

BYZANTINISM AND HELLENISM

REMARKS ON THE RACIAL ORIGIN AND THE INTELLECTUAL CONTINUITY OF THE GREEK NATION

1. Of the Balkan nations, there are still two, the Greek and Rumanian, that present some researchers with considerable doubts and dilemmas concerning their ethnological composition and their intellectual continuity throughout the centuries. So many opinions, often widely at variance, have been expressed on this subject that the relevant bibliography has become dangerously enriched even for the experienced scholar.

Without doubt, the discussions are most heated when they come to examine the relationship of the ancient Greek nation with the medieval and modern and this is because of the lively antithesis between the ever idealised grandeur of the past and the day by day routine of the present. Then, these discussions start running along a set pattern—some, you might almost say, take the form of ancient exercises in elocution and rhetoric—and their limits are very vague, since they do not systematically look towards their appointed aim, with the result that they weary both the specialist and the general reader. Indeed, how is it possible to examine these fundamental topics without a full knowledge of the relevant bibliography, a careful criticism of sources and studies on this subject, a deep understanding of the problem, and an awareness of the progress made by the historians?

The study of important historical events such as the origin of a race is not something easy, or yet something which can be accomplished in a short time. Still more difficult is the interpretation and understanding of the institutions of human societies in their development, and the study of manners and customs and the continuity of manifestations of civilisation. As Chateaubriand so aptly observes in the "Itinéraire," "Un moment suffit au peintre de passage pour crayonner un arbre, peindre une vue, dessiner une ruine: mais des années entières sont trop courtes pour étudier les moeurs des hommes et pour approfondir les sciences et les arts."¹

1. F. A. de Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, Paris, 1877, p. 3.

The understanding of intellectual phenomena presupposes not only an adequate stock of knowledge and possession of method but also a maturity of mind, since chiefly with deep personal experience are we able to stand before the remarkable historical and sociological phenomena and try to perceive the course they take in our highly complex life. The main reason we require so much time for the consideration and understanding of these phenomena is that frequently the great changes in history come about very slowly. They unfold gradually and imperceptibly, without our being aware of them. The greatest difficulty of all is in following the pattern of these phenomena through the course of the centuries. Such problems are: first the famous origin of the modern Greeks and, second, other problems bound up with this first but nonetheless still thorny and much debated. These are problems concerning the relationships and common ground between the ideas of the Ancient and Byzantine world and those of the modern Greeks.

These fundamental topics have occupied me also for many years in the course of my studies; I have tried hard to find an answer to them, first of all for myself. Then I felt the weight of these problems more forcefully, when as a lecturer in 1943, I was called upon to teach a course on the history of modern Greece. The course, in accordance with the statutes that regulate the courses at the University, had as its chronological starting point the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. So a "fait accompli" led me face to face with the necessity to connect in some way my more modern historical teaching material with the further removed sources of Byzantium and the even more remote history of Ancient Greece. My young students also were put to the test alongside with me. I realised this as I saw the lively queries written on their young faces. In some way I had to guide myself as well as my students over the vast plain with its often slippery ground and to try to tread on firm footholds. In other words I had to read with great care the vast bulk of studies relevant to the subject, to dwell for an unlimited amount of time on the topics in hand, to study them carefully and impartially, and to compare the significant elements and reach certain conclusions. I was greatly helped in this by my knowledge of the psychology of the modern Greeks. I realised, and I trust not mistakenly, that in our generation at least, most Greeks are moved to study their national history not because of a preoccupation with ancestor worship, or out of simple curiosity, but chiefly from a desire for self-knowledge, which is acquired mainly through a full knowledge of the past. Modern Greeks like many other races are today more positive and down to earth. So I also had to give an answer to these two problems, and this answer was given in the first volume of my "History of Modern Hellenism" where I

tried, systematically and objectively, as far as is humanly possible, to develop my points of view.² It appears that Cyril Mango did not know my study, when he prepared his inaugural lecture, in the Koraes Chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine Language and Literature at King's College, London, where he examines the subject of the relationship between the Byzantine and the Modern Greeks.³ Probably, however, he knew it but he dealt with it in one stroke of the pen, lumping it together with the general Greek bibliography:

Indeed, it would be fair to say that the overall picture of Hellenism through the ages, as drawn by Paparrigopoulos, has prevailed in Greece until now, and that most subsequent investigations, whether in pure history, folklore, literature or language, have taken it for granted.⁴

In spite of this, if he had read my book he would have been perhaps persuaded that many fundamental problems, often vital and grave for Hellenism, are treated there with courage. Truth and historical evidence were the only guide in their treatment.

There exist concentrated here, I believe, even if not written with great humour and fineness of language, many positive elements, which would have aided him in his research. My main concern was the problem of the origin of the Modern Greeks and I want to believe that I have discussed and advanced it boldly. Moreover, the remarkable fact is that my ideas did not provoke my fellow Greeks, proof that they are not obsessed by ancestor worship but by the desire to learn what they are and through what stages of historical development they have passed. There I spoke of foreign colonization and noted the importance mainly of the Albanian colonizations.

2. Even though Mango does not discuss the question of the origin of the Greeks, since he believes that the subject has been ably covered by his predecessor Jenkins,⁵ I myself would like, with the opportunity offered me in this article, to cite certain of my own observations or the evidence of other responsible experts. Moreover I would like to bring to mind the establishments of Roman colonies in various parts of the Greek territory, in Epirus⁶ and Ma-

2. *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ* (History of Modern Hellenism) A' (Thessaloniki, 1961).

3. Cyril Mango, Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 28(1965) 29-43.

4. *Op. cit.* 41.

5. R. Jenkins, *Byzantium and Byzantinism*, Cincinnati, 1963.

6. See Theod. Ch. Sarikakis, "Συμβολή εις την ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἠπείρου κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς κυριαρχίας" (Contribution to the History of Epirus in the Years of the Roman Rule) *AE* 1964, pp. 106, 112 ff.

cedonia (Philippi, Dion, Pella ⁷ etc.), facts which are often forgotten. At that time, however, the Greek language and the Greek population being by far more numerous gradually absorbed the Roman colonists. Thus, the families even of important Roman colonists became Hellenized and from the third century A.D. the Greek language was used even in official documents, appointments, honorary inscriptions etc. written in honour of the Romans themselves or written at their orders. In the numerically more populous and cordial environment of the Greek lands the foreigners were gradually assimilated. This same phenomenon can be observed after 1204 in the Frankish controlled territories of the Ionian Islands, Crete, the Peloponnese and the Cyclades.

No one would dispute the fact that both anthropologically and culturally (with the meaning here of folk civilization) the Modern Greeks are nearer to the Byzantines than to the Ancient Greeks. And of course this is reasonable. It is the meaning of development and the basic meaning of history which forces us to accept this truth unreservedly whether we like it or not. In any case, even after the period of heated discussions that sprang up among the experts after the theory of Fallmerayer was attacked in the nineteenth century, there were still Greeks, who had no different opinion. For example the erudite Georgios Tertsetis of the post-revolution era wrote that: "Last year and the year before are closer kin to us than centuries long since passed."

Despite all this, despite its changes through the centuries the ancient Greek anthropological nucleus has remained. Of course the work of the historian and the anthropologist is not easy. It is, today at least, ridiculous that we should want to assign the contents of Greek veins and arteries into drops of ancient Greek blood. Fallmerayer stated that not one drop exists. That is his prerogative. At any rate this type of generalisation is naive and groundless if nothing else.

