
JUSTICE AS A CAUSE OF THE 1821 GREEK REVOLUTION

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*Sun of justice perceptible, and glorious myrsine,
forget not I pray you my country*

Odysseas Elytis

A1

I hope that my speech will result in a better knowledge of people, a better understanding of our age and an insight into some of the causes of human misery.

A2

Before beginning, I should note that my lecture has rather more to do with the second concept expressed in the name of the South African Society for Greek Philosophy and the Humanities - that of human sciences - than with the first, of philosophy.

B1

What we shall be looking at is how justice was seen, by the Ottomans, by the monarchs of Europe, and by the Greeks.

What the Ottomans understood by justice was preserving the power they had over their enslaved peoples; keeping absolute jurisdiction over the lives, the honour and the property of the *rayahs*,¹ behaving towards them arbitrarily and barbarously, and holding their Christian subjects obligated to work for them in order to assure their conquerors the necessities of life.

After the fall of Napoleon, the monarchs of Europe decided both within their own boundaries and beyond them to apply "the sacred principles of religion, justice and peace".² It is, however, a commonplace that what these monarchs understood by justice was keeping their peoples enslaved and using bloody military intervention to repress any popular aspirations to freedom, as exemplified by events in Italy and Spain.³

What the Greeks understood by justice was what the ordinary man understands by this word,⁴ namely, having what belonged to them, as the people they were.

B2

This concept of justice was drawn from the impact of the ideas of the French Revolution, from their participation in communal life,⁵ from the distribution of justice by Ottoman tribunals and the judicial procedures of the Orthodox church,⁶ from texts circulated for practical use,⁷ from the teachings of the teachers of the Nation,⁸ from their observations of reality and from human nature itself.⁹

B3

The Greeks lived under unbearable injustice. In the life of the *rayah* there was no sort of security. These people lived under the absolute authority of the Sultan and his officers. Murder was no problem for the Ottoman Turks, who "killed without compunction", because it was "so easy to spill the blood of others".¹⁰ When a man left his house in the morning, he had no assurance of returning to it alive.¹¹

It is instructive to consider the case of the Greek chief interpreters in the service of the Sultan;¹² of the thirty or so who served the Imperial Court from 1709 to 1821, ten were put to death at the Sultan's order. Of those, eight were beheaded and one hanged.¹³ What is so hard to explain is why the families of the victims did not try to hide, in order to escape; on the contrary, another member of the family would, if he had the qualifications, seek to be appointed to the post. Nor was the Sultan inimical to the family of the victim. One explanation for this behaviour is the acceptance of reality, in the form of the benefits (social and economic) to the family and the possibility afforded the holder of the position to help his compatriots.¹⁴ Wealthy Greeks were at risk of being put to death by some Ottoman official for the sake of their property; as a result, the wealthy took care to dress and live in a manner that did not proclaim their wealth.

Nor, indeed, was life any more certain for the Ottoman Turks themselves. It was a tenet of their belief that the Sultan held the power of life and death over them. Anyone who fell into disfavour with the Sultan or who was considered dangerous or who failed in his mission was likely to lose his head. Kara Mustapha Pasha was

put to death by Sultan Murad IV for failing to capture Vienna in 1683.¹⁵

But in these circumstances the life and the honour of the Christian slaves were wholly unprotected, with no person nor any institution to defend them, since the Sultan's jurisdiction over people and property was absolute. Their human value was demeaned in many ways; the Ottoman Turks behaved towards them with the arrogance of those who "saw all other men, and particularly non-Muslims, as inferior beings",¹⁶ compelling them to forced labour and inflicting upon their families the dishonour of having attractive sons and daughters seized and sold as slaves or installed in harems. When Ottoman officers visited a region, they chose to stay in Christian houses where the master of household had a wife and daughters. Nor did the injuries end with death; in irregular situations or after executions the head of the victim was paraded through the streets or exposed to public view or offered to the pasha or Sultan for reward.

