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Public appropriation of technology and science in Greece: 1920-1940¹

Introduction

This paper is concerned with the intellectual appropriation of technology and science by three leading public figures, the politicians Eleftherios Venizelos and Ioannis Metaxas, and the prominent intellectual George Theotokas, during the interwar period in Greece. We approach this period using analytical tools of a triple nature; Karl Mannheim (Mannheim 1997) and Peter Wagner's (Wagner 1994) theories and also, the very notion of intellectual appropriation of technology which was recently developed by M. Hard and A. Jamison within the framework of Science Technology Studies (Hard, Jamison eds, 1998).

Mannheim considers that the interwar era lacks a generally accepted *Weltanschauung* because the opposed ideologies are mutually undermined. The necessity of a way out from an ungoverned and alienated society because of its mechanization and technological development makes vitally significant a scientific policy. This requires rationalizing of the irrational element of the politics. Moreover this is what leads Mannheim to propose, on the one hand, a typology of various ideologies strongly related to the notion of *rationality*, and, on the other hand, to classify the utopist element as being inherent to the main political trends.

Wagner conceives the interwar period as the heyday of the transition, with turning points World War I and the Depression, from the classical/restricted liberal modernity to the organized one. The main characteristic of this transition in general, and especially during the interwar era, is the explicit rejection of the liberal belief that the free and autonomous economy, politics and science could lead to wealth, democracy, progress and knowledge. These key elements of modernity were widely seen as its underminers. In consequence, the quest for order, for collective redemption and emancipation and the development of a set of social collective technologies in order to regulate the society were widely accepted. The bankruptcy of the classical liberal regulation leads to the emergence of reflections and actions in regard to its

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transcendence. The interwar organized regimes were characterized by two main elements: the clear rejection of classical liberal order and the enthusiastic declaration of a “new start”.

Various modernizers attempt to appropriate the techno/science ideal incorporating it into their social considerations (Hard, Jamison eds, 1998)². The main intention of various intellectuals and politicians instead of rejecting modern technology would be to find the proper ways in order to incorporate it into the national values and meanings. The intellectual appropriation of techno/science ideal was realized in two ways: on the one hand, by assimilating technology into existing values and, on the other hand, by adjusting culture to the intrinsic demands posed by technology.³ As technological change could mean both new opportunities and new threats different thoughts in different national contexts were developed in order to control technological evolution and to guarantee the collective good which was in danger.⁴

The closer examination of these appropriations of technology discloses that existential and moral issues emerge in the cultural appropriation of new technologies among both proponents and critics, and requires treating technology in a way beyond instrumentalism and substantivism.⁵ Discourses on technology, thus, become

² Hard M., Jamison A., “Conceptual Framework: Technology debates as Appropriation Processes” in Hard M. and Ad. Jamison (ed.), *Intellectual Appropriation of Technology, Discourses on Modernity*, M.I.T. 1998, p. 2: “In the first four decades of the twentieth century, writers and publicists began to discuss what might be termed as the civilizational aspects of machinery. Modern technology could no longer be rejected by escaping to a Thoreauvian Walden Pond but its social and cultural consequences could certainly be subjects of debates and reform. These early twentieth-century commentators were no longer confronting technology as a historically new phenomenon; they were, rather, dealing with a series of systemic transformations in which science-based technologies played an important, even central role. Their solutions to the social and cultural challenges raised by the machine system are still formative for our contemporary responses; that is, we continue to deal with technology, to a significant extent, by making use of conceptual frameworks, policy structures and social and institutional contexts that were established between 1900 and 1940”.

³ *Ibid*, p.15. Also, p. 11: “Comparative studies are nowadays an important method for those who do not believe in the autonomous character of technology and/or the objective nature of scientific knowledge. They effectively remind us that the direction and the content of technological and scientific developments are not necessarily globally uniform, and they teach us that we must treat technology and science as culturally dependent variables”.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 7: “Our focus is on the discussions about technology during the period that Peter Wagner calls the ‘first crisis of modernity’, when the subject of debate was the project, rather than the products, of technological change. Not only did economic liberalism come under attack; so did the ideas of democracy and science. The growing power of the working class opened the way for far-reaching collective initiatives and ideas, and political instability opened up the possibility for radical authoritarian solutions”.

⁵ *Ibid*, A. Elzinga, “Theoretical Perspectives: Culture as a Resource for Technological Change”, p.27: “Instrumental theory is another name for theories of technology that depict science and technology as neutral tools that can be used for either good or devil. Substantive theories, on the other hand, are ones that maintain science and technology to be so interwoven with human life, shaping it to such a degree, that we cannot just distance ourselves and technology’ s function around. Some large technological systems, for example military ones, can be used only for certain purposes”.

important not only to the acts of cultural appropriation, but also to the moral order that holds societies and communities within them together, providing these with key elements of their identity and their self-understanding in a world of change. Moreover, discourses on technology open the way for approaching and understanding the co-production of society with science and technology, and disclose fundamental tensions and major debates and worries into given societies.⁶

Interwar Greece experiences the turmoil that comes along with international development,⁷ which is further magnified by the bankruptcy of the irredentist, socially cohesive ideal of *Megali Idea* (*Great Idea*). This bankruptcy is the consequence of *Mikrasiatiki Katastrofi* (*Asia Minor Disaster*) and the advent of a refugee population of 1,500,000 after their expulsion from Turkey. The raising ideological gap, the deterioration of the social problem and the increasing worry about the communist danger, and also the extended distrust for the western and European values constitute the one dimension of the Greek interwar crisis during the 1920s. The Depression at the early thirties constitutes the second turning point; it marks, on the one hand, the collapse of the parliamentary rule and, on the other hand, the intense quest for authoritarian political solutions. The Greek interwar period is also, an era of economic development (Vergopoulos 1993; Psiroukis 1994; Mazower 2002; Veremis-Mazower 1993), political disturbance as the thirteen coups d' état indicate (Mavrogordatos 1981, 1983; Dafnis 1997; Hering 2004), and of the formulation of a modernistic vision based on technological development that was promoted by engineers and industrialists (Antoniou 2006).

⁶ *Ibid*, p.31: “Technological change at certain junctures, such as immediately after World War I , therefore may serve as a prism through which we can delineate more fundamental tensions in given societies. As certain physical, material, and social spaces are opened up thanks to new technologies and industrialization, others close. This opening and closing of spaces is not independent of culture but rather presupposes and involves it. Technological change, then, goes hand in hand with social reordering and cultural reinforcement or dissolution of the same. Technology is not a ‘bare’ machine but also a ‘representation’; in the poetic, literary, or popular imagination the machine may be a strong metaphor invoked to cloud the oppressive nature of certain material realities and, failing this, to deflect negative responses to the level of only aesthetic protest. Technology may also be linked, metaphorically or symbolically, with great national projects that go far beyond the compass of the technical.

Thus, a leading theme, as has already been noted, is that technological change and its reception should be expected to vary from country to country, and that the substance of this process is contingent on diverse socio-cultural patterns and on history, including grand narratives in the national cultural heritage. We like to speak of this as the appropriation of technology, its domestication. In this process we see not only a social shaping of technology but also a *cultural appropriation*”.

⁷ We are based on the Kondylis’ observation (Kondylis 1998, pp. 32-33) that there is no national history which could be directly concluded by the motive powers of the global history; but, on the other hand, Kondylis argues, given that during the 20th century the global history reached a high level of denseness, no national political history can ignore ecumenical political tendencies.

We argue that in these conditions modernizers of various trends put forward propositions in an attempt to fill the emerging ideological vacuum and present solutions of collective organized regulation in order to respond to the crucial social problems. In their considerations, the techno/science ideal plays a major role and appears as a synonym to progress or threat. We focus on their texts in regard to *scientific rationality* considering it either as scientific regulation of the social questions and as the foundation of the modernization attempt, or as cognitive authority. We also centralize in how they appropriate technology by either being considered as technological solutions in their connection with progress or as institutional technologies in a Foucaultian sense.⁸

Eleftherios Venizelos and the ideal of “unrecognizable Greece”

Venizelos appropriates technology within a context defined by his liberal positions and his belief that organized institutions are required for the regulation of the interwar condition. In other words, it is the political action and the political technologies which plays the primary role in his thought; posed in the further context which is formed by the organized institutional technologies, technological infrastructure will be helpful, in his opinion, in the confronting of the acute social problems, and the obvious weakness of liberal/parliamentarian order.

We can trace in Eleftherios Venizelos’ thought essential elements of liberal ideology which are summarized in the recognition of the irrational nature of politics and in the belief that its rationalization is possible. In other words, Venizelos believes in the possibility of institutional rationalization of the social strife. In 1929 he declares: “*I am not here in order to represent the illegitimate interests of one social class; but, I am an arbitrator in order to achieve the regulation of all classes’ interests*” (Venizelos 1971, 1st Volume, speech to the Senate, 22/12/1929, p.21).⁹ Venizelos obviously perceives the fact that society consists of different social strata which are in conflict (Mavrogordatos 1981). In these circumstances, the politician’s responsibility is to harmonize the social competition. Being powered by the widest parliamentarian

⁸ Foucault, Michel, *What is Enlightenment?*, introduction-translation: St. Rozanis, Erasmus editions, Athens 1988, pp. 39-40: “...various technologies (either we talk about the production with economic goals, or about the institutions whose aim is the social regulation, or about the communication technologies)...systems which function in the name of the power state, of the society and population’s demands... everything that people act and how they act. In other words the forms of rationality which organise the ways by people create things (this is what would be called technological view)...”.

⁹ Also: “The Government considers that it has a role of arbitration to play in front of the social strife within the existed social regime” (Venizelos 1971, 2nd Volume, 6/9/1928, p.334).

majority he achieved after the 1928 elections¹⁰ he believes that he could settle the social competition via labor measures, increase of production and social justice, recognizing the parties' existence and the value of the parliamentary rule as in this context individual rights join together general social interest; also, through the institution of a sufficient and powerful State. But, he is cautious about class parties; he clearly prefers *national* parties. He also, rejects the Senate's transformation into a parliament of professional interests.

On the other hand, we can confine in Venizelos' thinking main elements of liberal utopia. We observed, for example, the close connection of politics and ethics. This is expressed via the belief that politics tend to adapt great principles and values:

“...But the principles on which I promised to govern have major significance than these. These principles are: the criterion for every political act will be the general interest, neither the individual, nor the party interest; that the major duty of every politician is to tell the truth even if it is unpleasant; that the law will be inexorably kept, even against potentates or political friends; that I look forward to power not as a goal, but as a means for achieving a higher aim, and I am always ready to reject it, if the cost of its maintenance is the canceling of the governmental program” (Venizelos, 1981, 3rd Volume, 21/7/1928, pre-electoral speech at Thessaloniki, pp. 465-470).

These are the ethical presuppositions in order to make Greece “*unrecognizable*” (Venizelos 1981, 3rd Volume, pp.477-482).

Another element of liberal utopia which is traced in Venizelos' thinking is the belief in progress. Rejecting the accusations that he culminates materialist ideas after his explicit acceptance of *Megali Idea (Great Idea)*' bankruptcy,¹¹ he declares the new ideals: productive development, scientific and technological evolution, social justice, education and health for all the Greek people.¹² He is also, critical against the social order, but he believes that the establishment of a higher one must be gradually and not violently realized. Being based on the utopian liberal impetus and conscious about the weakness of the classical liberal institutions he criticizes, on the one hand, the bourgeois regime because it brings social inequality, it has irrational characteristics as

¹⁰ In 1928 elections he won 178 from the 250 seats of Parliament.

¹¹ The care of Venizelos for modernised State, increase of national productivity, and fair allocation is connected, in the mind of his opponents, with materialism. Venizelos proclaims his belief in peace, in order to respond to these critics, but when he criticizes *Megali Idea* and exhorts young people to science, the negative criticism against him becomes more acute (Papastratis 1992, pp.417-437).

¹² The basic weakness of Venizelos' project for 1928-1932 was, for many scholars, his unreasoned optimistic view. The fast development of the capitalist economy and the inauguration of a stable liberal democracy whose institutions would not be in danger during one political or other crisis required a long period of social peace, economic and political stability, and a suitable international context. They conclude that as during this period these presuppositions were not fulfilled, the collapse of this project was the inevitable consequence (Marantzidis 2005, pp.289-306 and 341-346, in Veremis-Nikolakopoulos 2005, Eds; Marketos 2006). Based on Mannheim's observations about the structures of the liberal thought we can argue that the utopian –with no one negative meaning– impetus for progress, harmonization of different interests, and for questioning of the existed social regime in the name of a rationalised and wealthy society is crucial for the liberal way of thinking.

the misery of extended social strata, and it provokes a social crisis which directly leads to communism, and, on the other hand, the parliamentary rule.

In a context which is defined by his advent to power as a “*parliamentarian dictator*” and by the Depression Venizelos is pleased to hearing that he was never dogmatic and that he was ready to go against the parliamentary rule, if he considered that the parliamentary governance is contrary to the national interest (Polychroniades 1943). Venizelos criticizes parliamentarism that attributes absolute value to the individual rights and that the parliament obstructs the executive power. Moreover, he ironically underlines the long duration of the parliamentary sessions, and that democracy further magnifies the social divisions, while he questions whether the legislative councils are the authentic people’s representatives. In his opinion, parliamentarism offers dependent and weak governments, a fact that directly leads to authoritarian forms of political settlement. The only solution/salvation for democratic parliamentary regulation is the advent of vigorous men and governments in power.¹³ This belief is clearly declared already since 1929:¹⁴

“I am not sure and I don’t want to swear about the longevity of parliamentarism. But if parliamentarism wants to live, it needs today more than any time in the past strong personalities who are able to strictly and immediately interpret the popular will without feeling every time the parties’ pressure. In conclusion, I am in favor of a powerful Government under the leadership of a vigorous personality which parties will reinforce”[Venizelos 1971, 1st Volume, interview to newspaper “*Eleftheron Vima*” (“Free Tribune”), 1929, p.96].

During 1928-1932, and especially after 1931, Venizelos attempts to achieve, among other measures, the reinforcing of executive power, the introduction of organized and collective institutions, and the restriction of individual rights. We can observe his steadily withdrawal from the classical liberal institution, while at the end of his parliamentary governance he aims to organize a constitutional reformation in this direction without realizing it. Having in our mind this destination it is not difficult to interpret his tolerance to Plastira’s coup d’état in 1933, his active participation in the coup d’état in 1935, and the acceptance of monarchy restoration. As it becomes obvious in Venizelos’ thinking elements of liberal ideology and utopia are found and also, the rational perceptions which are included in these. Nevertheless, we can

¹³ The reinforcing of the executive authority constituted in Venizelos’ mind the only solution for the preservation of the political and social order confronting the political popular movement and the multiplication of social and economic problems. Legitimizing the ex-constitutional reinforcement of executive authority which had already been made during the Second Greek Democracy, and the restriction of the individual liberties would reinforce the power of State apparatus (Alivizatos 1995).

¹⁴ Marketos (Marketos 2006) points out that Venizelos moved towards autarchy already from the beginning of his advent in power, and that the cline of liberals to the fascist ideas was conscious. This is something which is confirmed by Hering’s analysis about how much Greek liberals were attracted by Mussolini and Hitler’s proclamations (Hering 2004).

observe in addition his increasing question about the classical liberalism because it is considered unable to respond to the ongoing democratization, to the deteriorated social strife, to the economic crisis, and to the direct rejection of the bourgeois order from wide social strata. The way out is expected to be found in the regulative and intervening role of the State, to the strengthening of the executive power at the expense of the individual rights, to the new allocation practices via social measures; in other words, to the technologies of the institutions.

The *Council of State* has a prominent place in this set of institutional technologies. It is strongly connected with the rationalization of political action in Venizelos' thought (Venizelos 1971, 1st Volume, 1981, 3rd Volume, Archives of Eleftherios Venizelos, 173/141). Council of State is expected, on the one hand, to prevent the arbitrary actions of the State apparatus, and, on the other hand, to rationalize the reactions of the citizens when they feel that the State injures them. Although it probably constitutes a modernizing institution, its judicial dimension prevailed over the administrative one (Alivizatos 2002). The powerful State maintains the political initiative.

The *Supreme Economic Council* is an institution the necessity of which is concluded by the after war conditions marked by the sharpening of the social competition and the danger of the overthrowing of the social establishment (Archives of Eleftherios Venizelos, 173/142, 173/145, 173/146). The incapacity of parliamentary order to confront the complexity of the social conditions makes absolutely necessary its supplement with scientific institutions in order to handle economic and technological problems which require scientific and expertise knowledge. In conclusion, the Supreme Economic Council is expected to contribute in solving the problems and harmonizing the different social interests within the cohesive national context; but, its role is strictly conciliatory and there is no case to be transformed in a parliament of professional interests (Hering 2004). The strict determination of its duties marks in which point Venizelos is able to accept the technocratic solutions (Kostis 2005).¹⁵ For Venizelos, politicians must have the absolute priority in the political field because the experts have a narrow point of view.

Another set of institutional regulations consists of the so-called *Idionimon (Law 4229/1929 in regards to the protection of the social regime)* (Archives of Eleftherios

¹⁵ For Liakos (Liakos 1993, p. 355) Venizelos was stably orientated to the pure parliamentarism in spite of the strong corporatist tendencies of the politicians and intellectuals who were around him.

