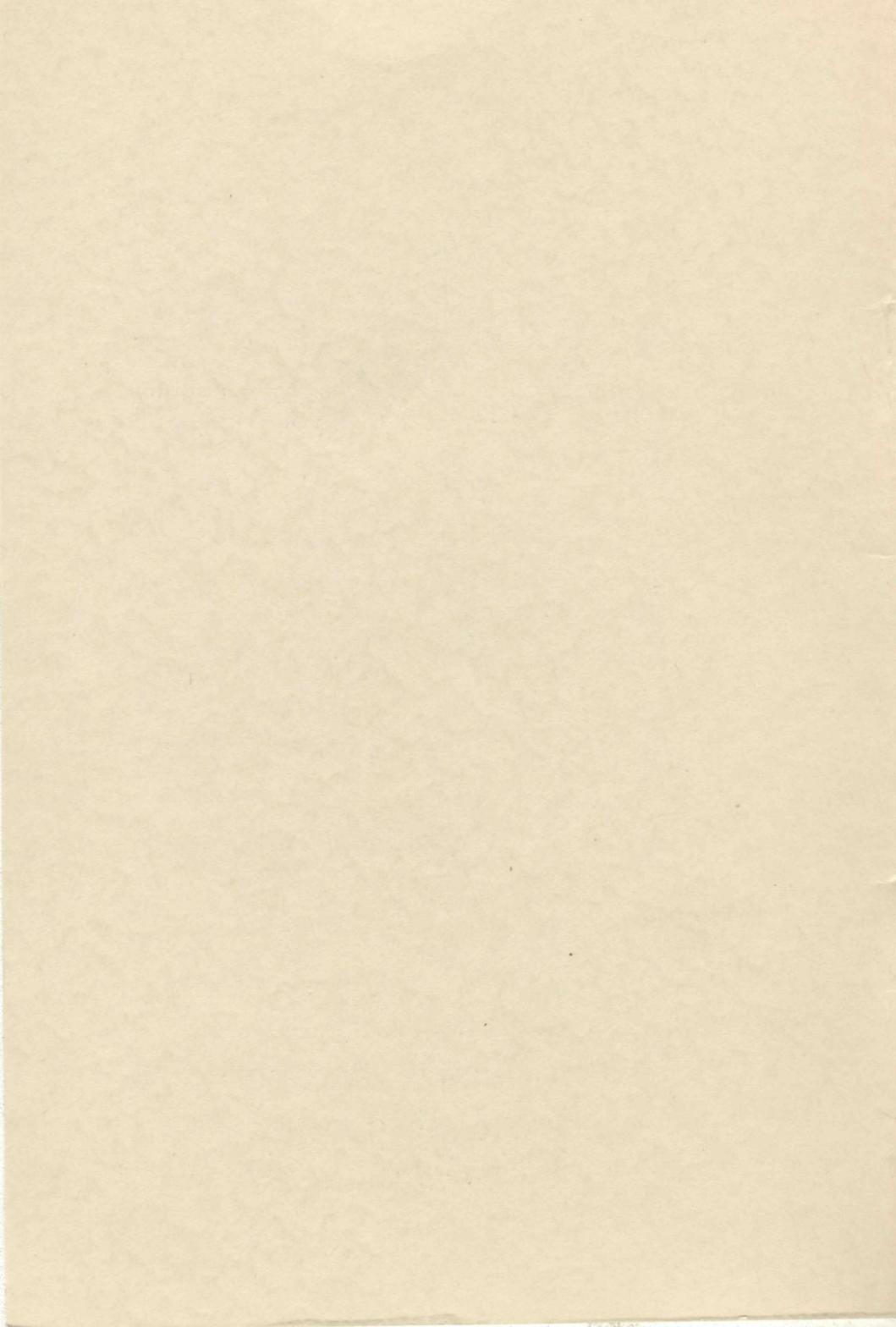


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IN THE AGE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION



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## REPUBLICAN ASPIRATIONS IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

### IN THE AGE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Paschalis M. Kitromilides

The age of the "Democratic Revolution" is considered to be the period which germinated the major ideological traditions which developed into the mainstream of nineteenth century political thought and in a way continue to provide the basic framework of political speculation. In this perspective, the revolutionary epoch issued the death certificate of the great European tradition of civic humanism which had been continued in the eighteenth century by the radical strain in the Enlightenment; it was finally discredited by the extremities of the Jacobin experiment with the republic of virtue and was thenceforth abandoned to the strictures of nineteenth century liberals like Benjamin Constant and Alexis de Tocqueville. My purpose in this essay is to draw the attention of students of the history of political discourse to an ignored stream of thought which carried on for a few decades after the abortive republic of virtue the tradition of radical civic humanism in the politics of Southeastern Europe.

