Travels of Learning

A Geography of Science in Europe

Edited by
Ana Simões, Ana Carneiro and
Maria Paula Diogo

Travels of Learning

BOSTON STUDIES IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

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SCIENTIFIC TRAVELS OF THE GREEK SCHOLARS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1. INTRODUCTION

Unlike many other societies, which during the eighteenth century gradually found their way to a national constitution, the greater part of Greek society remained outside the borders of the Greek national state until well after its establishment in 1832. In fact, Greek society emerged from the setting of the Ottoman Empire as a result of re-stratifications and social changes which took place around various local centres of political and economic power. The eighteenth century was the crucial period during which Greek society refined its shape and produced the political and ideological conditions that, to a certain degree, led to the quest for a separate national identity. Nevertheless, this process was neither uniform nor linear. Different and often competing social groups, various economic interests and diverging political traditions worked out a network of communities which struggled to define a distinctive, though in many instances still vague, position within the context of the Ottoman Empire. It was this geographically scattered network, loosely unified on the basis of common educational and religious traditions — and not a well-defined structure with intrinsic hierarchies and reproductive mechanisms — which comprised Greek society of the period.

Under these circumstances, the concept of "scientific travel" acquires a highly idiosyncratic meaning when applied to Greek scholars of the eighteenth century. The particularities of a society seeking its identity in the intersection of multiple political and economic traditions and interests comprised the ground upon which these travels took place. A widespread assumption among contemporary Greek historians is that from the middle of the eighteenth century Greek scholars were conscious of the "forthcoming uprising of the nation" and did their best in order to "enlighten" their people by introducing into Greek intellectual life the attainments of the European Enlightenment. In this sense, the emergence of a new scientific discourse after 1750 is considered a manifestation of a "progressive" movement

against ignorance and especially against the conservative agents of the Orthodox Church and "scholastic Aristotelianism" in education. However, although it is true that "scientific travels" formed an important part of the processes that led to the educational and ideological reform of the emerging society, the issue of intellectual interactions between the Eastern world and the "Enlightened West" is much more complex when viewed from the standpoint of the historian of science. The widely accepted assertion that "many Greeks studied not only in Venice (and other Italian cities), Vienna, Bucharest, and Iaşi but also in the universities of France and the Netherlands and brought back, on their return home, the lights of the European spirit"[1] is absolutely unfounded. There are two reasons for this: Firstly, the idea of a linear transfer of the sciences from their original source to the "underdeveloped" Greek intellectual milieu overlooks the fermentations that occurred in local philosophical thought due to its interaction with contemporary European philosophy. Secondly, the obscure notion of scientific or, to be more precise, of *intellectual* travel that stems from the above assertion veils the actual network along which intellectual interactions among the different cultural environments took place.

Leaving aside the first and relatively more complex issue,[2] I will attempt, in the present paper, to clarify the notion of "scientific travel" as far as the particular historical conditions of Greek-speaking populations of the period are concerned. I will focus mainly on the *typology* of the "scientific travels" in order to indicate the specific characteristics of the network built by these travels, the needs they satisfied, and the impact they exerted upon the intellectual life of the Greek-speaking populations of the Ottoman Empire.

Before I proceed, though, I would like to supply some preliminary clarifications of the terms and the methodology I applied in my study.

- *Scientific travel*: It is very doubtful whether this genre did actually exist in the Greek-speaking regions of the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century. The notion we ascribe today to the term denotes a change of place deliberately aiming at the acquisition of scientific knowledge or the exchange of scientific experience. However, as will become apparent below, only in very rare cases was scientific transaction the deliberate purpose of the Greek scholars. An important reason for this was the lack of scientific institutions in the Greek intellectual space. Scientific enterprise, at least as it was formed after the Scientific Revolution, presupposed the existence of appropriate collective structures, which could sustain the practice of the people who were involved in it. Although I do not intend to discuss the problems relating

to the role of scientific communities here, it is certain that a degree of institutionalisation of the sciences is a prerequisite for systematic cognitive exchange among scientists. Otherwise, any specific scientific knowledge acquired through these exchanges either remains marginal or tends to be assimilated within various other fields of social activity. And this was exactly the case with most Greek-speaking scholars of the eighteenth century.

— *Scholars*: Later on I shall take the opportunity to describe more accurately the profile of these people; it would be useful, however, to touch here upon some issues related to the particular characteristics of their activity within the Greek society of the eighteenth century. I am concerned with *scholars* and not with "scientists," or even philosophers. The reason is that due to the aforementioned absence of proper institutionalisation and to the particularities of local cultural traditions, Greek intellectual life lacked the diversity of cognitive pursuits that characterised contemporary Western societies. Actually, the people I am referring to were mostly polymaths with a theological, philological, and philosophical education, who aimed almost exclusively at building a career as physicians or teachers. Given that physicians were mainly dedicated to their professional preoccupations, the only field in which scholarly endeavours and cognitive pursuits could flourish was education. And the protagonists of this enterprise were teachers. Therefore, the introduction of the new sciences and philosophy into Greek-speaking society was a process almost exclusively directed to their appropriation for educational purposes. Gradually, the upgrading of educational activities through the introduction of the intellectual attainments of the Enlightenment was associated with the quest for a concise identity that would mark the distinctiveness of certain Greek-speaking populations within the Ottoman Empire. However, contrary to what was taking place in most European societies, and probably owing exactly to this association, the purpose of the people who undertook this enterprise was not to introduce a radically new way of philosophising about human and natural affairs. Due to the fact that the Neo-Aristotelian tradition and the Christian Orthodox faith comprised basic cultural coordinates of their collective existence, the appropriation of the new ideas aimed mainly at the endorsement of these traditions and the confirmation of their superiority in the European setting. In this respect, the developments of the Enlightenment were not viewed as an intricate process, which implied a break with ancient philosophy and Christian

religion, but rather as developments that came to verify the pronouncements of these traditions.

– *Methodology*: One of the purposes of this paper is to propagandise the use of databases in historical research or, better, to present a sample of this sort of work for further discussion in conjunction with history of science. The case study I shall develop is based on the conclusions that can be drawn from the processing of a large amount of data which has been stored in a properly constructed database. I worked basically with primary and secondary bibliography in order to reconstruct the itineraries of 67 Greek-speaking male scholars of the eighteenth century who were involved, one way or the other, with natural philosophy, mathematics and medicine.[3] All this information was recorded in a database that includes two groups of fields: The first group concerns the identity of each scholar (name, place of birth and of death, the respective years and subjects of interest) and the second his travels (destinations, years of arrival and departure and purpose of visit). The background structure is quite simple, especially if one takes into account that, in fact, the database contains only four kinds of information: names, times,[4] places and a field for qualitative data. Nevertheless, the outcome of the processing offers a fresh view on subjects that are considered to be adequately studied by conventional historiography. The reason is that the combinatorial processing of a large amount of data can reveal concentrations, distributions and regularities that cannot be shown through the study of isolated cases. As mentioned above, a widespread assumption among contemporary Greek historians is that the scholars of the eighteenth century travelled "abroad" in order to acquire the lights of European thought and to enlighten, upon their return home, their "enslaved people." The rest of this paper is concerned with the rejection of this simplistic description.

2. SCHOLARLY TRAVELS

2.1 A Quasi-National Intellectual Space

I wish to begin my narration with a map, since a discussion about scientific travels should result in the delineation of lines that depict the geographical shift of people and ideas. On the following map[5] the light grey area represents the Ottoman Empire, which, in actuality, includes the greatest part of the eastern Mediterranean basin. The dark grey area represents the semi-autonomous Danubian regions of the Ottoman Empire which, from the outset of the eighteenth century, were ruled by Christian Orthodox governors. The few dark grey islands located at the left of the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula are the Ionian Islands, which comprised part of the Venetian Republic for many centuries. The black points on the map represent regions inhabited by Greek-speaking populations or sites of Greek Diaspora. It is important to stress the dispersion of the Greek communities not only within the limits of the Ottoman Empire but also in central Europe, Italy and Russia. The emerging society of the period had not yet acquired a body; it consisted of a network of sites where Greek populations developed various economic and political activities. The unifying elements of those populations were mainly the Christian Orthodox faith and Greek-speaking education, although it is evident that common economic interests, which run along the branches of this network, played a significant role as well.

