The influence of the Enlightenment on the development of Ethical Thought In Greek Education during the 18th and 19th centuries

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Abstract: Ideas on ethics and their implementation in the Greek curriculum are critical in educational contexts and processes. During Enlightenment, issues concerning the dignity and the position of the individual in society dominate the ethical discussion on survival and self-sustainment, freedom and gradual positive development in correspondence to societal institutions. At the end of the 18th century in Greece, politics is a worldly ethic guiding virtuous citizens to good conduct. Scholars do not differentiate between private and specific ethics. The neo-Hellenic society needs reorganization and orientation towards worldly-political ethics, focusing on the individual’s ‘happiness’ and ‘well-being’ thus, contrasting church ethics. Schools and the teaching of politics contributed to national cohesion creating citizens with self-value within the legalization of political and cultural homogeneity. This critical approach, examines textbooks, like “Guides of Ethics” or “Handbooks of Morality” published during the 18th and 19th century, printed and taught at Greek state schools and Hellenic schools abroad.

Keywords: Handbooks of Morality; Ethics; Education; Enlightenment; Bliss

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I. INTRODUCTION

The moral dimension of education is of pivotal concern in modern education. Textbooks on philosophy of education devote entire sections to the moral upbringing and education of young people. A major axis in shaping educational policy is related to Ethics. Particular interest in ethics and education is recorded through the circulation of journals on contemporary dimensions of this thought.  


The influence of the Enlightenment on the development of Ethical Thought

The approach to the theory of ethics and its application to educational practices in the 18th and 19th centuries aimed at answering key questions about the development of the theory of morality in male and female education and the pattern of gender formation in its historical development within ethics. According to Bernard Williams, ethics is a concept related to the individual’s actions, demands, needs, claims, desires and generally, the lives of people and it is the useful preservation of ethics. Williams continues with the Socratic reflection on “how anyone should live” concerning the timelessness and egoism claiming that people should favor their interests in a personal or interpersonal sense thus, giving a non-egoistic answer to the ethical world.4

This paper examines and justifies virtues of the time and ethical behavior on religious or secular dimensions based on bibliographical research of Greek textbooks and textbooks translated into Greek by Greek scholars, printed and taught at Greek state schools and Hellenic schools abroad with the interpretative method. The contrast between European ethics (moral values) and traditional morals (religious values) is considered. Concerning the period of the Enlightenment as well as the 19th and 20th centuries, research was based on all manuals of Ethics and religious teachings and good guidance. These, initially, included manuals translated by European intellectuals, followed by manuals of Ethics and Religious teachings written by Greek authors. From the 144 published manuals of Ethics and Religious Teachings, about 82 are translations and reprints of manuals on Ethics written by European authors and English authors dominating the 18th and early 19th century. The remainder are works of Greek authors dominating the 19th century. The study of the manuals is based on the interpretative and comparative method.

Emphasis is placed on the 18th and 19th centuries, a period of transition from the Ottoman Empire era to the independent Greek state. In the 17th and 18th centuries, there were three educational levels: the Lower level, based on common or religious literature: the Middle level of circular education, encyclopedia or cyclopedia; the Higher/Senior level with philosophical and scientific subjects. The focus of circular education was on lower and second levels. This work focuses on levels of education of the 19th century: primary education - Junior/Primary Schools - and higher education - Greek High Schools - where lessons in ethics were given.

I. The Philosophical Background on Ethics in the European Intellectualism from the 18th to the 19th century.

During the Enlightenment, issues surrounding the individual’s dignity and the position in society govern ethical discussions at the end of the 18th century in Europe: the problems of survival, self-subsistence, freedom and progressive improvement are placed in connection with societal institutions. Human actions acquire moral status depending on the code of social conduct formed through the conjugation of ethics and politics.5

In Europe, and especially in France, a philosophical movement of spiritual eclecticism upholding the primacy of spirit over matter prevails: Victor Cousin (1792-1867) with his students Theodore Simon Jouffroy (1796-1842), Charles Leveque (1818-1900), Alfred Jules Emile Fouillée (1838-1912), Barthelemy (1812-1896) and others, tried to reconcile the views of Descartes with the views of Plato and Aristotle. There is a link with the development of an ethic-centered reference of the human being and God, as revealed in the writings of Emile Saisset (1814-1863), who supports the existence of the instinct of god in every man6, Louis-Antoine Garnier (1803-1878), who claims that the provision of freedom to humans can lead to grace and perfection7, and Charles Leveque, who connects God, soul, and freedom to dignity.8 This study of policy and

6 E. Saisset, Le christianisme et la philosophie, Essaïs sur la philosophie et la religion au XIX siècle (Paris: Charpentier, 1845), 296, where it says: “Man is born with two distinct, yet inseparable needs: moral and religious needs. Being free he feels the existence of a law which regulates the will and being able to think and love, he needs an object at infinity of spirit and heart. So every man has the instinct of good and infinity, in other words, the instinct of God….. Any creature that can live without faith in God, “drowning” inside him the above law, does not belong to mankind. The moral and religious instinct, the instinct of the divine is what is most fundamental to humans. It is what precedes and is superior to any religion and philosophy and that is the essence but also the basis of all faiths or philosophies. It is the common feature of all people, wild or civilized, ancient or modern ... a feature which in itself is the unity of the human race”.
7 A. Garnier, Effets de la volonté. La volonté libère le libre arbitre, Traité des Facultés de l’ Âme (Comprenant l’ Histoire des Principales théories psychologiques) Volume I (Paris: Libraire de L. Hachette et Cie, 1852), 363. States that: “Providing will and freedom to humans, divine Providence allows him to acquire new properties to perfection and with a gracious condescension, giving great value (divine Providence) to work with the creator”.

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morality is highly promoted in the writings of famous British European philosophers such as Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Reid, Adam Smith, and others, as well as French philosophers such as Bayle, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Helvetius, D’Alembert, Diderot, Mably, and Condorcet.

