

The Greek pre-revolutionary discourse
as reflected in the periodical Ερμής ο Λόγιος (1811-1821)

The periodical Ερμής ο Λόγιος – for the sake of convenience also called Λόγιος Ερμής – appeared on a regular basis in Vienna during the decade preceding the 1821 Greek war of independence. It was established with the support of the newly founded Graecodacian or Philological Society in Bucharest. Its first editor, Anthimos Gazis, priest of the Church of St. George in Vienna, had had plans to edit a periodical since 1806¹. Adamantios Korais, too, had stressed the desirability of such a medium in the preface to volume 1 of his edition of Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives*, published in Paris in 1809: what we need, he writes, is “a political-philological newspaper, written in the spoken language”, a newspaper which gathers its material from the political and philological newspapers of the enlightened peoples in Europe as well as from reports from Greece. In order to be effective, it should be edited by a man of learning (‘φιλόσοφος’), someone who is able to choose from the European newspapers whatever is useful for Greece in its current state. In a footnote he adds that this holds true especially for the political part of the paper. According to Korais, the newspaper should appear either in Venice or in Vienna. He mentions that his friend Anthimos Gazis in Vienna would be the most suitable person for the job.²

On May 5th 1810, Ignatios, former metropolitan of Arta, had been appointed metropolitan of Hungro-Wallachia by the Russians, who at the time were in control of the Danubian Principalities. Upon arrival in Bucharest, Ignatios had set out to reorganizing and modernizing the Greek school, and on July 7th 1810 the Philological or Graecodacian Society had been founded on his initiative. Among the Society’s members were several influential intellectuals of the time: Konstantinos Vardalachos, headmaster of the Greek school in Bucharest, teachers Athanasios Vogoridis and Nicolaos Piccolos, Grigori Brâncoveanu, an influential Romanian boyar. The Society also had a number of corresponding members abroad, among whom Adamantios Korais in Paris –doctor of medicine, philologist and the key figure in the Greek language debate; corresponding members in Vienna were for instance Anthimos Gazis, Korais’ close friend Alexandros Vasileiou, Dimitrios Darvaris, headmaster of the Greek school and a prolific writer and translator, and Jernej Kopitar, librarian at

¹ *Logios Ermis* 1811, 89, n. 2: “regarding this newspaper, I first made mention of it in Venice around 1806.” Jernej Kopitar, in a review of *Logios Ermis* published in *Vaterländische Blätter*, IV, 160-62, repr. in Enepekidis 1967, 173-75, mentions that Gazis had sent a circular letter to all Greeks from Venice in 1805.

² Korais 1986, 358-59.

the *Hofbibliothek* and censor of Slavic and Greek books.³ The society's goals, published in the first issue of *Logios Ermis*, were the "awakening to the progress of learning" and the "cultivation of the newer Greek language" so that it may come "a bit closer to its mother".⁴ The Society supervised the school, financed translations of schoolbooks into Modern Greek and provided scholarships for students to study abroad. At the second meeting, which took place October 10th 1810, Ignatios states, among other things, that a philological newspaper is needed, in which each man of learning can publish his ideas. "This is what the wise man Korais advises us to do and he has wisely chosen a worthy man, archimandrite Anthimos Gazis".⁵ The members of the Society then all agreed to cover part of the printing expenses.

The first issue of *Logios Ermis* was published on January 1st 1811. The full title of the periodical was *Ερμής ο Λόγιος ή Φιλολογικαί Αγγελίαι* (Hermes the Scholar or Philological Reports). It was to appear twice a month, on the 1st and the 15th of each month, and aimed at informing and enlightening the Greek speaking public within the Ottoman Empire and in the Diaspora. Its goal was to offer "philological reports mainly with regard to knowledge of the sciences and learning, comments on the Greek Language, parallels in phrases and idioms of the new and the old [language] and the purging of the new [language]; [but also] with regard to newly-published Greek and foreign books, inasmuch as they concern Greek philology, to new inventions of the Arts and Sciences, to archaeology, geography, history, chronology, economics and other useful [subjects] that stimulate learning."⁶ From what is said here about the Modern Greek language, it becomes obvious that from the very beginning *Logios Ermis* adhered to Korais' views on the Modern Greek language. It continued to support Korais throughout its existence, against all adversaries. Without Korais, there would be no *Logios Ermis*, maybe there would be no philological newspaper at all, is how the editors put it in 1819 in an announcement concerning two new Greek periodicals appearing in Vienna and London.⁷ The editor of *Logios Ermis* did not, however, follow Korais' advice to start a political-philological periodical. From the very beginning, *Logios Ermis* does not report on political news at all. The reason for that could be that Gazis was aware of the fact that J.F. Hall, an official

³ For a complete list of members and corresponding members of the Society, see *Logios Ermis* 1811, 63-64.