The first important observation that ensues from the projection of the results drawn from the database on this map is that the Greek scholars of the eighteenth century *did not travel "abroad."* Surprising as it may sound, the places those scholars tended to visit were almost exclusively the "nodes" of the above-mentioned network, namely places inhabited by Greek-speaking populations, or cities with large Greek communities. In this sense, the itineraries of the Greek-speaking scholars of the eighteenth century covered a broad European area, delineating a quasi-national intellectual space. They rarely abandoned this network in order to visit places like England or France in the West, Sweden in the North, or Egypt in the South. A unique systematic exception to this rule was the state of Saxony, as well as some other Germanic cities, where quite a few Greeks had ventured in order to study at the local universities.

2.2 Who Travelled?

As mentioned above, the subject of this study is the 67 scholars who were involved, one way or another, with natural philosophy, mathematics or medicine. Most of them travelled more than once in their lives for "scientific purposes." But where did these people come from? Surprisingly enough, the database informs us that almost all of them originated from a narrow geographic area, which is today known as north-western Greece.

Generally, Greek historians have a somewhat vague idea about the origins of the scholars of the eighteenth century, based more on ideological preferences than on a systematic survey. It is true that during this period there were many thriving centres of economic and political activity in the Greek-speaking regions of the Ottoman Empire. However, though many historians consider the contribution of these centres to the construction of the learned community self-evident, it seems that this is not generally the case. Interesting *absences* that can be observed in the above diagrams are those of Constantinople, of the Danubian regions and of the southern part of the Balkans. Indeed, Constantinople and the semi-autonomous Danubian regions were the most important centres of political and educational activity of the period. Nevertheless, the database tables contain only one scholar originating in these areas.[6] This does not imply, of course, that no scholars were born in these areas during the eighteenth century, but — and this is more important from our point of view — that no scholars *who dealt with the sciences* were born there. The same holds, to an even greater extent, for the Peloponnesus and the area around Athens. Notwithstanding their links to the ancient heritage, the general contribution of these places to the intellectual life of the Greek-speaking populations of the period was but little.

ORIGINS

ORIGINS (CUMULATIVE)
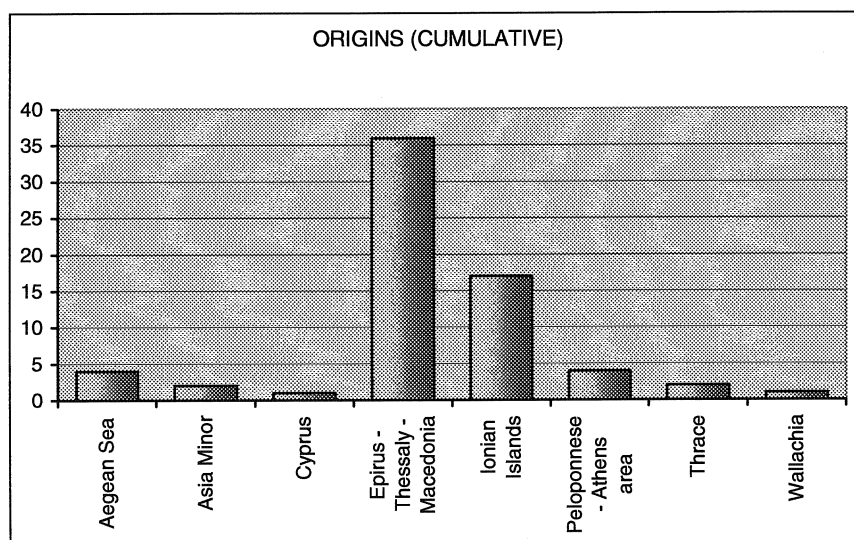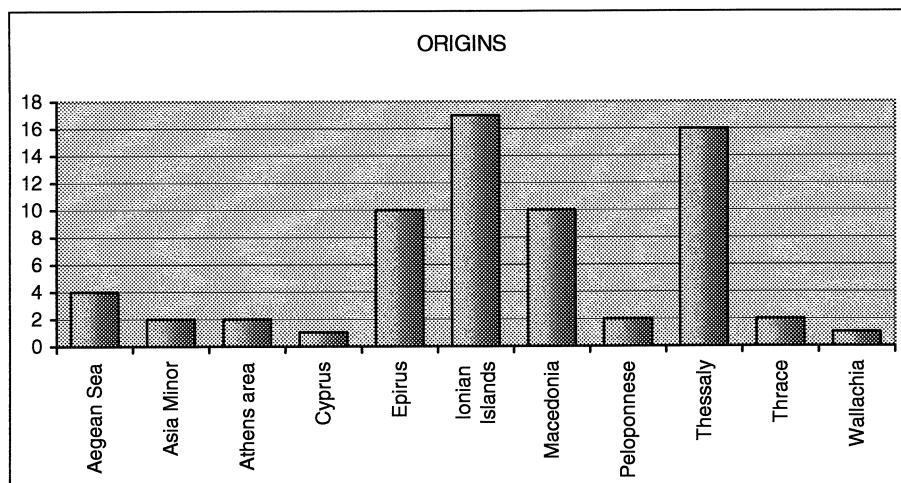
Thus, the places where our actors originated were limited to Epirus, western Macedonia and some parts of Thessaly on the one hand, and the Ionian Islands on the other. It is not our purpose here to seek a detailed interpretation of this fact, but we may certainly give some helpful hints. In the first place, the two areas comprised two culturally distinct regions. Let us call the former the "commercial triangle." It was an area with a long tradition in commercial and handicraft activities. The area gradually became an educational centre, since the wealth and the size of the local communities

allowed them to establish many schools. However, from our standpoint, the most significant characteristic of the commercial triangle was that it comprised the most important migration centre of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, this area was the gate that connected the Ottoman territories with the European commercial routes. The people who lived there were traditionally the intermediaries of this communication and many generations immigrated to central Europe in order to establish or maintain the links of this commercial network.[7] Many other people from the commercial triangle immigrated to Walachia, which was one of the Danubian regions ruled by Orthodox governors. Due to the ethnic and linguistic relations with the populations of that region they moved there aiming at political careers in the courts of governors or other public offices.[8]

As far as the scholars of the period are concerned, it seems that they took advantage of the local tradition of migration. They followed the existing network and headed mainly to the communities of their compatriots in central Europe and Walachia. But there seems to be another important reason for this intellectual migration. The fact that the commercial triangle was located away from the traditional political and educational centres, and in closer contact with the European intellectual agitations, made the emergence of the quest for a modernisation of local intellectual life possible. We should not forget that we are talking about a population whose offspring were destined to live in a European milieu, and therefore to obtain a proper education.[9] Thus, regardless of whether the scholars who travelled about Europe for studies did actually return to accomplish their educational mission or not, the general tendency was in favour of the intellectual migration that would bring them in contact with the achievements of modern philosophy and, consequently, contribute to the upgrading of local education.

A different cultural unity was that of the Ionian Islands. Although many Greek historians tend to consider them a traditionally Greek territory, they actually belonged to the Republic of Venice, in some cases for a longer time than the time other lands were under Ottoman domination.[10] Their intellectual and social life was considerably different from that of other Greek-speaking regions and, most notably, was oriented towards different centres. The Italian peninsula with its many important sites of intellectual and economic activity was an attractive destination for many young people of the area. Within this context, the potential careers of the scholars displayed great diversity, which was quite unusual in other Greek-speaking regions. Besides the traditional professions of teacher and doctor, the scholars could also become professors in the Greek colleges of Venice and

Padua, lawyers and civil servants in the Venetian bureaucracy, editors in the Greek printing houses of Venice, and professors in various Italian universities. There were no schools of higher education in the Ionian Islands; thus, for the majority of the young scholars who were born there, the first or second destination was Padua or Venice and the explicit purpose of their travels was almost always to study in a higher educational institution. It is important to stress, though, that the way the careers of these people eventually developed was a matter of the intricate historical conditions of the period, since in the second half of the eighteenth century the Republic of Venice entered the last phase of its decline, while other centres of political and intellectual activity drew the attention of scholars.

2.3 Where did People Go?

There are many ways to study the travels of a group of people. Being, however, convinced that a major parameter of such an enterprise should be the delineation of the *network* along which these people travelled, I have chosen to speak, at the present stage, of visits. The frequency of visits to various places will allow us to set points on the map, to draw lines between these points and, most importantly, to account for the reasons which made people travel.

Before we proceed with the study of the above charts, it would be useful to make a distinction between two kinds of places. There are places that received more (or many more) than 20 visits and places that received less than 10 visits. Between these two groups there is a gap which, at least to my interpretation, separates the cases of systematic visits from circumstantial ones. The only exceptions that seem to retain an intermediate position are France, Athos and the broader Aegean area, that is, the Aegean Islands and Asia Minor.[11] Henceforth, I shall concentrate mainly on the first group,[12] and I shall give, on occasion, some brief comments on the three intermediate cases.