II. The History and Development of Ethical Thought in Greek Education from the 18th to the 19th Centuries

The Greek Enlightenment forms part and will connect with the European Enlightenment. The start of the Greek Enlightenment is placed specifically between 1774 and 1821. This is slightly later than the European Enlightenment which began in the 17th century and ended just before the era of the French Revolution. Effects on languages and translations will be experienced when Greece gradually mingled with the West. The prosperity the Greeks afforded precociously between 1709 and 1774 and the rapid economic and cultural development in the countries of the “east” will have direct effects on traders and scholars. Scholars become more aware of their importance within the community and their autonomy with other social groups, while they gain some independence from the Church. The vast majority of scholars are clerigymen having increasingly secular origins. Thus, traders who deal with general issues of education have spiritual interests and become noticeable during this period. In the 18th-century questions of ethics concern mostly scholars, clergymen and people closely tied to the church, whereas from the end of the 18th century and throughout the 19th-century scholars have secular origins.

i. The influences bringing the first changes

The first signs of intellectual change are seen in Greek education in the early 18th century as spiritual suggestions for a new conscience. The pastoral and educational policy of the Orthodox Church is represented by distinguished scholars and clergy of the 17th century, most of whom retained spiritual relations with Italy and combined the Holy Scriptures with the cultivation of classical education. The value of education and social solidarity for developing the moral conscience of people was preached alongside with Christian virtues. Overall, the new ideas of this period can be summarized in the belief in the power of reasonable speech, the scalability of human progress and the possibility to attain happiness. Enlightenment is optimistic; it attaches importance to education, promotes living languages and national idioms, fosters free critical inquiry and knowledge of the natural world, declares religious tolerance and teaches the dignity and importance of every individual.

The philosophical aspect of ethics in the Greek Enlightenment cannot be viewed and understood if not included in the general and specific range of ideas of the Western Enlightenment. Since the individual, the only possible agent of morality is considered in the existential roots in his bio-structure (“βιοδοξία”) and physicality, moral philosophy has to set new concerns, different from those considered by a spiritual conception of an individual. This spiritual conception from the same inner logic should have seen the moral act in connection with the painful struggle for purification and salvation of the soul. On the adverse side, questions are raised about whether the body is an expression of negative acts and how much freedom is attributed to a spirit concerning its body.

Thus, Mainstream Enlightenment, under pressure of conflicting necessities, is orientated towards a swinging treatment of the ethical/phosphical reflection, in which dimensions of human rights and a belief in the free rational spirit as the ultimate regulator of ethical conduct coexist. Thus, happiness is sought through balance. Morality freed from metaphysical and theological beliefs, consistent to reason and rejecting fanaticism and superstition, is embraced by the Greek scholars of Enlightenment and is included in their wider national educational plan. The appearance and prevalence of secular, non-ascetic perception of moral issues are expressed in the dissemination of a new concept of ethical-philosophical thought, and the awareness of dilemmas of an individual’s moral activity.

Vincent Damodos (1700-1752) from the island of Kefalonia, a forerunner of the Modern Greek Enlightenment with extensive teaching experience and literature production, introduces some of the key elements of this movement with his work in Greek education. However, even though he is oriented towards science and modern European philosophy, he retains elements from earlier traditions. Having been a student of

8 Ch. Lévêque, Avant-propos, La Science de l’ Invisible, GermerBaillière (Paris: 1865), 10-11, where referring to God, the soul and freedom, says: "We are not aware of more serious, more important and more timely issues than these ... in which no serious spirit would dare to remain indifferent from now on. Anyone who is not exclusively dominated by the passion of material interests and has maintained a concern for human dignity, the true human greatness, and moral progress, feels good that he/she should be placed opposite to these problems whose positive or negative solution, draws such large consequences".
10 Vincent Damodos, Born into an aristocratic family he was born and raised in Havriata in Kefalonia. In 1713 he traveled to Venice to study at the Greek Community School of Flagiano. He continued his studies at the College
Katiforos in the Flangianian Tutorial School (1716-1719) in Rome and a Doctor of Law from the University of Padua (1721) refers to virtues and defects in the third part of his Synopsis of Moral Philosophy. Damodos stresses that passions, natural forces, and habits motivate the soul or enable it to act. He points out that supernatural virtues are received from God, whereas natural virtues are acquired and are called habits which we develop ourselves employing continuous actions in good deeds.\textsuperscript{11}

The origin and evolution of the phenomenon are monitored, especially in the 18th century. Emphasis is placed on the virtuousness of morals for “the embellishment of the morals of youth”, and the specific connection and relevance of this phenomenon to educational practices. The circumstances under which the development of education objectives towards secular ethics is ensured by expanding the curriculum of the Circular Education are explored. Finally, the factors that account for the readiness of their reception, the wide geographic distribution of “manuals of morality” and how the institutional response in the form of the consensus of the Orthodox Patriarchate\textsuperscript{12} is ensured are looked upon.

ii. Books and manuals teaching new conscience, virtues, and manners

The concept of “virtue” in the spirit of Montesquieu, i.e. the conscience of citizenship and the concept of "bliss" (the earthly happiness as opposed to religious blissfulness) are paramount in the minds of the intellectuals. Various editions of practical books issued this period provide evidence of all changes in conscience, mentality, and values of the new Hellenism.

These books present and teach good manners or values, called “Christoithia” (Good Ethos), in the relationships among individuals and genders. They form guides of conduct that will undergo profound changes due to the contact with the Western world. The reader learns how to prove good manners having a moral upbringing, how to socialize and how to behave properly in public places, how to conduct in social situations and how to talk to seniors, juniors, superiors, and friends.