⁴ *Logios Ermis* 1811, 6.

⁵ For more details on the Societies activities, see: Camariano 1968, 39-54.

⁶ *Logios Ermis* 1811, 3-4.

⁷ *Logios Ermis* 1816, 304. The new Viennese periodical is called *Kalliopi* and adheres to Korais' ideological adversary Panagiotis Kodrikas. For more details, see Koumarianou 1995, 130-39. The plans for the London based periodical *Ίρις ή τα Νυν Ελληνικά* (Iris or the Greek of Today) apparently never materialized. See Koumarianou 1995, 186-93.

censor for Modern Greek in Vienna, had already obtained a permit to publish a Greek political newspaper in 1807.⁸ This newspaper, called *Ειδήσεις διά τα Ανατολικά Μέρη* (News for the Orient) began to appear six months after *Logios Ermis*, in July 1811. As from November of that same year, Dimitrios Alexandridis, a doctor of medicine and scholar, nephew of Anthimos Gazis, became the editor. He changed the name of the newspaper to *Ελληνικός Τηλέγραφος* (Greek Telegraph), a paper which was to exist until 1836.⁹

In 1812 education was added as a field of interest and Gazis issued a warning that *Logios Ermis* was not willing to publish any more anonymous or polemical contributions.¹⁰ In fact, no polemical contributions were published in *Logios Ermis* until the end of 1813, when Gazis had left as editor. Theoklitos Farmakidis, the new editor, issued a similar warning in an announcement in 1813, stating that if a contribution were to be sent in that is valuable in itself, but contains mocking or offensive words directed against certain people, he shall remove the offensive parts and publish only the valuable bits of information.¹¹ However, in the years to follow quite a few polemical contributions with caustic comments directed against Korais' adversaries were to be published in *Logios Ermis*. In his Προκήρυξις, Farmakidis states clearly what should be the main topics treated in *Logios Ermis*: 1) topics of Ancient Greek learning: Ancient Greek history of the arts and sciences, writers, their texts, and commentaries on their texts; 2) newer topics of learning: inventions, additions, development and perfection of them by newer [scholars/scientists]. In an additional announcement in the issue of May 1st 1813, Farmakidis elaborates on the subject of education, asking for contributions on ways to improve Greek education.¹²

In the first three years of its existence (1811–1813), *Logios Ermis* appeared twice a month, each issue usually consisting of one quire (i.e. 16 pages). In April of 1813 Anthimos Gazis left Vienna and the editorship of *Logios Ermis* was taken over by Theoklitos Farmakidis, second priest at the Greek Church and an even more fanatical supporter of Korais. By then, *Logios Ermis* had serious financial problems. When the Russo-turkish war of 1806-1812 had ended, Ignatios had been forced to resign and leave Bucharest. The Philological Society, *Logios Ermis*' main financier, had ceased to exist. In an announcement published as an appendix to the issues of 1813 (dated

⁸ Laïos 1960, 115.

⁹ For a detailed description of these two newspapers, see Argyropoulou – Tambaki 1983, 1α'-μ' and Koumariou 1995, 60-83.

¹⁰ *Logios Ermis* 1812, 2.

¹¹ Προκήρυξις, dated April 1st 1813, repr. as an appendix in *Logios Ermis* 1813, 4 pp. See also: Koumariou 1969, 40-44 (notes and commentary on pp. 105-07).

¹² *Logios Ermis* 1813, 52.

