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ESTABLISHING THE DISCIPLINE OF CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY GREECE

Sophia Matthaïou

ABSTRACT: This paper outlines the process of establishing the discipline of classical philology in Greece in the nineteenth century. During the period shortly before the Greek War of Independence, beyond the unique philological expertise of Adamantios Korais, there is additional evidence of the existence of a fledging academic discussion among younger scholars. A younger generation of scholars engaged in new methodological quests in the context of the German school of *Alterthumswissenschaft*. The urgent priorities of the new state and the fluidity of scholarly fields, as well as the close association of Greek philology with ideology, were some of the factors that determined the “Greek” study of antiquity during the first decades of the Greek state.

The rise of classical philology as an organized discipline during the nineteenth century in Greece constitutes a process closely associated with the conditions under which the new state was constructed. This paper will touch upon the conditions created for the development of the discipline shortly before the Greek War of Independence, as well as on the factors that determined its course during the first decades of the Greek State.¹ Although how to precisely define classical philology as an organized discipline is subject to debate, our basic frame of reference will be the period’s most advanced “school of philology”, the German school. According to one definition that can be deduced from an examination of this very school, the study of ancient literature began to be considered an organized “scientific” discipline from the moment the legitimization of its practitioners exceeded the boundaries of the act of teaching and no longer depended on the effect of their work upon a broad audience but rather on a specialized group of people.²

This turn towards Greek studies was a Pan-European phenomenon, which has been associated with the increasing power of the European middle

¹ This text is part of my broader research into the creation of the discipline of classical philology and its progress during the nineteenth century in the context of the new Greek state.

² Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996, p. 23. The data that define the substance of this discipline in the context of Greece constitute a basic objective of my research.

class. In some instances, a classical education became the distinguishing characteristic of a rising urban class (England), while, in others, the vehicle that led to national integration (Germany).³ The European investment in Greek studies, combined with the birth of classicism, is, moreover, linked with the “emergence” of Greece in European thinking,⁴ as well as with the phenomenon of philhellenism.⁵ The European equation of the ancient Greek past with the supreme civilization in the history of humanity made a catalytic contribution to the very creation of the Greek nation-state. Consequently, the factors defining the “Greek” study of antiquity naturally differed from those of the Europeans. We know that Greek scholars studied the ancient writers throughout the entire Ottoman occupation, while the connection of the nation’s literate inhabitants with ancient literature was never severed, since, in conjunction with ecclesiastical literature, it formed the basis of any type of general education during the period.⁶

³ Christopher Stray, *Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities and Society in England, 1830-1960*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, pp. 7-113; Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, pp. 3-35.

⁴ Nassia Giakovaki, *Ευρώπη μέσω Ελλάδας. Μια καμπή στην ευρωπαϊκή αυτοσυνείδηση, 17ος-18ος αιώνας* [Europe via Greece: a watershed in European self-consciousness, seventeenth–eighteenth century], Athens 2006. Regarding the intellectual fermentation in French intellectual circles, see Georges Tolia, *La médaille et la rouille. Image de la Grèce moderne dans la presse littéraire parisienne (1794-1815)*, Athens: Hatier-Kaufman, 1997.

⁵ Loukia Droulia, “Ο φιλελληνισμός. Φιλελεύθερο και ριζοσπαστικό κίνημα” [Philhellenism: a liberal and radical movement], in Vassilis Panayotopoulos (ed.), *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού, 1770-2000* [Modern Greek history, 1770-2000], Athens 2003, Vol. II, pp. 267-286, contains the basic bibliography.

⁶ Ioannis Kalitsounakis, “Η αναβίωση των κλασικών σπουδών εν Ελλάδι από της απελευθερώσεως και εντεύθεν” [The revival of classical studies in Greece since the liberation], *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών* VIII (1957-1958), pp. 325-339; C. Th. Dimaras, “Η παρουσία της αρχαίας παιδείας μέσα στην νεοελληνική συνείδηση (1750-1850)” [The presence of ancient culture in the Modern Greek conscience (1750-1850)], *Απόψεις* VII (1995), pp. 3-11; Angeliki G. Skarveli-Nikolopoulou, *Μαθηματάρια των ελληνικών σχολείων της Τουρκοκρατίας. Διδασκόμενα κείμενα, σχολικά προγράμματα, διδακτικές μέθοδοι. Συμβολή στην ιστορία της νεοελληνικής παιδείας* [Greek handwritten school books during the Ottoman occupation: texts taught, school programmes, teaching methods: a contribution to the history of Modern Greek education], Athens 1994; Eleni Karantzola, “Από τον Ουμανισμό στον Διαφωτισμό. Η διδασκαλία της αρχαίας ελληνικής και της γραμματικής της” [From Humanism to the Enlightenment: the teaching of Ancient Greek and its grammar], in A.-F. Christidis (ed.), *Ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Από τις αρχές έως την ύστερη αρχαιότητα* [The history of the Greek language: from its beginnings to late antiquity], Thessaloniki: Centre for the Greek Language, 2001, pp. 931-934. See also

In Europe, around the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth, and after a fertile three-century period, the systematic features of the discipline of classical philology were finalized in the context of the German school of *Alterthumswissenschaft*, the science or study of antiquity as practised in Halle and, later, at the University of Berlin. Friedrich August Wolf introduced, and, subsequently, August Böckh imposed the concept that classical philology should examine the full range of the activities of the ancient Greeks and Romans, assigning an explicit historical dimension to its subject matter. This trend dominated German philological studies for quite some time. The singular influence exercised specifically by Böckh, who was the first to use ancient Greek inscriptions as an essential source for his research into antiquity, expanded the horizons of philology in the whole of Europe. However, at the same time, it was only natural that classical scholars should have carried on the older tradition of emending and interpreting the classical texts, a tradition associated with classical scholarship in the Netherlands and England. As an adherent of this original school, it was understandable that Gottfried Hermann of Leipzig would oppose Böckh.⁷ The birth of the contemporary German school of *Alterthumswissenschaft* is, moreover, associated with the work of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the father of classicism, aesthetics, and, by extension, the discipline of archaeology.⁸

Athanasia K. Avdali, *Η “Εγκυκλοπαιδεία Φιλολογική” του Ιωάννη Πατούσα. Συμβολή στην ιστορία της Παιδείας του Νέου Ελληνισμού (1710-1839)* [The “Philological encyclopaedia” of Ioannis Patousas: a contribution to the history of Modern Greek education (1710-1839)], Athens 1984. On the absence of Plato’s texts, see Alkis Angelou, *Πλάτωνος Τύχαι (Η λόγια παράδοση στην τουρκοκρατία)* [The fortunes of Plato (scholarly tradition during the Ottoman occupation)], Athens 1963. On the Greeks’ relationship with ancient history, see C. Th. Dimaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* [Modern Greek Enlightenment], Athens 1977, pp. 55-58; Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός. Οι πολιτικές και κοινωνικές ιδέες* [Modern Greek Enlightenment: political and social ideas], Athens 1996, pp. 83-113, and Dimitris I. Kyrtatas, *Κατακτώντας την αρχαιότητα. Ιστοριογραφικές διαδρομές* [Conquering antiquity: itineraries of historiography], Athens 2002, pp. 98-109.

⁷ U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *History of Classical Scholarship*, London: Duckworth, 1982, pp. 105-137; John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. III, New York 1964, pp. 48-211; Rudolf Pfeiffer, *Ιστορία της κλασσικής φιλολογίας από το 1300 μέχρι το 1850* [History of classical philology from 1300 to 1850], Athens 1980, pp. 193-209. Regarding Böckh, see also *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich and Leipzig 1875-1912, Vol. II, pp. 770-783, and *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Archäologenbildnisse. Porträts und Kurzbiographien von Klassischen Archäologen deutscher Sprache*, Mainz 1988, pp. 5-7.

⁸ Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *History of Classical Scholarship*, pp. 95-100; Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, pp. 3-16. The shift in classical scholarship is also linked to the

The Appearance of “Scientific” Elements

During this period, which gave birth to the humanities in Germany, a good many Greek scholars lived in Europe, with some members of the younger generation attending European universities. We know that one of the basic objectives of the Enlightenment ideology of the period before the Greek War of Independence was to acquaint Greeks fundamentally with the classical writers of antiquity, primarily through education, an objective associated with the ongoing cultivation of national self-awareness.⁹ Adamantios Korais personified this trend in the most characteristic fashion: a self-taught and charismatic classical scholar, accepted by the European “professional” scholarly community of his era, he staunchly served the goal of, on the one hand, familiarizing his fellow Greeks with the ancient classical writers while, on the other hand, reforming teaching in Greek schools, linking education to the vision of the rebirth of Greece. Aside from his unique faculty in emending and interpreting the ancient texts, he introduced a novel philological analysis methodology that attracted the interest and admiration of European philologists, because he wrote both annotations in Greek as well as parallels to the contemporary Greek reality.¹⁰ We also know that, with Korais himself

creation, in contemporary terms, of the discipline of history as well. It is common knowledge that Leopold von Ranke was Böckh’s colleague at the University of Berlin.

⁹ The issue of the Greeks’ problematic relationship with their ancient forefathers was first brought up by Iosipos Moisiodax, who pointed out (*Ηθική Φιλοσοφία* [Ethical philosophy], Venice 1761) that adherence to the forms of the study of antiquity had resulted in ignorance of the essence of classical letters. See Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *The Enlightenment as Social Criticism: Iosipos Moisiodax and Greek Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985, pp. 135-136.