\textsuperscript{12}We must recognize the fact that the Patriarchate welcomes with specific terms and conditions the implementation of new proposals, usually following some financial aid and pressure from the respective groups. The reform attempt of 1663 by Dennis Patriarchate the Third shows that both the resistance and the pressures are strong after bypassing the Patriarchal School with the establishment of the second school in the city, that of Manolakis Kastoriano. The project is implemented with the financial support of traders and the active involvement and intervention of Jerusalem Patriarch Nektarios the First. A. Skarveli-Nikolopoulos, \textit{Handbooks of Greek schools in the Ottoman Empire} (Athens: 1994), 192-193. T. Gritsopoulos, \textit{Patriarchal Great School, Vol. 1} (Athens: 1966), 216-220, 272. S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, "To adorn the morals of youth": The evolution of learning objectives admonitory texts from the 15th century to the “honesty” of Ant. Byzantios (1700) and ‘Manipulation’ by Dim. Darvaris of Rep. (1891)”, \textit{Egnatia, the Journal of the Department of History and Archaeology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki}, 15, (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press 2011): 57-72.
During this period, virtues are included in all manuals of morality, although virtue, as a proud badge of civic dignity\textsuperscript{13}, is excluded. The new term of citizenship begins to appear not concerning only individual morality, but also social morality as the individual opens up to society. This virtue is not related to anything theological, but relies on a mundane existence, and seeks bliss. Bliss with virtue, intensifies throughout the Enlightenment, clarifying its meaning: contrary to the bliss of heaven, Christians search all their lives for; the virtue of citizenship brings them closer to bliss in this world.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{iii. Merchants, Fanariots, and scholars in ethical thought spreading}

What is certain is that in these times, parallel educational conditions are created between the enslaved Greeks and the West and beyond their cultural, religious or other differences and contradictions. The official spokesperson for this renewal is education. Traveling merchants carry the conviction that education provides a better life being the mother of freedom.\textsuperscript{15} The establishment of schools and publication of books that will bring to the Greek people the “light” of Europe are reflected in the social class of Fanariots in Istanbul. The Fanariots watch carefully the developments in Western education and strive to adapt their lives and teachings to Western standards. Eschatological ethics are not enough for these generations who view things critically. A new code of ethics is required as theological virtues tend to be replaced by a single virtue, citizenship. Additionally, the pursuit of earthly bliss as a request of the period emerges in parallel to the promise of a posthumous reward for virtuous acts.

A corresponding number of issues arise regarding the education of young people. The interests of young people are extremely broad, and a large selection of materials is required to increase their knowledge and satisfy their needs. Alongside a plethora of books about morality or the physical sciences, many others cover a wide range of interests. Throughout this period, the new society supports and believes in the child and begins to hope for better conditions. The most encouraging sign of all is the return of educated scholars from Europe to their homeland willing to use their knowledge in the progress of people.

At the end of the 18th century, Greece sees politics as worldly ethics, as the Greek scholars see no distinction between private and specific ethics. Worldly ethics appear as a guide of conduct for virtuous citizens and correspond to the needs of the neo-Hellenic society, which is reorganized and orientated towards a more worldly-political type of ethics than what is taught by the Church. It is the “happiness” and the “well-being” of the individual within society\textsuperscript{16} that is sought after and not the bliss of Christians for God’s kingdom. The educational reforms of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century are thus, interpreted as broadcasters of the new way of governing, transforming subjects to citizens and creating new links between individuals and the state. Schools are among the main means of imposing national cohesion in the framework of the “creation” of citizens who value themselves to the nation-state and serve the legalization of the political and cultural homogeneity.\textsuperscript{17} Teaching political ethics within the school contributes to this purpose.

Greek scholars support the concept of secular-political morality, emphasizing that universal morality does exist in the world. Secular morality appears as a science of human duties, by which individuals learn how to juxtapose logical thinking against feelings and passions. “Ethics is the art of living well, the practical science of human tasks, whereby humans learn to compare perseverance with adversities, nature with habits, and to perform just and virtuous acts, putting as an axiom that whatever is not honest and just at all times, is not beneficial. Morality is the most necessary knowledge in man”.\textsuperscript{18}

\textbf{iv. Moisiodakas in Muratori}

During late 18th and the beginning of the 19th century and the first stage of the formation of moral thought in Modern Greek Enlightenment, an attempt is made to transfer the identical European thought on morality via translated texts. The dissemination of European thought in the Greek space initiates mainly with the translation of \textit{Moral Philosophy} by Ludovico Muratori in 1761 by Josephus Moisiodakas. He was teacher and writer from Tsernava of northeastern Bulgaria (c. 1725-Bucharest 1800) and a supporter of the ideas of the

\textsuperscript{13} K. Th. Dimaras, \textit{ibid.}, 467.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 75.

\textsuperscript{15} K. Th. Dimaras, \textit{ibid.}, 311.

\textsuperscript{16} “We should not confuse the secular with the religious morality” says Michael Christaris, “the former aims at permanent earthly pleasure and the later teaches the heavenly bliss.” Paradis de Raymondis, \textit{Elementary Textbook of morality and happiness}, translated by M. Christaris, Vol. 1 (Vienna: 1816), 147.

\textsuperscript{17} M. Nikolakaki, \textit{Modernization and the Educational System in Post-modernity: An evolving relationship} (Athens: Pedagogical Institute).

\textsuperscript{18} E., Zioui, \textit{The Ethics applied to their policy as an introduction to observations of the manners of the French in the 19th century}, by E. Zioui, member of the perfection of arts and sciences society translated from French by N. Spiliaout(Paris: vol. 1, 1822),13.
Enlightenment who introduced new educational standards in the area of the Greek-speaking education. Born in the village of Tsernavoda Dobrudja in northeastern Bulgaria he received his initial education possibly in Wallachia or Thrace. In 1752 he traveled to Thessaloniki, where he studied under the scholar Iannakoidis an advocate of traditional Aristotelian philosophy. His desire for better education brought himto Smyrna. However, he soon was disappointed by the traditions of lerotheosDendriniou, (teacher at the Evangelical School and supporter of tradition and grammar education) as he did not cover or include spiritual pursuits. 19

This work belongs to the conservative part of Enlightenment, but its internal layout highlights the moral-philosophical direction emphasizing the relevance of body functions with moral and spiritual life. The terms of duties are deduced from empirical anthropological constants, especially from the individual’s desire for self-preservation, the “selfishness”, where moderate selfishness leads exactly to the moral practice. As such, morality is nothing else but the “well-understood” interest of humans, who tryto self-preserve themselves,to earn pleasure and avoid sadness. A theoretical guide, direct or indirect, of this move, is Locke, who was translated into Greek by Moisiodakas.