Venizelos, 173/145), the law of compulsory state arbitration in cases of strike and lock-out (Archives of Eleftherios Venizelos, 173/145), the prohibition of the public servant syndicalism and strike (Archives of Eleftherios Venizelos, 173/141), and the labor legislation (Liakos 1988, 1993). Somebody might argue that the attempt to bring together all these measures is a priori contradictory. But, we can observe that all these already appear interconnected in the public speech of Venizelos:

“So, I have to inform [the communists] that if they are restricted in propagating their ideas, this law [the *Idionimon*] will either catch and put them in prison or exile them. This is something very good for them, but if sometime they fall in madness and attempt to violently overthrow the social regime, then, not only the elected law, but also the power of the sword will fall on their heads. But this law, with respect to the protection of the social regime, would be either imperfect or would not achieve its goal, if it had not come along with the continuation of the labor legislation that Liberal Party feels proud of its implementation almost twenty years ago. I believe that through the implementation of labor legislation we do not only fulfill a humanist duty, we are not only faithful to the principles of the Liberal Party, but that we strengthen the society against the contingent of social dangers and this is the reason why we have the satisfaction to see not the majority but almost the totality of working people to act within the contemporary social regime” (Venizelos, 1981, 4th Volume, 14/5/1930, speech at Thessaloniki, pp.189-190).

All these social technologies are considered as mutually supplemented and in no case as mutually contradictory. In consequence, a strict distinction between a former “progressive” Venizelos (during 1911-1914) and a latter “conservative” is at least problematic; instead of accepting this, we can understand that progressive and conservative elements could be deplored in the same time, especially in an era which requires collective political solutions in an organized direction.¹⁶ In this sense, there is no contradiction between the adaptation of the labor legislation and the suppression of the working movement. On the other hand, the dangers for the social regime

¹⁶ Many scholars based explicitly or implicitly on the belief that liberalism is a priori not connected with authoritarian and conservative political solutions, attribute Venizelos’ rejection of liberal/parliamentary rule to the requirements of conservative bourgeois strata (Dafnis 1997), the removal to more conservative positions in spite of his “pure” liberalist beliefs (Mavrogordatos ²1992; Diamantopoulos 1997; Veremis 2000; Marantzidis 2005, Veremis-Nikolakopoulos, Eds), the fact that his contradictions reflected the Greek people’s ones (Tsatsos 1976), the mix of revolution and realism which characterized his political action (Karamanlis 2001), the fact that the constitutional principles and the democratic governance was not considered as self aim (Varvitsiotes 2001), to the distinction between the idea of democracy and the possibility for its practical adaptation (Jordan-Sima 1980, in Veremis-Dimitrakopoulos, Eds), and to the needs for the preservation of the power (Alivizatos ²1992, Mavrogordatos-Hadjiosif, Eds). Only Kasimatis (Kasimatis 1976) traced the mix of conservation and progress which is found in the roots of liberal thought, as Mannheim observes. Hering (Hering 2004), Liakos (Liakos 1993), and Mazower (Mazower 2002) not relying on a priori dichotomies prefer also, not to talk about contradictions. Based on Mannheim’s observations and combining them with the idea of Mazower (Mazower ⁴2004) about the interwar pragmatist constitutional liberals who were seeking reinforced executive authority, and Kondylis’ concept (Kondylis ³2000) of democratic liberals who appropriated the State in order to achieve the social transformation rejecting classical liberalism, we conclude already from 1911 Venizelos is distanced from classical liberalism; moreover, that he wants to reconstruct the society reclaiming the power of the State. During the interwar period he believes that a powerful State, which promotes collective and organised measures, under the liberal hegemony is the only solution to the crisis.

legitimate the acting State intervention in the settlement of the social strife through the compulsory State arbitration, and the restriction of the individual rights in order to protect the social establishment. Finally, labor legislation is considered as humanist duty as well as necessary supplement of a modernized State,¹⁷ while the red line for the working demands consists of either the public servants syndicalism and strike, or the general strike.¹⁸

Senate constitutes another important organized institution which is expected to treat many of the parliamentarism diseases. Venizelos expects from Senate to guarantee the political stabilization, the social unity, and the avoidance of imperfect laws. Also, he is absolutely against the Senate transformation in a parliament of the professional interests; such a solution, he believes, surely regenerates and deteriorates the social clash. The heyday of his modernist attempt would be the *constitutional reformation* which he was planning at the end of 1932, but he never realized. As it becomes clear not only from his explicit declarations (Venizelos 1971, 1981), but also, from his notes (Venizelos 1948) and his private discussions (Polychroniades 1943), Venizelos was orientated to a model of a strengthened executive authority on the top of which a powerful President will be posed. The Parliament power would eliminate in a simple confirmation duty and an almost uncontrolled powerful Governor would concentrate all the power.¹⁹ Such a solution, in his mind, is necessary not only to confront the urgent social problems and the future dangerous conditions, but is also able to treat in

¹⁷ According to Liakos (Liakos 1988) the introduction of the draft of law for the system of social insurance criticized the principles of French Revolution and liberalism about the work relationships, and described the system of social insurance as the result of the care for the working class, preservation and development of its productivity, and a preventing measure against communism. This law was attempting to bridge the social reformations inspired by the tradition of the –German– State socialism and the liberal regime. So, the intervention of the State coexisted with the perception of State as “guard”. As the social policy was not a result of the conscious pressure by the working movement, Liakos claims and Hering confirms it that the consequence of State’s initiation was a combination of labour policy and suppressing measures against the political expressions of the working movement. On the other hand, this legislation despite its restrictions protected the workers to the extent that the employees could not accept. Scholars from different derivations (Mavrogordatos 1983; Liakos 1993; Hering 2004; Marketos 2006) agreed, instead of the different interpretations, that Venizelos’ labour legislation was more “progressive” than employees could tolerate; their consciousness was clearly behind the developments of the era.

¹⁸ As Liakos (Liakos 1993, pp.538-539) observes treating Venizelos’ social policy “the case of Metaxas indicates that the social mission of the steadily widened State, as presupposition for its legitimation, became during the interwar period the common ideal of all the political spectrum independently of its adaptation. In other words, it became constitutive rhetorical element of the exercise of politics during that period”.

¹⁹ Hering (Hering 2004) observes that these positions constituted the common ground for Metaxas, Venizelos, and General Kondylis. The concrete historical pattern of such positions was the fascist Italy. Italy in their eyes represented an organisation “full of liveliness and power” under the hegemony of one of the greatest political men which replaced parliamentarism.

a radical way all the diseases of the Greek version of parliamentarism: clientelism, partisanship, endless cleavages.

Posed within the context which such institutions have formed technology infrastructure is upraised on the one hand as the pioneer of progress and economic development, and on the other hand as one of the main foundations of the social establishment via its offer to the prevention of the social conflict and to the harmonization of the social contrasts. This positive attitude on technology is explicitly expressed by Venizelos' enthusiasm for productive and technological systems, and is incarnated to the extended program of public works during the four years of Venizelos' governance: road networks, hydraulic, irrigation, land reclamation and desiccative works, electrification, sewage systems, programs for public health and housing,²⁰ and acceleration of the refugee's settlement (Tzokas 2002).²¹

A repeating point in the Venizelian appropriation of technology, especially when he addresses to the peasants, is the following motive: the combination of the hydraulic and the land reclamation works could increase the cultivable land. Such a development has a dual consequence increasing the national wealth and satisfying the peasants. In this way, the power of the country is expected to grow and the social regime is maintained to strengthen because the satisfied peasants would never join the working city class in order to revolutionarily question the social and political system. So, the scientific diffusion all over the country through the *Agricultural Service* is something which is expected to bring similar effects. The focus on the intensive repetition of this motive might add in the attempt of understanding why Venizelos

²⁰ As Mantouvalou and Kalantzopoulou (Mantouvalou M.- Kalantzopoulou M. 2005) observe the fear and the successes of Russian Revolution urges "western" European states to consider the house issue as a prominent instrument for social stability and cohesion. Venizelos and his opponents also, are able to follow such a policy in order to protect the existed bourgeois regime. The Greek city planners, who actively participate in the discussion for the organisation of social space, fully accepted this prevailed perspective among the political circles. Hering, Liakos, Mazower, and Mavrogordatos have traced in their works a lot of references from Venizelos and Metaxas' speeches which focus on the significance of individual property for the social stability.

²¹ Tzokas (Tzokas 2002) adopting a one-dimensional notion of "modernism" makes a descriptive analysis where technology is simply considered as an instrument for progress. For an analysis which takes into account the contradictory aspects of modernization process, while interconnects the social values and meanings with the development of institutional technologies and technological works – something which does not preclude autarchic politics– see the works of Liakos and Papastefanaki (Liakos ²1992 pp.255-270, 1993 pp. 314-355; Papastefanaki 2005, pp. 155-170). In these works the aspect of modernisation which connects the public health and the programs of housing with an attempt for the "sanitation" (read moralization) of the society, is excellently analysed. We can find also, an explicit proclamation of the connection between the housing program and the avoidance of the dangers of social immorality and social unrest and ambiguity in the speech of state officials (Archives of Eleftherios Venizelos 173/142). Moreover, the closer connection of social and individual "sanitation" with the productivity and the safety of social regime are easily traced in the public speech of Venizelos during this period.

tries to assure the necessary funds via debts for the completion of these works in an era marked by the Depression (Vergopoulos 1993; Agriantoni 2006). On the other hand, it is clear that the extended industrial development does not attract Venizelos' appropriation of technology. In spite of the upraising tones for the industrial development even since 1914 and of the steady increase of industrial productivity during the interwar period, industry does not gain the exclusive interest of the venizelist governments (Kostis 1989; Mazower 2002). Only after the appearance of the Depression in Greece during 1932 and the relatively soon recovery of the Greek industry, when the economic nationalism and the turn to the autarky politics constituted the main orientation, the State decides to decisively intervene in order to protect the national industrial production (Hadjiosif 1993; Mazower 2002). But, even in this case industry is not considered as the steam-engine of the economic progress; rather, to being subjected to the agricultural development is orientated to the domestic market having as a goal the absorption of a growth population and the reduction of unemployment (Kostis 2005).

The resultant of all these ideological lines is a new conception of national destiny. It is the collapse of the irredentist ideals which makes necessary for Venizelos the expression of the new ones in order to replace them. He believes that the main social goal of the after-Disaster Greece is to become a State of justice and freedom gradually improving its social regime and correcting the social inequalities. The achievement of this goal requires on the one hand the clear rejection of the irrational conceptions of nation, and on the other hand the economic development, the domestic modernization, and the cultivation of the ideals of freedom, fatherland, religion and family without violating the liberal values; the cultivation of all these ideals in a rational way is expected to successfully confront all the versions of materialism, especially that of communism which is repeatedly characterized as 'foreign agent' (Hering 1988). The expectations for economic development and prosperity are explicitly based on technology and scientific diffusion, as we have already seen, while the domestic modernization is absolutely connected with organized institutions which are clearly distanced from the libertarian/parliamentarian purity. In this sense, we prefer to characterize Venizelos' attempt during 1928-1932 not as 'bourgeois modernization' (Mavrogordatos ²1992, Mavrogordatos-Hadjiosif, eds), but as the Greek version of organized settlement under liberal rule in the upheaval of the transition from classical to organized modernity.

Ioannis Metaxas and the subjection of techno/science ideal to faith, will, and the national 'soul'

The undermining of rational values and the clear rejection of liberal institutions is essential to Metaxas' thinking already since 1900. Thus, such opinions are apparent not only during the interwar period and, especially, in the context of the 4th of August (*Tetarti Avgoustou*) regime; in the formation of his thought irrational ideals, which are included in the main themes of conservative ideology, play a crucial role.²² We can understand such elements in Metaxas' thought, if we place them in the further context of the conflict between *Kultur* and *Zivilisation* as it took place during the first two decades of the twentieth century in Germany (Elias 1997).²³ This is the period when Metaxas studied in Germany (1899-1903) and moreover, expressed on the one hand his admiration for the German model of governance, and on the other hand, the favour for an alliance between Germany and Greece during the WWI. This favour leads him to support King Constantine in his dispute with the elected Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos which is named *National Schism (Ethnikos Dichasmos)*.

One major element which is traced in Metaxas' ideas, and also in *Kultur*'s contents, is the concept of *ethics*. In his opinion, ethics does not mean a rational settlement of passions, but its subjection to traditional values, such as family (Metaxas 2005, 1st Volume). Furthermore, he claims that ethics is identified with the feeling of duty and respect, and also, with the cultivation of the personality in order to be exceptional. In consequence, he believes that his destiny is to create a family which will constitute a

²² As we will indicate, the endurance of the conservative elements in Metaxas' thinking and his clear preference for Germany are parts of one combative ideological building. So, we do not only attribute these positions to the clientele relationship between Metaxas and the Palace, as Veremis does (Veremis 2000, pp157-158, 164-165). This dimension surely exists, but we do not distinct interest from ideology. Vatikiotis (Vatikiotis 2005) traces the ideological roots of Metaxas' preference for Germany, but he only attributes them to the romantic German interpretation of classical Greece; he also, points out that the essential elements of Metaxas' ideology have already been formatted before 1920(Vatikiotis 1993, Veremis-Higham eds). Tziovas (Tziovas 1989) and Mavrogordatos (Mavrogordatos 1983), have clearly showed the strong ideological foundation of Metaxas' admiration of Germany. The conservative, fascist, and nationalist elements of Metaxas' thought constitute the ideological orientation of the 4th of August regime. In this sense, Elefantis' estimation (Elefantis ³1999, p.183) that the ideological trends which upraise discipline and the dogma of the Leader come along the entrance of the German capitalism to Greece, seems reductive.

²³ Tziovas (Tziovas 1989, pp.139-152) have made crucial observations about the ideological nature of Metaxas' dictatorship based on the distinction between *Kultur* and *Zivilization*. However, we believe that in respect to the appropriation of technology Metaxas, as we hope to indicate, does not keep the two notions distanced, but he attempts to introduce elements of *Kultur* to the sphere of *Zivilization*. For similar developments in interwar Germany where engineers attempted to imbue technology with *Kultur*, and the intellectuals try to wide the sphere of *Kultur* in order to include technology, see Herf (Herf 1996) who characterizes such an attempt as "reactionary modernism", and Hard (Hard, Jamison 1998, eds, pp.33-67) who approaches the same try as another way of appropriating technology. For the –anticommunist and antiliberal– ideological foundations of Metaxas' regime see also, Kokkinos (Kokkinos 1989).

model for the others, and to moralize in the immoral Greek society (Metaxas 2005, 1st Volume).²⁴ In addition, he clearly makes a distinction between this morality notion and the focus on the bare interest, selfishness, and on the corruption which are identified, in his opinion, with the modernization and westernization procedure.²⁵ There is no paradox that he approaches WWI in the same way. In other words, Germany in his mind represents the maturity, hierarchy, subjection to God, discipline, spirit, fighting spirit, endurance. Entente, on the other hand, represents the immature, disorder, immorality and the unwholesome individualism (Metaxas 2005, 2nd Volume). Finally, the German defeat, and secondly the Greek expansion, are interpreted by Metaxas as moral collapse and decadence.

The liberal ideology and the consequent liberal ideals do not appeal to Metaxas. He accuses liberalism of the dissolution of holy hierarchies and pre-French Revolution social order. Moreover, he denies taking the ideals of equality, justice, freedom, democracy, peace into its named value. He considers them as a masquerade of pretensions for power and sovereignty (Metaxas 2005, 2nd Volume). It is not their rational foundation which attributes to some of these ideals their real existence. In contrast, irrational elements such as the Love, and the personality value and grandeur offer them a deeper, superior, and steadier foundation. Furthermore, Metaxas believes that the field of political action is fundamentally irrational; what accounts in this field is not the rationalistic settlement of the strife because the political sphere is not limited in administration and liberal institutional regulations:

“I suggest the cancelling of the first part of the article 124 because I consider it as unnecessary. The transformation of the political regimes is not realised through a priori determined rules. The transformation of the political regimes is a dynamic act which expresses intensive popular energy, and there is not a legal or formal restriction which can either contain it or subject it to rules. When the people decide to transform via its power the political regime, there is not a written law or a custom which can either contain or order them how to act. And, on the other hand, when people do not want to transform their political regime, there is no law which will push them to act in such a direction. The transformation of the regimes constitutes a popular act, and the constitutional regulations function as restrictions made of paper against it. The constitutional confirmation comes only after the people’s act, and it does nothing more than to legalize which has been already dynamically realised. These are the lessons of human history, and it is vain for someone to ignore them”(Metaxas 2005, 3rd Volume, p.515, parliamentary speech on the Constitution of 1927).

Instead of rational thinking a set of over rational elements, such as the leader’s instinct, faith, powerful will, sagacity, fighting spirit, resoluteness, persistence and the experience determine, in his opinion, the historical process.

²⁴ During his dictatorship the duty of moralization of Greek society is entrusted to, among others, the Greek police (Close, pp.26-27, Veremis-Higham eds).

²⁵ For the antibourgeois emotions of Metaxas, see Vatikiotis (Vatikiotis 2005, p.25).