Nor was property, whether real or personal, secure. According to the Ottoman view of things, once a country was conquered the land belonged to the Sultan, who granted parcels of it to the officers he wanted to reward for their services. As a rule the Greeks were serfs, who cultivated the land for their Ottoman masters. The pittance they received in return was subject to a whole range of heavy taxes, the most infamous of which - for the harshness with which it was imposed - being the poll tax. A peasant could owe his Ottoman landlord up to two thirds of his crop.¹⁷ According to another source,¹⁸ nine tenths of all production (wood, cheese, butter, oil) went to the masters. It is generally accepted that the Ottoman Turks used the taxation exacted from their enslaved peoples to provide the tremendous revenues required for the functioning of the Ottoman state. The people were held in a condition that stopped short of bringing them to the point of death, but allowed them nothing more than the bare minimum to keep them alive and able to work for their conquerors.

B4

In this harsh reality, for thirty years before the outbreak of the Revolution (1790-1821) the Greeks steadily improved their economic and spiritual condition, increasing in self-confidence and becoming aware of their rights.

In this they were helped to an exceptional degree by (among others) two Teachers of the Nation;¹⁹ the Anonymous Hellene and Rigas Velesinlis (1757-1798). These men held up to them the image of the just life. Rigas Velesinlis, under the sway of the ideas of the French Revolution, proclaimed that all men had a natural right to security of life, which no one had the right to take away from them unjustly and arbitrarily,²⁰ that every man had the right to defend himself, and this right was afforded by the nation and the people,²¹ that punishment is also related to life and that therefore the penalty should be proportional to the offence and should work towards smooth human cohabitation.²² The individual was entitled to protection from arbitrary treatment by the instruments of the state or by civilian employers, so that injury by word or deed²³ was prohibited and employers had no right either to insult or to abuse.²⁴

Rigas explicitly discusses property in his works; property, he said, is inviolable. His writings proclaim a conception of man and human life radically different from and diametrically opposed to that of the Ottoman Turks, a perception characterised by freedom, equality, justice and the sovereignty of the people. In stark contrast to the Ottoman perception of life, characterised by arbitrariness, inequality, injustice and the tyrannical power of an absolute ruler.

Do we know whether Rigas' works were familiar to the Greek people? We know that his writings, and particularly his songs, were known to the peoples of the Balkans, and that they were sung. The manner of his death contributed to his fame. The defenders of Messolonghi gave his name to one of the defences of their town (Rigas Ferraios cannon post).²⁶ In addition, the world that Rigas Ferraios lived in was a changing one. Science was progressing, the economy was developing, a new middle class was coming into being. The French Revolution was changing the feudal system. These were changes that were visible to the Greek world, in part at least through the medium of the Greek communities in Europe. This was the world that Rigas Ferraios brought to the Greeks in his works. He was therefore both known and familiar.

In his work "Hellenic Nomarchy",²⁷ the Anonymous Hellene held up to the eyes of the Greeks a polity organized on the basis of law. Nomarchy means the rule of law. Laws are made by the citizenry as a whole or by a majority. Nomarchy means a fair and just administration. It moderates natural inequality. It consoles the weak with the sceptre of justice. Every man can live well without

being rich. In general terms, human organization, life and authorities are the same as those set out in the works of Rigas Ferraios.

It was, then, only to be expected that the lively sense of injustice would provoke a violent reaction,²⁸ an explosion. And indeed, Revolution did break out: on February 22, 1821, in Moldavia. In March it spread to southern Greece, and was carried out in Central Greece and in the islands. The slogan of the revolutionaries was "Liberty or Death", which meant that they were no longer willing to endure life without freedom. The revolutionaries saw justice present in their fight. They held the chariots of justice and "leaped like lions upon their foes",²⁹ believing that "the chariots of justice are invincible"²⁹ and taking in their hands the "swords of justice".²⁹ These phrases show the depth of their passion for justice and their certainty that right was on their side.

This latter claim was in fact acknowledged by a number of Ottoman Turks, who accepted that "their empire was coming to an end",³⁰ that "we did wrongly by the Christian peasantry in property and in honour, and we wiped them out", that "the Turks acted wrongly and will lose", and that "we no longer deserve our empire because we have strayed from God's justice".³¹

B5

When Sultan Mahmoud II learned of the revolution launched by Ypsilantis, he was shocked, disconcerted and fearful for his kingdom and himself.³² In this frame of mind he took a terrible and entirely unjust decision; to slay all his Greek and other Orthodox subjects, guilty or innocent. At that point the Greek Nation was truly threatened with extinction.