It is, however, worthy of note that Count de Gobineau, the founder of the racial theory, does not refute the existence of this ancient Greek nucleus in modern Greeks, even if he states somewhat vaguely and confusedly his ideas, which are based only on general information. In particular this philosopher of racial theory, who stresses the intercourse of the Greeks with various races from ancient to modern times, sees this intermingling, this "eclecticism," as he calls it, as the oldest in history. And he goes on to say :

7. See D. Kanatsoulis, "Ἡ Μακεδονικὴ πόλις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμφανίσεώς της μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τοῦ Μ. Κωνσταντίνου" (The Macedonian City from its Origins to the time of Constantine the Great) *Μακεδονικά* 6 (1964-1965), p. 21 ff.

C' est aussi, à sa façon, une négation absolue des anciens particularismes; il a remplacé et Athènes et Sparte et leur esprit; il a remplacé la Lydie, la Phrygie, tous les nombreux royaumes dont l' union fit l' état immense des Séleucides ou celui des Ptolémées; il a pris de toutes les nations auxquelles il s' est substitué et il a effacé avec succès toutes leurs différences en gardant quelque chose de la nature de toutes; le sang grec contient une grande proportion de parties illyriennes, car l' élément albanais joue un grand rôle dans sa formation. Il n' a pas peu de parties antiques, car les populations syriennes et chananéennes se sont déversées dans son sein; la Thrace lui a donné pendant des siècles de précieux et énergiques apports de ses colonisations germaniques; aux différents moments où ces infiltrations ont eu lieu, elles se sont réunies dans le sein d' une combinaison très puissante déjà qui ne s' est laissé absorber par aucune d' elles et qui les a absorbées elle-même, sans cependant rejeter tout ce qu' elles pouvaient lui apporter de fort et d' utile et, de la sorte, s' est manifesté un métal très composite, mais très résistant et qui, tel qu' il est, et n' offrant en soi rien d' absolument original puisqu' il dérivait de la suppression de toutes les originalités antiques, n' en constitue pas moins, à l' heure actuelle, à l' égard des races asiatiques soit nouvellement arrivées du Nord, soit demeurées dans leur ancien état de pureté relative, et vis-à-vis des agglomérations européennes, latines, germaniques ou autres, un amalgame très particulier, doué d' une grande souplesse, fort peu disposé à se laisser absorber à son tour, repoussant, avec la même énergie que le peuvent faire les races pures, toute nouvelle fusion avec n' importe qui et représentant en un mot, avec une confiance, une sécurité, un orgueil implacable, ce qui a tout le droit imaginable à se qualifier du mot de nationalité.⁸

From the time of Gobineau many opinions and divergent points of view have been expressed, as many in support of Fallmerayer's theory as in support of the opposite point of view. Frequently the first were not detached from the political orientations, the sympathies and the prejudices of the scholars who supported them. Indeed, for the period immediately preceding the Second World War and also throughout the course of it—a time when in Germanic countries speculations on the superiority of the Arian race were at their

8. Le Comte de Gobineau, *Deux études sur la Grèce moderne. Capodistrias - Le Royaume des Hellènes*, Paris, 1905, pp. 244-246.

zenith — Fallmerayer came again to the forefront, since the racists asserted that the Greeks had been very deeply influenced by their successive intermingling with other races. It is also worthy of note that in the Soviet Union in post-war years a swing towards this theory was observed in historians who stressed in particular the Slavic influences.⁹ It is not difficult to make out the reason for this. One only has to consider what Albania could do in this particular case if she were large, wealthy and powerful enough, since her ethnological traces are localised and continue to exist in the southern area of modern Greece, even if they have become completely Hellenized by now.

If, then, it is possible in our time for serious opposition to be asserted concerning the greater or lesser racial relation of the Modern Greeks with the Ancient Greeks, one can calculate how difficult becomes the problem of the racial and spiritual relationships of the Rumanians with the ancient Dacians, from whom they took neither the language nor the wealth of the folk intellectual heritage, whereas the Greeks in fact did. Indeed the problem of the Rumanians is much more complex and confused than that of the Greeks, when one considers the long stay and the various intercourses between peoples and tribes that took place in Dacia on that great road travelled by streams of emigrants after the Roman conquest (105-106 A.D.). However, whereas once there were some who supported the theory of the Roman origin of the Rumanians, no contemporary Rumanian or even foreign historian has any doubt that the origin of the Rumanian nation belongs to the pre-Roman era, that there exists a large nucleus in the modern Rumanian nation and that the archaeological discoveries speak clearly on the subject of the continuity of the Daco-Roman population north of the Danube and of its numerical superiority in the face of other foreign tribes.¹⁰ And this opinion is highly probable since anthropological changes are not simple, neither do races die out easily.

With regard to this, the French anthropologist, Eug. Pittard, in his book, "Les Races et l' Histoire," wrote:

Certains historiens ont trop facilement répandu cette notion — elle est, grâce à eux, devenue, hélas! une proposition courante, — que les conquêtes ont été suivies de transformation ethniques. Bien d'autres personnes, parmi celles qu' on ne pouvait guère imaginer, ont collaboré à cette erreur. Certains vaincus, flattés que leurs ancêtres

9. A. A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950, pp. 303, 304 for more recent historical bibliography.

10. See the last edition of the Rumanian Academy: C. Daicoviciu - Em. Petrovici - Ch. Stefan, *Die Entstehung des rumänischen Volks und der rumänischen Sprache*, Bucarest, 1964.

aient été la proie de tels ou tels conquérants, rendus célèbres par l' Histoire, ont trop volontiers accepté d' avoir été, par cette conquête, modifiés anthropologiquement! Les victoires romaines n' ont-elles pas laissé croire aux gens simples que Rome avait peuplé, de ses soldats, tous les pays conquis? Et ne voit-on pas aujourd' hui des politiciens, ou des littérateurs, souvent par le seul amour des périodes pompeuses, souvent pour des raisons plus profondes, — des raisons romaines, — parer leurs pays respectifs de telles fausses étiquettes? Voyez ce qui s' est passé en Roumanie, où le dernier des pâtres, parce qu' il parle une langue dérivée du latin, ou parce qu' il se rappelle que ses aïeux furent vaincus par Rome (cette victoire ne fut pas facile, certes, et il y aurait lieu d' être fier de l' admirable résistance des Daces), s' imagine qu' il a, dans les veines, le plus pur sang de Trajan! ¹¹

I believe that, particularly in the case of Greece, the meaning and influence of the invasions and colonizations of foreign tribes have been unduly stressed. Factors in anthropogeography and anthropology, as well as the conclusions we have come to, even from these final invasions, indicate that foreign tribes in comparison with the local ones, were always in a numerical minority. The same French anthropologist, Eug. Pittard, towards the end of his book reiterated the following many times:

Maintes fois, au cours de cet ouvrage, nous avons soutenu cette opinion, que nous nous faisons, presque toujours, une fausse idée de la valeur anthropologique des invasions. Les irruptions guerrières, surtout dans ces périodes lointaines et dans ces lieux, où les voies de communications ne pouvaient que difficilement assurer les arrières, n' ont pu être accomplies que par de petits contingents. Leur faiblesse numérique même assurait leurs déplacements rapides, c' est-à-dire leurs succès. La mainmise sur un pays devait avoir bien davantage le caractère d' une conquête administrative que d' un recouvrement ethnique. Les populations subjuguées restaient en place et acceptaient les lois des vainqueurs; et ainsi, les caractéristiques anthropologiques de la région conquise ne devaient pas se modifier beaucoup. ¹²