DESTINATIONS

DESTINATIONS (CUMULATIVE)
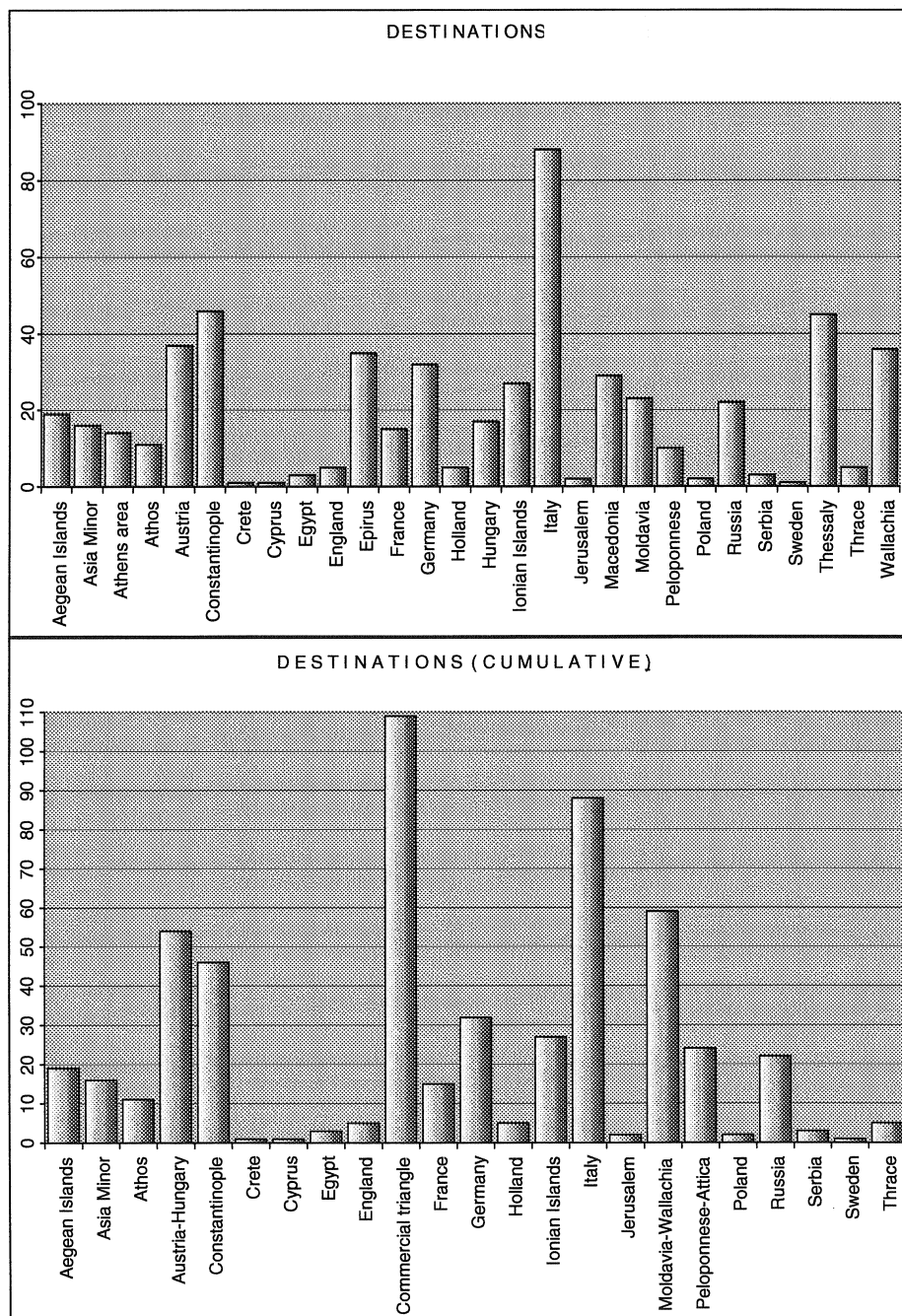
There is a specific reason why I would like to start with the first of these intermediate cases, that is, the case of France. A widespread assumption among Greek historians is that the so-called neo-Hellenic Enlightenment was "imported" from France. According to the above chart, however, there were just 15 visits to France, an extremely low number in comparison to visits paid to other places, as we shall see below. From a different interpretation of the data, we realise that only 11 out of 67 scholars visited France. In most cases they spent some (short) time developing contacts with the Parisian circles of intellectuals, and occasionally attended classes in some educational institutions. We have no evidence, however, that any of them dealt with systematic scientific studies of any kind. In what manner, then, was French scientific thought transferred to the Greek world? The question becomes even more pressing if one takes into account that the Greek community of Paris was established no sooner than the last decade of the nineteenth century while, as we have seen, the Greek scholars of the eighteenth century kept contacts almost exclusively with places that belonged to the network of the Greek communities.

The real peak of the distribution of travel destinations is Italy: 88 visits paid by 37 scholars indicate a great concentration of interest. The explicit purpose of most of those visits (actually, of more than 60 of them) was studies. Many future scholars attended classes in the Greek colleges of Padua and Venice, while quite a few of them continued with philosophical or medical studies in the universities of Padua (mainly), Bologna or Naples. As a matter of fact, the majority of the Greek-speaking educated people of the period obtained their higher education in Italy and, therefore, it would not be imprecise to suggest that, for many years, the Greek and Italian schools of the Venetian Republic functioned as the higher educational institutions of the Greek world. A possible reason for this was the contiguity of the south-western Balkans with the Italian coasts. However, it seems that two other factors played a more important role.

The extended Venetian acquisitions in the southern Balkans and the islands comprised a historical situation that coexisted with the Ottoman domination of other Balkan regions. Despite the harsh rule of some of those areas by the Venetians, it seems that, by virtue of the similarity of religion, the Greek populations developed a positive disposition towards Italian cultural life of the period, a disposition which they retained even after the passing of these areas to the Ottomans. This situation was a result both of official Venetian policy and of spontaneous developments. In any case, however, the osmosis between the two groups was significant. In religious affairs, for example, the fusion of the two dogmata was sometimes so deep

that it led either to common rituals or to the worship of common saints. Similar things happened in literature and painting, where the fusion of the Byzantine with the Renaissance tradition led to the emergence of new artistic movements, especially in Crete and the Ionian Islands.[13] This *cultural familiarity* was a strong motive for young scholars to continue with their higher studies in the educational institutions of Veneto, especially if one takes into account that one of them — the University of Padua — was still among the most prestigious universities of Europe.

The other factor that favoured intellectual migration had to do with the generally positive attitude of the Venetians towards Christian Orthodoxy. The religious policy of the Republic was always determined by political and economic circumstances. Thus, towards the end of the sixteenth century, when the Venetians lost Cyprus and it became obvious that they would need the co-operation of the Orthodox Christians in their military operations against the Ottomans, they started developing a favourable attitude towards the Eastern dogma. This attitude was strengthened by the traditionally secular character and the anti-papal policy of the Venetian State itself.[14] Under these circumstances, the Greek-speaking scholars who continued their studies in the region of Veneto felt their religious faith — the most important component of their collective identity — secured from the Uniat[15] policy of the Catholics. This is indeed an important reason why hardly any of these scholars visited Rome or studied in any of the Uniat schools that Catholics had established in the Eastern Mediterranean region.

Hence, it seems that a combination of geopolitical, cultural and religious factors contributed to the development of a long-lasting current of intellectual migration to the Venetian Republic. An additional factor that favoured this migration was the thriving publishing activity of the city. During the last decades of the seventeenth century, two large printing factories were established in Venice, while a third one was launched in the mid-eighteenth century.[16] All three belonged to Greek-speaking immigrants from Epirus and specialised in the production of Greek books. Having a good knowledge of the Eastern markets' demands, the publishers proceeded with the production of hundreds of religious and philosophical books, as well as many popular readings, which targeted the Greek-speaking populations of the Balkans and Asia Minor.[17] The activity of these printing houses gave rise to a circle of people who dealt systematically with intellectual production. We can assume, quite reasonably, that the activities of these people fit within a broader notion of *study*. Many of them were authors themselves who visited the reading-rooms of Venice and Padua in order to polish their works before delivering them to the printing house.

Others were editors who, for similar reasons, spent their time in the public libraries, putting the last strokes of the brush to various works on their way to the press. This kind of private study allowed these people to become acquainted with the new currents of European philosophy and contributed significantly to the reorientation of Greek thought towards natural philosophy and the sciences.