In the execution of this decision, however, he sought the approval of the religious leader of the Ottoman people, Haji Halil Effendi, a faithful observer of the sacred law. This brave, humane and determined man dared to say no to the all-powerful Sultan, basing his opposition on the affirmation of the Patriarch in Constantinople that the Greek people were not implicated in Ypsilantis' Revolution and on the teaching of the Koran, which forbids punishing the innocent for the offences of their kindred, but he paid for his courage with his life. He was put to death by order of the Sultan as he was being taken to a place of exile on the island of Lemnos.

Another order was promulgated, for the punishment of the guilty, the kindred of the guilty and suspects; but this was applied wholly unjustly, with no trials and with no protection for the innocent. Thus, many people, both leaders and ordinary folk, were put to death in a variety of ways, with all the primal savagery³³ of the Ottoman Turk. The slaughter continued over Easter of 1821, with the hanging of the Patriarch, the beheading of the chief interpreter and the massacring of other Greek notables³⁴ and ordinary people in many parts of the Empire. Characteristic of these events, and the reason why they are mentioned, was the fact that there were no judicial proceedings. On the contrary, the efforts of the Ottoman Turks to suppress the revolution tended to the satisfaction of three needs at the same time: the need to take female prisoners, the need to spill Christian blood and to sell slaves, and the need to gather money. I will cite just three examples:

(a) In March of 1822 the Turks occupied the island of Chios, and of the one hundred thousand inhabitants they massacred and took prisoner thirty thousand. Two instances are characteristic of this incident; three thousand Greeks "had fled in panic"³⁵ to a monastery. The Turks attacked savagely, killed them all and set fire to the monastery. This was on April 2, and it was Easter Sunday. The leader of the Turks granted amnesty to all those who survived. The consuls of Austria and England and the deputy consul of France encouraged the inhabitants to return to their houses, "promising them safety".³⁵ The Greeks returned, but Kara Ali had them slaughtered and made prisoner.³⁵

(b) Late in May 1824, the Turco-Egyptian fleet disembarked upon the island of Kassos four thousand Albanian soldiers, who overcame the resistance of the inhabitants and took possession of the island. "Hussein gave the soldiers permission for one day to slake their manic fury in whatever way they wished. The carnage that followed was frightful. The men of the island were massacred and the younger women and children, more than two thousand of them, were taken as slaves, while their houses were savagely looted".³⁶ "The efforts of the Christians among the Albanians to stop the slaughter of the civilian population and the abduction of the girls were to no avail. Of the inhabitants of the island two thousand were slain, the rest were taken prisoner, and the island was laid waste".³⁶

(c) Late in June 1824 a powerful Ottoman fleet commanded by Admiral Hosref attacked the island of Psara with fifteen thousand janissaries. The inhabitants of the tiny island resisted courageously,

and the defenders were slain almost to a man. Of the seven thousand islanders, about four thousand were killed and of the twenty-five thousand refugees fifteen thousand were slain or taken prisoner. Several thousand Ottoman soldiers were also killed. "Hosref celebrated his victory by sending the Sultan a gift of several Greek heads and twelve hundred ears".³⁷ The same savagery and absence of justice characterised Ottoman behaviour everywhere; in Crete, at Messolonghi, and elsewhere.

