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Section of Neohellenic Research /
Institute of Historical Research
National Hellenic Research Foundation
Vas. Constantinou 48, Athens 116 35
Greece
tel. (+30) 210 72 73 554
fax (+30) 210 72 46 212
e-mail: kne@eie.gr
historical_review@eie.gr

Subscription information:
bookstore@eie.gr

Section de Recherches Néohelléniques /
Institut de Recherches Historiques
Fondation Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique
48, av Vas. Constantinou, Athènes 116 35
Grèce
tél. (+30) 210 72 73 554
fax (+30) 210- 72 46 212
e-mail: kne@eie.gr
historical_review@eie.gr

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"PITTURA ROMEICA" IN ITALY: ARTISTIC TRANSFERS ACROSS THE ADRIATIC SEA (18th – 19th Centuries)*

Eugenia Drakopoulou

ABSTRACT: The complex historical reality of the Adriatic region, an area located even today on the borderline between East and West, is reflected in the works of religious painting and in the painters' geographical movements. The art of Orthodox regions was mainly influenced by Venice, but also by the rest of Italy, and, as a result, a unique art emerged in the Ionian Islands, which remained under Venetian control until the end of the eighteenth century. In the course of the eighteenth century, political and economic conditions contributed to the growth of the Orthodox communities in Italy. Their members were interested in the art of the country where they lived and prospered, but they simultaneously wished to preserve the "pittura romeica" in the decorations of churches and in the icons used for their personal worship. From Naples to the cosmopolitan Trieste, Orthodox painters, coming mainly from the Ionian Islands, produced artworks which were adapted to the new surroundings, thereby making the Adriatic region once again a privileged area for cultural exchanges.

The Palazzo Loredan, the residence of the Saxon general of the Venetian mercenary army Matthias von Schulenburg, who liberated Corfu during the siege of the Ottomans in 1716 and who was also a patron of the arts,[1] is located in Venice, on the Grand Canal, the most beautiful "street" in the world. In his close circle there was a young Greek painter, Nikolaos Doxaras, who came originally from the Peloponnese and joined the Venetian mercenary army under Schulenburg's orders. Doxaras was responsible for purchasing works of art and also for the set-up of Schulenburg's art gallery, which included works by Caravaggio, Correggio, Giorgione and Giulio Romano, among others. For a decade or so (1728-1738), Doxaras lived in Venice, painted *vedute* of Corfu and portraits of members of the general's

* This study emerged in response to an invitation from the Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Atene to present a paper to the Cultural Events programme organized in December 2013 under the title "Greek Painters in Italy – Italian Painters in Greece (16th-19th century)".

[1] Alice Binion, *La Galleria scomparsa del marescialo von der Schulenburg. Un mecenate nella Venezia del Settecento*, Milan 1990; H. Krellig, *Feldmarschall und Kunstsamler Matthias von der Schulenburg (1661-1747). Ein unbekannter Bestand von Kunstwerken aus seiner Sammlung im Besitz der Grafen von der Schulenburg-Wolfsburg*, Wolfsburg 2011.

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environment, among other works, and was also in charge of the general's art collection. When he returned to Greece, he introduced to the Ionian Islands the Italian art of the Baroque.[2]

Nikolaos Doxaras is only one among a large number of known artists who, originating from Italy, ventured into the arts of the Greek region in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[3] The cultural exchanges at the time took place in the area located, from the time of the foundation of the city of Adria in the delta of the Po River until today, on the borderline of East and West. In the gulf of the Adriatic Sea, the Straits of Otranto leave a wide passage, so that the communication with the Ionian Sea is unproblematic. Also, the destiny of the Ionian Sea is closely linked to that of the Adriatic Sea. Looking to the south and towards Corfu, there is an island which for centuries played the role of the guard of the Adriatic Sea. Although it has been said that the history of the Adriatic Sea developed from north to south, something which is, of course, true, especially for Venice, there are nonetheless those who came from the south, the Mediterranean Sea, a key location of which was Corfu, the island about which the Venetian Senate declared in 1500 that it was the "heart" of the whole Venetian state "as far as shipping is concerned but in all other respects too".[4]

Thus, a long tradition of cultural exchanges between the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic Sea, whereby Venice and Corfu had the dominant roles (fig. 1),[5]

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[2] Binion, *La Galleria scomparsa*, pp. 36, 136-161; M. Chatzidakis, *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση (1450-1830)* [Greek painters after the Fall (1450-1830)], Vol. I, Athens 1987, pp. 278-279; Eugenia Drakopoulou, *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση (1450-1830)* [Greek painters after the Fall (1450-1830)], Vol. III, Athens 2010, pp. 270-272.

[3] S. Bettini, *Il pittore Panagioti Doxarà fondatore della pittura greca moderna*, Venice 1942; Chatzidakis, *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση*, Vol. I, pp. 125-129; Chiara Augliera, "Panagiotis Doxarás, artista di frontiera nel Settecento eptanesio tra 'la divota maniera greca' e le 'ricche minere' veneziane", *Studi Veneziani* XLIV (2002), pp. 91-128; A. Charalampidis, "Η τέχνη στα Επτάνησα. Δημιουργοί και μελετητές" [Art in the Ionian Islands: Painters and scholars], in E. D. Mathiopoulos and N. Chatzinikolaou (eds), *Η Ιστορία της Τέχνης στην Ελλάδα* [Art History in Greece], Heraklion 2003, pp. 9-50.

[4] P. Cabanes *et al.*, *Histoire de l'Adriatique*, Paris 2001, p. 14. For the cultural exchanges across the Adriatic Sea, see E. Concina, Giordana Trovabene and Michela Agazzi (eds), *Hadriatica. Attorno a Venezia e al Medioevo tra arti, storia e storiagrafia. Scritti in onore di Wladimiro Dorigo*, Padua 2002.

[5] See S. T. Chondrogiannis, *The Antivouniotissa Museum, Corfu*, Thessaloniki 2010; P. Ioannou, "Arte Veneta nelle Isole Ionie. Documenti e congetture", in Chryssa Maltezou, Angeliki Tzavara and Despina Vlassi (eds), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia. Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII-XVIII sec.)*, Atti di Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Venice 2009, pp. 765-771.

Fig. 1. *The Holy Trinity*, eighteenth century, The Antivouniotissa Museum, Corfu.

a Greek-Italian culture and an artistic tradition of Orthodox painters that was already shaped in the Ionian Islands would travel, in reverse motion, from the Ionian Sea to Italy in order to coexist there with Italian painters in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During that period, new horizons opened up in Italian cities for the residents of the Ionian Islands. While France, England and Austria were rearranging the European territory, Venice, which had lost its maritime sovereignty (*dominium maris*) in the Adriatic Sea since the seventeenth century, was involved in an endless and heroic battle against the Ottoman Empire until the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1716, the Ottomans were preparing to invade Corfu, after the Venetians had lost the entire Peloponnese in 1715. At that time, a new alliance was made between Venice and the Austrians, who were afraid that the fall of Corfu might make it easier for the Ottomans to land in southern Italy.[6] The capable Saxon veteran Schulenburg, who, as mentioned earlier, contributed to the formation of the artistic personality of Nikolaos Doxaras, arrived on Corfu and pushed back the Ottomans, according to the orders of the Venetian Senate. The painter Ventouras Seremetis of Tzouane[7] came from the same island, that advanced military outpost, the ultimate passage to the Adriatic Sea; in 1748, the Greek community of Venice assigned to him the cleaning and overpainting of all the icons of the church as well as the restoration of the wall paintings of the dome of St George.[8] In that period, the once flourishing Greek community of Venice, the city that was *par excellence* the place of osmosis between Byzantine-Orthodox and Western art already from the era of the Crusades, was shrinking dramatically and received its definitive blow with the conquest of Venice by Napoleon in 1797.[9] However, the choice of a painter from Corfu in the middle of the eighteenth century cannot be regarded as random if we take into account that 40% of the members of the Greek community of Venice at the end of the same century originated in the Ionian Islands and that 80% of them came from Corfu.[10]

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[6] Cabanes *et al.*, *Histoire de l'Adriatique*, pp. 480-482.

[7] *Ventura Seremeti di Corfu*, *pittor*; see Ourania Karagianni, "Contratti per lavori di restauro nel Campo dei Greci durante la seconda metà del XVIII secolo", *Θησαυρίσματα* 30 (2000), p. 429.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 437, 449-450.

[9] F. Mavroidi, *Συμβολή στην Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Αδελφότητος της Βενετίας στον ΙΣΤ΄αιώνα* [Contribution to the history of the Greek Confraternity in Venice in the sixteenth century] Athens 1976; M. Manoussacas, "An Outline of the History of the Greek Confraternity in Venice, 1498-1953", *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 5 (1989), pp. 321-333; Chryssa Maltezou, *Η Βενετία των Ελλήνων* [The Venice of the Greeks], Athens 1999.

[10] Artemis Xanthopoulou-Kyriakou, *Η Ελληνική Κοινότητα της Βενετίας (1797-1866). Διοικητική και οικονομική οργάνωση. Εκπαιδευτική και πολιτική δραστηριότητα*

At this point a key issue arises, which is related to the artistic choices of the Orthodox Greeks who lived and prospered in the Italian cities,[11] in a purely Catholic environment, choices that were not in agreement with their degree of familiarity with Italian artistic ways, especially if they came from Crete or the Ionian Islands. It would be very interesting to study in detail the degree to which their undoubted bonds with the Orthodox liturgy and the artistic tradition, as well as their will to introduce the "pittura greca" to the interior decoration of churches, were influenced and formed by the artistic environment of Italy. Beginning with Venice and, in particular, with the Late Renaissance church of St George of the Greeks (fig. 2),[12] built by the famous Italian architect of Santa Maria della Salute, Baldassare Longhena,[13] it is important to stress that from Naples to Trieste the choices of the architectural type and the exterior decoration of the churches – as we will see later – absolutely conformed to the contemporary dominant architectural style of the Italian cities. The choices of the painters and their art became an issue only with respect to the interior decoration, where the icons were directly associated with dogma and worship.

Fig. 2. St George of the Greeks, Venice.

[The Greek Confraternity in Venice (1797-1866): Administrative and economic organization: Educational and political activity], doctoral thesis, Thessaloniki 1978, p. 14.

[11] See M. Manoussakas, "Le grandi Comunità Elleniche in Italia (1453-1821)", in Caterina Spetsieri Beschi and Enrica Lucarelli (eds), *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano. Lotte, cultura, arte*, exhibition catalogue, Rome 1986, pp. 43-48.

[12] E. Concina, *Le chiese di Venezia. L'arte e la storia*, Udine 1995, pp. 99-100; M. I. Manoussakas, *Τα κυριότερα έγγραφα (1536-1599) για την οικοδομή και τη διακόσμηση του Αγίου Γεωργίου των Ελλήνων της Βενετίας, "Εις μνήμην Παναγιώτου Α. Μιχελή"* [The significant documents (1536-1599) about the building and decoration of St George of the Greeks in Venice, "In memory of Panagiotis A. Michelis"], Athens 1971, pp. 335-355.

[13] G. Romanelli (ed.), *Venice: Art and Architecture*, Cologne 2005, pp. 406-423.

In written testimonies from the sixteenth century onwards, we come across the constant concern of the Greeks of the community of Venice about the maintenance of the "divota maniera greca"[14] by the painters who undertook the decoration of the church of St George with icons, wall paintings or mosaics, but also their ambivalent attitude. It is worth mentioning that in 1598, in a contest between two Greek "professori di pittura greca" and one Venetian painter, the famous Giacomo Palma, with respect to the mosaic with a depiction of Christ which would decorate the niche of the sanctuary, Giacomo Palma and his manneristic Christ, with the playful small cherubim, received one third of the votes of the representatives of the Greek community.[15] Also, in 1664, when the Cypriot Bernard Akris offered money for the mosaic of the Transformation asking for "una pitura in greco", the artistic result of the Italian mosaicists was merely an adaptation of a Byzantine model to the Italian painting style.[16]

The choice in 1748 of the above-mentioned Ventouras Seremetis from Corfu, someone unknown from other sources or works, was followed approximately a century later, in 1853, by that of Sebastiano Santi, an accomplished Venetian painter. Santi repainted the 16 prophets of the dome – first painted by Ioannis Kyprios in 1590 under the supervision of Tintoretto – changing the style closer to Italian painting (figs 3, 4).[17] Santi intervened also in the depictions of the sanctuary of St George, painted by the famous Cretan painter Michael Damaskenos (1579), according to the aesthetics of his era, adding also two hierarchs, St Nicholas and St Spyridon, to the original ensemble of the Three Hierarchs and St Athanasios painted by Damaskenos. In the mid-nineteenth century, there was no objection to the alteration of the initial style of the Cretan painter. Moreover, as demonstrated by the Hellenization of the name of the Italian painter in the inscription, the alteration was regarded as an act of renovating the initial painting of the sanctuary, which, as is stressed, respected the style of the original: ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΔΑΜΑΣΚΗΝΟΣ ΚΡΗΣ / ΤΗΝ ΚΟΓΧΗΝ ΕΖΩΓΡΑΦΗΣΕΝ / ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ ΑΦΟΘ' / ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΤΥΠΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΗΝ / ΑΝΕΚΑΙΝΙΣΕ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΑΝΤΗΣ / ΤΩι ΑΩΝΓ [Michael Damaskenos painted the niche of the sanctuary in 1579; the

[14] M. Chatzidakis, "Το έργο του Θωμά Μπαθά και η divota maniera greca" [The work of Thomas Bathas and "la divota maniera greca"], *Θησαυρίσματα* 14 (1977), pp. 239-250.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 248-249, pl. ΚΒ΄.

[16] A. Paliouras, "Η εικονογράφησις του τρούλλου του Αγίου Γεωργίου Βενετίας" [The iconography of the dome of St George of the Greeks in Venice] *Θησαυρίσματα* 8 (1971), pp. 166-171, pl. ΙΕ΄.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 64-66, 78-79, pls Θ΄, ΙΓ'.2.

Fig. 3. The apostles painted by Ioannis Kyprios, 1590, St George of the Greeks, Venice.

Fig. 4. The prophets repainted by Sebastiano Santi, 1853,
St George of the Greeks, Venice.

Fig. 5. Sts Peter and Paul, Naples.

niche was renovated by Sevastianos Santis in 1853 according to the model of the previous artistic style].[18]

While Hellenism was shrinking in the Venetian community, in other communities such as Naples, Lecce, Barletta, Ancona, Livorno but also in Trieste in the north, it was flourishing, taking advantage of the sea routes and the increasingly diminishing power of the Ottomans in the Mediterranean. The immigrants from the Peloponnese and the Ionian Islands and simultaneously the active merchants from Epirus were looking for painters for the renovation or redecoration of older or newly founded Orthodox churches.

In Naples, the roots of the Greek community can be traced back to the fifteenth century, in the first years after the Fall of Constantinople.[19] The small church dedicated to Sts Peter and Paul was founded in 1518 and was rebuilt in 1617. The elegant Baroque exterior façade of the basilica (fig. 5) conforms to the architectural style that was dominant in Naples at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[20] The interior wall painting decoration was assigned by

[18] See I. Veloudou, *Ἑλλήνων ὀρθοδόξων ἀποικία ἐν Βενετίᾳ. Ἱστορικὸν ὑπόμνημα* [The Greek Orthodox colony in Venice: Historical statement], Venice [2]1893, pp. 48-49; M. Chatzidakis, *Icônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs et de la collection de l'Institut*, Venice 1962, p. 69; Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "Έργα του Μιχαήλ Δαμασκηνού στο ιερό του Αγίου Γεωργίου Βενετίας. Έξοδα και αμοιβή (ανέκδοτα έγγραφα, 1577-1579)" [Works by Michael Damaskenos in the sanctuary of the church of St George in Venice: Expenses and remuneration (unpublished documents, 1577-1579)], *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 27 (2006), p. 506. See also Maria Constantoudaki, "Le icone e l'arte dei pittori greci a Venezia. Maestri in rapporto con la Confraterntà greca", in Maria Francesca Tiepolo and E. Tonetti (eds), *I Greci a Venezia. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio (Venezia 1998)*, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Venice 2002, pp. 569-641.

[19] N. Katramis, *Ἡ ἐν Νεαπόλει ἑλληνικὴ ἐκκλησία* [The Greek Church in Naples], Zakynthos 1866; A. Rizzi, "Le icone postbizantine della Chiesa Greco-ortodossa dei SS. Pietro e Paolo in Napoli", *Θησαυρίσματα* 11 (1974), pp. 136-163; Efthalia Rentetzi, *Le iconostasi delle chiese greche in Italia*, Athens 2008, pp. 181-202; P. Ioannou, *Ο ζωγράφος Βελισάριος Κορένσιος* [The painter Belisario Corenzio], doctoral thesis, University of Crete, Rethymno 2003, pp. 61-66.

[20] V. Regina, *Le chiese di Napoli. Viaggio indimenticabile attraverso la storia artistica, architettonica, letteraria, civile e spiritual della Napoli sacra*, Rome 2015, *passim*.

the community to a man of Greek origin, educated in Venice and settled in Naples, a famous and productive painter during the period in question, Belisario Corenzio, whose style followed the Late Mannerism of Rome. Although Corenzio was Catholic and well-known for his Counter-Reformation iconography, it is important to emphasize that he was at the same time *economo*, *magistro* and *priore* of the Greek Confraternity, responsible for the celebration of the sacraments according to the Orthodox *Typicon*.[21] Both the building and the wall paintings of the church, which were unfortunately destroyed, show that the Greek community at the beginning of the seventeenth century did not seek to establish a difference between the Orthodox Church and the contemporary city churches in terms either of architecture or of painting.

During the last decades of the eighteenth century, the Greek community was reorganized, and their church was renovated. Although the Greeks of Naples under Spanish rule did not have the economic power of the Greeks of Venice or Trieste, the fact that the city was the capital of the Kingdom (of Naples first and of the two Sicilies later) means that the Neapolitan Greek community was privileged due to its significant contribution to the relations between Spain and the Ottoman Empire, both dominant powers in the Mediterranean area from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. During the latter period, mainly merchants from Epirus and the Ionian Islands were added to the community, whose members were mostly from the Peloponnese.[22] After the second half of the eighteenth century, the radical renovation of the church, which includes a large number of icons, was due to their financial power. A painter from Kefalonia, Eustathios Karousos, undertook the project and signed 11 out of approximately 40 icons in the church, dated between 1766 and 1791. Most of the icons by Karousos survive in Naples (fig. 6), and works of his still exist on Corfu

Fig. 6. Eustathios Karousos, *St Eleftherios* (detail), Sts Peter and Paul, Naples.

[21] P. Ioannou, *Belisario Corenzio. Η ζωή και το έργο του* [Belisario Corenzio: His life and work], Heraklion and Venice 2011, pp. 102-106, 425-427.

[22] See note 19 and also Angela Falcetta, *Ortodossi nel mediterraneo cattolico. Frontiere, reti, communità, nel Regno di Napoli (1700-1821)*, Rome 2016.

Fig. 7. St Nicholas of the Greeks, Lecce.

and Kefalonia also.[23] Karousos was not only a painter but also a scholar and a poet. He composed sonnets, and a work titled *Sentimenti di un concittadino delle Isole Ionie ai suoi concittadini* of 1802 was addressed to his fellow countrymen.[24] Without high expectations as far as artistic quality is concerned, the art of Karousos belongs to the conventional framework of the painting of the Ionian Islands, which united the Byzantine tradition and the Italian style of the time.

In the south of Italy, in Lecce, where the Greeks were also present, the church of St Nicholas of the Greeks was built in 1765, thanks to contributions by Greek and Albanian merchants. It was built by architects from Lecce, Francesco Palma, Lazzaro Marsione, Lazzaro Lombardo and Vincenzo Carrozzo, who decorated the façade with simple and austere lines on the lower part, whereas decorative Baroque elements were dominant on the higher part (fig. 7).[25] The church was decorated with icons by its priest, Dimitrios Bogdanos from Corfu, who served the church of the Greek community from 1775 to 1841.[26] In the church, there were works by Spyridon Romas,[27] who was also

[23] See M. Chatzidakis and Eugenia Drakopoulou, *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση (1450-1830)* [Greek painters after the Fall (1450-1830)], Vol. II, Athens 1997, pp. 71-72.

[24] Rizzi, *Le Icone*, p. 140.

[25] A. Cassiano (ed.), *Iconostasi dalla chiesa si San Niccolò dei Greci*, Museo Sigismondo Castromediano, Lecce, 1990; Rentetzi, *Le iconostasi*, pp. 203-229; Maria Vradi, "Η ελληνική παροικία στο Λέτσε και η αδελφότητα του Αγίου Νικολάου των Ελλήνων" [The Greek community in Lecce and the Confraternity of St Nicolas], in *Ελληνισμός και Κάτω Ιταλία. Από τα Ιόνια νησιά στην Grecia Salentina* [Hellenism in Southern Italy: From the Ionian Islands to the Grecia Salentina], Vol. II, Corfu 2002, pp. 159-176.

[26] See Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou, *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση*, Vol. II, p. 221; Maria Melenti, "Ο Δημήτριος Μπογδάνος και η ζωγραφική των εικόνων στο Λέτσε τον 18ο αιώνα" [Dimitrios Bogdanos and painting in Lecce during the eighteenth century], in *Ελληνισμός και Κάτω Ιταλία*, Vol. I, pp. 185-212.

[27] See Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou, *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την* Άλωση, Vol. II, p. 337.

a painter from Corfu active in Livorno, such as the icons *Noli me tangere* (fig. 8) and *Archangel Michael*, closer to Italian art as far as iconography and style are concerned.

Fig. 8. Spyridon Romas, *Noli me tangere*, St Nicholas of the Greeks, Lecce.

In Barletta, the icons of the iconostasis in the Orthodox church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, depicting scenes from the Twelve Feasts and the apostles, is also attributed to Dimitrios Bogdanos. He was a painter of moderate quality, quite faithful to Byzantine models, but also having a certain knowledge of Italian painting, as is demonstrated, for example, in his attempt to use perspective in the icon of the Pentecost (fig. 9), which recalls *The Last Supper* by Leonardo. The despotic icons of the same iconostasis were painted by the Cretan painter Thomas Bathas, who worked in Venice in the sixteenth century.[28] After the earthquake of 1980, the church was no longer used, and in 1985 the icons were transferred to the Museo Civico.[29] It is known that the Greeks had found shelter in this small town of the Italian south after the fall of Koroni to the Ottomans in 1532, while in the eighteenth century the community was regenerated by a new wave of merchants from Epirus.[30] The presence of Greeks from Corfu is also dominant during this period in the Italian south, if we take into consideration that the painter Dimitrios Bogdanos is reported in 1799 in the archives of Lecce as "parocco dei corfioti" and not as "dei greci".[31]

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[28] Pina Belli d'Elia (ed.), *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata dal Medioevo al Settecento. Bari, Pinacoteca Provinciale*, Milan 1988, nos 65, 66; Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou, *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση*, Vol. II, pp. 215-218.

[29] C. Dicorato (ed.), *La Chiesa Greca di Santa Maria degli Angeli a Barletta*, Barletta 2003.

[30] Eleni Giannakopoulou, "Ηπειρώτες έμποροι στην Ιταλία" [Epirot merchants in Italy], *Ο Ερανιστής* 21 (1997), pp. 143-175; Rentetzi, *Le iconostasi*, pp. 156-180; Z. N. Tsirpanlis, "Memorie storiche sulle communità e chiese greche di Terra d'Otranto (XVI sec.)", in *La chiesa greca in Italia dall' VIII al XVI secolo*, Padua 1971, pp. 845-877.

[31] Rentetzi, *Le iconostasi*, p. 207.

Fig. 9. Dimitrios Bogdanos, *The Pentecost*,
Santa Maria degli Angeli, Barletta.

Fig. 10. Holy Trinity, Livorno.

In the port of Livorno, on the other side of the Italian peninsula, the rulers of Tuscany had already granted to the Greeks many privileges from the end of the sixteenth century, with a view to promoting the commercial development of the city. In 1653, the Greeks, mainly merchants and seafarers, were united in a Fraternity, which also included the Orthodox Slav residents of Livorno and definitely the Syrian Uniates of the city, the so-called Melkites. In the eighteenth century, Livorno emerged as an unrivalled transit centre and station, especially for English people. The Greek community, which consisted of merchants from Epirus, flourished.[32] In 1754, a period when Livorno was under the rule of Austria, there was a rupture between the Uniates and the Orthodox citizens. In 1757, the Orthodox citizens were granted permission by the ruler of the city and the Latin archbishop of neighbouring Pisa to build the first Orthodox church in Tuscany.[33] Thus, the elegant Baroque church of the Holy Trinity was inaugurated in 1760 and renovated in the beginning of the twentieth century by the architects Enrico Azzati and Giovanni Saccardi (fig. 10).

For the interior decoration of the church, the Greek community first invited the Archbishop Moses from Crete. The two principal icons, of large dimensions, the Holy Trinity – Holy Liturgy (1761) and the enthroned Virgin and Child (1762), which are found today in the Museo Civico of the city, did not satisfy the aesthetic expectations of the Greeks of Livorno because of their linearity and conservative style (fig. 11), so the cooperation with Archbishop Moses came to an end.[34] A surviving reference

Fig. 11. Archbishop Moses, *The Holy Trinity – Holy Liturgy*, Museo Civico, Livorno.

[32] D. Mattoni, *La città nella storia d'Italia. Livorno*, Livorno 1985; G. Panessa, *Le comunità greche a Livorno. Vicende fra integrazione e chiusura nazionale*, Livorno 1991; Despina Vlami, *Το φιορίνι, το σιτάρι και η οδός του κήπου. Έλληνες έμποροι στο Λιβόρνο, 1750-1868* [The fiorino, the wheat and the way of the garden: Greek merchants in Livorno, 1750-1868], Athens 2000, pp. 549-641.

[33] Rentetzi, *Le iconostasi*, pp. 117-155.

[34] D. Dell'Agata-Popova (ed.), *Icone greche e russe del Museo Civico di Livorno*, Pisa 1978, pp. 84, 86.

Fig. 12. Spyridon Romas, *The Holy Trinity*, Museo Civico, Livorno.

letter from Corfu dated 1762, now in the State Archives of the city, bears witness to the fact that the search for a capable painter continued; it introduces the painter Spyridon Romas from Corfu as a capable painter of "pittura romeica". This type of painting, the style of Spyridon Romas, is a significant sample of the art of the Ionian Islands, which had Byzantine influences, Renaissance naturalness and tranquillity, but also Baroque decorative tendencies (fig. 12). More than 20 icons were painted for the church of the Holy Trinity, as demonstrated by Romas' contract, which was renewed in 1764 and 1766.[35]

From Tuscany, we move to the north of Italy, to Trieste, the multicultural city where James Joyce "left his soul". On Sundays, he went to the Greek church to attend the Orthodox liturgy, in an environment which reflected the economic power of the Greek community, their prudence in the management of money, the concern about the Greek language and the Orthodox tradition, but also their opening towards other cultures. At the beginning of the twentieth century, when Joyce lived in Trieste, the financially powerful Greek families become acquainted with him, as they often visited the church of St Nicholas and the Holy Trinity of the Greeks, with its Neoclassical façade (fig. 13). The families of Rallis, Skaramangas and Oikonomou are among those who became wealthy in Trieste, the free port of the Habsburgs during the eighteenth century, the main maritime and commercial station in the Adriatic Sea after the fall of Venice in 1797. In February 1751, the Empress Maria Theresa issued a decree of privileges for the Greeks of Trieste. The Greeks, property agents and merchants in the beginning, ship owners and brokers later, lived with the Jews from Trieste and Venice, Austrians, Germans, Italians and Serbs.[36] In Trieste, where multilingualism and multinationalism

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 36, 38, 40, 42-64.

[36] Olga Katsiardi-Hering, *Η Ελληνική παροικία της Τεργέστης (1751-1830)* [The Greek

were the rule, and "triestinità" would lead to rich literary production, the Irish author taught English to the offspring of rich Greeks and attempted to learn Greek from a young Greek salesman of fruit and vegetables at the port, Nikolas Santas, who originally came from Corfu and was his companion at the taverns, a figure who was immortalized in Joyce's *Ulysses*.

Many families from Corfu had already settled in Trieste from the eighteenth century; among them was a family of painters, Spyridon Speranzas and his son Michael. The latter settled in Trieste together with his family in 1784. Two years later, he painted 14 icons for the Greek church. In the same year, with a view to decorating the church, he invited his father, also a painter, from Corfu, so that he could help him with the work.[37] Their art is located at the aesthetic and

Fig. 13. St Nicholas and Holy Trinity of the Greeks, Trieste.

community in Trieste (1751-1830)], 2 vols, Athens 1986. See also Despina Vlassi, "Ο εποικισμός της Ακυληίας από Έλληνες (ΙΗ' αι.) και ο ανταγωνισμός Αυστρίας-Βενετίας. Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα" [The Greek settlement in Aquileia and the competition between Austria and Venice: Unpublished documents], *Θησαυρίσματα* 15 (1978), pp. 177-191; S. Nicolaidi, *La presenza greca di Trieste*, Trieste 1990.

[37] Katsiardi-Hering, *Η Ελληνική παροικία*, pp. 229-232; See also Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou, *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση*, Vol. II, pp. 369-370; Maria Melenti, *Η ζωγραφική των εικόνων στην Κέρκυρα τον 18ο αιώνα και ο Σπυρίδων Σπεράντζας (1731-1818)* [Icons painting on Corfu during the eighteenth century and the painter Spyridon Speranzas (1731-1818)], Corfu 2002.

Fig. 14. Iconostasis (detail) painted by Spyridon Speranzas,
Holy Trinity and St Nicholas of the Greeks, Trieste.

artistic borderlines of the Ionian Islands, influenced by Byzantine iconography but also displaying Italian naturalness and expressive freedom (fig. 14). The cooperation of Michael with the church wardens of the Greek church lasted for many decades, for he was involved in the cleaning of icons, improvements to the church, wall paintings and the decoration of the *gynaeconitis*. In 1821, the church wardens praised him for the "grandiosa pittura del Gineceo".[38] Earlier, around 1800, Speranzas ran a shop of ecclesiastical items in Trieste.[39] The next generation of the Speranzas family would continue the cooperation in relation to the decoration of the Greek church. The son of Michael, Spyridon, who in 1818 was included in the census of the Greek community as an *ispettore teatro*, worked on the wood-carved epitaph of the church five years later. The Greek community, concerned about retaining the "uso antico Greco", the "old Greek-Byzantine artistic style", commissioned Michael Speranzas to decorate the ceiling of the church. The large amount of money he demanded as remuneration, 4000 fiorini, forced the Greeks to choose the Italian painter Giacomo Granziosi instead, who agreed to half the amount of

[38] Katsiardi-Hering, *Η Ελληνική παροικία*, p. 231.
[39] *Ibid.*

Speranzas' payment.[40] His contract was full of instructions from the church wardens about the use of Greek inscriptions in the paintings, as well as about respect for Byzantine iconography with regards to the depiction of prophets and the apostles. The above-mentioned Eustathios Karousos, who had decorated the Orthodox church in Naples from 1766, was appointed as his helper. The result, at least as far as the ceiling is concerned, depicting Christ in Glory among the angels, is closer in terms of colour and artistic style to Venetian painting (fig. 15), whereas, on the walls below the ceiling, the Evangelists and the prophets assume the positions determined by Orthodox iconography.

Fig. 15. Ceiling painted by Giacomo Granziosi, Holy Trinity and St Nicholas of the Greeks, Trieste.

Later, during the first decades of the nineteenth century, the "century of Trieste", the community considered that the church was not equivalent to the fame of the Greek nation (*του ελληνικού γένους*). Despite the construction difficulties and the arguments put forward that other residents of the city, such as Lutherans or Jews, did not have magnificent places of worship, they decided upon the creation of today's Neoclassical church by the famous architect of the Neoclassical buildings of Trieste, Matteo Pertsch.[41]

During the same period, the teacher of painting at the Greek community school, Ioannis Trygonis[42] from Methoni in Messenia, who had settled in Trieste, designed the icon of the Holy Trinity and St Nicholas, which was later engraved in order to be distributed to the worshippers.[43] In the upper part

[40] *Ibid*., pp. 234-235.

[41] W. Bensch, "L'architetto Matteo Pertsch a Trieste", *Archeografo Triestino* Ser. IV, XXXVI (1976), pp. 19-52. See also M. Bianco-Fiorin, "Il patrimoniio artistico", in *Il nuovo giorno. La comunità Greco-Orientale di Trieste. Storia e patrimonio artistico-culturale*, Udine 1982, pp. 82-87.

[42] See Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou, *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση*, Vol. II, p . 441.

[43] Katsiardi-Hering, *Η Ελληνική παροικία*, pp. 237-238, fig. 34.

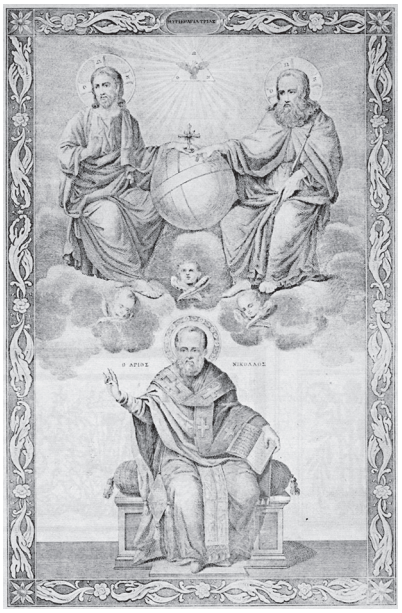

Fig. 16. Engraving of *The Holy Trinity and St Nicholas* by Ioannis Trygonis.

of the picture, the Holy Trinity with *putti* is borrowed from Italian painting, whereas below St Nicolas is represented according to Post-Byzantine patterns (fig. 16).

This peculiar dedication of the church to the Holy Trinity and St Nicholas led to ironic comments of Adamantios Korais from Paris. In 1819, the text of the inscription, which referred to the renovation of the church and was written by the then teacher in Trieste, Christoforos Filitas, was sent to Korais for approval. He replied from Paris: "St Nicholas can share a church with all the other saints, but not with the Supreme Being. It is as if you dedicate a book to the Emperor Francis and at the same time to Prime Minister Metternich or to a courtier […']![44] The dedication of the church could not, of course, change because it was precisely a matter of choice. The dedication of a church to the Holy Trinity, a conscious decision by other Greek communities abroad, such as Vienna or Livorno, reminded one of the basic dogmatic differences between Orthodoxy and Catholicism. St Nicholas, on the other hand, was the choice for a seaside city, the choice of a maritime nation that excelled on the routes of sea and commerce. The double dedication of the church was a unique compromise solution in an environment where oppositions were compromised, that of the cosmopolitan Trieste. Besides, the gesture *par excellence* of social affirmation, the commission of artworks by the financially flourishing Greek communities was nowhere else, not even in Venice most probably, as distinguished as in Trieste for its open-mindedness. The works of the Speranzas family from Corfu, created according to the aesthetics of the Ionian Islands, in Italian style but having strong features of the Byzantine tradition, were followed by the oil paintings of the Italian Giacomo Graziosi in Venetian form, and a few years later, in 1850, by two icons of large dimensions, *Let the Little Children Come to Me*

[44] *Ibid*., pp. 223-224.

and *St John Preaching* by the famous painter Cesare dell'Aqua from Trieste.[45] The coexistence in Orthodox churches of different painting styles and the simultaneous commissions of works to painters of Orthodox and Western religious painting may be dated much earlier than the nineteenth century, if we refer to the above-mentioned church of St George of the Greeks in Venice.

A reverse movement of cultural exchanges took place on Corfu, the "gatekeeper" island of the Adriatic Sea.[46] In 1809, a young man from Kefalonia, Gerasimos Pitzamanos, was studying drawing and painting on Corfu, at the Académie Ionienne (1808-1815), which was founded by the Imperial French when they governed the Ionian Islands. The Ionian Senate, especially its president, Emmanuel Theotokis from Corfu, but also senators, such as Marinos Metaxas from Kefalonia and Dionysios Romas from Zakynthos, keenly supported the attempts of the talented young painter, who, having received the scholarship granted by the Ionian Senate and on the order of Napoleon, was sent to study at the famous Académie de France in Rome.[47] A compulsory requirement for all the Académie's students having scholarships was the so-called "les envois de Rome", that is, the obligation to communicate back to their countries the results of the inspiration they gained in Rome.[48] The works of those students, the ones considered to be worthwhile, were sent once a year to their home countries in order to be exhibited to the wider public and to remain in the ownership of the state. The first "envoi" of Pitzamanos to Corfu, of 1810, includes copies of the wall paintings of Raphael from the Vatican and of the *Mary Magdalene* of Guido Reni, as well as the drawings of a small theatre and a mausoleum. In the following year, Pitzamanos was preparing a copy of the *Justice* of Raphael from the Stanza della Segnatura.[49] The work was exhibited in September 1811 in the Vatican, and we read the following enthusiastic review in a newspaper of Rome: "The young man from

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[45] Maria Masau Dan and Rosella Fabiani (ed.), *Cesare dell'Aqua. I colori della storia*, Trieste 2005.

[46] For the cultural history of Corfu, see E. Concina and Aliki Nikiforou-Testone, *Κέρκυρα. Ιστορία, αστική ζωή και αρχιτεκτονική, 14ος-19ος αι.* [Corfu: History, urban life and architecture, fourteenth – nineteenth century], Corfu 1994.

[47] Anastasia R. Kouli, *Ιππότης Γεράσιμος Πιτζαμάνος (1787-1825), ζωγράφος και αρχιτέκτων. Η Συλλογή του Εθνικού Ιστορικού Μουσείου* [The knight Gerasimos Pitzamanos (1787-1825), painter and architect: Collection of the National Historical Museum], Vol. I, Athens 2013, p. 30.

[48] F. Lechleiter, *Les envois de Rome des pensionnaires peintres de l'Académie de France à Rome de 1863 à 1914*, dissertation, Université Paris IV – Sorbonne, 2008.

[49] Kouli, *Ιππότης Γεράσιμος Πιτζαμάνος*, p. 33.

Kefalonia [...] produced a creation which demonstrates spirit, effectiveness, chromatic agreement and unity. The teachers and lovers of the fine arts applauded the creation of this young man, who became very recognizable in the short period of time in which he lived in Italy."[50] The works of Pitzamanos impressed and excited the people of Corfu so much that it was suggested that they should be exhibited in the conference hall of the Senate.[51]

This is just a small example, which is nonetheless indicative of the double direction of the cultural transfers at the beginning of the nineteenth century from Italy to the Ionian Islands and back. It is exceptionally important that these cultural transfers were not limited to the circle of the authorities, but also influenced the aesthetics of the residents of Corfu insofar as the artworks were exhibited and judged publicly.

If we take into consideration that the studies of the painter from Kefalonia in Italy and the transfer of his works to Corfu were carried out in very

Fig. 17. Interior view of St Nicholas and Holy Trinity of the Greeks, Trieste.

[50] *Ibid*.
[51] *Ibid*.

difficult economic, political and communication conditions[52] due to the well-known European turbulence at the end of the eighteenth century, we can recognize that the motivating power was the strong desire to participate in the acknowledged superior art of Europe, towards which the Ionian Islands constantly turned, thereby boosting the local cultural level, something which was not limited to the case of painting alone.

On the other side of the Adriatic Sea, the environment of Italy challenged the economically flourishing Greek communities to find new artistic pursuits, communities that did not hide their desire to promote themselves and to stand out through building and decorating their churches. The pursuit of "pittura romeica", the art represented by the invited painters from the Ionian Islands, does not reveal any concrete stylistic preferences but the wish for a secure association with the Greek ethos, the Greek language in the inscriptions and the Orthodox dogma. This is why the architectural choices (Late Renaissance, Baroque, Neoclassical) were entrusted, not by accident, to local architects, whose purpose was clearly to incorporate the Orthodox churches into the contemporary facets of the Italian cities; but for the high templon (fig. 17) and the iconostasis according to the Orthodox *Typicon* such an amalgam was always out of the question.

Even the desire to decorate the church interiors with religious scenes created by painters who come from an Orthodox environment subsided due to financially non-affordable offers or to the difficulty of discovering available artists. The Italian painters, then, almost always outstanding and well-known, undertook, under the supervision of their sponsors, the crucial work of combining the Orthodox ethos with the art of the European non-Orthodox environment. Within the churches, the symbolic and real centres of the Greek communities, the desire for prominence and promotion of the prosperity and of progress by means of art, the tendency to adapt to the Italian artistic environment and the wish to respect the traditional values, all these were carried out with moderation and open-mindedness and always with a certain element of caution. This was a strange balance which wisely bridged the breach between East and West across the Adriatic Sea.

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[52] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

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Fig. 1: S. T. Chondrogiannis, *The Antivouniotissa Museum, Corfu*, Thessaloniki 2010, p. 213.
Figs 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17: Author's archive.
Figs 3, 4: A. Paliouras, "Η εικονογράφησις του τρούλλου του Αγίου Γεωργίου Βενετίας" [The iconography of the dome of St George of the Greeks in Venice], *Θησαυρίσματα* 8 (1971), pp. 166-171, pl. Θ΄; pl. ΙΓ.2΄.
Figs 8, 12: Efthalia Rentetzi, *Le iconostasi delle chiese greche in Italia*, Athens 2008, p. 227; p. 150.
Fig. 16: Olga Katsiardi-Hering, *Η Ελληνική παροικία της Τεργέστης (1751-1830)* [The Greek community in Trieste (1751-1830)], Vol. II, Athens 1986, fig. 34.

SECULAR PAINTING IN THE IONIAN ISLANDS AND ITALIAN ART: ASPECTS OF A MULTIFACETED RELATIONSHIP (18th – 19th Centuries)

Aphrodite Kouria

ABSTRACT: The contribution of Italian art, especially Venetian, was decisive to the secularisation of art in the Ionian Islands and the shaping of the so-called Ionian School, in the context of a broader Western influence affecting all aspects of life and culture, especially on the islands of Zakynthos and Corfu. Italian influences, mainly of Renaissance, Mannerism and Baroque art, can be identified both on the iconographic and the stylistic level of artworks, with theoretical support. This article explores facets of the dialogue of secular painting in the Ionian with Italian art in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, focussing on works and artists that highlight significant aspects of this multilayered phenomenon and also through secondary channels that expand the horizon of analysis. Procession paintings, with their various connotations, and portraiture, which flourished in secular Ionian art, offer the most interesting material as regards the selection, reception and management of Italian models and points of reference.

The evolution of religious and secular art in the Ionian Islands since the early eighteenth century, with its theoretical support and grounding, is a phenomenon of particular interest in many respects, presenting important distinctive characteristics due to a number of factors. Several areas of research and certain issues related to this phenomenon remain unclear, blurred and intractable, as scholars face challenges on many levels: a lack of factual and archival documentation; a large number of artworks being lost or destroyed or whose location is unknown; many unsigned paintings; nebulous or ambiguous information; unverifiable accounts; difficulties in accessing private collections and private archives; considerable gaps in old photographic material concerning these artworks, as well as house interiors and the art collections they contained; and the impossibility of tracing the provenance of several paintings. All these factors severely hinder the survey of this field, making it extremely difficult to locate visual material and to provide documentation and to identify accurately works, artists and, in many cases, even sitters. These gaps, failings and challenges in primary research and, consequently, in the study of Ionian art, both religious and secular, are certainly due to a large extent to the devastating 1953 earthquakes on Zakynthos and Kefalonia and the subsequent fire on Zakynthos. This

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objectively inadequate overview of the field consequently makes it difficult to study and evaluate an important aspect of the field – namely, the relationship of art from the Ionian Islands with Western, mainly Italian, art.

N. G. Moschonas wrote that:

> It is true that since the fifteenth century Western influence in the Ionian region became stronger and was evident in all aspects and manifestations of public and private life, cultural activities, social behaviour and everyday life. More pronounced on Corfu and Zakynthos, less on Kefalonia and the other islands, stronger in urban environments, weaker in rural areas, the "European" tendencies of these islands' societies led to a fruitful syncretism characteristic of the cultural climate of the Ionian region, which adds a distinctive dimension in the European synthesis.[1]

The growth and consolidation of the bourgeoisie since the eighteenth century was a determining factor in the culture of the Ionian, with its extrovert, cosmopolitan character, the secularisation of art and the formation of the so-called Ionian School, in which the contribution of Italian art, especially Venetian, was decisive and can be identified both on an iconographic and stylistic level. Conditions had indeed become ripe for a new expressive language and an original repertoire of subjects. The quest for *naturale* – the naturalistic rendering of the human figure, objects and space – also found fertile ground in Post-Byzantine painting.[2] The leading figure of the Ionian School, a groundbreaking artist in many respects, Panagiotis Doxaras made a major contribution to the renewal of Ionian painting, both religious and secular, by adopting the teachings of the Italian Renaissance, Mannerism and Baroque; nevertheless, available information does not suffice to enable a secure reading and evaluation of his oeuvre in its various manifestations. Doxaras also provided theoretical support for the innovations he introduced to iconography, technique and the pictorial language in general in his treatises

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[1] N. G. Moschonas, "Τα νησιά του Ιονίου. Κοινωνία και θεσμοί στα Ιόνια Νησιά από τον 16ο έως τον 18ο αιώνα" [The Ionian Islands: Society and institutions in the Ionian Islands from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century], *Καθημερινή, Επτά Ημέρες* (22 December 1996), p. 6.

