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## **Ermis ‘o Logios, the First Literary Journal of Greek Enlightenment, Representative of the Greek-Dacian Literary Society and Adamantios Korais**

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### ***Abstract***

The journal *Ermis ‘o Logios*, issued in the year 1811, in Vienna, represented an important period in the ideological confrontations of the Greek Enlightenment intellectuals, regarding the evolution of the language and education in Greece. The journal was supported morally, but mostly financially, by the Greek-Dacian Literary Society from Bucharest. Until the war of the Greek independence, the journal functioned as a redoubt of the liberal group of the Greek Enlightenment led by Adamantios Korais, the adept of the purist Greek language and of the non-interference of the clergy in the education. Most of the journal's numbers will focus on the debates between two representatives of two different groups of Greek Enlightenment, Panagiotis Kodrikas, conservative, and Adamantios Korais.

**Keywords:** *Greek-Dacian Literary Society. Bucharest, Enlightenment, Modern Greek Language (Καθαρεύουσα), 19th century, Panagiotis Kodrikas, Periodicals Collection*

### **The first period of Ermis ‘o Logios, under the direction of Anthimos Gazis and of the Greek-Dacian Literary Society**

The proposed objective in creating thus Greek literary journal, first of its kind, was exposed in the first issue of 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1811. It came to serve the readers from the South-East of Europe and the Greek diaspora to bring up-to-date on the evolution of the problem of the Greek language, education, and apprise on new appearances of books written in Greek and English about the Greek people. It also enclosed articles on the arts, sciences, archeology, geography, history, chronology, economics and other topics useful for the advancement of knowledge. The purpose of the journal matched with that of newly created Greek-Dacian Literary Society on July 22, 1810, in Bucharest, on the initiative of Metropolitan Ignatios (Camariano, 1968, p.39). After the establishment of the Society, it was well-thought-out suitable the presence of a literary journal in the Greek language that would promote and publish the ideas of the Enlightenment (Kitromilides, 1979, p. 8) and other activities concerning the evolution of education. The journal *Ermis ‘o Logios* was founded in Vienna on the 1<sup>st</sup> of 1811, at the initiative of the *Greek-Dacian Literary Society*, under the direction of Anthimos Gazis. The journal was funded and supported by the Society, but also by other Greek intellectuals of the diaspora, especially from Principalities (Russo, 1939, p.356).

*Ermis 'o Logios* published dissertations and studies of all literary and scientific celebrities of the nation, detailed bibliographies, literary criticism, new editorial appearances, creating a veritable catalogue of European scientific works, a complete journal of the Greek intellectual movement. The periodical was read everywhere and created a complete picture of the struggle of Adamantios Korais for the foundation of the Greek language and the intellectual renaissance of modern Hellenism. The journal made known everywhere the opening of new Greek schools and the upgrading of the educational system in these schools (Dascalakis, 1930). It conveys progressive ideas of the Greek people that led to intellectual emancipation and national independence (Janssen, 2004).

The Society came to an agreement with the ideas of the Enlightenment spread by Greek intellectuals of the diaspora and the ideas of those who supported the introduction of the Modern Greek language in the writings of the authors. Started by Dimitrios Katartzis (Kitromilides, 2005, p.61), one of the parents of Greek Enlightenment and the parent of the Principalities Enlightenment (Demaras, 1972 p.148), this idea was supported by Adamantios Korais, a Greek doctor based in Paris, an important representative of Enlightenment philosophy (Kitromilides, 2005, p.219). An advocate of the Enlightenment and advocate of the pure Greek language in literary writings, he debated on this topic with all the proponents of maintaining ancient language in written culture, especially with Neophytos Doukas and Panagiotis Kodrikas (Russo, 1939, p.356). Korais considered that the revival of the Greek culture and of the nation can be done through education (Drouila, 1997, p.251) and knowledge and the proliferation of Enlightenment ideas in the Greek world, using a language accessible to the whole nation.