¹⁰ On Korais the philologist, see Nikolaos A. E. Kalospyros, *Ο Αδαμάντιος Κοραΐς ως κριτικός φιλόλογος και εκδότης* [Adamantios Korais, critical philologist and editor], Athens 2006, containing all the earlier relevant bibliography. See also Vivi Perraky, “L’histoire britannique de Coray. Une histoire de manuscrits (1789-1803)”, in Paschalis M. Kitromilides (ed.), *Adamantios Korais and the European Enlightenment*, SVEC, Oxford 2010, pp. 37-90; Ioannis D. Evrigenis, “Enlightenment, Emancipation and National Identity: Korais and the Ancients”, *id.*, pp. 91-108; Michael Paschalis, “The History and Ideological Background of Korais’ Iliad Project”, *id.*, pp. 109-124, and Anna Tabaki, “Adamance Coray comme critique littéraire et philologue”, *id.*, pp. 151-183. For a thorough presentation of education during the 50 years before the War of Independence and the reforms in teaching ancient texts in the innovative schools of the period, see Kostas Lappas, “Η εκπαίδευση. Οργάνωση και λειτουργία των σχολείων, 1770-1821” [Education: school organization and operation, 1770-1821], in Panayotopoulos (ed.), *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού*, pp. 75-100, which contains the most important relevant

as a prime example, Greek scholars in Paris and elsewhere earned their living collating manuscripts, thus assisting the classical scholarship efforts of European Hellenists. Having Greek as a mother tongue was a valuable professional tool.¹¹ European scholars thought this knowledge guaranteed a better understanding of ancient Greek texts.¹²

In the Greek periodicals of the time, setting aside the ideological disputes between Korais' disciples and their opponents, there is serious evidence of a purely scholarly discussion. Bearers of the modern spirit, they naturally incorporated into their material issues of classical philology by announcing pertinent publications, book reviews and translations of foreign research;¹³

early bibliography. See also *id.*, "Ο Κοραΐς και τα νεωτερικά σχολεία του ανατολικού Αιγαίου" [Korais and the innovative schools of the Eastern Aegean], *Κοινωνικοί αγώνες και διαφωτισμός. Μελέτες αφιερωμένες στον Φίλιππο Ηλιού* [Social struggles and the Enlightenment: papers dedicated to Philippos Iliou], ed. Christos Loukos, Heraklion 2007, pp. 15-26.

¹¹ Regarding Korais, see E. M. Frangiskos, *Αδαμάντιος Κοραΐς* [Adamantios Korais], in the series *Οι Ιδρυτές της Νεότερης Ελλάδας* [Founders of Modern Greece], *Τα Νέα*, Athens 2010, pp. 31, 37, and Perraky, "L'histoire britannique de Coray". Sypsomos served as assistant to Gail and Hase (Christos A. Moulis, *Γεώργιος Β. Θεοχαρόπουλος Πατρεύς [1770-1852]: Ένας άγνωστος πατρινός λόγιος* [Georgios B. Theocharopoulos of Patras (1770-1852?): an unknown scholar of Patras], Patras 1993, pp. 63-64; C. M. W. Brunet de Presle, "Κ. Β. Άσιος και οι εν Παρισίοις λόγιοι Έλληνες επί του Ναπολέοντος και των Βουρβώνων" [K. B. Asios and the Greek scholars under Napoleon and the Bourbons], *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* VII (1867), p. 224, while Theoklitos Farmakidis was similarly employed during his stay in Vienna (Polychronis K. Enepekides, *Κοραΐς-Κούμας-Κάλβος-Άν. Γαζής, Ούγος Φώσκολος, Α. Δάνδολος, Β. Κόπιταρ. Ελληνικός τύπος και τυπογραφεία της Βιέννης, 1790-1821. Έρευναι εις ευρωπαϊκά αρχεία και εις χειρογράφους συλλογάς* [Korais-Koumas-Kalvos-A. Gazis, Hugo Foscolo, A. Dandolo, B. Kopitar: the Greek press and printing houses of Vienna, 1790-1821: research in the European archives and manuscript collections], Athens 1967, p. 112). See also Tolia, *La médaille et la rouille*, pp. 384-386 (regarding Georgios Razis), and Vivi Perraky, "Grégoire Zalykis. Face à trois grands philologues français sur la prononciation du grec (1809-1810)", *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique* VI (2009), pp. 65-66, notes 39, 78.

¹² "J'ai toujours cru que les savans Grecs de nation étoient les plus propres à faire la critique et des éditions des anciens auteurs Grecs," wrote Louis Henri Teucher from Leipzig to Korais (25-5-1810). See Adamantios Korais, *Αλληλογραφία* [Correspondence], Vol. III (1810-1816), ed. C. Th. Dimaras *et al.*, Athens: OMED Editions, 1979, p. 34.

¹³ See the indexes of the pre-1821 *Έρμής ο Λόγιος*, ed. E. N. Frangiskos, Athens: INR / NHRF, 1976; Roxane Argyropoulou and Anna Tabaki (eds), *Ειδήσεις δια τα Ανατολικά Μέρη, Ελληνικός Τηλέγραφος, Φιλολογικός Τηλέγραφος* [News regarding the Eastern Regions, the Greek Telegraph, the Literary Telegraph], Athens: INR / NHRF, 1983. The concept of philology includes the study of issues associated with the manifestation of the

they also sought to discover manuscripts¹⁴ and to publish “emendations” to ancient writers.¹⁵ The latter desires were rarely realized, something which occurred with many of the planned editions of ancient writers.¹⁶ The dispute over the Neophytos Doukas edition of Thucydides was, for the most part, conducted based on philological criteria. Promoting as a model the philological publication method adhered to by Korais, Alexandros Vassiliou faulted the edition, judging it inadequate; on the one hand, the editor knew neither Latin nor any other contemporary European language and, therefore, had not taken advantage of the translations and commentaries of European classical scholarship, while, on the other, he had also failed to consult the codex copies of the ancient writer in the Austrian libraries.¹⁷ Presenting to the readership of the *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* periodical the translation of a German study on Erasmian pronunciation – a subject that greatly interested scholars of the period –¹⁸ the editors stressed the great importance of the German

Greek spirit throughout every phase of its history. See, for example, the “Declaration” of the periodical *Καλλιόπη* in *Δια του Γένους τον Φωτισμόν. Αγγελίες προεπαναστατικών εντύπων* (1734-1821). *Από τα κατάλοιπα του Φίλιππου Ηλιού* [To illuminate the nation: periodical announcements prior to the War of Independence (1374-1821): from the unpublished papers of Philippos Iliou], ed. Popi Polemi, with Anna Matthaïou and Eirini Rizaki, Athens 2008, p. 377.

¹⁴ See also the correspondence between Nikolaos Logadis in Constantinople and Anthimos Gazis, which reveals a particular interest in locating manuscripts in the monastery of Patmos and comments on the related “larcenous” activities of the “European Franks”; Maria A. Stassinopoulou, “Ειδήσεις για το ελληνικό βιβλίο στο γερμανόφωνο περιοδικό τύπο του 19ου αιώνα” [Information regarding Greek books in nineteenth-century German-language periodicals], *Μνήμων* XII (1989), pp. 145-148.

¹⁵ *Δια του Γένους τον Φωτισμόν*, p. 377.

¹⁶ See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 88-89. During the second period *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* was published, the only emendations that appeared were by Korais after Schneider published his edition of Theophrastus. Otherwise, it ran translations of foreign philological research, including Wolf’s proof that an excerpt from a Euripides drama was not authentic (*Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* X [1820], pp. 93-104) and Thiersch’s speech on philology at the Royal Academy of Munich in 1813 (*Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* VII [1817], pp. 2-6, 17-22), while also publishing translations of Korais’ works from foreign philological periodicals (e.g. *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* VIII [1818], pp. 417-419).

¹⁷ Alexandros Vassiliou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ αὐτοσχέδιοι, γραφεῖσαι ὅταν ἐφάνη ἡ δευτέρα τῆς Τερψιθέας Γραμματικῆς ἔκδοσις* [Extemporaneous letters, written upon the publication of the second edition of Terpsithea’s Grammar], Vienna 1809, pp. 7-9.

¹⁸ Indicatively, see Anastasios Georgiadis, *Πραγματεία περὶ τῶν ἐλληνικῶν στοιχείων ἐκφωνήσεως* [Treatise on the elements of Greek pronunciation], Vienna, Leipzig and Paris 1812 (Philippos Iliou, *Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία του 19ου αιώνα. Βιβλία-φυλλάδια*

research practice of systematically referencing any previous writings on the subject. This made the work a “worthy reader’s guide” and constituted a good example for Greek scholars.¹⁹

Konstantinos Asopios’ critique of Konstantinos Oikonomos’ *Ποιητική* [Poetics],²⁰ occasioned by the translated bibliography of the German philologist Friedrich Ernst Ruhkopf, had all the earmarks of an organized philological critique. With the conceit of the newly converted and the arrogance of the well-informed philologist, Asopios attributed to Oikonomos ignorance of the international – especially German – bibliography, accusing him of imprecision and vague formulations, while determining the work evidenced a complete absence of critical thought. According to Asopios, the latter constituted the foundation stone of the discipline of philology²¹ and was naturally absent from the text of someone who was essentially no philologist, and, since there were no good libraries in Asia Minor, was also unable to keep abreast of new information. Asopios sternly and pointedly underlined Ruhkopf’s comment regarding the lack of bibliographical notes in Oikonomos’ work.²²

[Greek nineteenth-century bibliography: books-leaflets], Vol. I, 1801-1818, Athens 1997, no. 1812.71). The issue also concerned Korais (Adamantios Korais, *Προλεγόμενα στους αρχαίους έλληνες συγγραφείς* [Introductions to the ancient Greek writers], Vol. I, Athens 1984, p. 305) and later Konstantinos Oikonomos (*Περί τής γνήσιας προφοράς τής ελληνικής γλώσσης βιβλίον* [A book on the genuine pronunciation of the Greek language], St Petersburg 1830). Regarding the related discussion that also assumed a political dimension among the French philologists in response to Grigorios Zalykis’ views favouring the Erasmian pronunciation, see Perraky, “Grégoire Zalykis”, pp. 53-97.

¹⁹ *Ερμής ό Λόγιος* VIII (1818), pp. 448-449.

²⁰ This is the *Γραμματικῶν ἢ Ἐγκυκλίων Παιδευμάτων Βιβλία* Δ... [Books on grammar or general education, four volumes], Vol. I, Vienna 1817, which includes Books I and II only, containing the *Αισθητική* [Aesthetics] and the *Ποιητική* [Poetics]. See Iliou, *Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία*, no. *1817.30, and *Κωνσταντίνος Οικονόμος ο εξ Οικονόμων, Αλληλογραφία* [Konstantinos Oikonomos, Correspondence], Vol. II, ed. Kostas Lappas and Rothi Stamouli, Athens 2002, p. 304.

²¹ See his later, interesting analysis on the issue of “textual criticism”: K. Asopios, *Όμιλία έκφωνηθεῖσα έν τῷ Πανεπιστημίω Όθωνος τῇ κγ’ Όκτωβρίου 1842, έν τῇ πρώτῃ ένάρξεως τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθημάτων* [Speech delivered at the Othonian University on the first day of teaching on 23 October 1842], Athens 1842, pp. 16-30.

²² The criticism began with the appearance of the translated book review of “Rpf” (F. E. Ruhkopf) in the periodical *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* and continued with that of Asopios, who employed the pseudonym Andreas Andreopolos. See *Ερμής ό Λόγιος* X (1820), pp. 215-228, 241-249, 571-588, 602. Asopios was identified by E. Frangiskos based on information from the Asopios and Filitis Archives (Athens, National Library



1. Konstantinos Asopios. Woodcut by Ia. Zochios.

Source: *Ἀττικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον* VIII (1874). Photo: INR Neohellenic Portraiture Archive.