April 1st 1813), Alexandros Vasileiou, Korais' good friend and an influential person within the Greek community of Vienna, states this fact, as well as the fact that the periodical has too few subscribers. He therefore calls on all readers to canvass for new subscribers; he also calls on all scholars to send in their contributions.¹³ In the two years that follow, *Logios Ermis* reaches an absolute low, with 7 issues in 1814 (114 pp.) and only one in 1815 (16 pp.). In 1814 Gazis returns temporarily, but in 1815 there seems to be no editor at all; the sole 16-page issue consists of one polemical contribution, written by Korais under the name of G. Narrenhasser, directed against his ideological adversary Neofytos Doukas. As from 1816, things begin to look up for *Logios Ermis*: It obtains new editors (Theoklitos Farmakidis and Konstantinos Kokkinakis, one of Vienna's Greek merchant-scholars) and is published in 24 issues yearly, the number of pages per year varying from 426 in 1816 to no less than 754 in 1820. In the issue of 1816, there is a statement by the editors, in which they thank all those who, in the form of gifts and new subscriptions, contributed to the continuation of *Logios Ermis*.¹⁴ In the issue of 1820, there are several references to gifts made to *Logios Ermis*, anonymously or otherwise (for instance a yearly contribution by the Prince of Moldavia and one by the metropolitan of Bucharest).¹⁵

In 1821, the year the War of Independence broke out, nine issues appeared between January and May. There is a special appendix to the issue of April 1st 1821, containing a Greek translation of an article dated March 29th, taken from the *Wiener Zeitung*, which reports on the uprising of Vladimirescu in Wallachia and Ypsilantis' march into the Danubian Principalities. It also states the official Austrian standpoint.¹⁶ The last issue, dated May 1st 1821, almost two months after Ypsilantis' march into the Danubian Principalities, but a month before his actual defeat, publishes two letters Patriarch Grigorios V of Constantinople sent to the Metropolitan of Moldavia. In these letters the Patriarch pledges allegiance to the Turkish government and fiercely condemns Ypsilantis' actions. He excommunicates him, as well as his 'accomplice' Michail Soutsos, the prince of Wallachia. The metropolitan is ordered to threaten to excommunicate whoever supports Ypsilantis movement (the patriarch even threatens to excommunicate the metropolitan should he not obey to this order) and to do everything in his power to break up the uprising.¹⁷ From the way Kokkinakis

¹³ *Logios Ermis* 1813, Appendix to the 3rd issue of *Logios Ermis*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁴ *Logios Ermis* 1816, 390-93.

¹⁵ *Logios Ermis* 1820, 29-32, 183-84, 211-12, 336-38. Interestingly, a list of subscribers in Constantinople (p. 337) contains the names of several members of the revolutionary society *Filiki Etaireia*, as pointed out by Koumariou 1995, 110.

¹⁶ *Ἰδιαιτέρον Παράρτημα εἰς τὸν 7 Ἀρ. τοῦ Α. Ερμού* 1821, repr. in *Logios Ermis* 1821, 4 pp.

¹⁷ *Logios Ermis* 1821, 303-05 and 305-10. The second letter is signed by the permanent, standing Synod, consisting of the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem and all metropolitans.

introduces the two letters of excommunication, it is quite obvious he was forced to publish them: “I was asked to accept the following special appendix to issue 9 of *Logios Ermis*.” After this, Kokkinakis, sole editor since 1820, discontinued the publication of *Logios Ermis*. He was imprisoned in Austria on suspicion of collaboration with the revolutionaries.¹⁸

The periodical *Logios Ermis* is considered to be the most important periodical of the pre-Revolutionary period. It contains contributions by key scholars and intellectuals of the period of awakening Greek nationalism. The present paper is concerned with the contents of *Logios Ermis*. In other words: which subjects are dominant in the Greek pre-revolutionary intellectual discourse and from which perspective or angle are they presented?¹⁹

Logios Ermis appeared regularly over a period of ten and a half years. All volumes cover 5131 pages with texts on various subjects. The material consists of 918 contributions, which each fall into one or more of the following categories²⁰:

bibliography
 education
 society
 philology
 sciences & medicine
 language & polemics
 history
 literature
 periodicals/newspapers
 archaeology

¹⁸ Enepekidis 1967, 68. Kokkinakis was imprisoned along with Konstantinos Koumas, Theodoros Manousis and a member of the *Filiki Etaireia* named Pantaleon Vlastos. Judging from a report to Sedlnitzky, the chief of the secret police, on Kokkinakis dated 6 August 1821, the Austrian authorities did not force Kokkinakis to discontinue the publication of *Logios Ermis*: “Of the journal *Logios Ermis* nine issues were published this year, which are still available now. But since two months no other issues have been published [...]” (ibidem, p. 84. Also reprinted in Turczynski 1960, 108-09). This report was attached to a decree from Sedlnitzky regarding the four Greek prisoners. Kokkinakis seems to have been arrested between August 6th and August 30th of 1821. The report of August 6th mentions (in the present tense) that he lives in Leopoldstadt in the Kleine Schiffgasse, that since two months he has not written anything due to the troubles in Greece, and that he is known as an honourable and quiet man, of whom the people in the house where he lives have nothing unfavourable to say.