During 1920s the conservative elements of his ideas are supplemented with the fascist ones. In concrete, he recognizes the priority of irrational action over knowledge: “*The action fulfils the knowledge with meaning and value. Because only by action does the knowledge become to one with Ego*”(Metaxas 2005, 3rd volume, p.615, 1929). Although he participates to the democratic political play, the combination of conservative and fascist points is reflected not only to his private notes (in the *Book of Thoughts*), but also, to his public parliamentary speeches.²⁶ But the clearest formulation of these points is realized during the 4th of August dictatorship. Faith, enthusiasm, soul, spirit and powerful will constitute the powers in which knowledge and rationality are subjected functioning either as pallid followers or inspired formations:

“I think that you like me because you feel a strong emotional connection with me. May be a lot of us, or all of us, are thinking: ‘Which is our relationship with a man who was a soldier...or a politician...?’ But, if you say something like this, you don’t tell the truth. Because every public man, such as me, who really governs this country, is not deep inside something other than an artist. Because the same power of the soul which pushes you, pushes me also in the same way pushes every public man who wants really and truly to govern this country: this is the imagination which directs me to all of the acts of either my military or political life; The imagination which directs you, and the composers and the executers, because even the executer must be directed by his imagination. And, as you transfigure the visions of your imagination into articulations, so do I: I transfigured the creations of my imagination in acts which influenced the destiny of our Nation either in the time of the War, or in the peace period, and in dangerous but salutary acts which influenced the life and the fate of our society.

You may ask me: ‘What about rationality? We imagine you as a man who puts everything under the rational rule; that you pose the major proposition, the minor proposition and the conclusion.’ I have to respond to you, my dear friends, that I recognize rationality only after the action. The imagination directs me, the emotion pushes me and the action immediately realises. And after, I call the rationality in order to justify the action. I am convinced that all of you understand what I mean, because you believe that I am one of you, as I really and deeply understand you”(Metaxas 1969, 1st Volume, pp.438-440, speech at the dinner of artist organisations, 30/12/1938).

The fact that Metaxas expresses these beliefs in front of different publics,²⁷ and that he decides to subject science and technology to the over rational elements, indicates that these positions play a crucial role in his thinking.

²⁶ In 1927 while he participates in the Ecumenical Cabinet, he writes to his diary: “*I am convinced that our progress is impossible with the parliamentary regime*” (Vatikiotis 2005, p.243). The fact that Metaxas participates in the parliamentary context during the twenties does not mean, as Diamantopoulos (Diamantopoulos 1997) seems to believe, that he is absolutely devoted to the Parliamentarism. In contrast, he is never distanced from conservatism, while the principles of his party are orientated to the organised regulation and to the rejection of the classical parliamentarism.

²⁷ For example, in front of students of Panteion University: “My children, in this world nothing is possible to be achieved without faith! Deep faith! Without deep faith it is impossible for a scientist to exist! Without deep faith it is impossible for an artist to exist! Without deep faith there is not a man who is able to create something. And the most common man, if he does not deeply believe in something, is unable to do something really great. As you understand, because you are well educated, faith excludes either rationality or discussion. The faith comes from the bowels of the soul and prevails, as the sunlight does, over all of your thoughts, over your souls, and it is impossible neither to be posed under discussion, nor to be subjected to the rational rules. Anyone who has not such feelings deep inside him, but what am I saying? All the people here have these feelings inside them. All the people have these emotions, and with these we start our lives” (Metaxas 1969, 2nd Volume, p.207, speech to

From the early thirties his repugnance for liberalism is reinforced.²⁸ The liberal parliamentary settlement is identified in his thought with the absence of powerful will, the dissolution of moral values, the masquerade of interest by ideology and the hypocritical and conciliatory spirit. Moreover, he accuses its Greek version of outlandish and perversion: its only contribution is the extended corruption, the undermining of the Greek people natural unity, the soulless forms of representation, the powerless governments, the fight between the powers and the mutual undertaking of its roles (Metaxas 2005, 2nd, 3rd, 4th Volume). Parliamentarism, Metaxas argues, is undermined by WWI and the worker's movement. Even its supporters, he observes, turn away from it and are oriented to the reinforcing of the State in order to protect their regime from the strong ambiguity. The weakness of the parliamentary rule leads to the communist expansion which is profited by the lack of ideals and the extended social crisis. The conclusion is clear for Metaxas: parliamentarism does not respond to the contemporary conditions because the era of its birth was entirely different. In an era, during 1932-1935, when the common field of the total of Greek political and intellectual spectrum is the quest for dictatorship,²⁹ Metaxas publicly and privately (Metaxas 2005, 4th Volume) declares his decision to move in the orientation of an authoritarian political solution. Salvation will come, for him, *"through the exit from the parliamentarism and the entrance in a new situation of more permanent, stable, and vigorous executive power"*(Metaxas 2005, 4th Volume, p.592, 4/1/1934, interview to the newspaper "Independent Man"). When after the elections of 1936 the

the students of Panteion University, 29/11/1939). In this speech Metaxas presents, without explicitly naming them, Stalin, Mussolini, and Hitler as clear examples of strong will and deep faith. Metaxas also, repeats this upraising of belief, faith and will in a speech to the artificers (Metaxas 1969, 1st Volume, pp.18-19).

²⁸ Vatikiotis approaches the case of Metaxas not as a violent removal and a radical unbinding from liberal democracy, but as the heyday and the logical end of a long political tradition and culture of authoritarianism (Vatikiotis 2005, p.20). This estimation is correct, if it is related to the period 1910-1920, and, especially, during the interwar period, as Vatikiotis indirectly accepts (Vatikiotis *ibid*, p.255. See also, Vergopoulos 1993, pp.12, 149-154). Veremis observes that already before 1936 "...the practice of proclaiming the country in a 'state of siege' had become more frequent since 1916 and allowed governments to impose measures that ignored civil rights. Furthermore, by contemplating the expansion of the executive authority over that of legislative, politicians in fact begun to question the efficacy of parliamentary rule"(Veremis 1993, p.16, Veremis-Higham, eds. For a significant and analytical presentation of these developments see Alivizatos ³1995). On the other hand, as Herring (Herring 2004) has exceptionally indicated, the Greek parliamentarism of the 19th century was not characterized by authoritarian tendencies.

²⁹ Marketos (Marketos 2006), Kyrtis (Kyrtis 1996), and Papadimitriou (Papadimitriou 2006) have in details presented the conference at Panteion University in 1932 entitled "Parliamentarism or Dictatorship?" in which distinguished intellectual and politicians participated. On the other hand, newspaper "*Kathimerini*" posed in 1934 to prominent politicians from all the political parties the question about the value of parliamentarism and the possibility of its replacement by an authoritarian solution (Metaxas 2005, 4th Volume). Also, between 1933-1935 three military movements were realised (Mavrogordatos 1983, Herring 2004).

parliament seems to be immobilized, he seizes the opportunity to realize his visions. Metaxas had previously declared in an explicit way: “*Because, it is known as a historical lesson, that the most acute ideas prevail during a political crisis. This is the reason why people correctly feel that the solution must be found beyond parliamentarism*” (Metaxas 2005, 4th Volume, p.593, *ibid*).

In Metaxas’ mind the State of the 4th of August constitutes or is expected to constitute a collective, organic, and soulful representation of a united and undivided society (Metaxas 1969, 1st Volume).³⁰ According to Metaxas, it inaugurates new and direct forms of representation through the immediate contact with the people, it cares for peasants and workers in order to prevent the social conflict and contain the Left, and responds to the intensive quest for order, security and social peace;³¹ moreover, it creates a new kind of civilization, the Third Hellenic Civilization (*Tritos Hellinikos Politismos*), in order to respond to the acute ideal crisis (Metaxas 1969, 1st Volume).

All these aims are realized or expected to be realized through a set of institutional technologies in harmonizing the capital and working class interests. The system of social insurance and the measures for social care, according to Metaxas, play a dual role: on the one hand guarantee the increase of worker’s productivity, and on the other hand move them to resist against the disastrous antinational proclamations (Metaxas 1969, 1st Volume). The achievement of social harmony is dependent on the corporatist organization of society; the corporatist idea is crucial in Metaxas’ thought and he

³⁰ Linardatos (Linardatos ⁵1988) and Elefantis (Elefantis ³1999) tend to underline the –existed– fascist elements of Metaxas’ dictatorship, and the fact that the principles of the bourgeois parties were not differentiated from Metaxas’ institutional selections (Linardatos ⁵1988, pp. 237-239). Sarantis (Sarantis 1993, Veremis-Higham, eds) marks out that the fascist elements of administrative efficiency and internal order are also founded in Venizelos, and that although fascist elements are traced in Metaxas’ regime, this is not absolutely fascist, and that Metaxas never publicly commended fascist states or proclaimed that he wants to create such a state; in his opinion, Metaxas’ regime must be categorised to the regimes of the New Right wing. But, such proclamations existed. On the other hand, during Italy’s attack Metaxas expresses his disappointment because Mussolini’s –and Hitler’s– behaviour against Greece betray their common –anticommunist, antiparliamentarian, antiplutocratic– ideals (Metaxas 2005, 4th Volume, pp.552-554). Vatikiotis (Vatikiotis 2005) trying to shake of the fascist elements, takes in its named value the populist metaphysics of popular unity of Metaxas’ proclamations, and talks about “popular autocracy”. On the other hand, Mazower (Mazower ⁴2004, pp.43-45) encloses Metaxas’ dictatorship –and also, Franco’s one– to the regimes of the Old Right wing which feared mass politics and allied with the strongholds of the establishment: the Monarchy and the Church. He also, attributes to the Metaxas’ regime the characteristic of “Christian nationalism”. Kokkinos (Kokkinos 1989) characterizes the 4th of August regime as fascist kind of totalitarianism where a unique, but multiple ideology as a field of ideological syncretism prevailed. We think that there is no reason, as both Kokkinos and Mazower especially indicate, for essentialist approaches of Metaxas’ regime; the State of the 4th of August includes fascist and conservative elements, combining anticommunism with antiliberalism and nationalism, signs the decision of liberal elites to cancel parliamentarism, and tries to formulate a solution to the acute social problems within the cohesive national context.

³¹ The legal initiatives of the 4th of August maintained and reinforced the pre-existed suppressive legislation (Alivizatos ³1995, pp.414-446).

believes that the 4th of August State must be evolutionally transformed in a corporatist State (Metaxas 1969, 1st Volume; 2005, 4th Volume). During his governance only the peasants and the youth were organized in such a way; but the future perspective was the corporatist organization of every productive branch and the institution of a national representation of the professional interests. The compulsory State arbitration functioned as a faster and immediate way in achieving the social harmony, while preventing at the same time the social conflict (Metaxas 1969, 1st Volume).³² The Supreme Economic Council's duty was defined as the closing and scientific approach of the complicated political and productive problems. The State maintained the priority on political decision and the technocrats were conciliated with their conciliatory role to the government (Archives of Ioannis Metaxas, Archives of State, K065/54).³³ Metaxas aimed to complete his political creation with a radical constitutional reformation (Archives of Ioannis Metaxas, Archives of State, K065/10). In this text the will for reinforcing an authoritarian executive power is clearly manifested in the primary role of the King and in the direct election of the Prime Minister who have the political initiative. The political presence of the people really exists as a sign of "thirst for people legitimating", something which all the totalitarian

³² The authoritarian and paternalistic Metaxas' regime offered, according to Veremis-Mazower (Veremis-Mazower 1993, pp.123-124, Veremis- Higham eds) "a comprehensive scheme of social security to allay grievances and imposed compulsory arbitration in labor disputes to prevent unrest. His corporatist tendencies further extended state regulation in economy". Psalidopoulos (Psalidopoulos 1989, pp.105-107, Fleischer-Svoronos eds) pointedly notes that Metaxas perceives State as fair arbiter; its intervention is founded on the necessity of restricting the strife between the different interests, and in no case on the replacement of the private initiative in the economy. In this perspective, it is proved that Metaxas is absolutely aware of the meaning of the term "bourgeois regime" which he so frequently and repeatedly uses. Of course, he does not mean the parliamentarism and the liberal rights. But, he does not want to pose into question the private property of the means of production. He wants to draw an authoritarian and organized context within which private economy will function under the hegemony of the State; on the other hand, the representatives of the bourgeois class seek for such a protection and Metaxas offers them governmental positions. Close (Close 1993, Veremis- Higham eds) includes in the power-base of Metaxas dictatorship the industrialists and the financiers (*ibid*, pp.18-19). Of course, the form of such a context was requiring wider consensus: "He preferred non-political experts in his ministers: bankers for finance, agronomists for agriculture, a trade unionist at the ministry of labor, and so on. Thus he showed that he was constructing a new kind of state, eliminating politicians, and giving direct representation to corporate interest groups" (*ibid*, pp.18-19). In this perspective, the Sarantis' position (Sarantis 1993, Veremis- Higham eds), and its without critics acceptance and regeneration by Petrakis (Petrakis 2006), that when Metaxas talks about "bourgeois regime", he does not conceive it with the narrow socio-economic meaning, is fruitful and correct only in the context of the "organized modernity". On the other hand, it is important to take into account that Mannheim has stressed the ideological relationship between bourgeois liberalism and fascism –fascism does not want to change the bourgeois/liberal regime, but only its elites, while it adopts the unhistorical view of liberals when they take the power–, and Maier (Maier 1988) has historically demonstrated this relationship studying the cases of interwar Italy, Germany, and France.

³³ Psalidopoulos (Psalidopoulos 1989, pp.118-199, Fleischer-Svoronos eds) observes that during Metaxas' governance reformations were not realized in order for the Supreme Economic Council to be transformed to a Parliament of professional interests.

interwar regimes were strongly seeking for (Mazower ⁴2004); but, this presence is only conciliatory and in no case sovereign. In concrete, the executive, legislative, and the judicial corps have not any legislative initiative; in contrast, they are not rightfully convened on assembly because the Government convenes them whenever it wants. The function of the political parties is explicitly prohibited in this Constitution sketch, while the Government has the power either to ‘expand’ or to ‘shorten’ the individual rights dependent on the circumstances.

Metaxas admires modern technology and believes that it could contribute to the social progress. As Minister of Transport in the Ecumenical Cabinet during 1926-1928 he clearly declares: *“The roadwork network being conceived as a common creation of all the Greeks, I am absolutely sure that it will constitute one of the most beautiful stage of the development of the Greek working, Greek entrepreneurship, Greek evolution, and finally, of the Greek civilization in general”*(Metaxas 2005, 3rd Volume, p.841, parliamentary speech in 1927). Moreover, during the four years of Metaxas’ governance the so called “productive public works”, which had been stopped after the crisis in the early 30s, restarted. The big projects of road construction and land reclamation, as well as the construction of the bunkers at the northern borders of the country in the late 30s, were accomplished to a large extent during this period. Due to the efforts of the Technical Chamber, the projects were assigned to Greek companies and engineers. At the same time the Greek industry was developed on a protective basis. Evidence of this inclination are the big lignite exploitation projects, the feasibility reports about the hydroelectric infrastructures, the state factory for airplanes, the military shipyards, and the plans for the establishment of a steel industry in Greece just before the war. The share of industry to the gross national income was finally increased from 11.45% in 1928 to 13.42% in 1939.

But, in order for technology to function in such a progressive way some preconditions, according to Metaxas, are necessary. On the one hand, technology and science must be incorporated in the structures of an authoritarian State with a powerful government:

“And now we are able to trustfully aim towards the full development of this place. Because through the development of the transportation, the civilization, the people’s wealth, the communication between the habitants, and the solidarity and their connections among them will be also developed. But, you must not think that we would solve this problem, that the foreign capitals would trust us in an interesting for us way, unless the problem of the absolute safety and order for the foreign capitals and the issue of social discipline, State discipline, and of the existence of a State and a stable Government which knows what it wants, had not previously been solved. However, if by this work it is the material civilization which is advanced, you have to remember that the existence of a real and durable civilization in one country must be based on a higher moral level. Is it necessary for me to tell you which moral civilization this is? Of course

no...”(Metaxas 1969, 1st Volume, pp216-217, speech about electrified railway Athens-Kifissia, 1/8/1937).