Amid the intoxication of slaughter and passion there stands out the efforts of Kolokotronis to save the lives of the Albanians after the fall of Tripolitsa and of Ypsilantis Demetrios, who in the final battle of the Revolution at Petra in Boeotia defeated the Turks and let them go free upon a compact.³⁹ The picture of their withdrawal is worth recording: "God be with you, Ypsilanti bey, God be with you", cried the leader of the Ottoman troops as he turned to leave. "God speed you on your way", responded Ypsilantis and his entire army.³⁹

B6

Along with their battles, the revolutionaries also initiated political action: (a) On March 23, 1821, the Messenian Senate in Kalamata addressed an appeal to the European courts asking the noble European nations for their urgent assistance in helping the Greeks recover their lost rights and in relieving the oppressed Greek people as rapidly as possible.⁴⁰ It is noteworthy that the word justice is repeated five times in this text which, moreover, is "the first diplomatic document that the revolutionary Greeks addressed to foreign courts".⁴¹ (b) On March 26, 1821, the so-called Achaian Directorate in Patra delivered to the consuls in that city a note declaring that because their very existence was threatened they had decided to set themselves free or die in the attempt, and that they were taking up arms in pursuit of their rights.⁴² These two texts illustrate the profound passion for justice of the revolutionaries and their determination to win it or to die.

Of particular historical importance is the political action taken in January. The revolutionary Greeks⁴³ met through their representatives at Epidaurus in a National Assembly, and in an atmosphere of joy and enthusiasm voted into existence their first Constitution and addressed to the world a proclamation of "political entity and independence".⁴⁴ Essentially, from that moment the Greeks proclaimed their right to exist as a nation, a people and a state. In this proclamation the Greeks asked the peoples and the

countries of the world to recognise their right to exist as a nation and to found a state on their ancestral lands; for the Greek people never considered themselves to have ceased to exist as a nation or believed that their ancestral lands had been lost to them forever, given that they had been lost by a conquest that they had never recognised. "The Turks are not legitimate owners, but hold by force of arms land that belongs to others".⁴⁵

In a second proclamation, dated January 15, 1922 the Epidaurus Assembly attempted to justify the revolution; it was not only for the rebirth of the nation but also to assert the natural rights of mankind. The war of the Greeks against the Ottoman Turks was a national war for the right of individual freedom, personal property and honour. The Ottoman tyranny, they proclaimed, had not succeeded in abstracting these by violence nor in strangling them within their breasts, because these are rights sown by nature deep within the hearts of men, and centuries of tyranny cannot efface them. If violence and power can for a time suppress them, power restores them again, as before, because they are indelible.⁴⁶ Even before their independence had been recognised, the Greeks had organised themselves into a legitimate polity; they had voted a constitution that placed the law above all else. All was done on the basis of law; the constitution of the state, the recognition of rights, the distribution of powers to the organs of state. The constitution recognised the express rights of the Greek people; the rights of nationality, equality before the law, religious tolerance, property, honour, security, the right of all Greeks to enjoy all civil rights, the right of each person to hold office on the basis of his ability, the right of the state to levy taxes throughout the realm but always on the basis of law passed beforehand.⁴⁷

We can see that this was a state based on law, justice, equality, liberty and, most important of all, that it recognised the Greeks as people. In practice, of course, this Constitution was not perfect, nor were the Greek people freed at a stroke from the burden of centuries of slavery. But with the right to Liberty and to self-determination that they had acquired, they could progressively both improve the articles of the Constitution and change their lives from the mentality and habits of serfdom.

The right of speech and expression, the prohibition of slavery and the slave trade, the proclamation of national sovereignty over the liberated lands, the recognition of the nation as the source of all

authority, all exist in the two subsequent constitutions voted by the Revolutionary Assemblies, in 1823 and 1827.⁴⁸

B7

The governments of Europe supposedly remained neutral in the conflict between the Greeks and the Turks, but in practice they helped the Ottoman Empire in every possible way, for they identified justice with their own interests; their people supplied information, they provided ships for troop transport and officers, particularly French officers, to train the Egyptian army. General Makryiannis wrote that the impoverished Greeks were fighting, naked and barefoot, against the Sultan and against European Christendom that with actions opposed to the struggle of the Greeks and with fraud and deceit were supplying the strongholds of the enemy in the early years of the revolution.⁴⁹

But the massacres, the taking of prisoners, the pillaging and the savagery of every sort perpetrated by the Ottoman Turks against the Greeks aroused the peoples of Europe, who put pressure on their governments which, in their turn, at last decided to intervene to put an end to the unjust bloodshed that had been going on for so many years. But the Sultan would accept no intervention. The Europeans then decided to impose pacification by force and, since the Sultan was no match for Europe either on the diplomatic level or on the field of battle, he was in the end compelled to yield.

