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ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝΩΝ
ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΚΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ

ΔΩΔΩΝΗ

ΜΕΡΟΣ ΤΡΙΤΟ

ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΗ ΕΠΕΤΗΡΙΔΑ ΤΟΥ ΤΜΗΜΑΤΟΣ
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ΤΟΜΟΣ ΕΙΚΟΣΤΟΣ ΕΝΑΤΟΣ

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ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΙΑΚΟ ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑ "ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΒΙΩΣΙΜΗΣ ΜΑΘΗΣΗΣ"

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Το παρόν πρόγραμμα σπουδών είναι αποτέλεσμα της συνεργασίας των εκπαιδευτικών και των ερευνητών της Δωδωνής, με στόχο την παροχή υψηλής ποιότητας εκπαίδευσης και την προώθηση της έρευνας στην περιοχή. Το πρόγραμμα περιλαμβάνει μαθήματα που καλύπτουν τις βασικές και προηγμένες γνώσεις στον τομέα της Δωδωνής, καθώς και την ανάπτυξη δεξιοτήτων που είναι απαραίτητες για την απασχόληση στην αγορά εργασίας.



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Τα άρθρα του τόμου αυτού δημοσιεύονται με την προσωπική ευθύνη των συγγραφέων τους ως προς το περιεχόμενο και τη μορφή. Απαγορεύεται κάθε μορφής αναδημοσίευση χωρίς τη γραπτή άδεια του Τμήματος Φ.Π.Ψ. του Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων.



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Δ Ω Δ Ω Ν Η

Μέρος Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα του Τμήματος Ιστορίας-Αρχαιολογίας
Πρώτο: της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων.

Μέρος Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα του Τμήματος Φιλολογίας της Φιλο-
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Μέρος Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα του Τμήματος Φιλοσοφίας, Παιδαγω-
Τρίτο: γικής και Ψυχολογίας της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου
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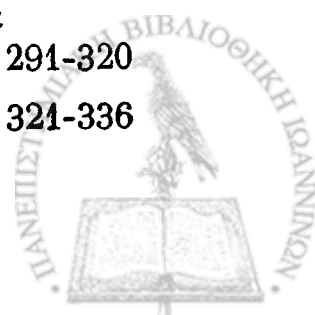
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PANAGIOTIS NOUTSOS

THE MODERN GREEK ENLIGHTENMENT:
THE DYNAMICS OF AN INTEREST IN THE THEORY
OF KNOWLEDGE

«Let us compile Greek dictionaries for every science and art, let us write down or translate the sciences and arts, and let us write our own books in Greek and let us, too, become a civilised nation, even if we come after the Poles and Hungarians».

Katartzis (1783b: 7)

It is incontrovertible that, to date, often successful efforts have been made to track down and reconstruct the access routes to the field of the theory of knowledge as this was seen as a subject by the principal representatives of the Modern Greek Enlightenment. More specifically, understanding of the dynamics of such an interest has not overlooked the task of recording conditions and implications in the sphere of metaphysics, in the inquiries of education, in the demands of ethics, in the emergence of a philosophical anthropology, in the establishment of theorems for the philosophy of history, in the propounding of a history of science as a theory of science, in clarification of the terms by which politics is engendered, and elsewhere. Certain crucial enclaves of the considerations related to this have, however, been left almost untouched, including the ramifications of physiology and anatomy, of psychology, of aesthetics, of social anthropology and of political economy. Clearly, among the desiderata is a survey of the forms of intersection among the branches of the philosophical discourse adjacent to the theory of knowledge - the traditional branches and, more importantly, the more recently-established ones.

'Prejudices' (in the sense of *praejudicia* or *préjugés*) constitute a highly privileged network - to the extent, of course, to which the

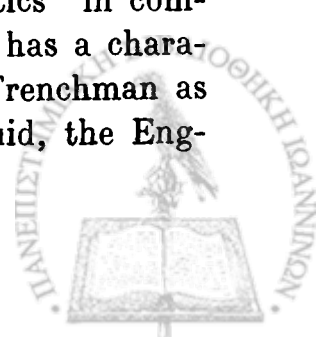


theoretical conditions for their perception can be fully codified. In other words, in what ways does the transition take place from 'must' to the specific function of the subject of knowledge, is the therapeutics proposed by the *medicina mentis* confirmed, is action accentuated as a synthesis of factors which give shape to the *actus cognoscendi*, and is everyday reality elevated to the level of the content of 'practical ideology'? Consequently, how is the individual constitution of 'identities' taken to be the action of the 'prejudices' - that is, of the patterns of behaviour that lead us to classify both ourselves and 'others'?