As nobody desires to respond, Metaxas formulates the fundamental principles of the 4th of August regime: Religion, Fatherland, loyalty to the family in order for a moral civilization to be formed which will be incarnated in the solidarity among citizens, loyalty to the State and to the king, in the youth’s edification, and in the subjection to the moral laws (Metaxas 1969, *ibid*). This is what is required for technological evolution and social development.³⁴

On the other hand, although Metaxas considers technology and science as creations of the rational spirit, he is convinced that they must be imbued with faith and will:

“I was avoiding presenting myself in front of such a privilege public, as you, with arguments based on faith. I am well aware that you, the scientists, are more based on the rationalism, observation, and the experimentalism than on the faith which, however, inspires me in all of my attempts to diffuse my thoughts to the Greek people; and this is a fact that I cannot hide from you. I am inspired, I repeat it, by a faith not based on any rationalism, on any experience, on any experiment, I am inspired by the belief that the Greek people is a people who is able to create its own civilization, that this is dependent on them, and it is absolutely sure for me that this race, which creates that significant civilization on which the contemporary European is based, will create in the nearest future as great creations as their ancestors. If you ask me where this belief is based on, I will respond to you: I ignore it. This is the belief that I have, and with this I march forward to the future, so I ask all of you to march on together forward to the future”(Metaxas 1969, 1st Volume, pp. 186-187, speech in the dinner of the Polytechnic Club of Athens, 13/5/1937).³⁵

Also, they must be subjected to the national ideals in order for the negative effects to be avoided from their uncontrolled evolution. According to Metaxas, scientists and engineers must support the idea of the national State as the only meaningful ideal for their personal existence:

³⁴ Veremis-Mazower (Veremis-Mazower 1993, p.126, Veremis-Higham eds) observe: “Public works were promoted by the dictatorship as a partial remedy to unemployment. Between 1936 and 1939, a network of roads was constructed that cost the state one billion drachmas. Be that as it may, in 1940 these was only one important main road from Athens to Thessaloniki that paralleled the single track railway line with another narrow gauge line, still under construction northwest of Trikala and a second line that curved down from Athens via Patra to Kalamata. Other public works were aimed at increasing land for cultivation. With Rockefeller Foundation aid in the late thirties, the Metaxas Government set out to drain the swamps was to of Thessaloniki and clear the area of malarial mosquitoes. Along the region from the Aliakmon River past the valley of Loudias to Axios River, ditches for drainage were dug, eucalyptus trees were planted, and landless refugees were settled. Extended fortifications in the north along the Bulgarian borders and a war industry consisting of ammunitions plant and the servicing of aircraft were the most advertised accomplishments of the ‘fourth of August’ regime”. Higham (Higham 1993, p.46, Veremis-Higham eds) writes about the fortification: “First, he constructed the so-called Metaxas Line along the Bulgarian frontier, a combination of forts and anti-tank obstacles sown like dragons teeth in the path of invaders from his most hated and incapable enemy”. It is clear, and Vatikiotis also observes it (Vatikiotis 2005, p.308), that in economic policy with respect to the focus on agriculture and light industry, and on the attraction of foreign capitals for further development of Greece’s infrastructure –transportation, public works, irrigation works, large public enterprises for common wealth– Metaxas follows Venizelos.

³⁵ We think that all the cited extracts efficiently show that the controversy traced by Vatikiotis (Vatikiotis 1993, Veremis-Higham eds, pp180-181) between a romantic and emotional Metaxas, and a rational and calculative one, does not really exist. Herring (Hering 2004) pointedly observes that the idiosyncrasy of Metaxas –and his ideological formation, we add– does not permit him to transform his ideas into rational political action.

“...If we only stop to the development of the technical civilization, we can say that we have achieved less than the half of our work. Because, if a technical civilization, which will fulfill either the lowest, or the highest needs for the wealth and improvement of the society, is not inspired by a deeper ideal, and if the builders of these civilization, as you are, are not inspired by this ideal too, then it cannot achieve to bring a deep and durable change to the history and the continuity of this land. This deep ideal, which I immediately manifested when I concentrated all the power on the 4th of August in this country, is that we have to create a Hellenic civilization”(Metaxas 1969, 1st Volume, pp.238-239, speech to the Officials of Athens).

Technological civilization is seen as soulless per se; spiritual and moral civilization is the authentic manifestation of human creativity. Yet, technology is able to reach the higher level of spirituality and morality, if its creations constitute formations of these ideals. Inaugurating the hospital of Kilkis Metaxas manifests:

“These works of social solidarity, which have major significance, take their real value only when they are inaugurated among a people who feel proud of their origin, proud of themselves, and have decided to defend their independence...Then, works like these have the value which they must have. However, when they have been realized, within a society which only feels philanthropy, and fears to confront both the exterior and interior dangers of the whole of the society, then these works only indicate a powerless philanthropy, and they have no significance. However, in contemporary Greece which is armed, deeply loves peace, and is ready to defend itself, such works being executed give the measure and the value of its civilization”(Metaxas 1969, 2nd Volume, p.32, 24/2/1939).

The subjection of technology to the power of faith necessarily leads to soulful articulations. Moreover, it facilitates Metaxas to appropriate the most modern technologies, such as the radio and the cinema, orientating them to the propagation of his regime ideals (Petrakis 2006). Metaxas is convinced that technology and science are mainly sourced by the rational spirit. His notion of science is positivist since he considers the observation, the experimentation and the rational thought as the essential elements of it. Technology, on the other hand, is considered as a creation of the rational thinking and as a synonym to progress; but, interventions are necessary in their evolution. The fact that he recognizes its rational foundation does not mean that he accepts them for the same reason. Given that the rational claims are undermined being compared with the over rational elements, Metaxas recognizes techno/science under the condition of its subjection to these. Additionally, he believes that he discovers the authentic essence of science which the scientists who think in a positivist way are unable to conceive: this is the faith:

“Your teachers will tell you that the searching for truth by Science is realized through certain methods; that Religion also, searches for truth, but through the belief; that Art searches for truth, but through emotions; that Science searches in its way for the truth: through the scientific methods which are not related to these of religion belief or to emotions. And they are right to talk to you in such a way. The scientific methods are: the dialectic, rationalism, observation, experiments and anything else. But, if you will search for truth via these methods, you deeply presuppose inside something which neither experience nor rationalism indicates: that the truth which you search for, really exists. And this presupposition is a religious issue. Science is constructed on this base through the scientific methods. If you have not deep inside this belief you cannot become real scientists. How can you find something which you don't believe that really exists? But, what such a belief does order you? It orders you to be real in all the dimensions of your life. How is it possible for a scientist to be a researcher for truth, if the same

man is a liar in his life?”(Metaxas 1969, 1st Volume, speech at the swearing ceremony of the students of the University Of Athens, 20/11/1937).

This element could imbue the techno/science with the national spirit and soul and to transform it in something more than a soulless form of “knowledge”:

“Your intellect must be elevated to how you will advance, how you will create the pure science which has neither Nation, nor Fatherland, which is one and only, but it is serviced in a different way by the various races. This is the only difference, and it is your Nation which makes it. Because Greece is the country which created the modern European civilization and science, you must feel proud of it servicing the pure and international science, but you must service it as Greeks, in the way of your ancestors, with the same devotion, the same zeal, and the same sacrifice. In this work you will find the Government as your supporter”(Metaxas 1969, 1st Volume, p.144, speech at the inauguration of the “Student’s House”, 21/12/1936).

The organized political regulation constitutes the most suitable context for the achievement of this goal and for the prompt use of technology.³⁶ Metaxas believes that the authoritarian political solution is multiply advantageous for the techno/science evolution. Firstly, it facilitates the planning and the realizing of technological works which is impossible within the parliamentary context. Secondly, it fulfils with social solidarity and national grandeur the soulless joints of technological nets (Metaxas 1969, 1st Volume). Finally, the incorporation of techno/science into the soulful State motivates the techno/science activity in order to contribute to the progress of the national community, the moralization of the society, and the deeper foundation of the national idea:

“I am well aware of the fact that sciences were not born by the acts of the abstract contemplative man. Sciences were firstly born by the needs of life, and after, during its evolution, by the cutting down of the uncommon elements they reach to the general principles of science and to the pure science which aims at the research of the major theoretical problems. However, since the pure science was born by the practical works of life or by practical scientific works, the pure science being formed in such a way acts in a different direction, from above to the extreme limits of its adaptation; it lights through the pure contemplation all the adaptations, and it regenerates them. In conclusion, we cannot be scientifically developed, since we ignore the issue of the pure scientific research. But, we can easily understand that studies and researches are necessary...However, I leave from here being convinced that the corpus of Greek Chemists is conscious of its value, its mission, and its duties in respect to the whole of the society, and that it works in order to achieve these goals even this requires every sacrifice or self-sacrifice to serve the society”(Metaxas 1969, 1st Volume, pp.351-352, speech at the dinner of Greek Chemists, 16/1/1938).

According to Metaxas, this contribution must be the price which techno/science has to pay to the 4th of August regime because it cares for its development. On the other hand, the scientists seem able to pay. In the Archives of Ioannis Metaxas we find a list of distinguished scholars of every discipline who are ready to diffuse science to the

³⁶ As Antoniou indicates (Antoniou 2006), engineers were ready to pay the price of subjection of technology to the “big essences” in order to justify the perspective of industrial and technological development of the country within the context of the Third Hellenic Civilization: “The social paternalism, autarky ideology, and the antiparliamentarian feeling being reinforced by the essentialist reconstruction of national past were becoming the instruments of the purification of the technocratic spirit, and also, the guarantee for the fortification of existed social hierarchies against the danger of class strife” (ibid, p.401).

people, wondering and giving lectures in various places in Athens within the context of meetings organized by the 4th of August regime.³⁷

It is clear that in the context of the interwar crisis Metaxas attempts to define the new orientations for the Greek nation after the bankruptcy of Megali Idea (Metaxas 1935). He is sure that the national idea's decadence is owed to the rationalist, cosmopolitan and materialist ideals which had intruded in Greece already from the 19th century. In the aftermath of the Megali Idea's bankruptcy he observes their last manifestation as these ideals summarized in the –Venizelian– rejection of irredentism and in the focus on domestic organization and economic development. There is no paradox, for Metaxas that the ideological crisis, the prevailing of the humanist ideals over the national ones and the communist expansion follow. Nevertheless, the only solution is a new national ideal consisting of a spiritual version of Megali Idea, a powerful national community, a soulful State, a youth with optimistic ideals, robust body and arched stature. Metaxas dreams of a united society able to create the Third Hellenic Civilization under his rule with artists inspired by the “people's soul” and where the organized political regulation would absorb all the contrasts and tensions under the widened concept of “*Hellenic*”.³⁸

George Theotokas: from the poetic essence of technique to the nightmare of an uncontrolled technology

In the case of the prominent liberal intellectual George Theotokas we can find the clearest expression of the Greek mood during the interwar period as it has been described by Mark Mazower (Mazower 2002). Mazower observes that at the end of 1920s a feeling of euphoria is diffused and the optimistic tones dominate. But, from the early thirties, when the Depression appears, and in spite of the fast recovery a feeling of insecurity is expanded which comes along with the quest for authoritative forms of governance.

George Theotokas, at the end of the twenties, characterizes the interwar conditions not only as an era of crisis, but also, as a transitive period. The decomposition of Megali Idea comes along with the unsettlement and the confusion: parvenus, new modes of

³⁷ Archives of Ioannis Metaxas (*Genika Arxia tou Kratous* [Archives of State], K065/29).

³⁸ Papadimitriou (Papadimitriou 2006, pp.168-172) marking out the corporatist, conservative, and totalitarian elements of the 4th of August regime, points out the necessity of further treatment of Metaxas' anticommunism –which other authors tend to conceive as pretext–, and that Metaxas snatches away the demand for national Unity. We observe that the notion of Unity accompanies his thought already from 1918, and we believe that the correlation of his estimation of Greek society with the program of Free Opinion Party and his action within the parliamentary context would be fruitful.

behaviour and fashion, foreign influences as jazz music and the luxurious way of life, extended social mobility, class strife, boredom, disillusion, defeatism, snobbism and illiteracy, but also, the closer interconnection with the European developments (Theotokas 1929, pp.61-63). The interwar crisis indicates according to Theotokas a surplus of spiritual life emancipating unexplored powers through the education and the contact with Europe, and including attractive elements which are summarized in the discovery of the frenzied Europe, the plurality of the big cities, the instability of ideas and morals, the night life and the pleasure of velocity (Theotokas 1929, 1930, 1932). Theotokas believes that only the people who are near the irrational and demoniacal sources of life could conceive the opportunities of the new times; Marxists and nationalists because of their dogmatism are not able to understand the deeper meaning of the interwar instability: "*It's time for risky sappers*" (Theotokas, 1929).

During the 1920s Theotokas has faith in the techno/science ideal. He recognizes it as the background of the progress attempting to find on it the superiority of *demotiki* (the spoken language), and the educational improvement of lawyers (Theotokas, 1926). Writing in a period when Venizelos realises his second modernisation attempt, Theotokas notes that "*...in the Balkans which existed for a lot of centuries as one country with an almost single civilization, contemporary Greece signs out of tune throwing at once all her Byzantines and Balkan traditions and questing for a new orientation...*"(Theotokas 1929, p.6). Nevertheless, in the same text which is characterized as the "manifest of the 1930s generation",³⁹ the trust for the regenerating power of techno/science confronts the first reservation:

"Today, they will tell us, more than at any time, Greece needs prudent new people as agriculturists, engineers, teachers, and economists, with a positive mind, strict discipline, and practical usefulness, and in no way worry dreamers who stir the work of gathering, contribute nothing and who usually live at the expense of the others. We will respond to them that thanks to God Greece don't lack prudent new people. The householders of the State and Academy will find around them plenty of well behaved children as they want, and the only thing they have to do is to choose the most prudent between the most prudent in order to give them the most brilliant and precious offices. But we will not allow to the housewifery spirit to conquest the total of Hellenic youth. If the people who govern need a lot of householders, we need some stirrup souls. We really don't see this place in what will be useful if they extinguish the 'holly

³⁹ Under the brand "generation of the 1930s" a number of intellectuals, authors, poetises, architects, and painters is categorised which formulate modernistic demands during the Greek interwar period. The main trend of this "movement" attempts to approach the Greek tradition in a modernist way beyond the conservative nationalism in order to form a "*Hellenic Hellenism*" (*hellinikos hellinismos*) by modernistic modes. The level in which this trend achieved these goals, or moved against the traditional conceptions of the Nation and the authoritarian political solutions which were connected with them, maintains a point of dispute among the researchers (Tziovas 1989; Tsakonas 1988, 1989; Kokkinos 1989; Liakos 1990; Dimadis 1991; Beaton 1996; Vitti 2000).

fire'... Is it possible Ulysses' country to be transformed to Switzerland?"⁴⁰ (Theotokas 1929, pp.34-35)⁴¹.

Theotokas admires techno/science and conceives that the elements of the organization, discipline, planning and efficiency are necessary for the modernisation attempt and social progress. But, the nightmare of a technocratic social order which will extinguish the demonic passion and the will for achieving ideological hegemony versus the nationalist and Marxists thinkers lead him to enthusiastically declare which people are able to conceive the poetic opportunities which technology incarnates:

"Don't forget that the point is about boys and girls of the twentieth century; very novel existences. Their novelty, if ever will be expressed in poetry, it will seem strange to us. I don't know anything. Nobody a priori knows anything. Nevertheless, I imagine the future Greek poetises as entirely different from those which have already been known. I imagine them as robust and fit children with free motions and lively colours. They give match, they of course drive car and they consider that a hundred kilometres per hour is a very prudent velocity. Some of them drive airplane. They live in a risky way because they have decided not to waste their time in this world, to fulfil their existence as much as they can, to feel as deeply as possible. They find a lot of beauty in the enormous impetus of their century, and since they discover beauty they surely will create art. Who is able to depict the form of this art? It surely will be something intensive and deep, a play of wit for live people. An airplane on Greek skies above Parthenon opens an even unconceivable harmony. Siggrou Avenue rolls all day and night to the Phaliron cost the newborn and even unexpressed rhythms of a strong lyrist who searches for inspired poetises. One aesthetic is spontaneously formed in the air which we respired. This 'materialist and banal' century hides in his unexplored soul much more poetry than our teachers believe. But, someone must attempt to discover it. It's time for risky sappers"(Theotokas 1929, pp. 69-70).⁴²

⁴⁰ The similarity of this formulation with analogous ones of Ion Dragoumis is really impressive. Dragoumis in his work titled "*Greek Civilization*" rails against all who imagine Greece as "*bourgeois Belgium, and eunuch, cow-herd Switzerland*" (cited in Vovolinis 1959, eds, 3rd Volume, p.491). We must point out that Theotokas was well aware of Dragoumis' thought, and that in one of his first presentations in the Greek intellectual scene he attempt to interpret Dragoumis in a way beyond of the Marxist and nationalist approaches: he based his interpretation on the irrational and demonic power of the Soul which dogmatists are unable to conceive (Theotokas 1928). A year later, in the book *Free Spirit (Elefthero Pnevma)*, Theotokas will, in an extended way, exactly repeat the same topics.

⁴¹ We think that such formulations have not been underlined. So, Triantafillopoulos (Triantafillopoulos 2005) indicates that the cultural pessimism of "*Argo*" (a Theotokas' novel edited in 1933) replaces the upraising of techno-science ideal in the *Free Spirit*, but he interprets this replacement as a "turn", and not as a reinforcing of already existed elements. Moreover, he does not connect "*Argo*" with *In front of the Social Question* (1932) where the reservation against technology comes together with the rejection of the communism and the parliamentarian rule. Our approach supplements Margariti's (Margariti 2005) one. She confines the limits of Theotokas' modernism already from the *Free Spirit*, and his oscillation between modernism and tradition observing that the impetus of Siggrou Avenue, a symbol of modernism, is liable to the great classical tradition.

⁴² We can enroll Theotokas' approach within the further context which P. Wagner defines: "Among the writings that stressed the novelty of the technological experience and its revelatory character, sometimes the individual aspect was emphasized. The possibility of new experiences allowed deep insights into the human condition, and it broadened and deepened the recognition of the self. In other writings, collective redemption was the focus of interest, the collectivity often being substantively defined as the nation or the working class. Significantly the former view prevails in aesthetic, psychological, and philosophical debates, the latter in socio-political texts.