The Literary Society was a supporter of the Korais ideas, whose personality was admired by its members, especially the Metropolitan Ignatios. In addition, the Society has encouraged and supported the publication and translation of Western works (Palade, 2006-2007, p. 177) in Modern Greek language. Adamantios Korais has been a corresponding member of the Society, although, initially he did not recognize the value and the right to decide on issues concerning the Greek language of this society. *Ermis 'o Logios* published articles on the work and personality of Adamantios Korais and the members of the Greek-Dacian Literary Society, especially Ignatios, commenting and supporting the ideas settled at the meetings of the Society. The activities of the Society were intended to disseminate the ideas of Enlightenment in the Romanian Countries and the revival of Greek and Romanian culture through education. The journal was issued twice a month, on the 1<sup>st</sup> and on the 15<sup>th</sup>, under the direction of Anthimos Gazis. The price for a one year subscription was 15 Kurus. The journal was issued in Vienna, in Carol Beck & Philip Frederic Schrelbucker bookstores, in Bucharest by Master Constantin Vardalachos, at Constantinople in the Georgios Zisis bookstore (*Ermis 'o Logios*, 1, January, 1811).

Over the years under the tutelage of Literary Society of Bucharest, the journal has published news about the evolution of the Greek language, the most recent editorial appearances, articles on the humanities and sciences, especially the news concerning instruction, letters concerning the situation of the evolution of the Greek intellectual movement and news of the Greek School of Bucharest (Princely Academy of Bucharest).

For the schools that had excellent results, the *Greek Dacian Literary Society* offered free issues of the journal *Ermis 'o Logios*. The main objective of the Literary Society was the raise of education, its importance for the enlightenment of the mind and the nation, a goal encouraged by the journal, who will publish all the events and speeches of the members of the Society and the growth of the educational system in the Greek School of Bucharest (The Princely Academy). The Literary Society was grateful to Anthimos Gazis, for his efforts to publish *Ermis 'o Logios* (*Ermis 'o Logios*, 1811, 15 June, p.197), as stated in the letter sent by its secretary, Michael Skinas published by *Ermis 'o Logios*.

The Literary Society aimed to translate many works from the Western Enlightenment and to make them known to the whole nation through the medium of the press, in the present case, through the journal entitled *Ermis 'o Logios*. These statements were supported on the 4<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Literary Society of March 22, 1811, and appeared in the issue of *Ermis*, from the 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1811. After 1812, after the decay of the *Greek-Dacian Literary Society* and Metropolitan Ignatios left Wallachia, the journal appeared irregularly. The objectives of the journal *Ermis 'o Logios* increased the debates concerning the Modern Greek language. The journal became a chronicle for Adamantios Korais and his followers. Even though the journal never published political articles, it supported the Korais ideology with political shades. From 1814 till 1815 the journal was underrepresented, because of the budgetary constraints. In 1815 the journal published a distinct number, containing a letter signed with the pseudonym G. Narrenhasser, as the name of the book written by Korais, in which the author attacked Neophytos Doukas, one of the opponents of Korais on the problem of the Greek language, from the archaists group (Daskalakis, 1966, p. 132). After Anthimos Gazis left the journal, the management was engaged by Theoklitos Farmakidis and Konstantions Kokkinaki (Demaras, 1972, p.199). They were the representatives and supporters of Adamantios Korais. *Ermis 'o Logios* began to publish, as in previous years, 2 issues per month on the 1st and 15th of each month, until 1821 when they interrupted the appearance, after the beginning of the Independence War.

### ***Ermis 'o Logios, the voice of Adamantios Korais – The philological debates of Adamantios Korais in Ermis 'o Logios***

The literary disagreements of Vienna were of paramount importance for the history of modern Hellenism (Mackridge, 2009, p.74). The question of language divided the Greek intellectual world for more than a century without finding a conclusive solution. *Katharevousa*, an artificially created language, closed to the ancient Greek language, supported the Greek language purge by suppressing neologisms. *Demotiki*, the popular language, was shaped by a long evolution in the Byzantine medieval era and the era of Turkish rule. Another camp, of conservative supporters, was made up of scholars who support ancient language and ancient methods in education. The partisans of these camps were not only Greek intellectuals, but philhellenes and foreign Hellenists (Rangabé, 1877, p. 23). In the philological battle, Korais took a moderate position between the two extreme tendencies. The pre-revolutionary debates on the Greek language of Korais and his followers, on the one hand, and Panagiotis Kodrikas and his followers, on the other,