Setting aside the question of any personal motive in Asopios' attack,²³ his critique revealed the level of classical scholarship he himself had attained. It is characteristic that he was familiar with the scientific distinction that began to appear between philology and archaeology.²⁴ In a discussion with Iakovos

of Greece; hereafter, NLG) in "Ο ψευδώνυμος επικριτής" [The pseudonymous critic], *Ο Ερανιστής* 21 (1997), pp. 291-292. The German book reviewer, contrary to Asopios, took a charitable view of the work's shortcomings, praising the author's patriotic objective.

²³ Frangiskos claimed the two friends, Asopios and Filitas, felt their position in the proposed Ionian Academy was under threat, since Gilford had expressed the desire that Benjamin Lesvios and Konstantinos Oikonomos be appointed to positions. See Frangiskos, "Ο ψευδώνυμος επικριτής", pp. 296-300.

²⁴ "The younger generation, the Germans at least, treat philology as a discipline; a treatise in any discipline requires some underlying unity connecting its different parts. Well, does this varied knowledge have limits or not? Does it possess some type of unity in order to be a discipline...or is it the varied knowledge of accumulated things?... nevertheless, the history of the fine arts constitutes archaeology, according to the current meaning of the word, and not philology...". See *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* X (1820), p. 219.

Rotas conducted through *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος*, he supported the legitimacy and usefulness of detailed scholarly analysis:

...Rota my friend,...you unjustly condemn such research as trivial, low, unworthy of being publicized, etc. ...I need only present you with the example of the illustrious Wolf. This man, this great philologist, does not shrink from writing much on grammar and the etymology of names in his *Analectics*...If, therefore, such knowledge can be included in Wolf's *Analectics*, then neither will our own *Ἑρμῆς*, I think, discard the first fruits of our labour..²⁵

Moreover, it appears Asopios aspired to publish editions of classical authors, in accordance with the trends and methods of contemporary German philological scholarship.²⁶

Due to his close association with contemporary philological studies, Asopios represented a younger generation of scholars with greater methodological demands. On the other hand, there is no doubt that he and everyone who expressed a more “scientific” view of things were a minority. According to the prevailing opinion, this originality still remained the prerogative of foreign Hellenists. Korais, discussing the translation of a good grammar workbook, advised the translator not to attempt to combine the contents of many workbooks, but to translate only one in full, because, as he said “we are not yet in a position to exercise selective criticism”.²⁷ In a letter of support from an *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* reader defending the periodical against attacks, we read:

Another strange accusation. Foreigners learn nothing from *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος*. But we did not even think of writing in support of foreign philological newspapers, since they do not support others either, but each one for its own nation...Let us candidly admit that our situation is very small and trivial; that we are just now deliberating and preparing to begin, that up until now we have achieved almost

²⁵ *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* X (1820), pp. 501–502.

²⁶ See Asopios' letter to Iakovos Rotas published in *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* X (1820), pp. 79, 280–288, 393–403, 523–538. In a letter from Trieste, dated 21 February 1820, Rotas replied: “Your plan regarding the classical writers is truly a great undertaking. If it is carried out properly, it will honour you and the nation”. See NLG, Asopios Archive, no. 128.

²⁷ Korais, *Αλληλογραφία*, Vol. III (1810–1816), p. 30 (letter to Alexandros Vassiliou, 15-5-1810). In the years before the Greek War of Independence, the only philologist to achieve the dream of discovering and publishing the text of an ancient writer's manuscript was Andreas Moustoxides, who published a fragment of Isocrates' *Antidosis*, *Ἰσοκράτους. Λόγος περὶ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως* [Isocrates' treatise on *Antidosis*], Milan 1812. See Iliou, *Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία*, no. *1812.40.

nothing, and that everything remains for us to begin and to complete from now on...The few scholars, who have lately appeared among us, what should they attempt first? Should they instruct our youth? Write the necessary books they require? Organize? Secure? Prepare for and combat many obstacles, or engage in archaeological discourses to satisfy the curiosity of foreigners? I do not say this to disparage the nation; far from it! But, by demonstrating the impossibility and irrationality of what is called for, to forthwith awaken in these claimants (if possible) and in others (who number many) the realization of our true situation...²⁸

Although he remained in contact with many German philologists, including Wolf himself, and despite his appreciation for their published works, Korais did not appear to actually participate in the philological activities of Germany.²⁹ He was also apparently unfamiliar with the advances associated with the work of Winckelmann and the promotion of aesthetics as the supreme value in the study of ancient monuments.³⁰ Korais' overall

²⁸ *Έρμης ὁ Λόγιος* VIII (1818), p. 163. Signed: "From Constantinople B.-A.-".

²⁹ The German bibliography was missing from the notes Korais sent to Charles L  vesque regarding the edition of Thucydides he was preparing; as a result, certain of Korais' views became identified with those of earlier German philologists. See Eleni Kontiadi-Tsitsoni, "Ο Θουκυδίδης κατά τον αιώνα του ελληνικού Διαφωτισμού" [Thucydides in the century of the Greek Enlightenment], *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών* XXX (1992-1995), p. 210. Nevertheless, L  vesque's calling attention to this omission bothered Korais (*ibid.*). Regarding his relationship with the German philologists, see also Vassileios N. Makridis, "Ανέκδοτη επιστολή του Αδαμάντιου Κοραή προς τον Heinrich Karl Abraham Eichst  dt" [Unpublished letter from Adamantios Korais to Heinrich Karl Abraham Eichst  dt], *Ο Ερανιστής* 26 (2007), pp. 221-234.

³⁰ Seen thus, it is possible that the rift between Korais and Anthimos Gazis expressed, apart from everything else, different views regarding the appropriate methods for approaching antiquity. Gazis appears to have been in tune with the scientific advancements associated with the birth of the discipline of archaeology and at the same time the science of botany. This is indicated by his association with the Philomousos Etaireia (Society of Friends of the Muses) (see Georgios Laios "Η φιλόμουσος Εταιρεία της Vienne [1814-1820], [νέα έγγραφα]" [The Philomousos Etaireia of Vienna (1814-1820), (new papers)], *Επετηρίς του Μεσαιωνικού Αρχείου της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* XII [1965], pp. 170, 210); he was also associated with the Philomousos Etaireia's Athens branch. As far as we are currently aware, Korais had no contact with these societies. Regarding their rift, see Aikaterini Koumari  nou, "Ανθίμου Γαζή 'Λεξικόν Ελληνικόν'. Η ιστορία μιας λεξικογραφικής προσπάθειας" ["The Greek dictionary" of Anthimos Gazis: history of an effort at lexicography], *Ο Ερανιστής* 2 (1964), pp. 169, 170, 172; Maria Stasinopoulou, "Επιστολές Κοραή προς Thiersch" [Letters from Korais to Thiersch], *Ο*

relationship with German thought was not, moreover, particularly cordial, something he expressed through his initial suspicion of Friedrich Thiersch, the classical philologist and professor at the University of Munich.³¹

The critical stance Asopios maintained with regard to Korais' philological views was one more indication of how far Korais was from the contemporary German school of classical scholarship. Through his research, Asopios discovered that the German classical philologist appreciated individuals Korais rejected altogether, for example Neophytos Kavsokalyvitis.³² Thus in 1847, in the introduction to the second edition of his work on syntax, he outlined the following evolutionary format in related philological issues: three schools developed after the publication of Korais' *Πρόδρομος τῆς ἑλληνικῆς βιβλιοθήκης* [Forerunner of the Greek library], (1) the school of those who remained faithful to the past, ignoring any new opinions; (2) the school of those who contemptuously rejected the past; and (3) the school of those who followed an eclectic system and "neither rejected everything from the past, nor [accepted] everything from Korais". This last group, in which he also placed himself, consisted of those who, "educated in Germany", realized their teachers did not "despise" many of the earlier "grammarians" Korais had rejected.³³

It might, therefore, be necessary, while studying Korais' influence on the period's Greek intellectual circles, to be aware of each person's individual philological assumptions, since admiring Korais did not necessarily entail adopting common beliefs regarding philology. Apart from his different strategy in this field,³⁴ Korais naturally expressed – that is, due to his age – the beliefs of the earlier generation/school of English and Dutch textual critics.³⁵

Ερανιστής 19 (1993), p. 196. Regarding Korais' censorious comments on *Ερμής ὁ Λόγιος*, see, indicatively, Korais, *Αλληλογραφία*, Vol. III, pp. 90, 106-107, 114, 121, 126, 129.

³¹ Stasinopoulou, "Επιστολές Κοραΐ", pp. 193-205.

³² K. Asopios, *Περὶ ἑλληνικῆς συντάξεως, περίοδος δευτέρα* [On Greek syntax, second period], Athens 1848, pp. 20, 28-29, 30. The introduction to this edition ("Προς τοὺς ἀναγνώστας" [To the readers], pp. 5-54) is dated 25 March 1848.

³³ *Id.*, *Περὶ ἑλληνικῆς συντάξεως, περίοδος πρώτη* [On Greek syntax, first period], Athens 1848, p. 3. The introduction to this edition ("Προς τοὺς ἀναγνώστας" [To the readers], pp. 3-6) is dated 3 September 1847.

³⁴ Korais was bothered by Asopios' stern criticism of Oikonomos, who at the time was being attacked in Smyrna. Defending Oikonomos during a period he considered critical for educational issues in Smyrna, Korais judged the criticism inopportune. See Frangiskos, "Ὁ ψευδώνυμος επικριτής", pp. 294-295.