Moisiodakas’ work “Some Thoughts Concerning Education” published in Venice in 1779 wasinfluenced by John Locke. Turning from moral education to education of the spirit, Moisiodakas, following Locke, emphasizes that knowledge alone is not able to shape the character that can make the individual able to co-exist with other people.21 The goal of education is therefore twofold seeking to combine strong and broad

19P. Persianis, “Challenging the hegemonic knowledge and expectations of success: The case of Josephus Moisiodakas by the end of the 18th century”, in S. Bouzakis (ed.), Education in the 21st century: historical-comparative approaches Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress of History of Education (Patra: 4-6 October 2002) (in CD form). At Athonite School of Mount Athos, which was run by EugeniosVoulgaris during the biennium 1754-1755, he was taught by him both philosophy (i.e. logic, introduction to philosophy and metaphysics) and mathematics, which included arithmetic, geometry, physics, and cosmography. Among the textbooks used in the school was Logic by D.B. Duhamel, Metaphysics by Gehonesi, Elements of Arithmetic by G. Wolff, Elements of Geometry by A. Tacquet, etc. During this period he was introduced to the newer philosophy and science of Western thinkers and he came in to contact with the spirit of the Enlightenment. He later entered the Medical Philosophy School of Padova, attending classes on natural philosophy probably until 1762. Among his teachers were G. Poleni, who had a doctorate in experimental philosophy, G. A. Colombo, who then held the seat of astronomy, geography, and meteorology, as well as Kottonianos General Simon, who was specialized in various technical applications of mathematical disciplines. In 1765 he accepted a proposal from Gregory Alexander Gikas, the new ruler of Moldova, to take over the leadership of the Authentic School of Iasio. He was ordained as Headmaster and Teacher of Philosophy participating in the efforts of the ruler to reform the educational program forward. Among the innovations, he introduced was the adoption of the rational method in contrast to scholastic logic and ontology. He traveled to Bucharest, and after ten years returns to Iasio. He accepted a proposal to head the school, where he was also assigned to teach science. On a visit to Pest in Hungary he secured the financial support of Theodore John Gikas and Michael Nahum Moscow to print his educational series of books Treatise on Pediatric Treatment. Until the autumn of 1784 he was based in Bucharest, and from March 1797 until December that year it appears that he taught at the Academy of Bucharest. Josephus Moisodakas wrote books with philosophical content, as well as scientific textbooks and educational texts. Moral Philosophy is a translation of the corresponding work of the Italian philosopher Ludovico Antonio Muratori, who was a student in Venice (1761/2). Ch. Spyropoulos “Modern Greek Enlightenment: ..., a few biographies of Moisiodakas Josephus (1725/1730-1800): Part I”, Roptro, Bimonthly Periodical Edition on Educational Theory and Practice 26 (March-April 2009): 11-14. N. Vostantzis, AI The Educational ideas of Josephus Moisiodakas (Athens: 1941). P. Kitromilidis, J. Moisiodakas: The coordinates of thought in the Balkans during the 18th century (Athens: MIET, 1985). G. Karafyllis, “The Pedagogy of Moisiodakas and the concept of education”, The Educational 27-28 (July-December 1992). G. Karafyllis (eds), Josephus Moisiodakas, Treatise on pedestrian treatment or Pedagogy (Kozani: Institute of Book and Reading, 1998). K. Malafantis, “The teacher in the Modern Greek Enlightenment: Thoughts, suggestions, and visions for its’ work and mission,” History of Educational Issues 4 (Spring 2005): 68-94. N. K. Psimmenos, ibid., 33-34. For biographical details of Moisiodakas: A. Camarriano-Cioran, Les Academiesprincières de Bucharest de Jassyatleursprofesseurs, 569-598. L. Muratori, Moral Philosophy, translated by I Moisiodaka (Venice: 1761), I, 84 ff, 238 ff, II, 15 ff, 74 ff, 241 ff.

20The work of J. Locke Some Thoughts Concerning Education consists of simply worded suggestions written for an aristocrat friend who wanted some guidance from J. Locke for the upbringing of his son.

21 Following J. Locke, J. Moisiodakas formulated his theory of pedagogy in the epistemological understanding of human cognition as the starting tabula rasa, in which knowledge is recorded with experience: small children who are “like soft wax, and obey every transformation regardless.” From this fact it is suggested that major risks of corruption and perversion can be exposed to the character of children. As children pass into adolescence,
knowledge with integrity. With particular reference to the issue of morality, ancient texts with genuine interest and vitality, such as Aesop's fables, could be used to engage young children and would exacerbate the spirits being attractive historical readings. All in all, morality is defined by J. Moisiodakas as "human science, which tackles everything about the individual".  

v. Byantios' manual of Morality

In this period, other manuals about the establishment of a new system of values in ethics were published. In most school libraries, the manual of Morality by Antonios Byantios, dating from the 18th century, is included among the manuals of Morality issued in the early 19th century. Therefore, the long presence of this manual in Greek schools is confirmed. It is one of the first books of this period relating to ethics, not written by a clergyman but by a scholar. It witnesses the gradual separation of ethics from theology. It has not yet been determined whether it was based on "Galateos" by Giovanni Della Casa or on the De civilitatemorumque in Erasmus of Rotterdam or both.  