The same/other syzygy often takes as its unit of reference the 'people' or the 'nation'; as a result, that which is projected as its individuality is recorded as a 'character' which clearly possesses distinctive 'characteristics' in terms of the practice and tissues by which it is signified. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, 'character' was taken to be a frame for the comparison of the different 'nations' which were now making contact with one another and were defining each other by means of constantly expanding bridges of communication. The 'nation' was also used as the criterion for the development on the more modern European political scene, during the process of integration of the nation-states and their colonial eruption into the 'New World', of a precursive crystallisation of an 'anthropology of knowledge' (*Erkenntnisanthropologie*).

David Hume, for example, associated the "common or national character" with the establishment of a uniform "political body", utilising his analysis in order to form the identity of the subject within the collectivities which were clearly taking shape in Great Britain and against the background of the achievement of its world hegemony. 'National stereotypes' and 'national characters', take shape first and foremost on the basis of differences in language and religion. Unless intermingling takes place, two "nations" living in the same country will "preserve, during several centuries, a distinct and even opposite set of manners". And to continue the Scottish philosopher's example, "the integrity, gravity, and bravery of the Turks form an exact contrast to the deceit, levity, and cowardice of the modern Greeks" (1742: 233).

The *Encyclopédie* summed up "national characteristics" in comparative terms under the entry "Nation": "Each nation has a character of its own. It is almost proverbial to refer to the Frenchman as superficial, the Italian as jealous, the Spaniard as languid, the Eng-



glishman as malicious, the Scot as boastful, the German as drunken, the Greek as deceitful, and so on". At the beginning of this process of cultural mapping, with the reminder that the entry refers to "modern history", "nation" is defined as "the crucial quality of a people living in a specific country limited by given borders and obeying the same government" (1765:36).

It is almost always implicit that 'nation' and 'state' are conterminous: that is, that 'national characteristics' are enclosed within the structures and boundaries (the 'territory') of the form of state, and, corresponding, that the form of state is imbued with the uniformity presupposed by a sense of national community. Rousseau asserts that this is "a work of art" (and not of "nature") executed on terms of the "community of the imagination" of its members (the "état moral" or "être moral"; cf. the syzygy between "religion nationale" and "la plus parfaite société que l'on puisse imaginer") consisting of shared "moeurs", "coutumes" and "opinion". As a result, each "nation vive" has its own "manières de vivre" as well as its own form of government and, possibly, climate (1762: 424; 1755: 245; extract: 511; 1762: 469, 465, 394; 1764: 888; extract: 535).

Writing in France about the way in which Poland was governed, the 'citizen of Geneva' who preferred to live "with paradoxes rather than superstitions" (1762a: 323) noted the similarity of behaviour which emerged as a result of the economic activities of the hegemonic powers of Europe: "Today, there are no longer Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards and Englishmen, but only Europeans. All have the same tastes, the same passions, the same customs, since none of them obtains national form from any self-generated institution [...] wherever they can find money to steal or women to make their own, that is their country" (1772: 960). Faced with the uniform contraction of "state logic" (the term "ragion di stato" was proposed by G. Botero as early as 1589) and with the corresponding mentality, Rousseau, as a "cosmopolitan" who "strides over the imaginary frontiers among the nations" (1754:178), turns to "the great city of the world" which becomes «the body politic in which the law of nature is always the general good" (1755: 245).