³⁵ The classical philologists who have studied this aspect of Korais classified him in this "school". See Georgios A. Christodoulou, "Ὁ Αδαμάντιος Κοραΐς ως διορθωτὴς κλασικῶν

In 1829, almost ten years after attacking Oikonomos, Asopios, then an instructor at the Ionian Academy on Corfu, once again conducted a meticulous philological critique, this time attacking the *Γραμματική* (Grammar) of Neophytos Vamvas,³⁶ a member of Korais' intimate circle. On this occasion, he commented acidly on every lettered individual's habit of considering himself capable of composing a grammar textbook: "And here one might very appropriately parody Isocrates: 'the cause of this inconsistency and confusion is that men believe that the office of *grammarian* is, like that of priest, one which any man can fill' ". Indeed, he noted that, "The Greeks have arrived at a point during which all types of deification have begun fading away. This is no longer the time of Mythology, nor is it the time of superlatives. Today, Greeks do not scrutinize the speaker but rather what is said."³⁷

Personal admiration for the "wise philologists of Germany" as indicated in the announcement of his *Λεξικόν* [Dictionary] was also expressed by the then elderly Konstantinos Koumas, who in the introduction to his 1833 grammar declared his certainty regarding the positive influence studying in German universities had upon Greek students.³⁸ Indeed, he specifically referred to Ioannis Venthyllos, who was teaching at the Central School on Aegina: "A young Greek, Venthyllos is his name, ...attended the classes of the glorious teacher Hermann in Leipzig. And returning to Greece he began teaching...*Gorgias*, the most admirable of Plato's dialogues...Observe the benefits Greece can enjoy from transplanting German education."³⁹

κειμένων (Το χειρόγραφο Χίου αριθ. 490)" [Adamantios Korais as emender of the classical texts (The Chios manuscript, no. 490)], *Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου «Κοραΐς και Χίος»* (Χίος, 11-15 Μαΐου 1983) [Proceedings of the conference on Korais and Chios (Chios, 11-15 May 1983)], Vol. I, pp. 37-54; Kalospyros, *Ο Αδαμάντιος Κοραΐς*, pp. 361-451.

³⁶ Popi Polemi, "Ερμής ο Λόγιος". Περίοδος νέα. Εν Αιγίνῃ, 1 Ιανουαρίου 1829" ["Ermis o Logios": new period, on Aegina, 1 January 1829], *Ο Εραμιστής* 19 (1993) (in memory of C. Th. Dimaras), pp. 244-274; Neophytos Vamvas, *Γραμματική τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης* [Greek grammar], Vol. I, Chios 1821 (Dimitrios S. Ginis and Valerios G. Mexas, *Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία (1800-1863)* [Greek bibliography (1800-1863), Athens 1939-1957, no. 1298, and Philippos Iliou, *Un projet bibliographique d'Émile Legrand. La "Bibliographie hellénique du XIX siècle"*, Athens 1977 [reprint from the periodical *Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Jahrbücher* XXII], no. *91), and *Γραμματική τῆς ἀρχαίας ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης* [Ancient Greek grammar], ed. Konstantinos Typaldos, Venice 1825 (Ginis and Mexas, no. *1481).

³⁷ Polemi, "Ερμής ο Λόγιος", p. 246.

³⁸ K. M. Koumas, *Γραμματική διὰ σχολεῖα* [A school grammar], Vienna 1833, pp. 34-35.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 35. Ioannis Venthyllos (1804-1854) had attended classes in Berlin during the period 1826-1828. He taught at the Central School of Aegina (1829-1830) and in 1839 was appointed professor of Greek philology at the Othonian University.

A “Specialized” Classical Philologist

In 1839 another promising philologist and student of Neophytos Doukas and Georgios Gennadios, Pantazis Rysios, who was studying in Munich,⁴⁰ was embroiled in a philological argument with the philologist Georgios Chrysovergis (1805-1862), who was teaching in Greece. Chrysovergis had published certain observations, correcting Korais’ edition of Lycurgus’ *Against Leocrates*.⁴¹ His comments, as he noted, resulted from teaching the text in school, and had a pedagogical purpose, “to guide youth to an understanding of our ancestral writings”.⁴² Chrysovergis, after expressing his respect for Korais, for everything his “most critical pen” had contributed in emending the ancient texts, went on to refute some of Korais’ emendations.

Rysios, demonstrating impressive philological competence, rejected all but one of Chrysovergis’ corrections; he noted, however, that it originated with another editor, whom Chrysovergis did not credit. Rysios accused him of not knowing the bibliography, of disrespecting the ethics of the discipline of philology,⁴³ and, ultimately, of being completely ignorant of basic philological matters: “He should not dare to correct pointlessly, and indeed with such attitude and boastfulness, neither Korais nor Doukas, nor anyone else who possesses some education, being unfamiliar with even the simplest things, the very principles and the basic fundamentals of our language and philology!”⁴⁴

Rysios also touched upon the custom of unqualified people, such as doctors, conducting philological research, equipped solely with a knowledge

⁴⁰ During the period 1834-1842, Pantazis Rysios (1814?-1843?) studied with a Greek state scholarship in Munich and Berlin; the objective was for him to then teach either at the Athens Gymnasium alongside Gennadios (*Αθηνᾶ* newspaper, 14-10-1842) or at the newly established university. A short while after his return to Greece in 1842, he became seriously ill and died soon afterwards.

⁴¹ Pantazis Rysios, *Μισαγύρτης. Απάντησις εἰς τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Γ. Χρυσοβέργη “Δοκίμιον ἢ βραχείας τινὰς παρατηρήσεις εἰς δύο χωρία τοῦ κατὰ Λεωκράτους λόγου τοῦ ῥήτορος Λυκούργου τοῦ ἐκδεδομένου ὑπὸ τοῦ Α. Κοραΐ· ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐκβάσεως τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου ἐμπαρόδως”* [Misagyrtis: an answer to Mr G. Chrisovergis’ “An essay or some brief observations on two excerpts from the speech *Against Leocrates* of the orator Lycurgus, edited by A. Korais”], Munich, March 1839. Along with Rysios’ text, this edition also reprinted Chrysovergis’, which had been published in the newspaper *Ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς Ταχυδρόμος*.

⁴² Rysios, *Μισαγύρτης*, p. 1.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

of grammar and syntax.⁴⁵ Thus, he underlined the scholarly dimension of philology, extolling the example of Germany, the country at the forefront of the subject during that era:

...during our times, the demands on a true philologist are unparalleled, therefore, in no other discipline, certainly in Germany, is there so much activity as in philology. Hence, it is necessary for the philologist to devote much time, and, free of all prejudice and governed by rationality, to not disregard the intellectual struggles of anyone, if possible.⁴⁶

Furthermore, he mentioned the importance the Germans assigned to the research of Greek philologists, because they acknowledged the Greek native language advantage. As regards the Greek philologists, he only singled out Korais, praising his methodology, since “of all of us philologists, his philological works are the most reliable and correct”, while he characterized as “superficial” the research work of Anthimos Gazis, Stephanos Komitas and Konstantinos Koumas, as well as those of his teacher, Neophytos Doukas. This severity was justified, in his opinion, by the circumstances under which they worked. With Chrysovergis’ philological, in his opinion, inadequacy as a springboard, Rysios also touched upon the general Greek ignorance of classical philology issues and the Greek inability to understand how important it was to provide an analytical and detailed commentary on the texts of ancient writers. He was also ironic when dealing with the comments of the Greek intellectuals, regarding the “extensive” notes of, for example, Korais on Isocrates.⁴⁷ He apparently considered that a Greek philological discipline had yet to be born, comparing the situation in Greece with that of Germany: “But in Germany, entire books are written regarding just *ου μὴν καὶ μὴ οὐ* and (by Hermann) regarding *αὐ*. However, we cannot navigate such seas with rowboats or with sailboats; and this is no nourishment for the hungry but rather sweetmeats presented to already sated diners.”⁴⁸

As regards his philological specialization – and using the criteria of the period’s scholarship – Rysios is a unique and probably exceptional case.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53, note 3.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 55, note 1.

⁴⁹ He was the sole student of a group attending first the Philosophy Department of Munich and then of Berlin who appeared to have a definite proclivity for purely philological studies. The rest, S. Koumanoudis, P. Efstratiadis, E. Kastorchis and I. Mitsopoulos, to reference just the best known, had not yet chosen the path they would follow after their

Let us summarize the arguments the young German-educated philologists used to question the philological abilities of the older teachers of ancient Greek. First, they claimed they were unfamiliar with the bibliography, that is, with the product of the contemporary discipline of philology. To conduct philological research, the philologist must systematically consult the work of European and primarily German philologists. They also claimed the older generation had no knowledge of Latin, a necessary condition, in their opinion, to exercise the discipline of classical scholarship. These precursors were not, moreover, familiar with the process of thorough and meticulous analysis, a practice necessitated by the principles of contemporary philological activity, just as they were not familiar with a dispassionate, rational way of thought. However, the basic argument they invoked was that not every scholar is qualified to practise philology. Philologists must be equipped with special knowledge – they cannot simply engage in a study of ancient Greek literature – something that was quite common in the circles of intellectuals, especially teachers, possessed of a Greek education. Contemporary classical philology had instituted rules of professional conduct, which only specialists could be familiar with. Ultimately, they alone were capable of discerning the originality that should constitute the quintessence of research.

These arguments are consistent with the definition mentioned above:⁵⁰ in the end, to be considered a philologist, the authority of one's work should not depend solely on teaching. We can therefore determine that in the period before the Greek War of Independence, the combination of the type of philological debate which began to be conducted and the philological resources certain scholars acquired through their European university experience reveals the beginning of the development of certain intellectual, at least, requirements for the establishment of classical philology as a discipline in Greece according to the period's contemporary definition.

However, we must not overestimate the influence of attending a European university during the period under examination. For a Greek student, attending a German university did not, first of all, mean systematic attendance, as this was not required by the German educational system.⁵¹ It

studies. See Sophia Matthaïou (ed.), “Ημερολόγιον, 1837-1845” [Diary, 1837-1845], in *Στεφάνου Α. Κουμανούδη. Ανέκδοτα κείμενα, 1837-1845* [Stephanos A. Koumanoudis, Unpublished writings, 1837-1845], ed. Sophia Matthaïou and Pantelis Karellos, Athens: INR / NHRF, 2010, p. 137.

⁵⁰ See p. 117.

⁵¹ According to his notes from the period he studied in Göttingen, Asopios did not systematically attend the Philological Seminar lectures there; NLG, collection no. 2391, I.271.

also did not necessarily lead to a degree or a doctoral dissertation.⁵² Many of the original professors in the Philology Department of the Othonian University in Athens were appointed without possessing any formal credentials.⁵³ We can also imagine the confusion caused by coming into contact with an environment completely different from the students' home environment. According to the testimony of Roxandra Stourdza Edling, the abundant classes and ideas impressed and confused the Greek students. As a result, they did not succeed in acquiring anything essential from attending a foreign university.⁵⁴ In general, contact with a new society might tempt young men away from the narrow path of study and open their eyes to other activities, normal for their age.⁵⁵

One characteristic example of the confusion students faced when selecting a curriculum is Asopios himself, about whom Korais noted:

⁵² Kostas Lappas, *Πανεπιστήμιο και φοιτητές στην Ελλάδα τον 19ο αιώνα* [University and students in nineteenth-century Greece], Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth / INR, 2004, pp. 167-169.