[2] See Eugenia Drakopoulou, "Αρχιτεκτονική – Ζωγραφική. Η θρησκευτική και η κοσμική τέχνη (1770-1821)" [Architecture – painting: Religious and secular art (1770-1821)], in Vassilis Panagiotopoulos (ed.), *Η Οθωμανική κυριαρχία, 1770-1821* [Ottoman rule, 1770-1821], Vol. II/1 of *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού, 1770-2000* [History of Modern Greece, 1770-2000], Athens 2003, pp. 239-264; also *id*., "L'art religieux orthodoxe du XVIIIe siècle et ses relations artistiques avec l'Orient et l'Occident", *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique* IX (2012), pp. 141-159.

Τέχνη Ζωγραφίας [The art of painting] (1720, 1724) and *Περὶ Ζωγραφίας* [On painting] (1726), which contain his translations from the writings of Leonardo da Vinci, Leon Battista Alberti, Andrea Pozzo and others,[3] as well as praise for great Italian masters, whom he recommended as models.[4] Doxaras' contemporary, Ieronymos Plakotos or Pit[t]oros, none of whose works survive, was reportedly regarded as an "excellent" artist "in the *naturale*". Plakotos decorated churches and homes with saints, *profane* [secular] figures, flowers, fruits, animals and birds.[5]

This article focusses on certain aspects of the relationship of Ionian secular painting and Italian art; it approaches this relationship, moreover, also via roundabout, secondary paths, expanding the horizon of analysis and drawing a multiplicity of meanings. Ionian artists came into contact with Western, mostly Italian, artists and their works through various channels and in different circumstances: during their studies in Venice and other cities, later on, such as Rome and Naples; through the mediation of prints (reproductions of paintings, for example);[6] and they were also able to come into direct contact with European artworks on their native islands, in upper-class homes, a known fact in the case of Zakynthos. Important private collections of art and *objets d'art* on the island also attest to the close ties of the intellectually and culturally sophisticated Zakynthian society with Italy. In his descriptions of the pre-earthquake mansions of the great families, Dinos Konomos listed paintings of religious and secular subjects, Greek and foreign, some of which

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[3] See mainly *Λεονάρντο Ντα Βίντσι, Λεόν Μπαττίστα Αλμπέρτι, Αντρέα Πότσο, δια την ζωγραφίαν. Οι πρώτες μεταφράσεις κειμένων τέχνης από τον Παναγιώτη Δοξαρά* [Leonardo da Vinci, Leon Battista Alberti, Andrea Pozzo, on painting: The earliest translations of essays on art by Panagiotis Doxaras], ed. and intro. Panagiotis K. Ioannou, Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2015; see also Denise-Chloe Alevizou, *Ο Παναγιώτης Δοξαράς, το Περί Ζωγραφίας κατά το ,αψκστ΄ και οι άλλες μεταφράσεις. Τα τεκμήρια* [Panagiotis Doxaras, "On painting, 1726" and the other translations. The documents], Thessaloniki 2005.

[4] See Alkiviadis G. Charalampidis, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη της εφτανησιώτικης ζωγραφικής του 18ου και 19ου αιώνα* [Contribution to the study of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ionian painting], Ioannina 1978, pp. 29, 33.

[5] For Plakotos, see mainly Yannis Rigopoulos, "Εργογραφία Ιερώνυμου (Γερόλυμου) Στράτη ή Πλακωτού ή Πιτ(τ)όρου (1670; – 26.2.1728). Έλεγχος πληροφοριών" [Artwork list of Ieronymos (Gerolymos) Stratis or Plakotos or Pit(t)oros (1670? – 26 February 1728): Fact-checking], *Επτανησιακά Φύλλα* 18/3-4 (Autumn-Winter 1997), Zakynthos, pp. 268-279.

[6] Archival accounts mention prints in the studios of such painters as Panagiotis Doxaras, Antonios Rifios and Ieronymos Plakotos. See Charalampidis, *Συμβολή*, pp. 30, 58; also, Rigopoulos, "Εργογραφία", p. 271.

were attributed to Titian, Veronese, Piazzetta and Mantegna.[7] Despite the reasonable and serious questioning of these attributions, the fact remains that artists on Zakynthos were able to train and cultivate their gaze and sensibility on high-quality Western artworks in the houses of families who were their patrons at the same time. This is an objective fact, a condition virtually ignored by younger scholars, which must always be taken into account during the investigation and study of Ionian art, particularly as regards its relationship with Western art.

Procession paintings, with their various connotations, are a common *locus* of Ionian painting and Italian, particularly Venetian, art. The best-known examples are *The Procession of St Haralambos* (1756; Zakynthos, Museum of Zakynthos; fig. 1) by Ioannis Korais and *The Procession of St Dionysios* (1766; Zakynthos, Museum of Ecclesiastical Art, Holy Monastery of Strofades and St Dionysios; fig. 2) by Nikolaos Koutouzis.[8] Hybrids bridging religious and secular subject matter, these images are interesting examples of the fusion between the two types of painting. As noted by several researchers, this phenomenon constitutes a distinctive feature of the Ionian School. Produced on Zakynthos, these examples of art secularisation in the context of the Ionian School provide valuable, authoritative accounts of religious life and practices, also illuminating the island's history and social stratification. They constitute, moreover, significant documents about the role and importance of the image, which enjoyed the validity of a document in the minds of the inhabitants of this

[7] See Dinos Konomos, *Ζάκυνθος (πεντακόσια χρόνια), 1478-1978* [Zakynthos (five hundred years), 1478-1978], Vol. I: *Καστρόλοφος και αιγιαλός* [The fortress hill and coastal area], Athens 1979, pp. 249-293.

[8] Many scholars of Ionian art have studied procession paintings. See for instance Charalampidis, *Συμβολή*, pp. 17-23, 45-48; Katerini P. Delaporta, "Οι Ζακυνθινές Λιτανείες. Τα θρησκευτικά, ηθογραφικά και ιστορικά τους στοιχεία αποτελούν μαρτυρίες για την κοινωνία της εποχής" [Zakynthian Processions: Their religious, folkloric and historical details document the society of the time], *Καθημερινή, Επτά Ημέρες* (22 December 1996), pp. 28, 29; Efthymia Mavromichali, "Στοιχεία λαϊκού πολιτισμού στον ζωγραφικό τύπο της Λιτανείας. Η Λιτανεία του Αγίου Χαραλάμπους του Γιαννάκη Κοράη" [Folk culture elements in the procession genre: The Procession of St Haralambos by Giannakis Korais], *Folklore-Ethnography in the Ionian Islands*, *Acta Kefalonia, 27-29 May 2005*, Argostoli 2008, pp. 739-748; Dora F. Markatos, "Η τέχνη της Επτανησιακής Σχολής (18ος-19ος αι.). Δημιουργία – υποδοχή – πρόσληψη. Σύντομη επισκόπηση" [The art of the Ionian School (eighteenth – nineteenth century): Production – reception – interpretation: A brief overview], in Dora F. Markatos (ed.), *Η τέχνη της Επτανησιακής Σχολής, 18ος-19ος αι.* [The art of the Ionian School, eighteenth – nineteenth century], Technological Educational Institute of the Ionian Islands, Argostoli 2014, pp. 23-24 and pls 11-13.

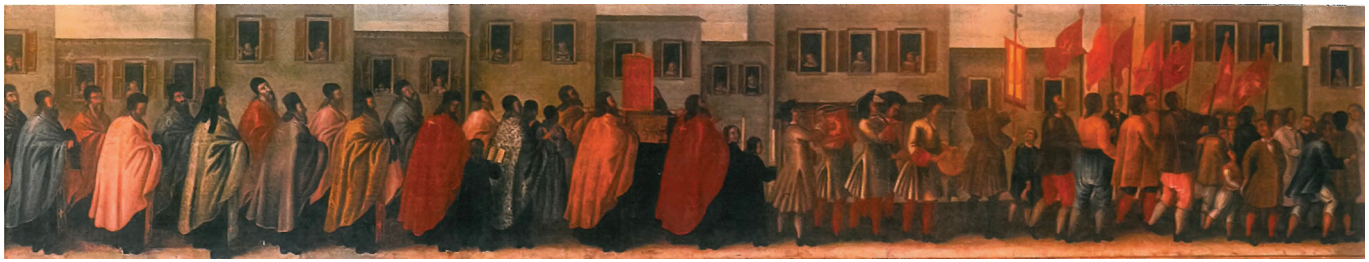


Fig. 1. Ioannis Korais, *The Procession of St Haralambos* (detail), 1756, Museum of Zakynthos, Zakynthos.

Fig. 2. Nikolaos Koutouzis, *The Procession of St Dionysios* (detail), 1766,
Museum of Ecclesiastical Art, Holy Monastery of Strofades and St Dionysios, Zakynthos.

island, reflecting cultural models of the Italian Renaissance.[9] Note that it was on Zakynthos that the syncretism of Greek and Western culture reached what was perhaps its most accomplished form in the entire Ionian region. Gentile Bellini's painting *Procession in the Piazza San Marco* (1496; Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia) has been pointed out as the main model for the procession paintings.[10] The horizon of models must include the following paintings: *Ducal Procession* by Cesare Vecellio (1586; Venice, Museo Correr), *Miracle at the Bridge of San Lio* by Giovanni Mansueti (Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia; fig. 3), *Healing of the Possessed Man (Exorcism)* and *Arrival in Rome* by Vittore Carpaccio (Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia) and *Miracle at the Bridge of San Lorenzo* by Gentile Bellini (Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia).[11] All these works belong to the Venetian narrative painting genre of *istorie*,[12] whose descriptive wealth and pictorial power made them into an important manifestation of visual culture – the culture of the image and "spectacle" – in La Serenissima.

Fig. 3. Giovanni Mansueti, *Miracle at the Bridge of San Lio*, Gallerie dell' Accademia, Venice.

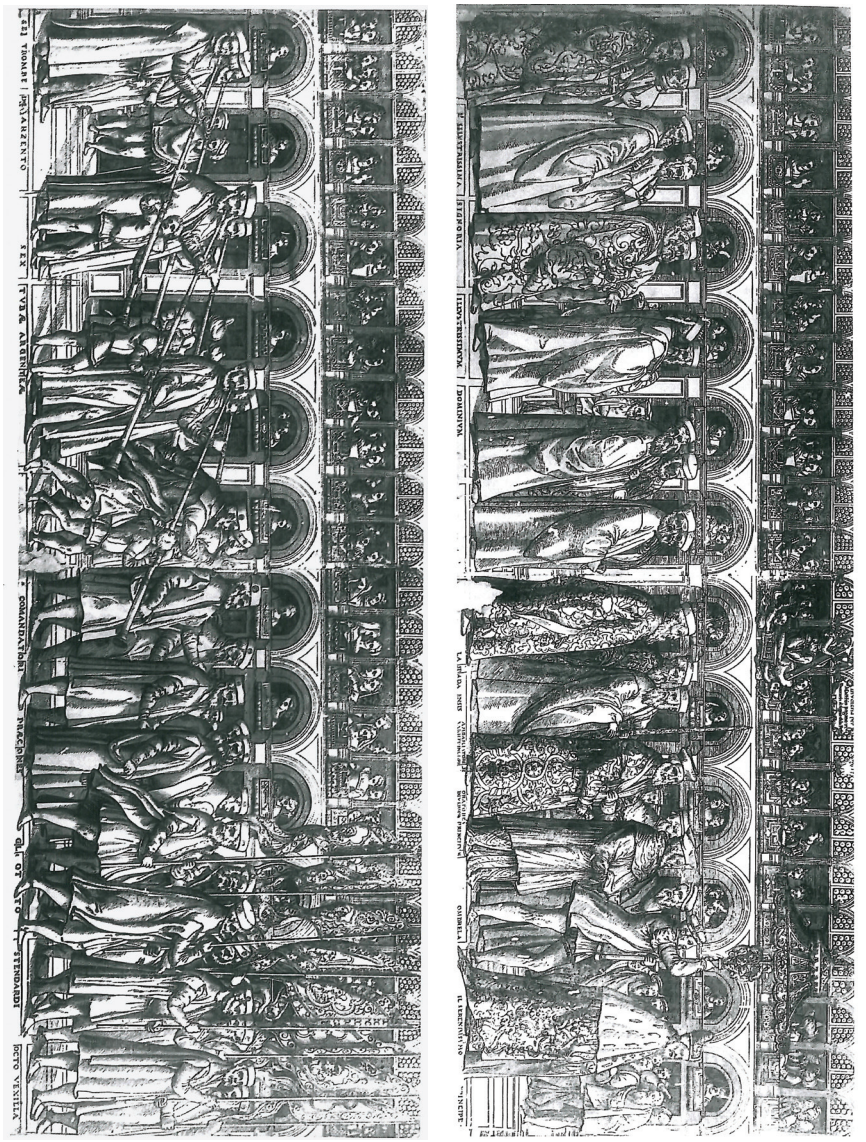
[9] See Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994, *passim*.

[10] *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII. Charalampidis also referred to Benozzo Gozzoli's *Procession of the Magi* in the chapel of the Palazzo Medici in Florence; Charalampidis, *Συμβολή*, p. 22.

[11] Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting*, figs 103, 108, pls XXII, XX, respectively.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 131, 132, 135 ff.

A notable model is also the woodcut *Procession of the Doge* by Matteo Pagan (Venice, Museo Correr; figs 4, 5),[13] a long, linear composition, echoed mainly in Korais' *Procession*.



Figs. 4-5. Matteo Pagan, *Procession of the Doge* (details), Museo Correr, Venice.

[13] *Ibid*., figs 95-98.

Religious and other processions in Venetian painting, with their codes, solemnity and strictly defined ritual, and religious scenes, such as miracles, which also feature detailed pictorial accounts of figures, costumes and the insignia of various officials, against an always specific and perfectly recognisable architectural background, were designed to record important public events authentically and accurately at specific moments in time within the city. It has been emphasised that a procession in Venice establishes a social stratification chart that can be taken in directly at first sight.[14] This also applies, to a certain extent, to Zakynthian processions. In Korais' *Procession*, the figurative element of women and children watching the procession from house windows is yet another point of contact with Venetian models (see, for instance, Mansueti's painting *Miracle at the Bridge of San Lio* and Pagan's woodcut).

A valuable account is that of the French traveller André Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, who saw Koutouzis' *Procession of St Dionysios* in the women's gallery in the church of St Dionysios: "One of the paintings that immediately captures the attention of foreigners is a work by a priest on Zakynthos […] It depicts a procession of St Dionysios; upwards of three hundred figures can be counted; and I was assured that most did resemble actual individuals."[15] Moreover, the inclusion of the artist himself at a young age amongst the people in the procession in the painting, beyond indicating an inclination for self-promotion, which would hardly be surprising in Koutouzis' case, attests in its own way to the validity of the image. The "eye-witness quality" characteristic of Venetian *istorie* is evident here, too.

The painted *istorie* of the early Italian Renaissance, with their documentary and narrative character and the prominent role of architectural context, namely the scenes of miracles that sprung from the paintbrushes of Bellini, Carpaccio and Mansueti, can reasonably be considered as references (if not models) also for certain votive images in Ionian art. These combine religious and secular subjects in their historical context, for instance the salvation of a young child from a deadly accident on the feast day of the Three Hierarchs or the rescue of a young man from a bull's attack through the intervention of the Archangel Michael.[16]

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[15] André Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, *Voyage historique, littéraire et pittoresque dans les Isles et possessions ci-devant vénitiennes du Levant […]*, Vol. III, Paris An VIII [1799], p. 193.

[16] See Eugenia Drakopoulou, "Υποδοχή και αφομοίωση της δυτικής τέχνης στη ζωγραφική των ορθοδόξων κατά τον 18ο αιώνα" [Reception and assimilation of Western art in Orthodox painting during the eighteenth century], *Τα Ιστορικά* 52 (2010), pp. 144, 146 and figs 12, 13; and

The dialogue of Ionian painting and Italian art features several interesting aspects concerning the genre of portraiture, which flourished in secular Ionian art and with important examples in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Doxaras opened this chapter in a most iconic manner. In 1719, he painted the portrait of Count Johann Matthias von der Schulenburg, who defended Corfu during the Ottoman siege in 1716 (private collection; fig. 6).[17] One of the supreme achievements of the Ionian School, the solemn, monumental portrait of Schulenburg demonstrates on multiple levels the relationship of the art of the Ionian Islands with Venice and moreover indirectly illuminates the personality of its creator.[18]

Fig. 6. Panagiotis Doxaras, *Count Johann Matthias von der Schulenburg*, 1719, private collection.

id., "Αρχιτεκτονική – Ζωγραφική", pp. 261-262, fig. on p. 258. See also Angeliki Stavropoulou, "Storie devotionali nella pittura post-bizantina", in Chryssa Maltezou (ed.), *Il contributo veneziano nella formazione del gusto dei Greci (XV-XVII sec.), Atti del Convegno, Venezia, 2-3 giugno 2000*, Venice 2001, pp. 147-164.

[17] See mainly Alkiviadis Charalampidis, *Έργο του Παναγιώτη Δοξαρά σε ξένη ιδιωτική συλλογή* [A work by Panagiotis Doxaras in a foreign private collection], reprint from *Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη Στυλιανού Πελεκανίδη* [Tribute in memory of Stylianos Pelekanidis], Thessaloniki 1983, pp. 433-444.

[18] A second, also naturalistic, portrait of Schulenburg by Doxaras, in miniature, is in the Evripidis Koutlidis Foundation Collection; see Nelly Missirli, *Ελληνική ζωγραφική, 18ος-19ος αιώνας. Εθνική Πινακοθήκη – Μουσείο Αλεξάνδρου Σούτζου και Συλλογή Ε. Κουτλίδη* [Greek painting, eighteenth – nineteenth century: National Gallery – Alexandros Soutzos Museum and Evripidis Koutlidis Collection], Athens: Adam Editions, 1993, p. 22.

Eminently relevant models for this work – also on account of the sitter's identity – can be found in the portraits of high officials of the Republic of Venice, mainly combatants who distinguished themselves in the Ottoman-Venetian Wars in the second half of the seventeenth century in the Eastern Mediterranean; for instance, the full-length, monumental portrait of Admiral Lazzaro Mocenigo by Francesco Maffei (1656-1657; Schleissheim, Castello; fig. 7) and the portrait of the proveditor and captain Jacopo da Riva by Niccolò Renieri [Nicolas Régnier] (1649; Venice, Museo Correr).[19] The portrait of Sebastiano Venier (*c.* 1571-1572) by Tintoretto (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum)[20] should also be mentioned. Schulenburg's pose, gestures and even the detail of the helmet on a piece of furniture near the sitter suggest that Doxaras had the benefit of familiarity with such portraits. The vista in the background with a landscape and a war scene, the curtain of precious fabric and the antique architectural element certainly allude to the typology and rhetoric of solemn Mannerist and Baroque portraits of eminent figures. From a purely pictorial point of view, this portrait eloquently documents the lesson Doxaras drew from sensuous Venetian colour (*colorito*), with its rich harmonies and qualities, not least through its interplay with light on various textures. The use of oil on canvas – it was Doxaras who introduced this innovate medium in the Ionian Islands – lent itself ideally to the artist's expressive language and intentions.

Fig. 7. Francesco Maffei, *Lazzaro Mocenigo*, 1656-1657, Schleissheim, Castello.

[19] See Maddalena Redolfi (ed.), *Venezia e la difesa del Levante, da Lepanto à Candia, 1570-1670*, exhibition catalogue, Venice: Arsenale Editrice, 1986, cat. no. 258, pp. 163-164, and cat. no. 247, p. 158.

[20] See Miguel Falomir (ed.), *Tintoretto*, exhibition catalogue, Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2007, p. 109, fig. 50.

Doxaras seems to have been conversing with Italian references also on another level, as shown by certain complementary elements contributing to the textual construction of the image while expanding the horizon of the artist's Western models. It is certainly no surprise in such an artwork, especially one made by an artist who had participated in battle operations of the Venetians against the Ottomans, to see integrated figurative and pictorial patterns (on the pillar) based on engravings in the Italian editions of the famous Venetian cartographer-cosmographer Vincenzo Maria Coronelli and others.[21] Serving as tools for political propaganda, these editions immortalised Venetian possessions and their fortifications, as well as military events and the victories of Venice and its allies during the Ottoman-Venetian Wars in the Mediterranean. In these widespread and well-established models, the printed images are often accompanied by arrangements of flags, weapons, shields and Turkish spoils (fig. 8), which, in addition to their decorative role, also served a symbolic function in accordance with the considerations and intended role of these publications. It can reasonably be assumed that Doxaras was aware of these editions. Perhaps, indeed, publications dedicated to the Ottoman-Venetian Wars may have been amongst the books and prints in his collection.[22]

Fig. 8. *Turkish Spoils*, engraving from Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, *Description géographique et historique de la Morée, reconquise par les Vénitiens […]*, Paris 1686.

[21] See for instance Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, *Memorie istoriografiche delli Regni della Morea […]*, Venice 1686; *id.*, *Description géographique et historique de la Morée, reconquise par les Vénitiens […]*, Paris 1686; and Alessandro Locatelli, *Racconto historico della Veneta guerra in Levante […]*,Cologne 1691.

[22] Alkis Charalampidis, "Painting in the Ionian Islands, 18th-20th Century", in Marina Lambraki-Plaka (ed.), *National Gallery, 100 Years: Four Centuries of Greek Painting from the Collections of the National Gallery and the Evripidis Koutlidis Foundation*, Athens: National Gallery – Alexandros Soutzos Museum, 1999, p. 52.

The fact, moreover, that he had already painted the portrait of Francesco Grimani, who had served as general proveditor of the Kingdom of Morea at Nafplion and as the supreme commander of the fleet,[23] is supportive evidence of his contact with military officials who played an important role in the history of La Serenissima and Venetian possessions in Greek territory. Another model for these motifs, noted by Charalampidis, is the relief on the pedestal of Schulenburg's statue, made by the Italian sculptor Antonio Corradini and installed on Corfu in 1718.[24]

Nikolaos Koutouzis, a pupil of Nikolaos Doxaras, the son of Panagiotis, introduced an important new chapter in portraiture, which now left behind the solemnity, monumentality and narrativity of external elements. Portraiture flourished, patronised by the nobility and the wealthy bourgeoisie, who sought to make their presence felt and to validate themselves through art. Understandably, a sitter's distinctively individual features now became the focus of a portrait.

Fig. 9. Nikolaos Koutouzis, *Portrait of Noble with Wig*, *c.* 1800, Evripidis Koutlidis Foundation Collection, Athens.

Educated in Venice, probably in Tiepolo's studio, according to his biographers, Koutouzis was a multifaceted personality – a painter, a satirical poet and a priest – of a peculiar mental disposition, who worked in the turbulent and unstable political climate of the Ionian Islands in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth. Incisive, realistic and penetrating, his portraits offer psychological insight and intensity of expression (fig. 9). Scholars have vaguely mentioned influences from the (late) Baroque in his portraits, with their

[23] See Michael G. Lambrynidis, *Η Ναυπλία από των αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τα καθ'ημάς. Ιστορική μελέτη* [Nafplion from antiquity to date: Historical study], Athens [2]1950, pp. 127, 130; *Λεονάρντο Ντα Βίντσι*, pp. 19-20. Location unknown.

[24] Charalampidis, *Έργο του Παναγιώτη Δοξαρά*, p. 441, pl. 2b. Charalampidis argued that Doxaras borrowed heavily from the sculpture.

dramatic tones, the painterly and expressive use of light and dark areas and the tendency to capture the sitter's emotional state and inner world – qualities also evident in his religious paintings. The uncomplicated arrangement, with its characteristic immediacy, placing the sitter in the foreground, focussing on the face and hands as vehicles of expression; a dark palette and minimal colour; and the use of certain complementary items, props that suggest the sitter's identity or profession and generally contribute to characterisation, are all central points of convergence with the great tradition of portraiture in the West, harking back to the Renaissance. An eloquent and instructive comparison can be made with works such as *Male Portrait with a Book and Clock* (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst) and the portrait of Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (Kansas City, Missouri, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art) by Titian, "*Titian's Schoolmaster*" (*c.* 1570; Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art; fig. 10) by Giovanni Battista Moroni and the portrait of Lorenzo Soranzo (1553; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie) by Tintoretto.

The coveted status and timeless appeal of Western artists and their works are variously reaffirmed constants in the dialogue of Ionian and Italian portraiture. Often, they even contribute a special significance and role with respect to the sitter. The portrait of the young Ermannos Lountzis and his mother, Maria Martens-Lountzi, by Koutouzis (according to Dinos Konomos)[25] makes direct reference to two portraits by Bronzino, one of the leading exponents of Mannerism: the portrait of Eleonora of Toledo with her son, Giovanni (1545; Florence, Uffizi Gallery), and the *Portrait of a Lady in a Red Dress with a Fair-haired Little Boy* (*c.* 1540; Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art). There are evident

Fig. 10. Giovanni Battista Moroni, "*Titian's Schoolmaster*", *c.* 1570, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

[25] See *Επτανησιακά Φύλλα* 28/3-4 (Autumn-Winter 2008), Zakynthos, illus. on p. 525.

similarities in the composition and in the sitters' poses and gestures. Through this artistic dialogue, the status of the sitters in Bronzino's paintings is reflected, so to say, upon these two members of an illustrious family of Zakynthos society.

In the priest and painter Nikolaos Kantounis' portraits and religious scenes, which to some extent imitated Koutouzis' art, Renaissance and (late) Baroque influences have also been identified, although the artist had not studied in Italy. Of special interest is his self-portrait (*c.* 1820; Athens, National Gallery – Alexandros Soutzos Museum; fig. 11), with the allegorical figures of the Art of Painting and a nude, winged elder Time, with an hourglass and scythe. This depiction of time, and the antique, or mythological female figures as personifications of the arts were established thematic-symbolic motifs in Western art, widely circulating in print form. They have also been associated with artists' portraits. In the same iconographical vein, it would be useful to

Fig. 11. Nikolaos Kantounis, *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1820,
National Gallery – Alexandros Soutzos Museum, Athens.

mention here two engravings by Francesco Bartolozzi: *Allegory in Honour of Claude Lorrain* (*c.* 1764-1771; fig. 12) and its contemporary *Allegory in Honour of Pietro da Cortona*;[26] also, Gijsbert van Veen's engraving after a late self-portrait of Tintoretto, flanked here by the figures of the nude Atlas and of Minerva "Pictrix", palette in hand (*c.* 1595-1600).[27]

Fig. 12. Francesco Bartolozzi (after Carlo Maratta), *Allegory in Honour of Claude Lorrain*, *c.* 1764–1771, The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago, University Transfer from the Max Epstein Archive, 1981. 11.

[26] See Ingrid D. Rowland (ed.), *The Place of the Antique in Early Modern Europe*, exhibition catalogue, The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago, 1999, cat. nos 56, 57.

[27] See Falomir (ed.), *Tintoretto*, p. 378 and fig. 195.

During the same period, the religious painter Nikolaos Viskontis, following the trail forged a century earlier by Panagiotis Doxaras and his treatises, gave new dimensions to the encounter of the Ionian Islands with Western culture. A multifaceted personality[28] based in the village of Skoulikado on Zakynthos, Viskontis translated the treatise *De' precetti della pittura […]* (Vicenza 1781) by the Italian Adamo Chiusole in 1820 as "Περὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν τῆς ζωγραφίας". Also contained in the same manuscript codex is Viskontis' essay "Περὶ χρωμάτων σύντομος διήγησις Νικολάου Βισκόντη" [A brief discussion of colours by Nikolaos Viskontis].[29] The exceptionally interesting literature recommended by Viskontis to his painting students demonstrates his remarkable bibliographic knowledge, as noted by Yannis Rigopoulos;[30] according to the latter, the books that the religious painter recommended, as well as those he used in writing his treatise, were in his personal library.

Viskontis' case, another resounding proof of the intricate mesh of Zakynthos' relations with the West, particularly Italy, also represents a major challenge to the in-depth investigation of this phenomenon in its multiple aspects, the perceptions of artistic and intellectual circles even in a rural setting, and their receptiveness to European culture. "It would be of interest," observed Rigopoulos, "to explain, to the extent possible, the conditions and cultural context in which Viskontis developed his theoretical views on matters relating to artistic genres. Moreover, to justify Viskontis' bibliographical choices, favourite authors and art manuals […]."[31] It should be noted that *The Procession of the Virgin's Icon* (1828), installed in the women's gallery in the church of the Virgin Anafonitria at Skoulikado, is also by Viskontis.[32]

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[28] He also taught Greek, French and Italian, as well as music.

[29] The unpublished codex is in the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive - Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece (ELIA-MIET), Athens. For this, see Yannis Rigopoulos, *"Περί χρωμάτων σύντομος διήγησις Νικολάου Βισκόντη". Παρουσίαση ανέκδοτου δοκιμίου που περιέχεται στον κώδικα Αδάμ Κιουζόλ, Περί των εντολών της ζωγραφίας* ["A brief discussion of colours by Nikolaos Viskontis": A presentation of an unpublished essay in the codex Adam Kiouzol, On the principles of painting], Zakynthos 1820. Reprint from the gift edition *Φιόρα Τιμής για τον Μητροπολίτη Ζακύνθου Χρυσόστομο Β΄ Συνετό* [Flowers of honour for the Zakynthos Metropolitan Chrysostomos II Synetos], Zakynthos 2009, pp. 821-850.

[30] Including Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccelenti pittori, scultori e architetti*, Siena 1799; and Marco Vitruvio, *L'Architettura generale, vidotta in compendio dal Sigr. Perrault […]*, Venice 1794 (see Rigopoulos, "*Περί χρωμάτων*", p. 838).

[31] Rigopoulos, *"Περί χρωμάτων"*, p. 848 note 20.

[32] *Ibid*., fig. 3.

From the mid-nineteenth century on, the dialogue with Italian art was enriched by new points of reference, fresh subject matter and novel pictorial expressions, since original content was being added to the repertoire of Greek painting as it evolved and reflected the changing historical and political contexts in the Greek world, as well as their impact on Europe. In the early decades after the Greek War of Independence, but later, too, historical subjects prevailed, as art was called upon to celebrate the epic struggle, to memorialise important events and individuals, thus ensuring through its own language historical collective memory. The contribution of Dionysios Tsokos from Zakynthos to this iconography was decisive, moreover initiating significant variants of the dialogue with Italian art, mainly with the related paintings by his teacher in Venice, Ludovico Lipparini, on two levels: the subject matter and the style. Lipparini depicted subjects from the Greek War of Independence, as many other European painters did in the philhellenic climate, with idealistic, Romantic-Neoclassical expressions in the visual arts and literature.

A notable example is the painting *The Death of Markos Botsaris* (*c.* 1844-1847; Athens, Evripidis Koutlidis Foundation Collection; fig. 13) by Tsokos – a simpler version of the work of the same title by Lipparini, which dates

Fig. 13. Dionysios Tsokos, *The Death of Markos Botsaris*, *c.* 1844-1847, Evripidis Koutlidis Foundation Collection, Athens.

Fig. 14. Ludovico Lipparini, *The Death of Markos Botsaris*, 1841, Musei Civici, Trieste.

from 1841 (Trieste, Musei Civici; fig. 14), and of its 1844 version that went on display in Venice in the same year, which Tsokos must have seen.[33] Tsokos most likely produced his own work during his studies at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Venice between 1844 and 1847.[34] Distancing himself from the narrative quality of his teacher's multi-figured works, the Greek artist focussed on the mortally wounded hero, thus adding expressive force to his painting.

In his painting *Boat with Greeks* (Metsovo, Evangelos Averoff Museum), inspired by the uprooting of the inhabitants of Parga in 1819 when the British ceded it to Ali Pasha, Tsokos faithfully echoed Lipparini's painting on the same subject (Verona, Banca d'Italia), which went on display in 1844 in Venice and became very popular.[35] Tsokos' variation, titled *Fleeing Parga*

[33] See Olga Mentzafou-Polyzou (ed.), *1821: Figures and Themes from the Greek War of Independence, from the Collections of the National Gallery and the Evripidis Koutlidis Foundation*, exhibition catalogue, National Gallery – Alexandros Soutzos Museum, Nafplion Annexe, Athens 2004, p. 48, cat. no. 13. This variant was lithographed. See the illustration in I. G. Mykoniatis, *Το Εικοσιένα στη ζωγραφική. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της εικονογραφίας του Αγώνα* [The War of Independence in painting: Contribution to the study of the iconography of the War], doctoral thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki 1979, fig. 49, p. 155.

[34] *1821: Figures and Themes*.

[35] *Συλλογές Ευαγγέλου Αβέρωφ. Ταξιδεύοντας στο χρόνο* [Evangelos Averoff Collections: Travelling in Time], exhibition catalogue, Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza Foundation, Athens

(Evripidis Koutlidis Foundation Collection), has been compared to *Refugees from Parga* (1845) by another Italian artist, Carlo Belgioioso (Athens, Benaki Museum).[36] Tsokos' painting, however, conveys a more emotionally charged treatment of the subject matter, intensified by the somewhat naive style, and an emphasis on the religious element, with the figure of a priest holding a cross and a Gospel book in the centre of the painting.

Apprenticeship was not the only condition for the selection of specific models by Greek artists. This is also illustrated by the case of the Corfiot painter Haralambos Pachis and his work *The Arkadi Holocaust*. A prominent member of the thriving Greek community in Trieste, George Afentoulis commissioned Giuseppe Lorenzo Gatteri, an eminent history painter in the city, to produce a painting of the holocaust of the Arkadi Monastery in 1866 during the Cretan Revolution – an event that strongly resonated in Italy. This painting (now in the National Gallery – Alexandros Soutzos Museum in Athens; fig. 16) was copied in a simplified version by Pachis (Athens, Evripidis Koutlidis

Fig. 15. Haralambos Pachis, *The Arkadi Holocaust*, Evripidis Koutlidis Foundation Collection, Athens.

2000, cat. no. 301, p. 266. For a reproduction of Lipparini's painting, see *1821: Figures and Themes*, p. 92.

[36] See Mykoniatis, *Το Εικοσιένα στη ζωγραφική*, figs 82-83 and p. 92. See also Caterina Spetsieri-Beschi and Enrica Lucarelli (eds), *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano. Lotte, cultura, arte*, exhibition catalogue, Rome: Edizioni del Sole, 1986, C19.

Foundation Collection; fig. 15). As noted by Caterina Spetsieri-Beschi,

> The conception and preliminary design – if not the work itself, so closely tied to the oil painting in Trieste – was most probably made in Italy. After his two-year stay of intensive study in Naples and the Academy of St Luke in Rome (1868-1869), Pachis made a long journey of artistic discovery in Italy and in Europe, until 1870, when he returned to Corfu. During his travels (or maybe even before, during the time of his apprenticeship), he must have visited Trieste[37] and come into direct contact with the Italian work.[38]

Pachis' painting lacks the dramatic tension of the cluster of fighters that we see in Gatteri's painting, with its echoes of the Baroque, as well as minor incidents in the foreground and on the left. Gatteri's rich and epic composition, of course, required painting skills and experience which Pachis did not possess. In Pachis' case, however, the leaner treatment of the subject highlights the historic event, which the painting is called upon to immortalise.

Fig. 16. Giuseppe Lorenzo Gatteri, *The Arkadi Holocaust*, National Gallery – Alexandros Soutzos Museum, Athens.

[37] Pachis may have entertained hopes for commissions from wealthy Greeks in the city, as had been the case with Tsokos years before.

[38] Caterina Spetsieri-Beschi, *Το "Ολοκαύτωμα του Αρκαδίου". Σχέσεις προτύπου και αντιγράφων* [The "Arkadi Holocaust": Connections between the model and copies], reprint from *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 30 (1975), Athens 1978, pp. 294-308, pls 115, 122, 123.

The determining factors of the dialogue of the Ionian School with Italian art, the selection, reception and management of Italian models and generally of Italian stimuli on the iconographic, stylistic and even symbolic level by Ionian artists constitute a multilayered phenomenon, unfolding on a complex field of interrelated dynamics. It is these interrelated dynamics that often cast a multifocal light on works and make interpretative versions proliferate. As evidenced by some of the cases studied in this article, the multifaceted dialogue of Ionian secular painting with Italian art, and Italian culture in general, on both the practical and the theoretical level, still presents numerous challenges both to primary research and to examining and interpreting this subject in its various manifestations.

Art historian

Translated from Greek by Dimitris Saltabassis

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Figs 1, 2, 6: Dora F. Markatos (ed.), *Η τέχνη της Επτανησιακής Σχολής, 18ος-19ος αι.* [The art of the Ionian School, eighteenth – nineteenth century], Technological Educational Institute of the Ionian Islands, Argostoli 2014, pl. 11, pp. 60-61; pl. 12, pp. 62-63; pl. 1, p. 53.
Figs 3, 4, 5: Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994, pl. XXI, p. 159; fig. 95, p. 172; fig. 98, p. 173.
Fig. 7: Maddalena Redolfi (ed.), *Venezia e la difesa del Levante, da Lepanto à Candia, 1570-1670,* exhibition catalague, Venice: Arsenale Editrice, 1986, cat. no. 258, p. 163.
Fig. 8: Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, *Description géographique et historique de la Morée, reconquise par les Vénitiens […],* Paris 1686.
Figs 9, 11: Marina Lambraki-Plaka (ed.), *National Gallery, 100 Years*: *Four Centuries of Greek Painting from the Collections of the National Gallery and the Evripidis Koutlidis Foundation,* Athens: National Gallery – Alexandros Soutzos Museum, 1999, fig. 11, p. 196; fig. 13, p. 198.
Fig. 10: Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries,* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990, fig. 89 p. 79.
Fig. 12: Ingrid D. Rowland (ed.), *The Place of the Antique in Early Modern Europe,* exhibition catalogue, The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago, 1999, cat. no 57 p. 103.
Figs 13, 14: Olga Mentzafou-Polyzou (ed.), *1821*: *Figures and Themes from the Greek War of Independence, from the Collections of the National Gallery and the Evripidis Koutlidis Foundation,* exhibition catalogue, National Gallery – Alexandros Soutzos Museum, Nafplion Annexe, Athens 2004, cat. no. 13, p. 49 and p. 48.
Fig. 15: Caterina Spetsieri-Beschi, *Το "Ολοκαύτωμα του Αρκαδίου". Σχέσεις προτύπου και αντιγράφων* [The "Arkadi Holocaust": Connections between the model and copies], reprint from *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 30 (1975), Athens 1978, pl. 123.
Fig. 16: Caterina Spetsieri-Beschi and Enrica Lucarelli (eds), *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano. Lotte, cultura, arte,* exhibition catalogue, Rome: Edizioni del Sole, 1986, E1, p. 428.

THE RESILIENCE OF PHILHELLENISM

'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more!
So coldly sweet, so deadly fair,
We start, for soul is wanting there…
Lord Byron, *The Giaour*, 1813

George Tolias

ABSTRACT: This essay aims to survey certain key aspects of philhellenism underpinned by the recent and past bibliography on the issue. By exploring the definitions of the related terms, their origins and their various meanings, the paper underscores the notion of "revival" as a central working concept of philhellenic ideas and activities and explores its transformations, acceptances or rejections in Western Europe and in Greece during the period from 1770 to 1870.

Philhellenisms

"The French are by tradition philhellenes." With this phrase, the authors of *Le Petit Robert* exemplified the modern usage of the word *philhellène*, explaining that it denotes those sympathetic to Greece. Although the chosen example refers to a tradition, the noun "philhellene" entered the French vocabulary in 1825 as a historical term which denoted someone who championed the cause of Greek independence. According to the same dictionary, the term "philhellenism" started to be used in French in 1838. It too was a historical term denoting interest in the Greek cause and support of the Greek struggle for national independence. We find corresponding or identical definitions in other dictionaries of Western languages, as for example in Webster's, where philhellenes are defined as "friends and supporters of the Greek cause, specifically the issue of regaining independence", or the Duden *Diktionär*, where philhellenism is defined as the "political-romantic movement, which supported the liberation struggle of the Greeks against the Turks".

These definitions refer to philhellenism as related to the specific historic context of the Greek War of Independence.[1] The shared solidarity of public

[1] The main bibliographic guide to philhellenism remains *Philhellénisme. Ouvrages inspirés*

opinion in the West during the years of the Greek national uprising affected various domains, from political activism, art and literature to aspects of social and even everyday life, given that it became something of a vogue. As an opinion movement, philhellenic commitments were marked by varying degrees of intensity and participation: from the volunteers who came to fight in revolutionary Greece[2] to the many who remained active in their own countries, organizing dense philhellenic networks and philhellenic committees, lending moral and material assistance to the insurgent Greeks; and, finally, to the majority, who absorbed and consumed philhellenic rhetoric and production, participating in a sort of philhellenic "fashion".[3]

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par la guerre de l'ndépendance grecque, 1821-1833, by Loukia Droulia, published in 1974. A second edition, revised and augmented, is forthcoming in 2017, edited by Alexandra Sfoini. For an overview of philhellenism, see Loukia Droulia, "Ο Φιλελληνισμός. Φιλελεύθερο και ριζοσπαστικό κίνημα" [Philhellenism: A liberal and radical movement], in V. Panagiotopoulos (ed.), *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού* [The history of Modern Greece], Athens: Ellinika Grammata, Vol. III, 2003, pp. 267-286. See also S. Asdrachas, "La Rivoluzione greca. Una sintesi storica", in Caterina Spetsieri Beschi and Enrica Lucarelli (eds), *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano. Lotte, cultura, arte*, exhibition catalogue, Rome: Edizioni del Sole, 1986, pp. 73-81. Most classic scholarly studies align themselves with this definition, including Virginia Penn ("Philhellenism in Europe, 1821-1828", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 16/48 [1938], pp. 638-653), Jean Dimakis (*La guerre de l'indépendance grecque vue par la presse française*, Thessaloniki 1968), Christopher Woodhouse (*The Philhellenes*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), William St Clair (*That Greece Might Still be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence*, London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1972), Regine Quack-Eustathiades (*Der deutsche Philhellenismus ühend des griechischen Freiheitskampfes, 1821-1827*, Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1984), Byron Raizis (*American Poets and the Greek Revolution, 1821-1828: A Study in Byronic Philhellenism*, Thessaloniki: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1971), Denys Barau (*La cause des Grecs. Une histoire du mouvement philhellène [1821-1829]*, Paris: Éditions Honoré Champion, 2009), Konstantinos Maras (*Philhellenismus. Eine Frühform europäischer Integration*, Würzburg 2012) and others.

[2] The known philhellene volunteers in the Greek War of Independence numbered 940. The four largest contingents came from Germany, France, Italy and Britain. They were followed by Swiss, Poles, Dutch and Belgians, Hungarians, Swedish, Spanish and Danes. See Stefanos Papageorgiou, *Από το Ιέvος στο Έθνος. Η θεμελίωση του ελληνικού κράτους, 1821-1862* [From genos to nation: The foundation of the Greek State, 1821-1862], Athens 2005, pp. 116-117.

[3] Besides the philhellenic images, songs and artefacts sold "in favour of the Greeks", such as porcelain wares, clocks, liquor bottles, playing cards and soaps, even masquerade balls with Greek themes were organized, such as the one given by the Hungarian nobleman József Batthyány in Milan in 1828. See the series of 50 drawings with the "Costumi vestiti alla festa di ballo data in Milano dal nobilissimo conte Giuseppe Batthyány la sera del 30 gennaio 1828", in Spetsieri Beschi and Lucarelli (eds), *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo*

Philhellenism formed a self-defined corpus of emblematic gestures, texts, images and objects and an established *topos* of the nineteenth-century legacy of the West. Although composed by varied, disparate and even contrasting elements, philhellenism evolved beyond national boundaries and cultures, a fact that presupposes common foundations and deeply rooted affinities. As a shared allegiance of the West intermingling the world of learning and the world of politics, affecting public opinion and inspiring personal commitment and even self-sacrifice, philhellenism had no preceding analogy since the Crusader mobilizations. Therefore, its manifestations and their underpinnings have occupied relevant research to a considerable extent.

Philhellenism indeed had deep roots and cast a long shadow. It has long been claimed that philhellenism was an upshot of Hellenism, the shared Hellenic heritage and its diffusion.[4] The dissemination of Greek culture during ancient times is also referred to fairly often as philhellenism.[5] The ancient philhellenism of the Hellenistic age and of Rome was to be renewed by Western humanists beginning in the fourteenth century. "Roman and philhellene", stated Aldus Manutius, a wording he rendered in Latin with the phrase "Romanus et graecarum studiosus", a scholar of Greek. In fact, humanists would elaborate the modern version of an *extra muros* Hellenism, making it a discrete field of scholarly pursuit and a component of the Western cultural construct. This coincided with the conquest of the Greek East by the Ottomans. The humanistic turn towards Greek letters would often be accompanied by expressions of sympathy by the residents of the Republic of Letters towards the Greeks under Ottoman rule, a sympathy which would convert to solidarity during periods of tension and politicization of humanism and amid constant calls for new crusades against the Turks.[6]

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italiano, p. 277. See also Angélique Amandry, "Le philhellénisme en France. Partitions de musique", *O Ερανιστής* 17 (1981), pp. 25-45; *id.*, "Le philhellénisme en France à travers les étiquettes commerciales", *Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 9 (1983), pp. 12-21; *id.*, *L'Indépendance grecque dans la faïence française du 19e siècle*, Athens: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, 1982.

[4] See Stefanos A. Koumanoudis, "Περί φιλελληνισμού. Λόγος ἐν τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ, τῇ 27 Φεβρουαρίου 1866", *Πανδώρα* 385 (1866), pp. 1-11; Pierre Grimal, "L'héritage de la Grèce", foreword to Moses Finley and Cyril Bailey, *L'héritage de la Grèce et de Rome*, Paris: Robert Laffont, 1992, pp. 3-13.