Another typical destination for the scholars of the period was the territories of Austria-Hungary. In this case, we have 54 visits paid by 26 scholars. Although the numbers are not as high as in the case of Italy, it seems that these areas were a standard destination not only for scholars but also for many Greek-speaking merchants and craftsmen, who emigrated from the commercial triangle of the southern Balkans. Actually, there was a continuous line of Greek-speaking communities along the (commercial) route that connected Macedonia with Vienna and this same line was also the typical migration route.[18] It is absolutely reasonable to suggest that many young people followed their families to the new settlements. There, they attended classes at the elementary schools that the Greek communities had established, especially in various towns of Hungary. A good command of Greek and other local languages was crucial for people who were destined to take over the commercial enterprises of their parents.[19] In this respect, a number of visits was devoted to elementary — especially linguistic and mathematical — education. But since these areas also comprised a potential market for the learned men, some of them (5 or 6 in our case) continued with higher studies in German universities, planning to return and offer their services to the Greek communities as teachers or doctors.

However, the destination of the greatest number of visits was actually Vienna. Vienna received 33 of the above-mentioned 54 visits to the Austria-Hungarian territories. Or, by a different reading of the data, 20 of the 26 scholars who visited the Austria-Hungarian territories were destined for Vienna. Why such a concentration? Vienna was not an educational centre in the sense of Padua. For the Greek-speaking immigrants it was mostly a convenient place for the development of their commercial and banking activities. This situation was a result of intricate historical developments. An aspiration of the Austrian government had always been to gain control over European commerce with Eastern territories. After a series of confrontations with the Ottomans, the Austrians managed to establish a balance of power in the area, governed basically by the treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718), which opened the commercial route of the Danube and encouraged the movement of merchants across the borders. The Austrian merchants, however, were unable to take advantage of the new arrangements

due to their ignorance of local economic and cultural conditions in Eastern Europe. Thus, the people who really profited from this situation were the various Greek-speaking Epirotes, Macedonians and Thessalians who traditionally conducted the commercial exchanges between the two Empires. The Austrian government adopted a favourable attitude towards these people and granted them special privileges in order to facilitate their economic activity. As a result, a pocket of Orthodox, Greek-speaking immigrants grew up in Vienna, and in the course of time they gained significant control over the financial and commercial issues of the city.[20] After 1787 the Greek community split into two parts, one consisted of Greek-speaking Ottoman subjects and the other of Greek-speaking Hapsburg subjects. Both groups originated in the same areas of the Balkans, they had similar economic activities and they were protected by their respective privileges. It seems, though, that most of the time they were at odds, due to economic antagonism and ideological differences.[21] Strange as it may sound, this peculiar and dynamic situation played a significant role in attracting Balkan scholars to the Austrian capital.

One reason for this was the attempt of various Greek-speaking merchants to promote their social status by helping the cultural revival of their hometowns. They did so by offering money for the establishment of schools and the printing of modern books. Thus, many scholars visited Vienna, especially after the decline of Venice towards the end of the eighteenth century, in order to complete and publish their works.[22] An additional factor that encouraged these visits was the two decrees of the Emperor Joseph II (1741-1790) securing religious tolerance (13-10-1781) and a free press (13-10-1781). Under these circumstances, Vienna soon became the new centre of the Greek book.[23] The intellectual environment of the printing houses and accompanying literary activities contributed significantly to the production of many important Greek works on logic, natural philosophy and mathematics. Although the scholars who visited the city did not aim directly at higher studies,[24] they were encouraged to get in touch with the new attainments of European thought and convey them to their compatriots. So, they had the motive *and* the opportunity to broaden their intellectual horizons by studying privately in the Academy of Vienna and in other public libraries that provided them with up-to-date literature on various philosophical and scientific topics.

Another increasingly significant aspect of Vienna's intellectual life was related to politics. The families of the Greek-speaking merchants of Vienna gradually acquired substantial economic power and by the end of the

eighteenth century they came to occupy a significant position in the social
and political hierarchy of the city. According to Olga Cicanci,

> mue par des intérêts en premier lieu économiques, l'administration
> impériale de Vienne a commencé par aider au progrès économique et
> culturel de cette bourgeoisie du Sud-est européen, dont les représentants
> s'établissaient de façon temporaire dans les grands centres de l'Empire.
> Puis, le temps aidant, cette bourgeoisie est devenue une force politique
> active, avec un programme préconisant la libération nationale et la
> fondation des Etats nationaux modernes.[25]

This does not mean, of course, that they were all in favour of the same
political programme, nor that they were all affected by the expectation of a
Greek national state.[26] The specific conditions of social and economic
organisation of this population, however, as well as its proximity to the
political agitations of central Europe, gave rise to the quest for new patterns
of government. It seems that some of the scholars who visited Vienna got
involved with this enterprise since the first political programmes aiming at a
new type of organisation of the populations of the Ottoman Empire appeared
there. What is important, however, from our perspective is that the same
scholars who developed political activity were also active agents of the new
ideas in philosophy and science, considering them substantial components of
their political endeavours.

In Germany we also have quite a few visits. Twenty-two young scholars
visited the German cities and the purpose of 21 out of a total of 32 visits was
higher studies. The number of visits is not comparatively large but still
cannot be explained by the existence of any organised Greek community in
the area. In fact, the only Greek community, that of Leipzig, was established
at the end of the eighteenth century while many Greek scholars had been
visiting the state of Saxony and other German cities since the beginning of
the century. It is true that between 1740 and 1780 many Greek-speaking
merchants from Epirus and Macedonia travelled to the commercial fairs of
Leipzig in order to acquire the famous "Leipzig cloth" and other textile
products of Bohemia.[27] But, although this connection might have helped the
transportation of the scholars, it is not enough to justify their preference for
the German universities. Given the lack of local social support, this
preference is probably evidence of deliberate choice. The positive
disposition of the Orthodox Christians towards Calvinism in combination
with their traditional rivalry with Catholicism comprises a possible
interpretation for such a preference — which, it must be noted, coexisted
with systematic avoidance of the (Catholic) French universities.[28] Another
factor acting along the same lines was, in all likelihood, the positive attitude

of some dominant groups of the emerging Greek society towards the ideal of enlightened despotism. They perceived the governing model of Frederick II (1712–1786) and some other German and Russian rulers as the best realisation of this ideal. It seems, therefore, that political sympathies also played a significant role in the determination of the itineraries of Greek-speaking scholars of the period.

Last but not least, another factor that favoured the intellectual migration of Greek scholars to Germany was the thriving printing community of Leipzig and Halle. Actually, almost all the visits that were not devoted to higher studies were related to some kind of publishing activity. Thus, we have again the same phenomenon seen above: private studies of scholars in public libraries aiming at polishing their works before delivering them to the printing house; or rendition of philosophical and scientific works which were considered important for the enlightenment of their compatriots. The familiarity with German philosophy, which was gained from these studies and, in some cases, from personal contacts between Greek scholars and German philosophers or scientists,[29] contributed considerably to the assimilation of many aspects of the German Enlightenment within the emerging Greek philosophical discourse of the eighteenth century.

So far we have been concerned with travels aiming at studies — in the broader sense ascribed to the term. Indeed, there is quite a clear distinction between these travels and those aiming at careers. Although some of the people who studied in Italy, Austria-Hungary and Germany remained there or returned later seeking jobs as teachers, doctors, or even university professors, the small number of these cases indicates that central Europe was not a professional destination *par excellence* for Greek-speaking scholars. It would be quite plausible to assume that most scholars returned to their homelands in order to exercise their professions in the Greek-speaking regions of the south-western Balkans. Our data seem to corroborate this suggestion to a certain degree. People who originated from the Ionian Islands returned there, although they did not necessarily return to their birthplaces. Sixteen cases out of a total of 27 visits concern professional travels of this kind — including some exploratory visits as well. Similarly, in the broader area of the commercial triangle (Epirus, Thessaly, and western Macedonia) we have 109 visits, two thirds of which were devoted to professional purposes.[30] Most of the scholars, however, did not settle permanently in these areas. Having spent many years in Europe acquiring a higher education, they also developed a consciousness of their own social particularity. They negotiated their stipends and moved from place to place looking for greater acknowledgement of their work. Actually, during the

second half of the eighteenth century, we witness the emergence of a new generation of scholars who gradually became aware of the social value of the qualifications they had acquired during their scientific and philosophical studies, and now sought to define a new collective identity in contrast to the traditional figure of teacher.