Not wishing as a Greek to resort to the specialist studies of Greek an-

11. Eug. Pittard, *Les Races et l' Histoire*, Paris, 1924, p. 12, 13.

12. Pittard, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

thropologists, of Ioannis Koumaris¹³ and Aris Poulianos¹⁴ (the last scholar to rely on the numerous counts and examinations of Greeks from various localities, and on methodological principals of the Soviet school of anthropology), who support the racial continuity of the Greek nation, I cite the deductions of anthropogeography and refer to the opinion of the French anthropogeographer, F. Braudel, who writes as follows:

Il est vrai que les envahisseurs ont toujours été en petit nombre. Quoi qu' on en ait dit et écrit parfois . . . Que ce soient les slaves blonds qui campent en Grèce à l' époque de Justinien, les captifs russes, polonais ou hongrois dont la descente silencieuse peuple Constantinople au XVI^e siècle . . . il est facile de voir combien ils ont été rapidement ou éliminés et renvoyés dans leur pays d' origine, ou bien submergés et absorbés: le climat, la malaria, quand ce n' est pas le vin à lui seul, ont eu aisément raison de ces étrangers, jamais bien adaptées à la dure vie méditerranéenne.¹⁵

If there exists any notable foreign colonization in certain Greek territories it is the colonization of the Albanians. However, even the approximately 10.000 Albanians or Albanian Vlachs, who went down to the Peloponnese around the end of the 14th century, were still a minority, even if an important one, among the majority of the Greek inhabitants, not only of the local Greeks but of others too from beyond the Isthmus, who, terrified by the Turkish storm, which was coming ever closer, rushed to find asylum in the great southern Greek Peninsula.¹⁶ And one proof of their minority was their gradual assimilation into the neighbouring Greek population. Of course the linguistic assimilation, in particular, took much longer time, if one considers that up to the present in certain villages the mother tongue is still preserved.

Then again if the Slavic minority in Thessaly and in other southern Greek territories was so important, how is it that the very slight traces of it were very quickly assimilated and absorbed?

Speaking above of the Peloponnese as a refuge, I would like—especially with regard to the Greek territories—to stress the importance of the mountainous formation of the country and the role that her many and various refu-

13. I. Koumaris, "Le caractère autochtone du Peuple Grec," *Cahiers Ligures de Pré-histoire et d'Archéologie* 10(1961) 212-219, for relevant bibliography.

14. Aris Poulianos, *Ἡ προέλευση τῶν Ἑλλήνων* (The Origin of the Greeks), Athens, 1960.

15. F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris, 1949, p. 185. See also Eug. Pittard, *Les Races*, pp. 12-13, 517.

16. Ap. Vacalopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 29 ff.

ges played, the settlements in inaccessible positions, the mountain plains, the woods, the caves, and in particular, the peninsulas and the islands—even if I pass over in silence the remote Byzantine fortresses. Characteristic, for instance, is the information we are given by the reliable,¹⁷ anonymous author of the life of the young Saint Luke, when he relates the events of the invasion of Symeon, the Tsar of the Bulgarians, into mainland Greece and the scattering of the inhabitants of Phokis to the towns: "From here some shut themselves up in the fortified towns and others found refuge in Euboia and the Peloponnese."¹⁸

A striking example is Chalkidike, which, because of its mountain masses remained outside the current of the invasions and the colonizations of the Slavs. In connection with this, let us here observe that until the end of the 18th century the oral tradition preserved the story that the mountain plain of what is today Arnæa was very thickly populated during the time of the Bulgarian invasions.¹⁹ Also it is highly probable that the high mountains of southern Macedonia, Pieria and Vermion, were refuges for the Greek population during the period of the Slavic invasions.²⁰ But the Greek population was not uprooted in all areas from the plains. When the storm had passed, they returned to their homes. The mass of ancient place-names bears witness to the Greekness of these areas.²¹

The opportunities that the geological formation of the Greek territories presented for refuge, safety and isolation were exactly the factors that preserved the natural characteristics of the people—especially in prehistoric, ancient and medieval times. This factor of isolation has not been observed or paid as much attention as it deserved by the historians. Of its role, the father of French anthropogeography, Vidal de la Blache, observed:

L'isolement est la condition nécessaire de ce que nous appelons des races. S'il ne crée pas la différenciation, on peut affirmer du moins qu'il contribue à la maintenir. C'est seulement avec son

17. G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Grèce aux VIII^e, IX^e et X^e siècles," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) p. 331.

18. See G. Kremou, *Φωκικά* (Concerning Phokis), Athens, 1874, vol. 1, p. 38. See also pp. 148, 165.

19. M. E. M. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, Paris, 1831, vol. 2, p. 140.

20. See Cousinéry, *op. cit.* vol. 1, p. 53. See first p. 68. This retreat took on wider bounds and a more stable character in the time of the Turkish occupation.

21. See Stilp. Kyriakidis, *Θεσσαλονίκια μελετήματα* (Thessalonikan Studies), Thessaloniki, 1939, pp. 9, 11, 12, 15.

concours que des caractères physiques spécialisés ont pu se constituer, se transmettre et durer à travers les mélanges ultérieurs.²²

3. Now let us take up my other topic; the intellectual continuity of the Greek nation. Mango notes and underlines in particular the secret or rather mystical forces, which are at work in the Byzantine Empire, and he considers them to be fundamental elements in the substance of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine world. In connection with this he refers to the works of various scholars, who have studied the doctrine of eschatology in Byzantium. He himself stresses its importance, which has not yet been justly valued, as he so rightly observes.

Mango is one of the few who have worked with success in this field. And as his study, "The Legend of Leo The Wise"²³ bears witness, he could have filled this lacuna in scholarship. However, I do not agree that these mystical ideas are the only substantial elements of the Byzantine world so as to permit him the categorical statement — in disagreement with J. B. Bury and the other Byzantinologists: "Byzantinism, on this definition and it is, I think, a fair one, was much more biblical than Greek."²⁴

It is very natural for scholars to overestimate the importance of the subject, with which they have been occupied for many years, for this has gradually become so much a part of them, so much their own that it finally enslaves their entire interests. Moreover, many scholars consider that the importance of their subject has been underestimated or slighted. I fear that Mango has not entirely managed to avoid this danger.

The importance of the secret or mystical forces I have myself noted and have dedicated to these a not inconsiderable number of pages in the first volume of my History, where I speak of the theocratic theories in connection with the interpretation of the decline of the Greek nation, of the breakdown of the Christian faith and of the revival of the eschatological teaching,²⁵ elements which Mango did not have to hand, or which he did not take into account. In the relevant chapters I tried to get under the skin of the psychology of the people and the masses, particularly of the religious groups, who are frequent-

22. Vidal de la Blache, *Principes de Géographie Humaine*, publ. Emmanuel de Martonne, Paris, 1948, p. 277.

23. Cyril Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise." *Zbornik Radova* of the Institut of Byzantine Studies of Belgrade, vol. 65 (1960), n. 6, pp. 59-93.

24. Mango *op. cit.*, p. 31.

25. Vacalopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-144.

ly roused and are vital factors in the Byzantine society. With the study of these forces it is possible to unearth, between the lines of theological texts, interesting elements concerning the grave problems of the people of that time and their agonising attempts to come face to face with these problems.