[5] The ancient uses of the term cover two distinguished realities: the non-Greeks who participated in or admired Greek culture, and the Greeks who engaged in panhellenic patriotic activity. For some illustrations, see F. E. Adcock, *Aspects of Philhellenism in Antiquity*, Adelaide: Australian Humanities Research Council, 1961.

[6] For an overview, see Gerhard Pfeiffer, *Studien zur Frühphase des europäischen*

Thus, the philhellenism of the learned would be linked to political projects as well as to the public sentiment set in motion by the terror of the "Turkish threat".

European wars with the Porte during the eighteenth century would pose the issue of the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of more or less client states under Western protection. Within this framework, a novel politicization of philhellenism can be observed, sustained by the Greek plan of Catherine II of Russia and the successive presences of the Russian fleet in the Aegean (1769-1792). The notion of the salvation of Greece promoted by Christian humanism and the imperialist philhellenism of Russia would soon be overlapped by the liberal philhellenism of the late Enlightenment. The latter would promulgate the idea of the modern revival (*régénération*) of the moral, cultural and political values of antiquity, while simultaneously sustaining the claims of Greek patriots.

All these overlapping notions converged during the Greek War of Independence, shaping the central philhellenic statement, that of the restoration of Greece and the defence of the rebellious Christian descendants of the Ancient Greeks from a despotic Muslim yoke. This was undoubtedly valuable for the insurgent Greeks, who constantly based their hopes on the Christian West and attempted to internationalize their demand for independence. Numerous studies have revealed that the old ideological footings of a humanistic or religious type remained resilient, particularly in such legitimist or absolutist environments as those of the courts of St Petersburg, Vienna or Berlin.[7] At the same time, other specialists have

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Philhellenismus (1453-1750), Erlangen-Nürnberg: Friedrich-Alexander University, 1968. For the general context of early Modern Greek studies, see A. C. Dionisotti and A. Grafton, (eds), *The Uses of Greek and Latin: Historical Essays*, London: Warburg Institute, 1988; also, Jean-Christoph Saladin, *La bataille du grec à la Renaissance*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2000.

[7] Earlier as well as more recent analyses have pointed to expressions of philhellenism in conservative environments, before, during and after the Greek uprising. See Stella Ghervas, "Le philhellénisme d'inspiration conservatrice en Europe et en Russie", in *Peuples, États et nations dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe*, Bucharest: Anima, 2004, pp. 98-110; *id.*, "Le philhellénisme russe. Union d'amour ou d'intérêt?", in *Regards sur le philhellénisme*, Geneva: Permanent Mission of Greece (UN), 2008, pp. 33-41; and *id.*, *Réinventer la tradition. Alexandre Stourdza et l'Europe de la Sainte-Alliance*, Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008. For philhellenism as a component of policy in conservative environments in the nineteenth century, see Ariadni Moutafidou, "Zwischen risorgimento-Tradition und raccoglimento-Politik. Philhellenismus und Staatspolitik in Italien, 1897", in Wolfram Hörandner *et al.* (eds), *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik. Beiträge zum Symposion Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien im Gedenken an Herbert, Hunger,*

focussed on the liberal ideological foundations of philhellenic solidarity, such as republican patriotism,[8] the novel ideas of the sovereign state and peoples' right to self-determination, as shaped by the late Enlightenment and the French Revolution.[9]

It was Terence Spencer's *Fair Greece! Sad Relic: Literary Philhellenism from Shakespeare to Byron* (1954) which defined research on early philhellenism, expanding its time span by dating its beginnings to fifteenth-century humanism in Britain.[10] Spencer approached British philhellenism as an interaction between public opinion and literary production, between literature and action. He defined it as a moral commitment by the West to Greece, based on cultural values and Christian ethics, as well as a mechanism of providence looking out for the restoration of Greece. According to Spencer, philhellenism "[…] described that devotion to the welfare of Greece and the faith in her future […]", a moral rallying of European public opinion which "[…] derived from a classical partiality in favour of the supposed descendants of the ancient pagan Hellenes; and it inspired the notion that there existed an urgent moral obligation for Europe to restore liberty to Greece as a kind of payment for the civilization which Hellas had once given to the world."[11]

Wien, 4.-7. Dezember 2002, Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2004, pp. 299-307; and *id.*, "Anton Prokesch-Osten and the Kingdom of Greece", in Herbert Kröll (ed.), *Austrian-Greek Encounters over the Centuries: History – Diplomacy – Politics – Arts – Economics*, Innsbruck 2007, pp. 117-126. For an overview of Prussian philhellenism, see Johannes Irmscher, *Der Philhellenismus in Preussen as Forschungsanliegen*, Berlin 1966.

[8] On republican patriotism, see Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore, IV. La Caduta dell'Antico Regime (1776-1789)*, Vol. II: *Il patriottismo repubblicano e gli imperi dell'Est*, Turin: Einaudi, 1984. Also, Pier Giorgio Camaiani, "La religiosità patriottica nel '21 greco e nel '48 italiano", in Giovanni Spadolini (ed.), *Indipendenza e unità nazionale in Italia ed in Grecia*, Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1987, pp. 61-78; and André Soboul (ed.), *Patriotisme et nationalisme en Europe à l'époque de la Révolution française et de Napoléon*, Paris: Société d'études Robespierristes, 1973.

[9] See Emile Malakis, *French Travellers in Greece (1770-1820): An Early Phase of French Philhellenism*, Philadelphia 1925; Chantal Grell, "Les ambiguités du philhellenisme. L'ambassade du Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier auprès de la Sublime Porte (1784–1792)", *Dix-huitième siècle* 27 (1995), pp. 223-235; Georges Tolias, *La médaille et la rouille. Images de la Grèce moderne dans la presse littéraire parisienne sous le directoire, le consulat et l'empire (1794-1816)*, Paris and Athens: Hatier, 1997, esp. "L'hellénisme restructuré", pp. 15-62; Dimitri Nicolaïdis, *D'une Grèce à l'autre. Représentations des Grecs modernes par la France révolutionnaire*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1992.

[10] Terence J. B. Spencer, *Fair Greece! Sad Relic: Literary Philhellenism from Shakespeare to Byron*, Bath: Chivers, 1973 (first edition, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1954).

[11] *Ibid.*, p. VII.

Spencer's methodology consisted of collecting and organizing into thematic historical groups the varied philhellenic manifestations which he himself did not consider as historical data. "Opinion," he noted in his foreword, "is not information; and it is very difficult to turn it into information; for opinion is too subtle a nature, and often too contradictory, to be translated into general terms […]"[12] This "loose" perception of the field allowed the study of diverse situations and phenomena, sometimes even alien to the Greek question.

Specialists have equally taken an interest in philhellenism's persistence following the Greek War of Independence.[13] As early as 1920, the peculiarities of philhellenism in Italy had led to the recognition of a broader historical range of philhellenism which encompassed the final years of the eighteenth century and nearly all of the nineteenth.[14] The peculiar features, as well as the long duration of Italian philhellenism, led Antonis Liakos to extend the range of its expression down to the end of the Ottoman period, in light of the two countries' mutual expectations of "revival" and national unification (*risorgimento* – *παλιγγενεσία* [rebirth]).[15] Gilles Pécout also approached Italian philhellenism in the long nineteenth century to 1920 as an expression of "political friendship" between two Mediterranean peoples.[16] Finally, Ariadni Moutafidou studied the Italian philhellenism of the early twentieth

[12] *Ibid.*, p. VIII.

[13] A symposium organized by the University of Cyprus in November 2015 under the title "Philhellenism and European Identity" explored aspects of the philhellenic commitments from the Roman era to the mid-nineteenth century; another symposium, organized by the University of Ioannina in July 2013, attempted to explore expressions of philhellenism from the Greek War of Independence to our day. See A. Mandilara, N. Anastasopoulos and L. Flitouris (eds), *Φιλελληνισμός. Το ενδιαφέρον για την Ελλάδα και τους Ελληνες απο το 1821 ως σήμερα* [Philhellenism: Interest in Greece and the Greeks from 1821 to today], Athens: Herodotos, 2015.

[14] Elena Persico, *Letteratura filellenica italiana, 1787-1870*, Rome 1920. Italian philhellene volunteers took part in the Cretan revolts, the Greek-Turkish Wars of 1880 and 1897 and even in the Balkan Wars.

[15] Antonis Liakos, *Η ιταλική ενοποίηση και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα, 1859-1862* [Italian unification and the Megali Idea, 1859-1862] Athens: Themelio, 1985; and *id.*, "Movimenti filellenici nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento", in Spetsieri Beschi and Lucarelli (eds), *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano*, pp. 173-175. See also the proceedings of the symposium held in Athens, 2-7 Oct 1985: Giovanni Spadolini (ed.), *Indipendenza e unità nazionale in Italia ed in Grecia*, Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1987.

[16] Gilles Pécout, "Philhellenism in Italy: Political Friendship and the Italian Volunteers in the Mediterranean in the Nineteenth Century", *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 9/4 (2004), pp. 405-427.

century, stressing its elements foreign to the Greek context, such as the Austrian occupation of northern Italy and the exile of Italian anarchists and activists during that period.[17]

Neo-humanism, Postcolonialism, Orientalism

From 1770 onwards, philhellenic notions proliferated and evolved with an uneven intensity of content and a varied range of priorities. They were transmitted into a wide range of ideological, cultural and social backgrounds, inspiring a broad spectrum of expressions ranging from political thought and erudition, to literature, art, music and fashion. The broad dissemination of philhellenic notions and their varied uses in different environments is a challenging field for researchers, as well as the main impediment to any attempt at synthesis, since the phenomenon manifested itself in dissimilar ways and for different time periods, depending on its origins and the local or national priorities of its area of expression.

Indeed, within the transnational wave of philhellenism, we witness the development of its distinct national expressions. The most stable was undoubtedly the French one, both by virtue of the persistence of humanist traditions among the French learned élites, as well as the hegemonic position of French culture during this age. Other related national expressions (each with its own specific features) were those of Italy and Britain. As we just mentioned, in Italy philhellenism gave a fresh sense to the constant bonds between the Mediterranean's two historic cultures, being involved in the common claims of both people for national emancipation and unification. In Britain, philhellenism renewed the long literary traditions of British Hellenism and translated philhellenic notions into political concepts, related to the emerging political liberalism and aspirations for true constitutional government.[18] In addition, we

[17] Ariadni Moutafidou, "Restless Elements and the Worst Imaginable Riff-raff: Italian Philhellenism and the Uncontrolled Dynamics of Volunteer Groups", in Evangelos Konstantinou (ed.), *Ausdrucksformen des europäischen und internationalen Philhellenismus vom 17. – 19. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2007, pp. 211-217. British philhellenism has also been seen as a long-lived phenomenon encompassing the entire nineteenth century. See Margarita Miliori, "Europe, the Classical *Polis* and the Greek Nation: Philhellenism and Hellenism in Nineteenth-century Britain", in R. Beaton and D. Ricks (eds), *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism and the Uses of the Past*, Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009, pp. 65-80.

[18] Spencer, *Fair Greece! Sad Relic*. Also, David Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. Frederick Rosen explored the "translation" of philhellenic ideas into political concepts such as liberalism

find philhellenic references in many patriotic national movements of that time, such as those in Poland, Finland, Spain and even Bulgaria.[19]

German philhellenism appeared as the most dynamic, given that from the late eighteenth century onwards German culture experienced a phase of Greek obsession. Therefore, studies on philhellenism in Germany have a wider scope, different from the rest of Europe. French academic studies on philhellenism are usually confined to the specific historical philhellenism, the favourable disposition of public opinion to Modern Greece, while those related to German philhellenism encompass the entirety of Greek references in German culture and thought. German philhellenism is therefore associated to neo-humanism and its strong impact on German culture, as has been expertly assessed first by Eliza Marian Butlers and more recently by Suzanne Marchand.[20] The French continued to describe these phenomena, using the traditional term Hellenism, that is, the study of Greek letters, history, archaeology and so forth,

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and nationalism. See his *Bentham, Byron and Greece: Constitutionalism, Nationalism and Early Liberal Political Thought*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992. The involvement of French republican ideas in the philhellenic discourse was studied by Nicolaïdis, *D'une Grèce à l'autre.*

[19] For connections between philhellenism and the Polish patriotic movement, see Praca Zbiorowa *et al*. (eds), *Filhellenizm w Polsce. Rekonesans*, Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press, 2007 (with English and Greek abstracts). For the functions of philhellenism in the formation of Finnish national identity, see Petra Pakkanen, *August Myhrberg and North-European Philhellenism: Building the Myth of a Hero*, Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens, Vol. X, Helsinki: Finnish Institute at Athens, 2006. For Spanish philhellenism, see Thanos Vagenas, "Ο Ισπανικός φιλελληνισμός κατά την Ελληνικήν Επανάστασιν" [Spanish philhellenism during the Greek Revolution], *Φιλελληνικά* (January-March 1955), pp. 6-9, and I. K. Chassiotis, "Ο Ισπανικός φιλελληνισμός" [Spanish philhellenism], *Μακεδονική Ζωή* (March 1972), pp. 10-14. For Bulgarian philhellenism, see Spyros Loukatos "Le philhellénisme balkanique pendant la lute pour l'Indépendance hellénique", *Balkan Studies* 19/1 (1978), pp. 249-283.

[20] Eliza Marian Butlers, *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany: A Study of the Influence Exercised by Greek Art and Poetry over the Great German Writers of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935. The peculiarities of German perceptions of philhellenism formed the subject of Suzanne Marchand's recent analysis. In her study, philhellenism is presented and interpreted as the Greek cultural obsession of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany and is entirely decoupled from any marshalling of German public opinion with modern Greece and its claims. See Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996. A similar perception of philhellenism pervades the articles in the collective volume *Graecomania. Der europäische Philhellenismus*, ed. Elena Agazzi and Élisabeth Déculot, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009.

thoroughly examined by the great historians of Greek studies in France such as Émile Egger and René Canat.[21] French Hellenism was confined to scholarly issues, particularly to matters of erudition and literature, and the study of the various elaborations of Greek ideas in philosophy or political thought were not covered by any specific term; indeed, relevant studies conducted with the use of philhellenism as a tool are rare.[22] Lastly, in contrast to the German approach, that of other European cultures (especially in France, Italy and Britain) did not acknowledge a specific neo-humanist movement beginning in the late eighteenth century, following the *retour à l'antique* and adoption of Neoclassicism.[23]

The inclusion of the German example in our globalized studies results in a semantic confusion, heightened once we leave the closed field of monographs on specific subjects and proceed to attempts at synthesis or multifaceted approaches.[24] In 2005, a special issue of the *Revue Germanique Internationale*

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[21] Émile Egger, *L'Hellénisme en France. Leçons sur l'influence des études grecques dans le développement de la langue et de la littérature françaises*, Paris: Didier, 1869; René Canat, *L'Hellénisme des romantiques*, 3 vols, Paris: Didier, 1951-1955. On French Hellenism, see Alfred Croiset, *L'Hellénisme*, in the series 'La science française' of the Librairie Larousse, Paris 1915. For its early expressions, see Jean-François Maillard, *La France des humanistes*, Vol. I: *Hellénistes*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2003. Sophie Basch, in her effort to distinguish the turn of the French intelligentsia towards Ancient Greece observed between 1870 and 1914, independent of philhellenism and established scholarly Greek studies, proposed the term "modern classicism"; see her "Albert Thibaudet et la *klassiche* Moderne", *Philhellénismes et transferts culturels dans l'Europe du XIXe siècle*, special issue of the *Revue Germanique Internationale* 1-2 (2005), pp. 169-190.

[22] Such as Sophie Bourgault, "Philhellenism among the Philosophes: Ancient Greece in French Enlightenment Historiography", in Sophie Bourgault and Robert Sparling (eds), *A Companion to Enlightenment Historiography*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013, pp. 437-468. Studies in this field are usually situated within the scope of cultural heritage, historicity or the memory of the antique, such as Chantal Grell, *Le XVIIIe siècle et l'Antiquité en France, 1680-1789*, Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1995; Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Les Grecs, les historiens, la démocratie*, Paris: La Découverte, 2000; François Hartog, *Anciens, modernes, sauvages*, Paris: Galaade, 2005.

[23] Rather, they questioned Hellenism's political implications from the French Revolution and onwards. See François Hartog, "La Révolution française et l'Antiquité. Avenir d'une illusion ou cheminement d'un quiproquo?", in *Situations de la démocratie*, La Pensée politique 1, Paris: Gallimard – Le Seuil, 1993, pp. 30-61; also, Chryssanthi Avlami (ed.), *L'Antiquité grecque au XIXème siècle. Un* exemplum *contesté?*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000.

[24] The example of a series of conferences on European philhellenism organized in German academic settings by Evangelos Konstantinou reveals the essential instability of the term. To date, 13 volumes resulting from these meetings (the series *Philhellinische Studien*,

undertook to tame philhellenism's content variations, approaching it as a cultural transfer between European cultures in the long nineteenth century.[25] According to the volume's editors, Michel Espagne and Gilles Pécout, philhellenism encompassed three historical realities which contributed to the making of the cultural identity of the West in the nineteenth century: a) a scholarly, aesthetic and philosophical movement, which from the late eighteenth century restored Ancient Greece as a leading political and cultural reference point and introduced the modern version of humanism; b) an occasional movement involving support for the revolutionary Greeks, which combined Romanticism and military guardianship in Europe after the Congress of Vienna; and c) a confirmation of a continuous and stable allegiance with the Greek people in the name of the principles of 1848 and of the country's historic Mediterranean identity. The Greek nation was viewed as the last remaining conquered people in nineteenth-century Europe.

Both Espagne and Pécout, familiar with the losses and alterations of content resulting from cultural transfers, acknowledged that the triple definition they proposed was more descriptive than interpretative, in other words that it aimed to encompass the broadest-possible range of relevant expressions rather than identify a canon. Thus, the first historical reality was essentially German neo-humanism's perception of philhellenism, the processes by which the connection with Ancient Greece was forged.[26] The second combined the classic meaning of historical philhellenism associated with the Greek War of Independence, highlighting its links to nineteenth-century European protectionism and military interventionism. The third was that of patriotic liberalism and its various applications, especially in Italy as well as in the regions of Europe that were attempting at that time to gain national independence from imperialist rule, such as Spain, Poland and Finland.

Frankfurt: Peter Lang Publications), include essays devoted to traditional philhellenism together with others dedicated to various aspects of Greek studies, with an emphasis on the diffusion of Ancient, medieval and Modern Greek culture.

[25] *Philhellénismes et transferts culturels dans l'Europe du XIXe siècle*, special issue of the *Revue Germanique Internationale* 1-2 (2005). The issue contains essays on philhellenic manifestations across a broader spectrum, from the reception of Greek antiquity by Winckelmann and Greek archetypes in the work of Freud to the views of philhellenes about the infrastructures of the newly founded Greek State. In addition, some of the preoccupations of Greek scholars, such as Andreas Moustoxydis, were included.

[26] Sandrine Maufroy went deeper into this line of thought, analysing the uses of Hellenic references in Germany and France in connection to scholarly philhellenic works between 1815 and 1848. See Sandrine Maufroy, *Le philhellénisme franco-allemand (1815-1848)*, Paris and Berlin 2011.

Philhellenism was confronted as a sum of interactions pervading European cultures and societies, shaping a shared supra-national *topos*. Nevertheless, the diverse historical realities that philhellenism encompassed were not even, nor necessarily complementary. Both humanism and neo-humanism were general frames of reference, while the specific philhellenic commitments were subject to the vagaries of circumstance. Furthermore, the expanded content of philhellenism went beyond both the traditional domain of Western solidarity with the insurgent Greeks, allowing the inclusion of the Greek reactions of reception, incorporation or rejection. In fact, the common feature in this tripartite definition of philhellenism is the recovery of the antique aesthetic, philosophical and patriotic values and their modern use in the processes of nation-building in nineteenth-century Europe. If we accept this common denominator, then we would set as a central working concept of philhellenism that of "revival", *régéneration*, *risorgimento* or, for the Greeks themselves, *παλιγγενεσία*.[27]

The analysis of philhellenism's ideological implications is the object of some novel approaches to the issue. Scholars working in this vein follow the line of attack launched by theorists of postcolonial studies, who aimed to deconstruct the erudite discourse by disclosing the hidden agenda of scholarly preoccupations especially in the fields of Eastern and Classical studies and to highlight their involvement in the shaping of geopolitical concepts of weighty semantic range.[28] In fact, a number of recent approaches to philhellenism focus on the ideological functions of philhellenism's representations and aim to analyse their implications, both on the level of the formation of Western cultural identity as well as that of their reception in Modern Greece. Thus, and after Elli Skopeteas' early attempts,[29] Stathis Gourgouris explored the role and functions of philhellenism in the perception of Modern Greece and the formation of Modern Greek identity. In his work *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece*, he proposed a multi-level and somewhat arcane approach, one that combined psychoanalytic methodology,

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[27] For the meanings assumed by the term after the French Revolution, see Mona Ozouf in François Furet, Mona Ozouf *et al*., *Dictionnaire critique de la révolution française*, Paris: Flammarion, 1988.

[28] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage Books, 1979; Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, Vol. I: *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece, 1785-1985*, New Brunswick, NJ, 1987.

[29] Elli Skopetea, *Το πρότυπο βασίλειο και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα* [The model kingdom and the Megali Idea], Athens 1988; and *id.*, *Φαλμεράυερ. Τεχνάσματα του αντίπαλου δέους* [Fallmerayer: Ruses of Counterbalance], Athens: Themelio, 1997.

philological criticism, the theory of the imagined communities of nationalism and the deconstruction of colonialism and orientalism.[30] Gourgouris stressed the decisive influence of philhellenism both on shaping Greece as a nation as well as on framing European cultural perceptions in the nineteenth century. His work reveals philhellenism as a form of orientalism to the extent that it proceeded to the replacement of local "realities" with representations of Western provenance ("the desire for civilization").[31]

The association of philhellenism and orientalism is certainly a challenge. Orientalism had a decisive influence on the perception of Greece in the nineteenth century, and the "Eastern" nature of Modern Greek culture and society led Modern Greek studies from an early date to the field of Oriental studies. Greek and Oriental studies are *a posteriori* or "external" scholarly approaches to the culture of the Greeks and other historical peoples of the Ancient East, perceptions or, if one prefers, cultural constructions whose roots stretch back to Hellenistic and Roman times. In fact, both Greek and Oriental studies are such old scholarly fields that they can be considered structural components of Western culture.[32] Without doubt, during the age when Western colonial rule spread over the historical cultures of the East, in other words throughout the entire period encompassed by the Eastern Question (eighteenth-twentieth centuries), both orientalism and philhellenism proved to be fields for the coalescence of cultural views and political ventures. From this standpoint, we could define philhellenism and orientalism as cultural transfers among antiquity (or "antiquities"), Western Europe and the modern societies of the Eastern Mediterranean, in other words an interaction between ideology, politics and cultural representations. In this framework, philhellenism could be seen as an ideological construct of the West to which Modern Greeks were called to respond.[33]

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[30] Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996 (esp. Chapter 4, "The Punishments of Philhellenism', pp. 122-154).

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 140-141.

[32] The German terminology complicated matters here as well. In 2004, Suzanne L. Marchand published a study in which she undertook to compare learned German preoccupations with Ancient Greece and the ancient civilizations of the East, under the title "Philhellenism and the *Furor Orientalis*" (*Modern Intellectual History* 1/3 [2004], pp. 331-358).

[33] See N. Sigalas, "Hellénistes, hellénisme et idéologie nationale. De la formation du concept d''hellénisme' en grec moderne", in Avlami (ed.), *L'Antiquité grecque au XIXe siècle*, pp. 239-291. For a critique of Greek responses, see Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982.

A Movement in Three Acts

Perennial or circumstantial, political realism or fantasy of the Republic of Letters, protectionist or interventionist, philhellenic discourse was gradually confirmed around a series of decisive military acts, such as the Orlov expedition (1769-1775), the French and Russian occupations of the Ionian Islands (1799-1815), the Greek War of Independence (1821-1833), the Battle of Navarino (1827) and the ensuing expedition of General Maison to the Morea or the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829. Over the long course of philhellenism's varied transfers and transferals, the Greek War of Independence should be viewed as a main catalyst, a watershed event and a blood tie which transformed a rather vague universal aspiration into a specific claim and sealed the commitment to solidarity. This defining moment can serve as a mark, distinguishing three historical phases of the phenomena we are considering here, one before, one during and one after the Greek War of Independence.

In its first phase, as it was generated by political and military events, philhellenism became primarily established in the realms of learned and political thinking, literature and erudition. This phase saw the development of the philhellenic rhetoric of the revival of a "free Greece" and the system of critical and comparative Hellenism which aimed to assess Modern Greek realities in relation to the Ancient.[34] There was a response to this system by the avant-garde patriotic Greek intelligentsia who envisioned national emancipation. The revival theories of Rhigas Feraios and of Adamantios Korais in particular could be viewed as Greek responses to the philhellenic vision, since they argued for the association of Modern Greece with democratic antiquity and presented the Greek national awakening as the "rebirth" of Greece.[35]

Already in 1803, Korais appeared as the main theorist of the revival project, with his *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce*.[36]

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[34] Tolias, *La médaille et la rouille*, esp. "L'hellénisme critique et compare", pp. 25-62.

[35] This allowed Greek intellectual patriots to declare themselves as "philhellenes". Rhigas' statement on this is characteristic: "being philhellene by nature" [*ὄντας φύσει φιλέλλην*]. Rhigas Velestinlis, *Φυσικῆς ἀπάνθισμα διὰ τοὺς ἀγχίνους καὶ φιλομαθεὶς Ἕλληνας* [Florilegium of natural sciences for the sagacious and studious Greeks] [1790], ed. K. T. Petsios, Athens 2002, p. 37.

[36] Adamantios Korais, *Memoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce, lu à la Société des Observateurs de l'Homme, le 16 Nivôse, an XI (6 Janvier 1803)*, Paris: Didot, 1803. See Olga Avgoustinos, "Philhellenic Promises and Hellenic Visions: Korais and the Discourses of the Enlightenment", in Katerina Zacharia (ed.), *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, pp. 169-200.

In this programmatic text of Greek nationalism, Korais announced the ongoing and irrevocable regeneration of Greece's culture, society and economy through contact with "enlightened Europe" and the return to the ancient sources of Hellenism. The revival of Greece found a warm response in Greek intellectual circles and bestowed a specific tone to the cultural and patriotic effervescence of the years from 1790 to 1820, what we usually call the Greek Enlightenment.[37] However, the resilience of the philhellenic revival vision can be traced in the Greek rejections. Apart from the negative response of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which was both expected and *de rigueur* for a religious imperial authority, other reactions were also noticed. One such example was offered by Michail Perdikaris in his *Ρήγας ή κατά ψευδοφιλελλήνων* [Rhigas, or Against pseudo-philhellenes] (1811). Perdikaris did not accept the scheme of connecting a Modern Greece with republican antiquity anticipated by Rhigas, since he could not conceive of any other political system for the Greek people apart from empire.[38] Another, more picturesque example was offered by the Ionian Islands during their short occupation by the French Republicans in 1799. Nikolaos Koutouzis satirized the philhellenic resurrection propaganda of Antonios Martelaos, intoning:

> *Martelaos, my learned friend, whoever dies, dies!*
> *We shan't see another Greece, whoever dies, dies!*
>
> *They are just dirt nowadays, all the ancient valiant bones.*
> *If you search, my professor, you will find nothing but worms.*[39]

In the West, it was Korais' manifesto of Greek regeneration which called into doubt the feasibility of such a realization, and his long debate with Jakob Salomon Bartholdy in the early years of the nineteenth century provides a summary of the challenges which were at stake. Both sides resorted to analogies with nature to describe relations between Ancient and Modern

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[37] See C. Th. Dimaras, *Ο Ελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* [The Greek Enlightenment], Athens: Ermis, [5]1989, pp. 53-55.

[38] Perdikaris understood the subjugation of the Greeks as part of the design of Divine Providence, as punishment for the decline of Christian morals, and believed that the Greeks "co-ruled" the empire. He cauterized philhellenic ideas as a satanic plot. See "Ρήγας ἢ κατὰ ψευδοφιλελλήνων τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Περδικάρη (1811), ἐκδιδόμενον ὑπὸ Λ. Ι. Βρανούση" [Rhigas, or Against pseudo-philhellenes by Michail Perdikaris (1811), edited by L. I. Vranoussis], *Επετηρίς του Μεσαιωνικού Αρχείου* 11 (1961), pp. 7-204.

[39] M. Papaioannou and K. Iordanidis (eds), *Η ελληνική ποίηση. Φαναριώτες, Άνθη Ευλαβείας, Επτανήσιοι* [Greek poetry: Phanariots, flowers of virtue, Ionian poets], Athens: Govostis, 1980, p. 145.

Greece. Korais proposed the metaphor of an abandoned garden which, with care and watering, would flourish once more. Bartholdy countered with the metaphor of a magnificent petrified forest; only something new could bloom where it had stood, assuming all the dead trees were cut down.[40]

In its second and central phase, during the Greek War of Independence, philhellenism became a matter of action, a political dictate, acquiring ideological and social content. Although it became a current of public opinion and a social "fashion", philhellenism was primarily a matter of blood – that of the foreign volunteers who fought in Greece.[41] Their sacrifice lent coherence and content to the proclivities of public opinion, while reminding us that cultural transfers are not always anodyne intellectual issues; that they can be associated with crucial matters of identity, for which men are ready to kill or be killed.

In this phase, philhellenism did not form a unified definite phenomenon. Its national manifestations diverged, being inspired by diverse motives: anti-authoritarian and republican ideas repressed by the Bourbon restoration in France; British liberal aspirations to establish a constitutional rule of law; the failed movements of Italian and German patriots seeking to join the divided territories of Italy and Germany into nation-states; the imperial views of St Petersburg and to some degree, Vienna; and, finally, the resurgence of Christian, Crusader-like ideals, which wished to confine Ottoman Islam within its presumed Asiatic borders. All these concurrent, often conflicting motives found common expression in the philhellenic commitment. Greek fighters and intellectual patriots strongly adhered to philhellenic rhetoric. The revolutionary press, the memoirs of the combatants and the patriotic

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[40] For Korais' views on revival, see Gourgouris, "The Formal Imagination, II: Natural History and National Pedagogy – The Case of Korais", *Dream Nation,* pp. 90-112. For the ideological bases of the revival and Korais' views on its implementation in the Ionian Islands, see George Tolias, "Κοραής και Επτάνησα (1798-1814). Αποδοχή και ενδοιασμός των Ιδεολόγων" [Korais and the Ionian Islands (1798-1814): Acceptance and reticence of the Ideologues], in A. Nikiforou (ed.), *Επτάνησος Πολιτεία (1800-1807). Τα μείζονα ιστορικά ζητήματα* [The Septinsular Republic (1800-1807): The major historical issues], Corfu: Archives of the Corfu Prefecture, 2001, pp. 75-101. For the controversy between Korais and Bartholdy, see P. M. Kitromilides, "Κριτική και πολιτική. Η ιδεολογική σημασία της επίκρισης του ελληνισμού από τον J. L. S. Bartholdy" [Criticism and politics: The ideological impact of J. L. S. Bartholdy's censure of Hellenism], *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* 24 (1981), pp. 377-410; and *id.*, "Aux origines des mishellénismes", in Gilles Grivaud, *Les mishellénismes*, Athens: French School at Athens, 2001, pp. 49-56.

[41] Stefanos Papageorgiou estimated that one third of the known philhellenes died in Greece (313 of 940 philhellene volunteers). See his *Από το Γένος στο Έθνος*, pp. 116-117.

literature teemed with references to the rebirth of Greek values, a dominant idea encapsulated in the early Greek national insignia: the phoenix, reborn from its ashes, was the device of the Sacred Band, the company of Greek volunteer students who fought and perished under Ypsilantis at the Battle of Dragassani (Moldavia, 1821), and the first Greek national emblem during the Kapodistrian administration (fig. 1).[42] Here too, however, the resilience of philhellenism should be pointed out: there was mutual mistrust, as well as disappointments in Greece and excesses provoked by the philhellenic frenzy in Europe, as E. T. A. Hoffmann acidly recorded.[43]

Fig. 1. The silver phoenix, the emblem and currency of Greece during the Kapodistrian administration (1828-1831).

[42] The first mint facility, an antiquated screw press imported from Malta, was kept in Kapodistrias' own courtyard in Aegina. See G. D. Dimakopoulos, "Το Εθνικόν Νομισματοκοπείον της Ελλάδος (1828-1833)" [The National Mint of Greece (1828-1833)], *Πελοποννησιακά* 8 (1971), pp. 15-96. The phoenix as emblem is also found on the revolutionary seal of the Peloponnesian Senate (1821), but was mainly used for activities related to Greek responses to Russian political philhellenism. Besides its appearance on Alexandros Ypsilantis' 1821 revolutionary standard, "Phoenix" was the name given by Prince Alexandros Mavrocordatos the Fugitive (1754-1819) to the secret patriotic society that he founded in 1787; it appears on the personal seal of Prince Dimitrios Ypsilantis and on the seal of the Greek Authority of the Harbour of Odessa. The symbol also had associations with Freemasonry. It was the name of the Hall of Zakynthos, founded in 1815. See Georgios Georgiopoulos, *Το νεοελληνικό νόμισμα απο την ανεξαρτησία μέχρι σήμερα* [Modern Greek currency from independence to today], Athens: NHRF, 2002, pp. 122-123.

[43] For Hoffmann's satire, see Sophie Basch (ed.), *E. T. A. Hoffmann, Contes grecs*, Paris and Athens: Hatier, 1997. On disappointments, see Vana Mylona-Büsse (ed.), *Οι ανώδυνες παρατηρήσεις του Γερμανού Φιλέλληνα Ντάνενμπεργκ* [The bland observations of the German philhellene Dannenberg], Athens: D. N. Karavias, 1990. In her study of the international revolutionary volunteerism of the nineteenth century, Anna Karakatsouli stressed the frequent disenchantment of philhellenes in Greece; see *"Μαχητές της ελευθερίας" και 1821. Η Ελληνική Επανάσταση στη διεθνική της διάσταση* ["Freedom fighters" and 1821: The Greek Revolution in its international dimension], Athens: Pedio, 2016, especially the concluding chapter on utopia or dystopia.

The third phase of philhellenism was of a protectionist nature, as post-war philhellenism had a clear political background. It appeared during the crisis of the Greek War of Independence as a *deus ex machina* and endured after the founding of the Greek State. It was linked both with the implementation of modern state institutions in the newly founded nation and the construction of its Hellenic identity, as well as with the gradual integration of the Greek territories that remained in the Ottoman Empire.

This stage was inaugurated by the intervention of the French, Russians and British at Navarino (1827), the three "rival allies"[44] and guarantors of the Kingdom of Greece at the London Conference of 1832, and was marked by the dependent allegiances of the first Greek political parties. During this phase, we observe the presence and activity of foreign groups and individuals who took part in the making of a model state, such as the members of the French Morea Expedition (1828-1833), those of the 1829 French Scientific Expedition to the Morea and of the Bavarian auxiliary army corps (1833-1837), as well as individual scholars and experts such as von Heydeck, Quinet, Tiersch, d'Eichtal and many others. Briefly, we could define this phase as the period of moral support or guardianship of the Greek Kingdom in its infancy or, to recall the restrained wording of C. Th. Dimaras, the period when "[…] the West continued to repay the descendants of those who had once nursed it".[45] Their aim was to found infrastructures on an institutional level, regarding legislation, the army and administration, education and even the economy.[46] This transformation of philhellenism into a moral guardianship proved decisive. The complex equilibrium between the three protecting "Great Powers" led to a kind of devious colonialism which Michael Herzfeld defined as "crypto-colonialism",[47] a veiled involvement by the European West in the setting up and control of Greek affairs.

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[44] See Vassilis Panagiotopoulos' introduction to Yanis Saïtas (ed.), *The Work of the French Scientific Expedition to the Morea, 1829-1838, Part I: Natural Sciences Section*, Athens: Melissa, 2011, pp. 4-5.

[45] C. Th. Dimaras, "Ο ελληνισμός" [Hellenism], *Το Βήμα* (16 March 1956), repr. in *Σύμμικτα, Α΄: Από την παιδεία στην λογοτεχνία* [Analecta, I: From culture to literature], ed. Alexis Politis, Athens: Center for Neo-Hellenic Studies, 2000, p. 317.

[46] See Mariliza Mitsou, "Βαυαρικός Φιλελληνισμός και Μεγάλη Ιδέα" [Bavarian Philhellenism and the Great Idea], *Κονδυλοφόρος* 3 (2004), pp. 71-81. Also, Sandrine Maufroy, "Pour une étude du philhellénisme franco-allemand. Une approche de la question à partir des cas de Karl Benedikt Hase et de Friedrich Thiersch", *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique* 6 (2009), pp. 99-127; and *id.*, *Le philhellénisme franco-allemand, 1815-1848*, Paris: Belin, 2010, pp. 211-235.

[47] Michael Herzfeld, "The Absent Presence: Discourses of Crypto-Colonialism", *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 101/4 (2002), pp. 899-926.

Philhellenic protectionism would replace patriotic liberalism as the common denominator in the activities of these new philhellenes. Another shared trait was the often professional status of many of them. Several earned their livelihoods in Greece, continuing upon return to their homeland as professional Hellenists specializing in subjects related to Greece. Restoring Greece to Europe's eastern borders became a career.[48] This was the case for the foreign officers in the Greek army, as well as for Neoclassical architects, archaeologists, Hellenists and Neo-Hellenists. They saw in Greece's restoration a sort of laboratory for testing aesthetic, political and economic ideas; even Saint-Simonianist companies and communities undertook ventures in Greece.[49] In short, we could say that the scholarly and theoretical philhellenism of the pre-revolutionary period was gradually transformed into a political act which culminated during the Greek War of Independence, to be once more transformed into a moral guardianship in the post-revolutionary period. The theme of the revival of ancient values and virtues pervaded and united philhellenism's three successive phases, allowing us to treat them as a continuous phenomenon.

Revival as national objective and the instauration of multiple bonds with the antique past were the keystones in shaping the identity of the newly founded Greek State. They occupied the wider range of socio-political and cultural sectors, from language and literary production, art and architecture, to

[48] François Pouqueville's career provides an excellent illustration: a surgeon on the French expedition to Egypt, he was imprisoned in Tripoliza and Constantinople (1798-1801), where he learnt Greek and collected the material for a travel narrative (1805). In 1806 he was appointed consul general of France in Ioannina and in 1815 in Patras, where he stayed until 1816. The outcome of this long residence was the five volumes of *Voyage dans la Grèce* (1820-21) and the six volumes of its revised philhellenic second edition, published after the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence (*Voyage de la Grèce*, 1826). In 1824 he produced a four-volume history of the Greek War of Independence (*Histoire de la régénération de la Grèce*). Finally, in 1835, he composed the volume dedicated to Ancient Greece for Didot's series "L'Univers". He was elected a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1827) and was a member of the Institut d'Egypte, the Académie de Médecine, the Académie Royale de Marseille, the Ionian Academy (Corfu) and the Society of Sciences of Bonn and was a Knight of the Légion d'Honneur. Upon his death in 1838, a commemorative medal was commissioned to David d'Angers, the "last reward received by Pouqueville, for having learned Greek", as Jules Lair mordantly put it in 1902 (Jules Lair, "La captivité de Pouqueville en Morée", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 46/6 [1902], pp. 648-664).

[49] Gustave d'Eichthal, *La langue grecque, mémoires et notices, 1864-1884, précédé d'une notice sur les services rendus par Gustave d'Eichthal à la Grèce et aux études grecques, par le marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire*, Paris 1887.

administration, education, historiography, philology, ethnography, archaeology and even popular culture.[50] This is not the place to wonder about whether this option was the indispensable and essential pathway for Greek nation-building or whether it was a sort of "tyranny of philhellenism over Modern Greece" (to adopt E. M. Butler's phrase for Germany).[51] What concerns us here is that, gradually, philhellenic visions and public opinion were to follow separate roads. As the years passed, philhellenism's resilience diminished. Sophie Basch has expertly analysed the predicaments of the philhellenic project which appeared from 1850 onwards in France and defined them as "miso-philhellenism".[52]

Indeed, in 1854 and 1857 Edmond About disclosed the disparities between the philhellenic revival myth and contemporary Greek reality and mocked the romantic legend of the heroic revolutionary Greece.[53] A rejection of the philhellenic vision, though different in content and delayed, was also observed in Greece. In 1878, Joseph Reinach conveyed the Greeks' discomfort, writing: "The Greeks, when they want to say of someone they know that he is gullible and naïve, say 'He's foolish, like a philhellene'." The same Reinach recorded the irritation of Anastasios Goudas, who preferred the "anti-Greek" critique of Edmond About "[…] to the pompous panegyrics of the idiotic philhellenes".[54] Emmanouil Roidis cauterized Reinach's philhellenism,

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[50] Among the titles of the vast relevant bibliography, see Beaton and Ricks (eds), *The Making of Modern Greece*; P. Bien, "Inventing Greece", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 23/2 (2005), pp. 217-234; Effie Fotini Athanassopoulos, "An 'Ancient' Landscape: European Ideals, Archaeology, and Nation Building in Early Modern Greece", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 20/2 (2002), pp. 273-305; Antonis Liakos, "Hellenism and the Making of Modern Greece: Time, Language, Space", in Zacharia (ed.), *Hellenisms*, pp. 201-236. To these we should add the recent essay by Ewa Ròza Janion, *Imaging Suli: Interactions between Philhellenic Ideas and Greek Identity Discourse*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2015.

[51] On this matter there is an extensive and ever-growing bibliography which aims to deconstruct the relevant narratives. Besides the above-mentioned works by Skopetea and Gourgouris, one should add Michael Herzfeld's *Anthropology through the Looking Glass: Critical Ethnography on the Margins of Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, and Yannis Hamilakis' *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

[52] Sophie Basch, *Le mirage grec. La Grèce moderne dans la littérature française depuis la création de l'École française d'Athènes jusqu'à la guerre civile grecque (1846-1946)*, Paris and Athens: Hatier, 1995, pp. 493-500.

[53] Edmond About, *La Grèce contemporaine*, Paris: Hachette, 1854; and *id., Le Roi des montagnes*, Paris: Hachette, 1857. Both works were quite influential. They went through several editions and were translated into almost all Western languages.

[54] Joseph Reinach, *Voyage en Orient. La Grèce, la Grèce contemporaine, l'Adriatique, la question d'Orient en Orient*, Paris: G. Charpentier, 1879, pp. 171-172. See also Georges Tolias,

accusing him of describing Greece and the Greeks by concealing his total ignorance of his subject with his omnipotent memories of antiquity.[55] Roidis' criticism of Reinach's philhellenism is a penetrating text which clearly keeps its distance from the coercive cultural projections of the Republic of Letters. The critiques by Goudas and Roidis reveal the gradual liberation of Greek intellectuals as regards the philhellenic project. They indicate the degree of saturation with philhellenic comparisons and advice and with utopian theories of revival. At the same time, they reveal a new sense of security, an identity which differentiates itself from antiquity and distances itself from the Western philhellenic construct.

By the 1870s, the resilience of philhellenism both in Europe and in Greece appeared to have been exhausted. Political attempts to revive philhellenism during times of armed conflict would be circumstantial and temporary. They were observed mainly in connection with the Cretan uprisings and, to a lesser degree, in connection with issues of national unification, such as the annexation of Thessaly and later that of Macedonia. In fact, we cannot say that there was a fourth phase in philhellenism beyond a philhellenic afterword, a slow decline in philhellenic commitments by the West noted between 1870 and 1920. In this atmosphere of waning philhellenism, Greek and European politicians would meet, endeavouring to prioritize Greek culture and its humanistic values as a political bulwark against Russian politics and the "Slavic threat". These issues, however, are the subject of another chapter.

Institute of Historical Research / NHRF

Translated from Greek by Deborah Kazazis

"Les interlocuteurs Grecs de Joseph Reinach (1878)", in Sophie Basch, Michel Espagne and Jean Leclant (eds), *Les frères Reinach*, Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres – de Boccard, 2008, pp. 309-322.

[55] *Ἑστία*, no. 224 (18 April 1880), p. 229.

MINING ENGINEERS, INDUSTRIAL MODERNISATION AND POLITICS IN GREECE, 1870-1940*

Leda Papastefanaki

ABSTRACT: The engineers who studied in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and who returned to Greece to work have been seen as bearers of scientific knowledge and the modernising effort. Actually, they were active historical agents contributing with their multiple scientific activities to the process of appropriation of science and technology and industrial modernisation in the specific historical environment. This article aims, through the study of a particular professional group of engineers, the mining engineers, to demonstrate the interaction between scientific and technical professional activities and participation in political and social affairs. For these mining engineers, the technical efficiency and economic growth that industrialisation would bring could not be dissociated from social order and a hierarchical form of social organisation. At the same time, the formation of their professional group, as well as the social organisation that they envisioned, were rooted in gendered and class relations of power.

Introduction

In all countries that have embarked upon the road to industrialisation, engineers have constituted a new professional group that has played an important role in the diffusion of technology, the systematisation of technical education, industrial growth and physical construction, public administration and in the rise of new ways of organising work. Economic history has underscored the importance of systematic technical education at all professional levels as a precondition for economic growth and the increased technological independence of continental Europe (from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards).[1]

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[1] Antoine Picon, *L'invention de l'ingénieur moderne. L'École des Ponts et Chaussées, 1747-1851*, Paris 1992; David Landes, *Ο Προμηθέας χωρίς δεσμά. Τεχνολογική αλλαγή και βιομηχανική ανάπτυξη στη δυτική Ευρώπη από το 1750 μέχρι σήμερα* [originally published as *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western*

The mining sector in modern Greece has a long and varied history. From the nineteenth century and up to 1940, Greek mined ores were exported mainly as raw materials to the international markets, while there were also some important metallurgy plants, such as the one of the Compagnie Française des Mines du Laurium [hereafter CFML]. Most mines were small-scale enterprises in which operations were carried out with low-technology means of mining.[2] Given the importance of mining for the Greek economy from the second half of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth, an interest in the formation of the professional group of mining engineers is almost self-evident. The shaping during the interwar years of a critical mass of mining engineers who had studied at European universities seemed to render a discussion of the modernisation of mining enterprises, infrastructures and state services more feasible than ever before.[3] This article focusses on their

Europe from 1750 to the Present, New York 1969], transl. C. Mentzalira, ed. C. Agriantoni, Athens 2009, pp. 175-177, 371-381.