⁵³ This occurred, for example, to Stephanos Koumanoudis, who his entire life commented self-mockingly that throughout all the stages of his studies he received nary a certificate. See Sophia Matthaïou, *Στέφανος Α. Κουμανούδης (1818-1899). Σχεδιάσμα βιογραφίας* [Stephanos A. Koumanoudis: drafting a biography], Athens 1999, p. 29. Kastorchis, appointed in 1848, also had no educational certification. See C. Th. Dimaras, "Το υπόμνημα του Κ. Παπαρρηγόπουλου (1849)" [The memorandum of Mr Pararrigopoulos (1849)], *Ο Ερασιστής* 21 (1966), pp. 65-79. It was the same with Konstantinos Kontos. See Georgios A. Christodoulou, *Κωνσταντίνος Στ. Κόντος, 1834-1909* [Konstantinos S. Kontos, 1834-1909], Vol. I, Athens 1979, pp. 43-44.

⁵⁴ Emmanuel Protopsaltis, *Ιγνάτιος, μητροπολίτης Ουγγροβλαχίας (1766-1828), II: Αλληλογραφία* [Ignatius, Metropolitan of Hungaro-Wallachia (1766-1828), II: Correspondence], Athens 1959, pp. 93-94.

⁵⁵ See, for example, what the then director of the Greek Lyceum of Munich, Misail Apostolidis, noted in 1831 in a relevant essay regarding the dangers Greek students faced in an unfamiliar environment. He promised the lyceum he supervised guaranteed that students would "not, in any way, be seduced from the goal before them", since it frequently happened that after having spent their parents' money they "return to their homeland devoid of knowledge, principles, and virtue, yet full of arrogance, malice and depravity". See Apostolos Daskalakis, *Κείμενα-Πηγαί της ιστορίας της ελληνικής επανάστασης, σειρά τρίτη, Τα περί παιδείας* [Textual sources of the history of the Greek War of Independence, third series, On education] Vol. III, Athens 1968, pp. 8, 1763. Much relevant information can be found in the student diary of Koumanoudis. See Matthaïou (ed.), "Ημερολόγιον, 1837-1845".

This man, finding himself in a veritable labyrinth of thoughts, risks failing in his aspirations. In my imagination, I portrayed him as a famished man near a table loaded with all possible goods (in common with all us poor wretches when we first compare European universities to our hapless, hungry schools), at risk of not eating at all while he wonders what he should first reach for.⁵⁶

We can determine Asopios' amazement in the face of German teaching methods from the comments he recorded as a student at Göttingen in 1819, especially on the subject of the *Philologische Seminar*, an institution whose transformation in the early nineteenth century played a decisive role in the evolution of the discipline of classical philology in Germany and, by extension, the whole of Europe; through this institution, philology students became familiar with the process of organized research.⁵⁷ Asopios, commenting on a ritual he found entirely foreign, where one student at the start of the class "covered the professor in adulation", ironically noted the homage paid to the professor. Elsewhere, he judged what the professor had said "regarding how to debate" as "pedantic".⁵⁸ In another instance, he commented sarcastically that although the system practised during the Philological Seminar purported to support dialogue, in the end, it was the professor's view which prevailed.⁵⁹

Nonetheless, Asopios taught for years at the Ionian Academy on Corfu, applying, in some fashion, the analytical method he had been taught in Germany;⁶⁰ indeed, he was the cause of an altercation regarding the importance

⁵⁶ Korais, *Αλληλογραφία*, Vol. IV, p. 148 (letter from Korais to Rotas, 2-3-1819).

⁵⁷ Regarding the School of Classical Philology at the University of Berlin and the spread of its methodology to other European universities, see Walter Rüegg, *Universities in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (1800-1945)*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, Vol. III, pp. 415-428. Regarding the institution of the Philological Seminar, see William Clark, *Academic Charisma and the Origins of the Research University*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006, especially the chapter "The Research Seminar", pp. 141 ff.

⁵⁸ NLG, collection no. 2391, sh. 271.

⁵⁹ "...and while the wretched student brought in all codices to assist him in proving that *γὰρ σοῦν* could be read as *σοῦν γὰρ*, the professor forced him to accept that the text must have the accent *in arsi* which is lost when the *γὰρ* is transferred". See NLG, collection no. 2391, sh. 273.

⁶⁰ After a long introduction on the author's life and work, using all the available philological bibliography, he would analyze the text – one section only, since there was not enough time – from a grammatical, etymological and syntactical point of view, while also touching on matters of meter and prosody. See Gerassimos I. Salvanos and Vasso G. Salvanou, *Η Ιόνιος Ακαδημία. Ο ιδρυτής αυτής κόμης Γύλφορντ, οι καθηγηταί και οι σπουδασταί αυτής* [The Ionian Academy: its founder, Lord Guilford, its professors and students], Athens 1949, p. 49. Asopios was recognized by his contemporaries as the first to

of classical philology and its function when taught to Greeks. To Asopios' analytical presentation of ancient texts, the dissenters (Georgios Typaldos-Iakovatos, for example) retorted that the works of classical antiquity are firstly works of art; consequently they must be regarded primarily with aesthetic criteria.⁶¹ The same view was also expressed by Andreas Moustoxides, who as Education Ephor in Greece called upon Venthyllos, who was teaching at the Central School of Aegina, to raise the level of his teaching and suggested he incorporate in his teaching "high critique, aesthetics, philology", as well as comparisons to other poetic works.⁶²

The Urgent Priorities of the New State

One might assume that German philological education combined with the German system that was imposed on the Greek State would yield abundant scholarly fruit, since the German prototype, which was the inspiration for the organization of the Greek university in 1837, was based first and foremost on classical studies.⁶³ Classical philology held a privileged position in the curricula, while during the entire nineteenth century the lectures of the Philological Department spanned the Greco-Roman era.⁶⁴ The organization of studies at this institution was built on the principle of the unity of the disciplines, which springs from philosophy, in association with liberalism.⁶⁵

Up until approximately the 1860s, all the professors of the Philology Department embraced, in theory at least, the contemporary German school of *Alterthumswissenschaft* (the study of antiquity). Böckh, whose classes almost all the classical philologists of the period had attended, was cited with admiration

introduce to Greece "the most precise German research into the ancient writers and poets". See Philippos Ioannou, *Λόγος όλυμπιακός* [An Olympic speech] (Athens 1871), p. 25.

⁶¹ Georgios Typaldos-Iakovatos, *Ιστορία της Ιόνιας Ακαδημίας* [History of the Ionian Academy], ed., intro. and annotated by Spyros I. Asdrachas, Athens 1982, p. 49.

⁶² Giannis Kokkonas, *Οι μαθητές του Κεντρικού Σχολείου (1830-1834)* [The students of the Central School (1830-1834)], Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth / INR, 1997, p. 432 (April 1830).

⁶³ As one of the first professors wrote: "In Germany, especially, no one who has not honed his philological studies...is considered educated by society." See Theodoros Manoussis, *Περὶ πανεπιστημίων ἐν γένει καὶ ἰδιαιτέρως περὶ τοῦ Ὀθωνείου Πανεπιστημίου* [On universities in general and the Othonian University in particular], Athens 1845, p. 7.

⁶⁴ Vangelis D. Karamanolakis, *Η συγκρότηση της ιστορικής επιστήμης και η διδασκαλία της Ιστορίας στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών (1837-1932)* [Creating the historical discipline and teaching history at the University of Athens], Athens 2006, p. 63.

⁶⁵ Lappas, *Πανεπιστήμιο και φοιτητές*, pp. 88-96.

during their inaugural lectures, as well as at every other opportunity.⁶⁶ During the nineteenth century, the only classical philology professor who had studied in the Netherlands rather than Germany was Konstantinos Kontos. Educated at Leiden, he followed Carel Gabriel Cobet's grammatical school, which, continuing the earlier English and Dutch philological tradition, insisted on a philological critique of the texts based on rationality.⁶⁷

Despite the optimism of Asopios and Rysios during the 1820s and the 1830s, it took the Greek classical philologists approximately until 1870 to produce the specialized philological work the former apparently admired as students.⁶⁸ Asopios himself, the "dean of philologists" as he was called,⁶⁹ did nothing more than publish his work on syntax⁷⁰ and a half-finished study of literature,⁷¹ as well as a half-finished introduction to Pindar, which he published as a university textbook.⁷²

The work of the philologists remained closely aligned with the teaching process. As a present-day philologist noted: "For a long period, essentially the entire nineteenth century, the demand for originality gave way to the need

⁶⁶ See, for example, E. Kastorchis, *Πρώτον εισαγωγικὸν μάθημα* [First introductory class], Athens 1849, p. 3; D. I. Mavrofydis, "Περὶ τῆς Φιλολογίας καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς" [On philology and its times], *Φιλίστωρ* 1 (1861), pp. 201-236.

⁶⁷ Regarding Kontos, see Christodoulou, *Κωνσταντῖνος Στ. Κόντος*.

⁶⁸ The critical remarks of Konstantinos Kontos (1834-1909) corresponded to the academic demands of the subject. See Kalitsounakis, "Ἡ αναβίωσις των κλασσικῶν σπουδῶν", pp. 382-383, and Christodoulou, *Κωνσταντῖνος Στ. Κόντος*. Another very important example is Gregorius Vernardakis (1848-1925), one of the only two Greek classical scholars (the other one being Petrus Papageorgiou) whose critical editions of Greek texts appeared under Teubner's imprint in the nineteenth century (Plutarch's *Moralia*, 7 vols [1888-1896]), an event which caused an international philological discussion. See Kalitsounakis, "Ἡ αναβίωσις των κλασσικῶν σπουδῶν", pp. 372-374, and Georgios A. Christodoulou, *Ὁ Γρηγόριος Ν. Βερναρδάκης καὶ ἡ ἐκδόσις των Ἠθικῶν του Πλουτάρχου, ἀνάτυπο ἀπὸ τα Τετράμηνια* [Gregorius Vernardakis and the publication of Plutarch's *Moralia*, reprint from the *Tetramina*] (issues 36-37, pp. 2353-2374), Amfissa 1988.

⁶⁹ See the eulogy *Λόγος ἐπιτάφιος Κωνσταντίνου του Ασωπίου ἐκφωνηθεὶς ὑπὸ Γρηγορίου Γώγου Αρχιμανδρίτου* [Funeral oration to Konstantinos Asopios, delivered by Archimandrite Grigorios Gogos], Brăila 1873.