It is true that these theocratic opinions survived even to more recent years. Their representative in the years of the Greek revolution of 1821 was Ambrosios Phrantzes.²⁶ One still hears old men today saying, "the Lord knows them by their sins," which is none other than the basic precept of the theocratic theory which held sway in the Middle Ages.

Are we to say then that the mystical and eschatological theories are the only ones that form the substance of the link between Byzantium and the modern Greek world? And are these ideas characteristic of Byzantium only? At this same period were not the people of western Europe imbued with the same theories? And if this is so, were these ideas the most important constituents in the civilization of the West? I believe that the folk mentality in Greece, even if we isolate it from the learned and written tradition, is multifarious and many-sided and it has important and various ramifications and projections. Some of these belong very strongly to the past and reach back to ancient times. One may find didactic examples of this truth in the book of J. L. Lawson.²⁷

Indeed, if one observes with a critical eye the manifestations of popular modern day life in comparison with that of the past, one could discover many survivals of ancient conditions, customs, manners, etc., a sort of historical fossils one might say, which help us not only to understand contemporary reality but to perceive it in its development from the past to the present and vice versa.²⁸ I leave aside here the probably external intellectual similarities in general, and the various manifestations of the life of the Ancient, Byzantine and Modern Greeks that many foreign travellers to Greece and Philhellenes believed in, and came to fight at her side in the great revolution of 1821.

Even the Greek language itself, not only the common language, but the dialects too, form links, which bear witness to this intellectual continuity. For they preserve not only place-names but various words, denotations of

26. Ambrosios Phrantzes, *Ἐπιτομή τῆς Ἱστορίας τῆς ἀναγεννηθείσης Ἑλλάδος* (Summary of the History of the Rebirth of Greece), Athens, 1839-1841, vols. 1-4.

27. *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*. 2nd ed. New York, 1964.

28. See f. i. in D. A. Petropoulos, "Θεοκρίτου εἰδύλλια ὑπὸ λαογραφικὴν ἔποψιν ἐρμηνεύόμενα" (Theocritus' Idylls interpreted from a folklore view point). *Λαογραφία* 18 (1959) 5-94.

objects or even proverbial phrases. Some of the demotic songs also have an important influence, the ballads as well as the Akritic songs which have survived in certain parts of Greece. Moreover, certain klephtic songs with Akritic elements interwoven with newer types, the substance of the modern era, make up a certain link with the folk medieval civilization. And other examples which I shall present below, prove I think, that Byzantium was not "biblical" but Greek, at least in substance.

This intellectual link with the past can also be attributed to art. Well known are the works of the Greek and foreign art historians who studied the cultural awakening in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and recognised survivals of ancient Greek cultural elements (of classical and Hellenistic representations and forms), which from the far off past have not ceased to inherit from each other from generation to generation in popular artistic circles. Sometimes they continue to prevail in artistic life and in other cases they retreat and enter a second destiny. Characteristic are the deductions of Kurt Weitzmann, particularly those which are referred to in his studies of the illuminated manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The miniatures in the manuscript of Pseudo-Oppianos have particular value.²⁹ In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we observe a large use of ancient Greek elements in literature also.

We must also keep in mind the following facts, which give us an idea of the position held by the monasteries not only as centres of ascetic isolation and study of theological texts, but also as manuscript factories, as it were, and as study centres of the intellectual treasures of ancient Greece. Already in the first volume of my *History* I have referred to the fact that in the libraries of the monasteries there were many ancient Greek texts available to scholars interested in classical learning. Cedrenus, speaking of the renowned Leon the Mathematician (ninth century), writes that when he had heard rhetoric, philosophy and mathematics from the philosopher Michael Psellos the elder, the pupil of Photius, he afterwards went round the monasteries and explored their libraries looking for the relevant books. "And finding and studying diligently" Cedrenus says "he raised himself to this point of learning."³⁰ Let me note too the efforts of the Lascarids to collect manuscripts "of all the arts and sciences," to set up public libraries³¹ and schools of higher edu-

29. K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, Princeton, 1951.

30. Kedrenos, Bonn edition, 2 p. 170.

31. K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* (Medieval Library), Venice, 1894, vol. 7, pp. 507, 535-536.

cation.³² What importance have all these facts? Did their echo not sound among the people? However, let me pass over these various pieces of information of which Mango was unaware and let me come to a piece of information provided by the learned cleric of the Empire of Nicaea Nikephoros Blemmydes. It refers to remote areas of Epirus and Western Thessaly. There (and he will chiefly have in mind the monasteries) he saw and studied, *in situ*, many manuscripts. Indeed with admiration he observes that the books were hard to count and hard to come by and some were unknown even to many who had dedicated their entire lives to studies.³³ Thus it is explained how in a similar remote monastery in S. W. Macedonia, in the monastery of Hosios Nikanor, opposite N. W. Thessaly, was recently found, together with other manuscripts, the entire text of the lexicon of Photius—an event which caused a great stir in the literary world. After all this what conclusion is one to come to about the monasteries? That they were merely places for the copying and the study of manuscripts of biblical and Christian learning or that they also were the door through which ancient Greek learning was transmitted?

Do not these tendencies of artists and scholars to approach ancient models, to enter deeper into the substance of the ancient world, make up a unified line or a conservative tradition that bears witness to the survival of intellectual elements? These survivals do not of course make up the entire civilization of the ancients—and no one would want to uphold this theory—and nor indeed would it be possible for this civilization to be preserved, because the various changes, the new situations and necessities that occur from year to year and from era to era, in their turn change the society and the heritage of even the most vital past. Then let us not forget the vast—even immeasurable at certain points—melting pots set boiling by Christianity and by the emigration of the peoples.

Of course ancient Greek literature did not offer a lesson to all younger generations of both clerics and laymen, nor was this phenomenon apparent in all areas. The number of classical scholars was relatively small but the observation that, the classical tradition “had no impact on the people,” as Mango asserts,³⁴ is an exaggeration that has no foundation. In all places and always even in our times, scholars and artists are in a minority. The people however

32. See details in I. Papadopoulos, *Théodore II Lascaris, Empereur de Nicée*, Paris 1908. See also N. Festa, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistolae CCXLII*, Florence, 1898, p. 272.

33. Nikephoros Blemmydes, ed. A. Heisenberg, Leipzig, 1896, p. 36.

34. Mango, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

accept their influences whether they be important or not greatly significant. Of course, in our times conditions are different and means of influence which military, political and intellectual leaders have on the people are incomparably greater and more drastic than ever before. In spite of all this — particularly at moments of crisis or upheaval, when the irritation of the masses was at its height and it was therefore highly susceptible to influences — there existed a wide margin for leaders to guide the people with their ideas, their opinions and their acts. Did not the various gatherings outside churches, in communities, in trade unions or military barracks, create places where famous men could influence others and give voice to their opinions? Were these ideas kept closed in by a great and impassable barrier? The study of history proves that exactly the opposite was true.³⁵

Particularly on the subject of the survival of the ancient intellectual heritage, of the influences of the Byzantine scholars on the people and even the peasants, and their contribution to science and letters, Mango could have drawn out didactic facts from the work of H. Hunger, "Von Wissenschaft und Kunst der frühen Palaiologenzeit." *JÖBG*. 8 (1959) 123-155., where he speaks of the services offered not only by the humanities but also by the sciences in Byzantium in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. From a quotation of Theodorus Metochites, that Hunger gives, we learn that Nicaea, that illustrious focal point of learning shone its rays even on the villages. "For the teaching of this place excels outside and holds sway and trains people from afar. And in this way even the peasants gain wisdom."³⁶ That is to say, the text confirms (one might almost say by a strange coincidence) the very fact that Mango refutes. Even if there is much exaggeration in this text there must exist some truth. And it shows by analogy what must have been happening in other Greek centres, that is to say what influence the scholars could have had not only on the towns but also on the villages. From this brilliant article of Hunger we also realize that during this age there blew a new wind and a new spirit which characterizes the mentality of Byzantine scholars. Of the Byzantine literary scholars four stand out especially; two in Constantinople, Maximos Planoudes and Manuel Moschopoulos, and two in Thessaloniki, Thomas Magistrus and Demetrius Triclinius. Especially these last two, and most of all, Triclinius the most significant of all, are not inspired by a spirit of scholasticism and verbosity. They laid the foundations

35. See examples of the influence of scholars on the people in O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique au XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1913, pp. 157-161.