[2] On aspects of the history of the mining sector in the country, see the works by Christina Agriantoni, *Οι απαρχές της εκβιομηχάνισης στην Ελλάδα τον 19ο αιώνα* [The beginning of industrialisation in Greece in the nineteenth century], Athens 1986, and "Βιομηχανία" [Industry], in C. Hadziiossif (ed.), *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας τον 20ου αιώνα. Οι απαρχές, 1900-1922* [History of Greece in the twentieth century: The beginnings, 1900-1922], Vol. I/1, Athens 1999, pp. 173-221. See also Christos Hadziiossif, *Η γηραιά σελήνη. Η βιομηχανία στην ελληνική οικονομία, 1830-1940* [The old moon: Industry in the Greek economy, 1830-1940], Athens 1993; and the works by Leda Papastefanaki, "Από τα ορυκτά για το Γ΄ Ράιχ στα ορυκτά για την 'άμυνα της Δύσεως'. Η εξορυκτική δραστηριότητα στην Ελλάδα, 1941-1966" [From the ores for the Third Reich to the ores for the "defence of the West": Mining activity in Greece, 1941-1966], *Τα Ιστορικά* 57 (2012), pp. 367-408; "'Greece has been Endowed by Nature with this Precious Material…': The Economic History of Bauxite in the European Periphery, 1920s-70s", in R. Gendron, M. Ingulstad and E. Storli (eds), *Aluminum Ore: The Political Economy of the Global Bauxite Industry*, Vancouver 2013, pp. 158-184; "Οικονομικές και κοινωνικές μεταβολές στο Αιγαίο, 19ος-20ος αιώνας. Το παράδειγμα των ορυχείων" [Economic and social changes in the Aegean, nineteenth-twentieth centuries: The case of the mines], in N. Belavilas and L. Papastefanaki (eds), *Ορυχεία στο Αιγαίο. Βιομηχανική αρχαιολογία στην Ελλάδα* [Mines in the Aegean: Industrial archaeology in Greece], Athens 2009, pp. 36-55; *Η φλέβα της γης. Τα μεταλλεία της Ελλάδας, 19ος-20ός αιώνας* [The veins of the earth: The mines of Greece, nineteenth-twentieth century], (forthcoming).

[3] Christina Agriantoni, "Οι μηχανικοί και η βιομηχανία. Μια αποτυχημένη συνάντηση" [Engineers and industry: An unsuccessful encounter], in C. Hadziiossif (ed.), *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20ου αιώνα. Ο μεσοπόλεμος, 1922-1940* [History of Greece in the twentieth century: The interwar period, 1922-1940], Vol. II/1, Athens 2002, pp. 269-293; Yiannis Antoniou, *Οι έλληνες μηχανικοί. Θεσμοί και ιδέες, 1900-1940* [Greek engineers: Institutions and ideas, 1900-1940], Athens 2006.

studies and career development, their role in industry and the operation of mines and in the importing and diffusion of technical culture, as well as in the development of labour relations. The study of the political activity of certain mining engineers highlights the intervention that this professional and social group made in the public arena. The research utilises a wide range of archival material: the register of members [*μητρώο μελών*] of the Technical Chamber of Greece [in the *Τεχνική επετηρίς* (Technical yearbook) of 1934], the Archives of the École Nationale Supérieure des Mines de Paris, the Elias Gounaris Archive in the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, the technical and daily press and technical editions of the period.

The article is divided into seven sections. The first section examines the technical education of mining engineers in Europe and Greece. In the second section particular attention is given to the celebrated École des Mines in Paris, where many Greek engineers studied. The third section focusses on the professional careers of mining engineers in Greece. The creation of the professional community of engineers in Greece and the position of mining engineers within it is explored in the fourth section. The modernising vision of the mining engineers as regards the appropriation and popularisation of scientific knowledge is the subject of the fifth section. The last two sections of the article contain a detailed study of the relationship between certain mining engineers and politics, the organisation of the state and the development of labour relations. The figures under study are Phocion Negris and Petros Protopapadakis, both of whom had political careers as members of parliament and ministers, and Themistocles Charitakis, who made intellectual contributions through his writings in the interwar period.

The Technical Education of Mining Engineers in Europe and Greece

The first systematic attempts to establish technical education in Europe date from the mid-eighteenth century. German technical education in mining engineering was the first branch of technical education in Europe to gain an institutional framework, with the foundation of the secondary technical mining schools, the Bergakademien, which later evolved into higher institutes of technical education, and the growth of a network of mining schools providing a basic education (Bergschule).[4] In France, a higher school

[4] Karl Ernst Jeismann and Peter Lundgreen (eds), *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgescichte. Von der Neuordnung Deutschlands bis zur Gründung des Deutschen Reiches, 1800-1870*, Vol. III, Munich 1987, pp. 269-310, 310-316. On the relations between the structure of technical education in Germany and industrial development, see Heiner

for the education of mining engineers, the École des Ponts et Chaussés, was founded in 1747, followed by mining schools (Écoles des Mines, 1783) and schools for other branches of engineering (the École Polytechnique in 1794, the École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures in 1829). In the nineteenth century and the early twentieth, these four Parisian engineering *grandes écoles* comprised a system of advanced technical education at a very high level for the economic and social élites, who were later to staff the technical services of the state and, through their education, gained political legitimation and social prestige.[5]

The École des Mines in Paris opened in 1783, when the Corps des Ingénieurs des Mines was also formed. The purpose of the school was to train engineers who could discover and operate mines safely and economically. The Paris school preserved the privilege of training the mining engineers who would staff the state mining services or work in the private sector. In 1829 yet another Paris school, the École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures, was opened: this was a partnership between a group of academics and an entrepreneur to train engineers for industry as well as educating mining engineers.[6] In the nineteenth century, France thus developed a hierarchical

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Stück, "L' émancipation des écoles supérieures techniques et la professionnalisation des ingénieurs en Allemagne au XIXe siècle", in André Grelon (ed.), *Les ingénieurs de la crise. Titre et profession entre les deux guerres*, Paris 1986, pp. 271-289; Wolfgang König, "Technical Education and Industrial Performance in Germany: A Triumph of Heterogeneity", in R. Fox and A. Guagnini (eds), *Education, Technology and Industrial Performance in Europe, 1850-1939*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 65-88 [published in Greek as *Εκπαίδευση, τεχνολογία και βιομηχανικές επιδόσεις στην Ευρώπη, 1850-1939*, transl. N. Sakellariou and K. Tzouanakos, ed. Y. Antoniou, Athens 2007].

[5] Frederick B. Artz, *The Development of Technical Education in France, 1500-1850*, Cambridge, MA, 1966, p. 84; Terry Shinn, *L'École polytechnique. Savoir technique et pouvoir social, 1794-1914*, Paris 1980; Jean Dhombres, "L'École polytechnique et ses historiens", in Ambroise Fourcy, *Histoire de l'École polytechnique*, Paris 1987, pp. 7-69; Picon, *L'invention*; Robert Fox and George Weisz (eds), *The Organization of Science and Technology in France, 1808-1914*, Cambridge 1980; Konstantinos Chatzis, "Theory and Practice in the Education of French Engineers from the Middle of the 18th Century to the Present", *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences* 60/164 (2010), pp. 43-78.

[6] Artz, *The Development of Technical Education*, pp. 85-86, 163-164, 228-230; Cecile Turion, *L'École des Mines d'Alès de 1841 à nos jours*, Villiers-sur-Marne 2002; Anne-Françoise Garçon, *Entre l'État et l'usine. L'École des Mines de Saint-Étienne au XIXe siècle*, Rennes 2004; André Thépot, *Les ingénieurs des mines du XIXe siècle. Histoire d'un corps technique d'État, 1810-1914*, Vol. I, Paris 1998, pp. 75-77, 211-218; Georges Ribeill, "Des ingénieurs civils en quête d'un titre. Le cas de l'École des Ponts et Chaussées (1851-1934)", in Grelon (ed.), *Les ingénieurs*, pp. 197-209; André Grelon,"The Training and

network of mining schools, with the purpose of rationalising work within a mine, at all levels of production.

In other European countries, there was a delay in the development of technical schools of all degrees for the training of mining engineers. Even Britain was to acquire a higher educational institution for the education of miners, the Royal School of Mines in London, only in 1851; although in 1838 King's College in London had introduced a programme of studies for engineers, which included the education of mining engineers.[7] The Belgian system for the technical education of miners was influenced by that of France. In 1836, the École des Mines of Liège and the École des Mines of Mons were established, to cover the needs of mining engineering. The programme of studies at the Liège school was orientated towards producing miners to staff the Belgian state Corps des Mines, which had been founded in 1831, while that in Mons was private, following the model of the École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures of Paris, and it specialised in training engineers, technicians and foremen for industry. The Catholic Church also contributed to the promotion of higher technical education in Belgium, when the Catholic University of Louvain opened a school for engineers in 1864, the École Spéciale du Genie Civil, d'Industrie et des Mines, with programmes for civil engineers, industrial engineers and mining engineers. The Free University of Brussels opened a polytechnic school in 1873, with programmes for civil engineers, mechanical engineers, chemical engineers, mining engineers and metallurgists. Part of the reason for the dynamic growth of technical education in Belgium was the classification in 1880 of the École des Mines of Mons as a university for mining engineers.[8]

Despite the national peculiarities and differences in the development of traditions of technical education, the interest each country had in the creation of institutions for technical education was linked to aspirations for economic growth, although this was, of course, not an exclusive aim. All European countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed much debate around the theoretical and practical content of technical education, as regards

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Career Structures of Engineers in France, 1880-1939", in Fox and Guagnini (eds), *Education*, pp. 42-64.

[7] Landes, *Ο Προμηθέας χωρίς δεσμά*, pp. 371-381; Anna Guagnini, "Worlds Apart: Academic Instruction and Professional Qualifications in the Training of Mechanical Engineers in England, 1850-1914", in Fox and Guagnini (eds), *Education*, pp. 16-40.

[8] René Brion, "La querelle des ingénieurs en Belgique", in Grelon (ed.), *Les ingénieurs*, pp. 255-270; Jean C. Baudet, "The Training of Engineers in Belgium, 1830-1940", in Fox and Guagnini (eds), *Education*, pp. 93-114.

the granting of qualifications by technical schools and the professional rights that each qualification bestowed. The transformation and upgrading of the status of secondary and higher technical schools to that of higher technical education institutions took place in Germany, Belgium, Spain, Greece and other countries, in response to the social and economic changes resulting from industrialisation.

In Greece, from the foundation of the Greek State until the final decade of the nineteenth century, the Military Academy had been the only educational institution to offer a higher technical education for engineers. Moreover, the Corps of Engineers, under the direction of the Secretariat for the Interior, functioned until 1878 as the government's technical service for carrying out public works.[9] With the 1878 reforms, the programme of studies of the School of Industrial Arts was upgraded with scientific and technical content, and the school could then train civil and mechanical engineers. The process of upgrading the technical studies of the Technical University was completed with the reforms of 1914, when it was renamed the National Metsovion Polytechnic, giving it a new academic identity, and its schools were restructured.[10]

Mining engineering, mineralogy and metallurgy had, since 1888, been taught as separate subjects within the programme of the School of Industrial Arts, and after 1914 chairs in geology and mineralogy, metallurgy and mining projects (later mining and knowledge of metallurgy) were created. There had been proposals to establish a school of mining since 1913, while the law of 1914 (and, later, the decrees of 1917-1919) also foresaw the creation of secondary technical schools attached to the higher schools, so as better to cover all the levels of technical education. Among the secondary technical schools that were foreseen was a technical school for foremen in chemical engineering

[9] Konstantinos Chatzis, "Des ingénieurs militaires au service des civils (1829-1878). Les officiers du Génie en Grèce au XIXe siècle", in K. Chatzis and E. Nicolaidis (eds), *Science, Technology and the 19th-century State: The Role of the Army*, Athens 2003, pp. 69-90; Yiannis Antoniou and Michalis Assimakopoulos, "Notes on the Genesis of the Greek Engineer in the 19th Century: The School of Arts and the Military Academy", in Chatzis and Nicolaidis (eds), *Science, Technology*, pp. 91-138; Antoniou, *Έλληνες μηχανικοί,* pp. 150-157.

[10] Kostas Biris, *Η ιστορία του Εθνικού Μετσοβίου Πολυτεχνείου* [The history of the National Metsovion Polytechnic], Athens 1957; Aggeliki Fenerli, "Σπουδές και σπουδαστές στο Πολυτεχνείο (1860-1870)" [Studies and students in the Polytechnic (1860-1870)], *Τα Ιστορικά* 7 (1987), pp. 103-118; Antoniou, *Έλληνες μηχανικοί*; the National Metsovion Polytechnic [Εθνικό Μετσόβιο Πολυτεχνείο, ΕΜΠ] is now named the National Technical University of Athens [NTUA] in English.

and mining, which was to be part of the school of chemical engineering. This school for foremen was never created.[11]

In 1934, the National Metsovion Polytechnic had five higher schools (civil engineering, electrical engineering, architecture, chemical engineering, and agronomy and rural and surveying engineering), but it did not have a mining school. The departments of mining engineering and metallurgical engineering, with a five-year programme of study, were created after World War II, in 1946, when the school of chemical engineering was divided into three departments. In 1948, the two departments were merged into a unified department of mining and metallurgical engineering, which was part of the school of chemical engineering until 1975, when it became the autonomous school of mining and metallurgical engineering.[12]

Of the 2048 engineers listed in the Register of the Technical Chamber of Greece [hereafter TCG] in 1933-1934, mining engineers comprised only 2% of registered members, with the second smallest membership after shipbuilders (0.8%).[13] Of the 42 mining engineers registered in the TCG in 1934-1935, all had studied mining engineering abroad, while only six had done their initial studies in Greek educational institutions.[14] All the mining engineers had completed their studies in foreign institutions in the period 1876-1932. As can be seen in Table 1, engineers had studied equally in Germany at the Bergakademie in Freiburg and in Belgium at the École Spéciale des Arts et Manufactures et Mines of Liège, while in second place were all those who had studied at the École des Mines of Paris. Those who preferred the École des Mines and the École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures of Paris for their studies were from the older generation, as most had studied there during the last third of the nineteenth century until 1905. Those of a younger generation – those who had studied abroad from 1905 to 1932 – preferred the German institutions and the Liège school, as well as the upgraded mining school of Saint-Étienne in France.

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[11] Antoniou, *Έλληνες μηχανικοί*, pp. 125-126, 136, 198, 202, 204-205, 278-279, 287; *Τεχνική επετηρίς της Ελλάδος* [Technical yearbook of Greece], Vol. I, Athens 1934, pp. 51-66.

[12] *Εθνικό Μετσόβιο Πολυτεχνείο, 1837-1997, εκατόν εξήντα χρόνια* [National Metsovion Polytechnic, 1837-1997, one hundred and sixty years], Athens 1997, pp. 115-116.

[13] *Τεχνική επετηρίς*, Vol. I, p. 30; Agriantoni, "Οι μηχανικοί", pp. 270-272, 284.

[14] *Τεχνική επετηρίς*, Vol. II, Athens 1934, pp. 50, 80, 236, 286-287, 355-356.

Table 1
Greek students of mining engineering in European educational institutions, 1876-1932

European educational institution	Number of Greek students
Sächsische Bergakademie, Freiberg	12
Université, Faculté Technique, École Spéciale des Arts et Manufactures et Mines, Liège	12
École Nationale Supérieure des Mines, Paris	10
École Nationale Supérieure des Mines, Saint-Étienne	4
École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures, Paris	1
Montanische Hochschule, Leoben	1
Preussische Bergakademie, Clausthal	1
Catherine II Highest Imperial Mining School, St Petersburg	1

Source: *Τεχνική επετηρίς της Ελλάδος* [Technical yearbook of Greece], Vol. II, Athens 1934, pp. 3-394.

Studies at the École des Mines in Paris and Greek Students

Studies in mining engineering at the École des Mines of Paris secured graduates a promising career, particularly through their entry into the Corps of Mining Engineers, as well as social prestige and scientific integrity.[15] As the École des Mines of Paris was the choice of many Greek students, who then went on to practise their profession successfully in Greece and abroad, while some became actively involved in politics, a brief outline of the programme of studies and characteristics of the school are given below.

The students who were accepted – after examinations in German, geometry and design – had to be at least 16 years old. After a three-year

[15] Louis Aguillon, *L'École des Mines de Paris. Notice historique*, Paris 1889; *id.*, *Supplément à la notice historique sur l'École Nationale Supérieure des Mines*, Paris 1900; Gabriel Chesneau, *Notre école. Histoire de l'École des Mines*, Paris 1932; Jean-Marc Oury, "Histoire succinte de l'administration des Mines", *Annales des Mines* 1 (1983), bicentenary issue, pp. 31-36; Alain Bucaille, "Le saint-simonisme et le corps des mines", *Annales des Mines* 1 (1983), bicentenary issue, pp. 42-44; Thépot, *Les ingénieurs*.

programme, which combined theoretical training and laboratory work with practical experience in the mines of France, those students who passed their exams became *sous-ingénieurs des mines*. Without the title of *sous-ingénieur des mines*, it would not be possible for the students to be appointed as deputy inspectors or inspectors of the state mines. Students entered the École des Mines after taking classes in mathematics for a period of one to three years in special Parisian lycées, which prepared students for the examinations for entry to the *grandes écoles*.[16] After passing the entrance exams, students would then study regularly at the school. They were taught engineering, mining engineering, mineralogy, geology, palaeontology, mine operation and design. The volume of knowledge that the students had to acquire increased gradually over the nineteenth century, while the addition of new subjects (such as "railways and construction" in 1846 and "agriculture, drainage and irrigation" in 1864) shows how the programme of studies was expanded. In 1848, a class in "industrial economy and legislation" was introduced.

In the 1870s and 1880s, an attempt was made at a broader reorganisation of the programme of studies and, from 1879, the school gradually became more specialised in industrial technology. New subjects were introduced, such as applied geology (1879), industrial chemistry (1887) and applications of electricity (1887), while two distinctive classes were introduced: industrial economy and mining legislation (1885). The chair in industrial economy was held by Émile Cheysson, and that of legislation by Louis Aguillon. Initially, then, the programme of studies was orientated towards a global knowledge of mining engineering. Gradually, however, the character of the education on offer changed, as the aim was for the students to gain more skills in the industrial arts.[17] During the interwar period, the school maintained a double role: to train engineers to staff the state mines service and to award the diploma of mining engineer to all those students who wished to take it. This dual orientation in the professional development of graduates played a role in shaping the curriculum. At the same time, the engineers of the Corps des Ingénieurs des Mines had expanded their professional activities and were now successfully competing against their colleagues in the corps of the Ponts et Chaussées. The education of the future mining engineers at the École des Mines combined different scientific fields, from physics and mathematics to earth sciences. The art of the mining engineer was defined in terms of processes and networks: processes of the extraction and transformation of minerals, as well as networks

[16] Thépot, *Les ingénieurs*, pp. 53-57, 73.

[17] Aguillon, *L'École des Mines* , pp. 216, 228-234; Thépot, *Les ingénieurs*, pp. 78-90.

of businesses and clients related to the production or associated with the use of specific materials. Within the context of the demands of the developing mining industry, the idea of technology must have been more familiar to the mining engineers than the engineers of the Ponts et Chaussées.[18]

Since they benefitted from industrial growth much more than the civil engineers did, the mining engineers who graduated from the Paris school enjoyed a greater success in their personal careers. In the period 1874-1939, the school's graduates worked chiefly in mining, transport and the universities. In the private sector they even had a monopoly over large mining enterprises in France, Algeria and the Ottoman Empire.[19]

The mentality of engineers in France was shaped within particular historical conditions, from the legacy of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, while Saint-Simonianism had a strong influence on the students of the École Polytechnique and the École des Mines.[20] During the nineteenth century the mining engineers expressed a greater interest than their colleagues in the corps of Ponts et Chaussées in issues such as legislation and the economy and they were receptive to the ideas of Saint-Simonianism.[21] This receptiveness may be explained by participation in the reforming efforts of the Corps des Ingénieurs des Mines, which acted as an intermediary between state policy and business interests. The contribution of engineers to Saint-Simonianism, a movement that is usually understood as anticipating industrial society, although its utopian discourse is overlooked, has been used in later readings to prove that engineers were sensitive to political and social issues.[22]

In the second half of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth, the mining engineers of the École des Mines were to pursue brilliant careers in the state services, universities and business and participate in numerous social networks. Some of the old Saint-Simonians among them continued to seek, although now on other terms, the most satisfactory combination of capital and labour, which would provide the key to social peace.[23] Michel Chevalier (1806-1879), a graduate of the École Polytechnique and the

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[18] Aguillon, *L'École des Mines, Supplément*, p. 6; Thépot, *Les ingénieurs*, pp. 185-202; Picon, *L'invention*, pp. 593-598.

[19] Thépot, *Les ingénieurs*, pp. 221-222.

[20] Chesneau, *Notre école*, pp. 146-148.

[21] Bucaille, "Le saint-simonisme".

[22] Picon, *L'invention*, pp. 595-596; *id.*, *Οι σαινσιμονιστές. Ορθός λόγος, φαντασιακό, ουτοπία* [originally published as *Les Saint-Simoniens. Raison, imaginaire et utopie*, Paris 2002], transl. M. Chronopoulou, Athens 2007, pp. 94-102.

[23] Picon, *Οι σαινσιμονιστές*, pp. 149-154.

École des Mines, became a professor of political economy at the Collège de France in 1840 and a consultant on economic policy matters to Napoleon III. Another former Saint-Simonian, Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882), publisher of the *Annales des Mines* and professor of mining engineering at the École des Mines, became known for the Christianity-based social policy that he later developed, in which he argued for preserving social peace. Le Play contributed to the development of empirical sociology, using the method of social observation and writing monographs. He also founded the Société Internationale des Études Pratiques d'Économie Sociale (1856), which was linked to the movement for social Catholicism and introduced the idea of social reform through science. It influenced the liberal school of French political economy. As the problems raised by the 'social question' intensified, some of the advocates of economic liberalism criticised unbridled liberalism and insisted on a moral dimension to industrial relations, thus attempting to correct the excesses of *laissez-faire* policies.[24]

Among those who sought a better balance between the interests of capital and those of labour was Le Play's student, the mining engineer Émile Cheysson (1836-1910), a senior official in the Ministry for Public Works during the period 1874-1885. In 1885, he took up the chair in industrial economy at the École des Mines. Cheysson also taught political economy at the École Libre des Sciences Politiques and was an active member of the Société de Statistique of Paris and of the social reform movement. Cheysson developed the method of the monograph introduced by Le Play and combined it with statistics in order to study the purchasing power of working-class families.[25] He was also particularly involved with the issue of social housing, and, like his teacher, linked his profession as an engineer with finding a resolution to the social issue.[26] In practice, he was interested not only in the problems of the management of companies but, primarily, in the establishment of harmonious social relations.[27]

When the Office du Travail – the precursor of the French Ministry of Labour – was founded in 1891, the engineers of the Corps des Ingénieurs des

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[24] Janet Horne, "Le libéralisme à l'épreuve de l'industrialisation. La réponse du Musée social", in Colette Chambelland (ed.), *Le Musée social en son temps*, Paris 1998, pp. 13-25; Anna Mahera, "Η γαλλική σχολή πολιτικής οικονομίας τον 19ο αιώνα" [The French school of political economy in the nineteenth century], *Τα Ιστορικά* 50 (2009), pp. 17-36.

[25] Antoine Savoye, "Les continuateurs de Le Play au tournant du siècle", *Revue Française de Sociologie* XXII/3 (1981), pp. 315-344.

[26] Émile Cheysson, *Le rôle social de l'ingénieur*, Paris 1897.

[27] *Id.*, *La lutte des classes*, Paris 1893, and *Frédéric Le Play. Sa méthode, sa doctrine, son école*, Paris 1905.

Mines and Corps des Ingénieurs des Ponts et Chaussées were well-represented among its staff.[28] The Office du Travail's turn to engineers continued the tradition started by Le Play of the social role of the engineer. Moreover, the position of mining engineers in the Office du Travail was reinforced by their professional interest in issues of health and safety in the mines, as well as their intermediary role between the state and business.

Despite the serious competition from the technical universities of Germany and the Zurich Polytechnic, which attracted a significant number of students from the late nineteenth century, the four famous engineering *grandes écoles* of Paris remained, until the early twentieth century, a magnet for Greek students who wished to study engineering. A total of 177 Greek students have been identified in all the Parisian engineering schools for the years 1830-1912.[29] The École des Mines of Paris accepted 59 students with Greek names from 1817 to 1940. The number of students at the school per decade can be seen in Table 2: one to three students at most per decade were accepted to study at the school in the period 1820-1869, while their number increased to six per decade in the 1870s and 1880s. These decades saw the beginning of Greek industrialisation, and the opening of the first mines in the Greek State may have led to hopes of a good career as an engineer. In the 1890s, an impressive rise in the number of Greek students can be observed, a fourfold increase from the previous decade. This increase coincides with the exit from the Long Depression and the beginning of a new phase of expansion in mining activity in Greece, the Ottoman Empire and the wider Mediterranean region. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the number of Greek students at the Paris school declined, a fact that must be related to the increasing popularity of the mining schools of Freiburg and Liège. In the 1920s, there was a brief revival of interest among Greeks for the Paris school, but this again fell off in the following decade.

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[28] Isabelle Lespinet-Moret, *L'Office du Travail (1891-1914). La République et la réforme sociale*, Rennes 2007, pp. 130-138.

[29] Efthymios Nicolaidis, "Les élèves grecs de l'École polytechnique (1820-1921)", in G. Grivaud (ed.), *La Diaspora hellénique en France*, Athens 2000, pp. 55-65; Fotini Assimacopoulou and Konstantinos Chatzis, "Éducation et politique au XIX siècle. Les élèves grecs dans les grandes écoles d'ingenieurs en France", in E. Ihsanoglou, K. Chatzis and E. Nicolaidis (eds), *Multicultural Science in the Ottoman Empire*, Turnhout 2003, pp. 123-124; Fotini Assimacopoulou, Konstantinos Chatzis and Anna Mahera, "Élève en France, enseignant en Grèce. Les enseignants de l'École polytechnique d'Athènes (1837-1912) formés dans des écoles d'ingénieurs en France", in A. Cardoso de Matos *et al.* (eds), *The Quest for a Professional Identity: Engineers between Training and Action*, Lisbon 2009, pp. 25-41.

Table 2
Greek students at the École des Mines in Paris, 1817-1940

Decade	Number of Greek students
1820	1
1830	1
1840	2
1850	1
1860	3
1870	6
1880	6
1890	23
1900	3
1910	4
1920	7
1930	2

Sources: Archives of the École Nationale Supérieure des Mines de Paris, Registre des élèves, 1817-1906, 1905-1935; Registre des élèves étrangers, 1817-1901; Association Amicale des Élèves de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Mines, *Liste alphabétique des élèves entres à l'École Nationale Supérieure des Mines depuis l'origine,* Paris 1940; Association Amicale des Élèves de l'École des Mines de Paris, *Compte-rendu annuel (Annuaires)*, 1864-1955.

Among the Greek students who studied engineering in nineteenth-century France, there was a strong presence of scions of the bourgeois class, while professionals and holders of public offices are also represented among the families.[30] We have some data for the social origins of the Greek students at the École des Mines. It appears that some students were from very rich or prosperous families, educated and of good social standing, such as, for example, the Phanariot Negris family, two of whose members, Theodoros Negris and Phocion Negris, graduated from the school. Other graduates with Phanariot origins were Nikolaos Mavrocordatos and Evgenios Rizos Neroulos. The latter was the son of the Greek consul in Bucharest, Dimitrios Rizos Neroulos, and Loukia Soutsou.[31] We also know of certain cases where the father had had a university education and then practised a profession: Panayiotis Charitakis, the

[30] Assimacopoulou and Chatzis, "Éducation et politique", p. 128.

[31] Mihail Dimitri Sturdza, *Dictionnaire historique et généalogique des grandes familles de Grèce, d'Albanie et de Constantinople*, Paris 1983, pp. 324-325, 363, 395.

father of Themistocles, was a lawyer in Mansoura in Egypt, while Aristotelis Papayannopoulos, the father of Theodoros Papayannopoulos, was a doctor, also in Mansoura.[32] Petros Protopapadakis came from a family with a high social status in the local community of Apeiranthos on Naxos: his grandfather had been an archpriest and a representative of the emery workers to King Otto in 1835, producing memoranda on emery. His father, Emmanuel Protopapadakis, was a teacher, while two of his father's brothers had settled in Constantinople around 1873: Georgios was a doctor, while Anastasios was a teacher.[33] We also encounter at least one case of a father and son who were both mining engineers. Anastasios Seferiades, a graduate of the École des Mines (1902), was a mining engineer and consultant in a chromium mine in Turkey in the 1930s, residing in Constantinople. He sent his son, Ioannis Seferiades, to study at the school in Paris, so that he could later work in the Turkish mine.[34]

What professional development and what kind of careers did the Greek graduates of the École des Mines have once they had completed their studies? Some of the engineering graduates of the school, on their return to Greece, taught in the military academies or at the University of Athens and the National Metsovion Polytechnic, while others were part of the state's administrative and technical staff. Several worked as engineers and as directors in the private sector, in industrial enterprises, the railway and mining companies. The railways were a significant opportunity for professional employment for Greek graduates of the École des Mines, as well as for their French colleagues. Most graduates of the school, however, worked in the private sector, mainly in mining companies, or started their own technical firms. The graduates of the École des Mines were not limited to working only within Greek borders, as the French diploma and their solid technical studies meant they could find work as engineers almost everywhere in the Mediterranean and the Balkan countries. Many worked in the Ottoman Empire and later in Turkey.

From Studies to Production and Services

In Greece, the first mining companies to operate systematically in the nineteenth century were initially staffed by European engineers. In the Greek

[32] Papastefanaki, *Η φλέβα της γης*.

[33] Petros Protopapadakis, *Μονογραφία περί Ναξίας σμύριδος και προτάσεις νόμων* [Monograph on Naxian emery and legislative proposals (presented to the Hellenic Parliament)], Athens 1903, pp. 81-85; Alexandros Oikonomou, *Πέτρος Πρωτοπαπαδάκης, 1859-1922. Ένας άνθρωπος και μια εποχή* [Petros Protopapadakis, 1859-1922: A man and an era], Athens 1972, pp. 13, 17.

[34] Papastefanaki, *Η φλέβα της γης*.

Metal Works Company of Lavrion [Εταιρεία Μεταλλουργείων Λαυρίου], the CFML and the other mining companies that began to operate more or less systematically in the nineteenth century, both in Greece and the Ottoman Empire, the technical directors and engineers were usually foreign: primarily French, but also Belgians, Germans and Britons. Their names can be found scattered throughout the sources of the era.[35] The first Greek mining engineers also started to work alongside them. Greek and foreign mining engineers and engineers with high levels of education from European schools, such as the École des Mines and the Bergakademie in Freiberg, interacted with others who had studied in mining schools such as those of Clausthal and Liège. We do not know about the studies, professional careers or social profiles of all of them, but I will attempt to chart the landscape in which the technical employees working in the mining sector operated from the nineteenth century until World War II.

Aside from Phocion Negris, the general director who was based in Athens, and Evgenios Rizos Neroulos, who was based in the workshops, most of the engineers who worked for the Greek Metal Works Company of Lavrion in 1885 were German, their presence perhaps related to the construction of the new German-built washery, which was installed a little later, from 1888 to 1892.[36] The various problems, however, that the Greek Metal Works Company of Lavrion and the CFML had to deal with in Lavrion before the end of the nineteenth century presumably did not make them attractive places for engineers to work. In the 1890s, at least four young French metallurgists, recent graduates of the École des Mines in Paris, were hired by the CFML: Emmanuel Doche, C. Sudre, Johannes Faure and Paul-Louis Regnault. None of them remained in Lavrion (or in any other enterprises controlled by the company in Greece) for more than four or five years. All four, after working in Greece for a few years, left to work as mining engineers in France.[37] The limitations on operations in the enterprises of Lavrion also affected the engineers, who gradually left, either because the salaries on offer were not attractive or because the companies themselves were forced to reduce their technical staff, as well as their workers. L. Guillaume, for example, was a chief mining engineer with the CFML in the decade from 1900, but he left Lavrion in the following decade. In 1920, only R. Mollet, director and also operating engineer, a graduate of the École Centrale

[35] Giorgos Dermatis, *Λαύρειο, το μαύρο φως. Η μεταλλευτική και μεταλλουργική βιομηχανία στο Λαύρειο, 1860-1917. Ελληνική και ευρωπαϊκή διάσταση* [Lavrion, the black light: The mining and metallurgical industry in Lavrion, 1860-1917: The Greek and European dimension], Athens 2003, pp. 272-278, 439-440.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 211-212.

[37] Association Amicale des Élèves de l'École des Mines de Paris, *Annuaires*, 1886-1905.

des Arts et Manufactures, who had worked in Lavrion for 27 years, remained. Mollet, dedicated "life and soul" to his work, did not abandon his position even when called upon by the French embassy to do so during the events of November-December 1916.[38] Of course, there are examples of engineers, such as Alexis-Paul Albrand or Jules de Catelin, who, after careers as mining engineers, ended up in managerial positions and as shareholders working for the company's central management.[39] These cases, however, are completely different from the experiences of the majority of operating managers.

The 1934 Register of Members of the TCG is an important source that allows us to map the community of engineers. In the 1930s, among the 2048 registered members of the TCG there were 42 mining engineers, who worked in different mining enterprises, the railways and the public sector or had their own practices. According to the records of the TCG (which contain information on 39 of the 42), 25 mining engineers lived in Athens and Piraeus, 12 in the provinces and 2 abroad. Of these 39 mining engineers, the largest group (17) were private or municipal employees, 11 had their own practices, 10 worked in the public sector and one was a professor at NTUA. Three also held licences as contractors for public works.[40] I have also identified a further 64 engineers with other specialisations in the Register of Members, who at some point in their lives had worked in mining, either conducting land surveys or overseeing the plotting and building of Decauville railways, the installation of facilities and the operation of engineering equipment (cable cars, etc.) or who had even worked as operating engineers or directors in mining companies, perhaps even being contracted to operate the mines.[41] Over half these engineers were civil engineers (37), followed by electricians (6) and electrical engineers (6), mechanical (5) and chemical engineers (5), surveyors (4) and architects (1). The companies that primarily employed engineers of all specialisations, in addition to mining engineers, were the CFML and the Greek Metal Works Company of Lavrion, the Chemical Products and Fertilisers Company SA [ΑΕΕΧΠΛ], the Company of Businesses in Greece [Εταιρεία Επιχειρήσεων εν Ελλάδι] and Locris.[42]

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[38] Papastefanaki, *Η φλέβα της γης*. The events of November-December 1916 were a political dispute, which led to an armed confrontation in Athens between the royalist government of Greece and the forces of the Allies over the issue of Greece's neutrality during World War I.

[39] Association Amicale des Élèves de l'École des Mines de Paris, *Annuaires*, 1877-1925.

[40] *Τεχνική επετηρίς*, Vol. I, p. 30.

[41] As Alexandros C. Vlangalis did in the Seriphos mines in 1901-1903; *Τεχνική επετηρίς*, Vol. II, p. 46.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-394.

Despite the systematic documentation of the interwar engineers, the TCG Register of Members is not devoid of problems. Some engineers were not registered in the TCG at the moment when the Register was published and, as such, were not documented. Ioannis G. Lambrinides, for example, with a good degree from the École des Mines of Liège, was not on the Register. Other engineers, just embarking on their careers in 1934 when they were included in the TCG Register, were not yet active in the mining sector, and their presence is hence not noted. Such was the case of, for example, Ioannis Lefes from Ikaria, who received his degree in chemical engineering from Braunschweig University of Technology in 1931.[43]

In mapping the mining engineers who worked in Greece during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a distinction must first be made between: a) the higher state officials with a career exclusively in the public sector (P. Vouyoukas, etc.); b) those mining engineers who had positions as directors, participated in committees as consultants to the state or companies, taught at the Technical University or the University and who were often shareholders in mining companies (A. Kordellas, P. Negris, E. Gounaris, I. Doanides); and c) those who worked as operating engineers (chief engineers, etc.) in the mining companies.

A characteristic example of a top state official with a high level of scientific training was the army mining engineer Panayiotis G. Vouyoukas.[44] Similar cases of state employees whose careers were spent almost exclusively working for state services were the mining engineers Emmanuel I. Dragoumis (1850-1917), Timotheos Georgakopoulos, Georgios D. Katerinopoulos and Aristotelis Tsakonas. There were, of course, many other mining engineers who worked for the state services for a brief period and then departed to work in the private sector: Emmanuel M. Vordonis, Agis Varvaressos, Viktor Akylas and Alexandros C. Papamarkou. The last two, after having worked in the public sector as inspectors of mines, were not to be satisfied with just being employees in engineering or mining companies, but started their own companies. Some mining engineers worked from 1920 to 1922 in the mineral and coal mines of the Ottoman Empire and Russia, but political developments led them to Greece: Georgios D. Katerinopoulos, Nikolaos E. Papadakis, Nikolaos G. Roussakis, Panayiotis A. Roussopoulos and Miltiades Sapnas. They chiefly staffed the Mines Inspectorate of the Ministry of National

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[43] *Ibid*., p. 187.

[44] *Μέγα ελληνικόν βιογραφικόν λεξικόν* [Great Greek biographical dictionary], Vol. I, Athens 1958, pp. 306-313; "Παναγιώτης Βουγιούκας" [Panayiotis Vouyoukas], *Ήμερολόγιον Σκόκου* 5 (1890), pp. 405-497.

Economy and other state technical services (General Administration of Macedonia, Directorate of Technical Works and the Topography Service of the Ministry of Agriculture, etc.). Gerasimos Tzortzatos, for example, was a graduate of the Bergakademie of Freiberg. After working for many years in the Russian mineral and coal mines of the Vallianos Brothers in Don (1909-1923), he was then employed for eight years in Greek coal and mineral mines, before being appointed as a geologist-engineer with the Directorate of Technical Works of the Ministry of Agriculture.[45]

The transition from state services to the private sector, by occupying management positions and owning company shares, can clearly be seen in the case of the mineralogist Andreas Kordellas (Smyrna, 1836 – Athens, 1909). He was the son of a merchant from Ambelakia who had settled in Smyrna, was a graduate of the industrial school of Zittau in Saxony (1852-1855) and the Bergakademie in Freiberg (1855-1858) and had also taken classes at the school of philosophy of the University of Bonn and the mining school of Liège. When he returned to Greece in 1860, he worked first as a state employee in the Ministry of Finance. He was a member, alongside Panayiotis G. Vouyoukas and Ioannis Soutsos, of the committee which wrote the draft law that eventually became the law "On Mines" in 1861. As a state employee, he visited the inactive mines of Lavrion to assess the possibility of exploiting the ancient slag, as well as many other mines on the islands and the mainland. In 1861 he was appointed foreman of the emery mines on Naxos, a position he held until 1863. He worked as a mineralogist for the Ministry of Finance until 1865, when he became director of works of the first mining company in Lavrion, Hilarion Roux et Cie, and for I. V. Serpieris & Co. (until 1873). From 1887 until 1891, he was the general director of the Greek Metal Works Company of Lavrion. Alongside this, he taught mineralogy and geology at the Military Academy (1882-1894).[46] Kordellas was a member of the Greek Committee for the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1878 and even wrote, on the occasion of the Exposition, a special study promoting Greece's mineral wealth abroad.[47] He was the first president of the Hellenic Polytechnic Association (1899-1909) and president of the International Fair at the Zappeion in Athens in 1903.[48]

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[45] For biographical notes on these engineers, see Papastefanaki, *Η φλέβα της γης*.

[46] *Βιογραφικόν λεξικόν*, Vol. II, pp. 44-66.

[47] Andreas Kordellas, *Ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐξεταζομένη γεωλογικῶς καὶ ὀρυκτολογικῶς* [Greece, a geological and mineralogical study], Athens 1878.

[48] Kordellas took part with other engineers in the discussion about the Athens water supply in the late nineteenth century. Spyros Tzokas, "Τεχνικές διαμάχες το κρίσιμο καλοκαίρι

In addition to Andreas Kordellas, other mining engineers, such as Elias Gounaris, Phocion Negris and his nephew, Konstantinos Negris, were directors and shareholders in mining enterprises. Whereas some mining engineers, such as Elias Gounaris, Ioannis Doanides, Stavros Katrakis, and Loukas Mousoulos, balanced management positions and consultancy services to mining companies with an academic career at the National Metsovion Polytechnic, participation in committees and institutions of the state and of their employers with their scholarly publications, Phocion Negris combined his position as a director of mining companies with a political career, while Konstantinos Negris pursued a purely business career.

Elias Gounaris (Argos, 1883-1970), the son of Panayiotis Gounaris, the highest judicial and economic prefect of Argos, as well as a member of the Monopolies' Company, was a professor at the National Metsovion Polytechnic and a technical consultant to businesses in the first decades of the twentieth century and the post-war period. Gounaris had studied civil engineering at the National Metsovion Polytechnic, from which he graduated in 1904, and later studied metallurgical mining at the École Spéciale des Arts et Manufactures et des Mines in Liège, graduating in 1907. He was appointed foreman of the emery mines of Naxos in 1908. He was subsequently promoted as a mineralogist with the Ministry of Finance (1908-1910), appointed Inspector of Mines (1910-1915) and, later, was director of the Mines Service in the Ministry of National Economy (1915-1918). As a state employee, he prepared reports, laws, the *Κανονισμός μεταλλευτικών εργασιών* [Regulations for mining operations] and managerial publications (such as *Παραχωρήσεις μεταλλείων* [Mining concessions] in 1916 and *Μεταλλευτική νομοθεσία* [Mining law] in 1917).[49] From 1918 until 1930, he was an adjunct professor and, from 1930 to 1954, a professor in metallurgy and mining at the National Metsovion Polytechnic. He additionally served as the general secretary and vice president of the Greek Industrialists' League [ΣΕΒ] (1931-1940) and of the Union of Mining and Metallurgical Enterprises (1924-1940), was the employer representative for the Social Security Foundation [IKA] (1936-

του 1899. Η δημόσια εικόνα του επιστήμονα-μηχανικού" [Technical controversies in the crucial summer of 1899: The public image of the scientist-engineer], *170 χρόνια Πολυτεχνείο. Οι μηχανικοί και η τεχνολογία στην Ελλάδα* [170 years of the Polytechnic: Engineers and technology in Greece (conference proceedings)], Vol. II, Athens 2012, pp. 172-173.

[49] Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, Athens, Archive of Elias Gounaris, *Υπόμνημα περί των μέχρι σήμερον εργασιών του Ηλία Π. Γούναρη, υποψηφίου δια την έδραν των Μεταλλευτικών Έργων* [Memorandum on the works to date of Elias P. Gounaris, candidate for the chair in mining works], 8-2-1918.

1941) and a delegate to the International Labour Conference (1930-1940, 1945, 1947).[50] In addition to administrative and legal texts, Gounaris co-wrote studies and articles on metallurgy, metalwork and mining, as well as numerous technical reports for the companies of which he was a consultant. Similar cases to that of Elias Gounaris were those of his fellow mining engineers and National Metsovion Polytechnic professors Ioannis Doanides and – after World War II – Stavros Katrakis and Loukas Mousoulos.

Of the mining engineers who acted not only as technical personnel in the mining companies but pursued purely business activities, it is worth singling out Konstantinos Negris (1876-1948). The son of Theodoros Negris and Aglaia Stratigopoulou and nephew of the mining engineer Phocion Negris, he studied civil engineering at the National Metsovion Polytechnic (1897). He continued his studies in mining engineering at the École Spéciale des Arts et Manufactures et Mines in Liège (1901), after which he worked for the Greek Metal Works Company of Lavrion (1897-1899), as an engineer (1902-1908) and as a chief operating engineer (1908-1918) for the CFML, before pursuing a very active business career. He became managing director of the Greek Chemical Products and Fertilisers Company SA in 1919 and a member of its board of directors in 1920. From this period onwards, he became integrated into the core of the Greek Chemical Products and Fertilisers Company SA's industrial and business group: in the 1920s and 1930s he was a shareowner and member of the board of directors of numerous companies, most of which were involved in the fertiliser industry of Piraeus.[51] Konstantinos Negris was

[50] After World War II, Gounaris was a member of the German Reparations mission (1948-1950), technical consultant to the Ministry for Coordination (1950-1951) and technical consultant to the Public Power Corporation (from 1951). He was also involved in the administration and management of many mining and industrial enterprises. He was a technical consultant to the Mining Union SA (1918-1929), Greek Coal Mines SA (1922-1924), Piraeus-Athens-Peloponnese Railway and many lignite mines (1918-1924), the Company of Businesses in Greece SA (1919, 1924) and the National Bank of Greece (1937-1949), director of the company Elias Gounaris & Co. (1920-1922), general director of Psychiko Quarries SA, consultant to the New Corinth Canal Company SA (1932), the Greek Powder and Cartridge Company (1932-1940) and the Sheet Steel and Tinplate Company (1947-1949). Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, Archive of Elias Gounaris; *Τεχνική επετηρίς*, Vol. II, p. 73.