And, typically, the automobile and the airplane were technical examples for a reasoning of the first kind, the factory for the second. Futurism as a movement occupies a peculiar double position full of tensions between individualism and collectivism, which have its doubtful intellectual solution in Italian fascism as a national orientation valuing individual self-realization. And the city –as well as, to some extent, war– has a similarly double position among the technical examples, being evoked both for the

In such an era a new definition of what is nation is required. Theotokas maintaining the essential liberal idea of harmonization (Kondylis ³2000) conceives the nation as a synthesis of contrasted and contradictory elements. This synthesis is permanently open and plastic and in no case strictly determined (Tziovas 1989) in order firstly to incorporate the constantly coming new creations, secondly to respond to the interwar crisis and to formulate a new national ideal beyond the Megali Idea and, finally, in order to respect the new technological evolutions (Theotokas 1929): “*The popular poet, Solomos, and Papadiamantis did not depict Siggrou Avenue, our railway and airplanes, the round of Europe in some days and the jazz music*”(Theotokas 1929, p.22). This modern conception of the nation moves on the one hand against the supporters of an irredentist nationalism who are not able to perceive the newly created realities, and on the other hand against the Marxists thinkers, who according to Theotokas try to fit a permanently moved reality in their deterministic schemes (Theotokas 1929).⁴³ As he believes that the harmonization of the contrasts necessarily leads to a higher unity and synthesis, he does not seem to worry whether the social or national conflict is possible to be turned in uncontrolled directions.

But, from the early thirties the tone is entirely changing, as the reservation for technology is replaced by the fear and the rejection.⁴⁴ The appearance of the Depression and the social and political turmoil which underline the communist danger not only for social, but also, for ideological hegemony⁴⁵ pushes Theotokas to reconsider his fundamental beliefs. Theotokas in his known work *Facing the Social Problem (Embros sto Koinoniko Provlima)* (Theotokas 1932) observes that the liberal

anonymous hectic of dense collective life and for the freedom of the individual from imposed social ties and forms” (Wagner 1998, Hard, Jamison, eds, p.244).

⁴³ It is important to explain that the views either of Marxists or of the irredentist nationalists are rejected in the name of their inability to conceive the irrational and demonic source of life; not because their positions are incompatible with the Reason. So, we cannot understand how such a text “constitutes a manifestation of rational spirit”, as Alivizatos (Alivizatos 1996) characterizes it. In contrast, we believe, and we hope to further explain it later, that Theotokas derives elements from different sources, a fact that facilitates him to move in a plastic way within the ideological strife. The various sources of his ideas might explain why thinkers with different ideological orientations attempt to appropriate his positions.

⁴⁴ The case of Theotokas is similar to the one of the Swedish intellectuals who were editing the journal *Karavan* (cited in Elzinga A., Jamison A., Mithander C. 1998, p.132, Jamison, Hard, eds). These intellectuals participated in the Stockholm Exhibition of 1930 where they upraised the functionalistic, rational, and the efficient aspects of modern technology which was fully accepted. However, two years later these intellectuals being in front of the social strife and the irrational nature of capitalism turned against the “mechanistic intellectualization”, and they expressed their love for the peasants, their cult for the archaic, and their desire to work for more immediate, vital and instinctive forces of life.

⁴⁵ Theotokas repeatedly underlines the danger of the communist ideas’ expansion, and he clearly accepts that the main motive for his participation to the journal *Idea* is to prevent such an expansion (Theotokas-Seferis 1991).

bourgeois class and civilization are in crisis; even the carriers of the liberal spirit pose it into question. The rationalistic and harmonizing ideas are acutely criticized and the necessity of a way out emerges. The crisis is attributed to the Machine, the offspring of science which humanism creates; the Machine according to Theotokas brings the uncontrolled capitalism, the proletariat, the class struggle and the economic crisis. Techno/science is considered responsible for the social breakdown because it cancels spirituality and narrows the contents of life. It transforms man in an insect; it brings disorder, chaos, and finally, communism.⁴⁶

This is why communism, for Theotokas, cannot constitute the transcendence of the interwar crisis.⁴⁷ The industrial capitalism, for Theotokas, upraising the technological progress and becoming maniac for productivity, profits, and the pleasure for velocity, it loses its measure. In consequence, it ignores the soul, it magnifies the Machine which is yet uncontrolled and disastrous. But communism in Theotokas' opinion is even worse. Apart from the fact that it constitutes an offspring of capitalism, it magnifies the latter's negatives. Believing in the absolute value of the industrial progress it transforms man in a factory's accessory. It is based on automatism and the pack's spirit; the only meaning it offers is the rational organization of production, and it considers as the only stimulus for soul motivation materialism, industrialism and the mechanization of the whole.

On the other hand, Theotokas is in quest for what has to be done. He does not absolutely reject technology because he recognizes its huge contribution to the improvement of people's life. Nevertheless, he emphasizes the necessity for its reorientation: technology must be transformed into the slave of man, subjected to the social discipline, governed by the logic of the social needs in order to achieve the control and the stabilization of the anarchic economic powers; in other words, technology must be subjected to the Spirit (Theotokas, *ibid*). He also, appropriates

⁴⁶ Kastrinaki (Kastrinaki 2005) observes that the problem of how to treat communism, is something which occupied Theotokas during all of his life. Moreover, she interprets the Theotokas' passage from *Free Spirit* to *Facing the Social Problem* in terms of "turn". We claim, for reasons which we have already explained, that already existed elements in his thought become the most prominent in the context of the Depression and the communist ambiguity. Moreover, that these irrational elements function as an intellectual presupposition for his familiarization with the Orthodox cult in order for Theotokas to respond through religion to the problem of Western Civilization. Kastrinaki explicitly, and pointedly, connects the religious belief of Theotokas with his rejection of Western Civilization.

⁴⁷ Elefantis (Elefantis 1999) pointedly observes the increasing worry which communism provoked to the political and economic interwar elites. But, we do not believe that anticommunism, as he argues, was the authentic ideology of bourgeois class. The classical liberal modernity and the Greek version of the parliamentarism were also under attack. On the other hand, politicians and intellectuals attempted to formulate a positive national ideal undoubtedly strongly connected with an organized political solution.

science in the same way. In concrete, he uses, with the other contributors of the journal *The Idea (He Idea)*, the science conception versus the Marxist materialism arguing that the modern science –relativity and quantum physics– is incompatible with Marxism and it reinforces the idealist philosophy; but, at the same time they declare that science has not a superior cognitive status: it is simply a method, a single cognitive attempt (*The Idea* 1933, 1934).⁴⁸ So, Theotokas “takes” from science its critical essence, while he distinguishes it from positivism. Through a combination between Science without positivism and Spirit which includes the demon and irrational powers, free will, Soul, ethics, moral values, harmonization ideals and the Idea, he inserts in the acute ideological battle.⁴⁹

Based on this combination he criticizes communism as a mixture of Slavic/Asian fanaticism and German positivism. Communism according to Theotokas has two taboos: the first is the Team which cancels individuality, and the second is the Machine which erases the soul. On the other hand, he recognizes the negatives of the liberal institution. But, he is convinced that the avoidance of the Revolution is more necessary. The solution to the social problem will be offered by the formulation of a new humanism which will harmonize the needs of mind, heart and soul, bring the individual redemption and guarantee the return of Europe to the ancient Greek values (Theotokas 1932, 1938). A “social democracy” which tends to the “rational” regulation of the process of the production and guarantees the material equality represents the political incarnation of this new humanism, and replaces the classical liberal regime which does not respond to the new economic conditions. But according to Theotokas the organizational scheme is impossible to be depicted: will it be corporatist, statist, or communitarian?(Theotokas 1932).

⁴⁸ The strict references: “Basic principles” (*The Idea*, no.1, p.1, January 1933, Volume I); “*The Idea* and Science” (*ibid*, no.2, February 1933, Volume I); “Questions” (*ibid*, no.3, pp. 204-205, March 1933, Volume I); “Science and moral improvement” (*ibid*, no.5, pp. 337-338, May 1933, Volume I); “Explanations” (*ibid*, no. 7, p. 127, June 1933, Volume II); “Einstein and...dialectic materialism” (*ibid*, no. 7, p. 128, June 1933, Volume II).

⁴⁹ We think that our observations reinforce the position of Tziovas (Tziovas 2005) that the intellectual march of Theotokas, having as main elements the demon and the passion for freedom, starts from romantic freedom and ends in metaphysic quest. We believe that the widened notion of Spirit facilitates Theotokas to be distanced from techno/science, while he incorporates it, to attempt to imbue it with spirit in order for him to play hegemonic ideological role, to introduce the Orthodox belief in his ideological universe to undermine atheistic and immoral communism, and to reject capitalism maintaining the basic humanist notions. In this sense, there is not a turn in Theotokas’ thinking, but an evolution and a transformation of some elements of his thought which are not subjected to rationality. We distance ourselves, on the other hand, from Tziovas’ position, when he takes in its named value Theotokas’ liberalism. In this case, we pose, according to Liakos, the question: which is the content of this liberalism?

Nevertheless, he attempts to determine some of its main characteristics such as the community of productive means, the reinforcing of the executive authority in order to take fast and efficient decisions avoiding the endless parliamentary discussions, the intervention of the State to all the economic fields and the inauguration of an economic Parliament, the “rational” regulation of the economy and the compulsory arbitration of the State in case of struggle between employees and workers, and finally the class solidarity within the Nation in avoiding Revolution (Theotokas, *ibid*).⁵⁰ The corporatist even and fascist, echoes of these points are obvious (Liakos 1990). According to Theotokas, since poverty and misery are the direct effects of false organization a political solution which combines the community of productive means, management of economy from above, and the maintenance of some free economic activity, is the promptest way to appropriate technology: *“In other words, the State must be ready to take up its major role in the political and economical life, to take more responsibility and velocity in confronting the social problems, and to be emancipated from the misery of parliamentarism exchanges in order to achieve someday to essentially administrate and harmonize the contradictory social interests”*(Theotokas 1932, pp. 203-204).

Theotokas intensively searches for the political solution which will incorporate all these elements.⁵¹ He is convinced about the parliamentary bankruptcy, but he is against the dictatorship; also, he explicitly rejects the “rusty” (sic) parliamentarism.⁵² During 1932 he believes that the most illuminated, lucrative, and fruitful political movement for Greece would be constituted by an expanded Radical Party which will concentrate all the powers of social reformation rejecting the violence and the tyranny. Theotokas considers that such a non-class, but popular party which would

⁵⁰ Kyrtis (Kyrtis 1996, pp.91-97) observes that the corporatist ideas were more diffused among the intellectuals than among the politicians during this period, and that liberal intellectuals were more corporatists and authoritarian than the intellectuals of *Laikon Komma* (Popular Party).

⁵¹ Papatheodorou (Papatheodorou 2005) underlines Theotokas’ anticommunism, that the cliché for Theotokas as “a man of measure” has no evidence, and that he was orientating in corporatist solutions during the interwar period. Also, he stresses the strong influence of Ion Dragoumis on Theotokas. So, we do not think that Theotokas was simply “a *free spirit* in the era of extreme”, as Papatheodorou argues, but an intellectual who tried to formulate his positions during the transition from the classical to organised modernity.

⁵² Based on these observations, and on many similar to these, we can treat in an alternative way the connection of *Hellenism* with liberalism in Theotokas’ thinking. Kitromilides argued that the intensive quest of Theotokas for the essence of *Hellenism* constitutes the unsurpassable limit to his liberalism (Kitromilides 1986). If we converse this perspective, we can consider the quest for the essence of *Hellenism* as the ideological capping of the rejection of classical liberal settlement: in other words, of the institution based on the cohesive national idea of an “organized solution” with a corporatist and anticommunist character.

have as its emblem the social solidarity, would gain the popular majority and give a new content to Democracy. In 1933 he upraises Mussolini because he discovers the hidden powers of the Mediterranean people. At the same time he expresses his preference to Democracy because he rejects violence, and because the contemporary democracy is an evolutionary political solution which keeps its distance from the classical liberalism. In 1935 he defended the democracy as the less improper political system.⁵³

His oscillation stops when a form of political organization appears where the State manages the economy not under the fascist rule, but under the control of bourgeois class. It is the *New Deal*, “*the experiment of President Roosevelt, ‘a peaceful revolution’, as he characterizes it, is an impressive attempt of the most illuminated part of the American bourgeois class in collaboration with wide strata of American people in order to realize a more just allocation of the wealth and at the same time to subject the capital to the society’s control*”(Theotokas 1936, p.316). According to Theotokas, the philosophical foundations of this attempt are the empiricist and liberalist temperament of the Anglo-Saxon societies and the try, apart from the social and political dogmatisms, and authoritarian solutions. President Roosevelt incarnates, in Theotokas’ approach, the spirit of empiricism and utilitarianism which on the one hand distrusts dogmatism, metaphysics and determinism, and on the other hand, trusts humanity and its power for progress and improvement. For Theotokas, it is not a flat and banal utilitarianism since it manifests its trust to future and humanity. This trust is simply expressed in terms of moderation, peace and reformation (Theotokas 1937).

⁵³ The majority of the researchers tend to ignore Theotokas’ intensive ideological oscillation. Either taking his declarations for liberty in its named value or adopting a widened notion of “liberalism” they characterize Theotokas as a liberal and independent intellectual or as an intellectual who tried to introduce a social/democratic solution beyond capitalism and communism (Peponis 1976; Kitromilides 1986; Vitti ³1994, 2000; Alivizatos 1996; Vagenas 2005; Tziovas 2005; Mavrogordatos 2005; Karacotias 2005). A lot of researchers posed into question this unreserved acceptance of Theotokas’ liberalism (Liakos 1990; Dimadis 1991; Kastrinaki 2005; Papatheodorou 2005). Without posing into question the content of Theotokas’ liberalism Vitti, for example, argues that *Idea*, on the one hand, acutely fights against communism and, on the other hand, does not intensively fight against Nazism and fascism, while at the same time he claims that Theotokas formed his intellectual position against fanaticism and for the democratic tolerance and good-intentioned dialogue through his participation in this journal (Vitti ³1994, p.370; for similar positions, Vitti 2000). Tziovas accurately points out the irrational and voluntary elements of Theotokas’ thought which ignore rationality, that Theotokas attributes the ideologies to Soul and Passion, and that he recognizes the priority of action. However, accepting a widened notion of liberalism Tziovas claims that Theotokas has an inoculated liberal position. We believe that we must dynamically approach the evolution of Theotokas’ thought taking into account three parameters: the contiguity between liberal and fascist ideology as Mannheim has indicated it, the fact that communism and fascism undermine the liberal institution (Kondylis 1998) in a period when the rational values are posed into strong question (Kondylis ³2000), and that the tendency for the rejection of liberalism/parliamentarism is strong even among its supporters who seek, as their opponents, for “organised solutions” (Maier 1988; Wagner 1994; Mazower 2004).

But, unfortunately, it's too late: Metaxas had already inaugurated his dictatorship and Theotokas turns to the exploration of the past (Dimadis 1991, Vitti 2000).⁵⁴

Within the context of the intensive ideological oscillation Theotokas transforms his concept of nation. Based on a cultural interpretation of *Hellenism* he rediscovers the hellenocentric ideal of the national "continuity" in a duration of three thousand years. Moreover, he formulates it in a wide way in order to incorporate to this "continuity" even the modern literature of his generation. The Byzantine civilization is appreciated because it realizes the Orthodox and Paganism synthesis (Theotokas, 1938).⁵⁵ The "continuity" of *Hellenism* is considered as existential reality and there is no need for either creating mythical connections or denying any connection. The only danger for nation's destiny is the disaster of its youth power; Greek nation according to Theotokas starts a new evolutionary cycle,⁵⁶ while Europeans, as surrealism, futurism,

⁵⁴ Vitti considers the turn of some authors from realism to historical or past themes as a consequence of Metaxas' dictatorship. Rejecting this interpretation Dimadis argues that the turn to the past is the consequence of the ideological no way out, and of the political and ethical bankruptcy of all the parts of political elite. He also, cites an observation by Sycouris that some intellectuals at the beginning of the 1930' attempt to combine the romantic folklorism of 1890-1910 and the modern/cosmopolitan spirit of the twenties/thirties –each of which elements live inside them in a different portion– although this attempt is contradictory (pp.38-39). Dimadis also, underlines that Theotokas avoids clearly rejecting the Nazism (pp.268-269), and that in a text at the beginning of the War Theotokas being ironic against the liberal regulations almost upraises Hitler's actions (pp.270-271). For Tziovas (Tziovas 1989) the turn to the past of the authors of "1930' generation", and Theotokas, is connected with the quest for an alternative perception of the Nation against Metaxas' propaganda. We must accept that the resistance of these authors to Metaxas' regime, if it really existed, was without a doubt silent and passive.