This ideological tradition emerged and developed under the impact of the French Revolution in Southeastern Europe. The influence and perceptions of the great Revolution in that outlying region of the continent provided the catalyst for the political articulation of the effects of a century of social and cultural change in the area. The decay of the institutions of Ottoman rule made possible, in the course of the greater eighteenth century, increased contacts with the West and the inception of processes of change in society and culture that led in the long run to the revolutions of the nineteenth century and the emergence of the independent national states of the Balkans.<sup>1</sup>

The news from Paris created a veritable turmoil in Southeastern Europe. Official and self-appointed French agents, members of the Balkan mercantile and educated classes and visitors to the West, the Greek and Serbian newspapers which appeared for the first time in Vienna in the early 1790s and gradually a pamphleteering literature brought the news, appropriately colored and interpreted, to the Levant.<sup>2</sup> Responses were naturally both positive and negative. Those segments of society which had benefited from the mobility of social change and had, by and large, constituted the public of the local Enlightenment, tended to espouse the French cause and they voiced loudly their republican aspirations.

On the opposite side stood and closed their ranks not only the power brokers of the Ottoman state but also the leadership of the Greek Orthodox Church--the exponents of hierarchy and tradition who saw in the French Revolution the coming of the Antichrist. These traditionalist elements were joint in their mistrust and active hostility to the Revolution by the then aging representatives of the

earlier generation of the Enlightenment in Balkan culture such as Samuel Clain among the Rumanians in Transylvania, Dositej Obradovich among the Serbs and Eugenios Voulgaris among the Greeks. These pioneers of intellectual change who had paved the way for the champions of revolutionary ideas against which they now warned, remained votaries of enlightened absolutism, represented in their eyes by the Josephinist and Catherinian paradigms, as the appropriate strategy for cultural and political change. In their old age, therefore, they could never condone the extremities they perceived in the French model.

The ideological phenomena of republicanism and radicalism could be considered as attempts to elaborate those alternative "maps of problematic social reality and matrices for the creation of collective conscience"<sup>3</sup> by means of which the exponents of cultural and political criticism wanted to appeal to their compatriots and articulate the tensions of change in their societies. This quest took different forms among the major Balkan nationalities. Among the Serbs the cardinal event of the period was the outbreak of the Serbian Revolution in 1804. Basically a peasant war, it was the product of the interlocking pressures of change in Balkan society and of the revolutionary waves of the period,<sup>4</sup> but it is difficult to characterize it as a product of modern nationalism and French revolutionary inspiration. To the extent that some form of modern ideological influence was felt in the politics of the Serbian Revolution, it was exerted against and not for the French revolutionary principles. Such was the influence exercised by the foremost figure of the Serbian Enlightenment, Dositej Obradovich who acted as the minister of education and tutor to the son of the Serbian leader Karageorge. Obradovich, as already noted, though a genuine exponent of Enlightenment rationalism and humanism, was politically a believer in enlightened absolutism and hence an enemy of republicanism and the French Revolution.<sup>5</sup> Articulate republic yearnings were therefore absent from the political culture of the Serbian Revolution. They were only conditionally voiced by the distinguished intellectual leader Sava Tekelija as a possible option among other alternative conceptions of the political future of his homeland.<sup>6</sup> Yet some of the political principles for which the French Revolution was a symbol found their way into the historical patrimony bequeathed by the revolutionary period to the Serbian political tradition. One contribution to this legacy was the attempt, whose significance was first appreciated by Leopold von Ranke, at state-building on the model of the modern rational state during the Serbian Revolution.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the effects of revolutionary institutional change introduced during Napoleon's occupation of the Illyrian provinces (1806-1812) set an important precedent for subsequent generations of Serbian liberalism.<sup>8</sup>

