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Filiki Etaireia:

The Rise of a Secret Society in the making of the Greek revolution

**Senior project submitted to
the division of social studies
of Bard College**

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A note on translation

This project discusses the origins of the Greek war of independence, and thus the greater part of the source material used, has been written in the Greek language. All translations from Greek, unless indicated otherwise within the text, have been translated into English by Nicholas Rimikis. Additionally, whenever a name or term is followed by a parenthesis containing the same name, or a term in the Greek language, indicates that they have been translated by Nicholas Rimikis.

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I. Introduction: The Greek War of Independence

in the textbook history, the Greek revolution, or Greek war of independence, was a successful revolt, waged by Greek nationalists against the Ottoman empire in the region of Greece. Most of Greece had come under Ottoman rule after the fall of the Byzantine empire in 1453. The conflict, in its entirety, lasted eleven years, from 1821 to 1832. Through the course of the war, both belligerents were assisted by various forces. On the one hand, the Greek revolutionaries were assisted by the three great powers, the kingdom of France, the Russian empire and the United Kingdom, while on the other hand, the Ottoman forces in Greece, were assisted by the vassals of the Ottoman empire, the eyalets of Egypt, Algeria, Tripolitania, and the beylik of Tunis. The ultimate outcome of the war was the establishment of an independent Greek state. Before the Greek revolution there were several other unsuccessful attempts by Greece to gain independence from Ottoman control.

The Greek Revolution was a long lasting event that was affected by more than the two warring sides. With multiple parties within the Greek community competing for power and a rather long list of foreign nations doing their best to keep the country in their sphere of influence, historians have to decide whose side to tell the story from. This project is going to have a Greek national viewpoint, focusing on the memoirs of revolutionaries to examine the tactics and goals of the movement's early prime movers.

The Greek war of independence is one of the most important chapters of modern Greek history. Here, I want to return for the next several pages to the basic narrative in greater depth using four general studies, David Brewer's, *The Greek War of Independence: The struggle for freedom and the birth of modern Greece*, George Finlay's seven volume set, *A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to Present Time*, Christopher M. Woodhouse's, *The Greek war of independence: Its historical setting* and Richard Clogg's, *A Concise History of Greece*.¹ These studies are brief, yet detailed accounts of the most important events of the revolution. In other words each one of these writers has outlined most of the important events of the revolution. However, in light of providing as much information as possible, they did not go into great detail in some of them. Their research focuses mostly on the conflict itself, there is some information on the origins and the preparation for the war, and the books sometimes end with the creation of the independent Greek state, or go a little bit further beyond that. Overall, these studies are probably the best place to start, since they provide useful information on most important events of the revolution and enough information for further reading.

The start of the war, often called a legend, is one of the most famous stories in modern Greece. It is said that it began in the monastery of Agia Lavra in the northern

¹ David Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence: The Struggle for Freedom and the Birth of Modern Greece*, (USA, Overlook Press: 2011), Apple iBooks Edition; Christopher M. Woodhouse, *The Greek war of independence: its historical setting*, (UK, Hutchinson's House: 1952); George Finlay, *A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Roman Empire to present time*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press: 1877), 7 volumes; Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 1992), Apple iBooks Edition.

part of the Peloponnese on March 25th, a day which is celebrated until today as a national holiday in Greece. On that day, Bishop Georgios Germanos of Patras (Γεώργιος Γερμανός), more commonly known as Germanos III of old Patras (Παλαιών Πατρών Γερμανός), performed a doxology and administered an oath to the Peloponnesian fighters.²

The revolution has been divided into three parts. The first began in 1821, lasting until 1823, which are the years between the start of the revolution and the formation of the first independent Greek government at the national assembly of Astros. The second period is the period of the two civil wars, 1823 until mid-1825. Finally the third and last starts with the intervention of the Egyptian forces lead by Ibrahim Pasha and ends in 1832 with the establishment of the first independent Greek state in modern history.

During the first period, Greek militants achieved a number of victories against the Ottomans, capturing important cities, such as Athens in central Greece and Tripolis in the Peloponnese. Perhaps the most important victory of the Greeks however was in 1822, when the Peloponnesian forces, led by Theodoros Kolokotronis (Θεόδωρος Κολοκοτρώνης), defeated Mahmud Dramali Pasha at the battle of Dervenakia. Dramali crossed central Greece with a force of thirty thousand and invaded the Peloponnese. The invasion came to a stop the same year and Dramali was defeated by Kolokotronis. After that there was another campaign in the Western Peloponnese led by Omer Vrionis

² David, *The Greek War of Independence*, 96-105.

and Mustafa Reshid Pasha, which was also unsuccessful and ended in 1823 with a siege in Mesolongi.³

Shortly after these victories, the Greeks held the second national assembly that established a government, the assembly held at Astros. The first took place in December 1821 and its purpose was to draft the Greek constitution and appointed members of a legislative body that would make up the government of the liberated territories. Alexandros Mavrokordatos (Αλέξανδρος Μαυροκορδάτος) was chosen as the president of the executive and Alexandros Ypsilantis (Αλέξανδρος Υψηλάντης), was elected as the president of the legislative body, a position of little significance, even though he was the one that had called the assembly. The second national assembly was held in light of Kolokotronis' rising popularity, who at the time had the fort of Nafplio under his control. The central administration decided that the second assembly would take place in Nafplio, asking Kolokotronis to return the fort to the Greek forces. Kolokotronis refused and the assembly was finally gathered in March 1823 in Astros. New members were elected for the executive and legislative bodies and a new constitution was voted.⁴

Kolokotronis then was offered to participate in the executive body as vice-president, which he accepted. However, he caused a serious crisis when he prevented Mavrokordatos, who had been elected president of the legislative body, from assuming his position. His attitude caused an outrage amongst the members of the legislative

³ Brewer, *Greek War of Independence*, 202-240.

⁴ Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. 6, p. 239; Woodhouse, *Greek war of independence*, 94-95.

body. The crisis reached the point where the legislative body overturned the executive and fired its president, Petros Mavromichalis (Πέτρος Μαυρομυχάλης). Kolokotronis along with other Peloponnesian notables and captains supported Mavromichalis, and he remained president of his executive in Tripolis. However, a second executive, supported by islanders and people from central Greece, most notably Andreas Londos (Ανδρέας Λόνδος) and Andreas Zaimis (Ανδρέας Ζαΐμης), was formed at Kranidi with Georgios Kountouriotis (Γεώργιος Κουντουριώτης) as president.⁵

In March 1824, the forces of the new executive laid siege on Nafplion and Tripolis. After a month of fighting and negotiations, an agreement was reached between Kolokotronis, Londos and Zaimis. On May 22nd the first phase of the civil war officially ended, but most of the members of the new executive were displeased by the moderate terms of the agreement that Zaimis and Londos brokered. During this period, the two first installments of an English loan arrived, and thus the position of the government was strengthened. Zaimis and the other Peloponnesians who supported Kountouriotis clashed with the executive body and formed an alliance with Kolokotronis who roused the residents of Tripolis against the local tax collectors of the government. The government regrouped its armies, which now consisted mainly of central Greeks and Souliots, and were led by Ioannis Kolettis (Ιωάννης Κολέττης), who wanted a complete victory. Under Kolettis' orders two bodies of central Greeks and Souliots invaded the

⁵ Woodhouse, *Greek war of independence*, 93-94.

Peloponnese. The first, under Ioannis Gouras (Ιωάννης Γκούρας) occupied Corinth and raided the province. The second, under Georgios Karaiskakis (Γεώργιος Καραϊσκάκης), Kitsos Tzavelas (Κίτσος Τζαβέλας) and others, attacked Londos and Zaimis in Achaea. In January 1825, a force of central Greeks, led by Kolettis himself arrested Kolokotronis, Kanellos Deliyannis' (Κανέλλος Δεληγιάννης) family and others. In May 1825, under the pressure of Egyptian intervention they were released and granted amnesty.⁶

In 1825 Egyptian forces intervened in Greece led by Ibrahim Pasha. Their intervention was in favor of the Ottomans, who had been mostly inactive during the two civil wars. Ibrahim upon his arrival defeated the Greek garrison on the small island of Sphacteria off the coast of Messinia. Naturally, Greece was in disarray. Ibrahim ravaged the western Peloponnese and killed Grigorios Dikaïos (Γρηγόριος Δίκαιος), more commonly known as Papaflessas (Παπαφλέσσας), another important figure in the Greek revolution, at the battle of Maniaki. Hoping to stop the Egyptian advance, the Greek government released Kolokotronis and the other imprisoned revolutionaries from prison. However, they too were unsuccessful.⁷

Within five months Ibrahim had captured a large part of the Peloponnese and was well within striking distance to claim the city of Nafplion, one of Greece's greatest cities and the first official capital of Modern Greece. His offensive was stopped by

⁶ Brewer, *Greek War of Independence*, 291-299; Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. 6, p. 328-330, p. 333-334.

⁷ Brewer, *Greek War of Independence*, 300-313.

commodore Gawen Hamilton of the Royal Navy, who formed his fleet around the city in a way that looked like he intended to defend it. Ibrahim then turned his attention to the city of Mesolongi, which at the time was under siege for the third time. After a few weeks of besieging the city and doing his best to capture it, but to no success, he formed a blockade around it both by land and by water, cutting off its supply line. A few weeks later the Greeks attempted to escape from the city during the night, but were unfortunately betrayed. Ibrahim knew of their upcoming plan and thus was able to stop it, killing many of the city's defenders and capturing even more. He then turned his attention to Mani, which is where his advance was finally brought to a stop in June 1826. Despite his superiority in numbers, the locals managed to hold their defense in numerous occasions, by means of guerrilla tactics. Ibrahim lost in three different confrontations against the Maniots, thus he was never able to capture Mani. He was able to capture Athens however, in August 1826 and the Athenian acropolis in June 1827.⁸

While Ibrahim was marching through Greece, the Greeks were establishing relations with the three major powers in Europe, France, Russia and Great Britain. Initially most European countries were openly against the success of the Greek revolution. However, thanks to the actions of George Canning, the British foreign secretary, who took office in 1822, that changed. In 1823 he openly stated that Greece

⁸ Brewer, *Greek War of Independence*, 300-313.

was a nation in a state of war, and not piratical. In the next couple of years, he worked to establish relations with the Greek republic. Eventually his actions brought about the creation of the British political party in Greece in 1825. At the same time, two more political parties were created, one favoring Russia and the second favoring France. Also in 1825, Tsar Alexander of Russia was succeeded by Tsar Nicholas I. Canning worked with him to establish the St. Petersburg protocol in 1826, which had the two powers agree to mediate between Ottomans and Greeks to create Greek autonomy under the Ottoman sovereignty. The Greeks agreed and applied for the St. Petersburg protocol, however the Ottomans and Egyptians refused to stop fighting.⁹