⁵⁵ This is the period when Theotokas, searching for arguments against the communist ideological hegemony, as he clearly accepts many years later (Theotokas 1958, p.848), "discovers" Berdiaeff (*Idea* 1934) and his rejection of the Russian Revolution. Neglecting the general ideological context in which Theotokas uses the political head of Berdiaeff's works, and without examining how meaningful for his relationship with the Orthodox cult is the fact that Theotokas is familiarized with Berdiaeff, Giannaras, on the one hand, prefers to talk about an "amazing" rediscovery of the spiritual Orthodox tradition made by Theotokas (Giannaras 1999), and Alivizatos, on the other hand, attributes the "Orthodox turn" (which in our opinion does not really exist) of Theotokas to personal and existential reasons (Alivizatos 1996). Although Zoumboulakis (Zoumboulakis 2005) points out that there is not a religious turn of Theotokas, he avoids referring to the context within which Theotokas discovers Christianity: idealism versus atheistic and materialist communism, Spirit against technological nihilism. In order to trace the role of the religious element in Theotokas' thinking we can take into account two points; that Theotokas expresses his preference to Resonance as a period when Science was in harmony with Religion, and the Kondylis' fruitful observation (Kondylis 2000) about the incorporation of Christianity by liberals in order to turn it against the immoral, atheistic and materialist communism.

⁵⁶ Kotzia (Kotzia 2005, 2006) refers to an "evolutionary biological model" in Theotokas' thinking. We think that under this title Kotzia contracts two different "biological models" which appear in Theotokas' texts. The one is organic and cyclic, and Theotokas uses it when he compares Hellenic civilization –young and prosperous– with the European one –old and decadent. The other is progressive, and is absolutely fitted with the harmonizing ideals of Theotokas. Theotokas bases on it his fundamental belief that the interior tendency of life is to reach high levels of synthesis of the contrasts. This belief accompanies his thinking even from the pre-WWII years –in such a way he approaches Europe and the idea of the Nation– to the post-WWII conditions: in this way he treats the institution of European Community, he attempts to harmonize Science-Religion, Individual-Society, Technology-Spirit, and based on this faith he expects the future union of the world which now is in battle.

and ‘poesie pure’ indicate, live their decadence. The Greek revival does not need any of the previous ‘creatures’ (Theotokas 1939). Instead of approaching in terms of class strife the Greek society of his era Theotokas poses the Nation as the main social category and proposes the turn of political thinking to the national visions. This turn constitutes the bridging between liberal and anti-liberal perceptions on the common background of the tradition, the *Hellenism (hellinikotita) ideal*, the acceptance or the rejection of modern civilization (Papadimitriou 2006, pp. 115-116, 164-166).⁵⁷

Conclusions

The interwar crisis poses Greek politicians and intellectuals in front of complex and unprecedented problems. The need for its solving motivates them in order to articulate the proper solutions. In this context, the issue of techno/science development provokes tensions. Thus, during the heyday of the “first crisis of modernity”, Greek politicians and intellectuals attempt to formulate new ideals, to introduce organized institutions, and at the same time to respond to the challenge which the –necessary– techno/scientific development poses.

Venizelos deriving from the liberal belief to the progress and to the possibility of harmonizing the contradicted interests believes that collective redemption will be achieved through the political regulation. Nevertheless, he considers that the classical liberal institution does not suffice; institutional technologies in order to reinforce executive authority are required. Although he strongly resisted to the corporatist tendencies, he does not remain uninfluenced and unattractive from the fascist sirens of powerful governance under the leadership of a vigorous personality. He was planning a constitutional reformation which was not distanced from similar positions of Metaxas. Technological infrastructure is not identified in Venizelos’ thinking with industrial development. In contrast, it is strongly connected with the various public works. If it is placed within the frame of political technologies, he believes, it will fruitfully offer to the stabilization of the social regime and to the avoidance of communist danger.

⁵⁷ The fact that Theotokas poses the Nation as the main social category, as Papadimitriou fruitfully describes it, constitutes the limit, on the one hand, for the open, plastic (Tziovas 1989), and historical (Alivizatos 1996) perception of national idea, and also, on the other hand, for the optimism of Theotokas which opened the road for the introduction of sociology in Greece (Kyrtis 1996, p.100). Kyrtis points out that Theotokas’ interest in issues of national identity, distanced him from the introducers of sociology (*ibid*).

Metaxas has already before the WWI rejected the rational values and the liberal/parliamentarian order in the name of irrational attributes. This –conservative– ideological cline is increasingly reinforced by fascist positions during the interwar period, when he proclaims the liberal bankruptcy which brings communism, and the necessity for organized regulation. Through his dictatorship he leads the authoritarian political regulations of the previous –and Venizelian among others– interwar governments to its heyday. He admires techno/science, but he is not able to recognize its rational foundation; moreover, he fears its negative social consequences. Thus, he proclaims the necessity for its incorporation to the structures of an authoritarian State, while he orders its subjection to the irrational elements which are supplemented in his speech by the “national soul” and the values of the Third Hellenic Civilization.

Theotokas deriving from a widened liberalism which connects classical liberal elements with irrational powers, and the –semi-fascist– cult for will and action, approaches technology in a dual way. At the end of 1920s he upraises it proclaiming that he is able to conceive its poetic essence. In this context of upraising tones it is extremely difficult for the researcher to trace the expressed –and existed– reservations against it. At the beginning of the 1930s he believes that its uncontrolled evolution brings the social crisis and the –communist– Revolution. But, he does not totally reject it. In contrast, he incorporates it in corporatist political schemes which must transcend the bankrupted parliamentarian liberalism, while he searches for its harmonization with the re-generated Greek values by his literary generation.

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**THE IONIAN SEA IN THE 19TH CENTURY:
PORTS, THE PORT SYSTEM AND THE FORMATION OF THE IONIAN
COMMERCIAL AND MARITIME NETWORK**

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Abstract:

Historically, the Ionian Sea played a vital role in linking the Western and Eastern Mediterranean with the Adriatic Sea. The major commercial routes of European and international trade passed through its waters. Consequently, the ports and port system of the Ionian Sea became an integral part of the new era of early economic globalization and the international trade system of the 19th century. Within this trade system, Ionian shipping specialized in the transport of bulk cargo from the Black Sea and Eastern Mediterranean to Western Europe. This specialization led to the distribution of commercial and nautical activity within Ionian shipping and the port system during the British occupation of the Ionian Islands (1815-1864). Ionian shipping formed the base for the construction of the Ionian commercial and maritime network, and contributed to the expansion of the global shipping centre of London.

This work aims to identify and present the terms of the formation of the Ionian commercial and maritime network during the period of the British occupation and discusses the apportionment of commercial and nautical work within the Ionian port system.

Key words:

Ionian Sea 19th century, United States of the Ionian Islands, Great Britain, Commercial and Maritime Networks, External and Internal Distribution of Commercial and Nautical Work.

**IONIAN SEA:
PORTS, PORT SYSTEM AND THE FORMATION OF THE IONIAN
COMMERCIAL AND MARITIME NETWORK,
DURING THE 19TH CENTURY**

1. Ionian Islands: integration in the political and economic environment (19th century)

The Ionian Sea played an important historical role in linking the Western and Eastern Mediterranean with the Adriatic Sea. The major commercial routes of European and international trade passed through its waters. The Ionian Islands lie at this important economic and commercial crossroads. At first sight, it appears that the growth of Ionian shipping was easily predicted (Harlaftis 2001). However, the economic development of a certain region is not determined exclusively by a sole factor, but by the interaction of many resultants: such as geographical position; political, social and economic status. Therefore, in order to define the terms of the growth of Ionian shipping, we should take into consideration not only the geographical dimension of the Ionian Islands, but also their political, social and economic reality. These realities were a result of their status as a “Colonial Protectorate,” imposed by Great Britain on the Seven Islands of the Ionian Sea; the so-called “Eptanisa.” This colonial status lasted nearly six decades, from 1809 to 1864.

According to the Treaty of Paris (November 5, 1815), the Ionian Islands became a protectorate of Great Britain. The treaty signalled the creation of a free and independent state, under the formal name “United States of the Ionian Islands”. Great Britain undertook not only the political protection of the islands, but also the obligation to recognise the rights of constitutional governing in the newly established state. Beyond this formal reading of the treaty, however, the Ionian Islands constituted a part of the British colonialist empire. The head of administration was the Lord High Commissioner, who was appointed by the Ministry of Colonies in London. The Lord High Commissioner had absolute and unlimited responsibility and jurisdiction over the Ionian Islands (Karapidakis 2003). Thus, when referring to the Seven Islands of the 19th century, we are in fact referring to a cluster of islands belonging to the worldwide colonialist and commercial British Empire. It is within this framework that the commercial, seagoing Ionian shipping of the 19th century developed.

The British presence and influence on commerce and Ionian seagoing shipping may be more clearly understood by examining two indicative pictures. The first presents the idea that the Ionian subjects sought the help of the British in order to release their State from the yoke of France, so that they could practice their commercial and nautical activity without disturbance (*The Times*, No 7847, Thursday, December 7, 1809). In the fall of 1809, Ionian tradesmen and nobles launched an appeal to this effect to the British administration of the Mediterranean Sea in Malta (Chiotis 1863, 1877). The second example shows that Great Britain viewed the Ionian Islands as a strategic asset to her global commercial interests. *The Saturday Magazine* of July 1840 states: "the importance of these islands to England has reference principally to their geographical position, by which they are admirably adapted for protecting our trade in the eastern parts of Europe, and of extending our commerce as soon as Greece

becomes more settled and civilized" (*The Saturday Magazine*, No. 515, July 11, 1840).

Within this framework, British protection over the Seven Islands provided a great impulse for strengthening and expanding the commercial and nautical activity of the Islands. According to this status, the Ionian tradesmen, skippers and shipowners had the right and the potential to invoke their British citizenship, which would enable them to engage in their commercial and nautical activities undisturbed. Ionian subjects who sailed to Spain or who were merchants in Vatum, Alexandria, Damascus, Durazze (on the Albanian coast), Belgrade, or on the coasts of the Black Sea had the safety of British citizenship to follow them. It is worthwhile to note that in almost all of the agreements concerning shipping and commercial interests that Great Britain signed with other states and kingdoms, an annex was included stating that the United States of the Ionian Islands were part of the British Empire and as such had the same rights and obligations to fulfil according to the signed agreements. Moreover, Ionian subjects could practice and expand their activities within the geographic boundaries fixed by the political and economic power of the British Empire (Hobsbawm 1999). For example, they could take advantage of the privileges of settlement and marketing of grain in the areas bordering the Danube, following the British abolition of their Laws of Navigation; grain could now be trafficked freely (Cafruny 2001; Davis 2001). It should be noted that approximately 80% of the Greeks who were involved in trade in these regions held British citizenship, and were mainly from the island of Cephalonia (Harlaftis 2001).

The activity of the people from Cephalonia and from other Ionian islands led to the constitution of the Ionian network of commerce and shipping in the second half of the 19th century with centres of activity in the Danube and the Black Sea (Aserson 2002; King 2005; Matvejevich 1998). This provided a developmental boost to Greek-owned commercial shipping through the separation of commercial activity from shipping activity, catalysing the changeover from the dual profession of tradesman-shipowner, to that of the specialised shipowner (Harlaftis 2001, 2003). In other words, the importance of Ionian shipping lies in the fact that the Ionians managed to be included and participate actively in the international commercial system and to experience the terms of the early phase of economic globalisation, as it was developed during the 19th century. This reality provided Greek-owned commercial shipping all the conditions and experiences that enabled Greece to dominate the world shipping industry in the 20th century.

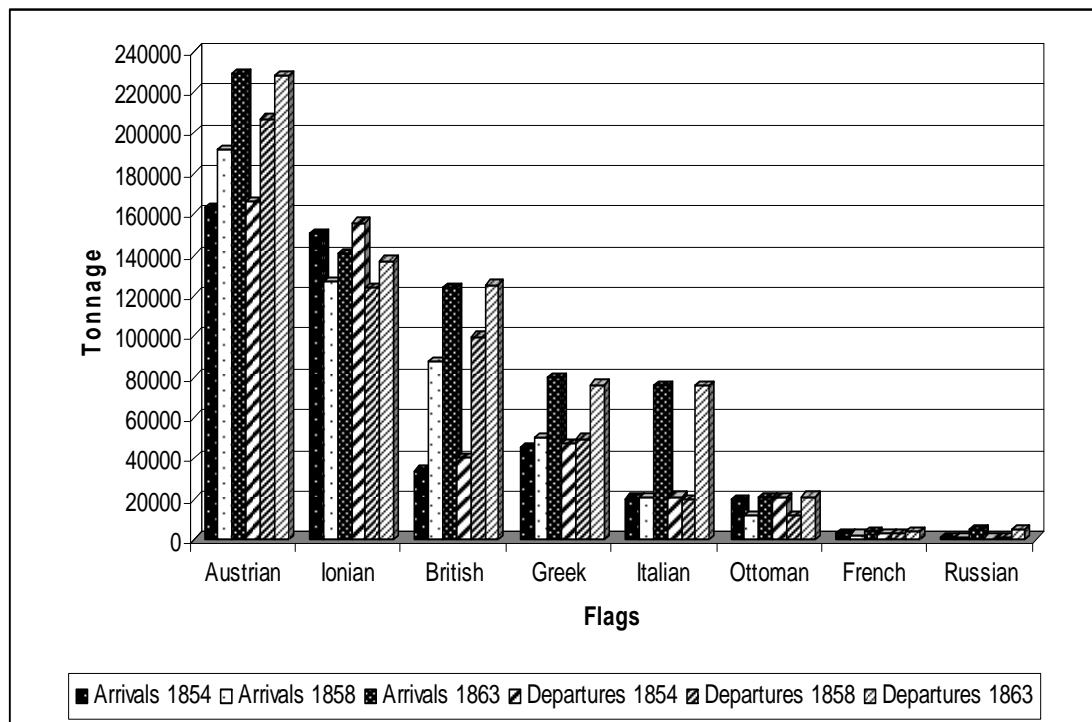
The objective of the current paper is to present the Ionian Sea along three basic dimensions: shipping, commerce and harbours. By the "port" dimension, we mean the particular character that the Ionian harbour system had received - if it had received one - during the period of British sovereignty in the islands. The examination of these three parameters will allow us not only to approach the terms of the growth of the Ionian commercial fleet and Ionian shipping during the 19th century, but also the terms of the constitution of the Ionian network of commerce and shipping, and the expansion of the main shipping centre of London.

2. The Ionian Islands at the crossroads of international commercial routes

2.1. Arrivals and departures in the Ionian ports

The importance and role of a marine region is related to three basic factors; the first is the offered capacity and the flags of the arriving and departing ships; the second has to do with the commercial and shipping network in which a port system is developed; the third refers to the type of nautical and commercial activity in which a port system is specialised. In order to perceive the role that the Ionian Sea and the Ionian port system played in international commercial routes and transactions, let us look at the elements concerning the capacities of arrivals and departures in the ports of the Ionian Islands, during the period of 1854-63 and compare these elements with the corresponding data of the other marine regions in the Eastern Mediterranean (Diagram 1.1).

Diagram 1.1. Arrivals and departures in the ports of the Ionian Sea, during the period of 1854-63 (capacity and flag).



Source: processed elements from Gazette Jonie 1855, 1859, 1864. (The unified Italian flag occurs in the year 1861, after the political unification of the Italian peninsula. Before that year, more than one flags existed; the flag of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Neapolitan), the flag of Sardinia and the flag of the Pontifical States).

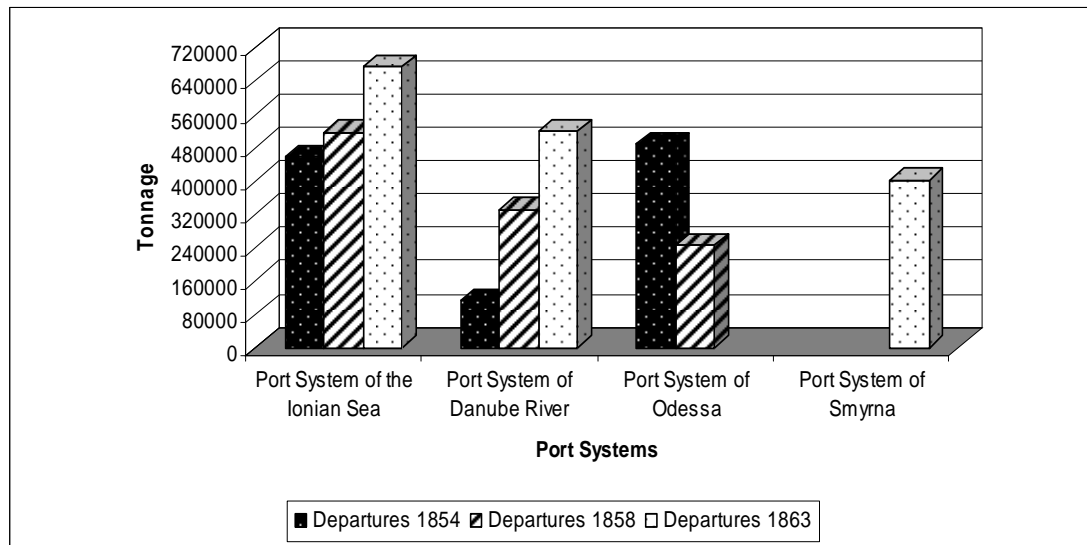
From the diagram, the following conclusions can be drawn: a) examining the number of flags reveals that the ports of the Ionian Islands constituted important stations of international commerce. It should be pointed out that the diagram presents only the basic flags, i.e. the flags concerning ships with the largest registered capacity. On the other hand, we have to add that the Ionian ports were ports of call for many other flags, such as flags from Holland, Denmark, Bremen, Hamburg, USA and Jerusalem; b) in examining the flags, we observe that the Austrian flag dominates in number

followed by the State of the Ionian Islands' flag. The difference, however, is reversed in favour of the Ionian Islands' flag if the number of Greek flags is added. The reason for this is that an important number of shipowners from Cephalonia and the other Ionian Islands selected their flag according to their commercial interests. Taking this into account, the dominating fleet in the Ionian Sea was Greek-owned. In third place is the British flag, followed by the Greek flag; the fifth place is occupied by the Italian flag (which is declared as such after 1861--after the political unification of the Italian peninsula, which unified the previous status of many states and flags of the Italian peninsula); the registered capacity of the Italian flag is followed by the flags of the Ottoman Empire, France and Russia; c) the third element that arises from the data of the diagram is the constantly increasing capacity of the ships under the Austrian flag and the relative stagnation of the Ionian flag. The British flag shows an augmentative tendency while entering into the third quarter of the 19th century. The Greek flag seems to move upward after the end of the 1850s, like the Italian flag. As far as the Ottoman, French and Russian flags are concerned, we can speak of stagnation or of small fluctuations of the registered capacities, without any particular importance, but their presence in the Ionian Sea is in any case perceptible.