⁷⁰ K. Asopios, *Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν σύνταξιν* [Introduction to Greek syntax], Corfu 1841; *Περὶ ἑλληνικῆς συντάξεως, περίοδος πρώτη*, Athens 1847; *Περὶ ἑλληνικῆς συντάξεως, περίοδος δευτέρα*, Athens 1848; *Περὶ ἑλληνικῆς συντάξεως, περίοδος πρώτη*, second updated edition, Athens 1848. Additional printings followed.

⁷¹ *Id.*, *Ἱστορία τῶν ἑλλήνων ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων*, τ. Α', Α-Ζ [History of Greek poets and authors], Vol. I, Athens 1850.

⁷² *Id.*, *Εἰσαγωγή εἰς Πίνδαρον* [Introduction to Pindar], Athens 1843.

for correctness and usefulness.”⁷³ Thus, he went on, philological production was limited to either translations of foreign works or useful textbooks.⁷⁴

The first generation of philologists not only had to contend with their actual educational shortcomings but also with the urgent priorities of a new state that needed to cover fundamental needs. During the entire nineteenth century, no one questioned the primary purpose of the Philology Department, which apparently was to produce teachers for Greek secondary schools, both inside and outside the physical borders of the Greek State.⁷⁵

The first instructors of the Philology Department included two Germans, Ludwig Ross (archaeology) and Heinrich Ulrichs (Latin philology). The difference between the attitudes of the German and Greek professors as regards their scholarly approach was evident from the start. In 1837, Ross was the only professor to attach a scholarly archaeological treatise with his curriculum programme, as traditionally required by German universities.⁷⁶

Georgios Gennadios (1786-1854) is the scholar whose life and times illustrate in the most representative way the conditions imposed by the process of creating the Greek State.⁷⁷ He was a contemporary of Asopios and taught for years in Bucharest and Odessa, having studied theology,

⁷³ Fanis Kakridis, “Η γερμανική διαχείριση της ελληνικής κληρονομιάς” [German administration of the heritage of Greece], in Evangelos Chrysos (ed.), *Ενας κόσμος γεννιέται. Η εικόνα του ελληνικού πολιτισμού στη γερμανική επιστήμη κατά τον 19ο αιώνα* [A world is born: how German scholarship portrayed Greek culture during the nineteenth century], Athens 1996, p. 30. In 1958, Kalitsounakis (“Η αναβίωσις των κλασικών σπουδών”, p. 435) observed that: “Philology in Greece did not develop any direction... due to the country’s relatively small number of philologists and the still undeveloped trend towards an independent discipline of philology.” Kalitsounakis himself mentioned scholars whose diverse output illustrated the accuracy of his observation.

⁷⁴ Kakridis, “Η γερμανική διαχείριση”, pp. 30-33.

⁷⁵ In the 1837 founding regulation “the education of accomplished teachers for the gymnasias and Greek schools” is cited as the university’s “most important objective”. See Aristeidis Vambas (ed.), *Οί νόμοι τοῦ Ἑθνικοῦ Πανεπιστημίου* [Regulations of the National University], Athens 1885, p. 69. In his 1881 account of the university’s history, Ioannis Pantazidis, himself a classical philologist who made a significant contribution, noted that the School of Philosophy “from the very beginning had and will for ever have as its main objective the creation of capable teachers”. See Ioannis Pantazidis, *Χρονικὸν τῆς πρώτης πεντηκονταετίας τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ πανεπιστημίου* [A chronicle of the first fifty years of the Greek university], Athens 1889, p. 45.

⁷⁶ Lappas, *Πανεπιστήμιο και φοιτητές*, pp. 202-203.

⁷⁷ Regarding Gennadios, see Xenophon Anastasiadis [= Ioannis G. Gennadios], *Γεωργίου Γενναδίου βίος και επιστολαί* [The life and correspondence of Georgios Gennadios], Paris 1926.



2. Georgios Gennadios. Woodcut.

Source: Anastasios Goudas, *Bioi παράλληλοι*, Vol. II, Athens 1875.

Photo: INR Neohellenic Portraiture Archive.

medicine and philology in Leipzig, where Gottfried Hermann was teaching. Gennadios chose the path of action. This “teacher of teachers”, as he was called, apparently was Asopios’ equal in his knowledge of philology. Apart from his published, purely philological œuvre (grammar, annotated editions of ancient texts for the Central School of Aegina, and other, still unpublished critical remarks on classical authors), we have accounts of how much contemporary German philologists esteemed his philological abilities.⁷⁸ During the first decades of the Greek State, he was perhaps the most “multi-tasking” scholar and philologist. Apart from teaching secondary school and university courses for a time, he guided the library and the numismatic collection during their initial stages and authored a plethora of instructional textbooks. He also pushed for his good students to study specific subjects

⁷⁸ See Anastasiadis, *Γεωργίου Γενναδίου βίος*, p. 384 (a letter from Ioannis Venthyllos to Gennadios in 1826 noted the excellent reputation Gennadios had in German philological circles). See also Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 368.

in Germany on state scholarships so they could cover specific needs upon their return. He was fully aware of the priorities that had to be met. In a memorandum dating to early 1838, he noted characteristically:

I dare to take this opportunity to tell the Royal Secretariat that it is neither just, nor advantageous, nor honourable to distribute money at random, when we have so many needs. We need real teachers so we do not unnecessarily waste tuition and the precious time of teachers. We need educated priests to rid ourselves of those who make possible the path to sin and impiety. We need school and gymnasium buildings, so the miserable lovers of Apollo should have a permanent home. We need a library so the donations of men, who are friends of national education, should not rot in derelict churches, producing laughter and indignation instead of pity in our observers when we lament the lack of the necessary educational books...⁷⁹

Gennadios, who considered the university was established prematurely, wrote to Theodor Kind in 1843: “You cannot overlook the type of education needed by those who first emerge from the obscurity of slavery. And this is not the opulent and noble type derived from universities, but that which the primary schools and gymnasiums provide like daily bread to people of every class.”⁸⁰ In 1854, an observation from his eulogy in the *Spectateur d’Orient* periodical best defined his thinking: “Dans une société comme la nôtre, qui lutte encore avec les premières nécessités de son existence et de son organisation, où tout est encore à faire et à classer, on est souvent obligé d’appliquer son activité à plusieurs objets à la fois.”⁸¹

Classical Philology and Ideology

If the university itself as an institution assumed a heavy ideological weight, since its association with Greek antiquity was considered obvious and direct,⁸² it was natural that the School of Philosophy would shoulder a special burden from the very beginning; as the school whose subject matter overshadowed the studies of all the other schools, it constituted, according to

⁷⁹ Anastasiadis, *Γεωργίου Γενναδίου βίος*, p. 357

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 476.

⁸² According to Lappas: “If the basic characteristic of Greek antiquity was its advanced intellectual civilization, this could only be transferred to contemporary Greece through the university. An institution, which is, of its very nature, destined to serve literature, philosophy, the sciences, as did the ancient academies.” See Lappas, *Πανεπιστήμιο και φοιτητές*, p. 123. See also Karamanolakis, *Η συγκρότηση της ιστορικής επιστήμης*, pp. 60-64.

the German model it adhered to, the quintessence of the purpose of the very university of the country. Setting aside the “scientific” origins of the issue, the special relationship with antiquity was by and large reinforced by Bavarian Neoclassicism diffused by the presence of the Bavarian regime.⁸³

Ancient Greek philology’s very discipline, as well as its content, was linked to ideology. Since this was the type of knowledge Europeans greatly appreciated, it was considered that Greeks especially should study the subject because:

If indeed some brave voice occasionally speaks up in our favour whether in the parliaments of Europe or in her newspapers, we should seek its source not in our own great virtues but in the idea that we are the descendants of those immortal Greeks whom our advocates admire and adulate.⁸⁴

According to these views it was the only discipline in which Greeks would be able to triumph – in other fields they would still lag behind for a long time – and to rise in the esteem of enlightened Europeans.⁸⁵ Any Greek academic lag was presented as a completely legitimate occurrence, given that academic conditions could not compare with those of European countries.⁸⁶ Alexandros R. Rangavis claimed “the philology that ornaments the intellect”, especially Greek and Latin, which is “necessary for every educated individual, is indispensable for a Greek”.⁸⁷

Objective Difficulties, the Resistance of “Tradition” and the Difficulties of Adjustment

Another important and rather evident factor that complicated the systematic cultivation of the discipline of classical philology in Greece was the very real shortages, shortages linked to the institutional composition of the Greek State.

⁸³ Lappas, *Πανεπιστήμιο και φοιτητές*, pp. 124-125; Karamanolakis, *Η συγκρότηση της ιστορικής επιστήμης*, p. 62.

⁸⁴ *Αθηνά* newspaper (19-8-1855). Elsewhere we read: “...studying antiquity supplies and will always supply foreigners the measure with which they wish to appreciate us”. *Αθηνά* (1-1-1855).

⁸⁵ *Αθηνά* (17-12-1854).

⁸⁶ A new publication gave rise to the following: “This monograph...cannot be compared with those of the Germans, written mostly in huge libraries, by multilingual people living in comfort...”. See *Αθηνά* (13-7-1855).

⁸⁷ R. (= Alexandros R. Rangavis), “Περὶ ἐκπαιδύσεως” [On education], *Πανδώρα* VI (1855-1856), p. 443.

In the introduction to his first publication of an annotated edition of an ancient author, Georgios Mistriotis (1840-1916), acknowledging his limited experience with bibliography, dedicated the work to Dionysios Therianos, who provided him with both assistance and much of the bibliography he used.⁸⁸ Thirty-five years after the foundation of the university, the lack of a specialized academic library was obviously still a serious problem. Contrast this with Mistriotis' friend in Trieste, who was in a position not only to be up-to-date with the international bibliography, but also to enrich his library with new editions.

In 1848, in his preface to a textbook edition of the speeches of Demosthenes,⁸⁹ Iroklis Vasiadis remarked on the difficulties he had encountered due to the lack of specialized books, since a reference in one edition would lead him to another book, and subsequently another, books he was in no position to consult until the moment he travelled to Europe, where, "streets are full, markets are full, libraries are full of books, while there are many wise men able to respond to queries and guide the novices". He also referred to the importance of the critical notes that resulted from examining different manuscripts of the same text and would result in a better text, anticipating any potential sardonic comments:

Those who condemn such scholarly opinion and the description of manuscripts as work done merely for showing off...let them learn that the critics place the following as the first law of their discipline: "He who seeks to practise correctly the discipline of criticism must indeed examine manuscript copies and study and investigate their condition with the utmost accuracy."⁹⁰

Vasiadis' last comment, apart from hinting at an understandable personal distaste for some people, could not but reveal a certain reality: the scholarly community had yet to familiarize itself with meticulous philological publications.