36. Hunger, "Von Wissenschaft . . .", *JÖBG* 8 (1959) 137.

of textual criticism, something which happened very later on. In particular when Triclinius wants to publish a text he does not rely on one manuscript alone but on the divergent readings of many. If these scholars were dry and pedantic how can we explain the fact that contemporary foreign scholars — I leave aside Greeks since they could possibly be accused of ancestor worship — express admiration for them? And they admire them not only for their method but also for their sharp critical mind. The great Wilamowitz himself wrote of Triclinius, "D. T. ist in Wahrheit eher als der erste moderne Tragikerkritiker zu führen."³⁷ Well is this movement "an upswing, as Mango says³⁸ — not a renaissance — of classical scholarship and even of scholastic science?" And what was the corresponding movement at that time in Europe?

The positive sciences too, as Hunger himself informs us, have their own representatives to show. They published certain works in astronomy and disseminated the knowledge of the Greeks.³⁹ I do not intend to enumerate these men of learning here and in any case Hunger has dedicated a considerable number of pages to them in his work. I would like to mention only one of them, who expresses the spirit of his age and also the signs which prophesy the downfall of the Byzantine world; this man is Theodoros Metochites.⁴⁰ In spite of the fact that he is imbued with the ideas of ancient Greek authors he nonetheless is disturbed at the same time by an internal crisis which shatters his faith in the unique position of the ancient Greek civilization in humanity, and shatters also his faith in learning.⁴¹ This same crisis disturbed Cydones a century later. Metochites is the offspring of his tragic era. He combines within himself the intellectual tradition of ancient Greece with the idea of the instability of human affairs as he sees them unfolding before his eyes. Thus perhaps we can find an explanation for the belief of Metochites as of many of his successors, in the ancient goddess Fate, a belief which does not even stop at the acceptance of destiny or even fatalism itself,⁴² a belief which it seems has never ceased to exist in both the Greek nation and in every other nation on earth from ancient times up to the present day. This phenomenon is very human, not only in Byzantium, and it suffers ups and

37. Hunger, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-157.

38. Mango, *op. cit.*, *Hellenism*, p. 33.

39. Hunger, *op. cit.* 148-151.

40. For Metochites see H. Hunger, "Theodoros Metochitis als Vorläufer des Humanismus in Byzanz," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 45 (1952) 1 ff.

41. H. G. Beck, *Theodoros Methochitis*, München, 1952, pp. 92-95. See also p. 116.

42. Beck, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-114. See also H. Hunger, "Der Ethnikos des Theodoros Metochites," *Παράγωμα Ἐ' Διεθνούς Βυζαντιν. Συνεδρίου*, Athens 1958, vol. 3, p. 157.

downs in intensity according to times and situations. Metochites is sensitive to and aware of the confusions caused by the constant change of human conditions, as this change appeared and developed with speedy and disturbing rhythm in his own age. This topic of the instability of human affairs is often on the lips of the scholars of the last years of Byzantium, and naturally they feel it most forcefully since they find themselves in the position to follow the events and to mourn day by day the decline of the once powerful empire. So, characteristically in Metochites we see the coexistence of the rationalistic and the fatalistic element. The man who at forty three years of age felt a strong need to study the works of Theon, Ptolemaeus and Euclid etc. and the need to become initiated in mathematics in order to study in a positive way the celestial phenomena was then taken possession of by the spirit of mysticism. So we see the ancient Greek intellect going together with the mysticism of the disillusioned, late medieval man.

Metochites himself, speaking of the role of Nicaea in the intellectual development of Byzantium, writes in his work "Nicaeus" that this capital "preserved seeds of a later revival,"⁴³ that is to say, it was a "store house,"⁴⁴ exactly as he says, of the elements of a great civilizing heritage, elements which afterwards came alive again in the favourable environment of the new empire and brought forth well known and mature intellectual fruits. This phrase of Metochites gives us to understand, as well, the character of the so called "renaissance" in the time of the Palaeologi. Of course no one today can uphold the idea that it was a real intellectual or artistic revival but it was a great contribution and a serious revival of ancient Greek studies and art. Mango writes on this subject :

I know that a few Byzantine intellectuals, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the extinction of their state was clearly imminent, were forced to doubt the traditional views. But these were isolated. The opinion has often been expressed that as the Byzantine world fell apart, so Hellenism was reborn. The proportion of truth contained in this view seems to be rather slight. It is a fact that starting in the twelfth century, but more particularly after the occupation of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, certain Byzantine authors took pleasure in calling themselves Hellenes;⁴⁵

43. K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1, p. 151.

44. Sathas, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 152.

45. Mango, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

Why however are Byzantine authors pleased to call themselves Greeks? Mango does not explain this for us. Since I myself am reckoned among those historians who are of the opinion that in this era Hellenism was reborn, and who do not consider this truth to be "restricted," I am bound to give a reply, even though I have spoken at length on this subject in the first volume of my History.

This movement has a connection with the struggles of the Greeks against the conquerors, which sharpen their differences and awaken their feeling of patriotism. Critical circumstances cultivate in the Greeks, through natural necessity, a desire to go back to the past, where they seek again famous personages to imitate; models of ethical and military virtue. So Nicaea and later Constantinople, become the great centre, intellectual and artistic, the "store house" where the seeds of ancient Greek civilization are now burgeoning. No doubt these seeds did exist in previous ages and from time to time brought forth their fruits. Otherwise how else could it have been possible for them to survive up to that time?

In these conditions the characteristic Philhellenism develops and finds its explanation, particularly in the rulers of Nicaea, and on occasions it reaches a pitch of great pathos and exaggeration. These are the same reasons that were responsible for the same phenomenon around the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth in the days before the Greek revolution of 1821. Military, political and intellectual leaders are inspired by the idea of the revival of Hellenism. It is the so-called "Great Idea" as it was named in the nineteenth century. The Great Idea must be judged impartially and objectively as a movement of ideas in its own time. Both during the years of the empire of the Lascarids as well as in the years of the Turkish occupation it was seeking for the emancipation and the unification of the enslaved Greek population. So we find an explanation for the irreconcilable conflict between the Lascarids and the Franks, a conflict which finds its epigrammatical expression in a letter of John III Ducas Vatatzes (between 1237-1241) to Pope Gregory IX, where he says:

We shall never cease fighting and warring against those who have enslaved Constantinople. For we are violating the precepts of nature, the laws of our native lands, the tombs of our forefathers and our sacred and holy institutions unless we fight with all our force on behalf of all these things. ⁴⁶

46. See I. Sakkelionos, "Ἀνέκδοτος ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Ἰωάννου Δούκα Βατάτση πρὸς τὸν πᾶπαν Γρηγόριον, ἀνευρεθεῖσα ἐν Πάτρῳ" (Unpublished letter of John Duke Vatatzes

And among the masses of the people the faith in liberation is never abandoned even in the most difficult times when one Greek city after another was being enslaved. Just as their enslavement is the Will of the Lord, so also will be their liberation. I shall pass over all the other folk manifestations and note only the feeling of the popular poet from the remote Black Sea region, to whom Mango makes some allusion. And because he was a folk poet he is obviously expressing the feelings of his fellow countrymen:

—“Don’t cry, don’t cry, Saint John, and punish yourself so harshly.”