In the case of the Rumanians, geographic and political fragmentation and profound social and cultural cleavages practically neutralized the extensive French influences which had been absorbed through the channel of Greek cultural predominance in the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia during the century of Phanariot rule which had turned the region into a veritable French cultural province in Eastern Europe. Thus, several Rumanian boyars were exposed to French culture and were appropriately prepared to receive with keen interest the political messages of the Revolution.<sup>9</sup> This was the ideological background of the initiatives for political

change undertaken by groups of enlightened boyars in both Wallachia and Moldavia during the Austro-Russian invasion of the principalities in 1790-91. At that time the boyars voiced their aspiration for national emancipation from Ottoman overlordship and especially from Greek Phanariot rule with the reconstruction of the principalities into an aristocratic republic geared to the national aspirations but also to the vested social interests of the boyar class. A similar development occurred in Transylvania with the formulation and submission by the local Rumanian leadership of the Supplex Libellus Valachorum to the emperor Leopold II, appealing to ancient rights and claiming equality for the Rumanian estates with those of the other nationalities of the Habsburg domains. It is debatable, however, whether it is possible to trace any ideological equivalence between the principles of the French Revolution and those enunciated by the Supplex Libellus Valachorum which has been traditionally regarded as the charter of Rumanian nationalism.<sup>10</sup> In 1802 the Moldavian boyar Dumitrache Sturdza codified the aspirations agitating his class in the different parts of the Rumanian lands, in his project for an "Aristo-Democratic Republic."<sup>11</sup> This important document was quite indicative of the climate of political opinion among those Rumanians who responded positively to the French Revolution. In all these cases, national and political aspirations foundered on the severe social cleavage in Rumanian society between the landowning boyar class and the dispossessed peasantry. The nationalist initiatives of the boyars could never develop into a radical movement of political change so long as their insistence upon the idea of an aristocratic republic failed to satisfy the yearnings of a hostile or indifferent peasantry. This basic social cleavage in Rumanian society not only undermined the espousal of the principles of the French Revolution by the boyars, but it also determined the failure of the Rumanian revolt under Tudor Vladimirescu in 1821 and sealed the eventual defeat of Rumanian liberalism during the subsequent period (1830-1848) when the French liberal influence reached its apogee in Rumania.<sup>12</sup>

The specific constraints that acted as brakes on political radicalism among the Northern Balkan nations were absent among the Greeks. In contrast to the Serbs, who were reached by the Enlightenment through their diaspora in the Habsburg empire and therefore absorbed its tempered German version, the Greeks through their mercantile activities and their diaspora in northern Italy and Western Europe were exposed to the intensely politicized conceptual modes of the French Enlightenment. Again in contrast to the Rumanians the influence of the Enlightenment was primarily absorbed not by a landed feudal class but by the new social groups of merchants and professionals who by psychology and interest were acutely concerned with political change in order to secure the appropriate legal and institutional framework for their activities. So the milieu of eighteenth century Greek society offered the most fertile ground for the political assimilation of French revolutionary influences. The propagation of these influences in the Greek world can be seen to unfold in three stages in the period from 1789 to 1815, culminating in the militant articulation of radical republicanism.

The news of the Revolution triggered a forceful debate in Greek culture throughout the 1790s. Reflecting on the great political change that was transforming French society, the authors of

the major geographical treatise of the Greek Enlightenment felt that the Revolution had lit a glaring blaze, but they could not decide whether it was going to burn or illuminate humanity.<sup>13</sup> Other Greek observers of the Revolution were much more definite in their diagnosis concerning its significance for mankind. One such commentator on the French Revolution was the Greek medical scholar and classicist Adamantios Koraeas who was in Paris throughout the revolutionary decade and anxiously recorded his impressions in the letters he dispatched to his friends at home in Smyrna.<sup>14</sup> Koraeas never for a moment doubted the validity of the principles of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and he firmly believed that the Revolution, by shaking the thrones of tyrants, was destined to inaugurate the liberation of humanity. His optimism however was tempered by his observation of the Terror which led him to some sobering thoughts on the cunning of history. This experience motivated his articulate liberal critique of the French Revolution in which he anticipated some of Benjamin Constant's later arguments about the character of freedom in ancient and modern times. Despite his tempered enthusiasm, Koraeas, being true to the ideals of eighteenth century republican classicism, remained a partisan of the Revolution and later denounced Napoleon as a tyrant. In his voluminous commentaries on the classics he urged his compatriots to strive for the conquest of their freedom in a liberal republic of their own.<sup>15</sup>