[51] He was a shareholder and board member of the mining companies Businesses in Greece, Kassandra Mining Operations, Hephaestus, Melos Sulphur Mines and the International Mining Company, of the industrial companies BIO, Hermes paper manufacturers, the Athena automobile company, the Titan cement company and the ETMA artificial silk company. *Τεχνική επετηρίς*, Vol. II, pp. 236-237; Sturdza, *Dictionnaire*, p. 363; *Βιογραφικόν λεξικόν*, Vol. II, p. 161; Papastefanaki, *Η φλέβα της γης*.

not simply another mining company shareholder, but an industrialist with an active presence in the country's economic life and employer organisations in the interwar period. He was president of the Greek Industrialists' League (in 1924-1927 and 1931-1933) and the Union of Mining and Metallurgical Enterprises of Greece. He also served on the boards of the Commercial and Industrial Chamber of Athens and the Association of Sociétés Anonymes, while in 1932 he was a member of the Supreme Economic Council.

Several engineers pursued business activities, either establishing or participating in mining companies and, chiefly, serving as contractors in the operation of mines in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth: Emile Grohmann and his son Georg;[52] the brothers Leonidas and Aristides P. Skender; and Loudovikos Depian, Spyridon Despozitos[53] and his sons Evgenios and Arturo Despozitos, as well as Ioannis Lambrinides. These engineers with business interests (and/or contractors) should, in any case, be distinguished from those mining engineers who were employees in mining companies, overseeing the extraction of the ore and directing production. Some engineers dedicated their whole professional lives to working as technical personnel (operating engineers, head engineers, technical directors, etc.) in mining companies. These include the mining engineers Orestes Argyropoulos (CFML), Charalambos Kanakis (the Oropos lignite mines), Sotirios Bournakis (the Kymi lignite mines) and the civil engineer Spyridon Demolitsas. Other engineers, after having worked for some shorter or longer

[52] The German mining engineer Emile Grohmann was, from 1880 to 1906, a contractor for the French Seriphos-Spiliazeza company in the mines of Seriphos. He also controlled and operated other mines (1903-1905). His son Georg, who had studied at the mining school of Clausthal, succeeded him as contractor for the operation of the Seriphos-Spiliazeza mines (1906-1940). Georg also operated the public mine of Chalara (1911-1940), as well as other mines on the islands, in Crete and in the Peloponnese (1930s), and was a shareholder in several mining companies. During the Occupation, Georg Grohmann continued to operate the Seriphos mines as an officer of the German army. Andreas Kordellas, *Ο μεταλλευτικός πλούτος και αι αλυκαί της Ελλάδος* [The mineral wealth and the saltpans of Greece], Athens 1902, p. 84; E. Gounaris, *Η εκμετάλλευσις των μεταλλείων της Ελλάδος κατά το έτος 1910* [The exploitation of Greek mines in the year 1910], Athens 1911, pp. 45, 69; Papastefanaki, *Η φλέβα της γης*.

[53] In the early twentieth century, the engineers Loudovikos Depian and Spyridon Despozitos operated mines either alone or as part of a cooperative (Lavreotiki, Grammatiko, Mykonos, Skyros, Ermioni) and were shareholders in mining companies connected to CFML and the Greek Chemical Products and Fertilisers Company SA. In the nineteenth century Spyridon Despozitos was the British consul at Lavrion. Gounaris, *Η εκμετάλλευσις*, pp. 49, 72-74; Papastefanaki, *Η φλέβα της γης*.

time as technical personnel for such enterprises, chose to start their own businesses as contractors, although some occasionally returned to the public sector at particular moments in their careers, given the absence of other opportunities. The careers of mining engineers such as Nikolaos Roussakis, Miltiades Sapnas, Agis Varvaressos, Nikolaos Patsis, Ioannis Manousos, Ioannis Solomos and his fellow student in Liège, Ioannis G. Lambrinides, fit this picture of frequent professional changes.

Only a small piece of the mining engineers puzzle belongs to those who worked exclusively for state services. The largest piece of this picture is that of the engineers who combined different professional arenas, moving from place to place, company to company, from the private to the public sector and vice versa. In most cases, mining engineers shifted between private enterprises and state bureaucracy, between being a freelancer and being an employee, between earning a wage and being a contractor. This situation of constant flux from one sector of economy activity to another appears to have been a general feature of the engineering profession in the interwar period, while the "[…] close productive and institutional relationship between [the sectors] largely reflects the core of the professional identity of the engineers".[54] The intense mobility of the engineers between different professional sectors and between varied enterprises describes from one other perspective the mining landscape in Greece in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as the distribution of capital appears to have been reflected in the organisation of production within the enterprises. The professional mobility of the mining engineers depended, that is, on the limited turnover of the mining companies in Greece and, hence, with their continuous search for better professional prospects, in accordance with the level of their studies and their qualifications.

The Formation of the Professional Community

From the 1880s until the interwar period, the community of Greek engineers gradually came to be formed, with the creation of associations (Greek Technical Association, 1899) and professional organisations (the Technical Chamber was founded in 1923), as well as the publications of the specialist technical press. The main forum for dialogue on technical issues and the technical works that accompanied urbanisation and industrialisation, the technical press, also contributed to creating social networks of engineers and to establishing their scientific integrity.[55] It also hosted discussions on the professional development

[54] Antoniou, *Έλληνες μηχανικοί*, p. 311.

[55] *Ibid*., pp. 181-193; Spyros Tzokas, "Περιοδικά και κοινότητες μηχανικών στην Ελλάδα.

of engineers. The path towards the professionalisation of engineers was accompanied by pressure to consolidate their academic qualifications and create an institutional framework for the terms under which the profession was to be practised, an issue that to a large extent was linked to the pressures that Greek engineers faced in the labour market.[56] More specifically, the few mining engineers faced, aside from the limited turnover of the mining companies, the competition of experts and all those who had been at "unspecified schools" or institutions that were not equivalent to the higher schools of the National Metsovion Polytechnic. In the 1930s, they were to attempt through their professional organisation, the Technical Chamber, to secure legal protection for the qualification and profession of the graduate mining engineer. They also competed to take part in projects that were the responsibility of civil engineers (and/or engineers with other specialities), invoking the broader technical education they had acquired in schools of higher education abroad and their "technical consciousness".[57] The latter would not permit them, the mining engineers of the TCG claimed, to undertake projects that they would not be able to complete. They continued, however, to argue fervently that, in effect, and "in practice mining engineers are considered able to perform any kind of scientific project".[58] The competition within the engineering profession in the interwar period is reminiscent of the similar professional disputes between mining engineers and civil engineers for the areas in which each specialisation would operate in nineteenth-century France, as revealed in the studies of Antoine Picon and André Thépot, highlighting the way in which the professional identity of this branch was formed. This identity was based upon scientific technical knowledge, a technical consciousness and the idea that engineers are transmitters of technical culture and rational discourse. The features that comprised the identity of the engineer were not neutral from the perspective of social class nor from that of gender: they differentiated engineers from workers, emphasising the hierarchical social structure, and also distinguished between the public space (of science, industry, services), in which engineers were active, and the private space of the home, in which the mothers, wives and daughters of engineers were active. They differentiated, ultimately, between the space of science and the

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Η περίοδος πριν την ίδρυση του Τεχνικού Επιμελητηρίου της Ελλάδας" [Engineering journals and communities in Greece: The period before the institution of the Technical Chamber of Greece], *Νεύσις* 18 (2010), pp. 49-68.

[56] Antoniou, *Έλληνες μηχανικοί*, pp. 330-352.

[57] *Τεχνικά Χρονικά* 70-71 (1934), pp. 1040-1042, 1052, 1061-1063, 1076-1079.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 1063.

technical, which was considered to belong to the male sphere, and the space of nature, which was considered to belong to the female sphere.

The world of mining engineering was a strictly male one, as has been apparent thus far. Both in Europe and in Greece, mining engineers, as well as the engineers from all the other specialisations who worked for mining companies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, were men. The mines – places that were inhospitable, tough and dangerous – were not considered places suitable for women. The few female engineers who graduated from the National Metsovion Polytechnic from the 1920s onwards preferred schools with a greater emphasis on the fine arts (architecture) or schools whose graduates could find employment in clean and sterilised laboratories (chemical engineering), schools, that is, that appear to have been orientated to women, according to the existing social stereotypes. Moreover, most female engineers in Greece pursued a career in the public sector, leaving the factories, construction and public works to the men.[59] In the mines and in the mining companies and related public services in general, the only women one might find were the wives and mothers of the engineers. The cultural signing of technology and the profession of the engineer as male are based on the primary dichotomy of Western thought between reason and nature, a dichotomy in which reason is usually identified with masculinity, while nature is identified with femininity.[60] However, the use of dichotomies to classify human behaviours and systems of knowledge conceals inequalities, which express real (and/or symbolic) relationships of power. Technology and science are powerful elements of a ruling male identity of white, middle-class men.[61] The very studies and professional formation of engineers contain a gendered dimension. The male dominance of the profession of engineer creates a new version of masculinity for the men of the middle class, a

[59] Konstantinos Chatzis and Efthymios Nicolaidis, "A Pyrrhic Victory: Greek Women's Conquest of a Profession in Crisis (1923-1996)", in A. Canel, R. Oldenziel and K. Zachmann (eds), *Crossing Boundaries, Building Bridges: Comparing the History of Women Engineers, 1870s-1990s*, London 2000, pp. 253-278; Antoniou, *Οι έλληνες μηχανικοί*, pp. 309-310.

[60] Delphine Gardey and Ilana Löwy, *L'invention du naturel. Les sciences et la fabrication du féminin et du masculin*, Paris 2000.

[61] Ruth Oldenziel, *Making Technology Masculine: Men, Women and Modern Machines in America, 1870-1945*, Amsterdam 1999; Lisa Frehill, "The Gendered Construction of the Engineering Profession in the United States, 1893-1920", *Men and Masculinities* 6/4 (2004), pp. 383-403; Darina Martykánová, "La profession, la masculinité et le travail. La représentation sociale des ingénieurs en Espagne pendant la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle", in A. Derouet, S. Paye and C. Frapier (eds), *La production de l'ingénieur. Contributions à l'histoire sociale d'une catégorie professionnelle*, Paris (forthcoming).

masculinity that is identified with technical knowledge. This particular version is manifested in the workplaces, offices and mines, in the scientific associations and professional unions and in the pressure for recognition of the profession, even in the public debate on technical matters. The ways, practices and strategies through which the profession of engineer was formed and practised, in particular that of mining engineer, in Greece were interwoven with the language of social class and gender: on the one hand, they reinforced the social division of labour between intellectual and manual labour, while, on the other, they strengthened the gendered division of intellectual labour. Moreover, they presented rationalisation and the acquisition of technical knowledge as elements in the construction of male bourgeois identity and the expression of male pride for the men of the middle class.

The Appropriation and Popularisation of Scientific Knowledge: The Modernising Vision of the Engineers

Certain historiographical approaches have adopted the theory of "transfer" and "adaptation" of scientific knowledge from the centre to the periphery, whereas others adopt the concept of "appropriation" as a tool for the understanding of the constitution of science and technology in the countries of the European periphery. The concept of "appropriation" possesses a dynamic, as it brings to light the definitive role of historical subjects and local communities in the transformation of scientific knowledge, ideas and practices – derived from the centre – and in their subsequent incorporation within the framework of differing social and cultural traditions.[62] Within the context of this debate, I believe that the multiple scientific activities of engineers in the Ottoman Empire and Greece (with translations, teaching, etc.) and the dissemination of scientific knowledge through popularisation are aspects of the process of appropriation of science and technology in the specific historical environment.

The engineers who had studied in Europe in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth and who had returned to Greece and the Ottoman Empire in order to work have been seen by historians as bearers of scientific knowledge and the modernising effort. It has been argued, in other words, that those engineers who returned after their studies in European educational institutions contributed through their work to the modernisation and reform of public

[62] On the discussion, see Kostas Gavroglu *et al*., "Science and Technology in the European Periphery: Some Historiographical Reflections", *History of Science* 46 (2008), pp. 153-175; Faidra Papanelopoulou, Agustí Nieto-Galan and Enrique Perdiguero (eds), *Popularizing Science and Technology in the European Periphery, 1800-2000*, Aldershot 2009.

administration and education and to the introduction of technology into industry and infrastructure. At the same time, the engineers undoubtedly played a seminal role in the establishment and diffusion of technical knowledge, as well as the popularisation of science. They published scholarly studies and manuals, produced translations and introduced, adopted and spread scientific technical terminology.[63] With this approach, they implicitly adopted a theoretical model that contrasted the antiquity of the infrastructure and state mechanisms of South-East Europe with the modernisation of Western European countries. This, in turn, indirectly reproduced a discourse of shortages and "backwardness", which had already been adopted by engineers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in contrast with an ideal archetype of Westernisation and modernisation. This discourse did not take into account the internal dynamics of societies. Moreover, the very concepts of technical progress and "modernisation" or "rationalisation" contained meanings that were not neutral, either from the perspective of class or that of gender. A characteristic example of this approach of the engineers, who, as bearers of technical and scientific knowledge, "civilise" the uneducated "people", is the argument of the metallurgist Andreas Kordellas, in the introduction to a manual of scientific terms which he translated from German, four years after the first edition had been published in Zurich in 1879:

> To make equal the civilisation of Greece and all the works of its social strata with the civilisation of the West, it is necessary to spread scientific knowledge among the people, it is necessary instead of wasteful novels to introduce popular scientific readings, for the people not only to have virtues and be moral but to expel outdated prejudices and to perfect their professions as scientifically as possible.[64]

The scientific task of translating terminology is here linked, directly, to a process of civilisation, which scientists, in particular engineers, are called upon to perform. The popularised scientific publications produced by

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[63] Meropi Anastassiadou-Dumont, "Science et engagement. La modernité ottomane à l'âge des nationalismes", in M. Anastassiadou-Dumont (ed.), *Médecins et ingénieurs ottomans à l'âge des nationalismes*, Paris and Istanbul 2003, pp. 5-28; Assimacopoulou and Chatzis, "Education", pp. 123-124; Fotini Assimacopoulou and Konstantinos Chatzis, "Σπουδαστές στη Γαλλία, μηχανικοί στην Ελλάδα. Ο κόσμος των ελλήνων μηχανικών, 19ος – αρχές 20ού αιώνα" [Students in France, engineers in Greece: The world of Greek engineers, nineteenth – early twentieth century], *Νεοελληνικά Ιστορικά* 1 (2008), pp. 121-128.

[64] Andreas Kordellas, *Ὀνομαστικὸν ἐπιστημονικῶν ὅρων πρὸς χρῆσιν τῆς Στρατιωτικῆς Σχολῆς τῶν Εὐελπίδων ἐκ μεταφράσεως, διασκευῆς καὶ ἐπαυξήσεως τοῦ ὑπὸ D. Kaltbruner ἐγχειριδίου τοῦ ὁδοιπόρου* [Dictionary of scientific terms for use by the Evelpidon Military Academy, translated, adapted and expanded from D. Kaltbrunner's traveller's guide], Athens 1883, p. vi.

scientists for the benefit of the "people" were to contribute to the spread of scientific knowledge and were to improve the practice of manual labour. These publications were also contrasted with "wasteful" literature, and their moralising dimension is emphasised. Long before the publishing programme of the Society for the Distribution of Useful Books [Σύλλογος προς Διάδοσιν Ωφελίμων Βιβλίων], envisioned by Dimitrios Vikelas, Kordellas had proclaimed, already in the 1880s, a civilising and moralising programme for the working class, using the vehicle of scientific knowledge.

A section of the work of the mining engineers consisted, in addition to preparing technical studies for companies and supervising mining work on the spot, of the creation of a new scientific and technical terminology, the writing and publication of scientific studies and manuals for teaching purposes and the translation of scholarly works into Greek.[65] In 1889, Petros Protopapadakis, then working as an engineer with the Peloponnese Railway Company (1888-1889), wrote a study on the financial management of the railway line, in which the problems caused by the absence of a full technical terminology were apparent.[66] A year later, he published in book form the lessons on theoretical and applied engineering that he taught at the Military Academy, the Naval Academy and the School of Industrial Arts, because, as he wrote in the prologue, there was a "complete lack" of a book in the Greek language on the basics of engineering.[67] In the following years, he worked to spread scientific knowledge, publishing two popular works on astronomy and the natural sciences in the series of the Society for the Distribution of Useful Books.[68] These examples can be multiplied: the engineers of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth published manuals, translated and wrote (original or otherwise) studies; they contributed, that is, to the

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[65] See the publications of Panayiotis Vouyoukas, *Σύντομος περιγραφὴ τῶν ὀρυκτῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος* [Short description of the ores of Greece], Athens 1856; Kordellas, *Ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐξεταζομένη γεωλογικῶς καὶ ὀρυκτολογικῶς*; and *id.*, *Στοιχεῖα ὀρυκτολογίας* [Elements of mineralogy], Athens 1888.

[66] Petros Protopapadakis, *Οἰκονομικὴ διαχείρισις τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν τῆς γραμμῆς καὶ τῆς χρήσεως τοῦ σιδηροδρόμου Πειραιῶς-Ἀθηνῶν-Πελοποννήσου. Μελέτη γενομένη ἐντολὴ τῆς διευθύνσεως αὐτοῦ κατὰ Ἰούνιον καὶ Αὔγουστον 1888* [Economic management of the services of the line and use of the Piraeus-Athens-Peloponnese railway: Study done on the order of the management in June and August 1888], Athens 1889.

[67] *Id.*, *Μαθήματα μηχανικῆς θεωρητικῆς καὶ ἐφηρμοσμένης*, A: *Κινητικὴ καὶ δυναμικὴ τοῦ σημείου* [Lessons in applied and theoretical engineering, I: Point kinetics and dynamics], Athens 1890.

[68] *Id.*, *Ἥλιος, ζωή και κίνησις* [Sun, life and movement], Athens 1901, and *Η Γη* [The Earth], Athens 1906.

propagation of scientific knowledge, the introduction and consolidation of a technical terminology, the introduction and establishment of new subjects at the Technical University and to the dissemination of new methods in the technical sciences.[69] Even during the interwar period, when a Greek technical terminology for the mining industry had been established, relevant manuals continued to appear. New subjects, such as the management and scientific organisation of work, occupied the intellectual activities of the engineers. Themistocles Charitakis, who worked systematically on the translation and publication of works on scientific management, struggled with the translation of terminology, just as the previous generation of engineers had done.[70]

The popularisation of scientific knowledge was of particular interest for engineers. Aside from the scholarly and professional associations and the publications in the specialist technical press, some mining engineers were active in the Parnassos Literary Society, the Association for the Promotion of Education and Learning and the Society for the Distribution of Useful Books. Characteristically, Petros Protopapadakis, Emmanuel Dragoumis and Ioannis Doanides were, among their other positions, members of the Board of Directors of the Society for the Distribution of Useful Books. Doanides, moreover, was actively involved until the end of his life in the administration of the Association and of the Sevastopouleios Industrial School.[71]

Although the systematic analysis of the popularisation enterprise of engineers is not the aim of this study, we can, nonetheless, draw attention to the findings of recent research in connection with the popularisation of the natural sciences in the same period in Greece. The public discourse on science in the second half of the nineteenth century had a direct correlation with utilitarianism as a system of ethics and as an ideology and with the idea of progress. The undertaking of popularisation for the spreading of useful knowledge had, therefore, distinct social, political and ideological implications, as it aimed to raise the educational level and the moral training of the "populace", attainments which were expected to contribute to "social progress".[72] The spreading of useful knowledge, a part of which was the

[69] Assimacopoulou and Chatzis, "Σπουδαστές", pp. 121-123.

[70] Themistocles Charitakis, "Το διάγραμμα Gantt μέσον διοικήσεως και οργανώσεως υπό Wallace Clark" [The Gantt chart, a tool for management and organisation by Wallace Clark], intro. and transl. in the Greek edition, *Αρχείον Οικονομικών και Κοινωνικών Επιστημών* 17 (1937), pp. 230-231.

[71] "Ι. Δοανίδης" [I. Doanides], *Βιογραφικόν λεξικόν*, Vol. III, pp. 534-537.

[72] Eirini Mergoupi-Savaidou, *Δημόσιος λόγος περί επιστήμης στην Ελλάδα, 1870-1900. Εκλαϊκευτικά εγχειρήματα στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, στους πολιτιστικούς συλλόγους και*

undertaking of making widely known the natural and mechanical sciences and their importance, was employed as a means of intellectual and political manipulation of the middle and lower social strata in reproducing the existing power relations.

Engineers as Politicians: Phocion Negris and Petros Protopapadakis

Some of the Greek mining engineer graduates of the École des Mines in Paris took an active part in the political life of Greece, were elected as members of parliament and held ministries or other official positions. While Professor Ioannis Argyropoulos had served temporarily in 1916 as minister of transport in the caretaker government of Spyridon Lambros,[73] two other mining engineer ministers, Phocion Negris (fig. 1) and Petros Protopapadakis (fig. 2), were systematically involved in the politics of the early twentieth century.

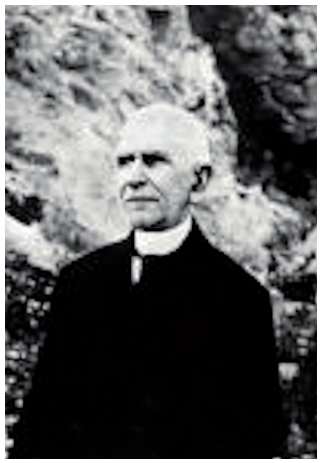

Fig. 1. Phocion Negris.

Fig. 2. Petros Protopapadakis.

Source: Modern Greek Visual Prosopography, Institute for Neohellenic Research / National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens.

στα περιοδικά [The public discourse on science in Greece, 1870-1900: Popularisation efforts in the University of Athens, cultural associations and the journals], unpublished PhD thesis, University of Athens, Athens 2010.

[73] Douglas Dakin, *Η ενοποίηση της Ελλάδας, 1770-1923* [originally published as *The Unification of Greece, 1770-1923*, London 1972], transl. A. Xanthopoulos, Athens 1982, p. 434.

Phocion Negris descended from the distinguished Phanariot Negris family. His father, Konstantinos, a student of Neophytos Vamvas and protégé of Alexandros Mavrocordatos during his time in Paris, had studied at the École Polytechnique and was a professor of mathematics at the University of Athens (1837-1843, 1843-1845), resigning from this position for political reasons. In 1848, Konstantinos Negris took an active part in the debate on the forced circulation of the drachma and also played a role in the organisation of a charitable response to begging in Athens. In 1864, along with other members of the bourgeoisie, he established the Merciful Company of Athens [Ελεήμονα Εταιρεία Αθηνών], of which he was vice president. He was opposed to the demand for universal suffrage and took part in the elections of 1869 on a platform of independent candidates, as president of an electoral association that supported the implementation of constitutional order, moderate modernisation and the functioning of a parliamentary system.[74] The two sons of Konstantinos Negris, Theodoros (Athens, 1836-1888) and Phocion (Athens, 1846-1928), resided in Paris for many years, studying at the École Polytechnique and the École des Mines, from which the former graduated in 1863 and the latter in 1872. On his return to Greece, Theodoros taught mathematics at the Military Academy, while Phocion pursued a brilliant career as a technical director for mining companies, before becoming involved in politics. Phocion Negris married Eleni Rizou Neroulou, scion of another distinguished Phanariot family, with whom he had a daughter, Loukia (who later married Asimakis Zaimis).

On his return to Greece in the early 1870s, Phocion Negris served as general ephor of Lavrion (1871-1875), overseeing "the extrusions, slags and mines of Lavrion". He stood down as ephor to take up the position of general director of the Greek Metal Works Company of Lavrion (1875-1886, 1894-1898). In 1887, he became managing director and later general director of the Public and Municipal Works' Company [Εταιρεία Δημοσίων και Δημοτικών Έργων, ΕΔΔΕ], a position he held until the end of the 1890s. He was first elected

[74] Michael Stefanidis, *Ιστορία της Φυσικομαθηματικής Σχολής* [The history of the School of Physics and Mathematics], Athens 1952, p. 5; Giorgos Stassinopoulos, *Νομισματική θεωρία και πολιτική στην Ελλάδα τον 19ο αιώνα* [Monetary theory and politics in Greece, nineteenth century], Athens 2000, pp. 102-106; Maria Korasidou, *Οι άθλιοι των Αθηνών και οι θεραπευτές τους. Φτώχεια και φιλανθρωπία στην ελληνική πρωτεύουσα τον 19ο αιώνα* [The wretched of Athens and their carers: Poverty and charity in the Greek capital in the nineteenth century], Athens 1995, pp. 90-97; Gunnar Hering, *Τα πολιτικά κόμματα στην Ελλάδα, 1821-1936* [originally published as *Die politischen Parteien in Griechenland, 1821-1936*, Munich 1992], transl. T. Paraskevopoulos, Vol. I, Athens 2004, pp. 470, 653-655.

member of parliament for Attica and Boeotia in 1887, from which time he was almost continually elected. He was also elected mayor of Lavreotiki (1895-1898). Negris served as minister of finance in 1898-1899 and 1901-1902 in the short-lived governments of Alexandros Zaimis and as minister of the interior in 1916-1917 and Transport in 1916, also in the Zaimis' governments.[75]

As general director of the Greek Metal Works Company of Lavrion, Negris played a decisive role in the technological modernisation of the company in the period 1875-1886, chiefly with the installation of the washery for enriching the extrusions and in replacing the deficient Spanish furnaces with Pilz furnaces. At Mantoudi, where the magnesite mines of the Public and Municipal Works' Company were located, he installed firebricks, an industrial innovation unique in Greece in the late nineteenth century. In addition to managing mines and mining companies, Negris published studies on the ancient washeries of the mines of Lavrion, as well as geological studies, presenting the findings of his research to the Académie des Sciences and the Société Géologique de France. In 1918, he was awarded an honorary doctorate in the natural sciences by the University of Athens for his scientific studies, while in 1926 he was made the first president of the Academy of Athens.[76]

At the ministry of finance, Negris' work was associated with: a) reforming the operations of the International Financial Control; b) drawing up the loan with which the Piraeus-borderlands railway was built; and c) aiming for a balanced budget.[77] As a member of parliament, as well as a shareholder, he opposed the introduction of income tax as proposed by Athanasios Eftaxias in 1909, suggesting instead a tax on rent, which, in his view, "correlated with taxpayers' assets".[78] He also reacted to the new taxation on mining companies, arguing that the rates should be lower so as to boost their growth and even proposed that the land tax be replaced by a tax on annuities, which was fairer.[79]

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[75] Andreas Andreades, "Φωκίων Νέγρης" [Phocion Negris], *Νέα Εστία* 3 (1928), pp. 442-446; I. P. Doanidis, "Φωκίων Νέγρης" [Phocion Negris], *Ημερολόγιον της Μεγάλης Ελλάδος* 8 (1929), pp. 67-84; Sturdza, *Dictionnaire*, p. 363.

[76] Phocion Négris, *Laveries anciennes du Laurium*, Paris 1881; Doanides, "Φωκίων Νέγρης", pp. 71, 73, 78-81; Dermatis, *Λαύρειο, το μαύρο φως*, pp. 204, 273-275; Papastefanaki, *Προσεγγίσεις*.

[77] Andreades, "Φωκίων Νέγρης", p. 445.

[78] Adamantios Syrmaloglou, *Φορολογία ή χρεοκοπία. Η φορολογική πολιτική στη Βουλή των Ελλήνων, 1862-1910* [Taxation or bankruptcy: The fiscal policy in the Hellenic Parliament, 1862-1910], Athens 2007, pp. 252-255.

[79] *Σκριπ* (20 October 1909), p. 2, and (23 October 1909), p. 2.

Negris' parliamentary contribution can be found, in particular, in the introduction of the ΒΩΜΑ law (1901) on mines and in his continual efforts to introduce social insurance to Greece, from as early as the first decade of the twentieth century. The ΒΩΜΑ law reorganised the Miners' Fund, which had been founded in 1882. The Fund compensated workers only for workplace accidents during work underground, even though Negris had proposed that the insurance be expanded to retirement pensions. In 1902, Negris, as minister of finance, submitted a draft law for extending the legislation to compensating those workers suffering from workplace accidents in all industries and he also expanded the insurance coverage to hospital treatment and to retirement pensions for all workers. The funds came from obligatory contributions made by employers and workers. The draft law was not discussed, however, because of a change in government. Negris again presented the draft law of 1902, now broadened, in June and December 1906, as a proposed law "on hospital treatment and pensions for the staff of various industrial enterprises and on pensions for public servants to emery miners". On both occasions, the proposal was rejected. Dismayed that he would not secure the passage of the law for workers in all industries, because of the reaction of the industrialists themselves, he made his proposal once again for just miners and quarry workers in March 1907 and November 1909. "But, in vain!", as he himself confessed.[80] During World War I and the general social unrest, Negris observed that if the law that he had repeatedly proposed in the previous decade had been passed: "relations between employers and workers would not have the harsh character they have today, with continuous uprisings, damaging the interested parties directly and the government indirectly".[81]

The committee that had been formed in 1912 by the minister Andreas Michalakopoulos, in order to draft a bill for insurance for private employees, included Negris, Spyros Koronis, Spyros Theodoropoulos, Spyros Papafrangos and Thrasyvoulos Petmezas. The bill, however, had not been presented to parliament by 1916. In that year, Negris hoped that the work of the committee

[80] Phocion Negris, "Περί ταμείου ασφαλείας κατά των ατυχημάτων των εργατών" [On an insurance fund for worker accidents] *Αρχιμήδης* 12/7-8 (1906); *id.*, *Περί συντάξεων εν Ελλάδι και ειδικώτερον περί του ανωτάτου βάρους εις το μέλλον των δημοσίων συντάξεων επί του δημοσίου θησαυρού* [On pensions in Greece, especially the great future burden of state pensions on the state treasury], Athens 1916, p. 14. See also Antonis Liakos, *Εργασία και πολιτική στην Ελλάδα του Μεσοπολέμου. Το Διεθνές Γραφείο Εργασίας και η ανάδυση των κοινωνικών θεσμών* [Labour and politics in interwar Greece: The International Labour Organization and the emergence of social institutions], Athens 1993, pp. 379, 382.

[81] Negris, *Περί συντάξεων*, p. 14.

would not be forgotten in the drawers of the ministry, but he wished, even more ardently, that a bill would be presented once more to parliament on the issue of insurance for old age pensions and health care for the working class, whose members "are still unprotected or inadequately protected by the various associations" and that the issue be comprehensively settled "on a secure and just basis".[82]

After World War I, Negris based his hopes for the restoration of political and social peace on the idea of the League of Nations. In fact, he served as the first president of the Greek League of Nations Society (1920-1927), vice president of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies (1925-1927) and honorary president of the Greek Association in the final years before his death (1926-1928).[83] Through the Society's newsletter, he promoted issues related not only to the rehabilitation of the Asia Minor refugees, but also current legislation in other European countries and in America, in order to tackle unemployment.[84] He had, that is, a continuous and permanent interest in securing social peace and for preventative, not repressive, measures.

Negris was presented in the press of his day and by his biographers as a modest and honourable politician, above "petty party" conflicts. His bourgeois origins and scientific status lent him the indisputable characteristics of a politician who acted selflessly in the public interest. It was even argued that he was one of the few politicians who was especially loved by both "the advanced class and the people".[85] As the member of parliament for Attica and Boeotia, he drew his voters chiefly from Lavrion and from regions such as Mesogeia, Marathon and the province of Megaris,[86] from where a section of the workers of Lavrion came. In his systematic interest in the improvement of the living conditions of the Lavrion workers and in insurance coverage for miners, and workers in general, we can distinguish the influence of ideas that were circulating at that time in French circles, in relation to the role of the

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[82] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

[83] *Id.*, "Οργάνωσις και δράσις των Συλλόγων της Κοινωνίας των Εθνών" [Organisation and action of the Associations in the League of Nations], *Δελτίον Ελληνικού Συλλόγου της Κοινωνίας των Εθνών* 1/1 (1921), pp. 42-47.

[84] *Id.*, "Περί της ασφαλείας εναντίον της ανεργίας (chômage)" [On the security against unemployment (chômage)], *Δελτίον Ελληνικού Συλλόγου της Κοινωνίας των Εθνών* 2/6 (1922), pp. 3-15; *id.*, "Η καταπολέμησις της ανεργίας (chômage) εις περίπτωσιν οξείας κρίσεως της εργασίας" [The fight against unemployment (chômage) as an example of the extreme crisis of labour], *Δελτίον Ελληνικού Συλλόγου της Κοινωνίας των Εθνών* 2/7 (1923), pp. 3-7.

[85] *Σκριπ* (16 February 1905), p. 1.

[86] *Σκριπ* (27 April 1910), p. 4, and (26 February 1905), pp. 3-4.

engineer and the preservation of social peace. Negris, a graduate of the École des Mines, where Saint-Simonian ideas were popular, adopted practices and developed strategies throughout his professional and political careers which aspired to give an ethical dimension to industrial capitalism. As a member of mining companies, he had an intermediary role between employers and workers, a role that he performed literally, putting out the fires during the 1897 strike by CFML workers.[87]

As a bourgeois politician, Negris eloquently expressed, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the increasing bourgeois interest in reforming labour relations with the intervention of the state and the implementation of a social policy in the workplace. The realisation of the long-term social inequality and the gradual decline of employer paternalism inspired in the first decade of the twentieth century the voices of the bourgeoisie to call for a new political approach to labour relations. Negris was a proponent of this view when, in 1906, he started the preamble for a draft law he submitted to parliament with Wilhelm I's declaration to the Reichstag:

> […] if we can be sure that we will leave behind us a new and stable guarantee for internal peace, and having given the welfare needed to those who suffer, as much as they are entitled to […] Finding the best means to ensure this level of welfare is truly difficult, but also unavoidable for any community built upon the moral foundations of Christian social relations.[88]

Negris' experience in the mines of Lavrion, where he came to understand from up close "the needs and just claims" of the workers was the basis for his belief in the need for social insurance for workplace accidents, for health care and old age pensions, so that: "Workers and employers coming together and acting together can be united inseparably with feelings of love and concord, which are necessary for the advancement of every enterprise and every society."[89]

Petros Protopapadakis (Naxos, 1858 – Athens, 1922), a graduate of the École Polytechnique (1883) and the École des Mines (1887), who had also

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[87] According to the description given by both of his biographers, the negotiations between the miners and Serpieri had reached an impasse, and the workers had barricaded their employer in his house and were firing on him. Serpieri's wife asked Negris to help. Given his modesty and the reputation he had among the workers, he was able to calm the excited spirits and convince the workers to put out the fire that they had lit in the house. Andreades, "Φωκίων Νέγρης", p. 444; Doanides, "Φωκίων Νέγρης", pp. 74-75.

[88] "Preamble" to the draft law "on pensions for the staff of various industrial enterprises", *Government Gazette*, Appendix, period XVIII (1906), p. 325.

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

successfully passed the course on railways at the École Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées, worked for the year 1887-1888 for the Compagnie des Chemins de Fer du Midi. On his return to Greece in 1888, he was appointed professor in engineering at the Military Academy and the Naval Academy and worked as an engineer for the Peloponnese Railway Company (1888-1889). He taught port and water supply works at the School of Industrial Arts (1889-1891) and worked as a technical director on the building of the Corinth Canal (1890-1895). He was also a contractor for the construction of the railway networks of Greece and the Ottoman Empire and worked as a building contractor. In addition, he was director of technical services for the Municipality of Athens (1899-1900, 1915).[90]

Protopapadakis became involved in politics in the first decade of the twentieth century, after having worked for 12 years in Greece, in the meantime marrying Smaragda Oikonomou, the daughter of Aristeides Oikonomou, with whom he had four children. Protopapadakis, although he was not the scion of a distinguished family as Phocion Negris was, was still relatively prosperous, since he appears to have had significant property and shares around 1900 and was a figure in society circles. He was a member of parliament for the Cyclades in 1902-1904 and in 1906-1910. He participated in Stefanos Dragoumis' parliamentary group (1905) and in 1907-1909 he was part of the parliamentary group led by Dragoumis and Dimitrios Gounaris.[91] Protopapadakis served as minister of finance in the government of Gounaris in 1915, although not a member of parliament. He returned to the political scene in 1920-1922, serving as minister of finance in 1921-1922 in the governments of Nikolaos Kalogeropoulos and Gounaris, as minister for food and self-sufficiency also in 1921-1922 and, for a brief period, as prime minister and minister of military affairs in 1922.[92] He was tried during the Trial of the Six, sentenced to death and executed by firing squad.

During the years of his study in Paris, Protopapadakis had come to know Gustave d'Eichthal, who offered him financial and social support. His relationship with the elderly Saint-Simonian – who, during his sojourn

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[90] *Τεχνική επετηρίς*, Vol. I, p. 158; Oikonomou, *Πέτρος Πρωτοπαπαδάκης*, pp. 56-57, 61-64, 75-86, 201-202; Antoniou, *Οι έλληνες μηχανικοί*, pp. 128, 185.

[91] Protopapadakis found himself outside Parliament from 1910 to 1920, not having stood in the 1910 elections and failing to be elected in those of 1912 and 1915.

[92] Oikonomou, *Πέτρος Πρωτοπαπαδάκης*, pp. 94-95; Syrmaloglou, *Φορολογία ή χρεοκοπία*, pp. 161-165, 172; Dakin, *Η ενοποίηση της Ελλάδας*, pp. 429-435; Thanassis Bohotis, "Εσωτερική πολιτική" [Internal politics], in Hadziiossif (ed.), *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας*, Vol. I/2, pp. 41, 55, 84, 100.

in Greece in 1833-1835, had contributed to the creation of the Office of Public Economy in the ministry of the interior and who died in 1886 when Protopapadakis was still studying in Paris – must have left an impression on the young engineer. Nonetheless, this is not the place to investigate another supporter of the ideas of Saint-Simon and, in any case, the various Saint-Simonian influences in Greece have already been investigated.[93]

Throughout his political career, Protopapadakis articulated a coherent economic argument in parliament, with analytical thought and practical economic consideration. His parliamentary presence was distinguished for its practicality as regards economic issues, while references to economic theory are absent from his parliamentary speeches and published writings. He did, however, use statistical and quantitative methods. His positions on the country's economic policies primarily concerned fiscal consolidation and the institutional modernisation of the public administration. Especially during the first phase of his parliamentary career (1902-1910), his views chimed with the economic ideas of the International Financial Control imposed upon the country in 1898, as regards fiscal discipline and the modernisation of the public administration.[94] Protopapadakis opposed protectionism and supported an increase in direct taxation and a decrease in indirect taxation, arguing that duties and indirect taxes burdened the middle and working classes.

Protopapadakis' parliamentary career began in May 1903, when he proposed two draft bills for the modernisation of the main source of economic activity in his electoral constituency, Naxian emery. The proposals concerned: a) the sale and operation of emery; and b) the creation of an emery workers' fund, as they had not been included in the regulations of the ΒΩΜΑ law in 1901. The bills were accompanied by a preamble of several pages, which comprehensively examined the production and consumption of emery on a global scale, presenting the historical development of the ownership of the emery mines of Naxos and the commercial exploitation of the ore by Greek governments and proposing different management systems. These proposals were not voted in, but were published together with the preamble in a bound volume, at parliamentary expense.[95]

The most representative text by the Naxian politician during this period is the report of several pages that he submitted to parliament in 1907 as the

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[93] Christina Agriantoni, "Επίμετρο. Οι σαινσιμονικές ιδέες στην Ελλάδα" [Afterwards: Saint-Simonian ideas in Greece], in Picon, *Οι σαινσιμονιστές*, pp. 329-341.

[94] Syrmaloglou, *Φορολογία ή χρεοκοπία*, pp. 119, 164-174, 262.

[95] Protopapadakis, *Μονογραφία περί Ναξίας σμύριδος*.

rapporteur for the minority on the committee for the public budget of the Georgios Theotokis government.[96] In this report he analysed the state income for the years 1880-1905, observing that the proportion of the income from direct taxes was continually being reduced, while, in contrast, the proportion of the income from indirect taxes was gradually rising, concluding that: "[…] the meaning of tax is completely overlooked in Greece, where it is imposed upon the income of the tax-paying citizen and not upon his consumption. Tax has ended up, that is, being forced on those with the greatest needs in life, and not on the annuity."[97]

Protopapadakis' observations on the burdens of the lower economic classes conform to a great degree with the more recent observations of researchers on the unequal distribution of the tax burden in the Greek State.[98] He believed that the tax burden of the lower classes along with the bad administration, lack of justice and public security made the country unliveable for the weaker classes and saw transatlantic migration as a "peaceful revolution" of the poor against the difficulties of life in Greece.[99] He therefore supported the reorganisation of public administration, a more just distribution of tax burdens and an increase in public expenditure on health and education, which was the lowest among all the Balkan countries, as well as the reorganisation of the statistics service.[100]

For Protopapadakis, public health was the chief engine of economic growth, and he thus fully adopted the views of doctors who at that time were working on related issues, arguing that the improvement of public health through the prevention of infectious diseases must be the focus of the government's interest.[101] Protopapadakis' emphasis on the economic value of health (as securing the necessary labour and reducing the number of days and funds spent on treatment) found a place within the broader discussion on public health in the Greece of the early twentieth century. This debate, the participants of which included distinguished members of the community of doctors and engineers, concerned the improvement of infrastructure and

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[96] Petros Protopapadakis, *Έκθεσις της μειονοψηφίας της επί του προϋπολογισμού του κράτους επιτροπής* [Report of the minority on the state budget committee (presented to the Hellenic Parliament)], Athens 1907.

[97] *Ibid*., p. 10.

[98] George Dertilis, *Ατελέσφοροι ή τελεσφόροι; Φόροι και εξουσία στο νεοελληνικό κράτος* [Ineffective or effective? Taxation and political power in modern Greece], Athens 1993.

[99] Protopapadakis, *Έκθεσις*, p. 24.

[100] *Ibid*., pp. 40, 194-195.

[101] *Ibid*., pp. 165-171.

the reduction of the morbidity and mortality rates within the population. However, it also raised more general issues of how to clean up Greek society, both literally and metaphorically.[102] Protopapadakis came to see the country's productive forces themselves as ill, since "they are sleeping a sleep that is not natural, but that of a sick person in a stupor, against which we must react with all our powers".[103] The means for awakening the population were to be found in the improvement of public health and the expansion of technical education on all levels. He made it clear, however, that by professional training he did not mean "the creation of schools designed to train dependents of the public budget […], but the propagation among the people of that positive knowledge that made the nineteenth century glorious and which must be used as a guide in every action, down to the last farmer". The technical educational institutions were obliged, "intelligently and effectively", to work to make known to the public "those healthy economic principles", so as to make even the last farmer "a figure that is beneficial to the engine of the whole national economy".[104] The success of modern civilisation was due to technical knowledge being inoculated with classical knowledge, he argued, citing Gerolamo Boccardo, the advocate of economic liberalism and professor of political economy at the University of Genoa. In examining the technical services of the state, he observed that they impeded both oversight of public works and the way in which public money was used. He then sharply criticised the School of Industrial Arts, which had proved ineffective as a school for foremen, as "nowhere responded to the needs of technical education", since it could not produce engineers that were "suitably formed and practising adequately", so as to be useful for the state services. He located the reasons for the low standards of the School, which did not fulfil the preconditions even of a "lower technical college" in Europe, to inadequate organisation, the curriculum, the lack of laboratories and practical exercise and to a teaching staff consisting mostly of "mediocrities", despite the presence of certain teachers of a much higher standard.[105]

In the second phase of his political activity (1920-1922), Protopapadakis' economic policy focussed on reducing the public deficit. In 1922, he opted for

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[102] Leda Papastefanaki, "Politics, Modernisation and Public Health in Greece (1900-1940): The Case of Occupational Health", in C. Promitzer, S. Trubeta and M. Turda (eds), *Health, Hygiene and Eugenics in South-eastern Europe to 1945*, Budapest and New York 2011, pp. 167-174.

[103] Protopapadakis, *Έκθεσις*, p. 194.

[104] *Ibid*., pp. 194-195.

[105] *Ibid.,* pp. 227-228.

the solution of a forced loan and the cutting in half of the currency, in order to cover the needs of the state. The imposition of the emergency measure of the forced loan of course gave a temporary economic breather to diplomatically isolated Greece and has been seen as a successful and globally innovative act, but also as a significant violation of the right to private property.[106]

By way of conclusion, both Phocion Negris and Petros Protopapadakis were moderates in politics, as they showed a constant interest in the introduction and establishment of social security schemes, the bettering of the living standards of the lower orders, improvement in public health and education and the development of technical and vocational training. Through their interventions, which were based on their specialist scientific knowledge and experience, which they derived from the environment in which they worked, their interest was orientated not only towards the technological and organisational modernisation of the enterprises in which they were employed, but towards the modernisation of the state and of Greek society. Even if they were not purist supporters of the Saint-Simon ideology with which they came into contact during their studies at the École des Mines in the nineteenth century, nevertheless, the ensuring of social cohesion was an on-going concern for these two engineers and politicians. They were convinced that science and technology would contribute to the country's economic and industrial development, and that these in turn should ensure an improvement in the population's standard of living and the maintenance of peace in society and between the classes.