From the contents, it becomes evident that the manual of Morality takes on board and disseminates new European facts relative to social morality, ethics and the configuration of personal behavior. The objectives of politics as social ethics are mainly the soundness of morals and the decency within the context of social life. The first goal is directly related to the formation of character: control of defects such as clutter, wastefulness, hypocrisy, laziness, irreverence, and emphasis on virtues, good-order, and moderation. The control of vices forms the focal point of Ethics with traditional Christian morality. The second goal focuses on rules of behavior for the functions and techniques of the body: how to walk, stand, salute, eat properly and be clean and decent.  

vi. Intensified efforts and new "code of behavior leading to new publications"

The decade of 1790 is certainly stamped by the French Revolution. Both its popularity in European countries, tied with the Greek people in the Ottoman Empire, and the admission of revolutionary ideas in South-Eastern Europe, set out the requirements for the ideological and political maturity of the demands of this wider area. The new Hellenism intensifies its efforts seeking a new lifestyle, detaching itself from the traditional spirit, daring to construct a new code of moral and social values and testing new aesthetic pleasures. So, morality and the inevitable didacticism cross new boundaries. The development of new social groups results in the formation of a new acceptable "code of behavior". This is expressed through textbooks of Morality teaching young people virtues, faults, and rules of behavior so that they meet societal requirements. Knowing this code an individual can seek earthly bliss and respond successfully to the demands of an already complex society on a socioeconomic and political level. If the special attention should be paid to the development of their integration into society in the spirit of moral and political directness to constructive public and private experiences. P. Kitromilidis, Modern Greek Enlightenment, ibid., 235. J. Moisiodakas, Treatise on boys' Education or Pedagogy (Venice: 1779), 15-17, 19-26, 34, 42-52, 54, 71-72. The close relationship between Education by J. Moisiodakas and the work of J. Locke, Some Thoughts concerning Education, was noted by E. Kriaras, “The Pedagogy of Moisiodakas and its relation to the educational writings of Locke”, Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher, 18 (1943): 135-153.

22 J. Moisiodakas, Confession, 97.


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The influence of the Enlightenment on the development of Ethical Thought...

individual does not succeed in achieving the earthly bliss by following the code, God will reward him in heavenly life.  

vii. Darvaris and the shift in values

The decade (1790-1800), ending the century of the Enlightenment constitutes an essential period of major publishing activity in the development of Greek education. It is manifested in the manuals of good behavior. Dimitrios Darvaris influenced by the spirit of the German Enlightenment, where religion does not come into conflict with true reason, is a prime example of a translator, compiler and writer-educator whose work circulated widely in the area of Southeastern Europe. He reflects the influence of European ideas through the prism of social modernization in this area,  

publishes “Christoethics (Good Ethos),” “Guidance in goodness and virtuousness” in 1791, “The flower of virtue and knowledge”, a summary of rules through which one can live decently and happily, and “The Art of living, a useful advice: How someone can live in accordance with the wisdom of people” in 1794 and “The true road towards wellbeing” in 1796. In these titles we note the terms “bliss” (to live honestly and happily) and “peace” (to live in peace and quietness), obviously relating now to more important problems.

The shift in social values is felt more through the prism of another semantic evolution in the term “blessedness” in the titles of works. These books demonstrate the “bliss” i.e. happiness in this world, leaving aside the problem of “blessedness”, of bliss in another world. Many of these books are printed for school use since education is the key to the spreading of these ideas. In Halle, D. Darvaris is influenced by the education system of Franke and Bessedow in the Institute of Dessau, the famous Philanthropinon.  

In 18th century Europe, the literature related to ethical demands is rich. This important axis of thought, which overcomes Christian ethics and the theocratic conceptions of virtue, regards the bliss of the individual concerning the community as central. The popularization of the ideas about human bliss sets the peace and harmony of relationships among community members in civil society as the ultimate goal. The moral thinking of the 18th century, strongly influenced by ancient beliefs, is supported by the Epicurean philosophy (the idea of rest, silence, abstinence from the intense passion that safely leads to bliss), and the “Stoic vision”, as Robert

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27 P. M. Kitromilidis, Greek Enlightenment, ibid., 248-249.
28 The pedagogical work of D. Darvaris was the subject of teaching in the Hegemonic Academies of Danubian countries, was copied for educational purposes, and some of his texts were translated into Romanian. A. Camariano-Cioran, Les Académiesprincières de Bucarest et de Jassy et leursprofesseurs (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1974), 153, 156, 174, 211, 219, 274-276, 331, 333, 339, 476, 517, 606. Demetrius Darvaris was born on August 12, 1757, at Kleisoura in Macedonia, near Kastoria, and died in Vienna on 21 February 1823. He was initially educated in Pest, where his father lived “for the sake of commerce.” There he was also taught Latin and Slavonic languages. He continued his studies at Semlino (Semlim) and in the Authentic College of Bucharest. For four years he studied philosophy and philology at Halle in Saxony and Leipzig. After completing his studies, he taught Greeks and Serbs for many years in Semlin. Since 1795 he settled in Vienna, where he concentrated undistractedly on his pedagogical writings, which was systematically and generously subsidized by his brothers John and Peter, and excelled as a teacher (of Greeks and Serbs) and as an author of educational books. I Papadrianos, Greeks colonists of Semlino (Thessaloniki: 1988), 123-126, 179-186. Ch. Meletiades, “Contribution to the study of pedagogy Greek Enlightenment thinking (Dimitrios Nikolao Darvaris)” in ‘IB Panhellenic Conference of History – Transcriptions (Thessaloniki: 1992), 217-231.
29 Influence of the Goodness that is in the Handbook of Reading and Studying of Youth Romans and Vlachs. At the expense of Lord John Nicholaos of Darvaris (Vienna, Austria: in the Printing Office of George Vendotis, 1791), Introduction, “About the school”, 1.
30 The True Road to Pure Bliss namely three works PlutarchosHeironius with Regards to the Upbringing of Children, Socrates the Orator about True Happiness of the Young, Xenophon of the Socratic School about Economics following two Chapters of Aristotle’s Moral Duties with regards to the duties of Couples (...) by DimitriosNicholaos of Darvaris(Vienna, Austria: 1796),[XIII].
31 D. Darvaris “With regards to Children’s Upbringing” Hermes the Scholar (1812): 98.

DOI: 10.9790/0837-2410043046 www.iosjournals.org 37 |Page
The influence of the Enlightenment on the development of Ethical Thought...