If we want to proceed a step forward and to explain the data of the diagram, the increasing number of flags and registered capacities clearly show the great importance and central role of the Ionian marine region in the international commercial arteries. The Ionian ports – found in the centre of the Mediterranean Sea –constituted basic turning-points for all the ships of the main commercial and nautical powers of the 19th century. This is a rather expected reality for the British flag, because the Ionian Islands were part of the British colonies and as such the Ionian ports constituted necessary turning-points for British trade within the Mediterranean and Far East.

On the other hand, the Austro-Hungarian Empire had only two direct exit-ports towards the Mediterranean Sea. These were the ports of the north-eastern Adriatic Sea: Trieste and Venice. As a result, the Ionian Islands and their ports became the necessary “import” and “export” interlocutor of Austrian commerce, due to the islands' location at the mouth of the vast Adriatic Gulf. As far as the Greek flag is concerned, we have to point out that the most important export port of the Greek State was Patras, which belonged to the Ionian port system. The ports of the South-eastern Italian peninsula also belonged to the same marine region and port system. Their commercial contacts with the neighbouring seven islands' ports were not only inevitable but were also necessary for their economic existence. Summarizing, it should be mentioned that the sovereignty of the Austrian flag is the one aspect of the Ionian shipping. The other aspect is the real and absolute sovereignty of the British commercial and nautical force, having in mind that both the “maternal” British flag and the “subsidiary” Ionian flag served the shipping and the commercial interests of the globalised British Empire.

Diagram 1.2. Departures (capacity) from the port systems of the Ionian Sea, the Danube River, Odessa and Smyrna, 1854-63.



Source: processed elements from Gazette Jonie 1855, 1859, 1864; see also Tzelina Harlaftis, *History of Greek Owned Shipping*, Nefeli Publications, Athens 2001, pp. 180-189. (The region of Odessa includes the ports of Odessa, Nikolaev, Sevastopol and Teodosiia. The marine region of the Danube River includes the port cities of Braila, Galati and Sulina).

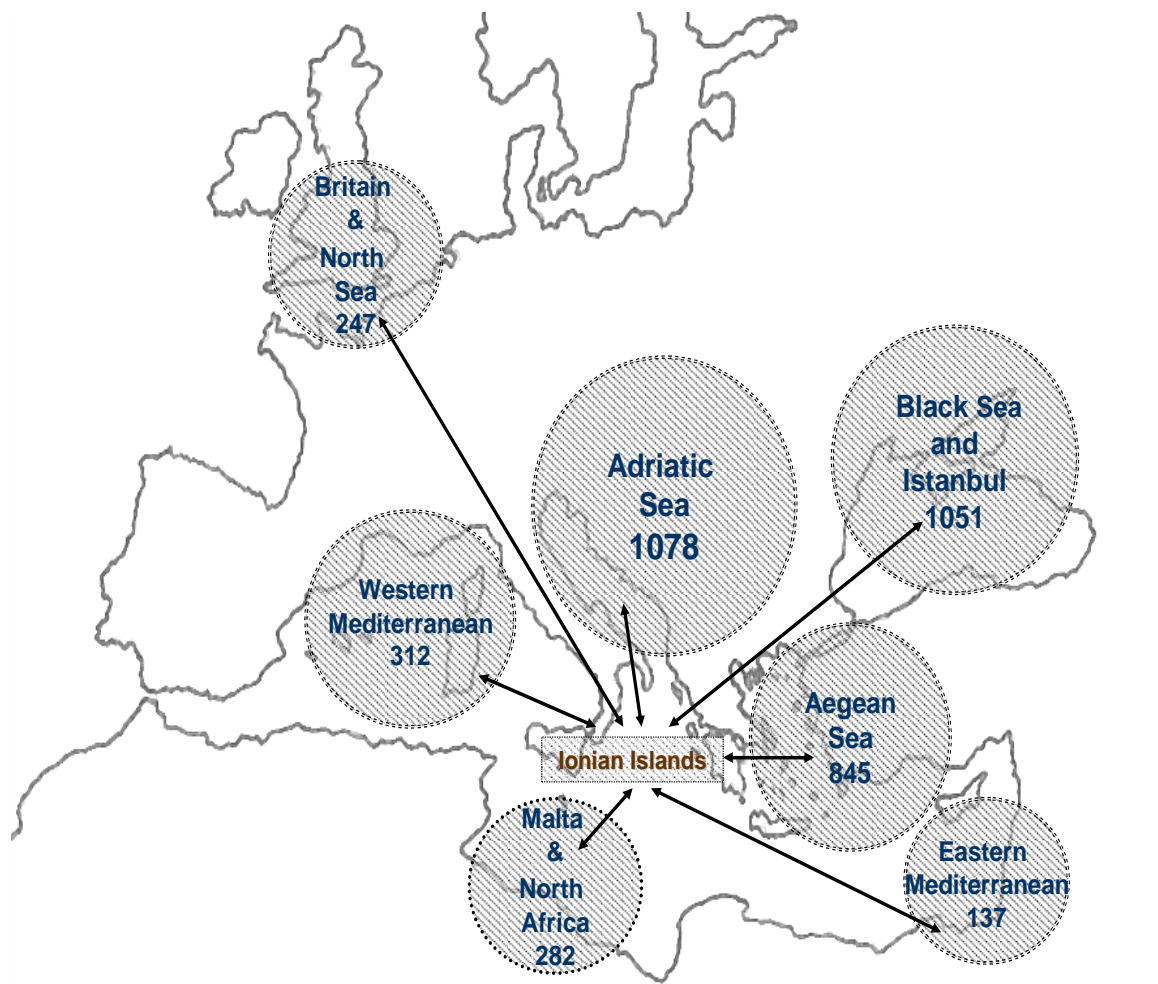
In order to acquire a clearer picture of the importance of the Ionian Sea in the international commercial routes of the 19th century, we compared the capacities of the departures from the Ionian ports with the corresponding departures from important ports of the Eastern Mediterranean: Danube, Odessa and Smyrna (Harlaftis 2001; Focas 1975; Herlihy 1986; Kardasis 1993). The Danube and Odessa were selected due to their extended commercial and nautical importance by the beginning of the 19th century, as breadbasket regions and providers of food for the European continent. Smyrna was selected as one of the most important import and export ports of the Ottoman Empire in the Aegean Sea. Between these four port systems, the Ionian port system gained the dominant position, followed by those of the Danube River, Odessa and Smyrna. It is worthy to note that the ports of the Ionian Islands engaged in larger and more intense commercial activity than the ports of the Black Sea and Smyrna. We should keep in mind that we are referring to marine regions, which are both – to a greater or smaller degree – export and import port-systems. According to these parameters, we argue that the Ionian Sea constituted an integral part of the continuously expanding economy of the 19th century, as an active participant in the international trade system of that period.

2.2. The Ionian commercial and shipping network: routes, products and ports

Having presented a general picture of the Ionian Sea and its important role in international commercial routes, let us examine the second parameter: Ionian shipping and its commercial network. At this point, it should be stressed that the term “Ionian shipping” refers to the total number of commercial and seagoing ships which were owned by the citizens of the United States of the Ionian Islands, regardless of flag. The objective of the study of the Ionian commercial network is to map out the

commercial arteries that connected the marine region and port system of the Ionian Sea with the basic commercial, import, export and transit centres of the 19th century. Tracking the commercial ports - the partners of the Ionian Sea - will provide us with a clear picture of the extent and importance of the Ionian Sea in the international commercial system.

Map 1.1. The Ionian commercial network (according to ship arrivals), 1844-60.

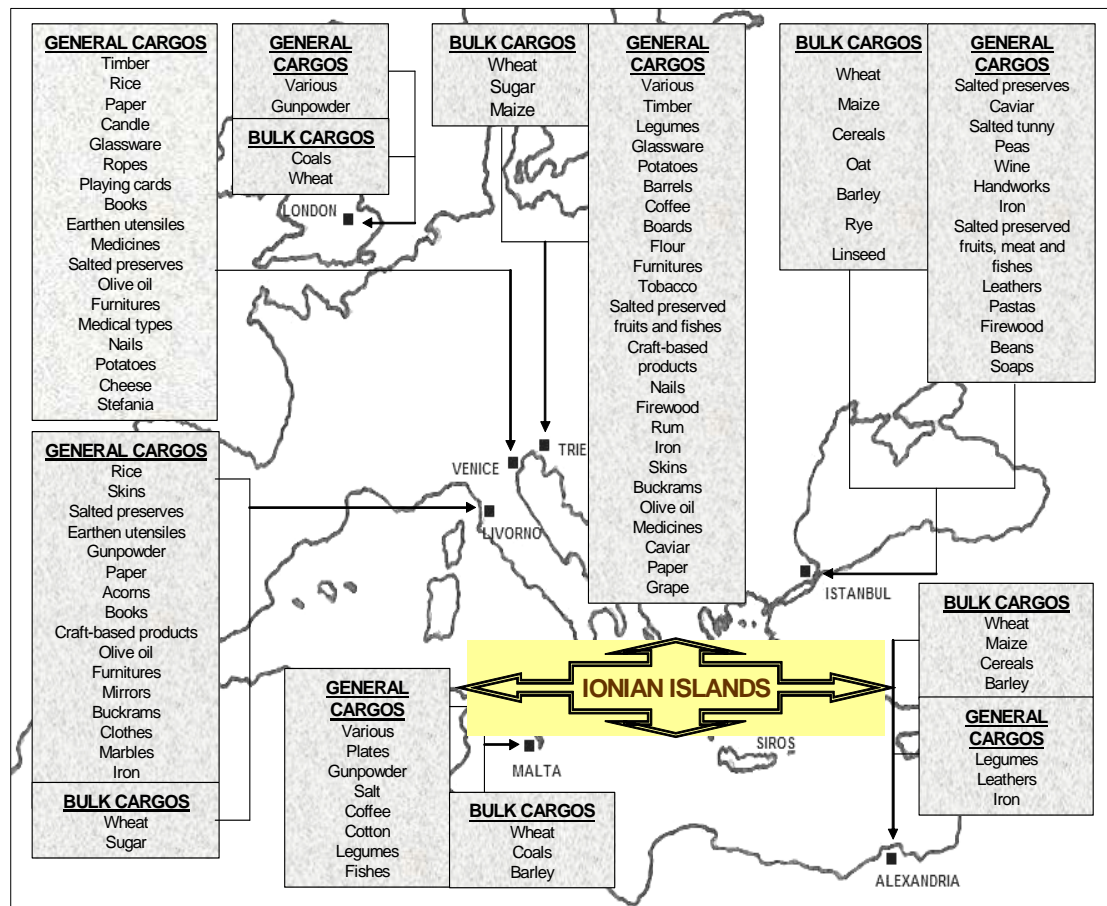


Source: processed elements from Gazette Jonie, years 1844, 1850, 1855, 1860. Georgios N. Moschopoulos - Stamatoula Zapanti, *Quarantine Service of Cephalonia 1846-1864*, Volume I, General Archives of the Greek State - Archives of the Prefecture of Cephalonia, Argostoli 1997; Georgios N. Moschopoulos - Stamatoula Zapanti, *Quarantine Service of Cephalonia 1846-1864*, Volume II, General Archives of the Greek State - Archives of the Prefecture of Cephalonia, Argostoli 2000; Tzelina Harlaftis - Nikos St. Vlassopoulos, *Historical Register Pontoporia, Seagoing Sailing Ships and Steamboats, 1830-1939*, E.L.I.A. Publications (Greek Literary and Historical File), Athens 2002. (*Details on ship arrivals in the ports of Kithira and Ithaca were located only for the years 1844 and 1850).

To illustrate the connection between Ionian shipping and the international commercial centres, the above map has been drawn up (Map 1.1). The map presents the commercial network of the Ionian Islands, based on the commercial ports – the partners of the Ionian Sea –, (arrivals and departures) during 1844-60. From the map, it can be seen that there were two main regions connected to the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands: the Black Sea and Istanbul; and the Adriatic Sea, with its main ports:

Trieste and Venice. The network includes the Aegean Sea dominated by the island of Siros, the Western Mediterranean with the commercial centres of Livorno and Marseille, the North Sea with London being its centre, the Central Mediterranean with the commercial centre of Malta and the Eastern Mediterranean with the port of Alexandria as the centre of nautical activity.

Map 1.2. The Ionian commercial network, 1844-60: general and bulk cargos.

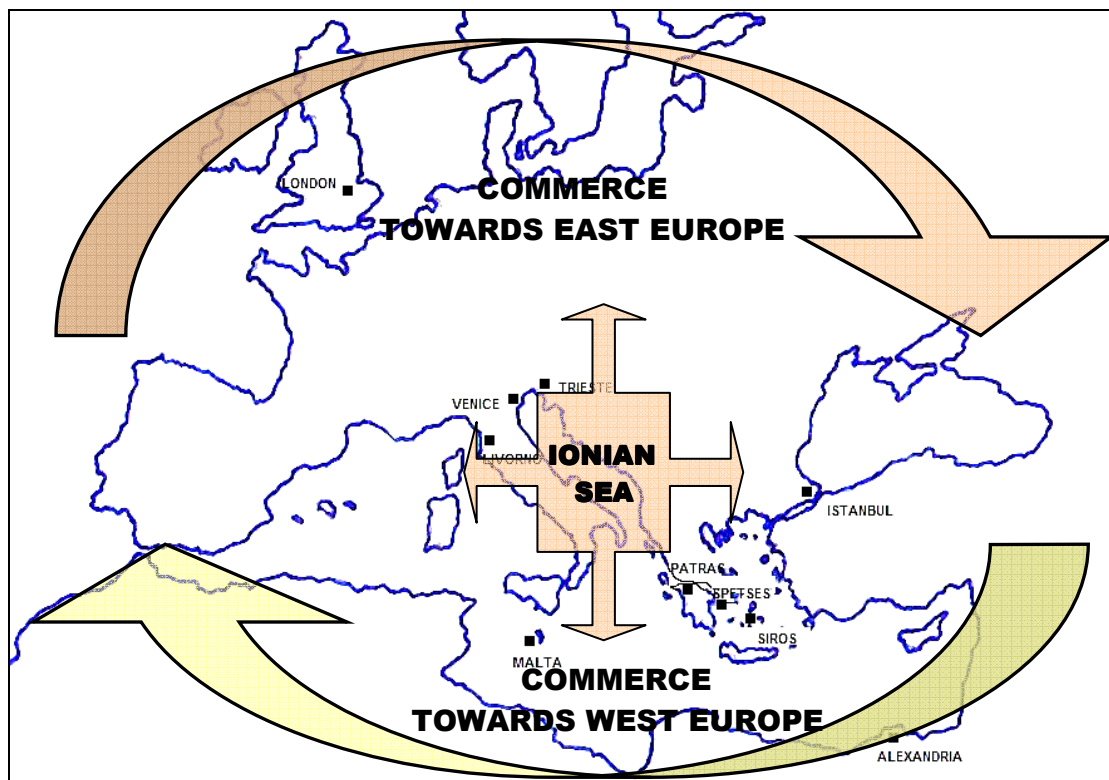


Source: see Map 1.1.

The above map (Map 1.2) provides useful information concerning the general and bulk cargos that were trafficked to, from and around the Ionian Islands. The general cargos consisted mainly of processed or semi-processed products with a high cost per unit and a limited volume, while the bulk cargos comprised of cheap products in large quantities. Bulk cargos were important for shipping because value was based on the quantity and the distance of the transported goods and not on small quantity or increased market value (Harlaftis 2001; Metaxas 1988). There were four categories of general cargos: foodstuffs (raisin, other dried and fresh fruits, wine, spices and pastries), fibres and buckrams (silk, wool, cannabis, carpets, lace), medicines and dyes (licorice, opium, madder, indigo, etc.), and various other goods (tobacco, cigarettes, jewels, perfumes, sponges, acorns, etc.). The bulk cargos usually contained grain (wheat, maize, barley and oats), cotton, wool, cottonseed, linseed, animal grease

and sugar. The map provides an indicative picture of the merchandise that was trafficked to, from, and around the Ionian Islands. Regarding the general cargos, the main types included timber, legumes, salted preserves and leathers, while the bulk cargos were grain, sugar and coal. The fact that the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea both supplied the ships of the Ionian Islands with grain headed for Western Europe is also of great interest. The ports of the Western Mediterranean and North Sea trafficked mainly in general cargos. These were cargos that industrially developing Western Europe provided to the international and local markets of the agricultural Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea in exchange for the grain required to feed the expanding and undernourished urban populations of Western Europe (Aldcroft et al. 2005; Hobsbawm 1999).

