

The Historical Review/La Revue Historique

Vol 12 (2015)

Transferts culturels et traduction (XVIIIe-XXe siècles)



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doi: [10.12681/hr.8805](https://doi.org/10.12681/hr.8805)

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To cite this article:

Kostantaras, D. (2015). Byzantine Turns in Modern Greek Thought and Historiography, 1767-1874. *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 12, 163–198. <https://doi.org/10.12681/hr.8805>

BYZANTINE TURNS IN MODERN GREEK THOUGHT AND HISTORIOGRAPHY, 1767-1874

Dean Kostantaras

ABSTRACT: This article examines representations of Byzantium in Modern Greek historical thought, from the first translation (1767) of the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* to the publication of Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos' complete *Ιστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους* [History of the Greek nation (1860-1874)]. In doing so, it reassesses conventions, especially prevalent in English-language works, regarding the range and complexity of endeavors in this vein. Developments in European thought are used throughout as a vantage point, as they represent a contingency of great importance for any assessment of Greek attitudes toward the past. However, these influences did not always point in one direction; a factor which, in tandem with local generational and ideological divisions, helps to explain the diverse perspectives on Byzantium in Greek works from the period under review.

Introduction

In recent years, scholars such as Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Anna Tabaki have reconsidered the position of Byzantium in Greek Enlightenment perceptions of the past. Their efforts have recaptured the substantial range of perspective in works from the period and, in turn, have challenged the conventional image of an incipient Greek national consciousness laden exclusively with mementos from the golden age of antiquity.¹ In addition to providing further detail to the picture supplied by the scholars cited above, the present work addresses

¹ Anna Tabaki, "Byzance à travers les Lumières néo-helléniques", *Europe. Revue littéraire mensuelle* 822 (1997), pp. 147-161. See also *id.*, "Historiographie et identité nationale dans le sud-est de l'Europe (XVIIIe siècle – début du XIXe). Antiquité et Byzance dans l'exemple grec", *Cromohs* 13 (2008), pp. 1-9. Additional examples include Ioannis Koubourlis, "Η ιδέα της ιστορικής συνέχειας του Ελληνικού Έθνους στους εκπροσώπους του ελληνικού Διαφωτισμού" [The idea of the historical continuity of the Greek nation in the representatives of the Greek Enlightenment], *Δοκίμης* 13-14 (2005), pp. 137-191; Marios Hatzopoulos, "Receiving Byzantium in Early Modern Greece (1820s-1840s)", in Olivier Delouis *et al.* (eds), *Héritages de Byzance en Europe du Sud-Est à l'époque moderne et contemporaine*, Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 2013, pp. 219-229. Note the change of perspective in works of Paschalis M. Kitromilides: "On the Intellectual Content of Greek Nationalism: Paparrigopoulos, Byzantium and the Great Idea", in David Ricks and Paul Magdalino (eds), *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 25-33, and "The Enlightenment and the Greek Cultural Tradition", *History of European Ideas* 36 (2010), pp. 39-46.

the implications of this reassessment of historiographical literature for long-standing assumptions regarding the conceptual dispositions of later writers. To what extent, for example, should the Greek Enlightenment undertakings described below – some of which feature apologias for the Byzantine Empire highly reminiscent of those advanced in the nineteenth century – inform our understanding of these later works?

Given the points made above, the picture of Greek historical craft which follows offers several modifications to the conventional narrative of an Enlightenment infatuation with antiquity that “resulted in the inevitable rejection of all the in-between periods”.² This bias remained in force, it is often said, until the advent of independence, at which time, confronted with a compelling new set of “stakes”, Greek scholars suddenly felt a “need for a narrative to replace the one coming from abroad”.³ This native rendering was deemed necessary to counter those of European design, which invariably bore the impress of each author’s nationality, aims and interests. Indeed, only a Greek, as Dimitrios Vikelas claimed, could enter into and unravel the mysteries of Byzantine history and open, at last, a sure path to the truth.⁴

Although not all aspects of this account are called into question, the events described below indicate again a far more variegated Greek Enlightenment historiographical landscape, replete with appeals for the production of a genuine “Hellenic” version of the past – in which Byzantium was not absent – that persisted up to the outbreak of the 1821 revolution. True, the establishment of the Kingdom of Greece greatly advanced the prospects for an official narrative sited on antiquity, at least when viewed from the standpoint

² Kitromilides, “On the Intellectual Content”, p. 27. Again, the author has reassessed this perspective in more recent works. See, for example, note 53 below.

³ As Liakos concluded: “It was the time for ‘real’ Greek history to be written.”; Antonis Liakos, “The Construction of National Time: The Making of the Modern Greek Historical Imagination”, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 16 (2001), pp. 27-42. Liakos’ perspective is reprised in Vangelis Kechriotis, “Constantinos Paparrigopoulos”, in B. Trencsényi and M. Kopeček (eds), *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945)*, Vol. II, Budapest: CEU Press, 2007, p. 73. See also Konstantinos Svolopoulos “Η αποκατάσταση της διαχρονικής ιστορίας των Ελλήνων” [The restoration of the diachronic history of the Greeks], *Ελληνισμός και Ευρώπη. Διαχρονική θεώρηση* [Hellenism and Europe: Diachronic assessment], Athens: Academy of Athens, 2011, pp. 119-124. Koubourlis wrote similarly of the sudden onset of such impulses as a result of the political-ideological “stakes” (*enjeux*) connected with the Eastern Question; Ioannis Koubourlis, *La formation de l’histoire nationale grecque. L’apport de Spyridon Zambélios (1815-1881)*, Athens: Institut de Recherches Néohelléniques, 2005, pp. 37, 43, 48, 77.

⁴ Dimitrios Vikelas, *Περὶ Βυζαντινῶν* [On Byzantium], London 1874, p. 123.

of attempts at the University of Athens, where the preferences of a newly installed body of classicists and the Bavarian court came to the fore. However, this did not entail a sense of blank spaces or historical discontinuity on the part of those involved. The Byzantine Empire was, on the contrary, depicted as something the nation had endured; a state, like its Ottoman successor, whose interests and undertakings were not identifiable with the Greek nation (which continued nevertheless to give other signs of its existence). Furthermore, for scholars of this persuasion, neither the Eastern Question nor even the claims of Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer necessitated a change of position. New movements were nevertheless underway in European letters, including a turn towards the Middle Ages and a corresponding revival of interest in the part played in this epoch by the “Greek Empire”. These initiatives, developing alongside a still venerable edifice of classical studies, offer important context for the diverse and sometimes conflicting historical leanings of contemporary Greek authors. The ministrations of Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos and like-minded historians on behalf of the Hellenicity of the empire were indeed the subject of a protracted contest in nineteenth-century Greek letters, as witnessed by the fact that the first chair of Byzantine history at the University of Athens was not established, following initiatives elsewhere, until 1924.

In tracing the vicissitudes in the fortunes of Byzantium in Greek historical thought across the pre- and post-revolutionary divide, this article gives special attention to the facet of contingency represented by the international philological context.⁵ There are many indications below of how larger developments in the

⁵ Byzantium’s changing status in Greek historiography offers a particularly revealing vista on matters of “crossed history”, a genre that challenges the sense of national “cultural autarchy”. Balazs Trencsenyi and Márton Zászkaliczky (eds), *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, p. 3. For theoretical context, see Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, “La construction d’une référence culturelle allemande en France. Gèneses et histoire (1750-1914)”, *Annales ESC* 42 (1987), pp. 969-992; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, “Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity”, *History and Theory* 45 (2006), pp. 30-50. Recent works on Greek history in this vein include Anna Tabaki, *Περί νεοελληνικού Διαφωτισμού. Ρεύματα ιδεών και διάυλοι επικοινωνίας με τη δυτική σκέψη* [On the Neohellenic Enlightenment: Movements of ideas and channels of communication with Western thought], Athens: Ergo, 2004; Ioannis Koubourlis, *Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές των Σπ. Ζαμπέλιου και Κ. Παπαρρηγοπούλου. Η συμβολή Ελλήνων και ξένων λογίων στη διαμόρφωση του τρίσημου σχήματος του ελληνικού ιστορισμού (1782-1846)* [The historiographical debts of S. Zambelios and K. Paparrigopoulos: The contribution of Greek and foreign scholars in shaping the tripart scheme of Greek historicism (1782-1846)], Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Studies, 2012.

study of history form a useful vantage point from which to assess Greek attitudes toward the Byzantine Empire and its Hellenicity. That said, the views of Greek historians in any given period did not always cohere, a result that should not be too surprising, considering, on the one hand, the multiple and sometimes mixed messages circulating within a European intellectual sphere over which no single thinker or system gained complete hegemony; and, on the other, the generational and ideological divisions within Greek society.⁶ The ensuing pages indicate therefore the considerable influence exerted on Greek historiographical works by European reorientations in thought, but also the differences of opinion that were bound to follow from the exigencies cited above.

Byzance avant Paparrigopoulos

As previous scholars have noted, an assessment of Greek Enlightenment historical perceptions is complicated by the fact that it must be pursued without recourse to many original works of history.⁷ These, if not wholly absent, were nevertheless few in number. Insights have to be sought consequently from other genres of thought and, of course, the many Greek translations of histories written by Western authors.⁸ The rising status of history in eighteenth-century

⁶ This article offers the necessary context for Liakos' diagnosis of a native impulse to both resist and participate in "the Western canon of history"; Liakos, "The Construction of National Time", p. 33. These apologies must be viewed in connection with a far more variegated international intellectual scene.

⁷ This may account for the cursory treatment of Enlightenment historiographical endeavors in previous works and the assumption that the desire to create a true "national historiography" suddenly arose later from the new "stakes". Yet, as Koulouri shows, Greek educators continued to rely upon translated European texts well into the nineteenth century; Christina Koulouri, *Ιστορία και Γεωγραφία στα ελληνικά σχολεία (1834-1914)* [History and geography in Greek schools (1834-1914)], Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth, 1988. Note finally that references to "the Enlightenment" take into account the debates among historians regarding the diverse nature of the "intellectual projects" associated with the era and term. This diversity is illustrated at several points in the pages which follow. See also Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ³2013.

⁸ This approach was taken by Christos Patrinelis in *Πρώιμη νεοελληνική ιστοριογραφία, 1453-1821* [Early Greek historiography, 1453-1821], Thessaloniki: Aristotle University, 1986. Discoveries continue to be made of works in manuscript, such as those documented by Machi Païzi-Apostolopoulou in "Γνωστά και άγνωστα ιστορικά έργα της Τουρκοκρατίας σε χειρόγραφο κώδικα του Νικολάου Καρατζά" [Known and unknown historical works of the Tourkokratia in the manuscript codex of Nikolaos Karatzas], *Ο Εραμιστής* 28 (2011), pp. 193-210, and in "Δημήτριος Ραμαδάνης. Ένας ιστοριογράφος του 18ου αιώνα σε αφάνεια" [Dimitrios Ramadani: A historian of the eighteenth century in obscurity], *Ο Εραμιστής* 20 (1995), pp. 20-35.

letters was indeed well marked by the protagonists of the Greek Enlightenment, if, as in the case of other fields of enquiry, there was a delay in the production of native works. This gap was to be closed through the study of Western originals, the translations of which, as in later times, were treated as temporary proxies for a native historiography.⁹ Taken in whole, these translations, with their annotations, additions and editorial asides, along with the many commentaries on history and historical craft found in Greek-language journals, denote a substantial engagement with contemporary ideas, including a preoccupation with “nations” as the primary units of historical analysis.