¹⁹ For a general description of *Logios Ermis* and the subjects that are treated in it, see Koumariou 1995, 88-128, esp. 112-126.

²⁰ For the statistical data, see the appendix.

art
 philosophy
 economics
 geography
 various items

Because many contributions fall into more than one category, the 918 items yielded 1160 entries in the small database I set up: for instance if a contribution referred to language and education, I classified it into both categories.

Bibliography. Bibliographical entries form the largest category: 31,3% of all entries. Bibliographical entries are book reviews (138), announcements of published books and announcements of books to be published, usually accompanied by a request to the readers to subscribe to them. No less than one third of all bibliographical entries are concerned with philology, the absolute majority (90%) of which treat publications on Antiquity. Only four entries, dating to 1819 and 1820, refer to Byzantine filology (two of which to the same subject: plans for an edition of the works of John Chrysostom, one of the Church Fathers). Among the entries on modern philology, there is a 25-page list of the works of modern writers/scholars (from the present going back in time to 1453), a review and summary of William Leake's *Researches in Greece* (London 1814) by Jernej Kopitar; a book review of a comparative study on poetry (Ancient Greek, Latin, French).

Philology combined with the categories 'dictionaries', 'language', 'grammar' and 'rhetoric' form almost half of all bibliographical entries. The next largest category in bibliography are the sciences and medicine (about 15% of all bibliographical entries). They almost all refer to –mostly translated– books to be used in the classroom. Fiction (all translations, mostly of popular French and German novels set in Antiquity) and other subjects are represented meagerly in comparison.

Apart from bibliographical entries, *Logios Ermis* also contains many articles, studies and letters on various subjects, which I have categorized as follows:

Education. The second largest category is education, covering 12% of all entries. 64% of these entries refer to the organisation of education: which schools are there, who are the teachers, how are exams carried out, etc. The rest are reports and opinions on the school curriculum and on didactics (mostly concerned with the Bell/Lancaster method).

Society. This third category covers almost 10% of all entries. Most of these entries are concerned with philanthropical deeds by Greeks and philhellenes: donations to schools, libraries, periodicals, editors of books and hospitals. There are some reports on newly founded associations and their activities: the Philological Society of Bucharest, the Filomousos Etaireia of Athens and a list of members of the Institut Impérial de France. Contributions of a critical nature concern themselves with the Greek heritage being shipped to other countries, like for instance the Elgin Marbles, and the numerous manuscripts sold by members of the clergy, but there is also criticism on certain schools and the educational methods they employ, and on the morals of Greek merchants, especially the Greeks of Odessa. In a special appendix to issue 1 of 1817, an anonymous contribution is published on the “situation of the Greeks in Odessa in the year 1816”. The anonymous writer praises them, among other things, for donating 10% of the profits of their newly founded insurance companies to the local school and hospital, but criticizes them heavily on their lack of business instinct and refinement and their ignorance. After the publication of this letter, the number of contributions in praise of the Greeks of Odessa for their philanthropy and patriotism increases considerably, from two prior to the publication of this letter to 23 in the years 1817-1821. Considering the fact that until 1818 Odessa was the power base of the *Filiki Etaireia*, the frequent references to the beneficiary role played by Odessa’s merchant community may perhaps be viewed as a veiled compliment to this movement.

The **Sciences**, including medicine, form almost 10% of all entries. Most contributions in this category are summaries/translations of foreign studies, lecture notes and entries taken from foreign encyclopedias.

Philology. Philological contributions form almost 7% of all entries; over 80% of these contributions deal with Antiquity.