Given that during the same period the social groups of merchants and craftsmen started exerting significant influence in the economic and political affairs of the emerging Greek society, it becomes quite clear that this generation intersected with the new intellectual orientations of these groups. But this is only partially true, as becomes evident from the short time many of these scholars spent in the geographical areas of the commercial triangle and the Ionian Islands. A more profound assessment of the data stored in the database leads to the conclusion that very few of the 48 scholars who visited those areas for professional purposes had a successful career there. Most of them turned their professional pursuits to other, wider social horizons.

The distribution of places of death[31] corroborates this dynamic situation. The small number of individuals who died in Austria and Germany indicates the general tendency of Greek-speaking scholars to return home after completing their intellectual mission in Central Europe. However, only 15 scholars (that is less than one third of those who returned) ended their lives in the commercial triangle and the Ionian Islands, while 16 of them died in the environment of the courts of Eastern Europe — Constantinople, Moldavia-Walachia and Russia.

PLACE OF DEATH
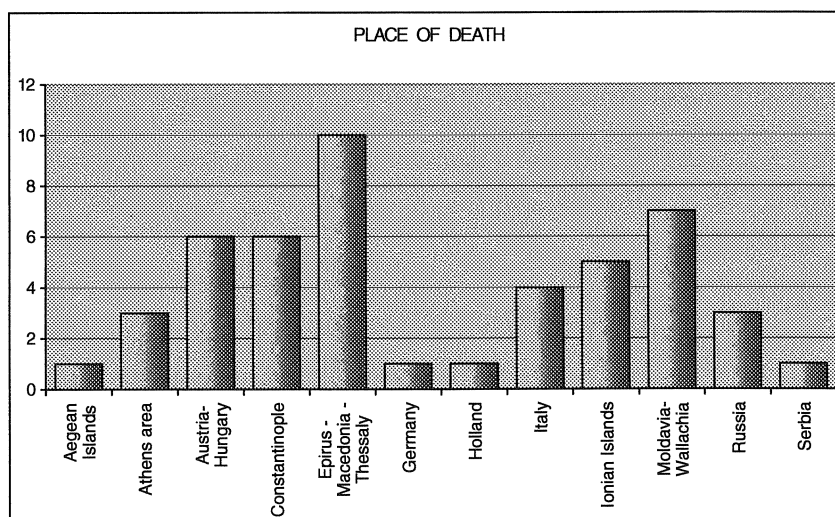
Thus, it seems that although the social agitations of the period gave birth to a new generation of scholars, these scholars displayed relative autonomy concerning their physical and, most importantly, social origins. A linear scheme describing a social base that gives birth to an intellectual infrastructure which, in turn, contributes to the reproduction of this same social base is not absolutely valid in our case. The communities of the merchants and the craftsmen of the area comprised a *potential* social and political centre but not a *real* centre of power yet. The upgraded self-definition of the scholars, implied from the awareness of their higher philosophical and scientific education, oriented their social ambitions towards the *established* centres of power, where their value could be better acknowledged.

The established centres of power which gained their preference were Constantinople, the Danubian regions (Walachia and Moldavia) and Russia, namely some of the most important courts of Eastern Europe. In the case of Constantinople we have in total 46 visits paid by 32 scholars. Twelve visits concern elementary studies in the Patriarchal Academy. Despite its central position in the political and religious life of Greek-speaking populations of the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople *was not* a centre of higher education. Thus, most of the remaining visits were devoted to professional and political pursuits. But again, the scholars who visited the city did not look primarily for jobs as teachers. Actually, only 10 of them gained positions either as private instructors in rich families of the city or as teachers and directors in the Patriarchal Academy. Both posts were also considered political assignments. However, it seems that what basically attracted all these people to Constantinople were not professional endeavours *per se*. A qualitative analysis of the character of their visits brings to light their explicit intention to come into contact with the community of the Fanariots.

The Fanariots were noble Greek-speaking inhabitants of Constantinople who, from the end of the seventeenth century, had acquired an increasingly important role in the administration of the Ottoman State. Contrary to the way in which they tended to introduce themselves, only a few of them were in fact true descendants of the old Byzantine aristocracy. Most of them were rich people who had acquired their fortunes as traders and peddlers in the markets of the Aegean Sea, Constantinople, the Danubian regions and the Black Sea. Their initial aim when they had moved to the Ottoman capital was to secure their wealth by means of political friendships and to make sure that they would be able to pass their riches on to their own descendants.[32] In the course of time they became suppliers of the city, creditors of high officials and consultants of politically powerful men.

> Their ultimate goal was to transcend their purely mercantile functions and
> become a political bourgeoisie in possession of the functions of banking,
> governing the Danubian principalities, administering the civil and fiscal
> affairs of the Greek Orthodox Church, and counselling the authorities at
> imperial, provincial, and even municipal levels.[33]

Which they achieved: from the outset of the eighteenth century, members of the Fanariot elite were appointed governors of Walachia and Moldavia, and obtained a virtual monopoly of other significant offices of the Ottoman administration: high dragoman of Sublime Porte, under-secretary of the Grand Vizier, dragoman of the Fleet and chargé of Aegean affairs. Gradually they took the lead among the Orthodox populations dispersed in the Balkans and their political dominance reinforced the already strong influence of the Greeks in the economic as well as the cultural sphere in these regions. As administrators and diplomats the Fanariots were warm supporters of enlightened despotism and dreamed of the restoration of Byzantium as a new order of political and economic dominance in the Balkans.

Many of our actors who visited Constantinople aimed to develop close relationships with Fanariot families. The positions that offered them the opportunity to develop such relationships were those of private teacher, personal doctor or secretary of a Fanariot nobleman. Some other public positions, such as those of teacher in the Patriarchal Academy or doctor in the Greek hospital of the city, were also in favour of the same purpose. Hence, although there are no systematic studies of the patronage system of the period, it would be quite reasonable to suggest that the main goal of the scholars who visited Constantinople was their social ascent through their involvement in the patronage network of Fanariot society. This suggestion is corroborated by the visits of scholars within the broader Aegean area, namely the islands and Asia Minor. The Aegean archipelago being the main sphere of influence of the Fanariots, it attracted many Greek-speaking scholars as an intermediate station on their way to Constantinople. A qualitative analysis of their visits is quite telling. We have 35 visits paid by 13 scholars; less than one third of those visits were devoted to elementary studies in various schools of the region, while the remaining 22 visits were devoted to professional and political pursuits: The attitude of most actors makes clear that their primary aim was to develop contacts with important persons of the centre, in order to use their stay in the Aegean region as a channel of approach to the patronage system of the capital.

The same conclusions are reinforced by a series of similar phenomena in the Danubian regions. As a scholar of the second half of the century

observed: "Fanari [the area of Constantinople where Fanariots mainly lived and operated] has been moved here, in Bucharest." Indeed, by virtue of the higher offices the Fanariots gained in the administrative system of the Danubian regions, a considerable part of their activity had been moved to the courts of Walachia and Moldavia. Thus, it was quite common for the scholars who visited Constantinople and came into contact with Fanariot circles to accompany their patrons to their new settlements when they were appointed officers in the Danubian regions. Other scholars just followed the links that connected Constantinople with Bucharest and Iaşi or travelled directly there seeking an aristocratic environment to offer their services.

During the eighteenth century, 29 people visited the broader area of Walachia and Moldavia. However, though Iaşi and Bucharest hosted two of the most prestigious schools of the Greek-speaking world, only 6 of their 59 visits were aimed at studies. The result of a qualitative analysis of these visits gives us the following distribution: 8 visits concern doctors who offered their services at the local courts; 25 visits concern teachers who were employed either directly in the courts or in highly regarded positions of the Academies of Iaşi and Bucharest, which operated under the supervision of the local rulers; the remaining 27 visits (slightly overlapping with the previous categories, for obvious reasons) aimed at the development of direct political contacts with Fanariot circles, and resulted in many scholars being appointed secretaries of local rulers or of other important Fanariot officers.

The above analysis seems to confirm the suggestion that many scholars of the period sought a professional career not mainly in the areas they originated from, but at the courts of Constantinople and of the semi-autonomous Danubian regions. Being acquainted with the most recent attainments of European philosophy and science, they aimed at the development of a new intellectual profile that would allow them to keep up with the demands of the emerging Greek society. It is evident, however, that by the end of the century, the rules of the game had not yet been clarified. The specific features of the social strata that converged in the construction of this society, as well as the distribution of the economic and social power among them, were still quite vague. This transitional stage was also represented in the intellectual production of the scholars. This is not the place to examine the character of this production, but it is most probable that the combination of such an examination with the study of the intellectual itineraries of the scholars could contribute substantially to a better understanding of the period.