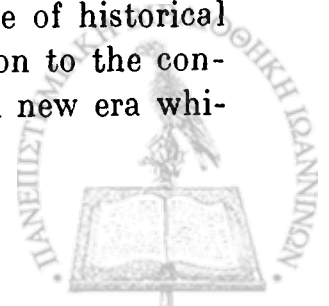
Seen in this light, the author of the *Social Contract* cannot, despite his inevitable slide into the field in which the "body politic" holds sway, be included among those who recorded the "community of the imagination" and both shaped and legitimated the learned tradition which, in its turn, proceeds in a manner directly proportio-



nal to the consolidation of the nation-state. Indeed, this was carried out as the effect of a set of factors which functioned separately and cumulatively and certainly not in the sense of a positivist counterpoise of "hyper-historical invariable entities" (Poulantzas 1978: 138). Pride of place goes to the institutions by which state power is organised and diffused through the unified territory (a monopoly on law and order, a system for collective taxes, a national unit of currency and a national market, safe transport, universal military service and a standing army, citizenship as a right and above all as a duty, etc.), in conjunction, of course, with the ideological mechanisms by which their functioning is achieved (the national language, the printed word, general education, 'public opinion', publicity, etc.).

As the eighteenth century drew to its end, those who partook of radical French education (and described themselves by the terms "homme de lettre", "philosophe", "patriote" and "citoyen", all now synonymous; Gusdorf 1971: 494) began to extend the bounds of their independence, since there was evidence of the existence of a growing public among which they could distribute their intellectual creations without significant obstacles and which permitted them to provide the regrouping bourgeois society of the period with 'services' of a similar kind. This process focused on the political institutions, and its emblem was the identification of the "third class" with the "nation" and all the achievements of its "civilisation" (the neologism introduced at about this time; Gusdorf 1971: 333-348).

Almost all the 'intellectuals' (to use the later term in which we see preserved, in the social conditions of the late nineteenth century, the Enlightenment's confidence in the omnipotence of the Logos) supported the demands of the "third class" and, with some internal diversification, represented it in the revolution of 1789 - which appeared to confirm Rousseau's view that the state was nothing more or less than a "work of art". Even for its protagonists, such as the political journalist Desmoulins, this upheaval was attributed to "philosophy, liberty and patriotism" (Roche 1969: 17), while for Koraes it was the first occasion on which "philosophy demonstrated all its strength" (1805:19). Regardless of whether these statements are correct or not and of the proximity to "the democracy of letters" ('philosophy', nonetheless, expresses the power and the leading edge of an intellectual output elevated to the status of a cause of historical change), it has to be emphasised that there is an allusion to the contribution made by "intellectuals" to the emergence of a new era whi-



ch will be interpreted on the criterion of "political logic" ("politischer Verstand"): "the state builds bourgeois society, not the reverse" (Marx 1844: 402).

The "imagined community" of Greek scholars in the period before Liberation, who were aware that they were "people of the political party" (Moisioudax 1780: 81/82), can be seen as an exercise both in self-definition and, especially, in the definition of the other. Here, too, "life forms" were internalised as a criterion for the self-recognition of subjects with the appropriation of knowledge, symbols, messages, classifications and relationships in which "otherness" is the limit of reference. In a similar way, an attempt was undertaken to deal with the "ill-usage of the nation" (Voulgaris 1766: 40) by rebutting the accusation that the Greeks were "unworthy of their ancestral nobility and glory, a nation of morons, a useless burden upon the earth" (Koraes 1802: 94, 126). More specifically, a mere "recitation" of the names of "learned Greeks" (Prokopiou 1722) or "the biographies of modern scholars" (Koumas 1818:207) was now followed by "the principle of increasing education" (in 1720, by Koumas; 1832: 555) and "the renaissance of Greece" (Coray 1803: 160; Koraes 1818: 483; *Elliniki Nomarchia* 123; Koumas 1832: 557).

With the emphasis clearly on its value for negotiation, this harvesting of names led to the promotion of Greek superiority over their conquerors and, simultaneously, on the demand for recognition of the debt owed by the Europeans to the enslaved nation, in the sense that it should "be repaid, with interest many times over, a sum in principal borrowed from its ancestors" (Coray 1803: 12). In delivering that phrase to the members of the 'Société des Observateurs de l'homme', Koraes intended at the very least to secure the 'moral' support of what were now the civilised nations of Western Europe for his fellow-countrymen, who continued to be the prisoners of 'barbarous' Ottoman tyranny. The relationship of debt also brought the enslaved Greeks closer to the civilised West, whose creations they could realistically look forward to enjoying and whose mediation they could, with good reason, expect. This was more valid as a factor in raising their morale, even after the demise of the still-born plan for a "Franco-Greek Republic", while from the angle of vision of Koraes a co-ordinated policy of the "transfusion" of radical ideas and related institutions from enlightened Europe appeared to be feasible (Hatziyakoumi-Noutsou 1988: 56-57).