When the young, promising, German-educated philologists actually taught, they had to confront the strong resistance of traditional teaching

⁸⁸ Georgios Mistriotis, *Πλατωνικοί διάλογοι εκδιδόμενοι κατ' ἐκλογήν. Γοργίας* [Selected dialogues from Plato: *Gorgias*], Athens 1872, p. V.

⁸⁹ Iroklis Vasiadis, *Δημοσθένους Φιλίππικοι μετὰ προλεγομένων ιστορικῶν καὶ ἀρχαιολογικῶν, ρητορικῶν οἰκονομιῶν, σημειώσεων κριτικῶν καὶ γραμματικῶν συνειλεγμένων ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐκδόσεων τῆς σοφῆς καὶ φιλολόγου Γερμανίας, τ. πρῶτος περιέχων τὸν Α' κατὰ Φιλίππου καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς Ὀλυνθιακοὺς* [Demosthenes' Philippics, with critical and grammatical introductory notes on history and archaeology, and rhetorical economies, drawn from the excellent editions of wise German philologists, Volume I, containing the first *Philippic* and the three *Olynthiacs*], Constantinople 1848, pp. 9-17.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

practices. One of the reasons, for example, Central School students were dissatisfied with Venthyllos was that he would present all the views of foreign philologists on a matter, when he should have, in their opinion, brought up only one, that is, his own.⁹¹ Asopios had probably been criticized for the same thing when teaching at the Ionian Academy. While seeking to highlight the uncertainties of the discipline of philology and analytically present different philological views on a matter,⁹² he would exhaust his students with his many digressions.⁹³

Moreover, the Philological Seminar institution, in the context of the School of Philosophy in Greece, did not adhere to, at least in the nineteenth century, the content and operation of its German prototype. The Philological Seminar system was based on a structured debate between two students. One would undertake to prepare a paper on a philological subject. He would then hand over the paper, before the seminar, to another, second student, whom he was later to debate, as well as to the professor. On the given date, the debate would take place based on philological arguments between the two prepared students with the participation of the professor. The subjects examined were either interpretations or analyses of passages from ancient texts, discussing prior recommended emendations or grammatical issues. The entire discussion would take place in Latin.⁹⁴ The operation of the Greek Philological Seminar did not include the element of debate, since the basic goal of the professors, according to the rules, was to teach students how to write in ancient Greek. The ultimate goal was always to produce secondary education teachers.⁹⁵

⁹¹ They also demanded: “he do away with the many extended comments regarding the textual differences of the various manuscripts” and that Venthyllos present his own viewpoint only. See Kokkonas, *Οι μαθητές του Κεντρικού Σχολείου*, pp. 29, 418-419.

⁹² Typaldos-Iakovatos, *Ιστορία της Ιόνιας Ακαδημίας*, p. 77.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 49. See also Dionysios Therianos, *Φιλολογικά ύποτυπώσεις* [Philological impressions], Trieste 1885, pp. 116-118.

⁹⁴ We are familiar with the procedure (see note 57), but Asopios also describes it. See NLG collection no. 2391, f. 271.

⁹⁵ In the first decree, in 1842, Greek legislators outlined the academic dimension of the institution. See David Antoniou, “Πανεπιστήμιο και μέση εκπαίδευση. Το πανεπιστήμιο ως ‘παραγωγός’ διδακτικού προσωπικού των σχολείων μέσης εκπαίδευσης (1833-1850)” [University and secondary education: the university as the “producer” of the teaching staff for secondary schools (1833-1850)], *Διαδρομές και στάσεις στη νεοελληνική εκπαίδευση, 19ος-20ός αι.* [Itineraries and pauses in Modern Greek education, nineteenth-twentieth century], Athens 2008, p. 496. Subsequent regulations referred exclusively to training teachers. The 1884 regulation even provided for teaching internships in the schools of

Publication of Ancient Authors and the Superiority of the “Foreign” Environment

The Othonian University’s unsuccessful attempt to publish a series of ancient Greek authors, despite the generous financial support of Dimitrios Vernardakis,⁹⁶ reflects the conditions that characterized the path classical philology followed in the context of the Greek State. In 1855, while Pericles Argyropoulos was Minister of Education, the School of Philosophy Rector, Theodoros Manousis, announced the school would publish new editions of Greek classical writers,⁹⁷ which would include all necessary grammatical, critical and interpretive annotations compiled from the best existing editions of European scholars. Manousis used the following arguments: Greek classical philology, the educational cornerstone of contemporary modern nations, was more important for Greeks since it was a “patrimonial possession” interwoven with their very existence. Despite previous efforts to bring Greeks in contact with ancient texts, serious problems still existed. According to Manousis, this could be attributed to a lack of good textbooks and bad teaching methods; the ancient writers should not be studied “mechanically and grammatically, but according to their intellect and spirit”. The prevailing method of approaching the texts was characterized as “limited and detached”. Greeks, who, anyway, were devoted to learning, should adopt contemporary methods of approach, since “the demands faced by anyone dealing in philology during the current era are greater than those of past years”. The comparison was disgraceful. European countries continued to produce increasingly better editions, while the now liberated “birthplace” of those classical writers had yet to publish anything. Manousis did not forget to reference Korais’ published work – the huge achievement of one single person – which along with the latter’s exhortations “ignited patriotic sentiment” and “roused the nation”. He recognized the same purpose in the published work of Neophytos Doukas, which, however, he discretely rejected, underlining the discrepancy between the editor’s “philological knowledge and judgment” and his patriotism. Thus, essentially rejecting all existing Greek editions, he forcefully put forward the need to publish new editions of classical writers, a demand he compared to the foundation of the university itself. In Manousis’ thinking, the consciousness

Athens. See Vambas (ed.), *Οἱ νόμοι τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Πανεπιστημίου*, pp. 107-116. We do not have sufficient information on the internal operation of the Greek Philological Seminar. However, the pertinent notes of S. A. Koumanoudis, who taught Latin Philology, are fairly enlightening and confirm the above. See NLG, S. A. Koumanoudis Archive, file 16 (1130).

⁹⁶ Pantazidis, *Χρονικόν*, pp. 138-140.

⁹⁷ See the complete text of the announcement in *Ἀθηνᾶ* (9-3-1855).

of the evolution of the discipline coexisted with the primacy of the national benefit. Despite the theoretical arguments Manousis presented, which were quite plausible for a proclamation, the endeavour, which was ultimately never realized, primarily served practical needs; it sought to compensate for the university's lack of textbooks and to contribute to the formation of better-equipped philologists, primarily teachers.

The environment of the Philological Society of Constantinople was, apparently, more accepting and more mature than the domestic Greek environment as regards its scholarly views on philology; this was indicated by the discourse that took place during the 1870s in view of a plan to publish the works of ancient authors.⁹⁸ The publication programme of the Zographeios Library set three goals: first and foremost, to familiarize the average Greek with the “brilliant intellect of his forefathers”; second, for Greeks to advance the discipline of philology, offering “everything that stemmed from the kinship of language and intellect, the identity of the country they inhabit and the similarity of many customs and traditions”, elements they knew much better than foreigners; and, third, through Modern Greek, the language they would use to interpret the ancient texts, the acceptance of the contemporary pronunciation, something which would persuade foreign Hellenists that ancient Greek was not a dead language.⁹⁹ The goals listed above necessitated two types of annotations; those addressed to the broader public with an emphasis on understanding the text and a small bibliography available locally in Greece, as well as annotations more narrowly philological, associated with a critical examination of the text, which would be located at the end of the book.¹⁰⁰ Although this project did not fail, its results were meagre.¹⁰¹

A comparison of the goals of the Manousis announcement and of the Zographeios Library uncovers differences that are related to the varied needs

⁹⁸ *Συνέδριον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Συλλόγων Πρακτικὰ τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ συνόδου συγκροτηθεῖσης ἐν ἔτει 1879* [Congress of Greek societies, proceedings of the first congress organized in the year 1879], Athens 1879, pp. 130-145, and Philological Society of Constantinople, *Εἰκοσιπενταετηρίς (1861-1886)* [The first twenty-five years (1861-1886)], Vol. XVIII, Appendix, Constantinople 1888, p. 21.

⁹⁹ *Συνέδριον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Συλλόγων*, p. 140.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141.

¹⁰¹ The first Zographeios Library publication appeared in 1887 (Dimitrios H. Semitelos, *Σοφοκλέους Τραγωδίαι. Τόμος Πρῶτος. Ἀντιγόνη* [The tragedies of Sophocles, Volume One: *Antigone*], Athens 1887. See Philippos Iliou and Popi Polemi, *Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία, 1864-1900* [Greek bibliography, 1864-1900], no. *1887.760). By 1900, five more volumes had followed.

the two elaborate efforts were called to serve. The local Greek effort did not set clear-cut academic goals; it did not proclaim the need to cultivate a scholarly knowledge of philology, but was limited to producing serviceable editions, from a practical as well as an ideological viewpoint. The Constantinople effort set more ambitious goals, purely scholarly-philological, which could be considered a luxury in the context of the new Greek State. Of course, an interval of approximately three decades separated the two ventures, while the people involved belonged to different generations. Manousis probably spoke for the previous generation, rather than the one he supposedly represented as a professor at the newly founded university.

The difference between the two viewpoints concerned not only specific individuals and arguments, but rather constituted the rule in the matter of scholarly philological activities. We arrive at this conclusion if we compare the work produced inside and outside the boundaries of the Greek State, in the context of the broader Hellenic world and its concerns. A study of the work of philologists such as Ioannis Oikonomides (1812-1889),¹⁰² Dionysios Therianos (1834-1897) and Theagenis Livadas (1827-1903), who lived in Trieste,¹⁰³ leads us to conclude that their level of scholarship was very high.

Fluidity of Scholarly Fields, Versatility of Scholars and the “Metakenosis” of European Knowledge

It is important to point out that the borders between the individual fields of *Alterthumswissenschaft*’s disciplines had yet to be clearly defined. This was the case, moreover, in Germany as well.¹⁰⁴ The first class given by archaeology

¹⁰² We are familiar with Oikonomidis’ work through his beloved student, Dionysios Therianos. See Therianos, *Φιλολογικαὶ Ὑποτυπώσεις*, pp. 176-379. See also Kalitsounakis, “Ἡ αναβίωσις των κλασσικῶν σπουδῶν”, p. 364.