Language and Polemics. Only 31 entries (2,6%) deal with language as such; about 70% of these entries are letters in which people give their opinion on the future of the Greek language – mainly in the Korais-mould of purging the language spoken by educated Greeks of foreign blemishes. Polemical contributions, including satirical poems, form another 4,3% of all entries. Most of the polemical contributions do not actually deal with the language as such, but must be seen in the light of the language debate. The majority (20) of polemical contributions date to the year 1819 and are directed either against Kodrikas, against the anti-Korais periodicals *Kalliopi* and

Athina, or against the ‘scholastics’ in general; the early polemical contributions (1811-1815) are directed against Neofytos Doukas.²¹

History. 3,5% of all entries deal with history (over 50% of which with Antiquity). One of them recounts the history of the world from creation until 1403. In the category ‘modern’ we have 6 items on Greece (e.g. the contribution of Greek scholars to the Renaissance and a history of the city of Smyrna). Among the other modern contributions are an account of Russian conquests between 1721 and 1808 and a summary of part of Herder’s *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*.

Literature. There are 49 literary contributions in *Logios Ermis*, 48 of which are poems, either original or in translation. Most of these poems are classicistic, like for instance a pindaric ode on the birth of Napoleon’s son; then there are some satirical poems and fables. The one contribution in prose is a fragment of a story about Oedipus at Mount Kithairon.

Periodicals & newspapers. There are 42 items concerning the contents and organisation of periodicals and newspapers. 28 refer to *Logios Ermis* itself and 14 to other newspapers, like for instance the *Ellinikos Tilegrafos*, *Kalliopi* and *Athina*.

Archaeology with 1,6%, and **philosophy** with 0,9% are meagerly represented, as are the **arts** (theater and music) (0,9%), **economics** and **geography** (both 0,6%).

The remaining 7% fall into the category of **various items**: letters of recommendation, obituaries, advertisements, petty facts on various subjects. The only entries that deal with political news are the two letters by the Patriarch dealing with Ypsilantis and the news item taken from the *Wiener Zeitung* concerning the revolt of Vladimirescu and Ypsilantis’ march into the Danubian Principalities in 1821.

The subjects *Logios Ermis* aimed to report on, as announced by the editors in 1811, 1812 and 1813, were, in a nutshell, philology, the Greek language, new Greek and foreign books concerning Greek philology, Arts and Sciences, archaeology, geography, history, chronology, economics, education and other useful subjects that stimulate learning.

The above data make it very clear that items belonging to the field of Humanities form a large majority (almost 80% of all bibliographical entries; 47% of all non-

²¹ See also Koumariou 1995, 207-208.

bibliographical entries), which is in line with the goals the editors had set for themselves in 1812 and 1813. No less than 230 entries (19,8%) in all categories deal with Antiquity. 17% of all entries in all categories deal with education, the field of interest added by Gazis in 1812 and reconfirmed by Farmakidis in 1813. Almost 11% refer to the sciences. The subject of language, including dictionaries and items related to the language debate is, in terms of percentage, less prominently represented than I expected before making this inventory (about 11% of all entries); the number of items that actually deal with the modern Greek language (“comments on the Greek Language, parallels in phrases and idioms of the new and the old [language] and the purging of the new [language]”) is even more limited: 28 items, and a few remarks in some of the polemical contributions. The interest in Byzantine and modern (Ottoman) history, economics and art is strikingly limited.

Antiquity forms the dominant paradigm of the pre-Revolutionary intellectual discourse, which aims at the enlightenment of the Greek nation, at a cultural resurrection. One explanation for the choice for Antiquity as a role model –rather than, for instance, Byzantium– is the school curriculum, which is actually a continuation of the Byzantine school curriculum, putting tremendous emphasis on language and rhetoric, which are taught on the basis of Ancient Greek texts. And even though it is quite obvious that among the progressive educators there is a will to modernize, a growing interest for instance in the sciences, modern subjects are often treated within the familiar framework of Antiquity. A characteristic example of this is a quite triumphant announcement in *Logios Ermis*, which states that the great Erasmus Darwin (the grandfather of Charles Darwin) basically plagiarizes Aristotle; and that is why it is so important that we continue to study the Ancients so that we become aware that new inventions are not always as new as they seem to be.²² Another important reason why Ancient Greece plays such an important role in the awakening national consciousness of the Greeks is of course the fact that Antiquity was regarded so highly in the enlightened West, which made the Greeks realize they were the closest contenders to the ancient heritage.