Greek Enlightenment scholars displayed, in summary, a historiographical agenda not lacking in “nation-building” spirit nor the aspiration to assume control over the nation’s past characteristic of later generations. There was a great deal at “stake” in the eyes of these writers, who, enjoying a modicum of freedom in the literary sphere, behaved very much like the “cultural custodians” of sovereign states.¹⁰ This nominal freedom of maneuver in cultural matters opened the way in turn for clashes of opinion over a range of issues concerning language, identity and power – debates into which history, including the history of Byzantium, was duly inducted.¹¹ That said, the resources at the disposal of Enlightenment scholars were limited, and their efforts diffuse. Here, to be sure, the effects of independence were considerable. As a professional enterprise, Greek historiography was greatly advanced by the creation of institutions such as a national university and public school system – initiatives that had the effect of provisioning and directing such an effort in ways that were quite beyond the capacity of the centerless republic of Greek Enlightenment letters. The resulting consolidation of historical vision projected in these official channels in the years

⁹ See also Sklavenitis, who associates the beginning of a Modern Greek historiography with the 1750 translation of Charles Rollin’s *Histoire ancienne* (see below). The same may be said of earlier accounts by authors such as Konstantinos Koumas, who also identified this work and contemporary translations, such as the Greek version of the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, as milestones in the formation of a native historiography; Triantaphyllos Sklavenitis, “Το εθνικό πάνθεον των βιογραφιών και των προσωπογραφιών (1828-1876)” [The national pantheon of biographies and portraits (1828-1876)], in Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Triantaphyllos Sklavenitis (eds), *Ιστοριογραφία της νεότερης και σύγχρονης Ελλάδας, 1833-2002* [Historiography of Modern and contemporary Greece, 1833-2002], Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research, 2004, Vol. I, p. 171; Konstantinos Koumas, *Ιστορίες των ανθρωπίνων πράξεων από τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων ἕως τῶν ἡμερῶν μας* [Histories of human acts from antiquity to our times], 12 vols, Vienna 1830-1832, Vol. VI, pp. 41-43.

¹⁰ The concept of “cultural custodian” is adopted from Roger Chickering, *We Men Who Feel Most German*, Boston 1984.

¹¹ See, for example, Peter Mackridge, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766-1976*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 138-142.

following the establishment of the kingdom has perhaps obscured the diversity of outlook found in earlier texts.

When returning to these earlier sources, it soon becomes clear that Byzantium was not absent from Greek Enlightenment works of history or still older Greek texts that continued to circulate in these later times.¹² An important example of an earlier work that looked backward in this fashion and remained popular in the eighteenth century is the *Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν* [Book of history] of Dorotheou, a history in the chronicle tradition that was first published in Venice in 1631 and many times thereafter.¹³ Byzantium features prominently in the *Βιβλίον*, even if the reader is conducted to this end in the circuitous manner typical of the genre.¹⁴ Most importantly, the numerous republications of the *Βιβλίον* offer some indication of its perceived value on the part of Greek Enlightenment scholars and later national awakeners, if its design may have appeared increasingly obsolete alongside works of more recent vintage.¹⁵

¹² This historical orientation is perhaps not surprising given that many of the works in question were the productions of Orthodox churchmen. As Tabaki suggests, the term “Post-Byzantine” might even serve to best represent the quality of Balkan cultural life during the Tourkokratia; Tabaki, “Byzance à travers les Lumières”. See also Kitromilides, “The Enlightenment and the Greek Cultural Tradition”, p. 45.

¹³ The work is often attributed to “Pseudo-Dorotheou” in light of questions surrounding its authorship. Scholars have identified 18 republications of the work from 1631 to the beginning of the nineteenth century; A. Markopoulos, “Ένα χειρόγραφο από το Μελένικο στη βιβλιοθήκη John Rylands του Μάντσεστερ” [A manuscript from Melnik in the John Rylands Library in Manchester], *Μνήμων* 5 (1975), pp. 35-48. For additional historiographical context, see Elizabeth Jeffreys, “Old Testament History and the Byzantine Chronicle”, in Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson (eds), *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010, pp. 153-174; Alden A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition*, Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1979.

¹⁴ The narrative proceeds as follows: Adam and Moses/Alexander and the subsequent history of Egypt/Trojan War/history of the Roman Empire (dealing mainly with the Eastern half)/synopsis of Ottoman and Venetian history. This scheme may be recognizable to readers of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet’s *Discours sur l’histoire universelle* of 1681 (Adam – Moses/Trojan War/Solomon/foundation of Rome/Cyrus and the Babylonian captivity/Carthaginian Wars/birth of Christ/Constantine/life of Charlemagne). Bossuet’s *Discours*, which also featured a providential perspective highly favored by Greek authors, was eventually translated into Modern Greek in 1817 [*Βοσσουέτου λόγος εις την Γενικήν Ιστορίαν*, 2 vols, Constantinople 1817]. The work received a lengthy review in *Ερμής ὁ Λόγιος* (1 February 1819, pp. 99-103), which praised the “Hellenic character” of the translation (the critic’s misgivings with particular word choices aside).

¹⁵ The work contained passages that chimed well with the aims of later patriots who

Additional glimpses of a pre-Enlightenment historical outlook that privileged the Byzantine-Orthodox perspective can be obtained from the writings of Ilias Miniatis (1669-1714), a cleric and native of Kefalonia who is considered to have been the most influential orator of his time. Among Miniatis' many *Διδαχὲς* [Teachings] is found, for example, a sermon on envy. Recalling the words of the Apostle Paul, Miniatis warned his listeners against this particularly harmful form of vanity, for all who succumbed to such impulses only succeed in destroying themselves in the end. "This is a prophecy and it fulfills itself in us," he declared, adding:

How great was our race? How glorious our empire? Do you know how it came to be destroyed? Read our histories. Not from the power of the Persians, nor from the sword of the Hagarenes, but from our envy. We destroyed ourselves, because we devoured ourselves, disputing and envying each other. And if we arm ourselves, each against the other, and fall upon ourselves like hail, then we have no need of other enemies nor even the devil...¹⁶

This passage is significant not only for Miniatis' references to "our empire" and "our histories", by which he alludes to the large number of historical works produced by Byzantine authors, but also his explanation for the empire's downfall – this being attributed to discord, a character flaw that (alongside Byzantine overtures toward ecclesiastical union) brought the "race" to a point, as one of Miniatis' predecessors waxed darkly, where it found itself "squatting atop a dunghill [...] deprived and naked" of all its former graces.¹⁷

However, Byzantium and the Byzantines were not always depicted in light of their failings; and the positive attitude shown toward the empire by some eighteenth-century Greek authors may have obtained a degree of prompting from contemporary European endeavors in this vein. Of particular significance was the multi-volume collection of original Byzantine works, known commonly as the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* or the *Byzantine du Louvre*, first published in France over the years 1645-1688 and later in abridged form

sought to raise the historical consciousness of their countrymen. Note, for example, the appeal from the original prologue: "I advise every Greek Orthodox Christian (that is, Hellene by race, Orthodox Christian by faith) not to regret the small expense in buying this book."; Dorotheou, Metropolitan of Monemvasia, *Βιβλίον ἱστορικὸν* [Book of history], Venice 1631, p. 8.

¹⁶ Ilias Miniatis, "Περὶ φθόνου" [On envy], in Vasileios Tatakis (ed.), *Σκούφος, Μηνιάτης, Βούλγαρης, Θεοτόκης* [Skoufos, Miniatis, Voulgaris, Theotokis], Athens: Aetos, 1953, p. 224.

¹⁷ Frangiskos Skoufos "Τέχνη ρητορική" [Art of rhetoric], in *ibid.*, p. 119.

in Venice (1729-1733).¹⁸ These efforts drew the interests of Greek scholars in Italy, who published a six-volume demotic translation of the collection, the *Βίβλος χρονική περιέχουσα τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῆς Βυζαντίδος* [Chronological Bible containing the history of Byzantium, also known as the *Byzantis*], in 1767.¹⁹ As the title of this edition indicates, the editors rearranged the translated texts in chronological order, thereby offering Greek readers the kind of coherent narrative on the life of the empire they felt was then lacking. More importantly, as the publisher of the volumes noted in his prologue, the *Βίβλος χρονική* represented a step in correcting a lamentable “negligence” of Hellenic authors on the part of those from “other nations”.²⁰

Support for this sentiment was expressed in other contemporary texts, including the Greek translation of Charles Rollin’s popular *Histoire ancienne des Egyptiens, des Carthaginians, des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, des Medes et des Perses, des Macedoniens et des Grecs* (Paris 1731-1738). This ambitious 13-volume work had on the surface nothing to do with Byzantium; however, the Greek version (*Παλαιὰ Ἱστορία*, 1750) included an interesting gesture in this direction via an incorporation of part of Rollin’s earlier *Traité des études* (1727). In this pedagogical work, Rollin extolled the benefits that would accrue to the nation if French history was more greatly emphasized in primary school

¹⁸ The title refers to *De byzantinae historiae scriptoribus ac omnes per orbem eruditor protreptikon*, a bilingual (Greek-Latin) collection of works, edited by Philippe Labbe (1607-1667) and Charles du Fresne du Cange (1610-1688) and produced with the support of Louis XIV and finance minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Du Cange’s later works included the *Historia Byzantine duplici commentaria illustrata* (1680) and *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis* (1688). Du Cange’s political motivations are suggested in his earlier *Histoire de l’empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs françois* (1657). This interest in Byzantine studies was shared by such authors as Mabillon, Montfaucon, Banduri and Le Quien. For additional context, see Steven Runciman, “Gibbon and Byzantium”, *Daedalus* 105 (1976), pp. 104-106, and Diether R. Reinsch, “The History of Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts”, in P. Stephenson (ed.), *The Byzantine World*, New York: Routledge, 2011, pp. 435-444; Jean-Michel Speiser, “Du Cange and Byzantium”, in Robin Cormack (ed.), *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000, pp. 199-210.

¹⁹ Ioannis Stanos and Agaprios Loverdos, *Βίβλος χρονική περιέχουσα τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῆς Βυζαντίδος* [Chronicle containing the history of Byzantium], 6 vols, Venice 1767. This work earned a notice from Korais, if not perhaps for reasons intended by the translators. As he wrote in his 1803 *Mémoire*: “A good number of Byzantine authors have also been translated, giving lessons to the people among whom they are spread of the true cause of their misfortunes.”; Adamantios Korais, *Mémoire sur l’état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce*, Paris 1803, p. 56.

²⁰ Stanos and Loverdos, *Βίβλος χρονική*, p. 4.

education – the Greek translator taking the liberty of replacing the original text with a call to his “genos” to study and profit from the history of Byzantium.²¹

The empire continued meanwhile to be the subject of diverse readings in Western letters. Of particular importance in this connection was Charles Le Beau’s 27-volume *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (1757-1786). Although Le Beau’s judgments were often harsh, his criticisms were softened by Jacques-Corentin Royou in a subsequent 4-volume abridgement (*Histoire du Bas-Empire, depuis Constantine, jusqu’à la prise de Constantinople, en 1453*, Paris 1803). The more agreeable tone of Royou’s *Histoire* may explain the interest shown by Greek scholars in producing a translation of the work, as indicated by an announcement in an 1812 number of the philological journal *Ερμής ὁ Λόγιος*. In his appeal for subscribers to help in financing the project, the would-be publisher was keen to point out that if the history of the empire had great importance for all, it was especially valuable for his fellow “Hellenes”, who would find within its annals “the history of your home, that is, your fatherland”.²²

One final work worth mentioning both for its treatment of Greek history in the *longue durée*, as well as the interest shown by the author toward the later periods of that history, was Oliver Goldsmith’s *The Grecian History, from the Earliest State to the Death of Alexander the Great*. This 2-volume work was first published in 1774 and reissued in a second edition (1785) that continued the “Grecian” story up to the fall of Constantinople. According to Goldsmith, Greece had been reduced to a mere “Roman province” in the immediate aftermath of its conquest by that power. However, the rise of Constantine appeared to set the stage for a new golden age of Hellenic civilization.²³ This

²¹ Charles Rollin, *Παλαιὰ Ἱστορία τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, Καρχηδονίων, Ἀσσυρίων, Βαβυλωνίων, Μήδων, Περσῶν, Μακεδόνων, καὶ Ἑλλήνων, ...μεταφρασθεῖσα, καὶ μετ’ ἐπιμελείας διορθωθεῖσα παρὰ Κυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρου Καγκελλαρίου* [Ancient history of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Macedonians, and Greeks,...translated, edited and corrected by Alexandros Kangelarios], Venice 1750, Vol. XVI, p. 127. Note also Rollin’s emphasis on Providence; Charles Rollin, *Œuvres complètes de Rollin*, Paris 1824, Vol. XXIV, p. 537. For Rollin’s relevance to Greek historians of Paparrigopoulos’ generation, see Nikos Sigalas, “Ἱστοριογραφία καὶ ἱστορία τῶν πρακτικῶν τῆς γραφῆς. Ἐνα προοίμιο στὴν ἱστορία τοῦ σχηματισμοῦ τῆς ἐννοίας ἐλληνισμός καὶ στὴν παραγωγή τῆς νεοελληνικῆς ἐθνικῆς ἱστοριογραφίας” [Historiography and history of the practice of writing: A prelude to the history of the formation of the concept of Hellenism and the production of Modern Greek national historiography], in Kitromilides and Sklavenitis (eds), *Ἱστοριογραφία τῆς νεότερης καὶ σύγχρονης Ελλάδας*, Vol. I, p. 141.