Map 1.3. The main commercial routes towards Eastern and Western Europe and the Ionian Sea, during the 19th century.

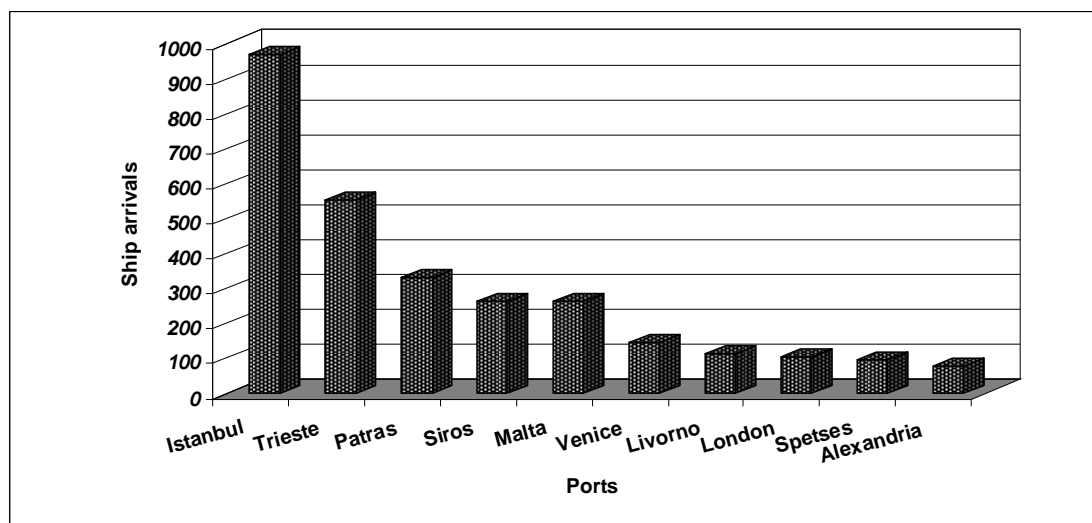


Source: see Map 1.1.

Map 1.3 presents the bipolar commercial and economic relationship between Western and Eastern Europe. Moreover, this schematic depiction conveys the nodal place of the Ionian Sea and its port-system in the commercial crossroads between the two European poles. This concrete commercial and nautical dimension of Ionian shipping will be discussed in the following section of this paper. For now, let us focus on the main ports and commercial partners of Ionian seagoing shipping. Diagram 1.3 presents the top ten main commercial destinations of shipping from the Ionian Island.

Istanbul dominates in the top position, but it is important to recall that most of the ships coming from or sailing to the Black Sea were docked in the port of Istanbul. As a result, its dominance is fictitious to a certain degree. Furthermore, we must note that Istanbul, as capital of the Ottoman Empire, constituted an important commercial transit hub. Research has shown that 35% of the ships that came from Istanbul held grain supplied by the ports of the Black Sea. Trieste holds second place, dominating the general cargo field (95%); it constituted the gateway for Austria and Hungary to the Mediterranean. Patras and the island of Siros follow; Patras as a direct link to the Ionian Sea and as a main export centre of firewood, wheat and raisin. Siros was a main transit port of the Eastern Mediterranean, the transit products being 73% grain. Malta follows with bulk cargos (wheat, barley and coal) constituting 26% of all trafficked products. Venice and Livorno hold sixth and seventh place, with the main products being timber (27%) for Venice and bulk cargos (95%) for Livorno. The last three ports are London with its main products: gunpowder, coal and wheat; the island of Spetses, in the Aegean Sea, which constituted a main port for the distribution of grain (84% of trafficked products); and finally, Alexandria with grain as its main merchandise (74%).

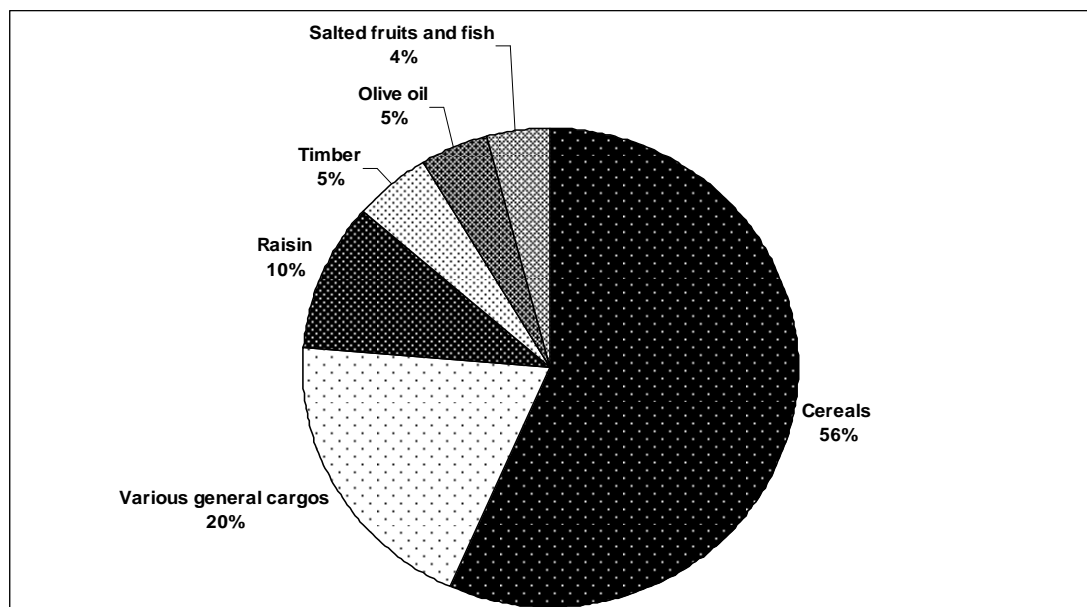
Diagram 1.3. The ten main commercial partner-ports of Ionian Island shipping, 1844-60.



Source: see Map 1.1.

Diagram 1.4 completes the presentation of the merchandise that was trafficked in ships from Cephalonia and the Ionian Islands and presents the main products concerned. From the pie chart, and according to the above mentioned diagrams, the domination of grain and raisin is clearly evident, which strengthens our thesis regarding the Ionian Islands' specialisation in the transport of bulk cargos.

Diagram 1.4. The commercial network in the Ionian Islands, 1844-60: bulk and general cargos.



Source: see Map 1.1.

2.3. The Ionian port system: nautical and commercial activity, specialization and distribution of work

Having presented the central role of the Ionian Sea and its ports in the international commercial system of the 19th century by examining the offered capacity, the flags of the arriving and departing ships in the Ionian Sea and the commercial network of the Ionian Shipping, we will now examine the third parameter: the type of nautical and commercial activity in which the Ionian port system specialised. It should be mentioned that there are three basic types of port systems: export, import and transit ports (Broeze 1989; Murphay 1989).

Before examining the nautical and commercial specialization of the Ionian port system, let us sum up the main characteristics of the Ionian Sea and shipping: a) firstly, the Ionian Sea played an important role in the commerce of the Mediterranean, not only due to its central geographic position, but also because of the fact that the Ionian Islands were part of the global, colonial British Empire; b) secondly, Ionian shipowners and ships succeeded in shaping a wide commercial network starting in the Black Sea and extending to the Western and Eastern Mediterranean and the North Sea; and c) thirdly, within the framework of this international trade system, Ionian shipping specialized in the transport of bulk cargos from the granaries of the agricultural Black Sea region and the Eastern Mediterranean to industrial and urban Western Europe. The second main export product of Ionian shipping was raisin, forwarded mainly to the international markets of London and the Netherlands. According to these three basic characteristics of the Ionian Sea and its commercial and nautical activity, we can assume that the Ionian ports were not only nodal turning-points in the world of international commerce, but they played a double role: transit

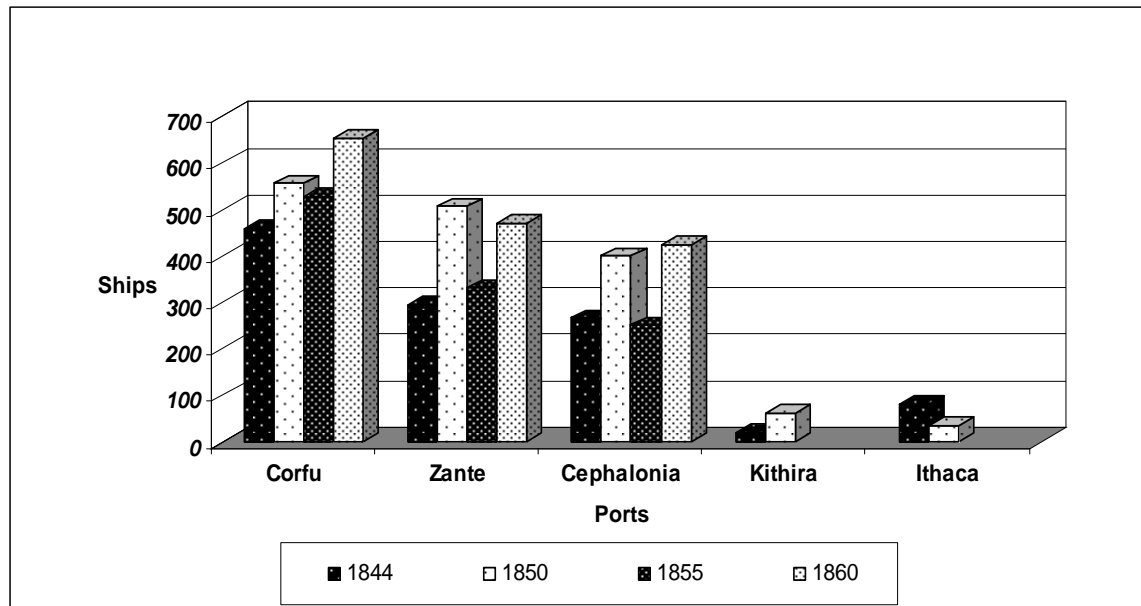
and export (see diagram 1.4 and map 1.3) As far as export from the Ionian ports is concerned, the main export product, as already mentioned, was raisin. The two main export ports were Cephalonia and Zante. The third main Ionian export centre was the port of Patras. Although Patras was part of the Greek Kingdom and not of the United States of the Ionian Islands, it did belong to the Ionian Sea and to the Ionian port system. Patras turned out to become a basic port of call for Ionian commercial ships due to the large amount of raisin cultivated in the Peloponnese region and the increasing demand for raisin in the domestic markets of Great Britain, the Netherlands and the West coast of the USA, according to the results of research conducted in the Archives of the Ionian Islands.

Within the framework of the international distribution of commercial and nautical activities, Ionian shipping and ports took on a leading role in the transit of Black Sea grain towards the markets of Western Europe. At the same time, Ionian shipowners exploited the rural production of the Ionian hinterland – the hinterland not only of the islands but also of the Ionian continental coast – and as a result they shaped an important network of raisin export. These are the two basic commercial and nautical activities in which the Ionian port system specialised in the framework of the international commercial and port system.

However it is not only this particular – wide – role that the Ionian port system played as part of the international commercial system, but also the distribution of work that took place inside the Ionian port system. This is due to the fact that almost every port system is characterised by its endogenous tendency to apportion its internal shipping and commercial activities among the ports that form it.

In order to examine the formation of this distribution of work inside the Ionian port system, we focused our attention on the ports of the Ionian Islands, comparing ship arrivals in Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, Kithira (Cerigo) and Ithaca during the period of 1844-60 (diagram 1.5). Corfu held first position in the number of ship arrivals, followed by Zante, Cephalonia, Kithira and Ithaca. Corfu was the political and commercial capital of the United States of the Ionian Islands at that time and was in direct contact with the Adriatic Sea and the Western and Eastern Mediterranean. Moreover, many of the tradesmen and charterers from the Ionian Islands operated from Corfu. Corfu itself had a high demand for goods to cover the needs not only of its residents but also those of the British administration and the Ionian bureaucracy. Zante was second in importance as a port of the Ionian Islands, boasting an important commercial centre from the 16th century, serving as a basic station of the English Levant Company and distributor of raisin to Great Britain and to Western Europe (Harlaftis et al. 2002). The island of Cephalonia occupied the third position with her main port, Argostoli, as the most important raisin export centre of the Ionian State during the 19th century. Cephalonian's third position is in fact inversely proportional to the magnitude of Cephalonian shipping. At this point, it should be stressed once again that 80% of the fleet of the Ionian Islands and about 40% of the Greek-owned fleet that sailed in the Ionian Sea were ships of Cephalonian interest. Therefore, when discussing shipping in the Ionian Islands, we are in fact referring substantially to Cephalonian shipping.

Diagram 1.5. Ship arrivals in the ports of the Ionian Islands, 1844-60.



Source: see Map 1.1.

Within the distribution of commercial and nautical work in Ionian Island shipping during the British occupation, Corfu functioned as the political, administrative, economic and commercial centre of the Ionian Islands, with Zante maintaining a small share. Corfu's needs were covered by Cephalonia, the nautical centre of the Ionian Islands. This shipping specialisation also constituted the core of growth and consolidation of Cephalonian supremacy, so that the island became a major nautical centre in the Ionian Sea; a centre from which shipowners and ships, regardless of flag, shaped a wide commercial network starting in the Black Sea and extending to Newfoundland, New York and Rio de Janeiro.

To sum up, in the wider dimension of the international trade and shipping system of the 19th century, the ports of the Ionian Sea specialised mainly in transporting the grain of Black Sea granaries to Western Europe and, secondly, in exporting Ionian raisin to the ports of the Northern Sea and to those of the Atlantic Ocean. This is the main role of the Ionian port system as participant in the international commercial system. However, focusing on the internal operation terms of the Ionian ports, we observe that each Ionian port took on a specific role within the framework of Ionian shipping. Due to this internal distribution of work, Ionian shipping played a leading role in the international commercial arteries and transactions of the Mediterranean Sea.

3. Conclusion

Our objective in this paper has been to lay out the terms that enabled the Ionian Sea to become a nodal commercial and nautical centre in the Mediterranean during the 19th

century. In investigating the terms of this commercial and nautical development, we have chosen to examine the three basic parameters that determine the importance of a marine region: shipping, commerce and the port system. Our conclusions can be summarized as follows: a) the Ionian Sea constituted an integral part of the continuously expanding economy of the 19th century. In the era of early globalization, the Ionian Sea participated actively in the international trade system, mainly due to the fact that the Ionian Islands were part of the British colonial Empire; b) within the framework of this international trade system, Ionian shipping specialized in the transport of bulk cargos from the Black Sea and Eastern Mediterranean to Western Europe. Furthermore, this specialization enabled Ionian shipping to set the foundation for the development of the Ionian network of commerce and shipping, and contributed to the expansion of the main shipping centre of London.

Due to this extended Ionian commercial and nautical network, many Ionian tradesmen and seamen began moving to the regions of the Black Sea: mainly the Danube, to the ports of Braila, Galati and Sulina; the marine region of Azof, to the ports of Taganrog, Rostof, Berdiansk, Geisk and Certs; the Caucasian coast, to the ports of Novorossiysk and Vatum; and the South-western coast of the Black Sea. In these port cities, the Ionians established commercial and nautical enterprises, specialising mainly in marketing grain and coal. The main characteristics of these businesses were the following: a) the formation of commercial networks based on familial kinship (relation by blood and/or affinity) and on common origin, aiming at the formation of “closed” enterprising circuits and, therefore, totally controlled; b) they were specialised mainly in shipping, with trade functioning as a complementary activity; and c) they chose to move towards direct communication and infiltration into the local markets of cereal producers in the granaries of the Black Sea, in order to gain absolute control of the supply, distribution and sale of the product (Harlaftis 2001; Focas 1975; Kardasis 1993).

It is clear that the Ionians exploited the broadening demand for wheat and grain of the populations of Western Europe and the need for coal for European steamships. As a result, they managed to consolidate an important business network not only in the ports of the Black Sea, but also in those of Istanbul, Piraeus, Marseille and London. These were the port-stations of the central commercial artery that linked the granaries of the Black Sea with London, the commercial, economic and shipping centre of the world in the 19th century (Davies 2001; Sturmeay 2001).

In London, Ionian entrepreneurs and shipowners set up powerful shipping and commercial enterprises and succeeded in becoming members of the Baltic Exchange Centre. The main contribution of Ionian shipowners and tradesmen during the last quarter of the 19th century and in the first decades of the 20th was that they provided a developmental boost to Ionian- and Greek-owned commercial shipping via the separation of commercial activities from shipping activities, bringing about the changeover from the dual profession of tradesman-shipowner, to that of specialised shipowner.

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