—“But Romania’s been taken, Romania is gone.”

—“But if Romania is gone’t will bloom again and bring forth fruit.”⁴⁷

See also the same ending in the song entitled “The Dirge of the Sun”:

—“Saint John, stay patient and take consolation.”

—“The *Hellenes* are strong and flourish and bring forth new fruits.”⁴⁸

(Italics are mine).

What enslaved race does not desire or has not desired its liberation? If the Great Idea is considered as a movement of ideas with the above aims—a matter which is not the work of a historian—what then would one say of other peoples and other states, who freely and independently and full of power and wealth developed in spite of all this and cultivated till recent years their own ideas, some of which were incredibly dangerous for humanity? Let us exclude the examples of the great powers and confine ourselves only to the more insignificant. Did not Serbia have the great Yugoslavian idea and did not achieve its success with the above means in our times? These questions do not form direct or even indirect disapproval of the subjects we are discussing; they are intended to demonstrate how criticism of this kind can divert the historian from his work and bring him to complete subjectiveness.

The meaning of the Great Idea presents for many, particularly for foreigners some very obscure points, because it has not been studied systematically in the historical context which gave birth to it and nourished it for centuries on end. Also it is confused with legends and prejudices. Each person

to Pope Gregory found in Patmos). *Ἀθήναιον* 1 (1872) 369-378 (with wrong numbering). See also V. Grumel, “L’authenticité de la lettre de Jean Vatatzes, empereur de Nicée, au Pape Grégoire IX”. *Echos d’Orient* 29 (1930) 450-458.

47. P. Triantaphyllidis, *Οἱ φονιάδες, δράμα εἰς πέντε πράξεις μετὰ μακρῶν προλεγομένων περὶ Πόντου* (The Refugees, a drama in five acts with long prolegomena about the Black Sea), Athens 1870, p. 51.

48. I. Kiourtsidis, “Τραγούδια τοῦ Πόντου” (Songs of the Black Sea). *Hemerologion Dytkis Macedoniae* 4 (1935) 128.

imagines it and judges it as he himself wishes. And yet it was a shining ideal for the enslaved Greeks from 1204 until the beginning of the twentieth century. Its symbol, the two headed eagle shows how near to the people this ideal was. For this was the most beloved artistic motif of the people in the time of the Turkish occupation, and the pictorial expression of their desires for freedom. In any case there is a great need for some positive study to be carried out on this subject.

It is exactly the need for the preservation of the remnants of Byzantium and the desire for re-establishment which motivates not only Gemistos but other scholars and leaders with the result that the Greeks take measures to face the situation.

I do not believe that Gemistos' opinions were ignored by "the two Byzantine leaders," Manuel II and Theodorus II, the Despot of the Peloponnese.⁴⁹ The evidence we have at our disposal bears witness to the fact that these leaders and Constantine Palaeologus also, paid great attention to the reforming tendencies of Gemistos — and perhaps Constantine accomplished something in this direction — but they did not consider it wise to put them into practice, because they had to wrestle with the people who held power in the area, the landowners, who had great difficulty in understanding them. And the Turkish danger was so immediate that they had to be very careful in the application of radical measures, which would, without doubt, have caused disturbances in the land.⁵⁰

And now to the problem of the Greek scholars in the Renaissance, a problem which has been much discussed on all sides. The position of present day scholarship is in general as follows: the Greek scholars arrived at a suitable moment in the West, that is to say at the time when that great movement of ideas that foreshadowed the Renaissance had begun, and so they fertilised this movement with fresh seeds, the seeds of humanistic studies. These scholars were few but their contribution was great, as M. Crusius noted long ago in his *Turcograecia*,⁵¹ and as studies of more recent scholars have shown, in particular that of G. Cammelli. No Greek historian would wish to assert that these scholars were the creators of the Renaissance. It was a movement which had its roots in Italy and in the other countries of Western Europe. It developed and unfolded organically on its own ground and it would have manifested itself without the Greek scholars, but it would not have taken the form of a complete and integral intellectual movement.

49. Mango, *op. cit.*, 33.

50. For this see Vacalopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 174 ff., 229 ff.

51. M. Crusius, *Turcograeciae libri* 8, Basiliae, 1548, p. 449.

In contrast to those scholars who fled to the West, Gennadios, who was the first Ecumenical Patriarch after the fall of Constantinople, as well as several other scholars, remained in their own lands near the people. In fact, they were tragic victims of the circumstances and of the new conditions, which appeared now in terrible form. Gennadios in particular saw now reality clearly without the masks of religious fanaticism. At this point he perceived that he was a Christian but that he was also a Greek. In his "Lamentation" he weeps for the fate of the Greek race.⁵² His new reality was very harsh and for this reason he was not long in resigning. Disillusioned he, too, plunged into the mystical and eschatological ideas of the past.⁵³ The darkness which followed naturally favoured mysticism. In the midst of the unimaginably difficult conditions of slavery the idea of fatalism grew in power together with the ideas of the various mystical flights of imagination. And this of course was very natural. The illiteracy and the darkness of the Turkish occupation left the sensitive imagination of the Christian subjects of the Sultan free and created a favourable breeding ground for the birth and transmission of various legends, superstitions etc., so that in the eyes of foreigners the Greeks seemed to be the most superstitious people in the world. So we see that the defamation of the Greeks has begun already. The traveller Belon, angered by their illiteracy and the destruction of ancient manuscripts reaches the point of saying that the Greeks have become completely degenerate.⁵⁴

However, even in this darkness, the ideal of Ancient Greece never ceased to live in the souls of many Greeks — even in the souls of the clergymen, who were supposed to accept the most powerful influences of the church. Certain very famous names should not be passed over. First on the list is Nik. Sophianos (16th century), who, inspired by the glory of the ancient Greeks and with the desire to help his fellow countrymen, discovered the great importance of the living mother tongue for the awakening and the rebirth of the fallen Greek people. The indispensable tool for the use of this language must of course be its grammar. So he undertook and finished in 1534 this useful work, which remained unpublished until 1870, when it was published by Legrand, together with the translation of "The Education of Children" by Plutarch.⁵⁵

52. Gennadios Scholarios, *Ἀγῶνα* (The complete works), vol. 1, p. 285, vol. 4, p. 230.

53. *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, 184. See also p. 211, vol. 3 p. 288, 383 ff.

54. P. Belon, *Les Observations etc.*, Paris, 1553, p. 37b.

55. The book sold out so quickly that Legrand was obliged after four years to go for a second edition with the title Nic. Sophianos, *Grammaire du grec vulgaire et traduction en grec vulgaire du traité de Plutarque sur l'éducation des enfants*, publiées par E. Legrand, Paris, 1874.