Another Greek enthusiast of the French Revolution, who zealously promoted the idea of the creation of a French-oriented Hellenic republic, was Konstantinos Stamatis who had witnessed the trial and execution of Louis XVI and recorded his impressions in eager detail in his letters.<sup>16</sup> He entered officially the diplomatic service of revolutionary France and developed considerable activity on behalf of the republican cause and against Russian influence first in the Danubian principalities and then in the Ionian islands.<sup>17</sup> Both Koraeas and Stamatis were ardent supporters of Napoleon's designs on the Eastern Mediterranean and during his campaign to Egypt they urged, in their respective writings, their compatriots to rally to the French cause.<sup>18</sup> Napoleon's designs on the East were behind another project as well which brought in 1797-98 two republican French citizens from the Greek colony in Corsica, Dimo and Nicolo Stephanopoli, to the Peloponnese in order to examine the prospects of a Greek rising in support of French plans. The two visitors went to Mani with instructions from Napoleon to gather information on available Greek military capabilities and on the general condition of the country. On the basis of their testimony at least, they found great receptivity among the Greeks over the prospect of a French intervention and the political changes it might bring. In their turn the Stephanopoli encouraged republican aspirations wherever they encountered them.<sup>19</sup> Throughout the period, the Greek merchant colony in Marseille provided a major channel for the transmission of republican political ideas to the Greeks.<sup>20</sup> Amidst all these pressures and prospects, the moral preparation of the Greeks for the duties of republican citizenship was not neglected. *La Chabaussiere's Catechisme republicain*<sup>21</sup> was published in a Greek translation in 1797 and was distributed to Greek readers to educate them in the principles of free government.

The most significant case of republican activism was that of Rhigas Velestinlis, a Greek patriot who absorbed integrally the radical messages of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution and

attempted to implant them in the politics of Southeastern Europe. Author of a manual of physics, translator of Montesquieu, Marmontel, Restif de la Bretonne and of Abbe Barthélemy's Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce, Rhigas attempted to make his contribution to the intellectual awakening of his compatriots. Captivated by the mystique of liberty he saw in the upheaval created throughout the continent by the French Revolution, the opportunity to work for the political emancipation of his nation. Under the pressure of these political experiences, Rhigas' intellectual liberalism and moral classicism were transformed into radical republicanism. In the French constitution of 1793 he found the conceptual framework for his own constitutional charter for a Hellenic Republic which would provide the preconditions of the freedom of all Balkan nationalities from Ottoman despotism. He attempted to communicate his ideas in a revolutionary proclamation inspired by the principles of 1789 and in a martial hymn.<sup>22</sup> With a small group of associates Rhigas seems to have planned in 1796-97 an insurrection in Greece, probably in the western and southern regions of the country, timed to coincide with the presence of Napoleon's forces in the Adriatic. He was however apprehended by the Austrian authorities just before his departure from Habsburg territory after the completion of the printing of this revolutionary tract in Vienna. After long interrogations seeking to establish their connections with the French,<sup>23</sup> Rhigas and his associates were extradited to the Ottomans who executed them in Belgrade in June 1798.