B8

The Sultan recognised the independent Greek state established by the Treaty of London of February 3, 1830; this, however, did not satisfy the Greeks, for it was but a semi-vindication of their struggle, leaving outside the boundaries of the new state many regions that had equally fought for their independence.⁵⁰ We see that European Monarchs imposed on Greeks their right, the law of might.

Nonetheless, in however unsatisfactory a fashion this Treaty did bring to an end the conflict between two wholly antithetical worlds; the Greek world that represented the West and the Ottoman world that represented Islam. Greek texts from before and after the Revolution present certain points of view relating to the fundamental problems associated with justice. With regard to the source of justice there are two points of view, one holding that God is the source of justice⁵¹ and the other that nature is.⁴⁷ God was held to be the

source of justice, first, because under the unbearable yoke of oppression people's only hope was in some supernatural power, like God, and second, because only a divinity could be higher and more powerful than the savage and powerful empire.

At this point, we observe that even the Ottoman Turks, when rendered desperate by the Sultan and seeing punishment for their crimes approaching, appealed to God as the source of justice. When asked how someone whose rights have been forfeit to violence or power can re-acquire them, the reply is that these are re-acquired by power, thus justifying their recourse to revolution in order to recover their rights.⁴⁷

With the establishment of the Greek state justice reigned partly, and a severe blow was inflicted on tyranny, on the absolutist Ottoman regime and the Holy Alliance. The Greek nation entered upon a new age. The great question, that of whether these two worlds can co-exist, is difficult to answer, because the second of these does not recognise that all men have the same rights. One ray of hope was afforded by the scene with Ypsilantis at Petra, and another by the experience of some ancestors of mine who lived in the northern region of Turkey; they were able to live alongside the Turks with no problems as long as no racial, ethnic or religious differences intervened, as long that is as each saw the other simply as people. There were instances where Turks hid and protected persecuted Greeks. The two worlds can start from this basis; the most precious possession for each man is life, and every man has the right to quit this life in freedom and by natural causes only.

C1

Today, from the point of view of justice the international situation is not, naturally, the same as it was in 1821. We have, of course, the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man (1776), the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man (1948), the International Court of Justice. But in many parts of the world (Africa, Asia, the Balkans) people are still losing their lives in many different ways; by execution, by murder, by war, by famine, by ethnic cleansing. The reality throughout the world is very unpleasant, for human life remains unprotected.

C2

The reason why some people in every part of the world do not enjoy the right to life is that the lives of some are of no value. On the contrary, they are seen as a means of pressure, pawns to be used by the ravisher in the imposition of his will. Another reason is that the law of might is stronger than the law of right. This we know from the Iliad, where Agamemnon, as "lord of all the Argives"⁵² took Briseis from Achilles.⁵³ We know it from Pascal, who said that "might without right is tyranny" and "might without right is to be condemned".⁵⁴ We know it too from what we see all around us. These lines were written as NATO was bombing Serbia. Why, I ask, is the United Nations Organisation of no use and why is the Security Council not doing its job? If a member of the United Nations violates international law, who is more competent to impose justice than the community of nations? When the law of the strongest prevails, humanity cannot consider itself civilised.

But in this case it is not only the one who has the power and is using it as he wishes that is guilty; equally guilty are the citizens of democratic states that grant powers to their leaders without defining the precise limits of these powers and without exercising substantive control over, for instance, whether governments protect at least human life. The ultimate reason, however, is the quality of western civilisation which, according to Vaclav Havel,⁵⁵ does not allow men to believe deeply in anything. He is quite right. Western civilisation looks after the material condition of man, with the result that the supreme value of life is sacrificed to values of lesser worth, such material interests, power, prestige. Western man has even reduced the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to a mere wish. This is not a subject that I am prepared to develop here, but I do want to say that religion merely exists, philosophy is searching for itself, democracy is a formality in which the people essentially exercise minimal power for a minimal period of time, athletics (like the Olympic Games) are in an abysmal state, science has done away with purpose in its research and while we have learned much about man as an organism - DNA, genes, cloning - we have lost man as a being. We are accustomed to say that western civilisation is founded on the principles of the ancient Greek world. But that world had man at its centre and saw him with a positive eye. Today, philosophy, democracy, athletics, science are either negative activities or, in the best of cases, indifferent. The result is the tremendous injustice and inequality that we see in mankind today. Worse yet is the fact that

these two evils do not exist alone, but bring in their wake poverty and misery.