He allows his deep respect and enthusiasm for the demotic language to manifest itself in his speech in Latin to Cardinal John, prince of Lorraine, where he writes that the demotic they call "vulgare" in no way is inferior to its corresponding ancestor, that is, the language used by Plato, Demosthenes and Xenophon.⁵⁶ It was his aim to help in the rebirth of the nation, taking as a starting point the intellectual treasures of its ancient ancestors, since, from whatever scholars he sought advice on "how the dreadful state of illiteracy could be corrected", they all with one voice replied that the situation would improve when the majority would be educated and begin to study and understand the texts of the ancient Greeks.

Sophianos produced also two other works, the astronomical work on the "Construction and use of the κρικωτὸς ἀστρολάβος" and the "description of Greece," with the "Maps of Greece," a geographical map, and the forerunner of the map of Regas. This contained Asia Minor, Epirus, Illyria and Dalmatia. Here again we see the Great Idea in the thick darkness of slavery, — of course outside reality but at least without pretensions.

Another scholar who should not be ignored is the Greek Simon Portios who never ceases to be a great patriot and a worshipper of the ancients, as Sophianos also was. He wrote a Grammar of the demotic language which he published in 1638 and dedicated to the all powerful Cardinal Richelieu. In his dedication he finds the appropriate moment to present the now no longer recognisable Greece kneeling as a suppliant at his feet and he expresses among other sorrows the sufferings of the enslaved:

Let it not seem strange to you if perhaps you see Greece bowed before your feet, no longer that famous Greece renowned for the writings of her ancient authors, but Greece as she is today, wretched, even rude and in some ways still wrapped in her swaddling clothes. She, I mean, who has tasted not only once the splendid benefits of your freedom, since in the hour of your good fortune she sees a brighter light and lives a more blessed life and desires to adorn you if not with rhetoric and fine phrases with the full yearning of a good heart.

Take pity, I beg you, most noble ruler on the most heartfelt allegiance and supplication of your servant Greece. Only allow her with the splendour of your glory to enjoy the light of the sun which is common to all, and as she is surrendered into your hands allow her to return again to her ancient splendour and freedom.⁵⁷

56. Sophianos, *op. cit.* p. 33.

57. Sophianos, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-14. For the authors of demotic grammars see also P.

Other clergymen also are the carriers not only of the ancient Greek ideas but also of the ideas of the Christian Byzantine world. Indeed a prominent position is held by the famous Cretan theologian Maximos Margounios (1549-1602). His frequent correspondence with distinguished personalities of Orthodoxy and the West, as well as the variety of the subjects which occupied him show his deep theological and literary knowledge.⁵⁸ Margounios is well known also as the editor of many literary and theological texts which made a great impression on Western scholars, and lent a certain splendour to the blackened name of Greece. He is one of the rare personalities of the Greek world who was distinguished both for his great ethical and intellectual talents, a broadness of outlook, a vast store of learning and a steadfast obedience to the precepts of this learning. In addition to all this he was not dogmatic and was very tolerant to the ideas of others.⁵⁹ In him as in Chrysoloras, and Bessarion, were the attributes of the harmonious conception and composition of the Greek Christian world.

Afterwards another scholar makes his appearance on the horizon, the only powerful personality who can come face to face conclusively with the critical internal and external circumstances of Orthodoxy and bring his vitality into its intellectual existence. This scholar was Meletios Pegas, (1549-1601) renowned not only for his humility and his intellect but also for his authority. He was from Candia or Megalo Castro in Crete, a student of the monk Meletios Vlastos; later he studied classical literature, philosophy and medicine in Padua.⁶⁰

The works of Meletios are dogmatic, confessions of Orthodoxy and also, as was natural at that time, belligerently against the Catholic Church. The focal point of his work is his support to the position of Orthodoxy towards the decisions of the synod of Florence. With his work, "The Orthodox Teaching," it seems, he made his greatest mark on the people and for this

Gregoriou, *Σχέσεις καθολικῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων* (Relations of the Catholics and the Orthodox), Athens, 1958, p. 270-282, 296 ff.

58. The bibliography concerning the person, his works and his letters can be found in P. Enepekides, "Der Briefwechsel des Maximos Margounios, Bischof von Kythera (1549-1602)". *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 1 (1951) 13-66. See also B. Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque*, Uppsala, 1962, pp. 285-286.

59. See Knös, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-287.

60. The chief collected bibliography on this personality is in N. Tomadakis, "Ανέκδοτοι ἐπιστολαὶ Μελετίου τοῦ Πηγᾶ πρὸς τὴν ἱερὰν μονὴν τοῦ Γδερνέττου" (Unpublished letters of Meletios Pegas to the monastery of Gdernetou). *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 5 (1951) 263 n.1. See also the new work of G. Valetas, *Μελέτιος Πηγᾶς. Χρυσόπηγή* (Meletios Pegas, Chrysopyge), Athens, 1958, pp. 12-18.

reason it was translated into the simple tongue.⁶¹ Also of interest are his many letters, published and unpublished, which need to be collected into a body and published because they are addressed not only to various important personages, kings, clergy of high rank, scholars and so forth, but also to clergy of lower rank and ordinary people of the masses; they contain a great bulk of useful information for the understanding of the social, political, religious and intellectual history of the country.⁶²

However of much greater importance are his speeches which have been preserved under the title, "A Period of Evangelical Teaching," for they exercised a great influence on the Greek people and show how indispensable for Pegas was the need to be of aid to the people and to enlighten them on the various topics which he faced every day. And the important fact was that he realised that in order to communicate with the people he had to speak the living language. This was a fact that other great contemporaries of his also realised, as for instance Jeremiah II.⁶³

The speeches of Pegas are the living, national, religious admonition of an intellectual leader to the Greek people in order to sober and encourage them. He is an enemy of luxury and insobriety, which, he maintains, paralyse the youth and lead it astray. He condemns physical and exhorts intellectual gratifications. He also condemns women who run to magicians, witches, and gipsies or who believe in various superstitions, he censures women who wear men's clothing, and so on.⁶⁴

He laments, however, over the degeneration of the Greek race, which had become a pawn of the peoples of Western Europe and of the infidels:

I too lament over the misfortune of our race and I will go on lamenting lest the heretics and infidels, who use us as a pawn in their game and who deride us should think that we do not realise our completely forsaken state and are satisfied with it.⁶⁵

He does not forget his race and he is proud of it:

You are that scorned race of the Romans, who once ruled the

61. See Tomadakis, *op. cit.*, 263-266.

62. For the codices of the speeches of M. Pegas and in particular for number 1254 Paris, which contains twenty unpublished speeches see the study of M. I. Manousakas, "Ο ὄν' ἀρ. 1254 παρισινὸς ἐλληνικὸς κώδιξ καὶ ἡ χειρόγραφος παράδοσις τῶν ὁμιλιῶν τοῦ Μελετίου Πηγᾶ" (Parisinus Gr. codex 1254 and the manuscript tradition of the speeches of Meletios Pegas). *Ἑπετηρίς Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου* 3(1951) 3-26. See also A. Nikolakis, *Μελέτιος Πηγᾶς, ὁ Κρήτης πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας, 1545-1602* (Meletios Pegas, the Cretan patriarch of Alexandria, 1545-1602), Chania, 1903, p. 76, 186 n. 2, 182 ff.

