of Independence, as with his Dutch teachers in Smyrna and Amsterdam. These do not constitute quite unknown elements, thanks to the contributions of prior biographers and students, but they expose Gennadios' ignorance of the bibliography – there is no mention of the writings of Kostis nor of Therianos – culminating in the observation that Sinner published “arguably the most comprehensive of Korais' biographies”.<sup>83</sup>

Arriving at this point at the end of the review of Korais scholarship in the nineteenth century, it may be ascertained in general that the period spawned seminal works of synthesis in a broad geographic scale within and outside Greece on the life and writings of the Greek sage and, together with the publication of his correspondence, in parts or entire, brought about the infrastructure and prerequisites for the continuation in the ensuing years of the efforts to complement deficiencies, the quest for fresh data as well as re-evaluation of the older, and, above all, the renewal of the historiographic viewpoint on Korais' period and his own participation in the formation of its physiognomy. While Korais bibliography in the nineteenth century shows marked quantitative inferiority regarding the specialised scholarly articles, it may be observed that this absence was to a degree complemented by the insistence of most of the biographers on treating the separate issues in an analytical and substantiated fashion. In the following century the phenomenon would be reversed: the wealth of production of publications of a more specialised and necessarily partial nature will be counter-balanced by a scarcity of overall syntheses. However, more on this subject will have to wait for another occasion.

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<sup>83</sup> *Κρίσεις και σκέψεις*, p. 74. Therianos had already died in 1897 so that the version of a personal vendetta between him and Gennadios is excluded. In any case, in his inaugural speech at the Athens Gennadios Library he included excerpts from the writings of the “ever remembered” Therianos [*Αδ. Κοραΐς, Φιλολογικά υποτυπώσεις*] in which he agreed with his views on Modern Greek. See Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Ο Ιωάννης Γεννάδιος και η συγκρότηση του αντικειμένου των νεοελληνικών σπουδών* [Ioannis Gennadios and the construction of the object of Modern Greek studies], Athens 2002, p. 13.