It is worth closing this description with a brief comment on Russia. Actually, Russia deserves more than a short reference, since the number of

visits there is not negligible. Besides, Russia comprises an important chapter of modern Greek history in many aspects. More specifically, during the eighteenth century, due to its traditional rivalry with the Ottoman Empire, Russia was connected, in the minds of the Greek-speaking populations, with the widespread expectation of the revival of an extended Orthodox Empire. Many Orthodox scholars were in favour of the expansionist plans of Catherine II and some of them visited Saint Petersburg in order to put their services at the disposal of the Empress. Thus, we have 12 cases of scholars (among whom were some of the most important Greek-speaking scholars of the eighteenth century) who paid 22 visits to Russia and almost all of them engaged in a successful career there. An interesting observation is that the intellectual activity of these people was related exclusively to the secular or religious offices they obtained at the imperial court. On the other hand, it must be stressed that Russia was the only non-Greek-speaking political milieu where Greek-speaking scholars had successful careers as courtiers.

3. CONCLUSION: LINES

In a sense, this is an incomplete work. An attempt has been made to process a large amount of data stored in a database in order to draw some conclusions concerning the typology of the scientific, or more precisely, *intellectual* travels of the Greek-speaking scholars of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the collection and proper classification of these data make the study of the historical circumstances possible on more than one level. The present paper is a preliminary survey of the intellectual itineraries, aiming to outline a general scheme about the circulation of scientific and philosophical ideas in the Greek-speaking world of the period.

Who were the agents of the new ideas? The answer that follows from the above study indicates that those who undertook the task of reforming Greek intellectual life were a new generation of scholars who originated mainly from the south-western Balkans. The particular historical circumstances in these regions favoured the development of a current of intellectual migration that brought these people to the universities of Italy and Germany. The libraries and the reading-rooms of Venice, Padua, Vienna and Leipzig also hosted many people who sought broader cognitive horizons. Thus, a couple of lines can be drawn from the narrow geographic area of the commercial triangle and the Ionian Islands (the dark triangle on the map) towards Italy and the main educational centres of central Europe.

How did these people seek to redeem their educational investments? The phrasing of the question should not puzzle the reader. People who spent from

4 to 10 years in the European educational centres would not go back to the Greek-speaking regions of the Ottoman Empire to become badly paid provincial teachers. The production of a new philosophical and scientific discourse played a significant role in the legitimisation of the upgraded authority of this group. In many cases this programme was carried out through the translation of philosophical and scientific books or through the compilation of original works where the new attainments of European thought were assimilated. These works were published in the printing centres of Italy and central Europe and were then delivered to the schools of the Greek-speaking regions. Thus, when the young scholars returned to their homelands, they were considered the agents of a new trend in philosophical and educational matters. This allowed them to seek out positions in places where their qualifications would be better appreciated. They were appointed directors in the schools of the rich commercial communities of the south-western Balkans and contributed to the reformation of local intellectual life. In this respect, the lines that represent the travels of the scholars to central Europe for educational purposes can be seen to run in the inverse direction as well — this time for professional purposes.

In most cases, however, the narrow limits of the areas, which gave birth to the new generation of scholars, did not measure up to their ambitions. As a result, many of the scholars moved toward the courts of Eastern Europe in order to put their services at the disposal of local rulers or to gain highly respectable posts in the schools and hospitals of Constantinople, Bucharest and Iaşi. These itineraries inscribe further lines on the map, which connect — either directly or through the Greek-speaking regions of the south-western Balkans — the educational centres of central Europe with the established centres of political power in Eastern Europe.

Athens University, Department of History and Philosophy of Science
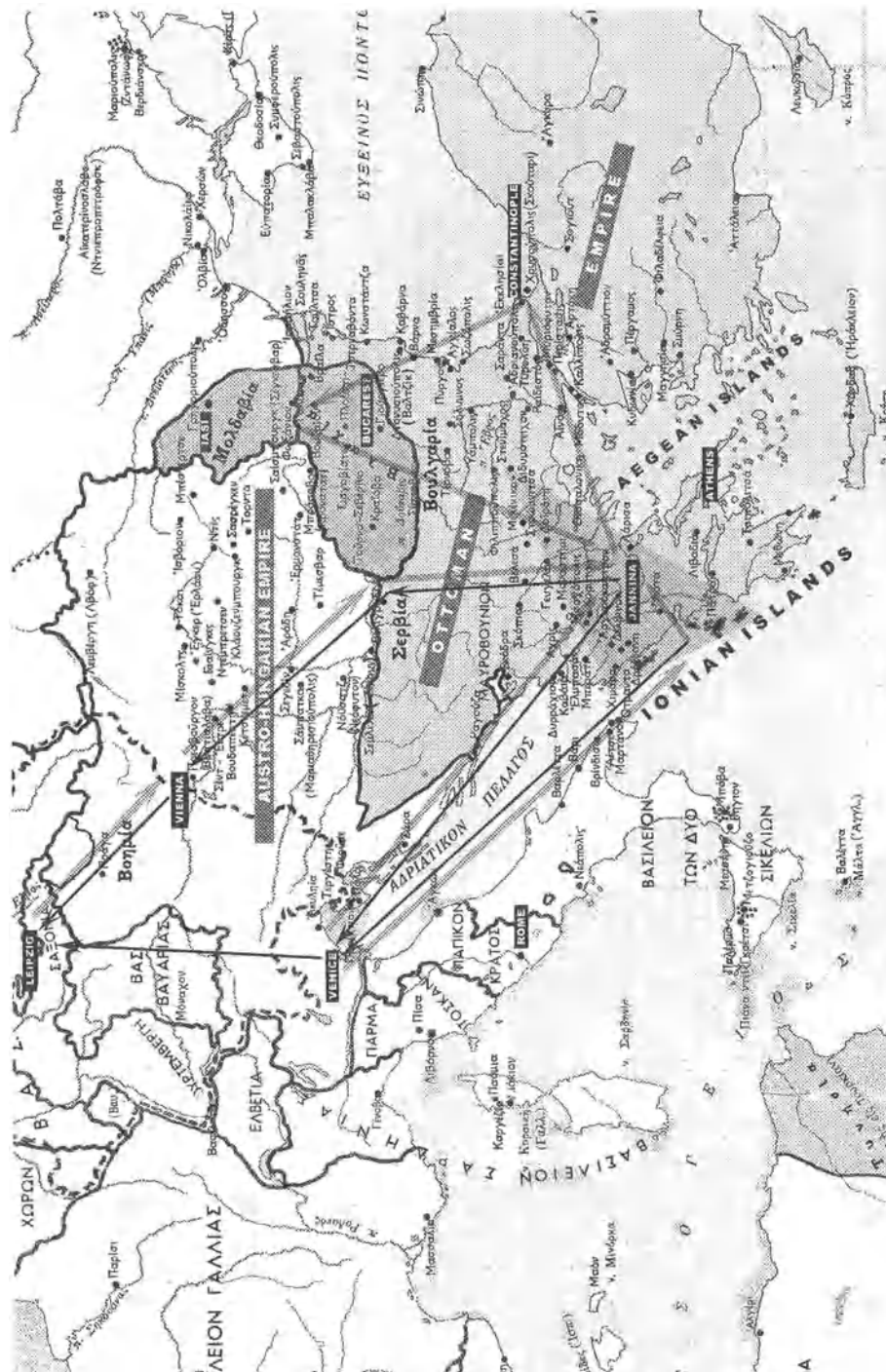
NOTES

[1] [Collective], *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* (Athens: Εκδοτική Αθηνών, 1975), vol. XI, "Ο ελληνισμός υπό ξένη κυριαρχία (περίοδος 1669-1821). Τουρκοκρατία-Λατινοκρατία," p. 231 (in Greek; the translation is mine).

[2] On this subject see K. Γαβρόγλου, M. Πατηνιώτης, "Η ρήξη που δεν έγινε: Επιστήμες και αρχαία ελληνική σκέψη στον ελλαδικό χώρο κατά το 18° αιώνα," *Σύγχρονα Θέματα*, 64 (1997), 88-92; D. Dialetis, K. Gavroglu, M. Patiniotis, "Sciences in the Greek-speaking Regions during the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries. The process of appropriation and the dynamics of reception and resistance" in K. Gavroglu, ed., *The Sciences in the European Periphery During the Enlightenment* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), pp. 41-71; K. Gavroglu, M. Patiniotis, "Patterns of Appropriation in the Greek Intellectual Life of the eighteenth Century: A Case Study on The Notion of Time" in Abhay Ashtekar, Robert Cohen, Don Howard, Juergen Renn, Sahotra Sarkar, Abner Shimony, eds., *Revisiting the Foundations of Relativistic Physics: Festschrift in Honor of John Stachel* (Dordrecht: Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, Kluwer Academic Publishers, forthcoming).