Canning then prepared the treaty of London, an agreement to be signed by the three great powers France, Russia and Great Britain, which had them offer negotiations between the two belligerents. If the Sultan rejected it, they were prepared to exert all the means which circumstances would allow to force the cessation of hostilities. Meanwhile, Greece received news in July 1827 that Mehmet Ali's fleet was ready in Alexandria and sailing towards Navarino, in the Western Peloponnese to join the rest of the Egyptian-Turkish fleet. The aim was to knock Hydra's fleet out of the war and to reinforce Ibrahim's forces. In response, the British, Russians and French sent their commanders in chief of their respective fleets. What followed was the last major naval

⁹ Clogg, *History of Greece*, 82-83.

battle of the revolution, arguably the deciding factor to its outcome, which resulted in the defeat of the combined Ottoman navies.¹⁰

On December 1828 the ambassadors of Britain, Russia and France gathered in Greece to prepare a protocol which would create an autonomous state ruled by a monarch, whose authority should be confirmed by a firman of the Sultan. The proposed borderline ran from Arta to Volos and despite Ioannis Kapodistrias' (Ιωάννης Καποδίστριας) efforts, the new state would only include a handful of islands. Instead of that protocol, a new protocol was accepted by the London Conference in 1829, which accepted most of the previous proposals, but drew the borders farther south and excluded two islands.¹¹

Under the pressure of Russia, the porte finally agreed on the terms of the Treaty of London on 1827 and the Protocol of 1829. Soon afterward, Britain and France came up with an idea of an independent Greek state, in an attempt to limit the influence of Russia. Russia could not reject the new proposal and consequently the three powers agreed to create an independent Greek state under their protection. Thus, in 1830, the protocols were concluded. According to one of the protocols, the throne would be offered to Leopold, future king of Belgium. However, he rejected thanks to Kapodistrias

¹⁰ Brewer, *Greek War of Independence*, 314-325; Woodhouse, *Greek war of Independence*, 123-125.

¹¹ Clogg, *History of Greece*, 88-91.

and the new borderline. Negotiations were then further stalled since Kapodistrias was assassinated in 1831.¹²

The withdrawal of Leopold as a candidate for the throne and the July revolution in France further delayed the final settlement of the new kingdom's frontiers until a new government was formed in Britain, which brought back the original proposal. In May 1832, the new British Foreign Secretary convened the London Conference. The three great powers offered the throne to the Bavarian prince, Otto of Wittelsbach and meanwhile the fifth national assembly in Greece had approved the choice of Otto and passed the constitution of 1832. As co-guarantors of the monarchy, the great powers also agreed to guarantee a loan of sixty million francs to the new king, empowering their ambassadors in the Ottoman capital to secure the end of the war. Under the protocol signed on May 7th 1832, between Bavaria and the protecting powers, Greece was defined as a "monarchical and independent state" but was to pay an indemnity to the Porte. The protocol outlined the way in which the Regency was to be managed until Otto reached his majority, while also concluding the second Greek loan for a sum of almost two and a half million pound sterling.¹³

On July 1832, British ambassador to the sublime porte Sir Stratford Canning and the other representatives of the great powers signed the Treaty of Constantinople, which set the boundaries of the new Greek Kingdom at the Arta-Volos line. The borders of the

¹² Clogg, *History of Greece*, 88-91; Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. 7, p. 104-105.

¹³ Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. 6, p. 79, p. 105-106.

kingdom were reiterated in the London protocol of 1832, also signed by the great powers, which ratified the terms of the Constantinople arrangement.¹⁴

A very important chapter in the Greek war of independence, on which this thesis will focus, is the formation and the activities of the Filiki Etaireia (Φιλική Εταιρεία). The Filiki Etaireia was a secret organization formed by Nikolaos Skouphas (Νικόλαος Σκουφάς), Emanuel Xanthos (Εμανουήλ Ξάνθος) and Athanasios Tsakalov (Αθανάσιος Τσακάλωφ) in 1814 in Odessa. Its purpose was to secure Greece's independence from Ottoman occupation and it operated in a rather freemasonic fashion. The first member that was initiated in it was Georgios Sekeris (Γεώργιος Σέκερης). After being initiated, the members would take an oath of faith. They communicated with codes, nicknames and passwords. The growth rate of the organization was rather fast. In the time between 1814 and 1816 it only consisted of about twenty members. By early 1818 it was developed mostly between Greeks of Russia and the Danubian Principalities. During 1818 the growth rate sped up dramatically and by the year 1820 the organization had spread with its members to most areas of Greece and many places abroad and the number of members rose daily. It is possible that during the first few months of 1821, the organization numbered tens of thousands of members. In studying the Filiki Etaireia, a large variety of historical sources can be used, sources also useful in the study of the Greek war of independence as a whole.

¹⁴ Brewer, *Greek War of Independence*, 409-424; Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. 6, p. 106.

The first of these books are Brewer's, Finlay's, Woodhouse's and Clogg's. In their books, these writers have mostly focused on the military and diplomatic aspects of the revolution. However, even though each book has information on just about anything that took place at the time, it never goes into great depth. Their work leaves it clear that there is a lot to know about the subject, and sometimes, a more than what they have provided us with, such as the point of view of the people who participated in them for instance. They provide the basic facts of all phases of the revolution and also provide a lot of evidence to go along with it. With these four studies the entire general framework of the Greek revolution can be understood. Each one was released at a different time, the earliest one being Finlay's study and Brewer's being the last, published just a few years ago. Most of the important events are covered by each writer, including battles, figures and the state of the Ottoman affairs, which makes them essential in this research. Another such study, written by Spiridon Trikoupi (Σπυρίδων Τρικούπης), *I Istoría tis Ellinikis Epanastaseos* (Η Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Επανάστασεως) in four volumes, which translates to, "the history of the Greek revolution"¹⁵, is also useful to see the history of the Greek revolution as written by a Greek historian.

Another historical approach to the Greek revolution is one that focuses biographically on key figures. One work of this sort that is extremely useful is an eight volume set written by Anastasios Goudas (Αναστάσιος Γούδας) entitled, *Vioi Paralloiloi*

¹⁵ Spiridon Trikoupi, *I Istoría tis Ellinikis Epanastaseos*, (London, Taylorou and Frankiskou: 1857), 4 Volumes.

ton epi tis anageniseos tis Helladas diaprepsanton andron, which translates to, “Lives of the prominent men during the rebirth of Greece.”¹⁶ In this book, Goudas provides information extensively on every important figure that participated in the Greek war of independence.

Moreover, the research being a set of eight volumes, each one containing specific important figures thematically, means that there is extensive helpful information concerning most important figures of the revolution. Goudas provides biographical information on several figures, whose biographies cannot be found anywhere else. He has sectioned off his books thematically, for instance in his first volume he presents the lives of men who assisted in the revolution and were also men of the clergy. His thematic presentation continues along all eight volumes of his research. He also provides extensive introduction in each volume. Giving even more useful information on the broader concepts and topics that played a part in the lives of all men in the volume.

Goudas’ research is useful not just in the study of the Greek revolution, but in the study of Greece before and after the conflict. Using his eight volume set, we can explore the changes that Greece went through in the span of twenty years before, during and after the conflict. Next to the general histories of Brewer, Clogg, Finlay, Woodhouse and

¹⁶ Anastasios N. Goudas, *Vioi Paralloiloi ton epi tis anageniseos tis Helladas diaprepsanton andron*, (Athens, National Printing Press: 1869).

Trikoupis, Goudas provides an excellent addition to the study of the Greek revolution, which was published a lot closer to the time that the revolution actually happened.

For an even closer look into the revolution, I examined George Waddington's, *A visit to Greece, in 1823 and 1824*¹⁷, and published a little later than 1824, although the exact publication date is unknown. This is a closer look on the revolution as a social movement. As the name of the book suggests, in this book the writer gathered all the information he found from his own personal travels to Greece, from the UK at the time of the revolution, such as journals kept by the people who took place in it, or sometimes even interviews he had with them.

Additionally, letters, maps and diary entries. His goal, as he puts it, is, "while remaining unconnected with any Philhellenic societies, to obtain the most authentic information."¹⁸ Presumably, by philhellenic societies, Waddington refers to Europeans, who tried to assist in the movement for Greek independence, by raising the awareness for the Greek struggle. Waddington visited Greece at a time when the ideas that fueled it were still fresh. Even though in my project I am most interested in the time before the revolution itself. Waddington offers an immediate, impartial look on the short term effects of these events, which helps create a spherical view of their origins.

Waddington went to Greece at a time when fighting against the Ottomans was slowing down. However, Greece was not at peace as the first of two civil wars was

¹⁷ George Waddington, *A Visit to Greece, in 1823 and 1824*, (USA, ULAN Press: 2016), (Re-print).

¹⁸ Waddington, *A Visit to Greece*, Unnumbered page.

already underway. Waddington examined both the causes and the course of the civil war while he was there. His book is separated into two parts. The first part is the introduction, where he talks about events before his visit, and presents various sources about them. The second part is the account of his journey. It is written almost like a diary describing the conflict and its origins. His goal is stated between the introduction and the rest of the book, which more or less is to provide the most authentic information possible. Waddington succeeds in his goal to create a vivid image of what Greece was like at the time of the revolution, providing information on the British intervention and the course of the two civil wars that happened in the years he was there.

Another type of historical research on the Greek war of independence is military history, which focuses on the narrative of military confrontations. Here, I would like to bring to your attention, the research of Konstantinos Sathas, *Tourkokratoumeni Ellas: Historikon Dokimion peri ton pros apotinaksin toy Othomanikou Zugou Epanastaseon tou Hellinikou Ethnous*(1453-1821), which translates to, “Greece under Turkish rule: Concerning the revolutions of the Greek nation to expel the Ottoman yoke”¹⁹, which contains information on all military confrontations against the Ottoman empire that Greeks participated in, in the years 1453 through 1821.

¹⁹ Konstantinos N. Sathas, *Tourkokratoumeni Ellas: Historikon Dokimion peri ton pros apotinaksin tou Othomanikou Zugou Epanastaseon tou Hellinikou Ethnous*(1453-1821), (Athens, A. Koromilas: 1869).

Sathas does not remain entirely on the mode of military history. Sometimes he goes off to discuss events taking place in a time between two confrontations. That is to explain why each war happened. What were the causes and the results of each war. Additionally, he discusses how each one of these conflicts leads up to one another and ultimately to the Greek war of independence of 1821. Most importantly, Sathas aids in understanding the framework, in which the Filiki Etaireia was situated and flourished. Thus, Sathas' research is invaluable in the study of the causes of the Greek revolution.