Mauzi \(^3^4\) called it, a vision that affected the pedagogical conceptions of Ch. L. Montesquieu, D. Diderot, and J. J Rousseau. \(^3^5\)

III. **The Meaning of Morality as it appears in Greece during the 19th century**

In the early 19th century, there is a noticeable increase of western books translations in educational books, books of general knowledge, and, thus, of books relating to ethics. A new period for Greek education \(^3^6\) begins and the trends of young people are reflected mainly in textbooks of morality, which conceptualize the good and useful citizens and their civic participation in public life. The Greek state, according to the Decree of 31 December 1836 setting the timetable of lessons of Greek Primary and Secondary Schools, officially requires the teaching of the “Principles of Ancient Anthropology or Ethics” in the third year of Secondary school for 2 hours per week. \(^3^7\)

i. **Soave in Greek by Konstantas**

Francesco Soave’s (1743-1806, Italian educator, philosopher, author and professor of literature), most relevant work to this paper, is “Elements of Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics”, published in 1971 in four volumes, with the last one referring to Ethics. In Greece, between 1804 and 1863, his work on ethics is translated and reprinted 17 times. In 1804 this volume is translated for the first time in Greece by Gregory Konstantas. He received his primary education in Millies, although he continued his studies at the School of Zagora, a fairly important educational center of the period. He then went to Bucharest, most likely, after having lived previously in Istanbul. \(^3^8\)

G. Konstantas chose a work that systematized the ideas of J. Locke and Étienne Bonnot deCondillac, whilst also referring to Kant. In his Preamble F. Soave (1818: 7-8) defines Ethics as a science and as part of Philosophy: “The most remarkable and beneficial part of Philosophy, without which all the other parts help little, is that which teaches us to know ourselves, which shows us our obligations, which opens and smoothes the path through which we will reach well-being, the eternal aim of our desires, it is science, which we are going to deal with respect to the triple reference towards the self, the equals and the ultimate creator of the self and equals”.

During this period the concept of virtue represents the proud dignity of the citizen and the opening of the human being to society. This virtue, unrelated to theology, but closely connected with the worldly existence, targets directly to bliss. The term “bliss”, along with virtue, is particularly dense during the Enlightenment,


\(^3^6\) K. Th. Dimaras, Modern Greek Enlightenment, ibid., 260-262.

\(^3^7\) A. Dimaras, *The Reform which did not happen (Historical Documents), Volume. 1 (1821-1894)* (Athens: Estia-Modern Greek Library, 2005), 66.

\(^3^8\) Gregory Konstantas was born in Milies (area of Pilio), most probably in 1753. Gregory Konstantas became headmaster of the school in Bucharest, but left, suddenly, in 1787. We meet G. Konstantas at this time in Vienna (certainly in 1788, 1792), at Halle, in Padua. After Padua, health problems forced him to return to his homeland. He passed through Corfu, Ioannina, and arrived at Milies. In 1795 he was called to Ambelakia, where he stayed for a few years, teaching ancient Greek, Italian, mathematics, and philosophy. He also wrote and published his work. In 1800 he published the “Side works of Filotheos”, an anonymous work of NicholaosMavrokordatos, and translated the “Elements of Philosophy” of Fr. Soave. During the years 1803-1805 G. Konstantas visited Vienna, Venice, and Trieste. Later it appears that he settled in Istanbul (1809 - 1812), where he worked and where he received a proposal to take over the direction of the Patriarchal Academy, to which he refused. In 1812 he returned and took over the responsibility for directing the school of Milies following the death of Anthimos. In 1824 the Government invited G. Konstantas to become Superintendent of Education. G. Konstantas drafted the regulation of functions of the Superintendent, which were published and approved in January 1825, but it appears that he did not keep the post for too long. He went on and taught in Syros, under unfavorable conditions. In 1827 he met the Commissioner of Education in Poros, although he left when he got ill. In March 1829 G. Konstantas was appointed a member of a three-member committee who was to head the Orphanage, which was established for the orphans of war. He was in charge of the orphanage. With the arrival of Othonas (the king of the new Greek State), not only did his work was not recognized, but he was also stopped from working there. G. Konstantas in bitterness decided to return to Milies. K. Th. Dimaras, Modern Greek Enlightenment, ibid., 326-332.
clarifying the meaning of virtue: unlike the blessedness of heavenly life, Christians search all their life for, the virtue of the citizen brings bliss in this world.39

ii. The “Philanthropen”

Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818), a German author, linguist and educator40, was called to the reform school Philanthropinum by Professor Johann Bernhard Basedow in Dessau, where he was a trustee and principal. The ideas of Rousseau exerted great influence in Germany in literature and pedagogy and this is seen in the educational reform efforts of the German Enlightenment, which are represented around 1770 by the organization called "Friends of the people” (Philanthropen). The foundation of Basedow “Philanthropen” is a center where these trends are applied and the teaching spirit, in line with the philosophy of the Enlightenment, penetrates areas of practical school life and the educational organization. Philanthropists pursue an education following logic and nature. The robustness of the body, hardships, and rural life, play an important role, and emphasis is put on the training of youth, while the goal is to make the youth a competent, practical, efficient, diligent, enlightened citizen in a short period.41

Similarly, the worldly bliss preoccupies humanists and J. Campe too, as shown in his book on “Ethics”. Emphasis is given on healthy and natural life with physical movement through free gymnastic exercises and tours. J. Campe’s, "Ethics for the use of children"44, translated by A. R. Ragavis43 and in other versions in Greek, was taught in schools of the Greek Educational Society. The author emphasizes the duty of charity. Philanthropy, "the love of man", as a factor of solving social problems, is secondary to utilitarianism that dictates the choice of specific instruments based on the principle of utility or beneficence.44

iii. Ethics in Modern Greek Enlightenment by Katartzis

Dimitrios Katartzis, who translated the work by Gaspard de Réal de Curban, La science du gouvernement (Paris, 1751),45, in his essay “Know thyself” (1787) defines descriptively the content of ethics in Modern Greek Enlightenment.46 He refers to the diagram of sciences where ethics with the theory of virtue and vice and the theory of obligation-duty are separated by ethics including the theory of laws, economics, and politics. Based on much more concise reasoning, D. Katartzis matches virtue with bliss.47 Moral vision is the optional direction of passions and their activation according to the dominant logic, thus, formulating “good habits which are virtues and are based in passions, or rather say they are the passions themselves, placed from speech to order”.48 D. Katartzis finds that children have passions which are much more violent and impetuous than those of the elders. Therefore, it is inappropriate and dangerous to fully eradicate them, because a child without passion becomes “a piece of wood” after drying up the sources of their vitality.49

44 In the context of the moral theory of utilitarianism, the principle, by which a deed is chosen as good or compulsory, is the greatest potential producer of good over evil. This principle, called the principle of utility, makes sense only if it involves the principle of beneficence, which includes four separate requests: a) should cause no evil, b) must prevent evil, c) must remove the evil, and d) should do good. Thus, an act can also be seen in a utilitarian manner as good or mandatory when removing or preventing evil to the greatest extent possible. See in relation, W. K. Frankena. Ethics (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall 1963), 29-46.
47 D. Katartzis, Plan of Action for Children, ibid., 26-28, 73.
48 D. Katartzis, Plan of Action for Children, ibid., 73.
49 D. Katartzis, ibid., 328.
iv. The influence of the Enlightenment on the development of Ethical Thought...