²² *Ερμής ὁ Λόγιος* (15 March 1812), pp. 81-82.

²³ Oliver Goldsmith, *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith: With an Account of His Life and Writings*, London 1806, Vol. XVIII, pp. 348-352.

renaissance failed to materialize completely, but Greece nevertheless remained a seat of culture and a civilizing force in the world until 1453. The historical continuity of the “Greek nation” is meanwhile alluded to throughout, as in the case of a passage on Byzantine theological disputes. For Goldsmith, the works produced in the course of these controversies recalled to mind the acuity, curiosity and “versatility of genius” that had distinguished the “Grecian character” since antiquity.²⁴ Goldsmith closes this section of his *Grecian History* by citing the contributions of Byzantine scholars to the European Renaissance – an interpretation of events that was given often throughout the century, even by famous critics of the empire such as Voltaire and Gibbon.²⁵

Given the sympathetic attitude toward its subject matter, it may not be surprising that Goldsmith’s history was highly prized by several generations of Greek scholars. A Greek translation was in fact published in 1807 by Dimitrios Alexandridis, a prolific author who took considerable liberties with the text.²⁶ The title page of the work was also altered to include additional notes highlighting the work’s value as a chronicle of the nation’s customs, religion and *mœurs* – a fascination of contemporary letters described in greater detail below.²⁷ Most notably, Alexandridis considerably expanded Goldsmith’s original work by adding an entire third volume on Byzantium. This addition included explicit references to the empire’s Hellenicity, with Alexandridis observing, for example, that Nikiphoros I (reg 802-811) was the first to be known as the “Emperor of the Greeks”.²⁸ Although the source of this assumption is unclear, Alexandridis was not alone in making statements of this kind. Montesquieu asserted, for example in his famous *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et leur décadence* (1734), that “the history of the Greek Empire – it is thus that we should call the Roman Empire

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 352-356.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 356-357. The views of Voltaire and Gibbon are discussed below.

²⁶ Dimitrios Alexandridis, *Ιστορία της Ελλάδος* [History of Greece], 3 vols, Vienna 1807. Volume I ends with the Peloponnesian War, and Volume II with Constantine. Volume III covers the remainder of Byzantine history and subsequent Venetian, Russian and Ottoman conflicts.

²⁷ Alexandridis also translated the English publisher’s synopsis of the deceased author’s aims, in which he offered some words of praise for the manner in which the Greeks had struggled to preserve their “national character” despite their loss of sovereignty and many incursions into their domain by barbarous peoples. Goldsmith, *Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, Vol. XVII, pp. iii-iv. The Greek translation and English original appear in Volume I of Alexandridis. He also published the *Ἑλληνικός καθρέπτης* [Hellenic mirror] (Vienna 1806), a prosopography of great Hellenes from the earliest times to the fifteenth century.

²⁸ Alexandridis, *Ιστορία*, Vol. III, p. 90.

after this time [...]” commenced with the reign of Phokas (*reg* 602-610).²⁹ The use of the term “Greek Empire” was also pronounced in Gibbon, especially in those sections of the *Decline and Fall* (1776-1788) dealing with the centuries after Heraklios (Phokas’ successor).³⁰

The attitude toward Byzantium expressed in the works of Labbe, Goldsmith and Alexandridis was to be sure of a different order from that found in Montesquieu, Gibbon and Voltaire. Here was a formidable set of critics whose dim view of the empire was shared by Adamantios Korais and many of his peers.³¹ However, if the civilization of the ancient city-states attained an exalted position in the historical imagination of these figures, it was not the case that all Greek Enlightenment authors endorsed antiquity as the appropriate focus of the nation’s historical gaze. Those who diverged from this view could furthermore find support for their positions in the ongoing mutation of European ideas.

An important example of a Greek intellectual who was an avid but not uncritical reader of Western thought and who carefully scrutinized such works for ideas conducive to his own historical orientation was the Phanariot doyen of Greek learning in Bucharest, Dimitrios Katartzis (1730-1800).³² As indicated by Dimaras and Tabaki, Katartzis is often credited with erecting a picture of the “diachronic unity of neo-Hellenism with the medieval and ancient nearly one hundred years before Zambelios and Paparrigopoulos”.³³ The unity inferred in Katartzis’ historical vision requires nevertheless a substantial degree of qualification, as his rendering of the connection between ancient and modern

²⁹ Montesquieu, *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et leur décadence*, Amsterdam 1734, p. 238.

³⁰ Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1776-1789, here London 1901-1902, Vol. V, pp. 169-243. Koumas, an admirer of Gibbon, also conformed to this view. Koumas, *Ιστορίαι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πράξεων*, Vol. IV, pp. 110-117.

³¹ Gibbon’s influence on Korais is disputed by Christodoulou, who attributes the latter’s criticism to the effects of previously cited native discourses. Despina Christodoulou, “Byzantium in Nineteenth-century Greek Historiography”, in Stephenson (ed.), *The Byzantine World*, pp. 445-461. However, more evidence is required to carry this argument. Note, for example, that unlike the emphasis on sin and stasis characteristic of earlier sources, Korais’ critique of the empire dwelled on the evil of despotism. See, for example, Koubourlis, “Ἡ ἰδέα τῆς ἱστορικῆς συνέχειας”, pp. 155-163.

³² For the life and works of Katartzis, see *Δοκίμια* [Essays], ed. C. Th. Dimaras, Athens 1974; *Τὰ ἐνρισκόμενα* [Extant opus], ed. C. Th. Dimaras, Athens 1970; C. Th. Dimaras, *La Grèce au temps des Lumières*, Geneva 1969, pp. 26-36; Tabaki, “Historiographie et identité nationale”; Roxane D. Argyropoulos, “Aristote selon D. Katartzis”, *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique* 11 (2005), pp. 53-65.

³³ Katartzis, *Δοκίμια*, p. lix. Tabaki, “Historiographie et identité nationale”, p. 4.

was not as straightforward as this statement suggests. Katartzis did speak, for example, of the Ancients as representing in some fashion “our ancestors”, but if he honored the language of these “free and autonomous Hellenes to the point of idolatry”, they were yet so different from the modern *Romaioi* in “political circumstances, religion, manners, speech, behavior, clothing”, and so on, as to constitute a separate nation.³⁴ Katartzis in fact ruminated at length in his works on the connection between the *Romaioi* and the Hellenes, projecting in the process a conception of mutability on matters of identity that in his mind could be made clearer if his fellow educators adopted the historical “methods” practiced in Europe, especially those works of “universal” history in which nations and their manners frequently appeared as organizing devices.³⁵

In these and other passages Katartzis alluded to a body of contemporary treatises and discourse greatly concerned with the nature and formation of national *mœurs*.³⁶ Although the factors responsible for this turn in thought are open to debate, a reading of the texts in question reveals that the study of national character was often conducted as a step in the fulfillment of still larger speculations, such as those concerning the operation of “natural laws”.³⁷ In the words of Montesquieu: “L’homme, comme être physique, est, ainsi que les autres corps, gouverné par des loix invariables.”³⁸ If this was so, then the existence of such laws had to be squared with the empirical diversity

³⁴ Katartzis, *Ευρισκόμενα*, pp. 14, 104-105.

³⁵ General history is “divided into ancient and modern, or in the ages before and after Christ” and should aim to “tell the story of the ancient nations up to the birth of Christ and from there to start again [describing] also those which are extinct as well as those which continue on to this day”. Katartzis, *Ευρισκόμενα*, pp. 104, 177.

³⁶ Also character, manners, genie, spirit, etc. See, for example, François-Ignace d’Espiard de la Borde’s *Essais sur les génie et le caractère des nations*, 3 vols, Brussels 1743; David Hume, “Of National Characters”, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, London 1754; David Bell, “Le caractère national et l’imaginaire républicain au XVIIIe siècle”, *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 57/4 (2002), pp. 867-888; Robert Romani, “All Montesquieu’s Sons: The Place of *esprit général*, *caractère national*, and *mœurs* in French Political Philosophy, 1748-1789”, *SVEC* 362 (1998), pp. 192-193. For Espiard de la Borde’s decisive influence on Goldsmith, see Michael Griffin, *Enlightenment in Ruins: The Geographies of Oliver Goldsmith*, Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2013, p. 38.

³⁷ Javier Varela, “Nación, patria y patrotismo en los orígenes del nacionalismo español”, *Studia Historica. Historia Contemporánea* 12 (1994), p. 34; John Zammito, Karl Menges and Ernst A. Menze, “Johann Gottfried Herder Revisited: The Revolution in Scholarship in the Last Quarter Century”, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 71/ 4 (2010), p. 662.

³⁸ Montesquieu, *De l’esprit des loix*, 2 vols, Geneva 1748-1759, Vol. I, p. 5; Vol. II, p. 349.

of human culture.³⁹ Questions of this kind had some role furthermore in elevating the importance of history, which, if pursued in a rational manner, could supply an empirical grounding for such an investigation. These various strands of thought converged in ventures such as Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (1756), a sprawling work that amounted to a global account of nations, living and extinct, and a representative exercise in the new "philosophical history" – a term used to denote not only the aim to examine the past in a more accurate fashion than previously, but also as a means for discovering the laws of social change.⁴⁰ These tendencies were visible too in numerous productions of Spanish, Italian and German thinkers, if the interest in illustrating "the universal in the particular" tended often toward a preoccupation with (and defense of) the particular for its own sake.⁴¹ This age of history generated to be sure a widespread culture of historical apologetic, with Greeks being far from the only ones to feel themselves misrepresented.⁴²

³⁹ Montesquieu provided a model for such a comparative investigation in his own *Esprit*, a work which relied heavily on the "nation" as an organizing device. Note, for example, the title of Book 19: "Des loix, dans le rapport qu'elles ont avec les principes qui forment l'esprit general, les mœurs & les manières d'un nation"; Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des loix*, Vol. II, pp. 209-252. For Voltaire, "Ce qui est plus intéressant pour nous, c'est la difference sensible des espèces d'hommes qui peuplent les quatre partis connues de notre monde."; Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIII*, Paris 1756, p. 16. See also Stéphane Pujol, "Histoire et philosophie de l'histoire au XVIIIe siècle. La critique de l'universalisme chez Voltaire et Herder", in D. Bell, L. Pimenova and S. Pujol (eds), *La recherche dix-huitiémiste. Raison universelle et culture nationale au siècle des Lumières*, Paris: Champion, 1999, p. 182.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

⁴¹ As Fusi quotes from an earlier work on Jovellanos, "El siglo XVIII hispano fue el siglo de la Historia."; Juan Pablo Fusi, *España. La evolucion de la identidad nacional*, Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 2000, p. 147. László Kontler, "Mankind and its Histories: William Robertson, Georg Forster, and a Late Eighteenth-century German Debate", *Intellectual History Review* 23 (2013), pp. 411-429. For the historical endeavors of influential Gottingen school thinkers, see Michael Carhart, *The Science of Culture in Enlightenment Germany*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.

⁴² Sklavenitis, "Το εθνικό πάνθεον", p. 171. Spanish historians, such as Ponz (*Viage de España*, 1772-1794), Forner (*Oración apologética por la España y su mérito literario*, 1786), and members of the Real Academia Española, were similarly aggrieved by discoveries made in foreign sources. Note, for example, the uproar over the article "Espanne" in the 1782 edition of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*; Fusi, *España*, pp. 124, 148, 151-153. For similar complaints in the German-speaking world, see László Kontler, "William Robertson's History of Manners in German, 1770-1795", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58 (1997), p. 136 (note).