¹⁰³ Kalitsounakis, “Ἡ αναβίωσις των κλασσικῶν σπουδῶν”, pp. 374-377. In Trieste, the two intellectuals published the newspaper *Κλειώ*, printing high-caliber philological research. See Georgios Christodoulou, “Ἡ εφημερίδα Κλειώ Τεργέστης (1861-1883). Δοκίμιο αναλυτικῆς βιβλιογραφίας: Μέρος πρώτο, τα ἔτη Α-Β (1861-1863)” [The newspaper *Clio* of Trieste (1861-1883): a paper on analytical bibliography: Part One, the years I-II (1861-1863)], *Παρουσία* II (1984), pp. 139-196. See also Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 371. Moreover, Therianos’ works *Ἀδαμάντιος Κοραῖς* [Adamantios Korais], 3 vols, Trieste 1889-1890, and *Φιλολογικαὶ ὑποτυπώσεις* are incontrovertible proof of the level of his philological knowledge.

¹⁰⁴ In 1842, classical philology professor Adolph Schöll (1805-1882) gave one lecture on the history of ancient Greek sculpture and another on Sophocles. See *Index lectionum quae auspiciis regis augustissimi Friderici Guilelmi Quarti in Universitate Litteraria*

professor Ludwig Ross at the Othonian University covered Aristophanes' *Acharnians*.¹⁰⁵ The writings of Efthemios Kastorchis, as well as the content of his classes, were a mixture of history, archaeology and philology.¹⁰⁶ The same is true of Athanassios Roussopoulos.¹⁰⁷ The path towards differentiating the various disciplines of the study of antiquity around the 1870s may possibly also define the limits of the composition of the discipline of classical philology in Greece.¹⁰⁸

In accordance with the above, a strong realization of the need to “decant” to Greece the European achievements in philology is evident. Thus, periodicals published news regarding any relevant European developments.¹⁰⁹ According to the declarations of its publisher, Nikolaos Argyriadis, the first goal of the *Φιλολογικὸς Συνέκδημος* (1848-1849), as regards classical philology, was to make up for the lack of textbooks; its second to cultivate a “philological public life”.¹¹⁰ The variety of subjects he announced he would cover – philological research, both original and translations of foreign works, interpretations of difficult passages from ancient writers, as well as articles on ethnography, archaeology, travel, ecclesiastical history issues, publication announcements, etc. –¹¹¹ demonstrates that during the period there was insufficient purely

Friderica Guilelma per semestre aestivum A. Berolini MDCCCXLI instituentur, Berlin 1841, p. 15. Koumanoudis, enumerating the 17 “philology” professors at the University of Berlin, lumped together philologists and archaeologists.

¹⁰⁵ Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 371.

¹⁰⁶ He taught Latin philology and the lives of the ancient Greeks, or classes titled “Greek Archaeologies”, an exceptionally varied type of lecture that combined both history and philology. This can be inferred from Kastorchis’ teaching schedule from 1848, when he began teaching as a lecturer, until 1889, the last academic year he taught. I am very grateful to my colleague Vangelis Karamanolakis for providing me with the professors’ teaching plans.

¹⁰⁷ Athanassios Roussopoulos, a professor of Greek philology from 1856, taught only classical philology subjects until 1866; as of 1867, he also taught classes in archaeology and epigraphy.

¹⁰⁸ An investigation of this issue requires us to catalogue all research pertaining to classical antiquity, individual publications, as well as those published in the periodicals of the day; usually, the authors were secondary school teachers.

¹⁰⁹ The content of periodicals such as *Πανδώρα* (1850-1872), *Εὐρωπαϊκὸς Ἐρανιστής* (1840-1843), *Μνημοσύνη* (1852-1855), etc., is indicative. Apparently the discussion “about” philology was more important than its actual practice.

¹¹⁰ *Φιλολογικὸς Συνέκδημος* I (December 1848), pp. 121-122.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

philological material produced in Greece for the *Φιλολογικὸς Συνέκδημος* to survive as a “specialized” philological periodical.

The scholarly community of the period also demonstrated exceptional zeal in investigating the question of Modern Greek identity,¹¹² which was a dominant concern. Excavations were unearthing ancient monuments¹¹³ by the dozen and language itself proved most useful. All the competitions that were announced reflected these national priorities (poetry, living monuments, history of education). The philological competitions announced by rich, mainly diaspora, Greeks, with the partial exception of the Rodakanakeios contest,¹¹⁴ did not deal with issues of purely classical philology.¹¹⁵ No ancient Greek text was ever submitted to the Oikonomeios competition, which called for translations of both Greek classical texts and Western European literature.¹¹⁶

The fact that the scholarly philological aspect of Korais, which was recognized by his European contemporaries, was not promoted by the

¹¹² A characteristic feature of the period’s scholars was an insistence on documenting and studying the vernacular. In the collection containing Asopios’ notes from the period he was studying in Germany, there are many scattered notes from around 1865 that refer to issues related to the popular idiom. The alphabetical order of the notes suggests Asopios was planning a dictionary. See NLG, collection no. 2391.

¹¹³ Of the disciplines related to both the study of antiquity and the tradition of Böckh’s German school, archaeology was the one that developed most rapidly in Greece. This phenomenon is due to various factors, such as: the presence of monuments on Greek land, the link between their study and international research (I am referring to the Archaeological Society, as well as the foreign schools of archaeology), the status of ancient monuments in the European consciousness, their immediate tangible existence, their political role as regards the geographic composition of Greek national identity, their significance in documenting descent from antiquity on a local level, etc. On the ideological aspect of the matter, see Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

¹¹⁴ The contest took place during the period 1860-1875. The majority of subjects called for dealt with Homer, not as a philological subject, but as a source of historical information: “To define the nature of the heroic years of Greek kingship according to information found in Homer and any of the tragic poets or any other Greek authors” (1860), “Greek Domestic Life According to Homer” (1862), “History of the Homeric Epics” (1865), etc. The other subjects concerned Modern Greek philology, and the study of Modern Greek mores and customs. See Pantazidis, *Χρονικόν*, pp. 137, 249-250.

¹¹⁵ Regarding philological contests, see *ibid.*, pp. 135-136, 137, 249-250; Lappas, *Πανεπιστήμιο και φοιτητές*, pp. 112-114.

¹¹⁶ K. G. Kassinis, *Οικονόμειος μεταφραστικός αγών* [The Oikonomeios translation struggle], Athens 2003.

nineteenth-century Greek philologists¹¹⁷ is, in the final analysis, linked to the issue of the very creation of the Greek State, which at that critical phase of national homogenization did not need philological scholars but “fathers of the nation”.

In Lieu of an Epilogue

Commenting on the inadequacy of Greek philological scholarship in his era, Ioannis Sykourtis, analyzing Greek intellectual life as regards its relationship to antiquity, sought the causes of the phenomenon in earlier centuries.¹¹⁸ According to him, the discipline of philology in Greece “remained attached to the structure of the language of the ancient Greek writings” with grammatical observations, and in some cases annotated editions, always centred, however, on language. No nineteenth-century philologist constituted an exception to this rule, not even the “greatest Greek philologist”, as he called Korais. He added that Greek philologists, both before and after Korais, viewed the ancient Greeks with a “patriot’s eye”. The relationship of the Greeks with antiquity “created first-rate grammarians and gave form and content to our national renaissance and our national political life”, but continued, relative to the ancient world’s intellectual values, the “sterile tradition of Byzantium”. The cause of this basic inadequacy was, in his view, the fact that “the Greek

¹¹⁷ No introduction to the history of ancient Greek philology, which constituted the subject of the inaugural lectures of all the classical philology professors at the Othonian University, devoted a special section to Korais. See, indicatively, the introduction to Asopios’ work *Ιστορία των αρχαίων ποιητών και συγγραφέων*; also, D. I. Mavrofydis, “Περὶ τῆς Φιλολογίας καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς” [On philology and its times], *Φιλίστωρ* I (1861), pp. 201-236, and Grigorios N. Vernadakis, *Λόγος εἰσιτήριος περὶ Φιλολογίας* [Opening lecture on philology], Trieste 1899.

¹¹⁸ Th. Zielinski, *Ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι* [Our debt to antiquity], transl. Ioannis Sykourtris, 1928, Athens ²1994, pp. 215-278. Ioannis Sykoytris (1901-1937) is known not only for his extremely important philological output (editing Plato’s *Symposium* [1934] for Teubner Publishing, and publishing Aristotle’s *Poetics* [1937], etc.), which was greatly esteemed by the international philological community, but also for the difficulties he faced in the context of the Greek academic system. Regarding his philological output, see Kalitsounakis, “Ἡ ἀναβίωσις των κλασσικῶν σπουδῶν”, pp. 401-402. He is a characteristic example of the ambivalent relationship Greeks have with antiquity. See Paschalis M. Kitromilides, “From Subservience to Ambivalence: Greek Attitudes toward the Classics in the Twentieth Century”, in Margriet Haagsma, Pim Den Boer and Eric M. Moormann (eds), *The Impact of Classical Greece on European and National Identities: Proceedings of an International Colloquium, Held at the Netherlands Institute at Athens, 2-4 October 2000*, Amsterdam 2003, pp. 51-53.

nation did not have the opportunity, as a whole, to participate in or even to be influenced by the renaissance of Greek letters experienced by Western Europe” and, subsequently, by late eighteenth-century Germany. The economic and social conditions of a subjugated Greece did not permit it. This resulted, according to Sykourtis, in “an ephemeral production, which parroted European thought, barren and empty inside, a discipline that overstuffed the memory leaving the intellect hungry, poets created through national pride and prizes”. Thus, the German-school type was transplanted to Greece because it corresponded to Byzantine tradition as well as to national self-esteem. As the Greeks were incapable of comprehending the deeper values of intellectual culture, such as poetry, art, philosophy, etc., they were naturally unable to comprehend them in the ancient world. Thus, they remained attached to the language factor. On the other hand “foreign admiration for ancient Greek literature and national pride, which this admiration flattered, did not allow – and very correctly – this education, which afforded them little, to be abandoned”. He concluded that the product of this intellectual immaturity, as he characterized it, was “that barren contemplation of ancestral glory, a romantic nostalgia for antiquity, ignorance and devaluation of the reality of the present...At this point the immature new Greece encountered the overripe and tired Byzantine Greece.” It should be noted that Sykourtis, during the same period he expressed this critique, also thought that the conditions of Greek society had improved enough that classical philology could be cultivated in a fundamental fashion and bear fruit.

Regardless of whether or not we accept Sykourtis’ analysis, we cannot deny the perspicacity with which he determined the basic but unavoidable – due to the conditions that existed – weakness of the Greek discipline of philology. In this sense, his analysis contains a historical perspective and, to this day, remains particularly valuable to any investigation of this matter.