Abortive as it was and later surrounded by the legends of nationalist symbolism, the significance of Rhigas' case nevertheless cannot be adequately emphasized. By bringing together in his program the most progressive elements of Enlightenment thought with the politics of the French Revolution, he projected for the first time in the history of Southeastern Europe an unequivocally radical political alternative, embodied in his republican vision, for the collective future of all Balkan peoples. In his political theory the accent was unequivocally on equality and his constitution stipulated important measures that gave specific social content to his legislation. His proclamation appealed to the fraternity and common humanity of all Balkan nationalities--including the Turks--whose moral liberation was to be achieved by the values of republican hellenism.<sup>24</sup>

The ferment created by the French Revolution and the positive responses and subversive activities it elicited among certain segments of Greek society naturally did not leave the entrenched power structures indifferent. The Ottoman government was alarmed with Napoleon's approach to the East and enraged by the sympathies it provoked among its Orthodox subjects.<sup>25</sup> It therefore urged the Orthodox Church, as the exponent of conventional ideology in Greek society, to counteract the new currents. The traditionalists did not need much urging in order to respond to the challenge of the new ideas. Reactions to modern philosophical orientations and liberal thought were clearly observable in 1791. The fatal year 1793, the year of the regicide in France, triggered a wave of violent polemics directed by the conservatives against the representatives of the Enlightenment and French political and intellectual influence. All aspects of modern culture, including modern science, came under vehement attack by traditional intellectuals as destructive of the

fabric of society and poisonous of all morality and faith.<sup>26</sup> The culmination of the reaction came with the circulation in 1798 of the counter-revolutionary tract *Paternal Instruction*, attributed to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, urging submission to Ottoman authority, which it was claimed, was ordained by God to prevent the contamination of Orthodox faith by western heresies.<sup>27</sup> The response came in the pamphlet *Fraternal Instruction*, composed by Koraes, which disowned Ottoman tyranny and its Christian sycophants and reiterated the hopes in political emancipation on the French model. Rhigas' activities as well did not escape condemnation. In an encyclical of 1798 to the metropolitans of the Church, the Ecumenical Patriarch ordered them to make every effort to collect and forward to the Patriarchate all copies of his revolutionary pamphlets that might be found in their dioceses.<sup>28</sup>

If Rhigas' republican activism was aborted by martyrdom, the international politics of the age set the context for a transient implementation of republican principles in an exceptional part of the Greek world. The opportunity was given by Napoleon's ambitions in the East which focused his attention on the strategic value of the Venetian possession of the Ionian islands and the opposite western coast of Greece.<sup>29</sup> After the conquest of the republic of Saint Mark, the Ionian islands passed, according to the treaty of Campo Formio, to French control. They were occupied in the name of the French republic by General Anselm Gentili to whom the Greek islanders of Corfu accorded a rousing welcome, offering him at the same time a copy of the *Odyssey* as a reminder of their ancient splendor.<sup>30</sup>

The abolition of the aristocratic government of the Venetians at the close of the century set the preconditions for a minor Balkan revolution. The revolutionary currents of the 1790s had reverberated in the society of the seven islands and the French occupation allowed them to come into the open. Jacobin clubs emerged from the underground, the democrats openly attacked the aristocratic classes and their privileges and the politicized popular masses clamored for republican institutions. In July 1797 the islands celebrated their own rites of liberty. The *libro d'oro* of the local nobility was publicly burnt, all aristocratic privileges were abolished, trees of liberty were planted, the revolutionary hymns of Rhigas were freely sung and in the shadow of the tricolor the year 1797 was proclaimed the first year of Greek freedom.<sup>31</sup> From Paris, Koraes urged the "free Greeks of the Ionian sea" to embrace the rule of their republican French liberators as the inaugural phase of the regeneration of all Greeks.<sup>32</sup> A local poet, Antonios Martelaos, whose poetry was obviously influenced by revolutionary anthems like the *Marseillaise*, composed a "Hymn to celebrated France, to chief-general Bonaparte and to general Gentili" in which he appealed to the "scattered ancient and valiant bones" of the Greeks to awake and see ". . . our mother France donating liberty to the people of your land."

From this poetic climate sprang, two-and-a-half decades later, the poetry of Martelaos' disciple Dionysios Solomos whose "Hymn to Liberty" became the national anthem of the resurrected Greek nation. The wave of radicalization did not simply alarm the local nobility, some of whom saw fit to retaliate by destroying by night the newly planted trees of liberty. The Patriarch of Constantinople as well in a pastoral encyclical to the islanders admonished them against the soul-destroying effects of the revolutionary innovations and of the cult of liberty which he described as a contrivance of the devil.<sup>33</sup>