In my project, using as context the general histories by David Brewer and Christopher Montague Woodhouse, George Finlay and Richard Clogg in addition to all other works I have mentioned above and memoirs written by the fighters of the revolution and other key figures, who were themselves members of the Filiki Etaireia. I intend to examine the war before the war. The growth of the Friendly Company and the development of the idea of the revolution, the practical element of it, meaning how it came about, and also the place that the Filiki Etaireia holds among other philhellenic movements that emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This secret organization made use of all available resources, provided by its members. It used its members as spies, military preparers and so on. I intend pinpoint each member's actions as part of the overall agenda of the leaders of the Filiki Etaireia. Which was, introducing the idea of Greek independence to the multitude of the Greeks and then making it happen.

II. Introduction - The Filiki Etaireia: A Secret Society among Secret Societies

The Filiki Etaireia, whose name translates to, Friendly Company, played a crucial role in the birth of the Greek Revolution.

Prior to the Greek revolution of 1821 there had been numerous other insurrections in the general area taking place as early as the fifteenth century. The biggest influences to the generation of the idea of greek independence was the movement of the enlightenment and the French revolution. During that time, a movement began developing which we can call the modern Greek enlightenment which lasted from about 1750 through 1821 and prepared the final revolution. During those years many people, such Rigas Velesinlis (Ρήγας Βελεστινλής), also known as Rigas Feraios (Ρήγας Φεραίος) and Adamandios Korrais (Αδαμάντιος Κορραΐς), Greek intellectuals living abroad, attempted to spread the ideas of liberation, by means of poems and other writing to the rest of the nation in order to push them to claim it.²⁰ At this point a distinction needs to be made between direct and indirect influence. Though the international conditions and the revolts that took place prior to the revolution itself did contribute to the spirit of Greek independence, that does not equate their influence to the actions of the Filiki Etaireia. There is not an argument between historians that I have found about what influenced the revolutionary spirit more. It is the overall consensus that the activity of the Filiki Etaireia was the most instrumental contributing factor. First, however, other secret societies that were formed for similar goals to that of the Filiki Etaireia should be mentioned.

²⁰ Sathas, *Tourkokratoumeni Ellas*, 658-666.

During that first years of the nineteenth century there were a few secret organizations set up abroad that created the environment in which the Filiki Etaireia could be formed and operate successfully. I do not mean to go into great detail on how they operated, but I do believe it is important that they are mentioned. In 1809, in Paris an organization was formed called the *Hellenoglosson Ksenodocheion* (Ελληνόγλωσσον Ξενοδοχείον), which among its members had Athanasios Tsakalov, one of the founding members of the Filiki Eteria. Officially this organization was founded as a place of study of the Ancient Greek civilization, but its actual goal seems to have been Greek independence and all of its actions were toward that end. The members of this organization were sworn in with an oath, as was the procedure for the Filiki Etaireia and wore a ring bearing the greek initials *F. E. D. A.* (Φ.Ε.Δ.Α.: Φιλικός Ελληνικός Δεσμός Άλυτος), which corresponds to “Friendly Greek Bond Insoluble”, for recognition. However, after 1815, it began to wither. One of the reasons may have been the defeat of Napoléon Bonaparte, which eliminated any hopes they had for his help. A second such organization had been founded in Athens, with the indirect support of the British state in 1813. It was called the *Filomoussos Etaireia* (Φιλόμουσος Εταιρεία), with its main goal the cultivation of the spirit of young men, the publishing of books, the aid of poor students, and most other kinds of educational aid for youngsters in general.

Unfortunately, that one never succeeded to gain support of the people, as it operated among the educated people mostly.²¹

These precursor organizations are linked to the Filiki Etaireia by the manner in which they operated, which was secretive. Presumably the element of secrecy was adopted to ensure the safety of the Greek people and their own members, as their actions would be considered treasonous to the Ottoman rule. Additionally, many members of these earlier organizations, later in their lives became members of the Filiki Etaireia, and some that didn't, were close associates to members of the Filiki Etaireia at the time before the revolution.

This chapter now turns to the rituals of initiation into the different ranks that the members of the Filiki Etaireia could have within it. To do so, information will be drawn primarily from three different sources. The general histories that have been written by Philimon Ioannis (Φιλήμων Ιωάννης) and Sakellarios Sakellariou (Σακελλάριος Σακελλάριου) and the introductory chapter of the catalogue of members, composed by Valerios Mexas (Βαλέριος Μέξας)²².

The Filiki Etaireia was different. It was not set up to study the Ancient Greek civilization. Its only purpose was Greek independence. Perhaps they used the ancient

²¹ Kalervas P., *Epistolai*, (Athens: A. Garpolas, 1856), 12-15; Svoronos N., *Analekta Neohellinikis Historias kai Historiographias*, (Athens: Themelio, 1983), 228.

²² Filimon Ioannis, *Dokimion Historikon peri tis Filikis Etaireias*, (Nafplio, Th. Kontaksis and N. Loulakis: 1834); Sakellarios Sakellariou, *Filiki Etaireia*, (Odessa, E. Xrusogellos: 1909); Valerios Mexas, *Oi Filikoι*, (Athens, Athina: 1937).

Greek civilization as a way to attract members and spread their influence but it was not the focus. It also functioned as a secret society resembling the freemasons and other such organizations, something which can be demonstrated by the process of initiation into the society. Philimon and Sakellariou described the rituals of initiation, which will be laid out in the next few pages.²³

The entire structure of the Etaireia was as a pyramid. At the top lay the *Invisible authority* (Αόρατος Αρχή) and none of the lower rank members knew or had the right to ask which members were a part of it. Their commands were executed without question and it appears that lower ranked members did not have the authority to make decisions. The Filiki Etaireia was called a *Temple* and in the beginning it had five ranks of initiation. The *vlamis*(βλάμηδες), the *registered* (συστημένοι), which were members that were chosen for advancement to the next rank, the *priests* (ιερείς) the *shepherds* (ποιμένες) and the *leaders of the shepherds* (αρχιποιμένες). Once the society moved its head to Constantinople in 1818, two more ranks were created, the *dedicated* (αφιερωμένοι) and the *leaders of the dedicated* (αρχηγοί των αφιερωμένων), which would be assigned exclusively to military men. Later the ranks were increased once more with the *apostles* (απόστολοι), which was a different version of the *Invisible Authority* and the *general commissioner of rule* (Γενικός Επίτροπος της Αρχής), the latter was the rank

²³ Emmanouil Xanthos, *Memoirs concerning the Filiki Etaireia*, (Athens, A. Garpolas: 1845), 3.

assigned to Alexandros Ypsilantis when he accepted the leadership of the society in 1820.²⁴

The *priests* were tasked with the initiation of new members to the two first ranks. When one of them approached a potential member, they would assure them of their love for the nation and would slowly introduce them to the purposes of the society, leaving the final stage, which was the oath. At that point the *priest*, would take them to a man of the clergy, telling him they wanted to conduct an oath for a personal affair, aiming to ensure that the potential member was telling the truth. The man of the clergy would then conduct an oath, called the *small oath* (Μικρός όρκος), which the *priest* would whisper to the potential members ear, which he in turn had to repeat quietly three times.²⁵

I swear in the name of truth and justice, in the eyes of the almighty being, to safeguard, sacrificing even my own life, suffering even the harsh tortures of this sacrament, which will be shown to me and that I will respond the truth to whatever is asked of me. Once that was finished the initiating member approached the candidate and asked him, Is it true, brother, what you've repeated three times? And the prospective member responded, They are and will be true and for their sake I swear on this gospel. The man of the clergy would ask

²⁴ Filimon, *Peri tis Filikis Etaireias*, 142-144.

²⁵ Sakellariou, *Filiki Etaireia*, 30-39.

the same question and after receiving the same answer and having been given a positive response, he held the oath, not knowing the purpose of what was happening.²⁶

Past that point the initiated member was considered a member of the Etaireia, which made him a *vlamis*, with all the rights and responsibilities that went with it. The member with the rank of *priest* immediately had the responsibility to show him all the signs of communication between all the *vlamis*. The *vlamis* and the *registered* were oblivious to the revolutionary ends of the organization. What they knew was that there was an organization that operates for the general well being of the Greek nation, which included in its circles some very influential people. Something of the sort was probably spread across its members deliberately, to boost the confidence of the members and to make initiations easier.²⁷

Members that were chosen to advance to the next rank, the *priest*, were chosen from the starting ranks of the *vlamis* and the *registered*. A very thorough look at their character was proceeded though, and their level of commitment to the affairs of the Etaireia was tested as well. Whoever was deemed worthy to continue to the next rank was taken up by an initiator. Firstly a dialogue between them was conducted to examine the relationship of the prospective member with the society, whether or not he was prepared to sacrifice his life for the ideas of the society and how ready he felt to continue. If the dialogue proved satisfactory, the prospective *priest* was told that he was

²⁶ Filimon, *Peri tis Filikis Etaireias*, 144-146.

²⁷ Sakellariou, *Filiki Etaireia*, 30-39.

ready to advance to the next rank the following night. The prospective member would bring a small yellow candle, as he was asked at an earlier time, and together with his initiator, they went to a safe house. There the initiator would take a small icon and place it on the table. Before the icon they would light the candle and in the darkness the initiator would conduct the *great oath*.²⁸

Once the oath was completed, the initiator would place his right hand on the shoulder of the prospective member and would announce formally, *In the eyes of the invisible and omnipresent living true God, judge of infringement and chastiser for evil, I canonize according to the laws of the Filiki Etaireia*, at this point he would name the prospective member, giving his place of origin, age and occupation, and accept him as a *priest*, as *I was accepted into the Filiki Etaireia*.²⁹

The candle was then put out and kept safe by the initiated member and from that moment the initiated was a *priest* of the organization. The next day he was shown the signs of communication between members of his rank, the third day he would memorize the secret code of the society and on the fourth day he would put his answers in a predetermined questionnaire. Finally, the new *priest* would donate a sum of money for the purposes of the organization. The new member would also receive a letter, to always carry with him, called a letter of superiority. Once the *priest* would meet a

²⁸ The *great oath* is far longer than the *small oath* and thus has been excluded from this chapter. It has been placed in the Appendix.