NeophitosDoukas, clergyman, scholar, educator, and teacher of the Nation, was born in Upper Soudena of Zagori in Ioannina in 1760 to poor parents. DoukasNicholaou’s mother – Nicholaou was his secular name - took him at an early age to the monastery of the village, called Annunciation, where there was a school, and she dedicated him to the Virgin. At 12 years old, he became a monk and was renamed monk Neophytos. At the age of 18, he went to Ioannina, to be near the principal Kosmas Balanos, to be close to orthodoxy. After completing his literacy instruction in Metsovo, where he trained for four years next to Dimitrios Vardakas, a more progressive but much less wise teacher, he traveled to Bucharest. In the thriving Authentic Greek Academy, he attended higher classes, studied ancient writers, and indulged in the Bible and the writings of the Fathers of the Church. The Original School of Ioannina was headed by scholar and teacher of the nation Lambros Fotiadis (1750-1805), the main teacher of N. Dukas. In 1803, he was invited to take over the spiritual governance of the Greek community of Ioannina. Five years later, his contract ended, but he remained in Vienna dealing with publishing tasks. In 1815, he returned to Bucharest, where he stayed, with breaks, until the liberation of the motherland. He then went to Aegina, where he became Director of the Orphanage. In April 1845, he was appointed the first director at Rizarios School. 50Doukasattempted to write a textbook of Morality for the needs of students of Hegemonic Academy of Bucharest.51 This manual, according to the author, written in 1818, was issued in 1834 in Aegina for the need of Greek students and was entitled: “Tetrakis (four themes), in other words, Rhetoric, Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics”.

Morality, like other works of N. Doukas (Rhetoric, Logic and Metaphysics)52, is presented in summarized clear form to be easily understood by students aged from 13 to 18 years. The writer, as he admits, follows in his writing the methods of Johann Gottlieb Heineccius, Evg. Voulgaris53 and Fr. Soave. With regards to classifying his material, he follows the system of his era. In the first part of his manual of Ethics, where elements of Psychology are exhibited, N. Doukas defines ethics as: “Morality takes Science to the edge to see the good and the bliss there is in it. Bliss has always to be in progress and bring enjoyment to the individual”.54

v. Textbooks and translations

Given the wide publication of textbooks of Morality, “Christoithia” (Good Ethos), the names of the translators, the translations of German and French publications, the updated reprints and the constant presence of parts of “Christoithia” in publications widely used in Greek schools during this period, it is concluded that Greek education focuses on teaching good conduct. An important goal of education is the formation of a system with behavioral patterns related to the functions and techniques of the body, the reduction of impulses, the emotional control, and the formation of character and duties of individuals towards themselves, their fellow man and society. Furthermore, the emphasis is placed on the relationship between the functions of the body and the formation of character.55

However, the goal of social and political change is the creation of a moral community of an enlightened nation. AdamantiosKorais is the most distinguished representative of this idea and the Modern Greek Enlightenment. A medicine student holding two doctoral theses translated Orthodox teachings and catechism in Leipzig and Venice56. He attempted to expose the moral content and to formulate the principles of social ethics

51N. Doukas, Tetrakis, alboe Rhetoric, Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics (Aegina: 1834) 322.
52Although these four works were written for students of senior classes of the “Hegemonic Academy” of Bucharest, the only information we have on the teaching of Ethics is from teachers in Greek schools like the one of Ioannina, Kozani, Nafplio, Aegina and elsewhere.
53Evg. Voulgaris, “Logic, Elements of Metaphysics, etc”.
54N. Doukas, Tetrakis alboe Rhetoric, Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics (Aegina: 1834) 245.
56AdamantiosKorais (Smyrni 1748-Paris 1835). From 1782 to 1787 he studied Medicine at the University of Montpellier, where, apart from two doctoral thesis (Pyretologia synopsis (1786) and Medicus Hippocraticus
that would contribute to a national revival. The aim of classical education, as envisioned by A. Korais is to cultivate the democratic ethos composed by the public spirit, political virtue and devotion to the common good. For the first time, A. Korais exhibits his views on the moral preconditions of national revival in the Foreword of the Greek translation of C. Beccaria’s book: “About sin and punishment”. Through this text, it appears that A. Korais looks to the future of a community of justice and virtue, a community that would educate its members about the duties of being a good citizen and teach them obedience to the laws and adherence to the rule of reason. A. Korais studied the political philosophy of J. J. Rousseau and defines virtue as “love and care for the commongood” and supports that there is nothing more than justice.

vi. Koumas’ production and influence

Konstantinos Koumas, scholar, teacher and writer with a remarkable academic education and reformative activity in educational issues, was inspired by the ideals of the European Enlightenment. Born in Larissa in 1777, graduating at 19 years, he has been taught ancient Greek classics and principles of philosophy together with mathematics and physics, towards which he seemed to have a particular inclination. His prior familiarity with algebra, acquired during his apprenticeship near Doctor Spyridon Asanis of Kefalonia at Ambelakia, was important for the performance of his duties. He then went to Istanbul, Ambelakia, and Vienna. His studies perhaps represented his tendency towards philosophy and physics. Being a prolific writer, he mainly left translations or compilations from all sciences, whilst he translated literary works without much success. The University of Leipzig proclaimed him as a Doctor of Philosophy and Fine Arts, sending the corresponding diploma to him in early 1820, and the Royal Academy of Berlin as well as the one in Munich, in turn, recognized him as an Honorary Member.