Western man demonstrates irrational, unjustifiable and unscrupulous fundamental prejudice,⁵⁶ and that is why he so often remains so far removed from equality, justice, humanity and logic.

I shall conclude with a modified version of Elytis' words:

Sun of justice perceptible, do not I pray thee forget the victims of injustice.

Notes

1. Turkish word *raya*: in Ottoman Empire means Christian obedient of Sultan, who was obliged to pay taxes for the covering of the expenses of dominion. Encyclopedia Papyrus-Larousse-Britannica, vol.51 p.460.
2. Holly Alliance (Sainte-Alliance) Encyclopedia Papyrus-Larousse-Britannica vol.29 p.85.
3. D. Photiades "The revolution in 21" Edition "Melissa" vol.2 p. 150
4. Henri Batiffol "La philosophy du droit" translation in Greek language N.i.Zacharopoulos Athens 1966 p.92.
5. "communities"(= "Κοινότητες") in "History of Greek Nation" Publishing Company of Athens, Vol IA p.134-143 (H.G.N.P.C.A.).
6. "The right in the period of Turkish rule" in H.G.N.P.C.A. Vol.IA p.110-117.
7. "Nomicon Proheiron"(=handy law) of M.Phoiteinopoulos (1765),"Syntagmation Nomicon"(=Small Constitutional of law) of Alex.Ypsilantis(1780)", "Political Codex" of Sk.Kallimahis(1817), "Political Codex of Hugrovlachia" of I.Karatzas(1818) in H.G.N.P.C.A. Vol. IA p.110-117.
8. D. Photiades "The revolution in 21" Edition "Melissa" vol.1 p. 144-224
- 9.Th.Voreas "Ethics" O.E.T.B. in Athens 1957 p.286-312 and "Introduction to philosophy" O.E.T.B. in Athens 1972 p.278-290.
10. Jean-Paul Royx "Histoire des Turcs" translation in Greek language published by Govostis p.96.
11. P. 87, and "Rigas Velesinlis: texts", p. 75: "The quietest, the most innocent, the most honest citizen is at all times at risk of falling a wretched victim to the tyrant's imagination or the savagery of local officials and the unworthy magnates of the tyrant, or finally (which is more frequently the case) to his ill-bred and bestial imitators who enjoy one the impunity of criminality, another inhumanity of the harshest sort, another murder, all without examination, all without judgment".
12. A.B.Daskalakis "The Greek people in the period of Turkish rule" Athens 1965 p.115-123.
13. The elements were taken from Encyclopedia Papyrus-larousse-Britannica
14. Konstantinos Mourouzis (1787-1821) was appointed chief interpreter in January 1821. Patriarch Gregory V, perhaps on the basis of information received, warned him that he was in danger and advised him to resign his position and leave Constantinople. Mourouzis replied: "my duty requires me to remain at the side of my compatriots". An anonymous source on April 4, 1821 handed him a forged letter from Alexander Ypsilantis. He was arrested and beheaded the same day, at the age of just 34. (Papyrus - Larousse - Britannica, vol. 43, p. 58).
15. Encyclopedia Papyrus-larousse-Britannica Vol.32 p.94.
- 16.Th.Gordon "Greek Revolution" translation in Greek language, Byron Publishing, Book A Vol.1 p.xxxxvii.
17. H.G.N.P.C.A. Vol. IA p.160.
18. Anonymus Hellene "Hellenic Nomarchy, that is Sermon about Freedom", Edition "Kalvos" Athens 1980 (H.N. s. F.) p.97.
19. Teachers of the Race were called the Greeks "distinguished scholars who lived and acted mainly before the Greek Revolution in 1821, who contributed to the spreading of education" in Encyclopedia Papyrus-Larousse-Britannica Vol.19 p.472.
20. Rigas Velesinlis: "Texts" p.76 article 2.
21. Rigas Velesinlis: "Texts" p.78 article 8.
- 22.Rigas Velesinlis: "Texts" p.80 article 15.