²⁹ Sakellariou, *Filiki Etaireia*, 30-39.

registered member and they identified each other, the *registered* would have to show his letter of recommendation, if the *priest* showed him his letter of superiority. In order to safeguard the secrecy of the *invisible authority*, no newly initiated *priest* was able to communicate directly with them. He could do so only through his initiator. This pyramidal structure kept the organization safe and hidden. At this point, the newly appointed *priest* was ready to begin the work of gathering and initiating new members, after giving one final oath, in which he would swear to always follow the ideals of the organization.³⁰

The highest rank of initiation in the society were the *shepherds*, who were recruited from the ranks of the *priests*. During their ritual of initiation the prospective *shepherds*, would bring with them the candle of their last initiation and yet again they would swear an oath before the icon that they would hold to their responsibilities, that they would not accept anyone in their ranks that is not truly worthy and that for no reason would they reveal their rank. They then would compose a letter of tribute to the *invisible authority*, in which they would use codes different than before. Also the letter they bore with them contained a different code. No rank, however high up in the pyramid, was allowed to make decisions, nor were they allowed to meet and converse. They would adhere without question to the commands of the leadership.³¹

³⁰ Sakellariou, *Filiki Etaireia*, 30-39.

³¹ Sakellariou, *Filiki Etaireia*, 30-39.

In this study, I intend to examine the Etaireia's growth, from the year 1814, when it was founded to the year 1821, when the revolution began. The rate at which members were initiated and the reasons behind it, meaning the strategic purposes of the initiation of new members. I will do so by closely reading the memoirs of various people who fought in the revolution and who I will introduce to you in the next few pages. Firstly, however, it needs to be stated that the memoirs that I am going to examine are not all the memoirs that were written by Greek revolutionaries of the time. I have chosen the ones to be used with one criterion. Though there are a larger number of memoirs written by revolutionaries than the ones I will be using, not all fighters were originally members of the Filiki Etaireia, which is the focus of my project, thus I will be excluding them from my research. That said, I shall begin introducing the revolutionaries I will be working with in the next two chapters.

Emanuel Xanthos. One of the three founding members of the Filiki Etaireia. He founded the society in 1814 along with Nikolaos Skouphas and Athanasios Tsakalov. Xanthos worked towards the initiation of new members until the year 1818. Past that year he focused his attention on finding a new leader for the society after the death of Skouphas. Even though he did not participate actively in the Greek struggle, nevertheless, his memoirs are an invaluable resource, as they are the only piece of text left behind one of the founding members.³²

³² Goudas, *Vioi*, vol. 5, p. 43-75

Anagnostis Kondakis (Αναγνώστης Κονδάκης). A soldier in the revolution he was present in the siege of Tripolis and the fight against Dramali pasha. His activities during the struggle for independence are limited due to his rank, however he was one of the earlier members of the Filiki Etaireia, making his memoirs a very important resource.³³

Christophoros Perraivos (Χρηστόφορος Περραιβός). Before the outbreak of the revolution, he met and worked with one of the most influential philhellenists, Rigas Velestinlis, in Vienna. During the revolution he was active as a politician and in the military. He served under the leadership of Dimitrios Ypsilantis (Δημήτριος Υψηλάντης) in his efforts against the Ottomans. Apart from his memoirs, he is also the author of many historical works concerning the Greek war of independence.³⁴

Theodoros Kolokotronis. Perhaps the most important figure in a leadership role in the entire history of the war for Greek independence. He was connected to most of the important events of the war in the Peloponnese. He began his activities in 1805, taking place in the naval operations of the Russian fleet in the time of Russo-Turkish war. Later he served in the Greek military body, organized by England and was honored with the rank of general for his actions against the French. Under his leadership, several important battles were won, including the defeat of Dramali pasha. He also aided the Greek forces in the defense against Ibrahim pasha. Even though, he

³³ Kondakis Anagnostis, *Memoirs*, (Athens, Vergina: 2009), 7-9.

³⁴ Goudas, *Vioi*, Vol. 5 285-328.

sided against the Greek government during the civil wars, he is still considered one of the most important figures in the modern Greek history and his memoirs are an invaluable resource in the study of early modern Greek history.³⁵

Fotios Chrisanthopoulos (Φώτιος Χρυσανθόπουλος), also known as Fotakos (Φωτάκος). One of the most active fighters in the Greek war of independence. He was the first lieutenant of Kolokotronis and one of the earliest members of the Filiki Etaireia. During the civil wars he aligned himself with Kolokotronis' cause, which caused him to be imprisoned with him in 1825. However, he was released shortly after, thanks to Kolokotronis himself, who requested his release following his own for the defense against Ibrahim. He died many years after the revolution. Apart from his memoirs he published a book on the lives of the most prominent fighters of the Peloponnese and a biography of Papaflessas.³⁶

Dimitrios Ainian (Δημήτριος Αινιάν). He served as a soldier and secretary and served at the side of Georgios Karaiskakis, one of the most well known revolutionary fighters, whose earliest biographer was Ainian himself. After the war he was in the government during the time of Kapodistrias, but quit due to his dislike of king Otto.³⁷

³⁵ Alexandros Filadelph, *1821: The heroes of the Greek revolution, Illustrations and biographies*, (Athens, Michael I. Saliveros: 1900), 15-17.

³⁶ Fotios Xrisanthopoulos, *Memoirs concerning the Greek revolution(1821-1828)*, (Athens, Pelekanos: 1858), Google Play edition, 3 volumes, vol. 1, p. 3-7.

³⁷ Dimitrios Ainian, *The biography of general Georgios Karaiskakis by his secretary D. Ainian with Introduction by Ioannis Vlachoyiannis*, (Athens, G. S. Vlastos: 1903), 9.

Nikolaos Spiliadis (Νικόλαος Σπηλιάδης). One of the active supporters of the Greek war of independence that did not participate in the military. The start of the revolution found him in Tripolis, where following its capture by the Greek forces, he became a secretary of the Greek senate. He also had the role of secretary in multiple national assemblies and the government of Ioannis Kapodistrias. He was a witness to the final will and testament of Theodoros Kolokotronis and apart from his memoirs he has written several other historical works concerning the Greek war of independence and the general time period.³⁸

Ioannis Makriyiannis (Ιωάννης Μακρυγιάννης). He is one of the Greek revolutionary fighters that went on to be a politician after the establishment of the independent Greek state. His real name was Ioannis Triantafilodimitris (Ιωάννης Τριανταφυλλοδημήτρης). Participated in many encounters between the Greek and Ottoman armies. During the civil wars he aligned himself with the government. He participated in the defense of the Peloponnese against Ibrahim pasha. His revolutionary activity reached its end after a series of operations in Piraeus in 1827.³⁹

Dionisios Eumorphopoulos (Διονύσιος Ευμορφόπουλος). He participated in many battles under Kolokotronis. During the civil wars he aligned himself with the Greek government. He was active in the conflict even in the later years of the revolution

³⁸ Fotios Chrisanthopoulos, *Lives of Peloponnesian men*, (Athens, Sakellarios: 1888), 205.

³⁹ Filadelph, *The heroes*, 26.

and was present for the last military encounter with Ottoman forces in the Peloponnese in 1829.⁴⁰

Georgios Germanos (Γεώργιος Γερμανός), bishop Germanos' actual name. Born in 1771, he is one of the most important figures for the Greek war of Independence as he is the one who raised the flag in Patras in March 25th 1821, the day that the revolution is said to have begun. His was more of a negotiating role between the Ottomans and the Greeks. After the first national assembly he received a mission to go into Italy and secure economic aid towards the Greek cause from the Pope. During the course of the civil incursions he attempted to bring to peace to the warring factions. He died in May 1826, after several days of being badly ill. His memoirs are considered to be one of the most important historical sources in the study of the Greek War of Independence.⁴¹

Konstantinos Metaxas (Κωνσταντίνος Μεταξάς). Another man who was active in the war and became a politician in the independent Greek state. He fought in the Ionian sea and later in Patras. In 1822 he was appointed as minister of justice and later he served in the defense of the Aegean islands before returning to serve in central Greece. In 1825 he participated in a number of operations against Ibrahim pasha and was appointed to defend the city of Nafplio. He was active in Greek politics until his death in 1870.⁴²

⁴⁰ Dionisios Eumorphopoulos, *Memoirs*, (Athens, Vergina: 2005), 143-144.

⁴¹ Filadelph, *The heroes*, 9-10.

⁴² Goudas, *Vioi*, Vol. 7 125-164.

In the following two chapters I will be examining the lives of these eleven men in the years 1814 to 1821. Each of them joined the Filiki Etaireia at a different time and their responsibilities as members varies greatly. My goal is to examine their time of initiation in relation to the rate at which new members were being initiated and their responsibilities past their initiation towards the fulfillment of their ultimate goal.

Finally, the question of Freemasonry is going to be addressed. According to the grand lodge of Greece, the Filiki Etaireia was a freemasonic organization, which in turn means that the Greek revolution is a product of freemasonic activity. This larger question will be addressed after the manner in which the members of the society operated is explained, which will also aid in determining whether or not the Filiki Etaireia was in fact a freemasonic organization.

III. Analysis - Memoirs of Emanuel Xanthos, the Founder

In the next two chapters, I intend to track the activity and expansion rate of the Filiki Etaireia through the eyes of the fighters who wrote and published memoirs. In this chapter specifically, I am going to examine the memoirs written by Emanuel Xanthos. Emanuel Xanthos is the only writer of memoirs that has written almost exclusively about the Etaireia, meaning he has not included much information about the Greek war of Independence itself. Also, he is the only writer of memoirs who has written about the early years of the society. Most of the other members of the society that composed memoirs are members that were initiated in, what I am calling, the second phase of the Etaireia. The years 1818 through 1821, the start of the revolution. In this chapter I will be examining the first phase of the Etaireia, the years 1814 through 1817, which is not covered by other fighters who wrote memoirs, because they were not members at that time.

Xanthos was one of three founding members of the Filiki Etaireia, along with Athanasios Tsakalov and Nikolaos Skouphas. Of the three he is the only one who composed memoirs. His memoirs consist of a small autobiography and the larger part of them are a collection of letters addressed to him by various members of the Etaireia. Additional to his memoirs, I will be using general histories written by Filimon, and Sakellariou, and the list of members, written by Mexas.

Xanthos originally lived in Smyrna and later in Trieste, where he worked at a merchant business. In 1810 he settled in Odessa, working as a secretary of a merchant named Vasilios Xenis (Βασίλειος Ξένης). In 1812 he was introduced to a couple of merchants from Ioannina in Constantinople and decided to start a new merchant company with them. Sometime in the year 1813, he went on a few work trips to Preveza, Ioannina and Lefkada, all places in Greece.⁴³

Upon his return to Odessa in the same year, he met and made friends with Athanasios Tsakalov and Nikolaos Skouphas and announced to them his ideas of Greek independence. Together they started the Filiki Etaireia. Xanthos's responsibilities were that of the treasurer, secretary and he often assisted as a connection with other important members, such as Panagiotis Anagnostopoulos (Παναγιώτης Αναγνωστόπουλος), a very important figure in the history of the Filiki Etaireia, who met Xanthos in 1816, and was initiated by him into the society in the same year. As a member, Anagnostopoulos was as important as the founding members. He operated with Xanthos in Odessa, but also operated in Moldova and he even made contact with the Etaireia's circle in Pisa, Italy. Anagnostopoulos later came in conflict with Xanthos, which continued for the next few years. He also argued with many other important members, such as Papaflessas, a highly active member of the Filiki Etaireia. He was actively involved in making the decision to assassinate Nikolaos Galatis (Νικόλαος

⁴³ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 2.