Koraes had a particular respect for printing as an institutionalised form of output on the part of "intellectuals" who combined the healthiness of the theoretical mind with the effectiveness of political action. He also agreed with the expectation that politics would prove to be the science of "the governance of the political system" (1908: 945), and this was precisely the purpose of all the works in the series called the "Greek Library" and of the edition, with commentary, of Aristotle's *Politics* and *Nicomachean Ethics* in particular. When the 'Prolegomena' to the *Politics* were being written and published, an "unexpected and great uprising" had broken out in Greece, giving Koraes the opportunity to restate one of his lasting concerns: the "putting together of a new republic", the protection of whose freedom would require the constant use of "the ethical and political writers" (1821: 281). To put the matter in a nutshell, the discrete stratum of "intellectuals" was being called upon to play, from the start, its part in building the well-governed state.

It is precisely from this matrix of ideas that detailed planning of the terms for the generation and consolidation of the nation-state is drawn. In Koraes, in whom this thinking is most explicitly summarised, the model is the "enlightened nations" or the "enlightened peoples" of the West, with special reference to the French (1821: 312) and to the "English and Americans" (1823-1827: 412, 392). In this connection, the "race" is described as seeking "its political existence". In the text "Appeal by an old expatriate to the free Greeks" (1831: 364), Koraes cites the epigram "Liberté et Patrie", inscribed above the chair of the President of Switzerland, in order to draw the conclusion that the well-being of citizens depends on the framework within which the self-contained nation-state functions.

As Katartzis points out, the process by which self-catharsis develops in each case operates in the field in which symbolic differences are created, by means of "the general education of the nation" and in particular by means of "the culture of the language" - a distinct "political society". As he put it, "being, then, as we are, to some extent, a nation, and having the place we love as our homeland, we should have familiar ideas which are appropriate to us, and which are other and different from the Turkish, Italian or French ideas, and for that reason, in order to give character to our nation, a Romios Christian has to study to acquire them". The Romios hammers out the certainty that he is descended from "the marvellous Hellenes" (from "Pericles, Themistocles and other Greeks of that ilk, or



the close relatives of Theodosius and Belisarius") together with the feeling of being an individual in his own right: "he has nothing in common with them", and consequently "Hellenic and Romaic are two languages, not one" (1783: 6, 21, 23; c. 1783: 43 / 44, 46, 45; 1787: 106; 1788: 217). Of course, the statement of national identity has the effect of stimulating not only this difference from the "ancestors" but also the accentuation of the equal standing of the peoples of Europe, without the erection of 'walls of China' among them by reason of their self-existence as states.

Overall, a concern for "prejudices" (or the related terms of "prejudgements" and "perceptions") can clearly be seen emerging as a topic in the thinking of most of the representatives of the modern Greek Enlightenment; a whole host of patterns for their classification is proposed, the channel for their confirmation as the 'subsistence expenses' of knowledge involves the rejection of "innate ideas", and the question arises of the relationship between 'learned' and local traditions in the construction of identities (according to Moisioudax, there is a "festival of warring prejudgements, where ordinary people buy from the wise and where the wise borrow from ordinary people"; 1780: 95). In a similar manner, there is an enhanced role for the 'scholars' in mapping out the "national character" (Nikolopoulos 1821: 30) of the "Graikoi" or "Romioi" - at all events, of the modern Greeks who are expected to take their place in the cycle of "city - dwelling" nations or "nations with a political system and autonomy", with the "putting together of a new republic" which will protect "that which truly benefits the well-being of the people", or in other words which secures the unimpeded activities of "manufacturers", merchants and farmers (Koraes 1818: 1345). The multifaceted realia of such an anthropology of knowledge, and the manner in which they achieved coherence, are topics which still await research.



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«Συμβουλή στοὺς νέους...» [c. 1783],
«Λόγος προτρεπτικὸς» [1786],
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