Another question that I think is worth looking into is: are the Greek intelligentsia keeping up with European trends? I would be inclined to say: no, or rather, not quite. They are, as it were, trying to catch up with Europe, by translating whatever they think will contribute to the intellectual resurrection of the Greek people. Many’s the reference to the wisdom of Europe (η σοφή Ευρώπη), held up as an example worthy to be followed. The Greeks are still firmly ensconced in the era of Enlightenment. While

²² *Logios Ermis* 1811, 172.

in Europe romanticism reigns, the Greeks show no interest whatsoever in folklore, folk poetry and traditions. The one serious contribution on modern Greek society and folklore is the 35-page translation of Jernej Kopitar's review of Leake, taken from the *Wiener Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*.²³ In a footnote on p. 401 the editors mention that the Europeans are actually very interested in Greek folk poetry and recount that during the Congress of Vienna the German Werner von Haxthausen wished to learn Greek and collect folk songs, not songs written by learned people, but songs by simple, illiterate people. He was helped by a young Greek, Theodoros Manousis, who taught von Haxthausen the Greek language and collected over 50 songs for him in Vienna.²⁴ In this same footnote, the editors express the hope that scholars in Greece will follow the example of the German and the young Greek and start collecting as many folk songs as possible and publish them. "This may seem ridiculous to our scholars, but that [is] of course due to ignorance. Among the many writings of the erudite and famous German philosopher, historian and poet Herder, there is a collection of songs from various old and new nations, entitled *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*. [Being] a wise man, he thinks wisely. He was not in the least ashamed to collect such songs, which are characteristic not only of the poetry, but also of the mentality of a nation, and to translate them metrically into his own language. May the wish of the German reviewer (i.e. Kopitar) and ours be fulfilled!" This explicit reference to Herder's concept of *Volksgeist* is unique in *Logios Ermis*.²⁵ Some contributors to *Logios Ermis*, especially of the younger generation, like Stefanos Kanellos and Theodoros Manousis, were familiar with Herder, but in general they are very selective in their choice of material. There are four contributions concerning Herder: two translations of parts of his *Ideen*, dealing with historiography (and to a large degree with Antiquity) and with the Sciences in Antiquity respectively²⁶; a translation of a study by Herder on Nemesis²⁷ (an antique theme); an allegorical poem on Art (being the child of Joy and Exertion)²⁸ (quite timeless). Beside that, Herder is mentioned a few times in other contributions: a quotation from Herder in a contribution on the history of Greek poetry²⁹; two reference to a note by Herder on

²³ *Logios Ermis* 1816, 363-79, 395-402, 411-20.

²⁴ It is obvious that the editors refer to Werner von Haxthausen and Theodoros Manousis, even though their names are not mentioned in the footnote. See: Politis 1999, 107-21, esp. pp. 113-14.

²⁵ For the presence (or absence) of Herder in Greek thought, see Dimaras 1983, 283-99. Dimaras avers that Herder's ideas were basically introduced in Greece in the 1840's by Theodoros Manousis, by then professor at the University of Athens.

²⁶ *Logios Ermis* 1813, 11-16, 33-40, 55-58 and *Logios Ermis* 1820, 104-14.

²⁷ *Logios Ermis* 1816, 129-70.

²⁸ *Logios Ermis* 1820, 147-48.

²⁹ *Logios Ermis* 1813, 3-11, 104-09, 117-23, 202-08, 249-55 (quotation on the Greek origins of music in a footnote on pp. 8-9).

rhyme³⁰; a reference to Herders presence at the court of Weimar, where the most outstanding intellectuals were gathered³¹. The fact that romantic ideas do not really break through in *Logios Ermis* may be connected with the influence Korais exerted over the periodical. Korais, a typical representative of the Greek Enlightenment, was ill-disposed toward the romantic interest in popular culture and traditions.³² A rather cryptic comment by Korais in a letter to Alexandros Vasileiou in Vienna, dated 21-11-1816, may perhaps refer to the first part³³ of the above-mentioned review of Leake's *Researches in Greece*, which treats the modern Greek language and orthography (which should be simplified like Italian), education (which is characterized as being stuck in the 'scholastic age'). In his letter to Vasileiou, Korais writes: "I received *Logios Ermis* [...]. L.E. is starting to smell of the European method; please ask them to continue in the way they started out, always proceeding toward the better, but through 'μετακένωσις' (transference of knowledge from the European 'offspring' back to the Greek 'cradle' of civilisation).³⁴