Γαλάτης), a very important member for the society, who is referenced in memoirs of other fighters as well. Finally, he was crucial in the decision to replace the *invisible authority* with the leadership of Alexandros Ypsilantis, whom he had very close relations with.⁴⁴

The real goal of the Etaireia, as Xanthos puts it, was to assemble all the people that were willing and able to contribute to the organization and to launch the revolution. Xanthos explains that the reasoning of its creation was to, “attempt alone, what was expected in vain and for too long from the philanthropy of Christian kings”⁴⁵. I believe what he meant by that statement was that the reasoning of that course of action was to collect all the resources that were necessary so that the Greeks would be able to revolt and overcome the Ottomans without a need for intervention by foreign powers. The secretive ways of the members of the organization were established early on. Even in the early days of the Etaireia’s existence, when there were but a handful of members, they conducted their communications with codes and passwords and they made a policy from the beginning to keep the head of the society, the leading members, as secret as possible, which resulted in lower ranked members speculating and many times speculating wrong, on who is really the person, or people making the decisions. Sometimes this led to impressive rumors spread among the lower ranked members, one

⁴⁴ Goudas, *Vioi*, Vol. 5, pp. 77-92.

⁴⁵ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 3.

of which was that Tsar Alexander of Russia himself was a member of the society and was one of the men making the decisions and giving the orders.⁴⁶

Initiations into the society did not begin until very late in 1814, in Moscow, where Xanthos initiated Georgios Sekeris. Sekeris was the only new member initiated in the Etaireia in 1814. The year 1815 was also slow in initiations as it also saw only a few more members enter into the society. The thing that all the first few members had in common, was that they were all merchants. The connections that they had thanks to their work, is what made them valuable to the society. In fact the first order in business as is revealed from almost every source⁴⁷, is expansion, not just in numbers, but also in a geographic sense, meaning the establishment of headquarters in multiple locations across different countries. Most of the members in the first few years of the Etaireia were not even based in Greece, Skouphas was based in Odessa, Tsakalov was based in Moscow and Xanthos was in Constantinople and the first few members were never in one place for a long period of time, it is unclear whether the constant movement of the first few members was deliberate or not.⁴⁸

1816 was the first year big in initiations. It was the year that Panagiotis Anagnostopoulos was initiated into the society and unlike what historian Ioannis

⁴⁶ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 3.

⁴⁷ Filimon, *Peri tis Filikis Etaireias*; Sakellariou, *Filiki Etaireia*; Mexas, *Filikoi*; Xanthos, *Memoirs*.

⁴⁸ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 4-5.

Philimon said in his study⁴⁹, Anagnostopoulos seems to have not assumed a role of leadership early within the society. 1816 was also the year that Galatis became a member. Xanthos's memoirs point to his initiation as being a mistake from the beginning⁵⁰. Galatis was a member that brought both positive and negative qualities to the society. For instance he was highly educated and, as is mentioned in the memoirs of Xanthos, he was very strong willed, patriotic and a great seeker of fortune. However, he also calls him arrogant and some times too fast acting. Besides that though, he contributed a lot to the Society. He was a member for three years until his assassination. Skouphas first took interest in him when he went to Odessa and spread rumors of his relation to Kapodistrias, who at the time was a foreign minister for the Russian empire, which would make him a very valuable contact to the Etaireia. The other two founding members were considering handing him leadership of the Etaireia, to which Xanthos objected. However, Xanthos still acknowledged the benefits of contacting Galatis and thus they met. Xanthos told Galatis to find Skouphas and Tsakalov in Moscow, who ended up initiating him into the society.⁵¹

Galatis was a member that provided great prestige to the society, from the first days of his initiation. He worked towards its expansion. Other members called his initiation a mistake from the beginning due to his behavior, which Xanthos himself

⁴⁹ Filimon, *Peri tis Filikis Etaireias*, 134.

⁵⁰ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 6.

⁵¹ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 4-6.

describes as bad⁵². And even though Kapodistrias never ended up with the leadership of the society, Galatis was still very successful in his initiations and in fact he initiated many important members, some of whom ascended to the rank of *invisible authority* and came in at a time when the society only had a handful of members. Thanks to Galatis, the Etaireia ended up having great influence internationally and a fair amount of income, which was necessary for the revolution. Despite all that, some accounts by historians, claim that Galatis abused the power given to him by the Filiki Etaireia to further his own goals⁵³, which is why he was assassinated.⁵⁴

Finally, 1816 being the first big year in respect to initiations, it also saw the initiation of various captains and sea men who collaborated with the Russians, British and the French at the Ionian islands, when they arrived in Odessa. Their names were Christos Anagnostis Papageorgiou (Χρήστος Αναγνώστης Παπαγεωργίου), who is more commonly known as Anagnostaras (Αναγνωσταράς), Ilias Chrisospathis (Ηλίας Χρυσοσπάθης), Panagiotis Dimitrakopoulos (Παναγιώτης Δημητρακόπουλος), Ioannis Farmakis (Ιωάννης Φαρμάκης). Skouphas took interest in them because of their reputation of resenting the Ottomans and their history in the military, since they had fought in the Ionian Islands. He initiated them into the Etaireia and sent them off to Russia to get acquainted with the Friendly base there. They ended up staying there until

⁵² Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 6.

⁵³ Filimon, *Peri tis Filikis Etaireias*, 183-184; Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 6.

⁵⁴ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 4-6.

their return to Odessa in 1818 and between them and those that were already members, Xanthos claims that in 1816, all Greeks living in Moscow, who could be valuable in one way or another were now members of the Filiki Etaireia. According to the list of members of Mexas, the Etaireia consisted of thirteen people at this point.⁵⁵

1817 was a year that was important for more than just the members that were initiated during it. In 1817, Tsakalov went to Constantinople to meet with Xanthos and before he went to Constantinople he went to Odessa, where he met with Skouphas and together they made contact with a new very important candidate. His name was Anthimos Gazis (Άνθιμος Γαζής) and he arrived in Odessa from Vienna, where he was an archbishop. He, however, was Greek and intended to return to his home, Pelion, and set himself up there. According to an earlier mention of him in Xanthos' memoirs, he was one of the few early members who went to Odessa with knowledge of the Etaireia's existence and its purpose and he knew because he was told in 1814 by Georgios Sekeris, the fourth ever member of the Etaireia⁵⁶. After his initiation he visited Constantinople to meet with Xanthos and then shortly after returned to his home to begin his work.⁵⁷

The reason for his initiation was that the founding members intended to make Pelion a new safe base for the Filiki Etaireia within Greek territories with Gazis

⁵⁵ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 6-7; Mexas, *Oi Filikoi*, 3.

⁵⁶ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 2.

⁵⁷ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 3.

managing it.⁵⁸ Towards that end, Tsakalov and Xanthos travelled to Pelion in 1818 to convince him to take on the responsibility. Gazis however made them aware of his fears that Pelion was an insecure location, due to the presence of Georgios Konstantas (Γεώργιος Κωνσταντάς), whom he did not trust⁵⁹. Instead, he suggested that the Greek base be established in Mani, which is what ended up happening.⁶⁰

It strikes me, while reading Xanthos' memoirs that 1818 was one of the most crucial years in the history of the Etaireia's expansion, especially in its recent years. It was the year that Anagnostopoulos was introduced to a leadership role within the society. Also, another important member of the society, which I did not mention yet, Christodoulos Louriotis (Χριστόδουλος Λουριώτης), initiated in 1817, was sent to Livorno, Italy, to set up a new base for the Etaireia there. Those were not the most important events that took place in 1818 however. Early in 1818 many important members of the society, specifically Anagnostaras, Chrisospathis, Dimitrakopoulos and Farmakis travelled to Constantinople from Moscow and Odessa. Even though the reason of their visit is not explicitly stated within Xanthos' memoirs, I believe that it was a summit meeting of sorts. In the year 1818 the Filiki Etaireia was reorganized into what it would be until the day the revolution was ready to begin. There are two apparent

⁵⁸ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 7-8.

⁵⁹ Xanthos does not mention why Konstantas was not trusted by Gazis. However, Konstantas was actively involved in the Greek war of independence in the years that followed, fighting alongside Gazis.

⁶⁰ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 8.

reasons for the Etaireia's reorganization. First, was the death of one of its founding members Skouphas, who died of an illness in 1818 at the time when the sea captains visited Constantinople from Odessa. Second, because the Etaireia was now ready to increase its growth rate, meaning that the second phase of the Etaireia was ready to begin.⁶¹

The organization of the Filiki Etaireia happened when the *invisible authority* was renamed into, the *authority of the twelve apostles* (Αρχή των δώδεκα αποστόλων). Initially the *invisible authority* consisted of the three founding members alone but as the years went on, more and more members ascended to that rank. Due to Skouphas' death that system changed. Those twelve men were the members in the highest rank of the organization by the end of 1818 and each of them was based in a different area of the Ottoman empire. Their duty was to manage a branch of the Etaireia in the location they were in, recruiting more members and giving them their respective tasks.⁶²

Xanthos listed their names and areas of operation: Georgakis Olimpios (Γεωργάκης Ολύμπιος) was based in Serbia. Dimitrios Vatikiotis (Δημήτριος Βατικιώτης) managed the branch of the Filiki Etaireia in Bulgaria. Konstantinos Pentedekas (Κωνσταντίνος Πεντεδέκας) was based in Romania. Christodoulos Louriotis oversaw the affairs of the Etaireia in Italy. Anagnostaras was responsible for the Saronic islands. Ilias Chrisospathis was the leader of the branch in Messenia. Ioannis

⁶¹ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 9-10.

⁶² Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 9-10; Sakellariou, *Filiki Etaireia*, 15-21.