stimulated the education and evolution of neo-Hellenism. They will be used as a tool of polemics pre-revolutionary journals published in Austria; Vienna was the spiritual center of the Greeks outside the Empire, but also inside. *Ermis 'o Logios* was one of the strongest tools used by Korais to express his philological principles. Panagiotis Kodrikas used as a means of ideological struggle, the journal *Kallioppi*, founded in 1819 under the direction of Professor Athanasios Stagiritis (Russo, 1939, p. 356). In both periodicals published scholarly pamphlets containing scientific debates, challenges and personal invectives. It was one of the best means of intellectual emancipation of the Greek people, analogous with the success of political independence. Adamantios Korais believed in the efficacy of imitating the great historical figures - the cult of great men. The historical decline of Greece was considered by him as a degradation of language (Mackridge, 2009, p. 107). For Korais the revival of the nation was possible through reason and science, political freedom, civic responsibility, dissemination and exchange of ideas promoted by printed culture (Evrigenis, 2010, p. 98) and commerce facility, arts and literary culture, keeping the historical memory (Korais, 1803, p. 63). Korais has devoted great importance to periodicals as an essential instrument in the illumination of society, for the learning of the nation, and as an essential means of spreading ideas.

Although Anthimos Gazis was an admirer and friend of Korais, he wanted to carry the publication of virulent philological debates, to reflect the universal work of the Greeks in all fields. He retains the right to the free opinion of someone who wanted to publish his ideas in *Ermis 'o Logios*, independent, which does not align with the ideas of Korais, but also its admirers. *Ermis 'o Logios* never approved the publication of studies and anonymous letters and he did not agree to publish scandalous articles or speech stir (*Ermis 'o Logios*, 1812).

However, the ideological opponents of Korais disapproved *Ermis 'o Logios* as it was obvious from the editor and newspaper associates near Korais and its philological principles.

After the start of re-editing, the new publishers issued a manifesto and a circular letter. In this letter, they announced the beginning of the reprint of *Ermis 'o Logios* and requested the subscription of the Greeks. It announced the publishers name and purpose (*Ermis 'o Logios*, June, 1816). The publishers will use a dialect close to the principles of Korais, who was delighted by the appearance of the journal and required economic support from all teachers and Greek students. Korais was pleased with the revival of the journal, especially for the vast majority of those intellectuals, part of his ideological circle, who published valuable articles and studies. For Korais, they had a great contribution to the national progress (Daskalakis, 1966). However, in the first three years after the reissue, *Ermis 'o Logios* will not publish articles regarding the confrontation of both sides of Greek intellectuals, articles with incriminating nuances. The editors will maintain the spirit of impartiality and will publish notices on the appearance of the works of opponents or of the enemies of Korais.

The philological argue began with the republic of *Ermis 'o Logios* and did not stop until the end of its appearance. The debates of two philological camps attracted all circles of Greek intellectuals who will begin to publish in both journals. At the end of 1816 *Ermis*

'o *Logios* published a letter to the editor, by Panagiotis Kodrikas, conservative opponent of Korais, about Greek language, and the answer of the publisher entitled "*Speech to the Greeks*". The letter of Kodrikas and the answer of the journal will be published separately. The numbering of the pages begins with the number 1. It seemed that the letter was sent in April of the same year (Daskalakis, 1966). Kodrikas expressed thanks to editors because the re-edition of the journal was announced. Obviously, the intention of Kodrikas was to attack the language used by *Ermis 'o Logios* and the philological principles of Adamantios Korais. He attacked violently Korais and his partisans' ideas about the changes in the Greek language, considering that a philological journal and its professional writers need to preserve their attitude and the accuracy of their language. He did not accept inventiveness and inventions in Greek, denying their right to change the rules of the Greek language without following normal and legal paths such as committee meetings composed of academics, scientists, elevated specialists'. He argued that in a free-thinking country, a journal, especially the philological one, was not allowed to derogate from the linguistic rules, in editorial policy. He concluded that, when it does not take into account the common rules of the national language, it is considered guilty, especially when it comes to the public. In private life, it can express itself as it wished, but in public, it must conform to the laws common to the entire nation.