Katartzis' close reading of Western works acquainted him in summary with a host of ideas that were important in shaping his own notions of collective identity and difference. "Nations" loom accordingly throughout his writings, as they do in the works described above, as principal historical actors, each to be distinguished on the basis of its particular customs and attributes. He was in fact determined on these grounds to make the case that the Modern Greeks comprised "a nation" and to exert some control over the manner in which that nation was represented.⁴³ This spirited claim of nationhood and the images conjured with it – of subject and actor versus inert and passive object – could especially be reinforced, in his mind, through the production of native histories.⁴⁴ Katartzis had, therefore, a clear sense of the consciousness-raising potential of these works, the era on which they should focus, and the European models they should emulate. His position on these matters cohered finally with his view on contemporary internal debates and cultural "stakes", as indicated by the consistency between his support for the demotic in the language question and a historical gaze directed toward the Byzantine and Ottoman eras.⁴⁵ Future Greek historians should in fact "dwell especially on the history of the pious Romans, treating it as our own

⁴³ "I confess that at this time we are not a nation (*ethnos*) that forms its own state (*politeia*), but that we are subject to a more dominant one; for this and taking the definition of citizen given by Aristotle, some Franks belittle us as not having a *patrie*, but this is not so."; Katartzis, *Ευρισκόμενα*, pp. 44-46. The offending statements appear to have come from entries in the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, of which Katartzis was nevertheless a great admirer. Note that the attempted correlation required some lexical innovations, and Katartzis is counted among the first to introduce *ethnos* into Modern Greek letters – a term which he appears to have intended as a native rendering of "nation" (perhaps based on the practice of Aristotle). The task of converting the demotic into an idiom capable of serving as a vehicle for modern scholarship was to be accomplished by embellishing it with vocabulary from the far richer ancient language in this fashion. See also Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "'Imagined Communities' and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans", *European History Quarterly* 19 (1989), pp. 149-192; Mackridge, *Language and National Identity*, pp. 92-101. Aristotle's terminology is described in Julie K. Ward, "Ethnos in the Politics: Aristotle and Race", in J. K. Ward and T. L. Lott (eds), *Philosophers on Race: Critical Essays*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 14-37.

⁴⁴ Katartzis' writings help to illuminate, according to other scholars, another branch of contemporary "stakes". Koubourlis, for example, suggests that they should be understood in connection with the Phanariots' need to justify their positions within the Ottoman state; Koubourlis, *La formation de l'histoire nationale greque*, p. 54.

⁴⁵ Hellenic is "something we study like any other foreign language and we do not become Hellenes by doing so, or simply take it [Hellenic] on as a national name in the same sense that one who studies a foreign language is not altered in the process"; Katartzis, *Ευρισκόμενα*, p. 50.

history”, to say nothing of the glaring need for works dealing with the period since the fall of Constantinople. It was precisely from such texts that his fellow *Romaioi* would derive a clearer sense of what distinguished them as a nation both from the Hellenes and neighboring others – insights that were crucial for guiding their interaction with foreign cultures and ways of thought.⁴⁶ He lamented, for example, that “some read Montesquieu’s theory of laws before knowing about laws or Voltaire’s *Universal History* and *Philosophy of History*, which are similarly theories of history, before reading a single book of the *Byzantis*, the history of our race, which they must read to know the entire history of the world.”⁴⁷

The ideas that resonate throughout the writings of Katartzis, such as those concerning the concept of national character, were present as well in the works of his students and fellow Orthodox *logioi*, Grigorios Konstantas (1753-1844) and Daniel Philippidis (1750-1832). However, the care taken by Katartzis to distinguish the customs and identity of the Ancient Greeks from the *Romaioi* appears to have been less crucial to these authors. Those accustomed, for example, to associate the notion of an uninterrupted continuity in Greek history with the later studies of Spyridon Zambelios or Paparrigopoulos will find an earlier rendition of this narrative in the opening sections of Konstantas and Philippidis’ *Γεωγραφία νεωτερική* [Modern geography] of 1791.⁴⁸ The history of “Greece” was divided here into four successive stages, a survey which waxed, to be sure, on the triumphs of the Ancients (the “youth of Greece”), but gave significant attention to subsequent eras. The first two stages dwell upon the Bronze Age and the rise of Ionian civilization; the third covers the Persian Wars and Alexander; and the fourth, with its extended survey of the “Empire of

⁴⁶ These neighboring others included groups of Orthodox faithful, such as “the Serbs, Bulgarians and Bosnians”; *ibid.*, pp. 149, 201.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁴⁸ Geography offered another site for the exploration of natural laws and *mœurs*. For additional context, see Anne Marie Godlewska, *Geography Unbound: French Geographic Science from Cassini to Humboldt*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999; David N. Livingstone and Charles Withers (eds), *Geography and Enlightenment*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999. Greek works of the genre included Chrysanthos Notaras, *Εισαγωγή εις τὰ Γεωγραφικὰ καὶ Σφαιρικὰ* [Introduction to geography and astronomy], Paris 1716; Meletios Mitrou, *Γεωγραφία παλαιὰ καὶ νέα* [Ancient and modern geography], Venice 1728; Iosipos Moisiodax, *Θεωρία τῆς Γεωγραφίας* [Theory of geography], Vienna 1781; Nikiphoros Theotokis, *Στοιχεῖα Γεωγραφίας* [Elements of geography], Vienna 1804. For additional context, see Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* [Neohellenic Enlightenment], Athens 1999, Ch. 3; Konstantinos Kyriakopoulos, *Μελέτιος (Μήτρος) Αθηνών, ο Γεωγράφος* [Meletios (Mitros) of Athens, the geographer], Athens 1990.

the Greeks”, brings the reader to the present day.⁴⁹ The authors’ rendering here of the Hellenicity of the empire is notable and recalls again observations of this kind found in Goldsmith, Montesquieu and Gibbon. The profuse references to the “Greek Empire” in these latter works must certainly have presented a compelling quandary to native authors: the misgivings of such luminaries concerning Byzantium aside, they had nevertheless conferred upon the Greeks an empire and a relevance in world history that was inherently flattering and worth claiming.⁵⁰

The sweeping temporal perspective in the *Γεωγραφία* was matched in the spatial realm by the figure of an ideal “Greece”, the dimensions of which far exceeded those typically depicted by European authors; an error which the authors attributed to the sorry fate of the lands once encompassed within the boundaries of Hellenic civilization.⁵¹ Few of their ancestors had indeed proved worthy of their inheritance or adept at staying the hand of stasis, that work of the dark god “Nemesis”, wrote Iosipos Moisioudax, which had played such a ruinous role in the nation’s past.⁵²

Korais and the Burden of “Family Vices”

The works cited above display, in summary, an interest in Byzantium on the part of eighteenth-century authors that was obscured, Kitromilides suggests, by a subsequent scholarly preoccupation with figures such as Korais. This tendency gave rise to a distorted understanding of the Greek Enlightenment

⁴⁹ Grigorios Konstantas and Daniel Philippidis, *Γεωγραφία νεωτερική* [Modern geography], Vienna 1791, pp. 108-123.

⁵⁰ Furthermore, not all of the “Greek emperors” were villains; Gibbon offered in fact a few words of praise for several members of the Macedonian and Komnenos dynasties. See again Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Vol. VII, Ch. 48.

⁵¹ Konstantas and Philippidis, *Γεωγραφία νεωτερική*, p. 38. The authors’ historical inclination toward the *longue durée* was further disclosed in Konstantas’ later translation of Claude-François-Xavier Millot’s *Éléments d’histoire générale* [*Γενική Ιστορία τοῦ Millot*, Vienna 1806], as well as in Philippidis’ *Ιστορία τῆς Ρουμανίας* [History of Romania], Leipzig 1816. Similar works of “general history” included Athanasios Stageiritis’ *Δομαίων ἐπιτομή Ιστορίας γενική*, 3 vols, Vienna 1812, a translation of Louis Domairon’s *Les rudiments de l’histoire*, 4 vols, Paris 1801; Georgios Konstantinos, *Παγκόσμιος Ιστορία τῆς οἰκουμένης* [Universal history of the world], 2 vols, Venice 1759-1763; and Konstantinos Koumas’ *Ιστορική χρονολογία* [Historical chronology], Vienna 1818, and his historical lexicon, a translation of a French work in which Koumas made additions relevant to his Greek readership, including a list of all the patriarchs of Constantinople. See the announcement in *Ἐρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* (1 May 1812), pp. 151-152.

⁵² Iosipos Moisioudax, *Ἠθική φιλοσοφία* [Moral philosophy], Venice 1761, p. xi.

as “involving a wholesale rejection and negation of Byzantium”.⁵³ To be sure, Korais’ dim view of the Byzantines was echoed by many of his peers, notably Grigorios Paliouritis, in whose *Ἀρχαιολογία ἑλληνική* [Hellenic archaeology] of 1815 and *Ἐπιτομή Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* [Condensed history of Greece] of 1807-1815 is also found a hostile treatment of the Macedonians.⁵⁴ Even Konstantas and Philippidis, who were more indulgent toward the Byzantines, could level at times a criticism of the defunct empire and its rulers that appeared to exceed the bounds of Orthodox piety.⁵⁵ Yet, if Byzantium was not always exalted in these works, it was nevertheless included within the boundaries of “Greek” history. This point holds true to some extent as well for Korais, whose allegations regarding the decadence of certain ancestors were crucial to his defense of the Modern Greeks from the “slander” of contemporary Europeans.⁵⁶ As indicated in his famous *Mémoire sur l’état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce*, an address delivered in Paris in 1803, the progress made by Modern Greeks in reforming themselves should in fact be viewed in light of the great obstacles placed in their path by previous generations of their historical “family”.

Given his circumstances and training, one would expect Korais’ perspective on Greek history to be highly informed by questions then fashionable among his Western peers, and in fact his effort to fit his story into the framework of ideas surrounding concepts such as “national regeneration” was displayed in the very first lines of the *Mémoire*.⁵⁷ Yet Korais’ report was colored too by hostility toward the manner in which contemporary Greece was depicted in European popular culture, and he quickly made clear his intent to provide a more truthful portrait

⁵³ Kitromilides, “The Enlightenment and the Greek Cultural Tradition”, pp. 44-46.

⁵⁴ Grigorios Paliouritis, *Ἀρχαιολογία ἑλληνική* [Hellenic archaeology], Venice 1815; *Ἐπιτομή Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* [Condensed history of Greece], Venice 1807-1815.

⁵⁵ “Our fortunate kings sought to fill their kingdoms with crowds of good monks and not soldiers thinking that with their rosaries they would ward off the Arabs from the middle parts, the Turks from the East, the Skythians from the North and the Italians from the West.”; Konstantas and Philippidis, *Γεωγραφία νεωτερική*, p. 135.

⁵⁶ Korais’ preferences are nevertheless displayed in his *Ἑλληνική βιβλιοθήκη* [Hellenic library], a 25-volume collection of works encompassing the writings of Ancient authors. For volume contents, see Adamanatios Korais, *Ἀπαντα* [Collected works], Vol. I, Athens 1969, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁷ Korais, *Mémoire*, p. 1. For additional examples, see Sylviana Patriarca, *Italian Vices: Nation and Character from the Risorgimento to the Republic*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 22; Mona Ozouf, “Régénération”, in F. Furet and M. Ozouf (eds), *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution française*, Paris: Flammarion, 1988; A. de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770-1800*, transl. C. Mandell, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

of “what Greece was long ago” and “successively became through the diverse revolutions to which she was subjected”.⁵⁸ The credibility of such an account depended to a degree on the author’s objectivity, and to accomplish this effect Korais was obliged to acknowledge some of the conditions of Greek life vilified in contemporary letters. However, it was also from contemporary European works that he obtained the resources necessary to mount his defense. The “truth” of his apologia appeared in fact to rest upon his ability to normalize Greek history or, put differently, to fit its story within conceptual frameworks and points of reference recognizable to his listeners. Recalling, for example, the “revolutions” cited above, Korais observed that the latest, “dating four centuries back”, had left Greece in “a state of lethargy similar to Europe’s before *la renaissance des Lettres*”.⁵⁹ Greece’s plight was not in this case peculiar, and he appears rather to suggest that Europeans think again before using the present condition of other peoples as a means to nourish a (false) sense of their own exceptionality.