Farmakis oversaw the activities of the Etaireia in northern Greece, specifically Macedonia and Thrace. Asimakis Krokidas (Ασημάκης Κροκίδας) was responsible for the branch of Epiros. Antonios Pelopidas (Αντώνιος Πελοπίδας) managed the affairs of the Etaireia in the Peloponnese. Dimitrios Ipatros (Δημήτριος Ύπατρος) was assigned to oversee the affairs of the Etaireia in Egypt. Gavriil Katakazis (Γαβριήλ Κατακάζης) oversaw the management of the Southern Russian branch. Finally, Kiriakos Kamarinos (Κυριάκος Καμαρηνός) oversaw the area of Mani, in the Peloponnese. Each *apostle* carried the responsibility of a separate region in which the society was operating and it remains unclear what were the reasons these specific twelve men were chosen for that role.⁶³

This new arrangement had a massive impact on the society's activities. In fact, in 1818 alone nearly two hundred members were initiated into the society. Some of them being the very prominent figures of the revolution itself, such as Papaflessas, Kolokotronis and Fotakos. Even though a division of the years of operations of the Filiki Etaireia is never made by most of the prime scholars that examined it, the establishment of the system of the twelve apostles marks, for me, the start of a new, second phase of the Etaireia's history, which I will cover in more detail in the next chapter through the eyes of the revolutionary fighters who composed memoirs. Furthermore, Xanthos,

⁶³ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 9-10; Sakellariou, *Filiki Etaireia*, 15-21.

Tsakalov and Anagnostopoulos, though actively involved with its affairs, were by then no longer actively at its helm.

After 1818, Xanthos' activities were limited. He maintained his position as secretary and treasurer, as well as his activity in recruiting new members. However, recruitment was being facilitated in at a more organized and accelerated pace. At that time and more towards the end of 1819 Xanthos, and the rest of the more prominent members were beginning to think that the revolution was not very far from being ready to start⁶⁴. However, Xanthos did take on a very important task around that time. That was in 1819, when he travelled to Russia to meet with Ioannis Kapodistrias and to offer him the rank of *general commissioner of rule*. He met with him in January 1820 in St. Petersburg, ultimately to have the offer declined. Kapodistrias attempted to dissuade Xanthos from launching a revolution, knowing the consequences of such a conflict, should it be unsuccessful. In turn, he attempted to convince Xanthos to wait for a more opportune moment than 1821. Kapodistrias' response was not the end of Xanthos' mission, however, as once the offer had been declined, Xanthos was prepared to offer the position to Alexandros Ypsilantis, who accepted. Due to his family and his social status, Ypsilantis was admired by the people of Greece and was a favorable choice as he was a lieutenant to Tsar Alexander and offered the possibility of Russian aid. From that moment on, Xanthos and Ypsilantis cooperated closely and started coordinating the

⁶⁴ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 14-15.

activities of the Etaireia in the Danubian Principalities, a territory that the Greeks at the time called Moldovlachia (Μολδοβλαχία), from Moldova and Wallachia.⁶⁵

Overall, Xanthos' operation within the society was fairly diverse. His responsibility as treasurer and secretary would not see him do much more than recruit new members to the organization; however, he did take administrative decisions which clarify the structure of the Etaireia in its first phase. Past the year 1818 and even during it, the Etaireia began growing rapidly. The wave of new members means that the variety of responsibilities for each member was increasing. It is impossible to compose a list of all the activities of all the members, there is however enough information left behind by the rest of the fighters who composed memoirs, for us to determine a general list of possible activities. Thus, in order to complete the study of the institution we shall look into their writings as well.

⁶⁵ Trikoupis, *Istoria tis Ellinikis Epanastaseos*, vol. 1, p. 103-114: Moldovlachia greatly inhabited by Greeks, who went there in the earlier decades looking for work. Among the Greeks living there, many were moving in the higher circles of society. It also became a sanctuary of Greeks having to flee Greece because of the difficulties they faced under the Ottoman rule. Moldovlachia was where Ypsilantis was fighting during the revolution, where he was ultimately defeated, not very long after the start of the revolution.

IV. Analysis - Memoirs of the fighters of 1821

The second phase of the Etaireia's growth consisted of the years 1818 through 1821, when the war began. The goal of this chapter is to examine the memoirs, written by fighters who were initiated at that time, to deduce the reason behind the greatly increased rate of new initiations and the responsibilities that a new member might have in the second phase of the Etaireia's existence, until the start of the revolution. These included: Anagnostis Kondakis, Christophoros Perraivos, Theodoros Kolokotronis, Fotios Chrisanthopoulos, Dimitrios Ainian, Nikolaos Spiliadis, Ioannis Makriyannis, Dionisios Eumporphopoulos, Georgios Germanos and Konstantinos Metaxas and they will be discussed in this chapter in the order that they were initiated, examining the earlier members first and the later last. Doing so will require a more focused examination of each set of memoirs than that of Xanthos. Furthermore, there are three things that we need to know about each fighter by the end of this chapter. First, what they did before they were initiated, which will help us understand what made them important to the organization. In other words, it will answer, what the leading members looked for when deciding who to recruit. Second, how early or how late they were contacted and what they did once they became a member. That is important to let us understand the steps of the Etaireia's growth. Third, what were their duties, responsibilities and activities once they became members. In the first phase of the Etaireia, the goal was further expansion and recruitment, which is what initiations of

new members in the years 1814 to 1818 focused on. In the second phase of the revolution the variety in responsibilities of new members was increased and it is important to understand how.

The first two members to be discussed will be Kondakis and Perraivos. Even though they were technically initiated in the first phase of the *Etaireia*, namely 1817, their responsibilities do not fit the pattern of most members initiated in that time. Recruitment and expansion were not their only responsibilities within the society, which is why they can be treated as members of the second phase.

Anagnostis Kondakis was born in 1781 in a rural area of the Peloponnese, a village called St. Peter. He was married in 1796. From a young age he was fond, as he says in his memoirs, of education, commerce and hunting⁶⁶. He also spent a lot of time in his life involved with government, and managed to achieve a high rank in the Greek self governance system.

In 1806 he became a treasurer at his hometown under the governance of a Papazoglis (Παπάζογλης) and when he departed the area in the same year, Kondakis was left to govern the town in his place. However, upon Papazoglis' return in 1807, news, of embezzlement and bad behavior, came out concerning him, so Kondakis resigned and devoted his life entirely in commerce, which ended up making him a great fortune. His involvement with Papazoglis and government did not end then however

⁶⁶ Kondakis, *Memoirs*, 25.

and, in 1817, he became *kodjabashi* (κοτσαμπάσης/προεστός)⁶⁷ in the Peloponnesian countryside. His rank in the government of the Peloponnese and his vast fortune was probably the reason why the Filiki Etaireia took an interest in him.⁶⁸

His initiation to the society took place in 1817. A year earlier in 1816, he met a man in his hometown of St. Peter, who “lit in his soul the love for the country”⁶⁹. He then went to Tripolis in 1817 and approached a member of the society, Ilias Chrisospathis, one of the twelve apostles. Kondakis invited him to stay in his house and was initiated by him the following morning. As a member of the society, Kondakis contributed with economic assistance and recruitment. He lists some of the men that he initiated in the society by the year 1820. He also assisted members of the Etaireia with their travels, by covering their travel expenses. In 1820 he decided to focus his efforts to wiping out the debt of the Peloponnesian people, which he ultimately failed to do. For that purpose he attempted, without success to initiate Yiannoulis Kamarinos (Γιαννούλης Καμαρηνός), into the society. When Kamarinos dismissed the society, as “masonic nonsense”⁷⁰, Kondakis asked for his help anyway, which he refused to give

⁶⁷ Finlay, *History of Greece*, Vol. 6, pp. 11: Kodjabashi were communal rulers. The leaders in the rural areas of Greek communities, during the time of Ottoman rule. They represented the Greek people in all the affairs of the Ottoman empire. They were either appointed by the Ottoman government or by the Greek council of elders, the first rank of Greek self governance.

⁶⁸ Kondakis, *Memoirs*, 25-27.

⁶⁹ Kondakis, *Memoirs*, 28.

⁷⁰ Kondakis, *Memoirs*, 29.

again.⁷¹ Kamarinos' comment about the masonic nature of the Etaireia was not without cause, and the overall concept shall be addressed later on.

In January 1821, he went to Vostitsa⁷², for the assembly of the Greek revolutionaries. He says that the verdict of the assembly was that in the few months that were to follow until the outbreak of the war, secrecy was of the utmost importance, but should the Ottomans discover what was happening, the Greek forces were to move to war immediately. In the meantime, the Greek *kodjabashis* were to return to their hometowns and start gathering money for the conflict, which they did. However, Ottoman suspicion grew. In the last few days of February 1821, the Ottomans captured a messenger of the Filiki Etaireia before he could destroy the documents he was carrying, which contained proof of the Etaireia's existence. Also, a different member is said to have betrayed the secret to the Sultan willingly too.⁷³

Shortly before the conflict started, Hurshid Pasha⁷⁴ summoned all the *kodjabashi* of the Peloponnese to Tripolis. Kondakis was one of the few that decided to defy the

⁷¹ Kondakis, *Memoirs*, 29.

⁷² Brewer, *The Greek war of independence*, 92-94: The Vostitsa assembly was led by Germanos, who openly refuted the readiness of the Greek forces for the revolution. Germanos posed questions, such as, "If we fail to seize power, what then?" and "If the Turks learn of our plans in advance, what action do we take?". Germanos' goal was to illustrate that it was too early to launch the revolution, and the general consensus in the outcome of the assembly was that the Greeks needed to exercise caution, if they were to succeed with their cause.

⁷³ Kondakis, *Memoirs*, 30-31.

⁷⁴ Finlay, *History of Greece*, Vol. 6, pp. 3: Hurshid pasha was the pasha of the Peloponnese. The pashalik of the Peloponnese was the second largest in Ottoman Greece.

summons and instead remained in his hometown, despite the urges of his colleagues. He spent the last few months before the war began, gathering funds and gunpowder with the help of his wife's brother, the first man he ever initiated into the Etaireia, and the person he sent to the island of Spetses to acquire the gunpowder and bring it back to the Peloponnese. Kondakis was determined to carry out the plan of the Vostitsa assembly, which dictated that the revolution would start as soon as possible.⁷⁵

The start of the war found him waving the flag of the revolution with men from his hometown. During the revolution he assisted in the military and in the political sector. His son exemplified himself as a military man. Anagnostis served as a soldier and politician in the first phase of the revolution and was present for the siege of Tripolis⁷⁶ and the invasion of Dramali Pasha. In the political sector, he contributed mostly by providing financial assistance.

Christophoros Perraivos is another very important memoirist in modern Greek history. Apart from his memoirs he wrote history books on Rigas Feraios⁷⁷, Parga and

⁷⁵ Kondakis, *Memoirs*, 32.

⁷⁶ Brewer, *Greek war of independence*, 141-154: Tripolis was captured by the Greek forces in September 1821 after a siege that lasted almost four months. The taking of the city resulted in the massacre of its inhabitants.