Naturally, the destiny of the Ionian islands was not exactly shaped according to the expectations raised by the French occupation. The policy and comportment of the French soon bred resentment, and in 1799 the islands, not without the cooperation of the islanders, were occupied by the odd alliance of Russian and Turkish forces that had been brought together by the fears created by Napoleon's expedition to Egypt. Under the new occupation, the predominant influence in the government of the islands reverted to the local aristocracy, but the measures of institutional modernization introduced by the French were not completely obliterated. The regime that was set up under Russian protection was recognized as an autonomous "Septinsular Republic" (1800-1807).<sup>34</sup> The emergence of a Greek republic, at the dawn of the new century and the outburst of republican sentiment that preceded it, despite all the severe limitations and constraints in substance, were events of momentous symbolic significance for Greek history and the evolution of Greek political thought. It was the first time since the fall to the Turks in 1461 of the last Medieval Greek state, the empire of Trebizond, that a segment of the Greek nation, even on a tiny insular fraction of Greek territory, acceded to autonomy and statehood. The Septinsular Republic was the first modern state in Southeastern Europe and its advent was readily interpreted as a prelude of the accession of the whole Greek nation to freedom and independence, while its international status--but not its domestic organization--was seen by the Serbian revolutionaries as a precedent pertinent to their emancipation as well.<sup>35</sup> The expectations of all enlightened and liberal Greeks were echoed by Koraes when in 1802 he dedicated his learned edition of Beccaria's treatise *Of Crimes and Punishments* to the new republic as a token of gratitude for the auspicious omens it signified for the national destinies.<sup>36</sup>

The French-guided experiment with social revolution in 1797-99 and the subsequent construction of the Septinsular Republic could thus be seen not as transient eccentricities injected into Greek history by foreign intruders, but as integral components of the nation's quest of a modern political personality. Although not one of the "sister republics," the Septinsular Republic could be considered as their Southeastern European counterpart as far as its historical significance in the political evolution of the Greek nation is concerned. The sister republics were created under French aegis and were thus fought by local patriots as foreign imposed regimes on their lands, but in the long-run they proved to be integral and critical phases of modern nation-building in their respective societies.<sup>37</sup> The Septinsular Republic was of course created to prevent rather than to impose French rule but as an example of institutional modernization and as a concrete embodiment of the political hopes of an entire nation, it proved no less an integral part of nation building in Greek history. The republican aspirations it nurtured in Greek political thought were not dissimilar from those fostered among the partisans of liberty elsewhere in Europe.

These political developments set the relevant context for the continuation of the tradition of republican thought inaugurated by Rhigas. A direct response to his political message and a tribute to his sacrifice was the radical republican treatise entitled *Hellenic Nomarchy or a Discourse on Freedom*, published in 1806.

"Nomarchy" means the rule of law and is another term for a radical democratic form of government. The logic of the text was premised on the basic tenets of classical republican theory from which it derived the arguments of its relentless criticism of contemporary society. Furthermore, it went beyond Rhigas' inspiration in that it denounced Napoleon as a new dynast and insisted on proud self reliance as the only strategy of liberation--citing the rising of the Serbs as an example. The author of this remarkable text has remained anonymous, but he certainly was a member of the republican intelligentsia of the Greek diaspora, some of whom translated Rousseau and Mably and sought in republican classicism and radical social criticism the frameworks for the regeneration of their homeland. The influence of the patriotic humanism of Alfreri and Parini and of their republican heirs, so obvious on the author of Hellenic Nomarchy, was decisive in shaping the ideological character of this stream of Greek thought. The close affinities between Greek and Italian radical humanism could be largely explained by the similar problems that nationalism faced in both societies and by the appeal exercised on their exponents by the respective ancient republican patrimony of their nations from which they derived their moral values and political symbolism.

Greek republican radicalism was not simply an ideological pastime of the intelligentsia of the diaspora. Toward the close of the revolutionary period, a few years before the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence, the republican movement had become a major factor in Greek politics. According to one of the most serious and objective observers of the Greek scene at the time, the revolutionists, "who were following the steps of the French and partly under their impulse, were endeavouring to excite an insurrection with the view of establishing a republic in Greece,"<sup>38</sup> constituted one of the two major political alignments in Greek society.