It is nevertheless clear that, for all the notes of defiance that break through the surface of the *Mémoire*, Korais accepted at least one European verdict on the Greek past, which is to say that he too glorified the Ancients. Alongside his attempt to normalize Greek history according to Western precepts, Korais also sought to direct blame for the nation’s decline to a middle group of ancestors and thus exonerate his fellow countrymen from the slanders of those who “have charged the present generation of Greeks with the vices and errors of all the generations which had preceded them”.⁶⁰ The Greeks of his day were rather the “victims of crimes which they did not commit”, the unfortunate sufferers of their “family’s vices”.⁶¹ He proceeds to close his defense with a comprehensive indictment of virtually all who had come before, excepting of course the illustrious inhabitants of the Ancient poleis.⁶² Korais’ overview of these events is not however free of ambiguity and, in the case of the Byzantines (and Macedonians), it is not completely clear if these should be judged as Greeks or oppressors of the Greeks, in contrast to the identification of Byzantium as a “Greek Empire” in works by Konstantas and Philippidis and by Panayiotis Kodrikas (1750-1827).⁶³ These problems aside, the Modern Greeks, were, if anything, deserving of admiration

⁵⁸ Korais, *Mémoire*, pp. 3-4. Korais was especially incensed by Corneille de Pauw’s *Recherches philosophiques sur les Grecs* (1788); *ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ These ambiguities are noted also in Koubourlis, “Η ιδέα της ιστορικής συνέχειας”, pp. 155-163.

for their efforts to overcome the misdeeds of their predecessors and return themselves to the company of civilized nations.⁶⁴

The historical saga conveyed in Korais' report reflects in summary a range of ideas and sentiments corresponding to his time and personal circumstances, and perhaps ultimately the wish, for all of his defiant outbursts, to fashion an agenda for Greece's rehabilitation that conformed in many respects to the tastes of the Western authors and attitudes towards which he was inclined. However, this particular ideal Greece was not shared by all, and Greek literature continued to resonate with the sentiments of those for whom the West also served as "constituting other", but one fitted out in its heretical Frankish guise.⁶⁵

As noted above, the first decades of the nineteenth century featured continued activity on the historical front, exemplified by new translations of Western works and the appearance of several Greek-authored volumes. A considerable dialogue on historical matters was also conducted in Greek-language philological journals, the editors of which frequently expressed a wish not only to raise the historical consciousness of their readers, but see incorporated in Greek letters the latest epistemic advances from Europe. Examples of this desire abound in the form of frequent serial publications of works on the principals and practice of history, such as an essay on the "Ιστορία της καθολικῆς ιστορίας" [History of universal history], which appeared in several numbers of *Ἐρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* in 1813.⁶⁶ Published alongside these theoretical exercises were more prosaic offerings on the history of

⁶⁴ Ranking high in his mind were the native merchants who furnished the capital needed for the nation's recovery and thus offered another example of how his countrymen had accomplished their renaissance "on their own"; Korais, *Mémoire*, p. 64.

⁶⁵ Korais' own grandfather Rysios would have been at home in this camp. See, for example, the notes of civilizational conflict in the historical reflections of several Orthodox higher clergy in Richard Clogg, *The Movement for Greek Independence, 1770-1821*, London: Macmillan, 1976, pp. 56-64, 86-88. Note, finally, in the same volume, the contemporaneous synthetic imagination of Rhigas Velestinlis, in whose maps and manifestos is projected a sweeping Hellenic-Romaic fusion of Bronze Age heroes, Macedonian empire-builders and crusading Orthodox saints; *ibid.*, pp. 149-163.

⁶⁶ "Ιστορία της καθολικῆς ιστορίας" [History of universal history] appeared in the 1 January 1813, 1 February 1813, and 15 February 1813 numbers of *Ἐρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος*. The work is accredited to the editor of the journal and future University of Athens professor of history, Theodoros Manousis; Ioulia Pentazou, "Ο Θεόδωρος Μανούσης καθηγητής της Ιστορίας στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών (1837-1858)" [Theodoros Manousis, professor of History at the University of Athens (1837-1858)], *Μνήμων* 17 (1995), p. 74. Manousis' place in post-revolutionary historiographical debates is discussed below.

coffee, medicine, tobacco and smoking, which, if lacking the gravity of the former, give further illustration of the pronounced historicizing impulses of the age.⁶⁷

Not missing from these undertakings were diachronic accounts of Hellenic history and civilization in which Byzantium often came into view, as indicated in the closing section of a serial article on the history of philology.⁶⁸ This item is also notable for its inclusion of the traditional apology for Byzantium noted earlier in Goldsmith. According to the author, the Hellenes had always shown a powerful inclination toward arts and letters, seeing these as the greatest treasure of mankind, and certainly when the barbarous nations poured out over creation “the Greeks under the Byzantine kings” remained the only civilized people in the world, later transmitting their precious store of taste and learning to awaken Europe “from the deep and longstanding sleep of barbarism”. If in their illustrious history these same Greeks fell at times into error, “we must admire the nation that was led astray in this manner – its delusion and errors resembling those of an intelligent and literate man”.⁶⁹ These words recall again a perspective on the Byzantine contribution to Europe’s Renaissance that was repeated, sometimes at length, in works by Rousseau, Voltaire and, most notably, Gibbon.⁷⁰

The apologetic notes sounded above were expressed more clearly still in a rare original work of pre-independence vintage, Ludovikos Sotiris’ *Ἀπολογία*

⁶⁷ See, for example, “Καθολικὴ ἱστορία τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν” [Universal history of the arts and sciences], which began on 15 May 1811 and continued to 15 August 1811. See also the long description of *Δομαιρῶν ἐπιτομὴ ἱστορίας γενικῆς* from an announcement of the publication of Stageiritis’ translation of Domairon; *Ἐρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* (1 February 1812), pp. 40-41.

⁶⁸ “Χαρακτῆρες τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ νεωτέρας φιλολογίας, δηλαδὴ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, Λατινικῆς, Ἰταλικῆς, Γαλλικῆς, Ἀγγλικῆς καὶ Γερμανικῆς μετὰ κριτικῆς παραλληλίας αὐτῶν” [Characters of Ancient and Modern philology, that is of the Greek, Latin, Italian, English and German, after critical parallelism of them] was published in the 1 and 15 January 1813 numbers of *Ἐρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος*. See also “History of the Greeks”, which began on 1 June 1812 and continued to 15 July 1812, closing with a synopsis of Byzantine-era historiographical endeavors and expressing praise for authors such as Zonaras, Choniatis, Nikiphoros, Prokopios and Anna Komnenos; *Ἐρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* (15 July 1812), p. 216.

⁶⁹ *Ἐρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* (15 January 1813), p. 19.

⁷⁰ As Rousseau wrote in 1751, Europe had fallen back into its original state of barbarism when “La chute du trône de Constantin porta dans l’Italie les débris de l’ancienne Grece. La France s’enrichit à son tour de ces précieuses dépouilles. Bientôt les sciences suivirent les lettres...”; Rousseau, “Discours sur les sciences et les arts”, in *Œuvres complètes*, Paris 1834, Vol. I, p. 6. Voltaire offered a similar account in *Le siècle de Louis XIV* (1751), praising

ιστορικοκριτική [Historical-critical apologia] (Trieste 1814). Setting out to “provide a just apology” for Greek history against the slanders of authors “from other races”, Sotiris ranged over the ancient, medieval and modern eras, treating them all as many interludes in the history of a single Hellenic “genos”, and devoting considerable space to the martial, cultural and spiritual feats of the Byzantines.⁷¹ Also worthy of note in this connection was Kodrikas’ controversial entry into the language debate, *Μελέτη περί τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κοινῆς διαλέκτου* [Study of the common Greek dialect] of 1818. In this famous work, Kodrikas prefaced his argument for the koine with an opening historical overture that gave pride of place to Byzantium in the formation of Greek national identity – a historical disposition consistent with a conception of nationhood on the part of the author that essentially united language and religion. As he wrote in his opening dedication: “La Nation Grecque au milieu des plus cruelles vicissitudes de la fortune, a toujours su conserver son intégrité et son nom comme Nation, en conservant sa Religion et sa Langue; sans l’une ou sans l’autre, elle aurait cessé d’exister.”⁷²

If highly partisan in nature, the *Μελέτη* nevertheless recapitulated themes common to its time. The meaning of history was thus assessed from the

the Medici for giving refuge to Byzantine scholars and enabling the dissemination of their learning throughout Europe; Voltaire, *Le siècle de Louis XIV*, repr. Paris 1874, p. 2. One of the most effusive encomiums of this kind appeared in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Vol. VII, pp. 114-131. See also Koumas, *Ἱστορίαι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πράξεων*, Vol. VI, p. 7. However, this view was not shared by all, as indicated by the comments of John Hobhouse, who thought little of the Byzantine scholars in question or their “share in the revival of literature in the West”. *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the Years 1809 and 1810*, 2 vols, Philadelphia 1817, Vol. II, pp. 9-13. Support for Byzantium obtained additional impetus meanwhile from the opposition of German intellectuals to the designs of Napoleon. Note, for example, Schlegel’s claims of a Byzantine-mediated (versus Latin, e.g. French) reception of classical civilization in Germany; a thesis intended to reinforce a sense of Germany’s unique cultural footing; Ludovic Bender, “Regards sur Sainte-Sophie (fin XVIIe – début XIXe siècle). Premices d’une histoire de l’architecture byzantine”, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 105 (2012), pp. 1-28; Jeanne-Marie Musto, *Byzantium in Bavaria: Art, Architecture and History between Empiricism and Invention in the Post-Napoleonic Era*, Ph.D. thesis, Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr College, 2007.

⁷¹ Ludovikos Sotiris, *Ἀπολογία ἱστορικοκριτική* [Historical-critical apologia], Trieste 1814, p. 4.

⁷² Panayiotis Kodrikas, *Μελέτη περί τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κοινῆς διαλέκτου* [Study of the common Greek dialect], Paris 1818, n.p. The heroics of Byzantine sages and emperors are well represented. See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 121-129. For political “stakes”, see Mackridge, *Language and National Identity*, pp. 138-142.

standpoint of the present and in the form of a universally recognized and sanctioned end (the preservation of national identity); this in turn being the work of Providence, acting through various historical intermediaries and agents, including of course the Byzantines. Still more general features of Kodrikas' narrative, such as his emphasis on nations and their *mœurs* and the concept of a "philosophical history" directed toward change over the *longue durée*, mark a conceptual orientation that remained relevant for later generations. This particular stream of pre-revolutionary Greek historical thought found its apogee in the 12-volume *Ἱστορίαι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πράξεων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων ἕως τῶν ἡμερῶν μας* [Histories of human acts from antiquity to our times] by Konstantinos Koumas (1771-1836), a work which, with its emphasis on the Middle Ages, offers too a foreshadowing of those integral national histories to come.⁷³ In his literature review, Koumas even alludes to such an aim, counting among his predecessors the Greek translators of Rollin, the *Byzantis*, and Goldsmith, and presenting his work as an undertaking consistent with their wish to establish a native tradition of historiography.⁷⁴ As noted previously, Koumas' history is also of great interest here for its unambiguous portrayal of the Hellenicity of the Byzantine Empire.⁷⁵

The preceding survey challenges, in summary, the notion of "blank pages", chief among them Byzantium, in Greek historical reflections of pre-revolutionary vintage. Scholars might consequently ask if these earlier projections of continuity exerted any direct influence upon Paparrigopoulos or should condition assumptions about the distinctiveness of his work. However, there is room to doubt that such influence, if present at all, was very great. On the one hand, Paparrigopoulos made no reference to these earlier writings in his work, nor did he express very high regard for the accomplishments of the Greek Enlightenment generation in general: although quick to praise their patriotism, he was also bound to add that with respect to their scholarly endeavors they "did not produce any work that was worthy of