The nation needed to hear common slogans that *Ermis 'o Logios* must to use, and asked that the terminologies used by Korais, being regarded as barbaric and vulgar. Kodrikas guided as *Ermis 'o Logios* should be publish, he gave examples of expressions used false, false grammar, but he used the Korais expressions for exemplify, not of the journal *Ermis 'o Logios*. The entireness of this letter was addressed, in fact, to Korais. He encouraged to follow the style of Athanasios Stagiritis, publisher of the *Kallioppi* journal, opponent of the ideas of Korais, but also other great academic with a different style, here referring to Demotiki, the popular language. Kodrikas attacked the democratic past of Korais and the debate on the language issue, using sentences from Korais' work, to demonstrate his lack of education. At the same time, he accused him of demagoguery. Finally, Kodrikas attacked again Korais, especially for the ideas written about this by the foreign Hellenists, associating him to the ancient Greeks. The Modern Greeks were great and wise men who lead to the national rebirth. They laid the foundation for education and progress of Greece. In his opinion, the partisans of Korais did nothing but waited for the praises of great intellectuals, instead of saving the country. He also asked *Ermis 'o Logios* that his letter be published in order to be read by the diaspora.

Even though Kodrikas did not use the name of Adamantios Korais in the letter, he certainly was the target of his attacks. He used examples of the Chios and Smyrna dialect, birthplaces of Korais. He satirized the language used by Korais in his writings and made detailed allusions to his works. In reality, the letter was an open declaration of war against Korais Adamantios. This approach was well-thought-out by the friends of Korais, who launched the attack. The publication of Kodrikas' letter will bring confusion between them, not only because it was the first serious blow against their teacher, but also because it was a war between the publishers who brought enlightenment to the whole of the Greek world. His letter arrived at a difficult time for the publishers of *Ermis 'o Logios* that was constrained by financial problems.

The pamphlets or letters of Korais published in *Ermis'ο Logios* were written anonymously or under a pseudonym. It has been supposed that certain letters were dictated by him or were written under his direction, but everything revealed his imprint. Unfortunately, the correspondence between Korais and the publishers of those days was not saved. In each letter sent, Korais required the recipient to burn or destroy the letter after being read. The writers of *Ermis 'ο Logios* have respected Korais' request, so the correspondence that remained is still very poor (Daskalakis, 1966).

The response of the editors entitled "*Speech to the Greeks*", appeared in a different issue. Certainly, Korais guided the editors of *Ermis 'ο Logios* immediately to respond to Kodrikas' letter. It's possible that he guided them or even wrote some of the editor's answer. Some passages of the letter reproduced exactly Korais style and his philological thought. Meanwhile, the publishers of *Ermis 'ο Logios* know quite well about Korais, they studied in his school, that they can imitate the style and express his ideas. But of course, there is a close partnership between the publishers and Korais, thanks to the outbreak of the intellectuals war.

As they promised in the announcement of re-editing of the journal, to not publish defamatory writings, the answer of the publishers, "*Address to the Greeks*" was edited in an independent number with the letter of Kodrikas (*Ermis'ο Logios*, 1th November, 1818). The pamphlet enclosed 66 pages and was printed in the middle of 1816 in the typography of *Ermis 'ο Logios*, of which 16 pages are the letter of Kodrikas, and the rest of supplement, the answer of the editors signed by Pharmakidis and Kokkinakis. This number was sent free of charge to the journal's subscribers. The letter did not refer to words and forms, but to views and fundamental principles, to the honor of the people and respectability of the Diaspora that helped Greece. They tried to attest the harmfulness of philological principles and ethnic opinions of Kodrikas, and unfair attacks on their patriotism and to the honor of the publishers. They blamed Kodrikas of publishing and distributing this letter before sending it to journal and also satirized him with his speech about the integrity of the nation, the refined language and the "language laws", which should be sacred and privileged, as Kodrikas says, but he was still the person authorized to make such changes. They made a detailed analysis of the grammar, the etymological origin and the meaning of the sentence for each word to demonstrate the proper use of Korais. Kodrikas's proposal to adopt the language used by other Greek intellectuals was edited by the publisher. According to Kodrikas, a publisher of a philological journal, must write to all nations; but he contradicted himself stating that "*ordinary people have no idea*". *Ermis'ο Logios* did not refuse writings of the great intellectuals of the nation, writing wise, just because they were not written in the Kodrikas style. Although Kodrikas indirectly attacked him, through advice on Korais, editors will respond to all charges against him.