It seems therefore that as an ideology of political change, Greek republicanism was a force to be reckoned with in Greek politics at the time. As such it was channeled into the ideology of the Greek War of Independence and made its presence felt in the constituent assemblies that drafted the first constitutional documents and the declaration of independence of the new Hellenic Republic. In the hybrid politics of the period and under the absolutism eventually imposed by the powers of Restoration Europe on the new Greek state, republicanism along with Greek liberalism were defeated as serious political options. Despite its ultimate failure, the historical significance of Greek republican radicalism consists in the fact that along with its Italian counterpart, it constituted a conceptual survival of European civic humanism in the guise of a self-conscious ideology of social change long after the values of political radicalism which sprang from that older tradition were shown by the behavior of the Jacobins to be irrelevant to the circumstances of modern Europe. The evidence of the Greek and Italian cases suggests that in contexts where the necessity of change, though an urgently felt reality, remained an elusive yearning, the radical solutions immanent in republicanism would continue to appear relevant and to provide inspiration to political action.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Perry Anderson, Lineages of the Absolutist State (London, 1974), pp. 361-94; Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," The Journal of Economic History, June, 1960, XX, 234-313; and L. S. Stavrianos, "Antecedents to the Balkan Revolutions of the Nineteenth Century," The Journal of Modern History, December, 1957, XXIX, 335-48.
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4. On the general background, see V. Dedijer, I. Bozic, S. Cirkovic, M. Ekmecic, History of Yugoslavia (New York, 1974), pp. 252-77.
5. George R. Noyes, trans. and ed., The Life and Adventures of Dimitrije Obradovic who as a monk was given the name Dositej (Berkeley, 1953).
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8. Georges Lefebvre, Napoleon, II, 226-29; and Emile Dard, "Les souvenirs napoléoniens en Yougoslavie," Revue d'histoire diplomatique, January-March, 1933, XLVII, 1-9.
9. Pompiliu Eliade, De l'influence française sur l'esprit public en Roumanie (Paris, 1898), pp. 193-97; Nicolae Iorga, Histoire des relations entre la France et les Roumains (Paris, 1918), pp. 120-35; and Germaine Lebel, La France et les principautés danubiennes (Paris, 1955), pp. 295-307.
10. See Keith Hitchins, The Rumanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1780-1849 (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), pp. 119-34.
11. Lebel, Principautés danubiennes, pp. 345-46.
12. John C. Campbell, "The Influence of Western Political Thought in the Rumanian Principalities 1821-1848. The Generation of 1848," Journal of Central European Affairs, October, 1944, IV, pp. 262-73.
13. Gregorios Konstantas and Daniel Philippides, Geographia Neoterike [Novel Geography] (Vienna, 1791), p. 564.
14. Marquis de Queux de Saint Hilaire, trans. and ed., Lettres de Coray au protopsalte de Smyrne Dimitrios Lotos sur les événements de la Révolution française (Paris, 1880).
15. For more details on the political thought of Koraes, I take the liberty to refer to P. M. Kitromilides, "Tradition, Enlightenment and Revolution: Ideological Change in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Greece" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1978), pp. 229-50, 409-61.
16. See Lettres de Constantin Stamaty à Panagiotis Kodrikas sur la Révolution française, ed. by Emile Legrand (Paris, 1872).
17. See Lebel, Principautés danubiennes, pp. 202-204, 212-17 and Aik. Koumarianou, "Energieis tou Konstantinou Stamati gia ten

apeleutherose tes Ellados 1798-1799" [Activities by Konstantinos Stamatis for the liberation of Greece 1798-1799]. Praktika tou Tritou Panioniou Synedriou, Athens, 1967, I, 154-74.

18. A. Koraes, Asma Polemisterion [War-Song], 1800, and Salpisma Polemisterion [Martial Trumpet-blast], 1801, both printed anonymously in Paris but giving as places of publication Egypt and Alexandria respectively.

19. See Voyage de Dimo et Nicolo Stephanopoli en Grèce pendant les années V et VI (Paris, 1800), pp. 70-72, 187-94. Cf. Terence Spencer, Fair Greece Sad Relic. Literary Philhellenism from Shakespeare to Byron (London, 1954), pp. 227-29.