⁷³ Note, for example, his review of works by Schlosser and Niebuhr and his hope that discoveries in monasteries would help to illuminate the darkened parts "of our modern history"; Koumas, *Ἱστορίαι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πράξεων*, Vol. VI, pp. 25-31, 39. This work was published again over the years 1830-1832.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43. The form of the work inclines more, however, toward a native version of "universal history" (envisioned by Katartzis), within which the diachronic experience of the Greek nation is embedded.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 110-117. The Greeks of Heraklios' time could in fact "be used to show what a weakened people can do if inspired by a firm faith in their leader". *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 108.

mentioning” or eligible for the title of “masterpiece”.⁷⁶ If, in sum, the names of the *logioi* were deserving of memory, their works were not. Immersed in an intellectual culture that retained some elements of the past but much else that was new and novel, it was perhaps natural that Paparrigopoulos should see the works of previous scholars as insufficient for his time. Still, he was not averse to consulting Western historians of earlier vintage – a reflection perhaps of his tendency to regard his own generation of scholars as the first to establish a native episteme equal to European standards.⁷⁷

Paparrigopoulos, Byzantium and Contemporary Narratives of Becoming

As indicated above, Byzantium was not absent from Greek Enlightenment readings of “national” history, if subject to diverse judgments according to the tastes of the authors involved. In light of these facts, the establishment of the Kingdom of Greece marked an important point of disjuncture – to judge at least by developments on the academic front – that was detrimental to the historiographical fortunes of the empire and its Hellenicity in Greek letters. In the case, for example, of the University of Athens (founded in 1837), its history and philology faculty, much in keeping with the preferences of the Bavarian regime, was composed of dedicated classicists who had obtained their training at German institutions (including the University of Munich) from professors with similarly pronounced leanings.⁷⁸ To the extent that one

⁷⁶ K. Paparrigopoulos, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* [History of the Greek nation], repr. Athens: Kaktus, 1993, Book 15, p. 178. Paparrigopoulos does offer a few words of praise for Koumas and refers briefly to his account of Greek Enlightenment endeavors; *ibid.*, p. 177.

⁷⁷ C. Th. Dimaras, *Παπαρρηγόπουλος. Προλεγόμενα* [Paparrigopoulos: Introduction], Athens: Ermis, 1970, p. 38. This silence is characteristic too of Zambelios, who cited a number of Western historians in his classic *Ἄσματα δημοτικά*, but none of the *logioi*; Spyridon Zambelios, *Ἄσματα δημοτικά τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ἐκδοθέντα μετὰ μελέτης ἱστορικῆς περὶ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ* [Folk songs of Greece: Published with a historical study of medieval Hellenism], Corfu 1852, pp. 589-590. Note that Paparrigopoulos also saw folk songs as the one cultural production worthy of note and the testimony of an enduring national character; Paparrigopoulos, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, Book 15, pp. 179-183. These sentiments reflect the popularity of ideas associated with Herder and Fauriel’s *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne*, 2 vols, Paris 1824-1825. This work made a great impression also on Zambelios, who, in the form of the *Ἄσματα*, produced something of his own version of the same; Koubourlis, *La formation de l’histoire nationale*, pp. 116-117.

⁷⁸ Argyropoulos, *Les intellectuels grecs*; Sophia Matthaiou, “Establishing the Discipline of Classical Philology in Nineteenth-century Greece”, *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* VIII (2011), pp. 117-148; Giorgios Veloudis, *Ο Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer και η γένεση του ελληνικού ιστορισμού* [Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer and the genesis of Greek

may speak of the existence of an official historical narrative, it projected a scheme of national birth and rebirth separated by an intervening period of bondage and stagnation. Furthermore, for scholars of this disposition, the political “stakes” corresponding to the state of independence, the aims of the Great Idea, or even the interventions of Fallmerayer, did not necessitate a reduction of emphasis on the classical inheritance as the bedrock of Hellenic identity, much less a rehabilitation of Byzantium.⁷⁹ In the event that reassessments were contemplated, these took the form of an acknowledgment of a “middle Hellenic history” to which some of the nation’s present laws and manners could be traced.⁸⁰ If this construction was later called into question by intellectuals such as Paparrigopoulos, the recovery of Byzantium and its incorporation into the national historical narrative continued to be a matter of contention throughout the century – its entry finally achieved through the ministrations of its defenders, but also by a major turn toward Byzantine studies within the international scholarly community.

Before considering the external epistemological developments alluded to above, it is important to note that the classical orientation of historical studies

historicism], Athens: Society for the Study of Modern Hellenism, 1982, pp. 22-23; Vangelis Karamanolakis, *Η συγκρότηση της ιστορικής επιστήμης και η διδασκαλία της Ιστορίας στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών (1837-1932)* [The formation of historical science and the teaching of history at the University of Athens (1837-1932)], Athens: General Secretariat for Youth, 2006, pp. 61-64, 72; Tonia Kiousopoulou, “Η μελέτη του Βυζαντίου στη νεότερη Ελλάδα” [The study of Byzantium in modern Greece], *Αρχαιολογία & Τέχνες* 88 (2003), pp. 19-21; Pentazou, “Ο Θεόδωρος Μανούσης”, pp. 69-106.

⁷⁹ This could be said as well for Giorgios Kozakis-Typaldos, *Φιλοσοφικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τῆς προόδου καὶ τῆς πτώσεως τῆς παλαιᾶς Ἑλλάδος* [Philosophical essay concerning the progress and decline of Ancient Greece], Athens 1839, and Markos Renieris, *Δοκίμιον φιλοσοφίας τῆς Ἱστορίας* [Essay on the philosophy of history], Athens 1841. The debate over Fallmerayer’s ideas in German letters (Zinkeisen and Kopitar leading the opposition) was productive in furnishing counter-arguments to Greek intellectuals. These placed emphasis on the continuity of language and religion, facts which demonstrated that the native population had survived the incursions. The Byzantine Empire was given a minor role in this explanation, but not in Fallmerayer’s retort, which included the notable assertion that the Slavs had been violently Hellenized by Byzantine rulers; Veloudis, *Ο Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer*, p. 39.

⁸⁰ Manousis articulated this position in 1845 when announcing the Greek translation of the new (1828) German edition of the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*; Karamanolakis, *Η συγκρότηση της ιστορικής επιστήμης*, p. 131. See also Pentazou, “Ο Θεόδωρος Μανούσης”, p. 92, and Matthaiou, “Establishing the Discipline of Classical Philology,” pp. 132, 142. These opinions were shared by other influential figures, such as Iakovos Rizos-Neroulos; Argyropoulos, *Les intellectuels grecs*, pp. 22-28.

at the University of Athens was also subject to a sharp rebuke at mid-century from forces within Greek society. This protest centered upon the figure of Theodoros Manousis, who suffered a revolt in 1848 from theology students objecting to his historical outlook and the general character of the program of studies.⁸¹ Paparrigopoulos experienced a taste of this Orthodox-inflected dissent himself on the occasion of the 1845 publication of his translation of Levi-Alvarès' *Nouveaux éléments d'histoire générale* (1842), the anti-Byzantine tone of the work eliciting a critical reaction from another member of the academic establishment, Grigorios Papadopoulos, who claimed that a true history of the "Eastern Orthodox Empire did not exist" and that local scholars should be treating the empire in a manner different from "the Westerners".⁸² However, if Papadopoulos rejected the way in which Greek history was portrayed in Europe, he nevertheless called upon his peers to emulate the example of English, French and German writers and direct their historical research toward the recovery of the middle parts of their own nation's history.⁸³

The remarks of Papadopoulos (and Paparrigopoulos' response) indicate, in summary, the presence of internal challenges to the orientation of Greek historical studies, but also considerable external prompting for an appreciation

⁸¹ This conflict became the occasion for a spirited press war on the future of Greek culture. Pentazou, "Ο Θεόδωρος Μανούσης", pp. 79-94.

⁸² C. Th. Dimaras, *Κωνσταντίνος Παπαρρηγόπουλος. Η εποχή του – Η ζωή του – Το έργο του* [Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos: His era – his life – his work], Athens 1986, p. 124. Papadopoulos was a historian at the Athens Gymnasium who refused to use the text in his courses; Karamanolakis, *Η συγκρότηση της ιστορικής επιστήμης*, pp. 90-93. For additional insights concerning the general cultural understanding of Byzantium and its representation in evocations of Greek identity in the first decades of the Kingdom of Greece, see again Hatzopoulos, "Receiving Byzantium".

⁸³ Karamanolakis, *Η συγκρότηση της ιστορικής επιστήμης*, p. 93. In his defense, Paparrigopoulos had taken care to point out that the Hellenic Middle Ages were the subject of great interest by Europeans and implored his countrymen both to study these works and produce local versions of the same; Koubourlis, *Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές*, p. 527. He continued in the meantime to avail himself of efforts made in this vein by foreign authors, as indicated in a piece from 1850 which concluded with an inventory of works recently published on Greece, and especially those of a synthetic nature which sought to tell its complete history from antiquity to the present; Dimaras, *Κωνσταντίνος Παπαρρηγόπουλος*, p. 165. Paparrigopoulos cites the work of Buchon, Finlay, Zinkeisen and Emerson, who was "the first to write a complete history of the Neohellenic nation". Paparrigopoulos refers here to J. Emerson Tennent, *The History of Modern Greece, from its Conquest by the Romans B.C. 146, to the Present Time* (1830).

of “medieval Hellenism” and a shift of production in that direction. A further examination of contemporary European practice reveals additional insights of great significance in this connection, including a marked increase in works sited on the history of the Byzantine Empire and, perhaps even more importantly, its Hellenicity. This orientation toward the Middle Ages is often accredited to the advent of Romantic thought and culture, one of whose byproducts was the idea, stressed in works by Jules Michelet and François Guizot, that the manners of modern European nations should be traced to the medieval period.⁸⁴ This medieval turn was accompanied by a rising interest in Byzantine studies, as reflected in one instance by the 1828 German republication of the *Byzantis*. Although the connection between these two developments is open to debate, to judge at least from statements found in the works of authors such as Jean Buchon and Émile Eggers, a knowledge of Byzantine history was deemed necessary for a fuller understanding of medieval European history and its constituting nations.⁸⁵

In the case of the depiction of Byzantium in these accounts, the sources also reveal a pronounced tendency toward its representation as the “Greek Empire”.

⁸⁴ For medieval interests of European historians in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, see Georg Iggers, “The Intellectual Foundations of Nineteenth-century ‘Scientific’ History: The German Model”, in D. Woolf, A. Feldherr and G. Hardy (eds), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, Volume IV: 1800-1945, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 46-55. For Greek reception of Romantic ideals see, C. Th. Dimaras, *Ελληνικός Ρομαντισμός* [Greek Romanticism], Athens: Ermis, 1994.

⁸⁵ In addition to editing a chronicle of the Morea, *Recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies. Le livre de la conquête de la principauté de la Morée, publié pour la première fois d’après un manuscrit de la bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne à Bruxelles, avec notes et éclaircissements* (1845), Buchon was the author of *La Grèce continentale et la Morée* (1843) and *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies* (1843). For Buchon’s view of the “national” importance of this material, see his earlier *Recherches et matériaux pour servir à une histoire de la domination française aux XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles, dans les provinces démembrées de l’Empire grec à la suite de la quatrième croisade* (Paris 1840). As he once wrote of his travels in connection with these works: “My journey to Greece had a goal entirely historic and entirely national.”; cited in Kostis Kourelis, “Early Travelers in Greece and the Invention of Medieval Architectural History”, in D. Lasansky and B. McLaren (eds), *Architecture and Tourism: Perception, Performance and Place*, London: Bloomsbury, 2004, p. 46. German representatives of this trend include Strosser, Hopf and Tafel. Note also works of Émile Eggers: *Essai sur l’histoire de la critique chez les Grecs* (1849); *Essai de chronographie byzantine* (1855); and *L’hellenisme en France* (1869). See in the last work the author’s thoughts regarding the importance of Greek studies for an understanding of the development of French culture, as well as a spirited defense of the “Greek Empire” and the role of Byzantine scholars in the Renaissance; Eggers, *L’hellenisme en France*, Paris 1869, pp. 90-108.