The Engineer as Social Reformer: Themistocles Charitakis

The American methods of production and management that had already reached Europe before World War I spread significantly throughout the continent during the interwar period. The ideas of Frederick Winslow Taylor and Henry Ford on mass production and consumption, the chain of production and marketing science encountered the deep desire of the European bourgeoisie to use technology in order to increase production and alleviate social conflicts. The bourgeois strategies of defence in many

[106] Syrmaloglou, *Φορολογία ή χρεοκοπία*, pp. 120, 172-174; Michalis Psalidopoulos, *Η κρίση του 1929 και οι έλληνες οικονομολόγοι* [The crisis of 1929 and the Greek economists], Athens 1989, pp. 61-62; Christos Hadziiossif, "Το προσφυγικό σοκ, οι σταθερές και οι μεταβολές της ελληνικής οικονομίας" [The refugees' shock, the constants and the changes of the Greek economy], in Hadziiossif (ed.), *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας*, Vol. II/1, p. 17.

European countries shared similarities in respect to their broad receptiveness to Fordism and Taylorism. The "scientific management of work", with the use of rationalisation (the strict division of labour, the time and motion study, the production chain, the assembly line, the expansion of the piece-rate system, production bonuses, etc.), advocated by Taylor was widely discussed in European bourgeois settings. In most cases where "Taylorism" was adopted, the "scientific management of work" was understood almost exclusively as a tool for managing staff, while the adaptation of Taylorist methods to the practices of European employers always met with reaction from the workers.[107]

In the interwar period, at a time when the Greek technical press was focussed on promoting the ideas of scientific management, the work of the mining engineer Themistocles Charitakis seemed eloquently to condense the interest of the technical world and the bourgeoisie for rational organisation, an increase in productivity and the management of labour relations. Themistocles Charitakis was born in Athens in 1888 and studied at the École des Mines in Paris (1907-1910), where one of his professors was Henry Le Châtelier, one of the leading proponents of Taylorism in France. On his return to Greece, Charitakis worked as an engineering consultant with his own technical studies firm. From 1929, he was a lecturer in "applied political economy" at the Supreme School of Economics and Business and a technical consultant to the Technical Chamber in 1931-1932. He played a leading role in the publication of the technical journal *Έργα* [Works], was secretary of the Greek Association for the Scientific Management of Labour (1936) and made a systematic attempt to introduce the methods of the scientific management of labour to Greece through publications and his involvement in international debates. Despite his active participation in the debate around rationalisation in the interwar period and his association with the Greek version of "reactionary modernism" in the second half of the 1930s, Charitakis did not succeed in 1939 in being elected to the chair of Technical Operation of Works at the National Metsovion Polytechnic.[108]

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[107] Charles Maier, "Between Taylorism and Technocracy: European Ideologies and the Vision of Industrial Productivity in the 1920s", *Journal of Contemporary History* 5 (1970), pp. 27-51; François Caron, *Les deux révolutions industrielles du XXe siècle*, Paris 1997, pp. 95-101, 310-318; Aimée Moutet, *Les logiques de l'entreprise. La rationalisation dans l'industrie française de l'entre-deux-guerres*, Paris 1997.

[108] On reactionary modernism in Germany in the interwar period, see Jeffrey Herf, *Αντιδραστικός μοντερνισμός. Τεχνολογία, κουλτούρα και πολιτική στη Βαϊμάρη και το Γ΄ Ράιχ* [originally published as *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*, Cambridge 1984], transl. P. Matalas, ed. C. Hadziiossif, Heraklion 1996.

In 1924, Charitakis published an extensive summary of the 1917 book by the mining engineer Henry Fayol, who had attempted to advance "scientific management" by setting the foundations of the scientific method.[109] Fayol, who had worked in the Decazeville mines in the 1890s, had set as his goal the creation, through the management of work, of a normative universe of industrial order that would bear no relation to the previous personal and paternalistic management of workers.[110] During the transition from empiricism to the scientific method, the advantage of Henry Fayol's work over that of Frederick Winslow Taylor lay, according to Charitakis, in the fact that the French engineer had taken into consideration the findings of political economy and the social sciences. As for Fayol's method of studying management issues, Charitakis argued that it was "the same as the experimental method of Claude Bernard in his introduction to experimental medicine, the so-called positivist method of Auguste Comte in the social sciences or, more simply, the scientific method of Cartesianism".[111] Charitakis attempted to explain just what scientific management was: "The management is faced with problems similar to that of medicine as applied to the whole of the social organism."[112] The following year, Charitakis presented the system of Henry Ford, which he described as a successful implementation of Taylor's theory, without, however, Taylor's scientific dimensions and theoretical basis.[113] In 1926, given that the convergence of Taylorism and Fayolism had been achieved, Charitakis published two articles in which he presented the principles of the scientific application of rationalisation and the problems that this field could solve (maximisation of the performance of machines and men, reduction of workers' fatigue, scientific management of work).[114] In a 1929

On Charitakis, see Antoniou, *Έλληνες μηχανικοί*, pp. 325-330; Yiannis Antoniou, Michalis Assimakopoulos and Konstantinos Chatzis, "The National Identity of Interwar Greek Engineers: Elitism, Rationalization, Technocracy, and Reactionary Modernism", *History and Technology* 23/3 (2007), pp. 241-261.

[109] Themistocles Charitakis, "Η εν τη βιομηχανία διοίκησις και γενικώτεραι αυτής εφαρμογαί κατά τον H. Fayol" [The industrial administration and its general applications, according to H. Fayol], *Αρχείον Οικονομικών και Κοινωνικών Επιστημών* 4 (1924), pp. 7-61.

[110] Yves Cohen, "Fayol, un instituteur de l'ordre industriel", *Entreprises et Histoire* 3/34 (2003), pp. 29-67.

[111] Charitakis, "Η εν τη βιομηχανία", pp. 7-8.

[112] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[113] *Id.,* "Φορδισμός. Αι ιδέαι του Henry Ford περί διοργανώσεως της βιομηχανίας" [Fordism, Henry Ford's ideas on industrial organisation], *Αρχείον Οικονομικών και Κοινωνικών Επιστημών* 5 (1925), pp. 378-379.

[114] *Id.*, "Η επιστήμη της οργανώσεως της εργασίας" [The science of work organisation],

article describing scientific vocational orientation, he argued that through psychometric methods it is possible: a) to use individuals' "professional abilities" in an excellent way; and b) that a satisfactory "choice" of individuals be made in relation to their profession. Psychometrics can achieve:

> […] the determination of the professional ability of workers, compiling a full catalogue of professions, through which the individual being examined can find the or those professions for which he is suitable and those that, because of physical or psychological form or for educational or economic reasons, it appears he should avoid […] Thus, by knowing, at least for the simpler professions, if he is in a position to fulfil the job which he wants to do or whether he should find another for which he is more suitable.[115]

Psychometric methods were already being applied in special laboratories in England, Germany, France, the USA and elsewhere, where, with the help of tests and a variety of examinations, human reactions to external stimulation were graded. Those who took the psychometric tests could then be directed to suitable jobs and be excluded from jobs that were unsuitable for them. The examinations measured memory, attention and intelligence, and even the endurance and health of the workers.[116] Charitakis ended his article by presenting a table of professional credentials with the required "normal", "psychological" and educational credentials for a series of professions (builder, painter, stonemason, carpenter, bookbinder, barber, etc.), which had been produced by the career development office in Lyon.[117] Under the guise of an objective scientific observation, which would theoretically benefit the workers, as it would direct them into jobs that were suitable for them, the psychometric method, part of the Taylorian-inspired "scientific management of labour", Charitakis noted, classified and created models of workers, excluded them from jobs or guided them to specific jobs according to the needs of production. By reading Charitakis' article on scientific vocational orientation, I could presume that the management of production, on the basis of normative models and the taxonomic measures of engineers and the other sciences that promoted the scientific management of work, made a drastic intervention into the social division of labour, creating new and more

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Έργα 29 (1926), pp. 97-101; *id*., "Διδασκαλία της διοικήσεως των εργασιών" [Instruction of scientific management], *Έργα* 30 (1926), pp. 121-127.

[115] *Id*., "Ο επιστημονικός επαγγελματικός προσανατολισμός" [The scientific vocational orientation], *Έργα* 91 (1929), p. 539.

[116] *Ibid*., pp. 540-543.

[117] *Ibid*., pp. 543-544.

profound divisions and exclusions. In my view, these taxonomies, presented as neutral and objective, were in reality taxonomies on the lines of gender, class, ethnicity and religion, as can be seen from a more careful analysis of the professional criteria required for the different jobs. These taxonomies exacerbated the divisions in the labour market and reinforced society's hierarchical structure. Although it is not certain that such psychometric tests were used by Greek companies in the interwar or post-war periods, it is worth mentioning that these models of taxonomy concealed an element of authoritarianism.

In his 1930 report in the Greek technical press on the 4th International Congress on the Scientific Management of Labour held in Paris, Charitakis made particular reference to the contribution made by Henry Le Châtelier on the relationship between the scientific management of work and the social issue:

> It behoves all and the smaller engineers to have the ambition to be good guides of men and through Knowledge, based on the celebrated Cartesian method, and Free Will, supported by the desire to spread their educated opinions in a spirit of justice and right thinking, to contribute to the resolution of this [social problem].[118]

He argued that the importance of the scientific management of work was even greater for countries with limited industrialisation, such as Greece, because it was a "means for rapid and safe progress […] to the foundations of being methodical, the fight against imprudence, disorder, the spirit of the purposeless change in methods and means".[119]

Some years later, in 1937, Charitakis translated the work of the engineer Henry Laurence Gantt into Greek, on monitoring production and productivity in the workplace through the use of charts. Gantt, who had worked with Taylor, had devised one of the best-known bonus systems for inspiring greater productivity from workers ("task and bonus"). The management of work using a Gantt chart was based on time and not on quantity, and this relationship was seen as his greatest contribution to management and the scientific management of work. A further advantage of the Gantt chart was that it introduced a management system that could be understood not only

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[118] *Id.*, "Το εν Παρισίοις Δ΄ Διεθνές Συνέδριον της Επιστημονικής Οργανώσεως της Εργασίας" [The 4th International Congress on the Scientific Management of Labour in Paris], *Έργα* 111 (1930), p. 389.

[119] *Ibid.*, pp. 387- 391.

"by someone from the supervisory staff but equally well by the workers".[120] As Charitakis argued in the introduction to the translation, there are reservations about the new working methods when they appear as the importing of innovations into businesses by outside people, but it is recognised nonetheless that they are a natural continuation of:

> […] the centuries-old attempts by humanity on the basis of knowledge of the natural, psychological, economic and ethical factors, for the production of more, cheaper and better products, for distribution to the consumers, with at the same time the best remuneration for the productive employers and workers. The new methods secure the most logical, best and appropriate use of the elements of production.[121]

Conclusions

Mining engineers cannot be seen as "neutral" bearers of modernisation and scientific knowledge, but as active historical agents who, through the vehicle of scientific and technical knowledge, contributed in many ways to the enterprise of industrial modernisation in Greece from 1870 to 1940 and attempted to implement a broad civilising and moralising programme for Greek society.

Mining engineers in Greece, as employees of the state mechanism, formed and oversaw the running of the institutional framework of the mines. As engineers in secondary production, they played a crucial role in the organisation and management of production and the appropriation of technology, while they also contributed to the consolidation of new social relations between the rural populations and the mining regions. In the case of the engineers, scientific thought served the modernising vision, which was translated using the terms of industry and the development of a technical culture. The intermediary role of the engineers between the workers and the employers often made them intermediaries between capital and labour: from this derived, moreover, the increasing interest of engineers such as Phocion Negris and Petros Protopapadakis to reform labour relations and social policy and to establish social insurance policies.

Mining engineers intervened in the management of production, but also demanded an active role in political life: Phocion Negris and Petros Protopapadakis intervened in public affairs and were politically active in

[120] *Id.*, "Το διάγραμμα Gantt", p. 233.
[121] *Ibid.*, pp. 231-232.

the effort to maintain social hierarchies and peace in society. On the other hand, such mining engineers as Konstantinos Negris and Elias Gounaris, who were entrepreneurs and shareholders in mining and industrial enterprises, participated systematically in employer organisations.

The formation of mining engineers' professional groups, as well as the social organisation that they envisioned, were rooted in gendered and class relations of power. The interest in technology and the management of industrial production went along with their demand for the management of society itself. Whether Saint-Simonians or not, the engineers who worked in Greece in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth moved between technical efficacy and economic growth, between the innovation of technical civilisation and the easing of the social tensions that resulted from the new social relations of industrial capitalism. Economic growth for them could not be disconnected from social order and a hierarchical social organisation. In a brilliant, albeit extreme way the demand for social order was expressed by the mining engineer Themistocles Charitakis in the interwar period, just at the time when political authoritarianism was spreading in Greece and Europe.

University of Ioannina

L'ENGAGEMENT POLITIQUE DES JOURNALISTES PENDANT LA SECONDE MOITIÉ DU XIXe SIÈCLE

Nassi Balta

RÉSUMÉ: Le but de cet article est d'examiner les transformations qui ont lieu au sein de la presse grecque au cours de la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle et, en particulier, le processus complexe de sa politisation. Par l'examen du contexte politique, idéologique et institutionnel de l'époque, et à partir des exemples caractéristiques précis, l'article vise à examiner le fonctionnement politique de la presse d'opinion grecque pendant cette période charnière.

La notion de l'engagement politique des journaux constitue une dimension très importante de l'histoire de la presse grecque, très étroitement liée au rôle et au fonctionnement des journaux dans le royaume grec au cours de la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle. Nous nous proposons d'examiner ici en quoi consiste au juste cet engagement, c'est-à-dire quels sont ses enjeux, quels en sont les buts, les diverses politiques et idéologies dans lesquelles s'engagent les journalistes de l'époque, quelle est la façon dont il se manifeste dans certaines périodes de crises, politiques, économiques, ainsi que dans le domaine de la politique extérieure, mais également dans la conjoncture de la crise généralisée à la fin du siècle.

Le traitement de ce sujet sera nécessairement sommaire mais aussi riche de sens en se focalisant essentiellement sur des exemples et des cas importants et caractéristiques de journalistes ou d'éditeurs de grands journaux et à leur prise de positions à des moments critiques, influençant souvent l'évolution des évènements. Notre présentation repose sur deux axes: a) l'examen du profil des journaux de l'époque ainsi que des facteurs de sa formation et, plus précisément, la puissante tradition de la presse d'opinion qui remonte aux origines de la presse grecque et domine au cours des premières décennies de l'État grec sous le règne du roi Othon; b) L'évaluation des conditions politiques qui exercent une influence sur l'évolution de la presse et sur son rôle dans la vie politique et sociale grecque de l'époque. Ainsi, nous nous réfèrerons en bref aux grandes étapes de l'histoire politique et à l'évolution du système parlementaire.

C'est aux milieux intellectuels grecs qu'on doit la naissance de la presse grecque, pendant la période de la préparation idéologique de la Révolution de 1821. Les idées du siècle des Lumières et plus précisément du libéralisme

politique ont abouti au courant le plus radical des Lumières néohelléniques et ont cristallisé les revendications politiques et nationales de la Révolution: fondation d'un État national et institutions bourgeoises libérales.[1] Par définition donc et dès son apparition, la presse grecque avait un caractère politique accentué. La période du règne du roi Othon est celle de l'épanouissement des journaux d'opinion. Ces derniers font preuve de combativité, adoptent une position politique bien déterminée en exprimant les positions des partis (parti "anglais", "français" et "russe"), mènent des combats politiques acharnés contre l'administration bavaroise (la "bavarocratie") et s'engagent en faveur de l'octroi d'une Constitution. La presse d'opinion, sous le règne du roi Othon, est l'œuvre d'un seul homme, le fondateur et l'éditeur d'un journal, qui est, le plus souvent, son unique rédacteur.[2] Ses opinions sont exposées dans l'éditorial, qui occupe en général les deux ou même les trois des quatre pages qui composent le journal, détenant ainsi une importance majeure. Les conflits des gazetiers de l'époque contre l'administration othonienne sont violents et permanents et les persécutions de la presse sont très fréquentes, aboutissant même à des saisies des feuilles et des journaux, étant donné que la liberté de presse n'est pas encore reconnue et que la législation relative est particulièrement stricte.

De manière fort schématique nous pourrions reconnaître quatre coefficients d'ordre institutionnel qui ont pesé sur le caractère nettement politique de la presse grecque: 1) La promulgation précoce d'un système représentatif et celle d'institutions parlementaires; 2) L'adoption de la Constitution, également précoce par rapport aux autres pays européens, du suffrage universel et, par conséquent, un élargissement de la participation

[1] La bibliographie serait ici abondante. Mais il est indispensable de rappeler les travaux fondateurs de Catherine Koumarianou, parmi lesquels l'œuvre classique *O Τύπος στον Αγώνα, 1821-1827* [La presse pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance, 1821-1827], 3 vols, Athènes: Ermis, 1971. Pour un récit sommaire de l'histoire de la presse avant la Révolution de 1821 ainsi que de la période de la guerre de l'Indépendance, voir Catherine Koumarianou, "Γένεση και ανάπτυξη του ελληνικού Τύπου (1784-1863)" [Origines et développement de la presse grecque (1784-1863)], *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ελληνικού Τύπου, 1784-1974. Εφημερίδες, Περιοδικά, Δημοσιογράφοι, Εκδότες* [Encyclopédie de la presse grecque, 1784-1974. Journaux, revues, journalistes, éditeurs], éd. L. Droulia et G. Koutsopanagou, Athènes: Institut de Recherches Néohelléniques / FNRS, 2008, Vol. I, pp. 23-26. Cf. également Catherine Koumarianou, *O Ελληνικός Προεπαναστατικός Τύπος. Βιέννη – Παρίσι (1784-1821)* [La presse grecque pré-révolutionnaire: Vienne – Paris (1784-1821)], Athènes: Fondation Hellénique pour la Culture, 1995.

[2] Pour la presse pendant la période du règne du roi Othon, voir à titre indicatif Koumarianou, "Γένεση και ανάπτυξη του ελληνικού Τύπου (1784-1863)", pp. 26-33.

politique;[3] 3) La création et le fonctionnement, au cours des deux dernières décennies du siècle, d'un système bipartite. Il s'agit de l'époque de Charilaos Trikoupis à laquelle nous nous réfèrerons plus loin, pendant laquelle l'engagement politique des journalistes produit et alimente un climat politique de bipolarisation; 4) L'intense politisation de la société ou, selon l'expression consacrée de l'époque de l'"hypertrophie politique" qui caractérisait alors la culture politique grecque.

Les années 1870 constituent un jalon dans l'histoire politique et parlementaire de l'État grec et inaugurent ainsi une nouvelle époque, un point de départ de changements qui s'étendent à tous les domaines de la vie publique. Quelques années après l'adoption de la Constitution de 1864, la scène politique se renouvelle par la création de nouveaux partis et l'apparition de nouveaux chefs politiques, renforcés par la ratification en 1875 du "principe de la majorité qualifiée" [αρχή της δεδηλωμένης] selon lequel le roi devait nommer premier ministre le chef de file du parti majoritaire au Parlement. Le renouvellement observé dans la vie politique devait influencer le domaine de la presse qui, de plus, suit l'évolution du progrès technologique qui s'opère partout en Europe dans le secteur de la communication. Les journaux qui existaient sous le règne d'Othon vont disparaître en même temps que les partis qui s'y rattachaient.[4] Avec la Constitution de 1864, la liberté de presse est rétablie (article 14). À la fin des années 1860 et au cours de la décennie suivante, un grand nombre de journaux sont publiés. Parmi ceux-là, les publications issues des partis de quatre nouveaux chefs politiques font leur apparition: *Ἐθνικὸν Πνεῦμα* [Ethnikon Pneuma = Esprit National, 1868], organe du parti d'Alexandre Koumoundouros, *Ἐφημερὶς τῶν Συζητήσεων* [Efimeris ton Syzitisseon = Journal des Débats, 1870], exprimant le parti de Épaminondas Deligiorgis, le journal *Ὥρα* [Ora = Heure, 1875], exprimant

[3] Pour les aspects institutionnels de l'histoire de l'État grec et plus précisément pour le suffrage universel, voir à titre de rappel G. Sotirellis, *Σύνταγμα και εκλογές στην Ελλάδα, 1864-1909. Ιδεολογία και πράξη της καθολικής ψηφοφορίας* [Constitution et élections en Grèce, 1864-1909. Idéologie et pratique du suffrage universel], Athènes: Thémelio, 1991; voir aussi l'œuvre fondamentale de Gunnar Herring, *Τα πολιτικά κόμματα στην Ελλάδα, 1821-1936* [Les partis politiques en Grèce, 1821-1936], Vol. I, Athènes: MIET, 2008. Voir également N. Balta, introduction et commentaires historiques, *Σπήλιος Αντωνόπουλος. Η συνταγματική κατοχύρωση της καθολικής ψηφοφορίας (1864)* [Spilios Antonopoulos: La garantie constitutionnelle du suffrage universel (1864)], éd. Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, Tetradia Koinovouleutikou Logou II, Athènes: Fondation du Parlement Hellénique pour le parlementarisme et la démocratie, 2013.

[4] N. Balta, "Τα χρόνια της ακμής, 1864-1939" [L'âge d'or, 1864-1939], *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ελληνικού Τύπου, 1784-1974*, Vol. I, pp. 34-40.

le parti de Charilaos Trikoupis, et *Πρωΐα* [Proia = Matin, 1879], organe du parti de Théodoros Diligiannis. À ceux-ci nous devons ajouter deux journaux importants, *Καιροὶ* [Kairi = Temps] de Petros Kanellidis (1872) et *Ἐφημερὶς* [Efimeris = Journal] de Dimitrios Koromilas (1873) qui marquent avec leur publication l'amorce d'une nouvelle époque pour la presse avant la parution du journal *Akropolis* [Acropole] de Vlassis Gavriilidis (1883) qui a représenté à son tour un grand tournant dans le domaine de la presse.[5] À la fin des années 1870, la transition de la "gazette" vers le journal proprement dit s'est accomplie: "le journal d'un seul homme" devient progressivement le journal d'entreprise; de plus en plus de journaux sont publiés quotidiennement et leur aspect s'améliore (grand format, pages et rubriques plus nombreuses); et quant au contenu, des nouvelles plus abondantes viennent se substituer à l'éditorial, jusqu'alors prépondérant.

Même après les grands changements qui ont eu lieu à l'échelle internationale dans le domaine de l'information dans la seconde moitié du siècle (télégraphe, agences des nouvelles, etc.), la presse d'opinion continue à dominer en Grèce. La plus grande partie de la presse persiste à concilier le point de vue politique avec la diffusion des nouvelles. La presse d'opinion continue à exister en tant que genre journalistique même dans le cas où le rôle et en général le fonctionnement de la presse subissent des changements, lorsque l'information est étroitement liée à l'actualité et que les articles qui diffusent les nouvelles constituent une composante fondamentale des feuilles. Ce phénomène est dû principalement à deux facteurs: a) à la grande tradition de ce genre qui est en relation avec la spécificité des mœurs politiques et avec le fonctionnement de la politique elle-même; et b) à la permanente effervescence nationale alimentée par les questions concernant la politique extérieure et la nation, l'idéologie irrédentiste et la politique relative à la Grande Idée, les guerres. De nombreux journaux paraissent surtout en temps de crise, crise provoquée par les mentionnés ci-dessus, en vue de la défense de l'intérêt national: soit des revendications nationales soit des sentiments nationaux.

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[5] Pour les journaux cités, voir *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ελληνικού Τύπου, 1784-1974*, entrées: "*Εθνικόν Πνεύμα*" [Esprit national], Vol. I, pp. 53-54 (N. Balta), "*Εφημερίς των Συζητήσεων*" [Journal des débats], Vol. II, pp. 323-324 (N. Balta), "*Ὥρα*" [Heure], Vol. IV, pp. 385-386 (N. Balta), "*Πρωία*" [Matin], Vol. III, pp. 563-564 (N. Balta), "*Καιροί*" [Temps], Vol. II, pp. 484-485 (N. Balta), "*Εφημερίς*" [Journal], Vol. II, pp. 294-295 (N. Balta), "*Akropolis*" [Acropole], Vol. I, pp. 158-159 (Despina Papadimitriou). Pour les journalistes cités, *cf. ibid.*, entrées: "Pétros Kanellidis", Vol. II, pp. 507-508 (A. Patrikiou), "Vlassis Gavriilidis", Vol. I, pp. 407-408 (L. Tricha), "Dimitrios Koromilas", voir entrée: "*Εφημερίς*" [Journal], Vol. II, pp. 294-295 (N. Balta).

La Constitution de 1864 instaure une monarchie constitutionnelle. À la suite du changement de régime nous pouvons distinguer deux périodes. La période entre 1864 et 1875, caractérisée par une instabilité politique et par des crises politiques incessantes en raison de l'implication du roi Georges dans la vie politique: le roi nommait au gouvernement des personnes de son choix –gouvernements de minorité– auxquelles il donnait le droit de dissoudre l'Assemblée nationale, situation que les partis politiques ne se privaient pas d'exploiter, par divers moyens et interventions, avant et pendant la durée des élections, de façon à assurer leur victoire. Les journaux protestent contre ce phénomène et exigent impérativement le respect de la Constitution. En effet, lors de la crise qui a éclaté en 1874,[6] c'est surtout la presse athénienne qui devait militer le plus ardemment. Le gouvernement de Dimitrios Voulgaris qui, cette année-là, devait mener à bien les élections, a largement et ouvertement utilisé toute sorte de procédés, loyaux ou pas, dans le but d'influencer les élections et d'en truquer les résultats. Néanmoins, Voulgaris n'a pas réussi à obtenir la majorité et, au beau milieu d'un climat déjà tendu et des réactions violentes des députés et des journaux, un nouvel acte anticonstitutionnel de la part du gouvernement va déclencher une nouvelle vague de contestations: lors de la session parlementaire du 19 mars en vue du vote du budget de l'État, le quorum n'avait pas été atteint; cependant, cette session a été considérée comme légale par le gouvernement qui a interprété à sa guise les dispositions relatives du règlement du Parlement. L'opposition et la presse ont violemment critiqué les agissements de Voulgaris et ont lutté pour le rétablissement de l'ordre constitutionnel. Dans la plupart des journaux athéniens fut publiée la "Contestation de la presse de la capitale" qui dénonçait les dirigeants politiques dont "l'audace dépassait toute mesure". De plus, la presse fustigea l'attitude des 82 députés du parti au pouvoir qui ont participé à la session parlementaire litigieuse et composaient le quorum factice. Elle les a appelés "Stylites" selon la tradition de la Grèce antique de rendre publiques les noms des traîtres en inscrivant chaque jour leurs noms sur une stèle [colonne]. Cela a obligé le roi Georges à céder et, après la démission de Voulgaris, à faire assumer à Charilaos Trikoupis la formation d'un gouvernement en vue d'assurer le déroulement des élections. Le comportement de l'éditeur du journal *Καιροὶ* [Kairi = Temps], Petros Kanellidis, a été décisif dans le déroulement de cette crise. Trikoupis publie le 29 juin 1874 dans son journal le célèbre article "Τὶς

[6] Pour un récit sommaire de la crise politique de 1874-1875, voir *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* [Histoire de la Nation hellénique], Vol. XIII: *1833-1881*, Athènes: Ekdotiki Athinon, 1977, pp. 290-295 (G. Dafnis).

πταίει;" [À qui la faute?] dans lequel il analysait les raisons des vicissitudes de la vie politique grecque à partir de 1868 et celles, plus précises, qui ont déclenché la dernière crise; il soutenait que les gouvernements doivent être formés par la majorité parlementaire. C'est la première fois qu'est formulé le principe de la majorité, qui sera instauré un mois plus tard et constituera une coupure très importante dans le renforcement des institutions parlementaires. La publication de l'article a eu comme conséquence la poursuite judiciaire contre Kanellidis et la saisie du journal. Toutefois, Kanellidis ne soutint jamais Trikoupis par la suite. Bien au contraire, son journal *Καιροὶ* suivit une politique radicalement anti-Trikoupis et soutint avec ferveur son adversaire, Théodoros Diligiannis. Puis, à la fin du siècle, après la défaite dans la guerre gréco-turque de 1897, tout comme la majorité des éditeurs, Kanellidis s'engagea dans la lutte contre le système de deux anciens partis.

Ainsi, à partir de 1875 commence une période caractérisée par un fonctionnement relativement normal du système parlementaire et par une stabilité politique jusqu'alors inédite. Durant cette période de bipartisme, lorsque la personnalité de Charilaos Trikoupis domine la scène politique, les journaux seront engagés avec fanatisme pour l'un ou pour l'autre parti. C'est également une époque de passions et d'aventures nationales à l'origine desquelles se trouvent les crises successives liées à la "Question d'Orient". Vers le milieu du siècle, le nationalisme romantique allait trouver en Grèce un terrain favorable et va s'exprimer à travers l'idéologie de l'irrédentisme. L'idéologie de la "Grande Idée", dominante et catalytique, en tant qu'idéologie officielle, devait se répandre à travers l'ensemble de la πresse. Les journaux deviennent les porteurs de l'idéologie irrédentiste et de la défense des "droits nationaux". D'ailleurs, dans le "programme politique" qu'ils publient dans leur 1er numéro, plusieurs journaux proclament que c'est en cela que réside le but de leur publication. Ainsi, le journal *Τὸ Μέλλον* [To Mellon = L'Avenir][7] indique qu'il est publié afin de soutenir les droits nationaux et de contribuer à la réalisation des revendications nationales.

Outre les grands journaux, de nombreux journaux d'opinion de moindre importance vont faire leur apparition dans le paroxysme des aventures nationales, dans le but de défendre l'idéologie nationale. Ici, à titre d'exemple, nous traiterons de deux crises de cette espèce dans la politique étrangère et des réactions de l'opinion publique et de la presse. La crise de la Question

[7] *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ελληνικού Τύπου, 1784-1974*, entrée: "*Τὸ Μέλλον*" [L'avenir], Vol. III, pp. 137-138 (N. Balta).

d'Orient en 1875-1878,[8] dont le point culminant est la guerre russo-turque de 1877, bouleverse les équilibres dans les Balkans: c'est la première fois dans l'histoire de la Question d'Orient que le statut territorial de l'Empire ottoman est mis en question et où son démembrement n'est plus exclu. Avec les traités de San Stefano et de Berlin, les pays balkaniques commencent à réaliser leurs plans irrédentistes. La "Grande Idée" grecque ainsi que ses équivalents balkaniques s'engagent dorénavant dans une phase d'affrontement réel et direct. En Grèce, forces politiques et journaux s'accordent quant aux visées de la politique étrangère, la réalisation de la "Grande Idée". Toutefois, ils ne sont pas d'accord sur les modalités. La Grèce n'était pas prête à s'engager dans une guerre. Néanmoins, une partie importante de la société était dominée par la crainte face au développement des nationalismes balkaniques, notamment, du nationalisme bulgare. En outre, le mythe d'une conspiration panslave qui serait dirigée par la Russie contre les intérêts grecs trouve un écho favorable dans l'opinion publique. Dans sa quasi-totalité, la presse se range en faveur de la guerre contre l'Empire ottoman. Sous la pression de l'opinion publique, la Grèce dépêche des troupes à la frontière, mais l'armée se retire sous la pression des grandes puissances. En même temps, l'Épire, la Crète et la Macédoine deviennent le théâtre de soulèvements. Même après la grande victoire diplomatique du gouvernement d'Alexandre Koumoundouros et l'annexion de la Thessalie et d'Arta à l'État grec, une partie de la presse, notamment celle qui est proche de Trikoupis aux élections de 1881, accuse Koumoundouros de trahison.

Le rôle des journaux sera également significatif quelques années plus tard, en septembre 1885, lors de la crise de Roumélie orientale,[9] région annexée par la Bulgarie. Alors qu'il n'a pas l'intention d'engager le pays dans une guerre et que son gouvernement vient à peine d'être formé, Théodoros Diligiannis subit la pression d'un enthousiasme belliciste que cultivent la presse et les diverses organisations nationales. Ainsi, il ordonne la mobilisation et lance des menaces verbales contre la Turquie. En même temps, il assure les grandes puissances qu'il ne l'agressera pas. Méprisant leurs avertissements, il maintient l'état de mobilisation pendant plusieurs mois, jusqu'au moment où les Puissances mettent en place le blocus maritime du pays (avril-mai 1886) entrainant sa démission.

En général, pendant ce dernier quart du siècle, le discours nationaliste des

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[8] Pour un récit sommaire de la crise politique de 1875-1878, voir à titre indicatif *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, Vol. XIII: *1833-1881*, pp. 317-353 (E. Kofos).

[9] Voir à titre indicatif *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, Vol. XIV: *1881-1913*, pp. 24-30 (C. Vergopoulos).

journaux va alimenter les fractions, les passions, les dilemmes du bipartisme; les uns vont accuser les autres de trahison politique. Vlassis Gavriilidis avait souvent réprouvé, dans ses articles parus dans *Akropolis*, les excès du discours nationaliste tenu par la presse et le climat que celle-ci cultivait, ainsi que le patriotisme effréné de nombreux journalistes, hommes politiques et autres personnalités. Ses opinions non-conformistes, compte tenu de l'ambiance générale, ont valu au journal d'être attaqué. En effet, les locaux du journal furent totalement détruits par des membres de l'organisation nationaliste "Ethniki Etaireia" [Société Nationale], en août 1894.[10]

Au début des années 1880, le système des cinq partis avait cédé la place au bipartisme. Au cours de cette période du bipartisme, de 1880 à 1895, suite à six élections nationales, les deux grands partis, le Parti Moderniste [Neoterikon Komma] de Charilaos Trikoupis et le Parti National [Ethnikon Komma] de Théodoros Diligiannis, alternent au pouvoir. Le programme de Trikoupis vise à la modernisation et à la reconstruction du pays, au développement économique et, par ce biais, à la préparation du pays en vue de la réalisation de ses projets nationaux. Ce programme de réformes n'était certes pas une entreprise aisée et se confronta à des résistances sociales considérables, représentées par le camp de Diligiannis. Le bipartisme donna lieu à la polarisation de la vie politique, au fanatisme et aux passions politiques extrêmes. Les grands journaux s'engagent en faveur de l'un ou de l'autre camp.[11] Leur engagement n'est pas ferme et la majorité des éditeurs changent souvent d'attitude, retirant leur soutien d'un parti pour l'accorder à l'autre. Le journal *Ἐφημερὶς* de Dimitrios Koromilas, par exemple, soutient Trikoupis jusqu'en 1887 et par la suite il se range dans le camp opposé. Il faut noter ici que nos connaissances actuelles ne nous permettent pas d'interpréter aisément ces revirements. D'ailleurs, il ne s'agit pas d'un phénomène isolé dans l'histoire de la presse sur lequel il n'existe pas, en effet, de données ou d'études. Il n'y a d'études non plus sur l'opinion publique, au sens moderne du terme, pour cette période pendant laquelle s'amorce le processus de professionnalisation du journaliste. En tout état de cause, le grand défenseur de Trikoupis est

[10] Yannis Yannoulopoulos, *"Η ευγενής μας τύφλωσις". Εξωτερική πολιτική και "εθνικά θέματα". Από την ήττα του 1897 έως τη Μικρασιατική Καταστροφή* ["Notre noble aveuglement". Politique étrangère et "questions nationales". De la défaite de 1897 à la catastrophe d'Asie Mineure], Athènes: Vivliorama, 1999, pp. 3-21.

[11] N. Balta *"Η καρδιοβόρος αγωνία της κάλπης". Τύπος και βουλευτικές εκλογές την εποχή του Χαριλάου Τρικούπη (1881-1895)* ["La grande agonie des élections". La presse et les élections législatives pendant la période de Charilaos Trikoupis (1881-1895)], Athènes: Vivliorama, 2001.

l'éditeur du journal *Akropolis*, Vlassis Gavriilidis. Il s'agit d'une personnalité éminente du journalisme grec, un véritable rénovateur de la presse grecque. Moderniste et innovateur, enthousiaste et défenseur passionné de ses idées, il n'en est pas moins instable quant à ses préférences et à son engagement politique. Après 1892, il abandonnera Trikoupis comme firent d'ailleurs tous les grands journaux après la faillite des finances publiques de 1893, à l'exception du journal *Τὸ Ἄστυ* [To Asty = La Cité] de Dimitrios Kaklamanos.[12] À la fin du siècle, après la faillite financière de 1893 et la défaite à la guerre gréco-turque de 1897, une ambiance de crise généralisée prédomine, politique, économique et morale. La presse dans son ensemble s'adonne à la recherche des coupables. Elle considère donc comme responsable le système des partis déjà existants –dit "παλαιοκομματισμός" [l'ancien régime des partis]– et elle s'engage dans la lutte contre lui.

La presse athénienne est un agent important du système bipartite pendant une période cruciale de quinze ans (1881-1895): elle contribue à la formation des deux partis d'influence nationale, celui de Trikoupis et celui de Diligiannis; à l'élaboration et à la diffusion des deux discours politiques adverses; au développement et au renforcement du fanatisme et de la polarisation; à l'émergence et à l'adoption des symboles et des stéréotypes; elle fait entrer la vie politique dans le quotidien des citoyens, elle contribue enfin à l'élargissement de la participation politique, détermine et gère la relation des citoyens avec la politique.

En conclusion, la presse grecque exprime et transcrit l'évolution politique et la réalité sociale et, en même temps, c'est elle qui, principalement, contribue à leur formation. L'engagement politique des journaux en tant que caractéristique essentielle du journalisme grec, au cours de la période que nous examinons, influence d'une façon décisive les avatars de la vie politique, la modernisation du vécu politique, le renforcement et le fonctionnement des institutions parlementaires et la formation de l'idéologie nationale en tant que composante fondamentale de la conscience collective et facteur déterminant qui influe sur le devenir historique.

Université Ouverte Hellénique

[12] *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ελληνικού Τύπου, 1784-1974*, entrée: "*Το Άστυ*" [La cité], Vol. I, p. 312 (N. Balta).

THE EVOLUTION OF GREEK FAUNA SINCE CLASSICAL TIMES

Konstantinos Sidiropoulos, Rosa-Maria Polymeni and Anastasios Legakis

ABSTRACT: This article concerns the Greek fauna of classical and late antiquity and changes up to the present day. The main sources for the fauna of antiquity are historical, geographical and zoological texts, as well as descriptions from travellers who visited Greece. The study of the texts of classical and late antiquity was based on the following classical authors: Xenophon, Aristotle, Aristophanes Byzantios, Pliny, Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch, Pausanias and Aelian. Some species that were present in the Greek fauna of classical and late antiquity, such as the lion and the leopard, are today extinct in Greece, whereas some other species that are now common, such as the cat, the chicken and the peacock, were introduced about that time or a little earlier from other regions. Some other species that are also common today, such as the wild rabbit and the pheasant, were unknown at that time, as they appeared later in Greece from other areas.

Introduction

The Greek landscape until the late nineteenth century was an area of incomparably rich fauna, with several species of animals that are now extinct or in much smaller numbers. For the current state of the environment and the fauna of Greece, human activities and interventions are almost exclusively responsible.

The main causes for the deterioration of Greek fauna in classical and late antiquity were mainly the increase in human population, the destruction or reduction of habitats of wild animals due to human interventions (e.g. deforestation), intense hunting activity and, generally, thoughtless collection and consumption of wild animals by the Greeks and Romans. In the early to mid-twentieth century, the situation was close to the brink of disaster.

Later, new threats were added, such as industrial pollution, contamination by pesticides, careless tourism development, the creation of thousands of provincial and forest roads, increasing urbanization, the extermination of large animals because they were considered pests by farmers and breeders and so on. However, over the last 30-40 years there have been many efforts to conserve and protect national parks and endangered habitats, animals and plants due to the development of greater environmental awareness and to changes in legislation relating to the environment and the establishment of protection measures. Today, Greek fauna, despite the environmental disasters,

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remains one of the richest in Europe and the Mediterranean, both in number of species and in population sizes of specific species and animals. Overall in Greece, approximately 23,000 species of land and freshwater fauna have been recorded, as well as 3500 marine species. When the fauna is fully studied, it is likely to include up to 50,000 species.

Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Times

Although nowadays we have a very large amount of information on the state of Greek fauna, in the past it was not always so. In Ancient Greece, the first recordings of fauna started in the fifth century BC by a few writers of that time. However, only some of them considered the animals in a scientific way in the current sense. Most of them emphasized the relationship of animals with humans (e.g. hunting, farming, etc.) or considered them as mythological figures, while most of the people of that time ignored animals in general.

The first written records of animals in Greece come from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, two works attributed to the legendary writer Homer. In the fifth century BC, Herodotus (485-421 BC) and Xenophon (440-355 BC) can be considered as the first who provided solid data from various parts of Greece.[1] Aristotle (384-322 BC) was the first person whom we could consider as a zoologist. He wrote several books on the animals of Greece, including such subjects as the movement, the parts and the reproduction of animals.[2] Aristophanes of Byzantium (257-180 BC) edited Aristotle's zoological works and added much new data.[3] Pliny the Elder (23-79 AD) supplied extensive details on the fauna of Italy and Greece in his *Natural History*. Dio Chrysostom (40-120 AD) travelled extensively and provided much data on the life of animals.[4] Plutarch (50-120 AD) included in his *Morals* many philosophical, political and scientific ideas.[5] Pausanias (110-180 AD) was a Greek traveller and geographer who gave detailed descriptions of his journeys, including zoological information.[6] Finally, Aelian (170-235 AD) was a Roman author and teacher. In his writings he described, among other

[1] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship* and *Hunting with Dogs.*

[2] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, *On the Parts of Animals*, *On the Motion of Animals*, *On the Beginnings of Animals* and *On the Generation of Animals.*

[3] Aristophanes of Byzantium, *Epitome Aristotelis de animalibus*.

[4] Dio Chrysostom, *The Euboean Discourse, or The Hunter*.

[5] Plutarch, *Morals*: "Which are the More Crafty, Water Animals or Those Creatures that Breed upon the Land?".

[6] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*.

things, the animals that he met on his travels.[7] Dionysius Periegetes (second century AD) paraphrased a text that is considered to be a transliteration of a poem attributed to the sophist Eutecnius; in this text the various species and habits of birds are described.

The Byzantine Period (Fifth – Fifteenth Centuries AD)

The Byzantines were influenced by the Graeco-Roman tradition (mainly by the works of Aristotle) and gave animals a special place. In many cases we encounter them in theological narratives about the creation of the world. For example, we find speeches of Basil the Great with strange and outlandish stories featuring animals (for example, in the four books of Timotheus of Gaza [fifth century AD]).[8]

In these works, the wild side of nature is not mentioned at all. The animals look like harmless creatures of God, reminding man of the presence of the Creator. At the same time, animals, for example cattle and pigs as well as dogs, are mentioned mainly as having a relationship with pastoral life. The animals in the everyday life of the Byzantines had several roles, some of them connected with superstitions or magical practices, while others had special symbolism. Animals were separated into two categories: the first was based on material designed to observe nature and could be described as "theoretical", while the second was based on sources for the study of human and animal coexistence in everyday life and can be described as "applied".[9] Thus, during the period when religious images were completely banned in churches, images of animals, especially birds between geometric and floral designs, were allowed.

Most of the data provided here is not localized and therefore it is difficult to identify the geographical origin.

Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905-959 AD), who promoted the letters, wrote a treatise on animals entitled *Collection on the History of Animals, Terrestrial, Birds and Marine*, of which only two of four volumes

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[7] Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals*.

[8] Timotheus of Gaza, *On Animals: Fragments of a Byzantine Paraphrase of an Animal Book of the 5th Century*, transl. F. S. Bodenheimer and A. Rabinowitz, Paris and Leiden 1949.

[9] Taxiarchis Kolias, "Ο άνθρωπος και τα ζώα στο Βυζάντιο" [Man and animals in Byzantium], in I. Anagnostakis, T. G. Kolias and E. Papadopoulou (eds), *Ζώα και περιβάλλον στο Βυζάντιο (7ος-12ος αι.)* [Animals and environment in Byzantium (seventh – twelfth centuries)], Athens: Institute for Byzantine Research / National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2011, pp. 15-22.

have survived. It refers to how animals are classified and how viviparous animals behave. Around the same time several books on veterinary medicine were written, mostly related to horses and hunting hawks. The oldest veterinary manuscript from the Early Byzantine period, entitled "Hippiatrica", dates to the tenth century.[10] Many of these books were variations of the work of the best-known veterinarian of that period, Apsyrtus (active *c.* 300 AD). Other veterinary books of the time, written by Dimitrios Pepagomenos (1200-1300 AD), have prescriptions for the treatment of hawk diseases, as hawks were used by Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos and his aristocracy for hunting; he also wrote a book of instructions on the species, breeding and training of dogs.[11]

In the ninth century, the island of Paros was almost uninhabited. However, there were reports that many deer and wild goats lived there.[12] In 1088, Emperor Alexius I Comnenus sent a letter to the monk Christodoulos at the monastery of Patmos, where he noted the presence of hares, deer, geese, ducks, partridges, cranes, swans, pheasants, wild fowl, pigeons and other birds.[13]

From the literature of the Late Byzantine period, we can highlight three anonymous satirical poems of the fourteenth century about animals: "Poulologos", "Narration on Tetrapod Animals" and "Missal of an Honoured Donkey". These poems assign various human properties to corresponding ones in animals. Therefore, the lion is referred to as king, the hawks as soldiers, the large carnivores as the partners of the king and so on.

The protection of crops from flocks of birds and from wild animals was a constant problem in the rural economy of Byzantium. Despite the literary stereotypes referring to the close association of pastoral nomadic life with animal husbandry, Byzantium had a basic economic activity of broad social layers. Both written sources and the evidence from excavations in Asia Minor show that the Byzantines knew and identified two types of cattle, oxen (*Bos taurus primigenius*) and buffalo (*Bubalus bubalis*), already domesticated for many uses by humans. Cattle were used mainly as work animals in agriculture, making use of their power (for example in freight carriages). The Byzantines

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[10] Anne-Marie Doyen-Higuet, "The 'Hippiatrica' and Byzantine Veterinary Medicine', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984), pp. 111-120.