Since *Logios Ermis* was the most important vehicle for the transmission of progressive ideas, which should ultimately lead to the emancipation and independence of the Greek people, one might wonder whether there are signs to be found, especially in the later issues of *Logios Ermis*, that a revolution is under way. This is a question that is not easy to answer. On the surface of things, it does not seem so. Of course there was the Austrian censure to be reckoned with: Metternich's secret police kept a very close eye on the Greeks and their activities, forever fearful of revolutionary tendencies and russophile sentiments.³⁵ The lack of items on politics, polity, law, social structures and the like does in no way point in the direction of an immanent revolution. It is certainly true that several contributors to *Logios Ermis* were members of the *Filiki Etaireia* and staunch supporters of the struggle for independence, but one can hardly maintain that this fervent patriotism is by any means reflected in the choice of subjects treated in *Logios Ermis*. Even in the last two years of its existence, on the eve of the Greek War of Independence, it is business as usual (philology, sciences, philanthropy, etc.) and nothing out of the ordinary is published.

³⁰ *Logios Ermis* 1818, 642 and *Logios Ermis* 1819, 202 (on rhyme and its history in Herder's *Ursachen des gesunkenen Geschmacks bei den verschiednen Völkern, da er geblühet*). Both references are made by Stefanos Kanellos, who studied in Germany, and who also shows some influence by Herder in a letter published in *Logios Ermis* 1817, 153-55, where he states that like individuals, a nation must know itself in order to become what it should become.

³¹ In a note on the present state of education in Germany, translated from the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, see *Logios Ermis* 1819, 854, 856, 863, 899.

³² See Politis 1999, 111.

³³ *Logios Ermis* 1816, 363-79, published in the issue of November 1st.

³⁴ Dimaras 1979, 521.

³⁵ See Enepekidis 1960, 3-6.

There can be no doubt, however, that the circle of *Logios Ermis* dreamt of liberation of the Greek nation and of an independent state. The means they employ to reach this goal are the intellectual awakening of the Greek people through education. This idea is reflected brilliantly in a letter written in 1818 by Theodoros Negris to Ioannis Capodistrias, in which he explains how Greece can be reborn. “There are two roads”, he writes, that can lead Greece to its rebirth: either through a political power from the outside that would help to throw off the inhuman yoke and that would be able to secure Greece’s political position, or, by elevating the ‘healthy part’ of the nation, through knowledge and enlightenment. Because of the ethical state Greece is in today, the second road is preferable to the first. Even though it is longer, it will safely lead to the goal. A fast spreading of knowledge and enlightenment will bring about the joyful change in the whole nation.³⁶

³⁶ Enepekidis 1960, 138-93.

References

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Appendix

Logios Ermis

Total no. of items in the periodical: 918

Total no. of entries in the database: 1160

bibliography:	363	(31,3%)
philology:	110	
Antiquity:	100	
modern:	6	
Byzantium:	4	
dictionaries/encyclopedias:	23	
language & grammar:	27	
rhetoric:	12	
sciences:	43	
medicine:	11	
fiction (translated):	28	
history:	36	
geography:	12	
poetry:	14	
philosophy:	15	
religion:	12	
pedagogy/didactics:	8	
economics:	5	
law (French):	3	
other:	14	
education:	139	(12%)
organisation:	89	
contents:	30	
didactics:	20	
society:	115	(9,9%)
philanthropy:	84	
associations/societies:	12	
critique:	12	
pedagogy:	5	
modern (descriptive):	1	
history:	1	
sciences:	75	(6,5%)
physics:	36	
biology:	13	
chemistry:	11	
mathematics:	3	
other:	12	
medicine:	44	(3,8%)

philology:	78	(6,7%)
Antiquity:	63	
Byzantium:	4	
modern:	9	
general:	2	
language:	31	(2,7%)
modern greek language/grammar:	28	
ancient greek/latin:	2	
grammar (general):	1	
polemical contributions:	50	(4,3%)
history:	41	(3,5%)
Antiquity:	21	
modern:	14	
general:	4	
Middle Ages:	2	
literature:	48	(4,1%)
poems (original and transl.):	47	
story in prose:	1	
periodicals/newspapers:	42	(3,6%)
Logios Ermis:	28	
other:	14	
archaeology:	18	(1,6%)
art:	11	(0,9%)
theatre:	10	
music:	1	
philosophy:	10	(0,9%)
Antiquity:	5	
modern:	5	
economics:	7	(0,6%)
statistics:	4	
trade:	3	
geography:	7	(0,6%)
various items:	81	(7%)
news items:	13	
miscellaneous:	68	