This manner of describing Byzantium, which, as indicated in the work of Gibbon, Montesquieu and others, was not new, became nevertheless a familiar trope and one well marked by Greek intellectuals.⁸⁶ As Paparrigopoulos wrote in a criticism of Zambelios' 1852 *Ἀσματα δημοτικά* [Folk songs]: "All of the modern historians (those at least who had not been *Fallmerayerized*)...name the Byzantine state, a Hellenic state, and all of its kings, Hellenes or *Graikous*, however you please, kings."⁸⁷ In addition to frequent renderings of its Hellenicity, the reassessment of the "Greek Empire" found in European letters during this time also had an apologetic quality, with stress laid on the great service the Byzantines had rendered to humanity by preserving the classical heritage.⁸⁸

These streams of thought converged in the works of George Finlay, notably his multi-volume history of the Greek nation from the Roman conquest to the present.⁸⁹ The first iteration of this work (1844) included, for example, a section on "The Roman Empire Gradually Changed into the Greek, or Byzantine", an idea that was carried farther in the second edition (1857).⁹⁰ "Under the Romans,"

⁸⁶ Konstantinos Zakythinos, "Le monde de Byzance dans la pensée historique de l'Europe à partir du XVII^e siècle," in *Byzance. État, société, économie*, London: Variorum, 1973, pp. 46-47. As Brunet de Presle wrote, "malgré les efforts des empereurs de Constantinople pour conserver la langue et les traditions romaines, l'empire d'Orient devint un Empire grec, sauf le nom."; *Grèce depuis la conquête romaine jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris 1860, p. 2. Similar thoughts are found in Schlosser, who greatly influenced Paparrigopoulos; Koubourlis, *Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές*, p. 21. Alfred Rambaud's *L'Empire grec au dixième siècle*, Paris 1870, was especially representative of this trend. For Rambaud, the history of the Middle Ages in Europe could not be told without close study of Byzantine thought, customs and law. The more Europeans knew about Byzantium, he intimated, the more they knew about themselves. He further celebrated the fact that "Aussi, après une assez longue interruption de ces études sur le monde gréco-oriental, inexplicable dans un pays qui a toujours tenu à honneur de présider au développement des destinées de l'Orient, ont-elles commencé à reflourir chez nous."; *ibid.*, p. xiii. Note Konstantinos Sathas' praise for the role of Rambaud in the restoration of Byzantium as *l'Empire grec* in his *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge*, 9 vols, Paris 1880-1890, Vol. I, p. v.

⁸⁷ Quoted in Koubourlis, *Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές*, p. 532.

⁸⁸ See especially A.-F. Villemain, *Lascaris, ou les Grecs au X^e siècle*, Paris 1825. "Sans Byzance, quelle lacune dans la civilisation humaine!" declared Rambaud, whose praise of Byzantium could be carried to extreme; Rambaud, *L'Empire grec*, pp. viii-xiii. See also Amédée Thierry's apologia in *Derniers temps de l'empire d'occident*, Paris 1876.

⁸⁹ Finlay was also viewed in this manner by English historians. Note, for example, Frederic Harrison, *Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages*, London 1900, in which the author also waxed upon the "indispensable service" performed by the "Greek empire" to the cause of humanity and the "libel" of previous works such as those by Le Beau ("which nobody now reads"); *ibid.*, pp. 6-10, 36, 46.

⁹⁰ George Finlay, *Greece under the Romans*, London 1844, ²1857, pp. 440-444.

wrote Finlay in the later work, “and subsequently under the Othomans, the Greeks formed only an insignificant portion of a vast empire [...] Consequently, neither the general history of the Roman nor of the Othoman empire forms a portion of Greek history.”⁹¹ However, “under the Byzantine emperors,” he continued “the case was different; the Greeks became then identified with the imperial administration [...] During this period, the history of the Greeks is closely interwoven with the annals of the Imperial government, so that the history of the Byzantine Empire forms a portion of the history of the Greek nation.”⁹²

Previous historians such as Dimaras, Veloudis and Koubourlis have ably traced the influence of Finlay and other authors on Paparrigopoulos’ thought and his aim to produce the definitive Greek version of the national histories composed abroad. The *Ιστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους* (1860-1874) materializes from this perspective in the form of a synthesis, with the uninterrupted national narrative of James Emerson and Finlay raised upon a philosophical edifice of diverse contemporary provenance. Guizot’s works on France were particularly influential in this regard as “prototypes”, and the latter’s words recalling the benefits to be gained by a people who “knew their own history” were brandished on the title page of Paparrigopoulos’ own volumes.⁹³ Also found in Guizot was a providential reading of the past, all of whose parts conformed to a larger plan, if the ultimate end remained in question.⁹⁴ Guizot thus posed the template for an integral national history of immense sweep, but also a concept of becoming characteristic of the age in which he was writing.⁹⁵

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. xi-xiii. Finlay traced this change, not unlike Alexandridis, to the eighth century.

⁹³ See Dimaras, *Κωνσταντῖνος Παπαρρηγόπουλος*, pp. 28-29.

⁹⁴ François Guizot, *The History of Civilization in Europe*, transl. W. Hazlitt, London: Penguin 1997, pp. 16, 20-21. Other works included *Histoire de la civilisation en France* (1829-1832). Paparrigopoulos’ attachment to Providence is visible in his first rebuttal of Fallmerayer; Paparrigopoulos, *Περὶ τῆς ἐποικίσεως σλαβικῶν τινῶν φυλῶν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον* [On the settlement of Slavic races in the Peloponnese], Athens 1843, p. i. Resuming his denunciation in 1850, he conceded that the ends of history may not be knowable, but surely the vintage of the Hellenic name and nation furnished proof that both were meant to stand for eternity; Dimaras, *Κωνσταντῖνος Παπαρρηγόπουλος*, p. 157.

⁹⁵ A subjective element may be visible in the preference shown by Greek historians for works that gave a leading role to Providence, which Koubourlis attributes, plausibly, to the influence of Orthodox tradition; Koubourlis, *La formation de l’histoire nationale grecque*, p. 139. These dispositions may explain the relative absence of references to figures such as Ranke. Note, for example, Ranke’s milder attachment to Providence and his general distaste for contemporary philosophies of history, in “On the Epochs of Modern History”, in Rolf Saltzer (ed.), *German Essays on History*, New York: Continuum, 1991, pp. 82-87.

Beneath the clamor marking each stage in the life of the Greek nation, indeed all history, as Paparrigopoulos similarly showed in his *Ιστορία*, was a guiding force directing this diffuse traffic in events and ideas toward its appointed end. These principles were espoused by a number of other contemporary figures, notably Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen and Johann Gustav Droysen, whose influence upon Paparrigopoulos and Zambelios was also considerable.⁹⁶

The *Ιστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους* serves, therefore, as a valuable exhibit of the diverse interactions described by the advocates of “crossed” history and the “Europeanization” of thought throughout the continent over the modern era; with Western ideas (if not uncritically received) informing the terms of cultural debate in South-East Europe as they did contemporaneously elsewhere.⁹⁷ Zinkeisen and Droysen served in this sense as two points of transmission into Greek letters of ideas then popular in the German-speaking world, and in particular those of Hegel, who had earlier written of history as “the exhibition of the Spirit in the process of working out the knowledge of that which it is potentially”, or again, just “as the germ bears in itself the whole nature of the tree [...] so do the first traces of Spirit virtually contain the whole of that History”.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ A reading of Zambelios’ *Ἀσµατὰ δημοτικά*, with the long study of “medieval Hellenism” at its fore, offers a striking view of commonalities with Paparrigopoulos’ history, although Byzantium re-emerged more explicitly in the latter work as a genuine (and heroic) Hellenic construct – it having fulfilled its mission of uniting the Greek nation and instilling a sense of national identity strong enough to survive 400 years of servitude. For the influence of Zinkeisen on Zambelios’ periodization of Greek history, see Koubourlis, *La formation de l’histoire nationale greque*, p. 130.

⁹⁷ Lawrence Cole and Paul Ther, “Introduction: Current Challenges of Writing European History”, *European History Quarterly* 40 (2010), pp. 581-592.

⁹⁸ G. W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, transl. J. Sibree, New York: Dover, 1956, pp. 17-18. As for Droysen, Paparrigopoulos repeatedly expressed his admiration for his volumes on Alexander the Great (*Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen* [1833]) and Hellenism (*Geschichte des Hellenismus* [1836-1843]); writings in which Droysen depicted the historian’s task as directed, like Guizot, toward explaining “the workings of providence in the historical world”. For the relationship between Droysen and Hegel, see Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 294, 318. As for Hellenism, this term (absent from Enlightenment-era Greek letters, although an early incidence is found in Koumas) was reintroduced by Droysen “to designate the civilization of the Greek-speaking world after Alexander”; Robert Southard, *Droysen and the Prussian School of History*, Louisville: University of Kentucky Press, 1994, p. 24. In doing so, Droysen altered the New Testament usage of the term; A. D. Momigliano, *Studies on Modern Scholarship*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, pp. 148-150; Paul Cartledge, Peter Garnsey and Erich Gruen (eds), *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History and Historiography*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, p. 2. Droysen’s providential perspective on Alexander and Hellenism was extended by Paparrigopoulos into succeeding periods, and he even

These concepts were refracted through various intermediaries and subjected to diverse forms of selection and modification, as exemplified in the developing tropes and claims of nationhood.⁹⁹ Here one finds a collection of analogies that drew heavily upon the Idealist canon, but affected in the process a transposition of ends from the world historical to the national, or attempted, in other guises, to fit the rise of nations into a greater, universally beneficent design.¹⁰⁰ By the time of the publication of Paparrigopoulos' works, the idea that nations were necessary elements of the human habitat and that each had a right to an independent and unfettered existence had indeed become the subject of ever-more grandiose theories, each situating the awakening of various peoples into a larger story of humanity's material and moral progress. Cast in the intellectual fashions of the day, the cause of one nation or another was not simply a matter of particular interest, but part of the greater "becoming" and glorification of creation; all were intended to give testimony, like nature, to the infinite productive capacity of God. "Where it is allowed to develop on its own," wrote, for example, the very Hegelian-sounding Slovak patriot L'udovít Štúr in 1846, "there will always be found in a nation a flowering and unfolding spiritual life which resembles a budding and healthy tree [...] our goal is to realize the capability hidden in its roots."¹⁰¹

presents his work as the fulfillment of Droysen's larger aim; Dimaras, *Παπαρρηγόπουλος: Προλεγόμενα*, pp. 19 (note), 119. For Zambelios' thoughts on Alexander and his "mission", see *Ἔσματα δημοτικά*, pp. 33-44.

⁹⁹ Greek scholars might be expected to depart, for example, from Hegel's original scheme in which "world-historical peoples" were given only one act to play in the great drama. Thus, the Spirit of History, having partly "realized itself" through the Ancient Greeks continued on its course; they being left to pass from youth and prosperity to a sterile "third period" of life. Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, p. 224. One Greek intellectual's response recalls a mode of apologia witnessed throughout: "Il s'agit d'une certaine manière d'une riposte aux thèses de Hegel, riposte qui utilise ses propres idées et sa méthode."; Argyropoulos, *Les intellectuels grecs*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁰ Each nation gave testimony, according to Mazzini, of the "Heavenly Law of Infinite Progress for All". "All sovereignty," he professed, "is in God, in the moral Law, in the Providential Design – which rules the world [...] in the Aim we have to reach, in the Mission we have to fulfill."; Giuseppe Mazzini, *The Duties of Man*, London 1862, p. 144. In the words of Droysen: "Only by collectively regarding history as the development of humanity can individual formations – nations, cultures, states, individuals – acquire their true significance."; Southard, *Droysen*, pp. 37-38.

¹⁰¹ L'udovít Štúr, "The Slovak Dialect, or the Necessity of Writing in this Dialect", in Trencsényi and Kopeček (eds), *Discourses*, p. 152. Štúr was the leading voice for a generation of Slovak intellectuals. See similar ideas and imagery in Zambelios, *Ἔσματα δημοτικά*, pp. 32-33.