[11] Dimitrios Pepagomenos, *On the Breeding of Hawks and their Care*, *Second Treatise on More Rustic Ornithology* and *Cynosophion*.

[12] T. Ioannou, *Μνημεῖα ἁγιολογικὰ* [Hagiographical monuments], Venice 1884, p. 9.

[13] Era Vranoussi, *Βυζαντινά έγγραφα της Μονής Πάτμου, Α΄: Αυτοκρατορικά* [Byzantine documents from the monastery of Patmos, I: Imperial], Athens: Institute of Byzantine Research / National Hellenic Research Foundation, 1980.

also appreciated the products of cows and buffaloes, such as milk, cheese and butter. Veal played only a minor role in their diet, and they preferred chicken, lamb, pork and goat meat. Information about daily activities related to the domestic fowl or the consumption of poultry products, although sporadic, shows that poultry was an integral part of everyday life. At the same time, rare and exotic birds are a regular presence in the descriptions of gardens, imperial residences, ceremonial dinners and fabrics or valuables.

On the ways and means by which the hunt took place in Byzantium, we can mention that the lower classes chased different animals from the upper classes and the emperor. For the upper classes, hunting required massive mobilization and preparation, as well as the participation of many people, each of whom had a specific role, involving for example hunting dogs and hawks. On the other hand, the poor had limited means, and their success was based on their ability. Hunting helped to create cohesion, which was a common cause, especially concerning the family. Of course, researchers have pointed out that hunting was mainly a preparation for war, and it was also the main instrument for recreation and fun, accompanied by a symposium. In Byzantine literature, there are very few systematic works concerning the hunting of animals and its technique; however, references to hunting show that it was a beloved and widespread activity.[14]

Eustathius of Thessaloniki (1115-1195) wrote that hunting was very common during the twelfth century. In his writings he included numerous valuable extracts from earlier writers.[15] Michael Choniates [Akominatos] (1138-1222) noted that in the mid-twelfth century to the early thirteenth game was rare in Attica and was sought after even by the Latins who ruled Athens. He also mentioned that deer, hares and wild boars decorated the palace of Emperor Andronikos I.[16]

Constantine Manassis (*c.* 1130 – *c.* 1187) stated in his treatise *Ekphrasis of a Crane Hunt* that the hunting of cranes is easy because hunting falcons were used. On the other hand, hunting roe deer is tiresome because they needed to use horses. He also provided a description of the hunting of finches and goldfinches. A similar description comes from Constantine Panthechnis

[14] Anastasios Sinakos, "Το κυνήγι κατά τη μέση βυζαντινή εποχή (7ος-12ος αι.)" [Hunting during the Middle Byzantine epoch, seventh – twelfth centuries], in Anagnostakis, Kolias and Papadopoulou (eds), *Ζώα και περιβάλλον στο Βυζάντιο*, pp. 71-86.

[15] Eustathius of Thessaloniki, *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes*.

[16] S. P. Lambros (ed.), *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου. Τὰ σωζόμενα* [Michael Akominatos of Choniates: Fragments], 2 vols, Athens 1879-1880.

(twelfth century), who wrote about the hunting of partridges and hares.[17] Other species that were caught were greenfinches, geese, ducks, wood pigeons, turtle doves, quail and pheasants.[18] An unusual bird, the peacock, was mentioned in a decree of Emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates (1002-1081), who declared that the Vatopedi monastery was relieved from supplying geese, ducks, partridges, cranes and peacocks.[19]

Apart from dogs, the hunters used several bird species, such as peregrine falcons, harriers, common kestrels, hobbies and kites. Peregrine falcons came from Zagora and Stenimachos, falcons from Thessaloniki and Pelagonia, kestrels from Mount Meleniko and hobbies from Didymoteicho.[20]

In the early fifteenth century, the Florentine Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1386 – *c*. 1430), trying to emphasize that the island of Naxos was almost deserted because of Ottoman raids, stated that: "Today you only see crowds of jackals, screaming hideously, and flocks of wild animals that roam the scrublands and the plains."[21] He added that the island was full of partridges. He also mentioned that it was well known that the jackal existed on the island of Andros, and that on Anafi there were no snakes.

Around the same time an important Italian traveller, Cyriacus of Ancona [Ciriaco de' Pizzicolli] (1391-1452), visited Greece.[22] According to his reports, the area of Aktion was then forested and rich in wild mammals and birds. About another trip, to the Peloponnese, he wrote that hunters saw that a ruler of the region had killed a deer and a large bear, near the sources of the Alpheus River.

Valuable information on the fauna of Mount Taygetos was given by John Eugenikos (1394-1454) in his *Κώμης έκφρασις* [Ekphrasis of Komi], a description of medieval Petrina written between 1413 and 1430. From this we learn that red deer, wild boars, roe deer, foxes, hares, partridges, quail, pigeons and woodpigeons lived there.

In the fifteenth century, the Italian monk Francisco Suriano mentioned the presence of red and roe deer, wild goats, hares, crows and pigeons in

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[17] Constantine Panthechnis, *Ekphrasis of Hunting Partridges and Hares*.

[18] Faidon Koukoules, "Κυνηγετικά εκ της εποχής των Κομνηνών και των Παλαιολόγων" [Hunting in the eras of the Comneni and the Palaiologoi], *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* (1932), pp. 3-33.

[19] *Ibid*.

[20] *Ibid*.

[21] Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum Archipelagi* (1420).

[22] Cyriacus of Ancona, *Commentariorum Cyriaci Anconitani, nova fragmenta, notis illustrate*, Pesaro 1763.

Crete.[23] Around the end of the fifteenth century, the islands of Antiparos and Sikinos were uninhabited, and the most abundant animals were eagles and wild asses, which came from tame donkeys who, after their abandonment, had returned to the wild.[24]

Later Times (Sixteenth – Nineteenth Centuries)

The main sources for the fauna of later times are foreign travellers, naturalists and scientists, mainly German, Italian, French and British, conquerors' reports, Greek intellectuals and philosophers and Greek scientists and researchers.

1. Sixteenth Century

Holton mentioned that during the Venetian conquest of Crete, the upper meadows, the cypress-dominated forests and the rocky mountain slopes yielded abundant game (deer, wild goats, hares and wildfowl).[25]

Jean Chesneau, secretary to the French ambassador in Constantinople, was astonished in 1546 by the domesticated partridges of Chios.[26] They were caught while they were young and, when they grew up, they were left to graze with the wild ones on the mountains of the region.

The French geographer André Thevet, who travelled to Crete in 1549, stated that hawks and other raptors lived in abundance in the mountains.[27]

One of the most descriptive authors of that time was Pierre Belon, who provided extensive accounts of the fauna and included many drawings of animals in his work.[28]

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[23] Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente di Frate Francesco Suriano, missionario e viaggiatore del secolo XV*, ed. Girolamo Golubovich, Milan: Tipografia Editrice Artigianelli, 1900.

[24] William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)*, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1908.

[25] David Holton, *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

[26] Jean Chesneau, *Le voyage de monsieur d'Aramon, ambassadeur pour le Roy en Levant, escript par un noble homme Jean Chesneau, publié et annoté par M. Ch. Schefer*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1887.

[27] André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, Lyon: Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau, 1554.

[28] Pierre Belon, *L'histoire de la nature des oyseaux, avec leurs descriptions et naïfs portraicts retirez du naturel, escrite en sept livres*, Paris: Guillaume Cavellat, 1555.

When the Flemish nobleman Joos van Ghistele (1446-1525) visited Greece in the second half of the fifteenth century, he was impressed with the numerous wild boars on Delos and Tenedos.[29]

Nicolas de Nicolay passed by Chios in 1551 and also wrote about the countless domesticated partridges that existed in many villages, wandering free like hens, in flocks of approximately 300 birds.[30] This is something that was confirmed a few years later by the Flemish naturalist and diplomat Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, who in addition provided information on their breeding.[31]

Several sources confirm the existence of bears, deer and wild boars in the sources of the Alpheus River.[32]

2. Seventeenth Century

In 1611 Georges Sandys visited the Mediterranean and noted that Crete nourished nothing that is wild, except hares, red deer and fallow deer.[33]

The Frenchman the Sieur Du Loir reported that in 1639, passing by Kakia Skala, near Athens, he was impressed by the number of eagles flying near the surrounding rocks, where they had their nests.[34]

Melchisédech Thévenot, who travelled in the East from 1653 until 1667, had a good knowledge of the Aegean islands and supplied much information about them.[35] He wrote that the residents of Andros ate goat meat, although the island was full of game, such as hares, rabbits and partridges. However, there were no hunters, nor firearms. The lack of firearms is another reason for the abundance of animal life on the Aegean islands at the time. For Naxos he stated that there were numerous tall deer that had probably been brought in from mainland Greece for hunting carried out by the dukes of Naxos. He also stated that partridges were abundant.

In 1669, the Capuchin friar Robert de Dreux followed all the phases of a hunt organized in honour of Sultan Mehmed IV in the region of Larissa.[36]

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[29] Ambrosius Zeebout, *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele*, Ghent 1557.

[30] Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et peregrinations orientales*, Lyon: Guillome Roville, 1568.

[31] Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *Legationis Turcicae epistolae quatuor*, Paris 1589.

[32] Robert Sallares, *Ecology of the Ancient Natural World*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

[33] George Sandys, *Four Books, Containing a Description of the Turkish Empire, of Ægypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remote Parts of Italy, and Islands Adjoining*, London: W. Barrell, ²1621.

[34] Du Loir, *Les voyages du sieur Du Loir*, Paris: François Clouzier, 1654.

[35] Melchisédech Thévenot, *Relations de divers voyages curieux*, 2 vols, Paris: André Cramoisy, 1663-1672.

[36] Robert de Dreux, *Voyage en Turquie et en Grèce*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1925.

Approximately 20,000 men were recruited from local villages in order to chase animals through the forests, bringing them close to a podium where the sultan was sitting. The animals tried to escape, hitting and injuring or even killing some people, while the sultan enjoyed the spectacle. These animals must have included wolves, bears and probably wild pigs and deer, since they caused so much harm to the crowd.

The Englishman Bernard Randolph, who in 1675 toured parts of Greece, wrote that there were many deer Mytilini.[37] There is a possibility that these deer were fallow deer (*Dama dama*), like the ones who live today on Rhodes.

The French physician Jacob Spon, who toured Greece in the second half of the seventeenth century, mentioned that Delos was the realm of hares and rabbits, while in Attica he reported that at a water source near Mount Kitheronas wolves, bears and wild boars descended in the night to drink water.[38]

It is also recorded that bears and wild boars still lived in Porto Rafti, near Athens, in 1675.[39]

3. Eighteenth Century

In 1729 the Dutchman Johannes Aegidius van Egmont passed by the Aegean islands.[40] On Milos he found abundant game: partridges, turtledoves, woodcocks and even wild ducks, while partridges were plentiful on Kythnos. Arriving on Chios he did not fail to write about the abundant partridges along with other wild birds that were offered to the rich resident hunters.

The Englishman Charles Thompson, who visited Attica in the summer of 1730, spent a night in Hasia at the foot of Mount Parnitha.[41] The wolves were so many in the area that he was unable to sleep because of their howling.

The British archaeologist Richard Chandler came to Greece in 1764. From him we learn that during his visit Mount Parnitha was full of deer and wolves.[42] Whoever killed a wolf would bring it to Athens and bargain for a tip.

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[37] Bernard Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago (or Arches), Sea of Constantinople, and Gulf of Smyrna; with the Islands of Candia, and Rhodes*, Oxford 1687.

[38] Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*, Lyon: Antoine Cellier, 1678.

[39] Sallares, *Ecology of the Ancient Natural World*.

[40] Johannes Aegidius van Egmont and John Heyman, *Travels through Part of Europe, Asia Minor, the Islands of the Archipelago; Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mount Sinai &c.*, Vol. I, London: L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1759.

[41] Charles Thompson, *The Travels of the Late Charles Thompson, Esq.*, Vol. II, Reading: C. Micklewright, 1744.

[42] Richard Chandler, *Travels in Greece, or an Account of a Tour Made at the Expense of the Society of Dillettanti*, Oxford 1776.

He also took part in a falconry organized on Mount Hymettus. This means, of course, that the mountain was full of game.

The French traveller Charles-Nicolas-Sigisbert Sonnini de Manoncourt wrote in his journal that Greece was a rich hunting ground.[43] He was particularly impressed by the abundance of hares and pheasants. During the winter, pheasants were abundant both on the islands and in mainland Greece. In the region of Serres and Thessaloniki they were bred in cages and sold in the market. We learn further that the Turks of Macedonia hunted pheasants with hawks.

In the late eighteenth century the Dutch traveller Hendrik Frieseman wrote that jackals and wolves existed on Samos.[44] Today, only a small population of jackals still lives on this island. Equally important is the information that there were so many partridges on Kythnos that they were sold in cages very cheaply to neighbouring islands.

André Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, son of the consul of France on Corfu, settled on the island in 1781. In one point in his journal he mentioned the way that the locals on Zakynthos hunted seals.[45]

Joseph Pitton de Tournefort observed that the wild goats of Crete lived in herds in the mountains.[46] Brisson suggested that the real name of these goats should be *Capra cretensis* rather than *Capra aegagrus cretica*, as they are known today.[47] Claude-Étienne Savary wrote that the high mountains of Crete were inhabited only by goats.[48]

4. Nineteenth Century

The Frenchman François-Charles-Hugues-Laurent Pouqueville, consul of France at the court of Ali Pasha from 1806 to 1816, gave us an enormous wealth of information on the Greek fauna of the time in two works.[49] In the

[43] Charles-Nicolas-Sigisbert Sonnini de Manoncourt, *Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie,* Paris: F. Buisson, 1801.

[44] Hendrik Frieseman, *Description historique et géographique de l'Archipel*, Neuwied: Société Typographique, 1789.

[45] André Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, *Voyage historique, litteraire et pittoresque dans les isles et possessions ci-devant venitiennes du Levant*, Paris: Tavernier, 1800.

[46] Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, Lyon: Anisson and Posuel, 1717.

[47] Mathurin Jacques Brisson, *Regnum animale in classes IX distributum, sive Synopsis methodica*, rev. ed., Leiden: Haak, 1762.

[48] Claude-Étienne Savary, *Lettres sur la Grèce, faisant suite de celles de l'Égypte*, Paris: Onfroi, 1788.

[49] François-Charles-Hugues-Laurent Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée, à Constantinople,*

first of these, he mentioned that in 1799 at the mouth of the Alpheus River there lies a chain of salt lakes and lagoons filled with waterfowl, eels and other fish. Arriving at Pylos he saw a shallow lagoon stretching out in front of the city. Only very small boats could pass from its mouth and they were used to chase geese and ducks that gathered there by the thousands. Another interesting piece of information is that the mountains around Pylos were covered with forests and were full of hares. The forests located on the banks of the Pamissos River and in the northern part of the Taygetos mountain range were so full with wild boars that they descended near residential areas. Another bit of information passed on by Pouqueville was that in the village of Harvati, on the route between Tripoli and Sparta, there were rich forests of oak full of wolves and foxes. For Poros and Galatas in Troizina, he stated that rich forests existed and that they had deer, wild boars, hares and partridges. In Pouqueville's time the presence of wolves must have been a daily reality in Arcadia. When it snowed for several weeks, wolves descended from Mount Lykaion, reaching the outskirts of cities. He wrote that Mount Taygetos was full of wild boars, roe deer and red deer, while jackals were common animals in the Peloponnese and often attacked cows. In another part of his work he wrote that the residents of Arcadia bred large hunting dogs, which were used to kill wolves, jackals and foxes. In his second work, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, Pouqueville noted that the Greeks and Vlachs who lived in the villages of Tzoumerka sold skins of hares and foxes, while residents of Kalarrytes traded rabbit and bear skins. Therefore, at that time the south of the Pindos mountain range had hares, foxes and bears. He also mentioned that around Athens there were many swamps, especially in Faliron and Piraeus. These helped many birds, especially storks, to build nests and find food.

According to Henry Holland, Thomas Smart Hughes and William Martin Leake, a wide variety of fish was caught in the waters of Lake Pamvotis, in north-western Greece.[50] Eel, bass, carp, crayfish and tsima (*Pelasgus epiroticus*), which are small fish caught with special silky nets, were all sought after.

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en Albanie, et dans plusieurs autres parties de l'Empire Ottoman, 3 vols, Paris: Gabon et Cie, 1805; and *Voyage dans la Grèce*, 5 vols, Paris: Firmin Didot, 1820-1821.

[50] Henry Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, etc., during the Years 1812 and 1813*, London 1815; Thomas Smart Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, London 1820; William Martin Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London: J. Rodwell, 1835, and *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca: A Supplement to Travels in the Morea*, London: J. Rodwell, 1846. See also T. Kondylis, "Οι πόλεις της Ηπείρου στα κείμενα ξένων περιηγητών, μέσα 17ου – μέσα 19ου αιώνα" [The towns of Epirus in the texts of foreign travellers, mid-seventeenth – mid-eighteenth century], n.p., n.d. (accessible online).

Among the vegetation of the lake, there were sheltered cormorants and wild ducks. The banks that were under Mount Mitsikeli were steep, and the surrounding mountains sheltered many predatory birds. The white-tailed eagle, the red kites, the Egyptian vulture and other species of vultures, the cormorants and the cranes were some of the most remarkable birds.

In the early nineteenth century there were deer, foxes, jackals and wolves in Marathon, otters in Boeotia and bats in Athens, as well as wild cats, lynx, weasels and wild goats on Mount Parnassus. During the nineteenth century, there were also lynx on Mount Parnitha, jackals on Poros, bears and deer on Mount Taygetos and red deer in Vilia, west of Attica.[51]

The English traveller Edward Daniel Clarke, in a visit to Thebes in the early nineteenth century, noted that hunting was plentiful in Boeotia.[52] He noticed that the local Albanians did not eat hares (according to him, neither did the ancient Boeotians), nor used their skins. Therefore, hares would have been abundant.

The English army captain William Martin Leake, who regularly travelled to Greece for six years gathering information for the British government, provided much data on Greek fauna.[53] On 2 January 1806 Leake arrived in Athens. Among other places, he made excursions to Mount Parnitha, which was abundant with wild boars, wolves, hares, partridges and a few bears. A few months earlier, in the autumn of 1805 he learned that in Siatista, in northern Greece, there were so many hares that people were chasing them without hunting dogs and in the winter they killed them with sticks. Another valuable piece of information was that the fish in Lake Kastoria included carp, eel and catfish. All three species were caught in very large quantities. In November 1806, Leake arrived at the mouth of the Strymon River, at a village called Neochori, known for its famous eels, some of which were huge. In Ioannina, where he stayed for some time, he wrote that the main types of fish were eels, the endemic Epirus minnow, an endemic fish of Lake Pamvotis and the Louros River and carp. Lake Pamvotis was also rich in waterfowl. In the northern part of the lake, hunting was prohibited, and only Ali Pasha and his sons could hunt the abundant wild ducks.

Edward Dodwell mentioned that the Boeotian Kifissos River abounded with terrapins (*Emys orbicularis*), whose skulls were more black than yellow.[54]

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[51] Sallares, *Ecology of the Ancient Natural World.*

[52] Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa […] Part the Second, Greece, Egypt and the Holy Land*, London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1814.

[53] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, and *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*.

[54] Edward Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, London: Rodwell and Martin, 1819.

In a manuscript of Argyris Philippidis written in 1815, we learn that Lake Karla, in the early nineteenth century, had five fish species: common roach, common rudd, tench, carp and sometimes eels, which were few, but tasty.[55]

The French Morea Expedition (1828-1833) was the first organized and collaborative effort to describe the geography, botany, zoology and fine arts of the Peloponnese and the Aegean islands. After the mission was completed, the results of the zoological research were recorded in a separate volume.[56] This marked the beginning of the scientific study of the fauna of Greece.

The last report on the existence of the beaver in Greece comes from A. De Hoestin, who visited the Alpheus River in the nineteenth century, although in northern Greece the animals must have disappeared much later. The name of the town of Kastoria apparently comes from this animal, which lived on the banks of Lake Kastoria. Also, a beaver was killed at Messolonghi in 1839 and it was donated to the Zoological Museum of the University of Athens in 1933.[57]

In 1833 the occasional appearance of bears in the mountains of Arcadia and Laconia was generally confirmed by the locals. They sporadically appeared in several parts of the Peloponnese. In 1844 bears could also be found in the Pindos mountain range and on Mount Olympus.[58]

The presence of the chamois on Mount Parnassus was confirmed in the mid-nineteenth century by Theodor von Heldreich.[59] The famous German botanist and naturalist, who lived in Greece from 1851 to until his death in 1902, wrote that fallow and red deer still existed in Acarnania, in western Greece. Similarly, red deer also existed in his days on Mounts Parnitha and Penteli, in Euboea and in northern central Greece.

Erhard mentioned that on Samos a panther was shot in 1858, without giving further details.[60] This obviously refers to the leopard of Samos, which

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[55] Argyris Philippidis, *Μερική Γεωγραφία* [Partial geography] (1815), published by T. Sperantsas in *Τα περισωθεντα έργα του Αργύρη Φιλιππίδη. Μερικὴ Γεωγραφία – Βιβλίον Ηθικόν* [The saved works of Argyris Philippidis: Partial geography – A book of morals], Athens 1978.

[56] Jean-Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent, *Expédition scientifique de Morée. Section des sciences physiques. Zoologie. Tome III*, Strasbourg: Levrault, 1832.

[57] Giorgios Sfikas, *Ελληνική φύση μέσα στους αιώνες* [Greek nature through the centuries], Athens 1985.

[58] Norman Douglas, *Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology*, London: Chapman and Hall Ltd, 1928.

[59] Theodor von Heldreich, *La faune de la Grèce, 1er partie. Animaux vertébrés*, Athens 1878.

[60] Dr Erhard, *Fauna der Cycladen. I. Theil. Die Wirbeltiere der Cycladen (Mit einer Karte)*, Leipzig 1858.

is actually an Asian leopard. A small population of this species existed on Samos until the late nineteenth century.[61]

The German naturalist Anton Lindermayer indicated that the vulture *Gyps fulvus* was so common in Greece during the summer that 20-25 of them could be seen flying together, while albino blackbirds were very common on Mount Kyllini in Arcadia, a fact also noted by Pausanias and Aristotle.[62] Likewise, according to him, in the nineteenth century there were large populations of wild pheasants in Greece, and swans were very common in Lake Kopais and other lakes.

The Zoological Museum of the University of Athens has a lynx killed on Mount Parnitha on 18 March 1862, a stuffed wild boar that was killed in Attica in 1861, a stuffed bear slain in 1894 in Aigani, near Larissa, and a red deer killed in Vilia. None of these species occur today in the locations mentioned above.

The Situation Today

Greek fauna includes representatives of most animal tribes. According to recent data, 23,130 land and freshwater species have been recorded.[63] To these we could add another 3500 species of marine animals. However, it is known that the fauna of Greece is not well studied. The vertebrates have been most thoroughly researched, while larger gaps exist in invertebrates. It is believed that Greek fauna must include about 50,000 species. The fauna of Greece has more affinities with the fauna of the Eastern Mediterranean, a region affected by Europe, the Middle East and Africa. In many areas of Greece, Eastern Mediterranean element fauna dominates. The South European elements are also important and they increase as we move towards the north of the country. In the northern regions of Greece we often find clearly European, but also Palaearctic elements.

Based on some animal groups, Greece is divided into zoogeographical areas, each having its own distinctive fauna.[64] The main historical factors that

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[61] Douglas, *Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology*.

[62] Anton Lindermayer, *Die Vögel Griechenlands. Ein Beitrag zur Fauna dieses Landes*, Passau 1860.

[63] Anastasios Legakis, "How Many Animal Species are There in Greece?", Pan-Hellenic Conference of the Association of Greek Ecologists and the Hellenic Zoological Society, Mytilene, November 2004.

[64] Anastasios Legakis *et al.*, *Animal Diversity*, Dept of Biology, University of Athens, Athens 2006.

have shaped these areas are the presence of glaciers and the cold climate of the Pleistocene, the old links of the islands with the mainland and to each other, the existence of barriers that prevent dispersion and the changes in vegetation, especially in the last 20,000 years. Important ecological factors include the climate, such as temperature and humidity, soil, vegetation, altitude, the mosaic of Mediterranean-type ecosystems and human activities.

There are certain groups of animals which include a significant number of species compared with the corresponding number of other European countries. Groups such as isopods, terrestrial molluscs and reptiles are the most abundant in Greece, in relation to its size.[65] This species density is due to many reasons. On the one hand, there is a mosaic of ecosystems, for example in a short distance one may encounter beaches, maquis, forests and other ecosystems. On the other hand, as mentioned above, Greece is in a biogeographical crossroads between various dispersion routes. The fragmentation of Greece's surface in islands, and also "mountainous" islands, has led to the creation of many endemic species. In fact, the high rate of endemism is another peculiarity of Greek fauna. Taking into account the list of species that have so far been recorded, Greece has approximately 4000 endemic species of land and freshwater animals, a percentage of 17%.

Some areas of Greece have a particularly high number of species, especially endemic ones. This high number can be derived from the long-term isolation and intense speciation that followed. Unfortunately, there is little data on the status of the population of these species. It could be said that the population is relatively sparse, if compared with the corresponding Central European populations. However, there are groups which reach very high population levels, for example some lizard species, Orthoptera and Coleoptera that have adapted to warm climates. On the other hand, vertebrates do not form populations with high densities.

Some Notes on Specific Animals

1. Lions

The lion must have been abundant in northern Greece.[66] Bones found in excavations and dated to 3500 BC reveal their presence in Dikili Tash, near

[65] Legakis, "How Many Animal Species are There in Greece?".

[66] Annik E. Schnitzler, "Past and Present Distribution of the North African–Asian Lion Subgroup: A Review" *Mammal Review* 41/3 (2011), pp. 220-243.

Drama in northern Greece.[67] Fossil remains dating from the Bronze Age have been recorded at Kastanas in the north,[68] Delphi, Tiryns, Pylos,[69] Kolona, Mycenae, Samos[70] and Kalapodi (near Mount Olympus).[71] Lions became extinct in the Peloponnese during the late Mycenaean Age.[72] Herodotus mentioned that the camels of Xerxes during his campaign in the fifth century BC were devoured by lions in Macedonia. Aristotle mentioned the presence of lions in the areas of the Nestos River and the Acheloos River. Lion bones from the Archaic Period were dated from 13 localities in Greece as far south as the northern Peloponnese.[73]

2. Bears

Bears existed throughout Greece in the past. Pausanias mentioned the presence of bears on Mount Parnitha, near Athens, and on Mount Taygetos in the southern Peloponnese. Cyriacus of Ancona also noted their presence in the Peloponnese in the thirteenth century. The constant hunting through the ages shrunk their distribution to remote areas of north-west and northern Greece. Today its range in Greece consists of two geographically distinct nuclei, located in the Pindos mountain range in the north-west and the Rodopi mountain complex in the north-east.[74]

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[67] Daniel Helmer, "Le Dikili Tash à l'époque néolithique. Faune sauvage et domestique", *Dossiers Archéologie,* special issue: Grèce, aux origines du monde égéen 222 (1997), pp. 40-41.

[68] Cornelia Becker, *Kastanas. Die Tierknochenfunde*, Prähistorische Archäologie in Südesteuropa 5, Berlin: Wissenschaftsverlag Volker Spiess, 1986.

[69] Günter Nobis, "Zur Verbreitung des Löwen auf der Peloponnes in späthelladisch/mykenischer Zeit", *Tier und Museum* 7 (2001), pp. 95-98.

[70] Eftychia Yannouli, "Non-domestic Carnivores in Greek Prehistory: A Review", in E. Kotjabopoulou *et al.* (eds), *Zooarchaeology in Greece: Recent Advances*, British School at Athens Studies 9, Athens 2003, pp. 175-192.

[71] Adolf Bernhard Meyer, "The Antiquity of the Lion in Greece", *Zoologische Garten* 44 (1903), pp. 661-667.

[72] Xavier de Planhol, *Le paysage animal. L'homme et la grande faune. Une zoogéographie historique*, Paris: Fayard, 2004.

[73] Nancy R. Thomas, "The Early Mycenaean Lion up to Date", *Charis: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr*, Hesperia Supplements 33, Athens: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004, pp. 161-199.

[74] Giorgios Mertzanis, Alexios Giannakopoulos and Charilaos Pylidis, "*Ursus arctos* Linnaeus, 1758", in A. Legakis and P. Maragou (eds), *The Red Data Book of the Threatened Animals of Greece*, Athens: Hellenic Zoological Society, 2009, pp. 387-389.

3. Wolves

The wolf was present throughout Greece in the past. Travellers of the eighteenth century mention them even on Mount Parnitha, near Athens. Up until the 1930s, the species distribution extended to the whole of the mainland. The wolf was exterminated from the Peloponnese prior to the 1940s and from the Prefectures of Boeotia and southern Fokida in Central Greece in the 1960s. Re-establishment of wolf numbers begun in the 1980s due to the abandonment of the bounty system and the use of poisoned baits. Population numbers seem to be stable in most parts of its range, with a possible increase in its southern distribution.[75]

4. Jackals

Greece, previously one of the region's strongholds for the species, has experienced a large-scale population decline in the past three decades. The entire jackal population is now confined to a few clusters grouped into 7 sub-areas with criteria such as connectivity and isolation. The golden jackal has disappeared from central and western Greece and is currently confined in discontinuous, isolated population clusters in the Peloponnese, Fokida, Samos, Chalkidiki and north-eastern Greece. The current minimum size of the jackal population in Greece has been estimated at 160-170 different territorial groups. The largest population cluster was found in the Nestos-Vistonida area in the north-east.[76]

5. Wild Boars

Pausanias mentioned the presence of wild boars on Mount Parnitha, near Athens, and on Mount Taygetos in the southern Peloponnese. Wild boars were also mentioned by several travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the sources of the Alpheus River in the Peloponnese and in Porto Rafti, near Athens, and in the nineteenth century on Mounts Taygetos and Parnitha and on Poros in the northern Peloponnese. In the early twentieth century the wild boar was exterminated from the Peloponnese because of hunting. Today, a small population exists on the island of Samos. A few years ago, wild boars were reintroduced in the Peloponnese, and there are plans to introduce them in other parts of Greece.

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[75] Information from the Callisto environmental organization (2016). See http://www.callisto.gr/en/lykos.php.

[76] Giorgios Giannatos, "*Canis aureus* Linnaeus, 1758", in Legakis and Maragou (eds), *The Red Data Book*, pp. 371-373.

6. Balkan Chamois

There are very few data on the past distribution of the Balkan chamois in Greece. This is because it is an elusive animal, living in mountainous areas. The most recent archaeozoological findings come from the Bronze Age in Macedonia[77] and Epirus.[78] Pausanias noted its presence on Mount Taygetos in the Peloponnese. The present range of distribution of the chamois in Greece is limited to 24 geographically distinct populations that can be grouped in 6 different population groups. The size of the populations is increasing.[79]

7. Red Deer

In the past, red deer existed both in mainland Greece and on some islands. The insular populations must have been introduced by humans between 1600 and 1000 BC, such as on the islands of Kea, Mykonos and Crete.[80] Pausanias mentioned the presence of red deer on Mount Taygetos in the Peloponnese. In the sixteenth century its presence was detected in the sources of the Alpheus River in the Peloponnese. John Eugenikos described its presence on Mount Taygetos in the fifteenth century. Sandys in 1611 observed them on Crete.

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[77] Sandor Bökönyi and Denes Jánossy, "Faunal Remains", in Colin Renfrew, Marija Gimbutas and Ernestine Elster (eds), *Excavations at Sitagroi: A Prehistoric Village in Northeast Greece*, Vol. I, Monumenta Archaeologica 13, Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles 1986, pp. 63-132.

[78] Eleni Kotjabopoulou, Eleni Panagopoulou and Eudokia Adam, "The Boïla Rockshelter: Further Evidence of Human Activity in the Voïdomatis Gorge", in G. N. Bailey *et al.* (eds), *The Palaeolithic Archaeology of Greece and Adjacent Areas*, British School at Athens, Athens 1999, pp. 197-210.

[79] Haritakis Papaioannou, *The Balkan Chamois* (Rupicapra rupicapra balcanica *Bolkay, 1925) in Greece*, PhD thesis, University of Ioannina, 2016.

[80] C. Keller, "Neue Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altkretischen Haustiere", *Vierteljahrsschrift* 57/1-2 (1912), pp. 282-290; Owen Bedwin, "The Animal Bones, Appendix 2" in M. R. Popham (ed.), *The Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos*, British School at Athens supplementary volume, 17, London 1984, pp. 307-308; David S. Reese, "The Faunal Remains, Block AG; The Triton Shell Vessel, Building AB; The Faunal Remains, Building AB; The Faunal Remains, Area AE; The Faunal Remains, Building AM; The Faunal Remains, Building AD Center", in P. P. Betancourt and C. Davaras (eds), *Pseira, 1: The Minoan Buildings on the West Side of Area A*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1995; Nellie Phoca-Cosmetatou, "Economy and Occupation in the Cyclades during the Late Neolithic: The Example of Ftelia, Mykonos", in N. J. Brodie *et al.* (eds), *Horizon: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research**,** Cambridge 2008, pp. 37-41.

There are several documents describing its presence in the nineteenth century in southern Greece. Pouqueville mentioned it on Mount Taygetos, Heldreich described it in Acarnania in western Greece, on Mounts Parnitha and Penteli, near Athens, and on the island of Euboea. A stuffed red deer coming from Vilia, killed in 1894, is included in the collection of the Zoological Museum of the University of Athens. During recent decades, the red deer in Greece has suffered a dramatic decrease in numbers and distribution. In the past it was relatively abundant in central and northern Greece and on Euboea, but gradually it was restricted only to the regions of Macedonia and Thrace. The red deer disappeared from the Sithonia Peninsula of Chalkidiki 20 years ago, and now only a remnant population of 20-30 individuals survives in the Rodopi Mountains, along the Greek-Bulgarian border. A significant population of a few hundred animals lives in Parnitha National Park, near Athens. Although the origin of this population is unclear, its enhancement by introductions from Bavaria and Serbia at the beginning of the twentieth century is documented. A part of this population exhibits tame behaviour, and supplementary food has been offered since 2007, when a wildfire destroyed a big part of its habitat. Finally, a very small population, around 10 animals, that was introduced by the Forest Service in Raftanaioi-Pramada in Epirus still survives.[81]

8. Roe Deer

In the past, roe deer was abundant, both on the mainland and on the islands. The most recent records of its presence on the islands come from Crete, up to 500-700 AD.[82] Today, it has been restricted to isolated forested areas of central and northern Greece. The mountains Iti, Vardousia, Giona and Parnassus are at the southern edge of its distribution. Due to fragmentation of its habitat and distribution, there are possible subpopulations with restricted connection. It disappeared from the Peloponnese, though it has recently been reintroduced in Kalavryta Sanctuary, as well as in north Euboea. Its hunting is prohibited, but poaching is the main threat for the species.[83]

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[81] Athanasios Sfougaris, "*Cervus elaphus* Linnaeus, 1758", in Legakis and Maragou (eds), *The Red Data Book*, pp. 363-364.

[82] Barbara Wilkens, "The Fauna from Italian Excavations on Crete", in D. S. Reese (eds), *The Pleistocene and Holocene Fauna of Crete and its First Settlers*, Madison: Prehistory Press, 1996, pp. 241-262.

[83] Athanasios Sfougaris and Dimitrios Tsaparis, "*Capreolus capreolus* Linnaeus, 1758", in Legakis and Maragou (eds), *The Red Data Book*, pp. 390-392.

9. Fallow Deer

In the past, fallow deer were abundant throughout mainland and insular Greece. Bökönyi reported the presence of fallow deer in 4500 BC on Saliagos, a small island of the Cyclades.[84] He contested that the species was autochthonous on islands and not imported for sacrificial purposes. The mainland animals remained until the beginning of the twentieth century. The last report comes from the 1930s regarding a small population in Akarnania in western Greece.[85] Today, the fallow deer of Rhodes are the only free-ranging population in Greece and are protected by national legislation. The Rhodes population is of ancient origin and with a distinct genetic signature. Its habitat is a mixture of forests, shrubland and agricultural land. Main threats to the species include, among others, poaching, the lack of a management system of deer damage to farm land, the reduction of water resources and the lack of genetic stock outside Rhodes.[86]

University of Athens

[84] Sandor Bökönyi, "Angaben zum frühholozänen Vorkommen des Damhirsches *Cervus* (*Dama*) *dama* (Linné, 1758) in Europa", *Säugetierkundliche Mitteilungen* 19 (1971), pp. 206-217.

[85] Pavlos Drandakis, *Μεγάλη ελληνική εγκυκλοπαίδεια* [Great Greek encyclopaedia], Athens 1934.

[86] Despina Mertzanidou, "*Dama dama* (Linnaeus, 1758)", in Legakis and Maragou (eds), *The Red Data Book*, pp. 378-379.

Critical Perspectives
Approches Critiques

Maurizio Viroli,
HOW TO CHOOSE A LEADER: MACHIAVELLI'S ADVICE TO CITIZENS,
Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016, 144 pages.

The question of leadership is anything but new. Even before the emergence of philosophy, there were oral tales and myths about leaders (kings, gods, warriors, etc.), which were used, directly or indirectly, as examples, or even paradigms, of a good leader. We can find such "case studies" in *Beowulf* [1] and the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, whose protagonist is depicted as the perfect leader.[2] In Ancient Greek literature, there are descriptions of leaders, as well as of the relations between a leader and his followers. Accordingly, in the Homeric poems we find a community that actively participates in politics and whose opinion the leader cannot disregard.[3] In addition, Hesiod in his *Theogony* presented Zeus as a model leader to be imitated by mortals.[4]

Plato's *Republic* can be seen as the earliest comprehensive study on leadership, focusing not only on leaders' qualities but also on the relation between the "philosopher-king" and his citizens. Since then, leadership has been extensively studied. Today, there is a body of literature on leadership, mainly dealing with what one must do in order to become an efficient leader: what character qualities to develop, what methods of problem solving to adopt, how to face one's employees or followers, and so on. What is more striking is that, in most cases, those to be led (employees, followers) are treated more or less like one of the factors that

[1] Studies of *Beowulf* from this perspective include Tom Loughman and John Finley, "*Beowulf* and the Teaching of Leadership", *Journal of Leadership Education* 9/1 (Winter 2010), pp. 155-164.

[2] See *The Epic of Gilgamesh: A New Translation*, transl. Andrew George, London: Penguin, 1999, lines 29-46.

[3] Dean Hammer (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Democracy and the Roman Republic*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015, pp. 26-27.

[4] Johann P. Arnason, S. N. Eisenstadt and Björn Wittrock (eds), *Axial Civilizations and World History*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005, p. 258.

make one a good leader; in other words, those for whom a leader even exists as leader take a secondary role. Bestselling books on leadership are based on various pieces of research into what people think a leader must have or be in order to be good and efficient, making use therefore of the estimation of the people in favor of that of the leader and not vice versa.

If that is, to some extent, understandable in the case of business leaders, where the relationship between leader and employees has its particular characteristics and needs, it is a wholly different matter in politics. We could mention various reasons for that, but the main one is that the leadership problem we face today concerns modern democracies, that is, a political system in which the "followers" are supposedly at the foreground and the leader is (purportedly) serving them. So, when it comes to leaders in modern (democratic) politics, the literature must be concerned not only with how one can be a good leader, but also with how the people can develop the necessary "skills" in order to make good choices of leaders.

Why? Because democracy is not just about people electing their leaders. This is the safest way for a democracy to decline. In Ancient Athens, after the death of Pericles, the Athenians did elect their leaders; but they did it using the wrong criterion – flattery[5] – thus making grave mistakes and endangering democracy itself. In other words, the problem with democracy (at least, one of the most crucial ones) is not voting itself, but to vote responsibly, specifically to improve and preserve the quality of democracy.

Is such an "education" possible? In theory, this is supposed to be one of the aims of education – if we set aside approaches of the Foucauldian type and consider education as one of the means of social control. There is, though, another, more practical way to teach people how to behave: through specific advice on what to look for in choosing their leaders.

This is where *How to Choose a Leader* by Maurizio Viroli comes in. Unlike other leadership books, *How to Choose a Leader* makes a shift of perspective, giving the point of view of the leader to the people. This is in itself interesting, since we rarely come across such an attempt to "teach" citizens so systematically.

What is even more remarkable in this book is the choice of Niccolò Machiavelli as the "Counselor", as the author calls him. How can the "murderous Machiavel", as Shakespeare characterized him in *King Henry VI, Part Three* (Act III, Sc. III), with his *Prince*, a book banned by the Catholic Church, or his *Discourses*, where he expounded a theory for republican rule using the Roman model, have anything of interest to say today to citizens concerning their leaders? Can anything of value to the people be drawn from an admirer of the ruthless Cesare Borgia, the master of deception? How can citizens be advised by a man who taught a leader that it is better to be feared than loved by his people ("The response is that one would want to be both the one and the other

[5] Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 2.65.10-11.

[feared and loved]; but because it is difficult to put them together, it is much safer to be feared than loved, if one has to lack one of the two.")?[6] How then can Machiavelli, who was interested not in what a leader *should be*, but in what he/she *is*, focusing on themselves (as was the spirit of his times) in order to increase his/her power, become the counselor of citizens?

Viroli has a different, more complimentary view of Machiavelli (pp. 9-10): "As is well known, he portrayed men's cruelty, ambition, meanness, and ferocity in the most vibrant way and vividly described the misery of the human condition. But […] [he] also offers us a wealth of reflections on the remedies to the miseries of the human condition. Love, politics, poetry, irony: he analyzed and practiced all of them, without pretending to have found the ultimate solution. […] His conception of life encompasses […] the grand and the ordinary, the grave and the light, rigor and transgression, commitment and irony. Many readers will find it confused, unacceptable, or even irritating. I find it a refreshing alternative to the culture of self-interest, reasonableness, and dull decency, as well as the bigotry, the moralism, and the zealotry which pervade our time."

This general attitude towards Machiavelli, that "refreshing alternative", is further elaborated in *How to Choose a Leader*. In the introduction (pp. ix-xviii), Viroli considers the Italian an appropriate counselor for teaching the citizens, and not the leader, for a number of reasons: "Machiavelli has offered American political thinkers and leaders a rich republican theory centered on the principle of liberty as 'non-domination' […]"; "[…] outlined the theory of political revolution that inspired the birth of the Republic of the United States […]"; "The art that Machiavelli mastered was that of interpreting the intentions and the motives of princes and republican leaders […]"; and "Machiavelli has yet another virtue of the good political advisor, namely, honesty […]"; above all, however, Machiavelli was chosen, because, as the writer explains, the Italian "[…] based his political judgments (and predictions) on facts (conveniently selected and interpreted) and on reason." Therefore, who else seems more appropriate to be chosen as counselor in order to write a book with practical rules and suggestions or, as Viroli puts it: "[…] to find in these pages mainly cautions intended to help us avoid some of the rather common mistakes in our choice of representatives […]"?

However, we cannot disregard the fact that Machiavelli lived in a totally different era and wrote for entirely different purposes. In addition, his political realism made him cautious in avoiding the formulation of general theories; so, there is nothing that can be considered as applicable to all eras, societies and political situations. Viroli tries to solve the problem, remarking that, "If we consider the matter carefully, we will discover that politics has not changed much since his [Machiavelli's] day. Political leaders, and citizens, are guided in their deliberation by the

[6] Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, transl. and intro. Harvey C. Mansfield, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, [2]1998, p. 66.

same passions." Furthermore, "History, Machiavelli believed, often repeats itself, in the sense that political leaders and citizens often face problems that have already emerged, in a more or less similar fashion, in the past […]"(p. 31). This view was embraced by Theodore Roosevelt when, in his "Man with the Muck-rake" speech (1906), he said: "The material problems that face us today are not such as they were in Washington's time, but the underlying facts of human nature are the same now as they were then."[7] Furthermore, Machiavelli "[…] maintains that the true skill of the political advisor is the art of interpreting passions, the passions of individuals and peoples […]" (p. xvi).

Finally, and this is more important, for Viroli, "Machiavelli does not envisage a political leader who does all the work by himself, followed by passive citizens or subjects who obey his orders. He invokes a leader capable of persuading, inspiring, and motivating fellow patriots to commit themselves to the arduous task of political redemption […]" (p. 106). In other words, Machiavelli, in his own unusual way, put the citizens into the play of political power.

In general, in order for a book that aims to be used as a guide of any type to be efficient, it must have three basic characteristics: clear structure, simple language, and comprehensible ideas. *How to Choose a Leader* has all three of them; in addition, its small size makes it more usable. Regarding the content, each of its twenty chapters develops a different subject; there is not a line of thought that continues from one chapter to the next, so the reader can consult any section independently.

Most importantly, though, the book is full of examples. Viroli, following his Counselor, does not only select, state, and interpret Machiavelli's views; he also clarifies them by presenting as many examples as he can. These examples are mostly drawn from American history, revealing the author's concern to "advise" the American public. In this way, he manages something more, to show that the counsel of Machiavelli can be applied to the American reality. This, however, might lead non-American readers to think that the book is of no interest to them, while it requires from them further effort to focus on the book's advice.