⁷⁷ Dimitrios Karaberopoulos, *O Thourios tou Riga, o empsichotis ton ragiadiou*, (Athens, Unknown Publisher: 2009): Feraios was the more common last name of Rigas Velestinlis. He was one of few Greeks living abroad, who actively tried to start a revolution in Greece way before the years of the Filiki Etaireia. His activities were mostly concerned with spreading the idea of Greek independence. His poem Thourios, one of his most famous works, read until today, urged the Greeks and other people living in the Ottoman empire to leave the cities and towns and go to the mountains where they might experience actual freedom. Based in Vienna, he was eventually captured and imprisoned by the local authorities because of his revolutionary activities.

Souli. His memoirs have information on a number of different battles and his connection to Rigas Feraios and the Filiki Etaireia makes him one of the most important Greeks who made efforts toward Greek independence in the time before the revolution.

Born in 1773 at a village called Palaioi Poroι (Παλαιοί Πόροι), of Pieria. His family name was Chatzivasileiou (Χατζιβασιλείου), which he changed to Perraivos, after the ancient name of the town he was from. He studied in the Greek school of Bucharest and and later, starting in 1796, he studied medicine in Vienna, where he became acquainted with Rigas Feraios and became a supporter and follower of his work. Perraivos was arrested with Feraios when the Austrians discovered their revolutionary plans. Perraivos however, was released after Feraios covered him saying he had not known him for long. In the years to follow before his initiation to the Filiki Etaireia he stayed on the island of Corfu, where he wrote his book on the history of Souli and Parga⁷⁸. Perraivos says that he was persecuted more than once, under suspicion of conspiracy, but he always managed to stay out of prison.⁷⁹

In 1817 he travelled to St. Petersburg, stopping at Odessa, where he became acquainted with the leaders of the Filiki Etaireia and became its member. Other than his education, one of the reasons he was initiated to the Etaireia was his connection to Rigas Feraios. Rigas Feraios, being an active supporter of Greek independence, and having

⁷⁸ Christophoros Perraivos, *Istoria tou Souliou kai tis Pargas*, (Athens, F. Karabinis & K. Vaphas: 1857), 2 volumes

⁷⁹ Christophoros Perraivos, *Memoirs of War*, (Athens, A. Koromilas, 1836), 2 volumes, Vol. 2, Unnumbered page.

contributed to the cultivation of nationalistic ideas in the late eighteenth century, made Perraios', because of his connection to him, valuable to the Etaireia's efforts.⁸⁰

After receiving the assignment from the Filiki Etaireia, during his visit to Russia in 1817, he presented a plan for revolution for all of Greece to Tsar Alexander. Following that, having the consent of the Etaireia, he provided his knowledge and experience as a voice of the Greek enlightenment in Europe to different cities of Greece, such as Mani, Mesolongi and Souli. In fact, his attempts to inspire revolutionary ideas to the Souliots were substantial, since at the time they were fighting to take back their fatherland⁸¹. At the same time, he tried hard to heat up the conflict between the Sultan and Ali Pasha⁸². Perraios was one of the members of the Filiki Etaireia who stood against Papaflessas at the assembly of Ismailia in 1820⁸³. Moreover, despite his objection to starting the revolution from the Peloponnese, he worked hard for the implementation of the plan.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Perraios, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, Unnumbered page.

⁸¹ Perraios, *Istoria tou Souliou*, vol. 1, 37-52: The Souliot struggle refers to the series of unsuccessful revolts of the Souliots against Ali Pasha. They took place in 1789, 1792 and 1803. They Souliots were inspired by representatives of Catherine the Great during the Russo-Turkish war to fight against Ali Pasha and claim their independence. Their efforts, though unsuccessful, were the last revolts in Greece, before the actual war of Greek independence.

⁸² Brewer, *Greek War of Independence*, 60-73: Ali Pasha was established at Ioannina as the local ruler. He was a very capable leader among the Ottomans. With Germanos' influence he attempted to make Ioannina an autonomous state from the Ottoman empire, without success.

⁸³ Goudas, *Vioi*, vol. 5, pp. 145-180: One of the assemblies that members of the Filiki Etaireia held to decide what would be the starting points of the revolution. During it Papaflessas presented to Alexandros Ypsilantis and other members of the Etaireia, a document with forged signatures of important figures, whose identities cannot be determined. The document was to convince the members of the Etaireia that the revolution had to commence from the Peloponnese.

⁸⁴ Perraios, *Memoirs*, 1-4.

During the revolution Perraivos was active both in the military and in the world of politics. After the death of Karaiskakis, he placed himself under the orders of Dimitrios Ypsilantis⁸⁵ and followed him to his conquests against the Ottomans. In the world of politics he was responsible for the ministry of war of the Greek government at the time of the revolution.⁸⁶

The next three members are Kolokotronis, Chrisanthopoulos and Ainian, who were initiated in the year 1818, the first year of the second phase. Ainian, though unclear from his memoirs, might have initiated new members in his time, Kolokotronis and Chrisanthopoulos, however, were not active in that department. Their responsibilities were entirely focused on expanding the resources of the Etaireia, rather than recruiting new members.

Theodoros Kolokotronis was one of the most important figures in the Greek war of independence. He was fifty one years old when the revolution began and he participated in various other military confrontations before the revolution itself, some of which were against the Ottomans. He joined the Filiki Etaireia, fairly early in the second phase and he contributed to the military preparation of the Greek revolutionary forces in the Peloponnese.

⁸⁵ Goudas, *Vioi*, Vol. 6, pp. 1-49: Brother of Alexandros Ypsilantis. He was initiated to the Filiki Etaireia in 1818. At the start of the revolution, he represented his brother as *general commissioner of rule* of the Etaireia in the Peloponnese. He participated in many important battles throughout Greece.

⁸⁶ Goudas, *Vioi*, Vol. 5, pp. 285-328.

Kolokotronis was not the first among his family members to participate in an armed incursion against the Ottomans. His father Konstantis Kolokotronis (Κωνσταντής Κολοκοτρώνης), participated in the armed revolt, called the Orlov revolt⁸⁷, that was motivated by Catherine the Great of Russia, also known as Catherine II, in 1770. Unfortunately, that revolt claimed Kolokotronis' father's life along with the lives of two of his brothers. Theodoros, followed in his father's footsteps from an early age. At the age of 15, he became an *armatolos* (Αρματωλός)⁸⁸ against the *klephts* (Κλέφτες)⁸⁹ that operated in the area of Leontari, Arcadia in the Peloponnese. His reputation spread slowly and he became popular within the Peloponnese, to the extent that he seemed like a threat to the Ottoman authority. In 1802 he had become famous enough to be considered a danger to the Ottomans by the *voivode*⁹⁰ of Patras, and in fact an order was issued by the Sultan that ordered the Kolokotronis' execution to the *kodjabashis*, who would have to execute him lest they would be executed themselves.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Sathas, *Tourkokratoumeni Ellas*, 523-533: The Orlov revolt was an unsuccessful attempt of Greeks against the Ottoman empire, centered in the Peloponnese. It took place in 1770, during the Russo-Turkish war and had devastating effects for the revolting Greeks.

⁸⁸ Finlay, *History of Greece*, Vol. 6, pp. 19-22: Armatolos was an armed Christian that was essentially an associate to the Ottomans, and to whom the Ottomans assigned the maintaining of order in a certain area, similar to an armed policeman.

⁸⁹ Finlay, *History of Greece*, Vol. 6, pp. 23-24: Klephts were an armed faction of men that lived in the mountains prior to the Greek war of independence, much like to bandits.

⁹⁰ Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. 5, p. 244: Voivode is a title that military and political governors carried in the times of the Ottoman empire.

⁹¹ Kolokotronis, T., *Memoirs: War of Greek Independence 1821-33*, (USA: Argonaut Inc.: 1848), 81-82; Woodhouse, C.M., *The Greek war of independence: Its historical setting*, (UK, Hutchinson's House: 1952), 11-41.

In January 1806, because the command for his persecution was still valid and because his presence was causing turmoil in the Peloponnese, he was forced to flee to the island of the Aegean, after being chased for months, where he acquired much experience in war at sea, as he participated in the naval operations of the Russian fleet during the Russo-Turkish war. From 1810 and on he served in the Greek military body of the British army in Zakynthos, where he was quickly recognized and promoted for his actions against the French and ascended to the rank of major.⁹²

During his years in the British military, Kolokotronis attempted to use his influence to secure their assistance and start the liberation of Greece by himself. However, his regiment was disbanded and he himself was dismissed from the rank of general. His past general, Sir Richard Church, attempted to bring him to Naples and make him a general there as well, but Kolokotronis refused, for he had heard of the existence of the Etaireia, which as he says, a friend of his spoke to him about a few weeks before his initiation. Kolokotronis was convinced that a foreign intervention would never actually happen. In his own words, "I saw that what we had to do we must do by ourselves without any hopes from foreign powers.[...] I now knew that the Etaireia was formed, and I determined henceforward to devote myself only to freeing my own country."⁹³

⁹² Kolokotronis, *Memoirs*, 113-128.

⁹³ Kolokotronis, *Memoirs*, 126.

Presumably, his experience in the military, his general attitude of defiance towards the Ottomans and his will for Greek independence were well known and were what made him valuable to the Etaireia's efforts. In 1818 he was initiated at the island of Zakynthos by Panagiotis Papageorgiou (Παναγιώτης Παπαγεωργίου). His responsibility was military preparation. In his memoirs he mentions that he was in contact with Alexandros Ypsilantis, who was always telling him to keep his forces ready. Even though during the war he fought on land in the Peloponnese, in the years before the revolution he mostly operated in association with sea captains to prepare the forces of the Greek navy in the islands of Zakynthos, Cephalonia, Spetses and Hydra, the last two were extremely pivotal and contributed greatly to the war effort in the Aegean, by successfully engaging and defeating the Ottoman naval forces several times in the first phase of the war.⁹⁴

Before returning to the Peloponnese he met and stayed with Ioannis Kapodistrias for almost three months. In the last few months before the conflict, while he was in the Peloponnese, he worked with local leaders to gather a force strong enough to take on the Ottomans. Unfortunately, the secret of the Etaireia's existence and their exploits had begun to spread beyond the control of its members, which meant that the uprising would have to be launched soon, or the element of surprise would be lost. That did not mean however, that the Greek army was underprepared. The revolution, according to

⁹⁴ Kolokotronis, *Memoirs*, 126-133.

Kolokotronis and other memoir writers⁹⁵, was scheduled to begin in March 25th, 1821, as it did.⁹⁶

Fotios Chrisanthopoulos, or Fotakos, is another very pivotal memoir writer. Apart from his involvement in the activities of the secret society and his contributions to the revolution itself, he was a great historian. All his works have to do with the Greek war of independence and they are a short series of biographies of most Peloponnesian men who participated in the war, an extended biography of Grigorios Dikaïos and his memoirs. Thus, his contribution to the historiography of the period is substantial, as his writings are extensive and detailed and the fact that he is drawing on his own personal experiences makes his writings some of the best sources on the subject.