If the work of Paparrigopoulos and especially his rehabilitation of the Byzantine Empire have thus often been portrayed as a reflexive response to the challenges of historical continuity thrown down by Fallmerayer or the Great Idea, the logic of which was immediately recognizable to all, his great *Ιστορία* recapitulated many important ideas and certainly the very model of an integral Greek national history, complete with a Hellenized Byzantium, already in circulation at the time of its writing. These contingencies do not call into question the diverse political motivations that may have animated Paparrigopoulos' work.¹⁰² The rehabilitation and Hellenization of the Byzantine Empire were historiographical initiatives that may have served these ends, but they were not, it is important to note, the exclusive means for doing so. Paparrigopoulos' attitudes toward Fallmerayer and the Great Idea were in fact shared by other Greek scholars who nevertheless *did not* feel compelled to adopt his view of Byzantium or its Hellenicity. It was not, after all, necessary to Hellenize the Ottoman Empire in order to prove the historical continuity of the Greek nation during that epoch. Also, if allusion to a Greek Empire might promote the nation's bid for Balkan stewardship, the gain in political capital, the classicists might contend, should be measured against the moral degradation that would certainly follow from any diminution of pedagogical emphasis on the far superior model and corpus of Greek antiquity.¹⁰³

In noting, finally, Paparrigopoulos' engagement with the larger world of thought described above, it is important to recall that these influences did not detract from what he perceived to be the writing of a genuine Hellenic history. As he reflected with some satisfaction in a lecture of 1878, the authors of his generation should indeed be credited with having done much to alter a situation in which "the fortunes of our past" had long remained the work of "foreign scholarship and according to its discretion taught".¹⁰⁴ This same

¹⁰² See, for example, Ioannis Koubourlis, "Όταν οι ιστορικοί μιλούν για τον εαυτό τους. Ο ρόλος του εθνικού ιστορικού στους πρωτοπόρους της ελληνικής εθνικής σχολής" [When historians talk about themselves: The role of the national historian for the pioneers of the Greek national school], in Kitromilides and Sklavenitis (eds), *Ιστοριογραφία της νεότερης και σύγχρονης Ελλάδας*, Vol. I, pp. 84-95.

¹⁰³ For others such as Asopios, the inclusion of Byzantium in the national historical narrative was tantamount to the distasteful precedent of situating Hellenism in the "East"; Matthaiou, "Establishing the Discipline of Classical Philology", p. 132; Argyropoulos, *Les intellectuels grecs*, p. 22-28. The conflict over history was further stimulated and perhaps prolonged by the language debate, the adherents of the purist and demotic camps embracing historical visions of Hellenism that reinforced their positions; Effi Gazi, *Scientific National History*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000, p. 72.

¹⁰⁴ Dimaras, *Παπαρρηγόπουλος: Προλεγόμενα*, p. 38; Zambelios, *Άσματα δημοτικά*, p. 7.

sentiment was expressed in an article of 1850 in which he had reflected on Fallmerayer and the larger challenges at hand.¹⁰⁵ By writing their own histories, he contended, Greek authors were not only correcting the picture handed down to them by foreigners, they were demonstrating the nation's consciousness of itself; its passage from inert object to fully emancipated, autonomous subject.¹⁰⁶ "They tell us that we are not a nation," he declared to his readers – very well, "let's show them with history in our hand, that for all time we have existed as a nation, strong, vital, unbowed [...] and that we know very well who we are, where we came from and where we are going."¹⁰⁷

Yet, the historiographical landscape was more of a contested terrain than Paparrigoulos' words imply. The place of Byzantium in Greek history continued in fact to be disputed by classically minded scholars, whose glorification of antiquity was amply bolstered by the enduring strength of Ancient Greek studies in European, and especially German, academies, where figures such as August Böckh, holder of a chair at the University of Berlin for 56 years, still held sway. In speaking of "this cohort of classicists" who retained positions of influence "into the 1860s" and exerted "an undeniable drag on innovation", Marchand could well have been describing their effect, through their students, upon Greek historiography.¹⁰⁸ The earlier aversion toward Byzantium expressed by Manousis was perpetuated in this case by a succeeding generation of "late Enlightenment thinkers", who, declaring themselves devotees of classical philology and their teacher Böckh, remained a force into the 1870s and who "significantly slowed", in the words of Karamanolakis, the incorporation of Byzantium into the history of the Greek nation.¹⁰⁹ As Kiousopoulou observed, Byzantine history was still

¹⁰⁵ This piece, republished in French in *Le Spectateur de l'Orient* in 1855, sought to represent "L'opinion grecque sur le système de Fallmerayer"; Dimaras, *Κωνσταντίνος Παπαρρηγόπουλος*, pp. 144-145.

¹⁰⁶ Could, in fact, the Greeks remain "indifferent spectators" to the distortion of their history, "without being justifiably scorned as lacking honor or resembling those barbarous nations for whom others undertake to write their history because they are unable to fulfill this holiest of obligations themselves?"; *ibid.*, p. 151. As Turda shows, this idea is another "axiom" of contemporary historiographical undertakings; Marius Turda, "Historical Writing in the Balkans", in Woolf, Feldherr and Hardy (eds), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, p. 349.

¹⁰⁷ Dimaras, *Κωνσταντίνος Παπαρρηγόπουλος*, p. 151.

¹⁰⁸ Susan Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003, p. 50. See also Georg Iggers, *The German Conception of History*, Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2012.

¹⁰⁹ Karamanolakis, *Η συγκρότηση της ιστορικής επιστήμης*, p. 133. The chief protagonists (Asopios, Koumanoudis, Kastorxis) retained leading roles until 1870. See again Matthaïou,

taught in only a passing fashion at the University of Athens at the end of the nineteenth century, and it is in fact significant that she begins her account of the establishment of a special Byzantine history chair in Athens (1924) with a recapitulation of the founding of earlier professorships and journals of Byzantine studies at European universities, especially Munich and the Sorbonne, where positions of this kind were first established.¹¹⁰

Conclusion

Although the writings of Greek Enlightenment scholars are not lacking in references to Byzantium and even representations of its Hellenicity, it is not argued here that their endeavors greatly influenced Paparrigopoulos and his peers, the works of whom drew inspiration from later developments in a historical episteme that continued to flourish and evolve. While Paparrigopoulos did occasionally reflect back on or consult older works, such as those written by Rollin, Gibbons or Goldsmith, these were, significantly, not of native origin. He in fact acknowledged little influence on the part of the *logioi* on his work. If familiar with these earlier authors and texts, his own conceptualization of the past represented very much a reconfiguration of the same, according to ideas and innovations of recent vintage.

Still, a diachronic survey of Greek thought does reveal considerable thematic convergences that are not without significance for an understanding of Modern Greek intellectual history and the general development of historical craft. Greek Enlightenment works display, for example, the same elevated importance of historical enquiry found elsewhere and shared a conceptual repertoire, replete with the notion of stages, *mœurs* and Providence, that continued into

“Establishing the Discipline of Classical Philology”, pp. 134-135; Koulouri, *Ιστορία και Γεωγραφία*, p. 40.

¹¹⁰ These chairs were established in 1892 and 1899, respectively; Tonia Kioussopoulou, “Η πρώτη έδρα Βυζαντινής Ιστορίας στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών” [The first chair of Byzantine history at the University of Athens], *Μνήμων* 15 (1993), pp. 257-258, 263, 269; Karamanolakis, *Η συγκρότηση της ιστορικής επιστήμης*, pp. 219-224. For the activities of the German scholars Krumacher and Schlumberger, see the contributions of Peter Funke, Apostolos Karpozilos, Andreas Schminck and Diether Roderich Reinsch in Evangelos Chryssos (ed.), *Ένας κόσμος γεννιέται. Η εικόνα του ελληνικού πολιτισμού στη γερμανική επιστήμη κατά τον 19ο αι.* [A world is born: The picture of Greek civilization in German thought during the nineteenth century], Athens: Akritas, 1996. See also Olga Gkratziou on the formation of the Christian Archaeological Society in Greece and its German forerunners: “Από την ιστορία του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου. Τα πρώτα χρόνια” [History of the Byzantine Museum: The first years], *Μνήμων* 11 (1987), pp. 54-55.

the future. The rather open way in which Enlightenment scholars spoke of the need for a national historiography indicates too the considerable space for cultural production available to Greek authors dwelling both within the Ottoman Empire and in the diaspora. One reason in fact why the historical works of these earlier times express some of the nation-building spirit of post-independence years is that, in the cultural sphere, Greeks did imagine and act like an independent nation and sought a national historiography (according to their diverse tastes) to match – these native renderings of history serving as a means to rebuke the slanders of foreigners or gain leverage for one's position in internal debates over matters of language and identity.

The preceding pages reveal the remarkable degree of prompting that Greek historical studies obtained from developments abroad. Nevertheless, these influences did not result in an uncontested uniformity of historiographical vision, partly for the fact that the promptings themselves were diverse in nature. If, for example, the professionalization of historical practice in the new kingdom wrought (at least from the standpoint of academic efforts) a consolidation of outlook trained on antiquity, this unity was short-lived. Alongside the still robust classical leanings favored by the Bavarian court, there arose in the European episteme an enthusiasm for works sited on the medieval foundations of modern civilization and national cultures; a historiographical orientation and undertaking into which the study of the "Greek Empire" was duly inducted. These later developments did not go unmarked in Greece and found advocates among various parties in the generational and ideological debates of the day.

The reactive nature of Greek historical craft is a theme that recurs often in this article, and, like other examples cited above, the Greek participation in the affairs of this historiographical age invariably took an apologetic form. The remarks of authors as diverse in time and place as the first translators of the *Byzantis*, Katartzis, Korais and Paparrigopoulos express in this sense a consistent aim to exert native control over the forces of historical representation. This bid had a performative value, or so their words suggest, in demonstrating the nation's consciousness of itself – this being vaguely equated, in turn, with a proof of its very existence and qualification for inclusion in the ranks of civilization. These apologies were further stimulated, arguably, by the mixed messages emanating from Europe. Partisans of a particular view of the past might indeed find both encouragement and opposition for their positions in works circulating abroad. This was especially true in the case of Byzantium, which, if redeemed by some contemporary luminaries, still endured the vilification of older ones such as Montesquieu and Voltaire, whose works

and sentiments continued to be inherited from one generation to the next. This contradiction may account for some of the enervated prose in Vikelas' stormy defense of the empire's civilization-saving role and his corresponding condemnation of a modern world that continued to show either its ignorance or ingratitude through "false representations" of its record. These misdeeds included a tradition of characterizing the empire – abnormally – on the basis of the darker moments of its history. Yet, would anyone dare to judge the French, he demanded, much like an earlier Korais, "on the basis of the St Bartholomew Day Massacre, or the evils of the Great Terror, or the Paris Commune?"¹¹¹

These diverse readings of the past reveal in summary a historiographical culture in which Western opinion often appears as a "constituting other" of immense authority, and one towards which Greek intellectuals effected a conflicted attitude of deference and defiance. "Let's show them," Paparrigopoulos declared in the course of the Fallmerayer debate, "with history in our hands, that we are a nation." However, to "show them" was again to normalize Greek history according to the particular corpus of ideas towards which their eyes were trained. If, like many before him, Paparrigopoulos sought to wrest control of the nation's history from foreign writers, it was yet from this same quarter that he obtained the ideas necessary to accomplish his task.¹¹² This is not to strip such endeavors of all originality or interest. For if Greek and other contemporary intelligentsia encountered within European letters compelling and at times destabilizing threats to their sense of identity, pride or heritage, it was through a creative manipulation of the same that they found the means to restore the equilibrium and reassert their claims to agency and relevance.

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¹¹¹ Vikelas, *Περὶ Βυζαντινῶν*, pp. 15, 20.

¹¹² Missing from the European nationalisms of the nineteenth century described above was the struggle (characteristic of those waged later by anti-colonial intelligentsia) to break completely free of Western epistemological conventions. See, for example, L. B. Williams, "Overcoming the 'Contagion of Mimicry': The Cosmopolitan Nationalism and Modernist History of Rabindranath Tagore and W. B. Yeats", *The American Historical Review* 112 (2007), pp. 69-100. But for Vikelas, the episteme was not inherently flawed – it only needed a Hellene at the controls; Vikelas, *Περὶ Βυζαντινῶν*, p. 123.