The intellectual productions of Koumas included original writings, translations, and commentary texts. All of his works were based on the principles of the European Enlightenment, where rational speech plays a key role, whereas his philosophical thought was influenced by the German culture and especially I. Kant. His (1787)], he developed and published his first works Translation of the Orthodox Teachings of the Metropolitan of Moscow Platonas (Leipzig 1782), The Summary of the Sacred History and the Catechism (Venice 1783) and Little Catechism (also Venice 1783). In 1788 he moved to Paris and for a decade he translated medical treatises from German and English into French. At the stage of the movement of intellectual assets of enlightened Europe, he translated the work of Cesare Beccaria On sins and punishments (Paris 1802 and 1823). He published the Characters of Theophrastus (1798), the Book of gases, water, places of Hippocrates (1800), the Pastoral laurel and Chloin Longos (1802), the Ethiopian’s Heliodorus (1804) and the Geography of Stravonas (1805-1819). On 7th January 1803, he established in Paris the Company of the famous Memorandum on the present state of Greece (Memoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation Dans la Gréce), in which he presented the intellectual achievements of his countrymen mainly from 1780 onwards. Nikos K. Psimmenos, ibid., 35-36.


P. Kitromilidis, ibid., 404.

Konstantinos Koumas (Larissa 1777-Trieste 1836). Son of a furrier – Michael- and Avramiki he grew up in Larissa in a relatively wealthy family. In 1787 they moved to Tırnavos where he attended classes for the first time in the school run by the economist of the Church in Tırnavos, John Pezaros. At the beginning of 1797, he undertook to teach at the school of Larissa. Under pressure from economic problems, he leaves for the school of Tsaritsani. There he taught Greek and higher science courses in demotic Greek and introduced algebra as a new course. Before the end of 1803, he followed Anthimos Gazi in Vienna after the last call for cooperation on the issue of Greek syntax and lexicon. During that period he dealt with translations of works from French into Ancient Greek, the language he considered appropriate for the writing of mathematical sciences. In response to an invitation from the inhabitants of Smyrna, he arrives there in June 1809 with his family to work with Konstantinos Oikonomou in the new Public School which had been founded in the city. He went on to teach mathematics, philosophy, experimental physics, geography and ethics, whilst organizing physical and chemical experiments and equipping the school with the relevant equipment. In 1813, after persistent invitations from the Economic Patriarch Kyrillos and the Summit, K. Koumas accepted the direction of the school of Kourotseisma, where he remained for one year only. When in 1815 his daughter was married in Smyrna, K. Koumas returned to the Philological School to teach for about two years. During this period the school will attain its highest peak. The forty years old Greek scholar would transfer to Vienna in October 1817 to be involved with the issue of textbooks and to enrich his knowledge of the field. So, he toured the universities of Germany and got to meet well renowned modern scholars, like Wolf, Krug, Schelling, Kroutzer. Works: [A list of the works of K. Koumas out of his book Polichronis Enepelikidis, Korais-Koumas-Kalvos (Athens: 1967), 165-166.]: Series of
Ethics is included in the fourth volume of the Constitution of Philosophy (1820). The Constitution of Philosophy is based on works of German Kantian philosophers. He mainly relies on Wilhelm Traugott Krug and his three-volume work: “System der praktischen Philosophie (1817-1819)”, and on the second volume, “Tugendlehre, Aretologieoderphilosophische Tugendlehre”. In the prologue, entitled “Pre-Administration”, K. Koumas defines the notion of ethics as “a philosophical science of the initial laws of the acts of the human spirit, referring to the internal harmony of actions; because the fundamental law of practical reason demands a complete harmony between studies and actions.” 61

Since the requirement for perfection and bliss is education, K. Koumas draws elements from Enlightenment, and specifically from C. Beccaria. The perception of punishment, especially the rejection of physical punishment, and the perception that penalties, which are occasionally used, should not be of a contrary nature but a re-educating measure to give the individual the ability to learn from mistakes. 62

In 1864 D. Paparigopoulos issues the project “On the duties of the individual as a Christian and as a citizen” with the approval of the Greek Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education for use in schools. In his introduction, the author links directly the definition of ethics with the divine nature of the individual, stressing that morality teaches people how to perfect their divine nature. This method involves duties and ethics that should teach people. The responsibility of human actions that have addressed either God or humans results from the freedom of will of the individual. 64

II. Discussion

An important issue for investigation resulting from the historical overview of the concept of morality is the connection between education and moral ideals or educational goals. Knowledge must be interwoven with the conquest of certain values and undoubtedly, with the development of a moral attitude as a fundamental behavior pattern. Thus, the evaluation criterion refers not only to the value of knowledge for its own but mainly to the development of values and the formation of a moral framework in which knowledge should work.

In this sense, an important parameter in the philosophy of education is morality, which involves both the definition of the content of morality and ethics and the control of itself, but most importantly the content of


62 Ibid., 318-321.
63 Dimitrios Paparigopoulos was born in Athens in 1843 and died in 1873. Dimitrios Paparigopoulos was the son of the Historian Konstantinos Paparigopoulos (Istanbul 1815-Athens 1891). He was born in Athens on September 1843. He studied Law at the University of Athens, where he received his Ph.D. in 1866 at the age of 23. He practiced law from until the end of his life with zeal and also wrote poetry with the same passion. He was involved with literature, especially to poetry and drama, as a result of the lessons he received in his earlier schooling. At the same time, he was also involved with philosophical research.
64 D. Paparigopoulos, The Duties of Man as a Christian and as a Citizen (Athens: 1971), 2.
values and the importance of education of ethics. Initially, it could be said that ethics studies the phenomena of human behavior and human action and the values are detected in them or leading them. Teaching morality, ("Ethopedia") is necessary for education as it will include the transfer of knowledge and practice. After dealing with the anatomy of ethics, we should proceed to change consciousness and promotion of standards for children and young people. The main "body" of "Ethopedia", even if not intended, is the teacher. The teacher itself is a large, persistent, everyday example.

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