[3] The determination of the timeframe is somewhat subjective: Basically, included in the study are scholars who were (or might be) productive during the period from 1700 through the mid-1820s — a crucial period for the maturing of the new Greek society, which we may call the "extended Greek eighteenth century." Most of my actors were born between 1660 and 1770, but also included are some scholars whose contribution to the intellectual fermentation of the period was significant, although their life spans exceeded the specific limits. The names of the scholars whose careers I examined, in chronological order according to their birth-dates, are the following (last name first): Sougdouris Georgios [Σουγδουρής Γεώργιος] (1640/1660-1725), Likinios Andreas [Λικίνιος Ανδρέας] (1650/1670-1715), Perdikaris Michael [Περδικάρης Μιχαήλ] (1650/1690-1719/1750), Anthrakitis Methodios [Ανθρακίτης Μεθόδιος] (1650-1736/1749), Pylarinos Iakovos [Πυλαρινός Ιάκωβος] (1659-1718), Notaras Chrysanthos [Νοταράς Χρύσανθος] (1660/1663-1731), Papa-Vasilopoulos Anastasios [Παπα-Βασιλόπουλος Αναστάσιος] (1660/1680-1720/1740), Meletios, bishop of Athens [Μελέτιος μητροπολίτης Αθηνών] (1661-1714), Prokopiou Dimitrios (Pamperis) [Προκοπίου Δημήτριος (ο Πάμπερις)] (1670/1700-1720/1760), Ypomenas Georgios [Υπομενάς Γεώργιος] (1680/1690-1745), Paraskevas Damianos [Παρασκευάς Δαμιανός] (1680/1700-1730/1760), Gordatos Konstantinos [Γορδάτος Κωνσταντίνος] (1680/1700-1740/1760), Argentis Efstratios [Αργέντης Ευστράτιος] (1680/1700-1750), Balanos Vasilopoulos [Μπαλάνος Βασιλόπουλος] (1690/1694-1760/1765), Katiforos Antonios [Κατήφορος Αντώνιος] (1696-1763), Litinos Agapios [Λίτινος Αγάπιος] (1700/1710-1800/1805), Charvouris Marinos [Χαρβούρης Μαρίνος] (1700/1720-1782), Charvouris Ioannis [Χαρβούρης Ιωάννης] (1700/1720-1801), Varkosis Nikolaos [Βάρκοσης Νικόλαος] (1700/1730-1782), Damodos Vikentios [Δαμοδός Βικέντιος] (1700-1754), Zerzoulis Nikolaos [Ζερζούλης Νικόλαος] (1706/1710-1772/1773), Konstantinou Georgios [Κωνσταντίνου Γεώργιος] (1710/1730-1786/1803), Fatzeas Georgios [Φατζέας Γεώργιος] (1710-1768/1780), Moschopoulos Antonios [Μοσχόπουλος Αντώνιος] (1713-1788), Voulgaris Evgenios [Βούλγαρης Ευγένιος] (1716-1806), Kontonis Ioannis [Κοντονής Ιωάννης] (1723-1761), Moisiodax Iosipos [Μοισιόδαξ Ιώσηπος] (1725-1800), Karaioannis Konstantinos

[Καραϊωάννης Κωνσταντίνος] (1730/1735-1800/1820), Mandakasis Thomas [Μανδακάσης Θωμάς] (1730/1740-1800/1820), Kyprianos, archimandrite [Κυπριανός αρχιμανδρίτης] (1730/1740-1802/1805), Adamis Ioannis [Αδάμης Ιωάννης] (1730-1800), Theotokis Nikiforos [Θεοτόκης Νικηφόρος] (1731-1800), Balanos Kosmas [Μπαλάνος Κοσμάς] (1731-1807/1808), Charvouris Markos [Χαρβούρης Μάρκος] (1731-1808), Tsoulatis Aggelos [Τσουλάτης Άγγελος] (1732-1798), Iliadis Manasis [Ηλιάδης Μανασής] (1733-1785), Pamplekis Christodoulos [Παμπλέκης Χριστόδουλος] (1733-1793), Makraeos Sergios [Μακραίος Σέργιος] (1734/1740-1819), Karakasis Dimitrios [Καρακάσης Δημήτριος] (1734-1800), Pezaros Ioannis [Πέζαρος Ιωάννης] (1740/1750-1806), Tzechanis Konstantinos [Τζεχάνης Κωνσταντίνος] (1740-1800), Skiadas Michael [Σκιαδάς Μιχαήλ] (1740-1802), Zaviras Georgios [Ζαβίρας Γεώργιος] (1744-1804), Doukas Konstantinos [Δούκας Κωνσταντίνος] (1745/1755-1815/1825), Asanis Spyridon [Ασάνης Σπυρίδων] (1749/1756-1833/1836), Kodrikas Panagiotis [Κοδρικάς Παναγιώτης] (1750/1755-1827), Kavras Zisis [Κάβρας Ζήσης] (1750/1770-1844), Polychronios of Thrace [Πολυχρόνιος ο Θραξ] (1752-1800/1830), Konstantas Gregorios [Κωνσταντάς Γρηγόριος] (1753/1758-1844), Vardalachos Konstantinos [Βαρδαλάχος Κωνσταντίνος] (1755-1830), Filippidis Daniel [Φιλιππίδης Δανιήλ] (1755-1832), Rigas Velestinlis [Ρήγας Βελεστινλής] (1757-1798), Darvaris Dimitrios [Δάρβαρις Δημήτριος] (1757-1833), Gazis Anthimos [Γαζής Άνθιμος] (1758-1828), Veniamin of Lesvos [Βενιαμίν Λέσβιος] (1759/1762-1824), Sparmiotis Ionas [Σπαρμιώτης Ιωνάς] (1760/1780-1830), Dougas Stefanos [Δούγκας Στέφανος] (1765/1770-1830), Govdelas Michael [Γοβδελάς Μιχαήλ] (1770/1790-1820/1860), Kommetas Stefanos [Κομμητάς Στέφανος] (1770-1830/1834), Christaris Michael [Χρησταρής Μιχαήλ] (1773-1831), Pyrros Dionysios [Πύρρος Διονύσιος] (1774/1777-1853), Stageiritis Athanasios [Σταγειρίτης Αθανάσιος] (1775/1785-1835/1845), Kyrillos, patriarch of Constantinople [Κύριλλος πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως] (1775-1821), Koumas Konstantinos [Κούμας Κωνσταντίνος] (1777-1836), Govdelas Dimitrios [Γοβδελάς Δημήτριος] (1780-1831), Kokkinakis Konstantinos [Κοκκινάκης Κωνσταντίνος] (1781-1831), Alexandridis Dimitrios [Αλεξανδρίδης Δημήτριος] (1784-1851).

[4] "Vague information" is always a problem for databases. In my study, this became more than obvious in the case of time: Very often I had to deal either with disagreements of the sources or with indefinite information like this: "Towards the end of the eighteenth century he visited Venice for a few years" or "He flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century." We tend to overlook the hazy character of such statements when we read a textbook or a primary source, but this same character becomes truly problematic when we try to put information in a strict order. In such cases I tried to define the proper "bandwidth," in order to maintain as much accuracy as possible. The result of this decision was a kind of quantum paradox: The same persons appeared to be simultaneously in different places. From a statistical point of view, however, these overlaps did not affect the results of my study, since the accumulation of information cancels the circumstantial character of such approximations.

[5] Based on the map published in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους, op. cit.* (1), 232-233. Courtesy of Ekdotiki Athinon.

[6] This scholar is Iosipos Misiodax, who originated in Chernavoda, Wallachia.

[7] On this subject see O. Cicanci, "Le rôle de Vienne dans les rapports économiques et culturels du Sud-Est européen avec le Centre de l'Europe," *Revue des Études sud-est européenes,* 24 (1986), 3-16 and especially the thorough study of Traian Stoianovich on

the territorial expansion of "The conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant," *Journal of Economic History,* 20 (1960), 234-313.