23. Rigas Velesinlis: "Texts" p.79 article 13.
24. Rigas Velesinlis: "Texts" p.80 article 18.
25. He was arrested by Austrians and surrendered to Ottomans, who strangled him in the Prison in Belgrade on June 24, 1798 together with seven comrades and dropped their bodies in Danube. See D. Photiades "The revolution in 21" Vol. 1 p.219-224.
26. D.Photiades "The revolution in 21" Vol. 3 p.152.
27. Anonymus Hellene, p.19-21.
28. Henri Batiffol "La philosophie du droit", p.73.
29. Anonymus Hellene, p.78,p.174 and p.177.
30. Anonymus Hellene, p.165.
31. "Memoirs of Macrygiannes" edition Mermiga p.109.
32. H.G.N.P.C.A. Vol. IB p.31,33,34.
33. Jean-Paul Roux "Histoire des Turcs", p.96.
34. H.G.N.P.C.A. Vol. IB p.130,131,133-134.
35. H.G.N.P.C.A. Vol. IB p.245. This is not only instance where the Ottoman Turks failed to keep their word. French historian Jean-Paul Roux is therefore incorrect in his assertion(p.23 of his work cited in note 13) that one of the characteristic features of the Turks in general and the Ottoman Turks in particular is that of "keeping their promises".
36. H.G.N.P.C.A. Vol. IB p.348.
37. H.G.N.P.C.A. Vol. IB p.352-353.
38. H.G.N.P.C.A. Vol. IB p..176.
39. D.Photiades "The revolution in 21" Vol. 4 p.173.
40. D.Photiades "The revolution in 21" Vol. 2 p.34-35.
41. D.Photiades "The revolution in 21" Vol. 2 p.35-36.
42. H.G.N.P.C.A. Vol. IB p.86.
- 43 History of the Turks, Jean-Paul Roux. Greek translation published by Govotsis. "The French historian of page 315 of this work writes that romantic Europe saw in the person of the Greek brigand chiefs, who took to the mountains to fight the revolution, the worthy heirs of Praxiteles and Socrates". The description of the revolutionaries of 1821 as brigand chiefs is degrading in the extreme, for they took to the mountains to free themselves from Ottoman tyranny and to strip the Turkish gentry of the property it had seized from the enslaved Greeks. These brigand chiefs were the armed men of the Greek Nation who brought the National Resurrection to the Greek people.
44. H.G.N.P.C.A. Vol. IB p.213.
45. Frenchman De Buald's words in D.Photiadis "The revolution in 21" vol.2 p.176. See also the meeting of Karaiskakis and Kiutahis in D.Photiadis'"The revolution in 21" vol.3 p.287.
46. H.G.N.P.C.A. Vol. IB p.213.
47. Alexandros Svolos "The Greek Constitutions 1822-1952" Edition Stochastis Athens 1972 p.66.
48. Alexandros Svolos "The Greek Constitutions 1822-1952" p.79-110.
49. "Memoirs of Macrygiannes", Edition Mermiga p.371.
50. D.Photiadis "The revolution in 21" vol.4 p.178-198.
51. "Memoirs of Macrygiannes", Edition Mermiga p.371 "Justice of God" p.354, "there is justice of the ...God"p.372, "upright God" p.373 and elsewhere. See also Rigas Velesinlis: "Texts", p.75 " the...rights given to him by the god".
52. Iliad A 78-79.
53. Iliad A 181-187.
- 54 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, (Greek translation, Anagnostidis, p. 104).

55. Czech playwright and politician (1936-). When *circa* 1989 he was asked by journalists whether Czechoslovakia was seeking a western-type democracy for its regime, he replied "No. because this is democracy in form only. It does not give men a profound belief in anything." Taken from current newspapers. Unfortunately I have kept a note neither of the specific journal nor of the date.

56. Henri Batiffol "La philosophie du droit", p.73-74.

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