Kodrikas was accused, at the end of the publishers' letter, that he does not give any chance to modern Greece, bringing praise only to Greece passed a century ago, and that in his opinion the new Greece is empty. In his letter he ignores the opening of new schools, bright minds of academics, intellectuals fighting for the revival of the Greek society, the development of education.

Taking into account all the slanders of the opposing camp were made to him and *Ermis 'o Logios*, Korais will reply with a letter published in this journal, under the initials B.A, of Constantinople, a letter that appeared in 1818 in the 15<sup>th</sup> of April issue. In this letter, defamatory writers are defamed as enemies of the nation. The charges against *Ermis 'o Logios*, are dismissed. They appealed to indifference on defamatory writers, treating them with ignorance. *Ermis 'o Logios* was kept out of the fight and did not respond with excuses or explanations. The work that made this journal, the quality, far exceeds these slanderous accusations. The pain of the nation was beyond discord. It needs to create tools to help to improve the present and to create Greek education for the benefit of the nation. He considered his program as one of the closest to the standards required for the nation's rebirth. Greece knew how to honor and respect its benefactors, and to censor, criticize and discouraged the accusers. Korais accuses of vulgar and indecent language that these authors use in public writings, accused them of lack of decency. He urges people not to waste time reading these vulgar writings. He accused Kodrikas of misunderstanding ideas about education and Greek language. His keen style was triggered by the writings of the opposing camp.

He invited them to share their points of view with dignity, not to humiliate the Greek nation but to fight for the rebirth of the nation. They have the duty to fight for the truth. He pushes them to prepare the future of the nation, the future of the edification of the nation, the awareness of this help that will enlighten the nation (*Ermis 'o Logios*, 1818, 15<sup>th</sup> April, p. 168)

In a note to this letter, the publishers explained the reason to its appearance due to its valuable ideas that public needed to know about. The intention of editors was to enforce the journal as to become a strong landmark, in this respect inviting diaspora, writers and academics to publish thesis and philological ideas. They ask those who do not want to do it to let others do it and give up insults (*Ermis 'o Logios*, 1818, 15<sup>th</sup> April, p.168).

In the last year of the appearance of *Ermis 'o Logios*, Korais published a new letter, containing a severe attack on Kodrikas. (*Ermis 'o Logios*, 15<sup>th</sup> March, 1821) This last letter, also signed with the initial showed very good knowledge of the Greek language, Korais style being recognized in most sentences. The intuition was that this letter had been written by Korais or was given by him to one of his closest friends in his circle in Paris (Daskalakis, 1960, p. 164). Korais attacked the journal *Kallioppi* and Panagiotis Kodrikas. He expresses the fact that the Patriarch is the ally of Kodrikas, that he accused them of being enemies of the nation. It was known that the Patriarchate was an enemy of the Enlightenment movement and the revolutionaries. In addition to these attacks, Korais stated about the education of the nation, and about the Greek schools, his concerns about his career, known as his motto "the moral revolution" of the nation. Korais was always able to change his style and the syntax of the sentence writing anonymous letters in order not to be recognized.

He always answered to the insults of Panagiotis Kodrikas and *Kallioppi*, in his Letters and in *Ermis 'o Logios* journal that was a real redoubt of Korais and his disciples.

The Greek Enlightenment movement could not achieve its objectives within Greece, a territory under foreign domination, which is the reason why its manifestations found

expression in the rest of Europe, where the Greek Diaspora thrived, in particular in the Danubian Principalities, of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Russia. The reasons for choosing Vienna, as the principal printing center, had been underlined by the facile access to printed press and writing dedicated to the Greeks from diaspora or from homeland (Russo, 1939, p.354). The *Ermis 'o Logios* journal emerged as the necessity of expressing the Greek Enlightenment ideas in the modernization of the Greek education and the evolution of the Greek language, promoting the rebirth of the Greek nation. The improvements made in the Greek education in this epoch, even for a short period of time, are largely due to the texts of Greek philosophers and writers, published in the periodicals of the times, especially in *Ermis 'o Logios*.

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