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21. The original work of A. E. X. Poisson de la Chabaussiere, Catéchisme républicain, philosophique et moral (Paris, 1794), was translated in several European languages and appeared in Greek under the title Katechesis Eleutherou Anthropou [Catechism of a free human being] (Venice, 1797).

22. For a French version of Rhigas' works, see A. Dascalakis, ed. and trans., Les œuvres de Rhigas Velesinlis (Paris, 1937), pp. 93-125, comprising his republican projects.

23. On Rhigas' plans, see Emile Legrand, ed., Documents inédits concernant Rhigas Velesinlis et ses compagnons de martyre (Paris, 1892), and K. Amantos, Anekdotia Eggrapha peri Rhiga Velesinli [Unpublished documents on Rhigas Velesinlis] (Athens, 1930).

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26. C. Th. Dîmaras, La Grèce au temps des Lumières (Geneva, 1969), pp. 39-60. The older work by Manuel I. Gedeon "Eikosis eton ethnike istoria katopin thyelles (1791-1811)" [Twenty years of national history following the storm] reprinted in E pneumatike kinesis tou genous kata ton XVIII kai XIX aiona (Athens, 1976), pp. 57-95, is germane to the understanding of the attitude of the Church.

27. Richard Clogg, "The Dhidaskalia Patriki (1798): An Orthodox Reaction to French Revolutionary Propaganda," Middle Eastern Studies, May, 1969, V, 87-115.

28. See G. Papadopoulos and A. Aggelopoulos Ta kata ton . . . Patriarchen Gregorion E' [Concerning the Patriarch Gregory V], Athens, 1866, II, pp. 498-99.

29. See Edward Driault, La politique orientale de Napoléon (Paris, 1904); A. Boppe, L'Albanie et Napoléon 1797-1814 (Paris, 1914); Spyridon Pappas, La France et la Grèce à l'époque du Directoire (Athens, 1907); Jean Savant, "Napoléon et la libération de la Grèce," L'Hellénisme Contemporain, 1950, IV, 320-41, 474-85.

30. G. E. Mavrogiannes, Istoria ton Ionion neson archomene to 1797 kai legousa to 1815 [A History of the Ionian islands beginning in 1797 and ending in 1815] (Athens, 1889), I-II; Ermanno Lunzi,

Storia delle isole Ionie sotto il reggimento dei repubblicani Francesi (Venice, 1860); and E. Rodocanachi, Bonaparte et les îles Ioniennes (Paris, 1899), pp. 1-173.

31. A. Camariano Cioran, "Les îles Ioniennes de 1797 a 1807 et l'essor du courant philofrançais parmi les Grecs," Praktika tou Tritou Panioniou Synedriou, I, 83-114. The ideological effects of this radical political change are made graphically apparent in the listing of works published in the islands or by Ionian islanders in this period. See Emile Legrand, Bibliographie Ionienne (Paris, 1910), I, 154-77.

32. See A. Koraes, [Coray], Les Caractères de Théophraste (Paris, 1799), preface (n.p.).

33. See G. Papadopoulos and A. Aggelopoulos, Patriarchen Gregorion (Athens, 1865), I, 201-04. See also, Mavrogiannis, Ionion neson, I, 193-95.

34. See briefly Norman E. Saul, Russia and the Mediterranean 1797-1807 (Chicago, 1970), pp. 78-104. Ermanno Lunzi, Della Repubblica Settinsulare libri due (Bologna, 1863), p. 42, described the advent of the republic as the beginning of the Greek "risorgimento." Following the treaty of Tilsit, French rule returned briefly to the islands lasting in Corfu alone until 1814. The Congress of Vienna assigned the Ionian islands to British protection which lasted until 1864 when they were ceded to the kingdom of Greece.

35. Roger Paxton, "Nationalism and Revolution," pp. 353-55.

36. Beccaria, Peri amartematou kai poinou, trans. and ed. by A. Koraes (Paris, 1802), dedication page.

37. Simon Schama, Patriots and Liberators. Revolution in the Netherlands 1780-1813 (New York, 1977), pp. 2-23, 64-74, 646-55.

38. William Martin Leake, Researches in Greece (London, 1814), pp. 192-93.