63. See Vacalopoulos, *op. cit.*, vol. B (1964) p. 259-261.

64. Valetas, *Πηγᾶς Χρυσοπηγή*, 152-153 and 305-306. 65. Valetas, *op. cit.*, 394-396.

entire universe with the power of your armies. The first kingdom of the Persians was transferred to the Egyptians, and from the Egyptians to the Macedonians, who were Greeks, your own true stock. From them it was transferred to the Romans from whom you hold it and have their name.⁶⁶

As we see from everything we have written above, this clergyman is well aware of the intellectual and national foundations, and these of course are Ancient Greece and Byzantium. Also we realise that the idea of Hellenism was not a new myth, shaped this time by the people chiefly in the second half of the eighteenth century, as Mango asserts⁶⁷ but a reality formed immediately after the capture of Constantinople.

This fact is even more clearly apparent in the works and ideas of another clergyman, Metrophanis Kritopoulos (1589-1639), from Veroia in Macedonia, who during the course of his stay in London had persuaded the famous Nikodemos Metaxas to transfer his printing press from the English capital to Constantinople. It was the first printing press to operate in Greek lands. The aim of these clergymen was the aim of all Greek scholars, that is, to bring back the light of knowledge to their enslaved country.⁶⁷ Are these ideas the expression of Hellenism in the years of the Turkish occupation or are they not?

Why should we pay attention only to the illiterate and backward clergymen, who rely only on the oracular texts and other flights of imagination (which had of course, their own role to play) and not examine this topic from its other viewpoint, that is to say, to pay attention to the inspired and advanced scholars? Was it only the illiterate and superstitious, who represented Hellenism in the years of the Turkish occupation?

Kritopoulos expected much, or rather everything to be achieved in Greece with the revival of classical studies. His respect for the Ancients is expressed in a hymn of praise to them, which he sets as a prologue to his interesting demotic grammar (dedicated to the Professor of Strassburg Bernegger), from which we learn that his contemporaries spoke exactly as we do. There he states that the Greeks were the first of all peoples to come extremely near to the truth and the first to accept the truth of the Gospel. However, the instability and the uncertainty of fate brought about the decline of this race.⁶⁸

66. Valetas, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

67. *Op. cit.*, 36.

68. See I. Karmiris, *Μητροφάνης ὁ Κριτόπουλος καὶ ἡ ἀνέκδοτος ἀλληλογραφία αὐτοῦ νῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδιδομένη* (Mitrophanis Kritopoulos and his unpublished correspondence

If Kritopoulos constantly calls his fellow "Hellenes" stupid and illiterate, he does it out of anger at their degeneration, out of sorrow, and with the intention of paining and wounding them in order to compel them to begin to correct "this mutilated and insignificant dialect" (that is the demotic) and restore its nobility and grace and its native and innate beauty and fluency.⁶⁹ His great respect for ancient Greece, makes him to see the demotic, which was full of foreign words, as an insignificant language, unlike Sophianos, who does not consider it inferior to the ancient Greek language, and makes him believe it necessary to correct it gradually with the intention of bringing it close to the ancient language again. These ideas were going to hold sway towards the end of the eighteenth century under the aegis of Koraes, and to lead to the catharsis of the language and the creation of the katharevousa. "If the Greek language has fallen into such a state it is the fault of the enslavement of the Greek people," says Kritopoulos:

What our enemies have done is to cut us off from the voice of our country by preventing Greek lessons taking place in the Greek language and by taking our books from us and hiding them. This is the reason for the destruction of the language of the present day Greeks.⁷⁰

Just as in years gone by Theodosios Zygomalas⁷¹ admired, so too does Metrophanis Kritopoulos admire the glorious acme of Greek studies in Germany and the familiarity of her people with the Greek intellect, which brings them to their identification with the ancient Greeks.⁷² His sympathies with the "splendid and most magnificent Germans," the friends "from the beginning" of the Greek race and of orthodoxy, and his inclination towards their reformatory ideas makes him think that the differences between Orthodoxy and Protestantism are few and "easily remedied" and makes him believe that their union would not be long in coming about. "Thus the Holy Spirit prophecies"⁷³ to him. So we see once more Byzantine Orthodoxy joined again with the ancient Greek intellectual heritage.

now published for the first time), Athens 1937, pp. 68,80. He cites J. Marshall, *An Eastern Patriarch in England and Germany*, London 1925, pp. 31 ff.

69. See K. I. Duovouniotis, "Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου ανέκδοτος γραμματική τῆς ἀπλῆς ἐλληνικῆς" (The Unpublished Grammar of the simple language of Metrophanis Kritopoulos). *Ἐπιστ. Ἑπετηρίς Θεολογ. Σχολ. Πανεπιστ. Ἀθηνῶν* 1 (1924) 121-122.

70. Duovouniotis, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122.

71. Duovouniotis, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

72. See Vacalopoulos, *op. cit.*, vol. B, pp. 254-255.

73. Duovouniotis, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

There are yet other Greek scholars and indeed clergymen, who do not avoid the ethnic terminologies "Hellen" and "Hellas."⁷⁴ The Greek scholar of the seventeenth century, Christophoros Angelos, entitles his work as follows: "Manual on the state of the existing Hellenes," and he signs himself as a "Hellen."⁷⁵ Even the villager Papa-Synadinos of Serres in Macedonia uses indiscriminately the ethnic terminologies, "Roman," "Hellen" and "Grecos."⁷⁶ And this phenomenon is a general one. Not a single one of these names has survived in a positive way. The fall of Constantinople put a stop to the prevalence of the term "Hellen." The Greek conscience is battling to overcome the all powerful obstacles of slavery, illiteracy and the ecclesiastical tradition, which identified the meanings "Hellen" and "National" (heathen). This in a few words was the intellectual crisis of the Greeks during the Turkish occupation.

So the state of mind of the Greek people was not Byzantine up to 1800 and even later, as Mango writes.⁷⁷ It suffices for one to take a glance at the "Helleniki Nomarchia," which was published in Italy in 1806 by the "anonymous Greek." His text is full of the ethnic term "Hellen."⁷⁸ So parallel with the Byzantine Christian tradition there exists also the Hellenic tradition.

Finally, contrary to the theme that Mango develops, "that Byzantium as a system of thought had nothing in common with the Hellenism of the nineteenth century, nor have we discovered a line leading from the one to the other,"⁷⁹ I believe that the idea of Hellenism permeates the entire duration of the Turkish occupation — perhaps extremely feebly in the early centuries — and it gains force in the time of the enlightenment of the Greeks around the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

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74. See J. Georgirenes, *A Description of the Present State of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos and Mt. Athos*. London, 1678.

75. Christ Angelos, *Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν σήμερον εὐρισκομένων Ἑλλήνων* (Manual on the State of the existing Greeks). Leipzig, 1676.

76. See P. Pennas, *Σερραϊκά Χρονικά* (Chronicles of Serres), Athens 1938, vol. 1. A' "Τὸ Χρονικὸν τῶν Σερρῶν τοῦ Παπασυνδοινοῦ μετ' εἰσαγωγικῆς μελέτης" (The Chronicle of Serres of Papasynadinos with an introductory study), pp. 1-72.

77. Mango, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

78. The Anonymous Greek, *Ἑλληνική Νομαρχία* (Helleniki Nomarchia). Italy, 1806. 2nd edition, Introduction - Study N. B. Tomadakis, Athens, 1948.

79. Mango, *op. cit.*, p. 36.