In the first chapter the author tries to convince the reader of the importance of being interested in politics as a citizen. Knowing that democracy is a fragile political system that cannot preserve itself, Viroli remarks that, "When citizens are no longer willing, or capable, of properly executing their civic duties […] republics decline and die." Therefore, "Voting is, […], the most important expression of citizenship." Most of all, those who must set an example are the "citizens with high standards", for if they stay home, "[…] those with lower standards will elect corrupt or incompetent candidates who, once in Congress or in the White House, will foster policies that will damage the common good."

The second chapter provides a general guideline (judge the politicians by what they are and what they do, not by the appearances), which is elaborated

[7] Brian MacArthur, *The Penguin Book of Modern Speeches*, London: Penguin, 2012, p. 19.

in the subsequent eighteen chapters of the book. Those chapters deal with issues such as putting the common good above personal interest (ch. 3), corruption (ch. 10), and the economy (ch. 12), as well as subjects that are less typical, such as the question of luck (ch. 7), which was of particular interest to Machiavelli himself, or the leader's attitude towards religion (chs 8, 14).

There are, though, subjects that might seem strange, such as the one in chapter 9, where the Counselor calls upon the reader to "[…] look for a president who cares for his repute with future generations and has the ambition to attain true glory […]", but the citizens (and their leader, by extension) must make a distinction between fame, glory, vainglory and power. What is more unexpected to find in a book that offers advice to citizens on how to choose their leaders is the concern for the leader's eloquence (ch. 18), for we know that speeches are mostly used to cover, sometimes dubious, intentions. For Viroli, though, Machiavelli "[…] worried more about the lack of eloquence in political leaders than about its dangers."

The final chapter of the book deals with probably one the most serious issues concerning a democracy: the introduction of political and social reforms and their relation to the principles of a republic. Considering that they are inextricably linked, it illustrates that the principles upon which a republic is founded are the ones that will make possible the introduction of any reforms.

How to Choose a Leader is a kind of Copernican Revolution regarding Machiavelli's perspective and objectives. It is a project anything but easy, since one must not only have mastered Machiavelli's thought, but also have a good understanding of American history to grasp the examples supporting the Counselor's advice. Maurizio Viroli, it must be noted, has done a great job.

However, there is always a slight reservation regarding what such books of advice are trying to achieve – in this case, how to elect a good leader. Are they really useful, that is, can they fulfill their aim? Can or must the advice of *How to Choose a Leader* be followed to the letter? If not, what is the purpose of writing such a book?

As to whether the guidance must be followed to the letter, the author himself gives the answer in chapter 13, remarking that Machiavelli's advice "[…] must not be taken as a rule valid in all circumstances". Where does that leave us? If we can deviate from any advice, to a small or large extent, what is the purpose of reading these recommendations anyway?

Any advice can be used as a fixed rule that must be followed as it is, regardless of the person, the time, and the circumstances. That kind of advice is given to, and followed by, one who does not want to be responsible for one's actions. There is, however, another use of advice; this is to use it as a general guideline. In that case, one who takes that advice is responsible as to the way in which it is implemented.

The latter, I believe, is the case with *How to Choose a Leader*. In order to make a democracy work, we need responsible citizens, people who are able to judge and act accordingly. As the author mentions,

"[…] Machiavelli invites citizens to use their reason to evaluate political and social matters." Therefore, if we consider *How to Choose a Leader* as just a book of advice, we not only misunderstand the role of the book (besides, Machiavelli's advice, even though time- and place-specific and illustrated through examples, demands the leader's ability to adjust it to specific circumstances), but we also reduce its meaning, and most of all we degrade our role as citizens. In other words, we must not consider *How to Choose a Leader* simply as a book with advice on how to elect a leader, in the manner of other "how to" books; it is more of a general guide about a citizen's way of acting in regards to a democracy's leaders. Ultimately though, no matter how many books a citizen might read, it is up to him/her to decide whether to use these recommendations and to start evaluating his/her future leaders.

Michalis Katsimitsis
University of Athens

A. Lymberopoulou and R. Duits (eds),
BYZANTINE ART AND RENAISSANCE EUROPE,
Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013, 219 pages,
45 illustrations and 16 color plates.

The question of cultural relations between the Byzantine East and the Latin West, although not unexplored, is still an open one. Therefore, this book, a collective volume of six studies on various aspects of cultural and artistic interaction between Byzantine and Western European societies from the late twelfth to the late fifteenth century, is welcome.

In the introduction, the editors, Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Rembrandt Duits, outline the aim of the volume. They point out that the term "Renaissance" is used "as a general indication of an art historical period" and present briefly the content of the six chapters that follow.

In the opening chapter, "The Byzantine Context", Lyn Rodley traces some of the evidence for contacts between Eastern and Western art and material culture and outlines the condition of Byzantine art and architecture in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Exploring the vehicle of cultural exchange between East and West, the author refers to diplomatic gifts, the marriage between the Byzantine princess Theophano and the German emperor Otto II (955-983) and trade activities. Contacts between the Byzantines and the Latins became stronger through the establishment of a large community of Genoese, Pisans and Venetians in Constantinople in the twelfth century and with the Crusades. In her study of mutual borrowings in Byzantine and Latin architecture and painting, the author considers the so-called Mystras-type, applied in the churches of Hodegetria and Pantanassa, as well as in the Metropolis at Mystras, as "a desire to 'Byzantinize' the basilical form" (p. 28). In my opinion, there can be little doubt that the basilica type is a Byzantine one. Besides its predominance in the Early Christian period, the majority of Middle Byzantine cathedral churches were timber-roofed basilicas.[1] The final parts of this chapter refer to the limited influence of Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine art on the arts of Renaissance Europe, since European artists turned to naturalism.

In the following chapter, "Byzantine Art and Early Italian Painting", Hans

[1] For example, the cathedrals of Serrai, Veria, Kalambaka, Servia, Moglena, Meleniko, Rentina and Prespai. See C. Bouras, *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Architecture in Greece*, Athens 2006, p. 86; F. Karagianni, *Επισκοπικοί ναοί της μέσης βυζαντινής περιόδου. Το παράδειγμα της Μακεδονίας* [Episcopal churches of the Middle Byzantine period: The example of Macedonia], unpublished doctoral thesis, Thessaloniki 2006, pp. 156-158.

Bloemsma examines the quest of Italian artists in the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance to create more vivid and evocative images that could involve the viewer emotionally in the depicted event. In this process Italian artists were influenced by Byzantine art, which had a great appeal in Italian culture of that period. The author focuses on specific representative works of different geographical locations and periods: the mosaics of the western vault of the central dome of San Marco in Venice (1180-1190); the works of Giunta Pisano in Pisa and of the Master of St. Francis in Assisi (both around 1250); and Duccio's *Maestà* made for the Duomo in Siena (1308-1311). This penetrating analysis demonstrates the important and enduring role of Byzantine painting in Italian art and spirit until the Early Renaissance.

The third chapter, "Regional Byzantine Monumental Art from Venetian Crete", by Angeliki Lymberopoulou explores the social, financial and ideological context of the construction and decoration of the numerous (around 850) rural churches in Venetian-ruled Crete. On the basis of building practices and iconographic details of their wall paintings, the author argues that, from as early as in the fourteenth century, these churches are indicative of a degree of intercultural dialogue between the native and the Venetian communities and not testimonies of a strict orientation towards Byzantium. Cultural interaction between the Orthodox and Catholics on Crete is corroborated by Olga Gratziou in her recent studies on Cretan religious buildings used by the faithful of both doctrines (two-aisled churches, double churches and churches with two apses).[2] It is moreover worth noting that unionistic iconographic subjects (the First Ecumenical Council, the Embrace of Peter and Paul) have been detected in the fifteenth-century wall paintings in the outer narthex of the two-aisled katholikon – probably a church for both doctrines – of the monastery of Agios Fanourios at Valsamonero.[3]

In the next chapter, "Candia and Post-Byzantine Icons in Late Fifteenth-century Europe", also dedicated to Venetian Crete, Diana Newall examines the social, cultural, religious and financial context of icon painting in Candia around 1500. She discusses *inter alia* the geostrategic position of Crete and its capital, Candia, the urban space of this city, its role in Venetian trade, the Latin commissions to Cretan painters, and the travels of Cretan and Italian painters from Candia to Italy and *vice versa*. Newall also highlights an issue, not thoroughly studied so far,

[2] O. Gratziou, *H Κρήτη στην ύστερη μεσαιωνική εποχή. Η μαρτυρία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής* [Crete in the late medieval era: The testimony of church architecture], Heraklion 2010, pp. 137-183; *ead*., "Cretan Architecture and Sculpture in the Venetian Period", in A. Drandaki (ed.), *The Origins of El Greco: Icon Painting in Venetian Crete*, New York 2010, p. 22; *ead*., "Όσοι πιστοί προσέλθετε... Εκκλησίες για αμφότερα τα δόγματα σε μοναστήρια της Κρήτης κατά τη βενετική περίοδο" [All believers are welcome... Churches for both doctrines in Cretan monasteries during the Venetian period], in E. Kolovos (ed.), *Μοναστήρια, οικονομία και πολιτική* [Monasteries, economy and politics], Heraklion 2011, pp. 117-139.

[3] U. Ritzerfeld, "Bildpropaganda im Zeichen des Konzils von Florenz. Unionistische Bildmotive im Kloster Balsamonero auf Kreta", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 80/2 (2014), pp. 387-407.

namely the important role of Candia, as a stopover on the maritime pilgrimage routes to the Holy Land, in the export of Cretan icons to Western Europe.

Kim Woods explores in the following chapter, "Byzantine Icons in the Netherlands, Bohemia and Spain during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", the value placed on Byzantine icons in Northern Europe: in the Prague of Charles IV (1346-1376) and the fifteenth-century Burgundian Netherlands, as well as in the Spain of Isabella of Castile (*c.* 1476-1504). The author concludes that images believed to derive from the hand of St. Luke the Evangelist and their copies were highly venerated in the Netherlands, while there is no evidence that the Byzantine style fascinated Northern European viewers. On the other hand, some prominent individuals, such as Queen Isabella of Castile, who owned a collection including Greek icons, and the German humanist Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464), may have attached particular value to icons "à la façon Grèce".

The book ends with the insightful and comprehensive study "Byzantine Icons in the Medici Collection" by Rembrandt Duits. He discusses the seventeen – or possibly eighteen – icons (one panel of ebony, eleven icons in mosaic, three miniature icons in steatite and two or possibly three[4] painted panels) which belonged to the Medici art collection, as documented in two inventories. The first of them, mentioning among other works twelve Byzantine icons, dates from 1465, a few months after the death of Cosimo the Elder (1389-1464); the second, which was compiled in 1492, after the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449-1492), includes five or six more icons, increasing their number to seventeen or eighteen. The only extant Byzantine icon from the Medici collection has been identified as the twelfth-century miniature mosaic of Christ Pantocrator in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence. The examination of the subjects of the Medici icons and their provenance, prices and location inside the Palazzo Medici indicates that this prominent Italian family appreciated Byzantine icons, which perhaps also fulfilled a devotional function, during a period when Italian art was moving in a naturalistic direction.

A general index completes the volume.

This book, which will be of interest to students of both Byzantine and Western European art, is an important contribution to the notion that the border between East and West is fictional, since it demonstrates in an eloquent way that the movement of people, goods and ideas in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance was perpetual.[5]

Jenny Albani

Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports

[4] The icon of the Agony in the Garden could hardly have been painted in Byzantium, but may be assigned to Venetian Crete.

[5] Cf. the reviews by Massimo Bernabò in *Byzantinistica* 15 (2013) (accessible online: https://www.academia.edu/20252566/) and Stefania Gerevini in *Renaissance Quarterly* 67/1 (2014), pp. 204-205.

Carol M. Richardson, Kim W. Woods and Michael W. Franklin (eds),
RENAISSANCE ART RECONSIDERED:
AN ANTHOLOGY OF PRIMARY SOURCES,
Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell in association with
the Open University, [10]2015, 449 pages.

The title of this volume refers to the course of the Open University entitled *Renaissance Art Reconsidered* and more particularly to its three course books, which reflect three reference fields in the modern history of art: the method and arduous work of making works of art; the centres of art production, the trade networks and the relations between artists and clients; and the means of viewing art, whether in the context of religious practice, theory or patronage, during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Thus, the first book, entitled *Making Renaissance Art* (Kim W. Woods [ed.], New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with the Open University, 2007), deals with key themes in the making of Renaissance painting, architecture, sculpture and prints; more specifically with techniques and materials in practice and theory and with tradition and innovation in artists' training, workshop organization and collaborative works.[1] The seven chapters of the second book, *Locating Renaissance Art* (Carol M. Richardson [ed.], New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with the Open University, 2007), are case studies of Rome, Siena and Venice as artistic centres and of the international market for works of art in the Low Countries, whether paintings or tapestries. The chapter about the religious art of Venetian Crete, an important trading centre in the Mediterranean, completes the extent of the connections and networks that lay behind the production of Renaissance art.[2] The third book of the series, *Viewing Renaissance Art* (Kim

[1] Chapter titles: "Drawing and Workshop Practices" by Catherine King; "Constructing Space in Renaissance Painting" by Carol Richardson; "The Illusion of Life in Fifteen-century Sculpture" by Kim Woods; "Architecture: Theory and Practice" by Tim Benton; "Making Renaissance Altarpieces" by Diana Norman; "Making Histories, Publishing Theories" by Catherine King.

[2] Chapter titles: "The Allure of Rome" by Carol Richardson; "Netherlandish Networks" by Kim Woods; "Tapestries as a Transnational Artistic Commodity" by Elizabeth Cleland; "Siena and its Renaissance" by Diana Norman; "The Painter Angelos and Post-Byzantine Art" by Angeliki Lymberopoulou; "Art in Fifteenth-century Venice: 'An Aesthetic of Diversity'" by Paul Wood; "Bramante and the Sources of the Roman High Renaissance" by Tim Benton.

W. Woods, Carol M. Richardson and Angeliki Lymberopoulou [eds], New Haven and London: Yale University in association with Open University, 2007), focusses on patronage and the consumption of Renaissance art. The range of patrons and audiences included extends from the Florentine confraternities to the rulers of France and from the Alps to Crete.[3]

The *Anthology of Primary Sources*, the book under discussion, as with the above-mentioned volumes, was created and implemented as an Open University educational project. However, the contributors' intention is clear: "We hope its usefulness will extend to the wider community of academics and students as well as dedicated art-history enthusiasts engaged in Renaissance studies."[4]

The textual sources undoubtedly connect the works of art with the background at the time of their creation, with their original status and with the way they were viewed and utilized by their contemporaries. For art historians, the written material is not, of course, as important a source as the works of art themselves, but it is a springboard for research and an essential base before formulating and evaluating a theoretical framework.

The structure of the *Anthology* follows that set out in the three above-mentioned volumes, containing the same essential parts – Making, Locating, Viewing – and chapters, with minor changes. The first part, "Making Renaissance Art" (pp. 6-156), consists of 7 chapters and 48 documents and focusses on the making of drawings, panel paintings, sculptures and buildings, as well as on the methods of linear perspective. The second part, "Locating Renaissance Art" (pp. 160-280), with 7 chapters and 48 documents, deals with artists' private and social lives, portable icons, wall paintings, monuments and tapestries in Italy, the Low Countries and Venetian Crete. The 41 documents of the third part, "Viewing Renaissance Art" (pp. 284-428), are related to a wide range of subjects: the treasures and luxury goods of the rulers and wealthy inhabitants of Burgundy, Siena and Florence; the way in which the Florentines viewed the works of art in their city, from Savonarola's sermons to Sandro Botticelli's and Leonardo's considerations about where to place Michelangelo's *David*. A special chapter in this part is dedicated to Renaissance art in France and another entitled "Market and Icons" to the commissions of Post-Byzantine Cretan portable icons. Documents related to funerary monuments, illuminated manuscripts and the reform of religious images complete the reference fields in this part.

Connecting all these miscellaneous excerpts would be much more helpful for the reader. The correlation made between the rulers of the Venetian Mercers' guild (p. 238) with Dürer's letter mentioning the difficulties he experienced with Venetian guild rulers (p. 255) is obviously useful, and this practice should have been implemented more exhaustively.

[3] Chapter titles: "Art, Class and Wealth" by Rembrandt Duits; "Florentine Art and the Public" by Jill Burke; "Renaissance Bibliomania" by Alixe Bovey; "Monarchy and Prestige in France"; "Audiences for Cretan Icons" by Angeliki Lymberopoulou; "Art and Death" by Carol Richardson; "Holbein and the Reform of Images" by Kim Woods.

[4] Editors' preface.

For example, Cennini's and Dionysios' technical instructions (pp. 6-7 and 234-236) or the tomb of Louis XI (pp. 340-345) and the funerary monuments described in the chapter "Art and Death" ought to have been connected.

The heart of the book is a collection of 137 primary sources. The range of these original sources and documents is wide and varied: artists' contracts and treatises, letters, inventories, diaries, wills, guild rule books, official reports and decisions. On this point, the documents' categorization would be helpful in order to enable the reader to immediately evaluate their worth as a source. In view of this, it is reasonable, for example, that there is a difference between the Grand Council of Venice's judgement of an artist (pp. 240-241) and an agent's report (p. 168).

The volume contains a full list of document sources and acknowledgements (pp. 429-436) and an index (pp. 437-449), which is very important and useful for these kinds of sourcebooks. Unfortunately, it is difficult to understand the method behind the making of this index; for example, why Milan or Crete are not listed as geographical locations, given that they are mentioned in the texts, or why the special entry "archaeological investigations in Rome" is not also included in the entry "Rome", as is the case for the entry "tourists' view of cultural sites".

The volume is the outcome of an expert team of 12 people, including the editors, most of whom are members of the Open University staff.[5] Their contributions consist of a short introductory text, commentaries and bibliography, where required. On this point, attention must be drawn to the rather obvious inequality among contributors' presentations and commentaries. There are texts which are sufficiently commented upon, such as the document describing Ghiberti's admiration for Sienese art (pp. 208-211) or the commissioning of the altarpiece for the Cappella dei Signori in Siena (pp. 211-213), and others without mention of the date of the original document, for example the commission from a Venetian ruler for an altarpiece (pp. 231-234); also, the dimensions, weights and prices, as well as the technical terms, are indicated only in certain sections (e.g. pp. 291, 232-234).

Some of the excerpts (18 documents) are well known through their inclusion in existing anthologies, for example the collection of original sources and documents concerning the lives and works of artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Netherlands, Germany, France and England by Wolfgang Stechow (*Northern Renaissance Art, 1400-1600: Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966); the volume with original sources for Italian patronage by D. S. Chambers (*Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance*, London: Macmillan, 1970); the collection of primary texts by and about fifteenth-century Italian

[5] Tim Benton, Jill Burke, Elizabeth Cleland, Rembrandt Duits, Mike Franklin, Catherine King, Angeliki Lymberopoulou, Diana Norman, Carol Richardson, Thomas Tolley, Paul Wood and Kim Woods. Alixe Bovey (University of Kent, now Courtauld Institute) is mentioned erroneously in the preface as a collaborator of the volume.

artists by Creighton Gilbert (*Italian Art, 1400-1500: Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, and London: Prentice-Hall, 1992); and the sourcebook for the city-state of Venice by D. S. Chambers, J. Fletcher and B. Pullan (*Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

Although some texts in the anthology under consideration here have already been published, it is important to emphasize the quality of the documents' translations, given that 55 texts are translated from their original language into English for the first time in this volume.[6]

Finally, if we consider this *Anthology* as having primary source documents that provide insight into the Renaissance irrespective of the three above-mentioned course books, I must point out that the breadth reduces the depth. This is to say that the documents cannot tell us much unless we are equipped to see them *in context*. They require a great deal of ancillary material in order to become intelligible. Thus, the contributors' expectation that the anthology may be addressed to the wider academic community will not be easily answered. Regardless of this, however, a book which was first published in 2007 requires updating.

In spite of the imperfections pointed out, this sourcebook has a great virtue: its pan-European focus includes documents connected with Renaissance art from England to Italy and from France to Crete. These documents are not simply springboards for researchers but also bedrocks, and, as is rightly underlined in the book's preface, scholars must continually return to them "to check generalizations and avoid modern misconceptions". Hence, this modern, easy to use anthology is an important contribution not only to the field of art history, but also to social and intellectual history.

Eugenia Drakopoulou
Institute of Historical Research / NHRF

[6] Translators: Ria de Boodt (from Dutch), Jill Burke (from Italian), Elizabeth Cleland (from Dutch), Isabelle Dolezalek (from French), Rembrandt Duits (from Italian, French and Dutch), Dimitra Kotoula (from Greek), Susanne Meurer (from German), Rahel Nigussie (from Italian), Carol Richardson (from Italian), Gerald Schmidt (from German), Jeremy G. Taylor (from Latin), Dario Tessicini (from Latin and Italian), Thomas Tolley (from French) and David Ward (from Spanish).

Anthony Molho,
ΕΤΕΡΟΔΟΞΙΑ, ΠΕΙΘΑΡΧΗΣΗ, ΑΠΟΚΡΥΨΗ ΣΤΙΣ ΑΠΑΡΧΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΟΤΕΡΩΝ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ. ΑΝΑΣΤΟΧΑΣΜΟΙ ΓΙΑ ΜΙΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΗ / DISSENT, DISCIPLINE, DISSIMULATION IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE: REFLECTIONS ON A EUROPEAN TRADITION,
Athens: Institute of Historical Research / NHRF, 2015, 336 pages.

The present volume is the reworked text of the 2013 Annual C. Th. Dimaras Lecture given at the National Hellenic Research Foundation by Anthony Molho on the interplay of the historiographical triptych of dissent/discipline/dissimulation. In particular, the book deals with the theme of dissimulation that the author developed in the narrative of the lecture, giving first its definition and then configuring it as a spread of European practice. He analyses its forms through the exposition of six case studies and concludes with several considerations on the ethic nature of dissimulation in a mass society in which privacy seems to have lost its value.

Defined by Michel de Montaigne as "the most noticeable quality" of his time, dissimulation is the quality of concealing individual beliefs to others while holding on to them. In other words, people who dissimulate pretend to not believe in their own ideas, often simulating an embrace of other ideas that they do not really believe in (p. 187). The author underscores that dissimulation cannot be considered as lying, as recent scholars have done (Perez Zagorin, Sissela Bok), since the context in which it was developed did not allow people to believe in a non-conformist way and to be transparent without running serious risks to their freedom and their lives. Traced as a diachronic and transcultural problem that dates back to the persecution of the first Christians, dissimulation is however found to be expressed at its best in the Renaissance's troubled years of rapid changes. It represented an alternative way to express dissent and to resist the disciplination of a society operated by both religious and secular powers. In this sense, dissimulation has to be read according to a historiographical perspective in which nonlinearity and contradictoriness are more relevant to the analysis, representing a way of expressing freedom while protecting dissimulators from the non-tolerant powers of the Church and/or of the State.

The author reviews the scholarship that deals with the theme of dissimulation, the work of Carlo Ginzburg on Nicodemism, the revision and deepening of some issues done by Albano Biondi, works on the theoretical explanations of the phenomenon (Perez Zagorin, Jean-Pierre Cavaillé, John Snyder) and the research

of a younger generation of scholars that pays more attention to specific groups of dissenters/dissimulators (Eric Dursteler, John Martin and Stefania Tutino, among others). The practice of dissimulation as an effective defensive strategy against the more strict control imposed by political and religious authorities, the Inquisition *in primis*, was a widespread European phenomenon. The examples cited give us the extent of the diffusion of the practice in early modern Europe: English Quakers in Livorno and Malta, Italian Evangelicals in Switzerland and Poland, Jewish New Christians and Portuguese Marranos in Amsterdam, Venice and Thessaloniki, Orthodox Christians on some Aegean islands, Lutherans in the Habsburg domains and Erasmians in Lutheran states, Christians in some Muslim lands, Moriscos in Spanish domains and more. The author calls it a minor European cultural tradition (p. 221), a common attitude to solve problems linked to official orthodoxy and dissent.

With simple, clear and elegant prose, Professor Molho offers a mosaic of narratives on dissimulation that produces a composite picture of the phenomenon from the sixteenth until the eighteenth century. The author's goal is to give an articulated perspective of the actual practice of dissimulation rather than the contribution of its theoretical formulation by major thinkers (pp. 206-207). The examples vividly illustrate the richness of the records and their uniqueness that nevertheless are thematically linked, as each of them is always referable to the conquest and defence of spaces of individual freedom in highly repressive frames, where authorities were determined to eradicate dissent. The struggle was played out by the staging of a representation, since the dissenters were enacting different and often interchangeable religious or national self-identities.

The series of six case studies begins with an exploration of the first Jesuit mission of England in 1580, which ended with the capture and execution of one member of the mission, Edmund Campion, in 1581. Campion's process allows one to reflect on the theoretical defence of dissimulation done by the Jesuits, which supported as licit from the religious point of view the practices of equivocation and mental reservation. By the creation of an inner space with the binomial opposition heart–mouth, Jesuits theorized the possibility to say something while meaning something different without committing a sin, providing English Catholics with a valid tool for continuing to follow their conscience without the risk of being persecuted as traitors.

The second case study relates to the disclosure of the very essence of being Marrano through the stories of the two Iberian Jews, Righetto and Gaspare Ribeira, in the late sixteenth century. The two stories display a common sense of the self-proper of sharing both Jewish and Christian identities, of being a "ship with two rudders" (p. 252). The definition for exclusion of Marrano as something that is really nothing clearly labelled (not Jew, nor Christian, nor Turk) is linked with a pattern in the Marranos' behaviour that makes them easily mutable from one identity to others without any feeling of contradiction, even though there might be certain anxiety generated by the desire of Jewishness.

The third story is about a Christian renegade, Giovanni Mangiali *greco*, who returned to Christianity after a period of being Muslim. We find again the doctrine of the internal faith and external actions, accepted by the Roman Church in forgiving apostates. The open reception of this justification was common to several confessions, showing how the phenomenon of dissimulation was widespread and involved not only the weakest strata of the population but also powerful characters and famous and educated figures. This can be seen in the fourth and fifth stories, which deal respectively with the Grand Duke of Tuscany's secret decrees for attracting Jews to Livorno (1551) and Galileo Galilei's careful letter of 1613, in which he clearly avoided any reference that could be reconducted to the heliocentric system. In both cases we see how powerful people could shield themselves from an ecclesiastical attempt to keep under control their tolerance towards Jews and heterodox scientific theories, both of which questioned the authority of the Church. As for the Grand Duke, Machiavelli's advice to be both lion and fox in order to avoid papal excommunication is valid in this context (p. 278), while for Galileo dissimulation was the sole tool to protect his freedom (p. 291).

The final case study is about a Jew of Thessaloniki during a later period (second half of the eighteenth century), who dissimulated not only his religious beliefs but also his national affiliation. The story of David Morpurgo and his dispute with Pietro Paradiso, both English and Hapsburg consuls in Thessaloniki, is revealing, since Morpurgo was not a dissenter nor was he risking persecution; instead, he was dissimulating in order to guarantee his freedom from national patronages.

Professor Molho shows once again in this agile essay his unique capacity for combining clarity and historical and philological accuracy. The freshness in the presentation of the sources, supported by his vast and deep knowledge, offers a vivid insight into the phenomenology of dissimulation. The author succeeds in making it understandable and valuable, as dissimulation is a practice very far removed from modern sensibilities, especially after the establishment by the Enlightenment of the myth of transparency. Moreover, in his afterthoughts, he considers the importance and the functionality of the ethic of dissimulating in a time when data collection and exhibition of the self seem to prevail without a proper problematization of the value of individual privacy and of the risk to our freedom that can derive from it.

Viviana Tagliaferri

Institute for Mediterranean Studies – FORTH, Rethymno

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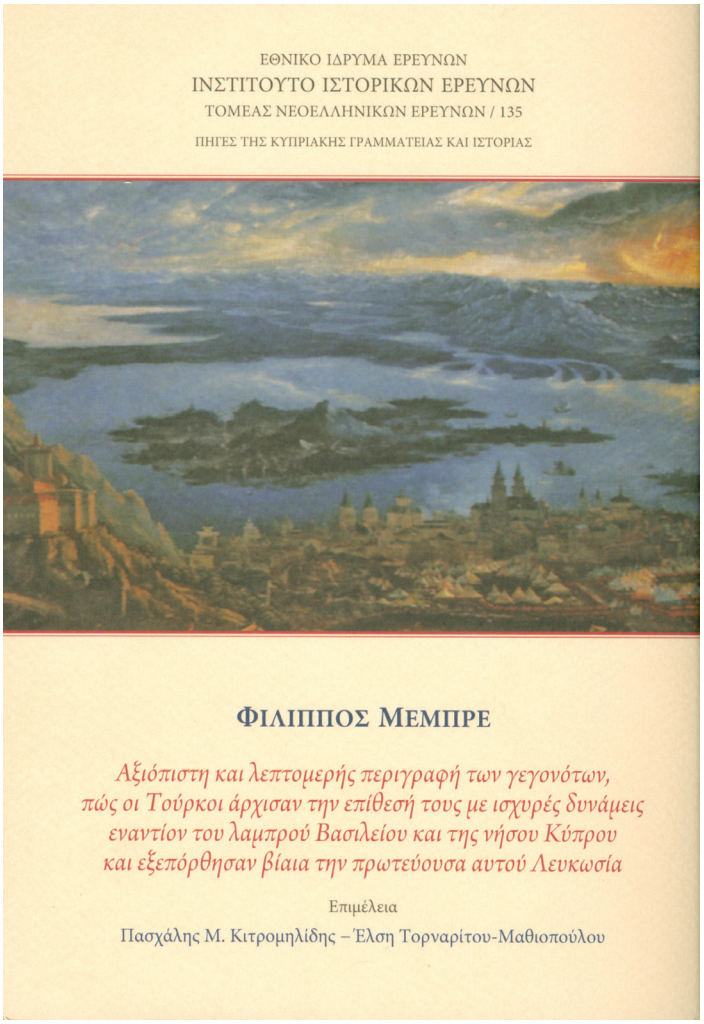

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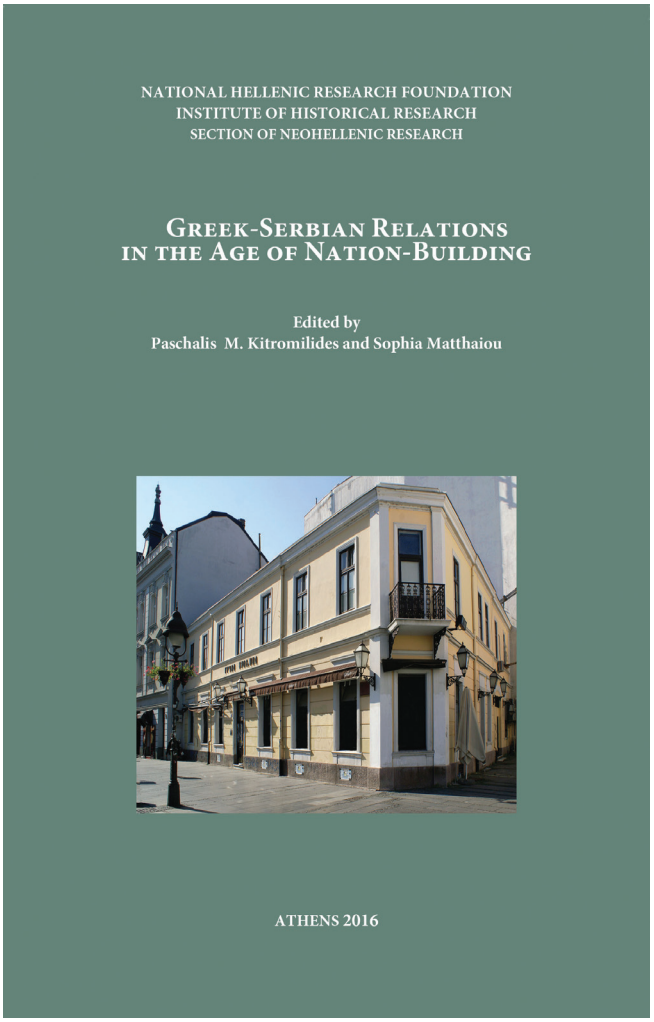

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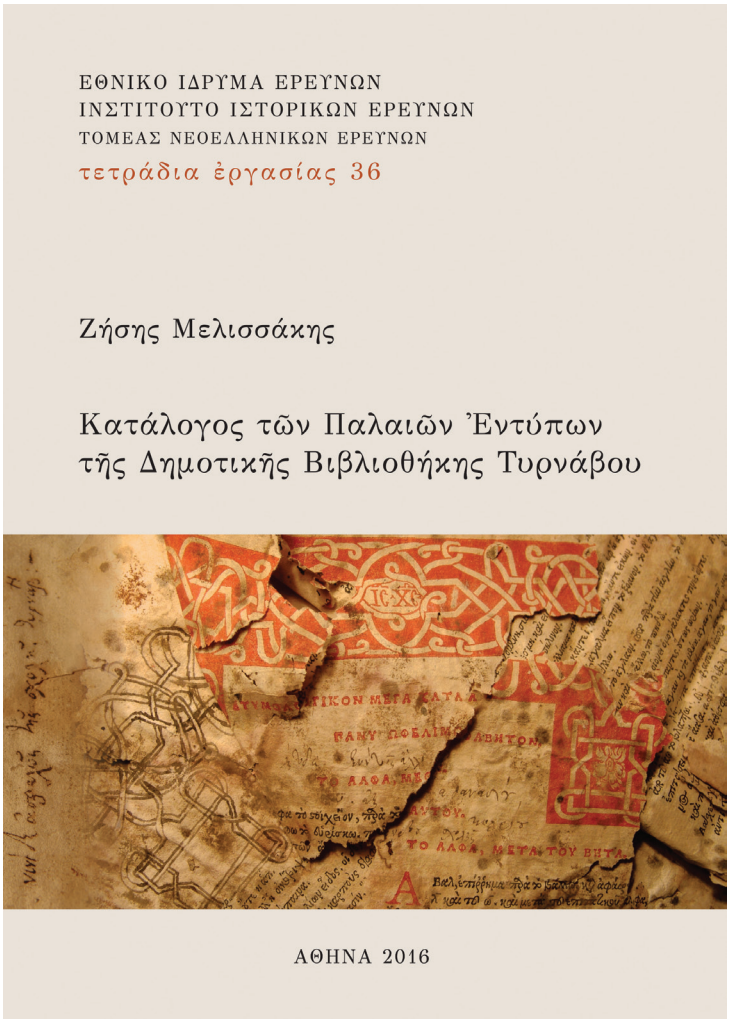

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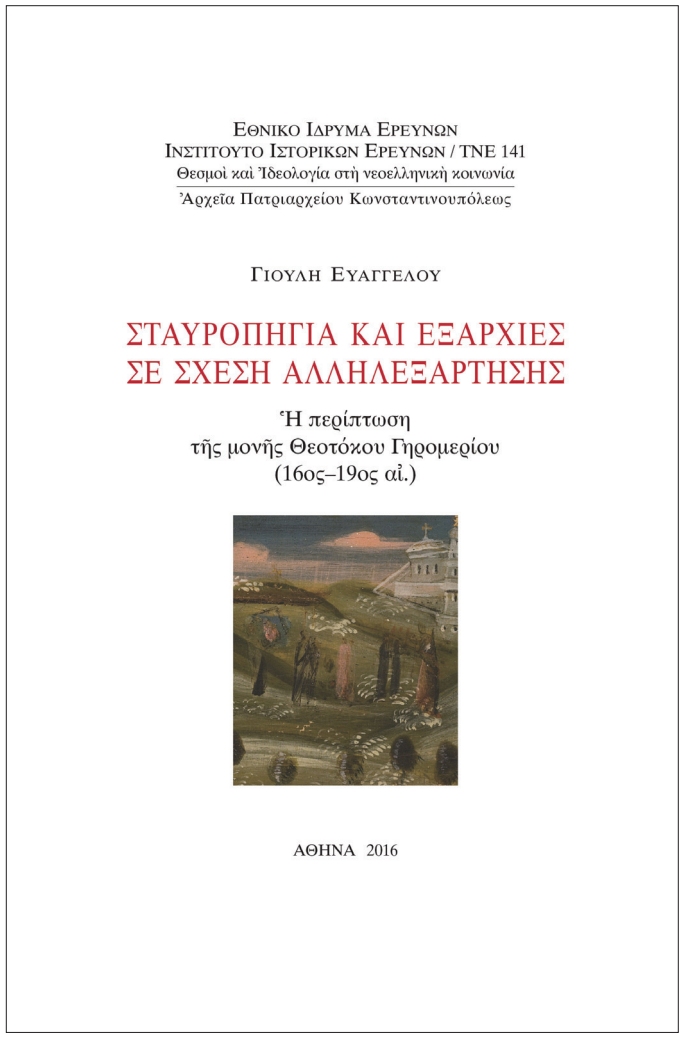

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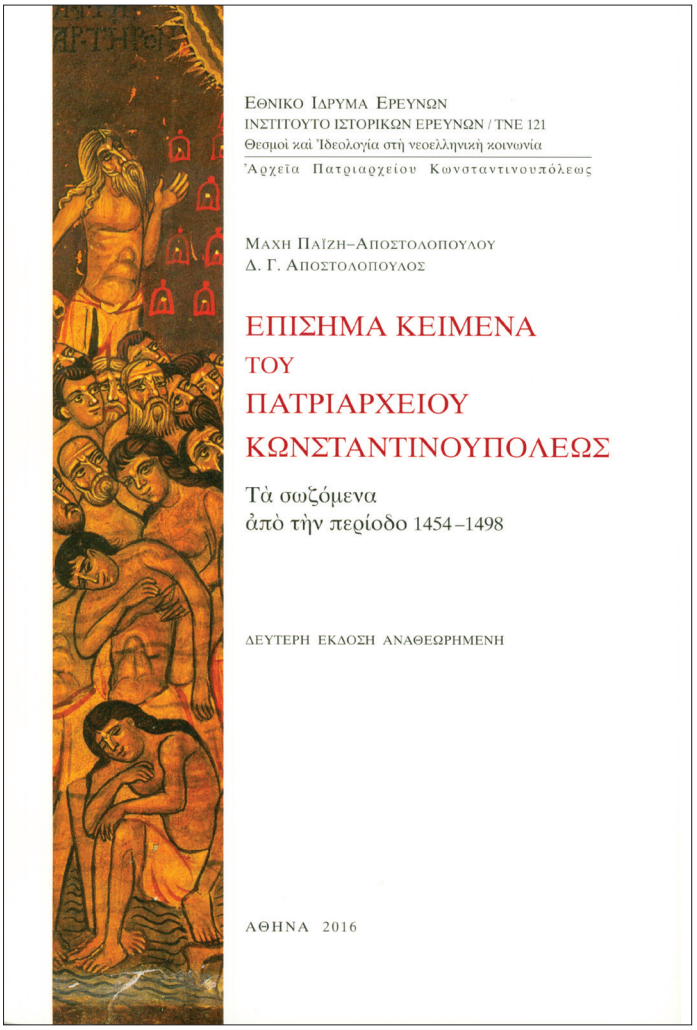

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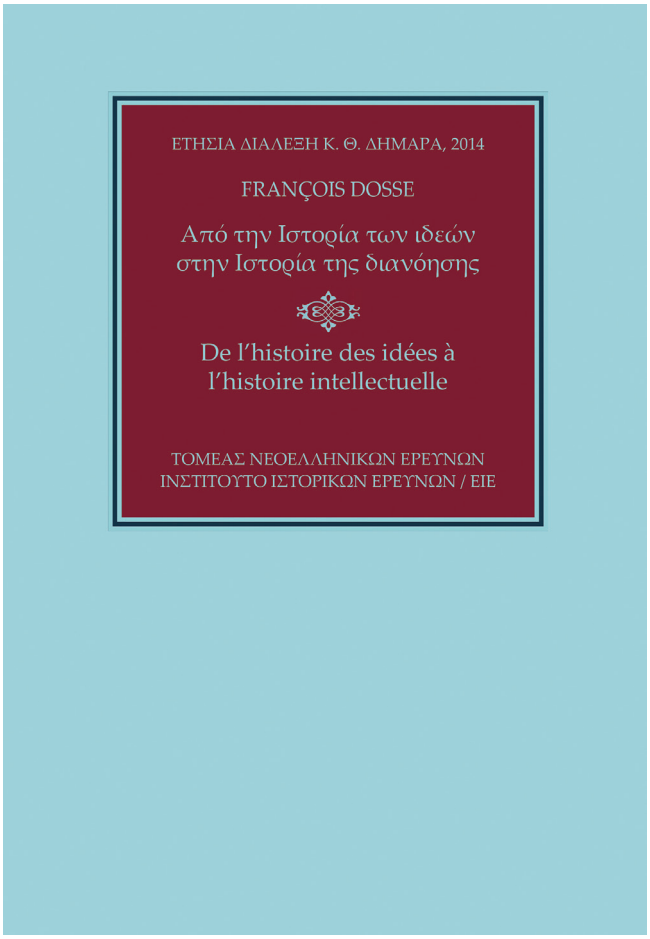

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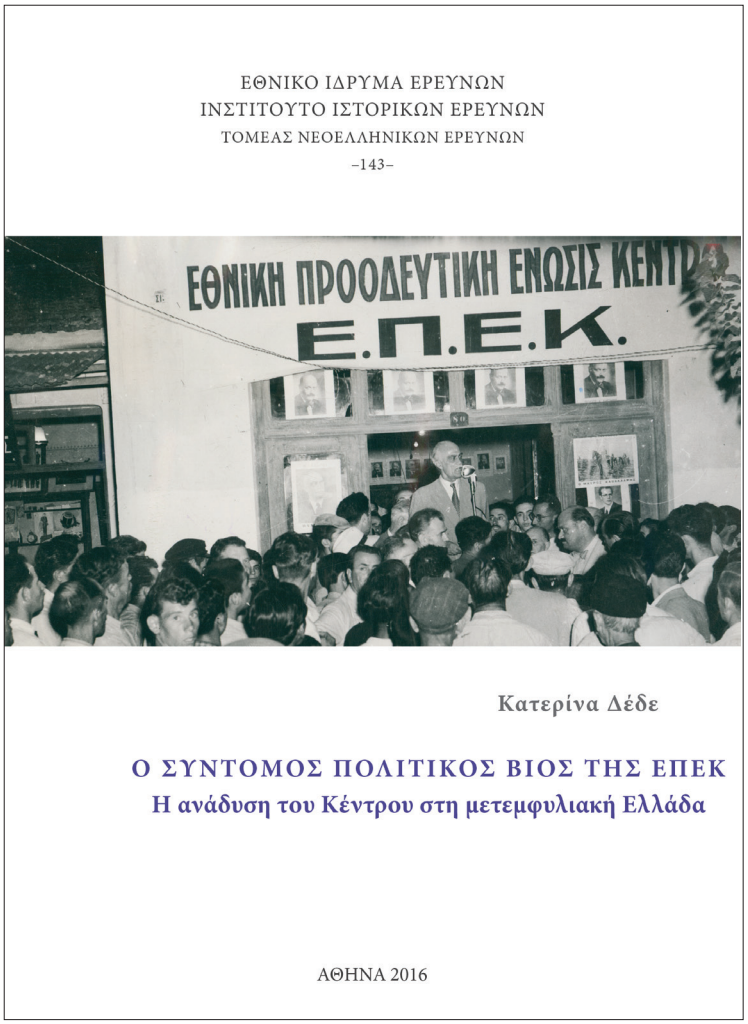

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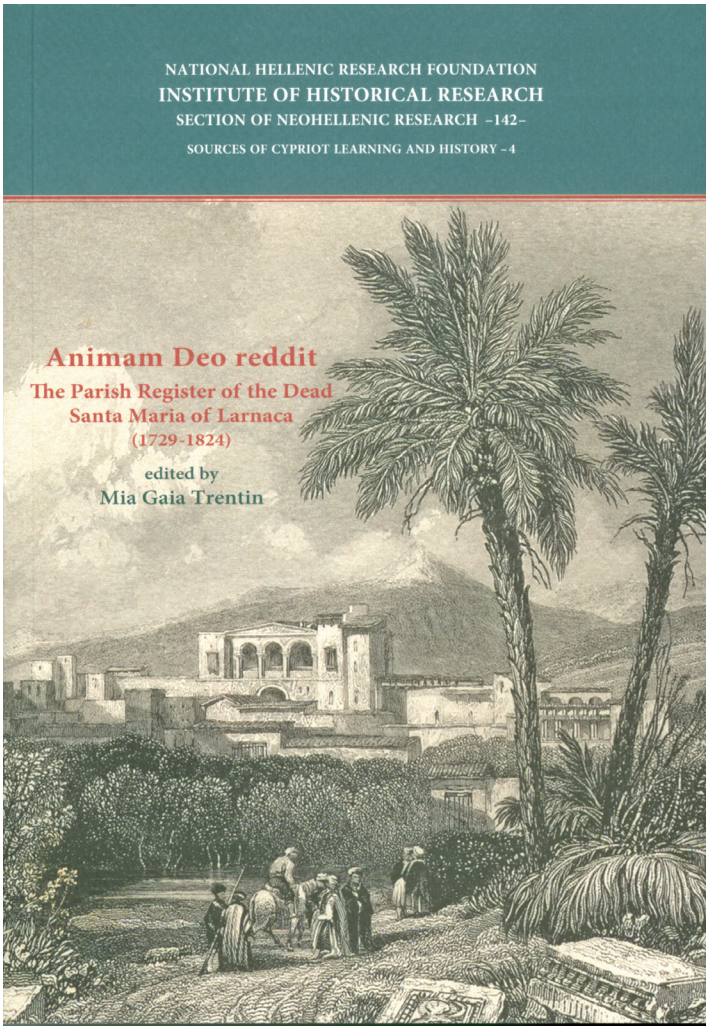

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