[8] Ariadna Camariano-Cioran has specifically studied the migration of Epirotes to the Romanian countries. See Ar. Camariano-Cioran, *Contributions à l'histoire des relations Gréco-Roumaines. L'Empire et les pays Roumains* (Jannina, 1984). On the penetration of Greek culture to these countries see the first chapter of her other significant study, *Les Academies Princieres de Bucarest et de Jassy et leur professeurs* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1974).

[9] One aspect of this situation is studied by Olga Kastiardi-Hering in her paper on "The cure of multilingualism." See Ο. Κατσιαρδή-Hering, "Εκπαίδευση στη Διασπορά. Προς μια παιδεία ελληνική ή προς 'θεραπεία' της πολυγλωσσίας;" in *Νεοελληνική Παιδεία και Κοινωνία. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου αφιερωμένου στη μνήμη του Κ.Θ. Δημαρά,* (Athens: Όμιλος μελέτης του ελληνικού Διαφωτισμού, 1995), 153-177. The predominance of the Greek language in commercial and intellectual transactions of the period brought about serious political debates which, starting from educational issues, came to affect discussions about the cultural profile of various Orthodox populations of the Balkans.

[10] The presence of Venice in the Ionian Islands was consolidated during the second Turkish-Venetian war between 1499 and 1503. The island of Lefkas, which came under Venetian domination with the treaty of Karlowitz, in 1699, was the only exception. However, as early as 1669, the Venetian Republic was compelled to yield Crete to the Ottomans, and this event marked the beginning of the decline of its power in the broader area of the Eastern Mediterranean. With the treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, Venice lost all its acquisitions in the Balkans except for the Ionian Islands. The subtle balance of power in the international scene and the simultaneous decline of the Ottoman Empire allowed the weak Republic to maintain the Ionian Islands until 1797, when Napoleon's troops arrived on the islands. For a detailed review of the changes of Venetian domination in the Greek-speaking areas of the Balkans, see Αν. Παπαδία-Λάλα, "Οι Έλληνες και η βενετική πραγματικότητα: Ιδεολογική και κοινωνική συγκρότηση" in Χρ. Α. Μαλτέζου, ed., *Όψεις της Ιστορίας του Βενετοκρατούμενου Ελληνισμού. Αρχειακά Τεκμήρια* (Athens: Ίδρυμα Ελληνικού Πολιτισμού, 1993), pp. 173-214, pp. 178-181.

[11] Which cannot be grouped, however, since many Aegean islands changed hands between the Ottomans and the Venetians over the course of time. On the other hand, although it is clear that the Archipelago was a cultural crossroads rather than a culturally homogeneous region, both the islands and the western coast of Turkey are unified on the basis of a common characteristic that gives them a distinctive position in our study. As we shall see below, they comprised the main sphere of political influence of Fanariots and, in this capacity, a passage towards the centres of power of Constantinople.

[12] With the exception of the visits paid to Peloponnese and Athens area, which appear to be a special case, from the point of view our study. 13 scholars paid 24 visits in the region, but more than half of those visits took place after 1813 and were motivated by political pursuits related to the Greek war of independence. In this sense, the intellectual travels to the Athens area and Peloponnese that actually come under the scope of my study are very few.

[13] Παπαδία-Λάλα, *op. cit.* (10), pp. 182-183. The positive disposition towards the Venetians, however, was not a generic feature of those societies: the positive attitude was mostly associated with the higher social classes and the intellectuals who took advantage of the Venetian administration in order to promote their interests and improve their social

position (but they also put themselves in danger when the Ottomans took over). On the other hand, the attitude of the lower classes towards the Venetians was not always positive. Due to the despotic rule of many local governors, the poor people often favoured the advent of the Ottomans. This trend was encouraged by the (usually honest) declarations of the latter that they would secure religious tolerance and restore social justice (Παπαδία-Λάλα, *op. cit.* (10), pp. 183-184).

[14] Αγ. Πανοπούλου, "Οι Βενετοί και η ελληνική πραγματικότητα: Διοικητική, εκκλησιαστική, οικονομική οργάνωση" in Χρ. Α. Μαλτέζου, ed., *Όψεις της Ιστορίας του Βενετοκρατούμενου Ελληνισμού. Αρχειακά Τεκμήρια* (Athens: Ίδρυμα Ελληνικού Πολιτισμού, 1993), pp. 277-313, pp. 288-289 and 293.

[15] A potentially unknown word: Uniat means a trend within the bosom of the Eastern Orthodox Church aiming at union with the Roman Catholic Church. This trend — systematically encouraged by the various Catholic missions in the broader Balkan area — acknowledges the supremacy of the Roman pope in matters of faith, but maintains the Eastern liturgy, discipline, and rite.

[16] In 1670 the printing house of Glikis, in 1685 the printing house of Saros, and in 1755 the printing house of Theodosiou.

[17] Κ. Γ. Τσικνάκης, "Ο Ελληνισμός της Βενετίας (13^{ος}-18^{ος} αιώνας)" in Χρ. Α. Μαλτέζου, ed., *Όψεις της Ιστορίας του Βενετοκρατούμενου Ελληνισμού. Αρχειακά Τεκμήρια* (Athens: Ίδρυμα Ελληνικού Πολιτισμού, 1993), pp. 519-556, p. 546. See also the comprehensive study of G.Veloudis on the printing house of Glikis, *Das griechische Druck und Verlagshaus "Glikis" in Venedig (1670-1854)* (Wiesbaden, 1974).

[18] On the causes of migration see Stoianovich, *op. cit.* (7), esp. pp. 260-262.

[19] Κατσιαρδή-Hering, *op. cit.* (9).

[20] Stoianovich, *op. cit.* (7), 278; Σπ. Λουκάτος, "Ο πολιτικός βίος των Ελλήνων της Βιέννης κατά την Τουρκοκρατίαν και τα αυτοκρατορικά προς αυτούς προνόμια," *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος,* 15 (1961), 287-350 and 293-297; Cicanci, *op. cit.* (7), 5-6.

[21] Λουκάτος, *op. cit.* (20).

[22] The host of most of those scholars being the community of Ottoman subjects (Λουκάτος, *op. cit.* (20), 304).

[23] "Το εργαστήριον της νέας των Γραικών Φιλολογίας" ("The laboratory of the new philology of the Greeks"), as Korais (1748-1833), an important Greek savant and publisher of the early nineteenth century, commented in 1805. Details on this issue in K. Sp. Staikos, *Die in Wien Gedruckten Griechischen Bücher (1749-1800)* (Athens: Ίδρυμα Ελληνικού Πολιτισμού, 1995).

[24] The Greek school of Vienna was established in 1804 but it actually started working only 12 years later. Moreover, it was an elementary school aiming mostly at the offspring of Greek-speaking merchants who wished to acquire the necessary education in order to continue their fathers' enterprises. (Λουκάτος, *op. cit.* (20), 326-332). On the other hand, the University of Vienna, established in 1365, was a prestigious institution which, however, never drew the attention of Greek scholars. Notwithstanding their frequent visits to the city and their intense intellectual explorations, we have very little evidence that any of them studied systematically at the University.

[25] Cicanci, *op. cit.* (7), 16.

[26] See, for example, the reservations of Traian Stoianovich in *op. cit.* (7), 306-312.

[27] Stoianovich, *op. cit.* (7), 261-262.

[28] And, as seen above, of the equally Catholic University of Vienna.

[29] A telling example is the friendship between Evgenios Voulgaris (1716-1806) and Johann Andreas von Segner (1704-1777) during the former's stay at Leipzig. The contact between the two men led to the translation of Segner's *Elementa arithmeticae et geometriae* into Greek by Voulgaris himself.

[30] The remaining 11 visits in the first case, and 43 in the second, mainly concern internal travels of young people aiming to obtain elementary education in the Greek-speaking schools of the broader area. Several of these schools had quite an advanced curriculum, including philosophical and scientific lessons. Most of the scholars who studied privately in Venice, Vienna and the German cities had already been acquainted with philosophy and the sciences in such local schools. Another area that received quite a few visits for similar reasons was Athos, which belongs to the intermediate cases of our diagram above. The school of Athos became famous under the directorship of Evgenios Voulgaris, between 1753 and 1759. According to our statistics Athos received 11 visits paid by 11 scholars and the purpose of most of them was related to the function of the school — teaching or studies. What makes this limited number of visits important is that those 11 scholars were some of the most influential scholars of the Greek eighteenth century.

[31] In five cases, where the exact place of death was unknown, the last place visited has been used instead.

[32] In the Ottoman Empire it was often the case that the acquisition of wealth was easier than the consolidation and transfer of it to future generations.

[33] Stoianovich, *op. cit.* (7), 269-271.