He was born in 1798. From a young age, as he says, he was lively and pugnacious and was sent to Russia by his parents in 1813, out of fear of a potential altercation he might have had with the Ottomans. He was sent to work as a shop assistant. A couple of years later, in 1815, Fotakos travelled to Odessa, after leaving his work in Russia, because he had heard rumors of the existence of the society that would bring about Greek independence. After arriving in Odessa he met with the founding members of the society and became a member. The main reason of his involvement was his general attitude toward the Ottomans. The introduction to his memoirs describes

⁹⁵ Kondakis, *Memoirs*, 32.

⁹⁶ Kolokotronis, *Memoirs*, 126-133; Sathas, *Tourkokratoumeni Ellas*, 605-609.

him as hateful towards them and that is the kind of sentiment that the Etaireia would rely on.⁹⁷

Fotakos' responsibilities in the Filiki Etaireia are not very diverse. In the first few years of his involvement his responsibility was to assist with the preparations for the conflict in the Peloponnese and to spread information on the date, chosen by the friendlies, for the war's beginning, following the orders of Kanellos Deliyannis. Kanellos Deliyannis himself never became a member of the Filiki Etaireia, however, being an active supporter of the movement for Greek independence and a very powerful and influential man in the Peloponnese. He was one of their closest allies in the time of the war's preparation. Fotakos describes this time of preparation as a time when everything was going well. He observed the way the Greeks remained undetected by the Ottomans in their efforts to acquire firearms and familiarize themselves in their use.⁹⁸

A few months before the start of the revolution, Fotakos was sent to the Peloponnese once more, this time to alert the Greek forces that the date of the revolution had changed due to the growing suspicion of the Ottomans. He arrived to the Peloponnese in January 1821 with his friend, Dimitrios Arkadinos (Δημήτριος Αρκαδηνός). Fotakos was forced to travel through the Peloponnese pretending to be a Russian doctor, because the Ottomans were growing more and more suspicious, with

⁹⁷ Chrisanthopoulos, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 3-4.

⁹⁸ Chrisanthopoulos, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 2, 33-45.

his friend Arkadinos posing as his translator. The reason for his cautiousness was that at an earlier time, another member of the Etaireia, Georgios Kotsakis (Γεώργιος Κωτσάκης), whom as Fotakos says, was growing eager for the revolution and happened to be traveling thorough the Peloponnese a little earlier than him, was captured and imprisoned by the Ottomans, under suspicion of spy work, and would have been executed, had the Friendlies not found him and freed him, before the Ottomans could kill him.⁹⁹

Fotakos also discusses another event that did not take place because of the Etaireia's involvement, but should be mentioned as it was a successful effort by the Greeks to convince the suspicious Ottomans that nothing was going to happen. That was late in 1820, when Hurshid pasha of Tripolis, summoned all the high ranking officials in the Greek self governance, meaning the *kodjabashis*, in the Peloponnese to Tripolis, thinking that if a revolution was actually about to happen, it wouldn't if most of the men that would act as commanders are hostages to the Ottoman authorities. However, the Greeks organized an elaborate ruse, by forging letters, warning them not to answer the summons. In addition, they sent a small party of hostages to the Peloponnese. Ultimately, their plan worked and the Ottomans were put at ease that Peloponnese was secure. Later in 1821, it was virtually impossible to maintain secrecy any longer. Fotakos mentions that the killing in the Peloponnese began in March 15th,

⁹⁹ Chrisanthopoulos, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 3-5, 33-45.

when Greeks started killing Ottomans in rural areas, ten days before the official start date of the conflict.¹⁰⁰

The start of the revolution found Fotakos at the house of Deliyannis after successfully delivering his message. He fought alongside Deliyannis for a few weeks before meeting Kolokotronis, who took him on as a lieutenant. His memoirs contain some of the most detailed accounts of the military confrontations between Ottoman forces and the Greek forces in the Peloponnese.

Dimitrios Ainian was one of the least active members of the Filiki Etaireia to compose memoirs. He was not the only member among his family that was a member of the Etaireia. In fact, his three sons were all members, however his memoirs do not provide much information on their activities beyond the fact that they indeed were members. His memoirs contain useful biographical information on other fighters that participated in the revolution, the most important of them being Georgios Karaiskakis, one of the greatest heroes of the revolution. Ainian followed Karaiskakis for most the war as his personal secretary and was Karaiskakis' first biographer.¹⁰¹

Ainian's father was a priest and teacher. His name was also made up, much like many men who fought in the revolution. Their original name is uncertain, but he changed it to Ainian, inspired by a clan of ancient Greeks. In the start of the 19th century in 1806, he moved with his family to Constantinople, where he worked as a

¹⁰⁰ Chrisanthopoulos, *Memoirs*, 37-42.

¹⁰¹ Ainian D., *Memoirs*, (Athens, Pelekanos: 2011), Google Play edition, 15-16.

teacher. The reason for his recruitment by the Filiki Etaireia remains unclear. An educated guess would be, his education and resources, seeing as the Etaireia was always looking to recruit men that would bring them some level of prestige and more importantly, money.¹⁰²

Ainian was initiated to the Filiki Etaireia during the year 1818 and as stated, he was not a very active member in the Filiki Etaireia. Even though his entire family were members, he does not mention that they did very much to aid in their efforts. His most important contribution to the Etaireia's efforts was that he provided them with a safe place to gather in his own house, which they used to make plans for the operations of the organization. Again, not much can be said about Ainian when it comes to the Filiki Etaireia. Ainian was one of the members who contributed with resources rather than activity. He does not go into great lengths to discuss that in his memoirs either, which makes it hard to know if he did anything at all beyond that.¹⁰³

Nikolaos Spiliadis, was the only one of the memoir writers to be initiated in 1819 and was one of the most important figures within the society among those who composed memoirs. During the revolution he served as a secretary in most of the national assemblies and held a high ranking office in the government of Ioannis Kapodistrias. His memoirs are some of the most extensive ones and cover the history of

¹⁰² Ainian, *Memoirs*, 1-5.

¹⁰³ Ainian, *Memoirs*, 1-5.

the war and the eras before and after it in great detail, providing information on almost all important points.

Spiliadis' family was from a village in the Peloponnese called Andritsaina (Ανδρίτσαινα), but he himself was born in Tripolis. He received his education in Tripolis and later in Argos. In Argos his teacher was a monk named Hisaias Kallaras (Ησαΐας Καλλαράς), who later became a member of the Filiki Etaireia himself as well. Prior to the revolution he was set up in Constantinople for five years from 1805 to 1810, where he worked for Apostolos Pappas (Απόστολος Παππάς), a merchant. Later he moved to Odessa for the years 1810 to 1819 and worked for Alexandros Mavros (Αλέξανδρος Μαύρος), also a merchant. While he was living in Odessa he was initiated to the Etaireia by Nikolaos Skouphas and took action to spread the idea of Greek independence. He was valuable to the Etaireia because of his education, his connections and his fortune.¹⁰⁴

Spiliadis, in his time in the Etaireia, spent most of his time initiating new members. Being stationed in Odessa he worked very closely with Nikolaos Skouphas, which allowed him to observe and later record in his memoirs almost every important move that the Etaireia made, even the years before he was a member himself, which make his memoirs a very important resource in the study of the history of both phases of the Etaireia's growth.

¹⁰⁴ Chrisanthopoulos, *Peloponnesian men*, 2-3.

Spiliadis mentions that at the time of his initiation he started having doubts about joining the Etaireia. That was because he knew that Skouphas at the time was handling his finances poorly, which caused Spiliadis to not have faith in him. Later, after he joined he learned about the assassinations of the two members of the Etaireia, Nikolaos Galatis and Kiriakos Kamarinos, and developed a paranoia that he was in danger of being assassinated himself. In fact, in his memoirs he admits that he attempted to commit suicide to avoid being assassinated, but was unsuccessful.¹⁰⁵ Despite his fear, he remained a loyal member of the society and continued to do his utmost to recruit new members in its ranks.¹⁰⁶

The start of the revolution found him in his homeland, Tripolis. He had travelled there a few months before the revolution and began to urge the Greeks to revolt. Being in Tripolis at that time he makes mention of all the events that took place in the Peloponnese leading up to the start of the revolution. Following the taking of Tripolis by the Greek army and during the revolution he became secretary of the Peloponnesian senate and from that point on, he assisted in the efforts of the Greek revolution in the world of politics.¹⁰⁷

The next three members will be Makriyannis, Eumporphopoulos and Germanos. They were all initiated in 1820, which is striking considering how much they

¹⁰⁵ Nikolaos Spiliadis, *Memoirs*, (Athens, Ch. Nikolaidis Flidalph: 1841), 3 volumes, vol. 1, p. 14.

¹⁰⁶ Spiliadis, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 2-15.

¹⁰⁷ Spiliadis, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 16-31; Chrisanthopoulos, *Peloponnesian men*, 2-3.

contributed to the Etaireia's efforts, even though they were present for so little time. Joining so late, their efforts involved heavier interaction with people outside the organization and with Ottoman officials than the previous members.

Ioannis Makriyannis was equally important to the development of the war as Kolokotronis. He did not operate in the Peloponnese, but he participated in numerous battles and achieved a high rank by the end of the conflict. He joined the Filiki Etaireia rather late in its second phase and contributed mostly as an informant.

He was born in 1797. His father was murdered under unexplained circumstances, during a confrontation with Ottoman soldiers. For that reason, Makriyannis kept his family name secret, as per his mother's request, to avoid further implications with the Ottomans. Makriyannis does not go into great detail about that story in his memoirs. When he was four years old, his family was forced to flee his homeland, Avoriti (Αβορίτι), with his mother and his siblings. They moved to Livadeia and in 1811, his family sent him to Phocis, to work for his relative Panagiotis Lidorakis (Παναγιώτης Λιδωράκης), who was working as a policeman. In 1817, he started working as a merchant and by the year 1819 he had acquired a substantial fortune.¹⁰⁸

He was initiated into the society in 1820. It is unknown who introduced him to the society, since he does not name them in his memoirs. His activities in the Etaireia were limited because he was not a member for very long before the revolution began.

¹⁰⁸ Yannis Makriyannis, *Memoirs of general Makriyannis, Edited by Yannis Vlachoyiannis*, (Athens, E. G. Vagionakis: 1947), 107-114.

What made him valuable to the Etaireia's efforts at the time was probably his fortune, which he would have to make available to the Etaireia's efforts and his work, which gave him an excuse to travel without arousing suspicion. During the last two years before the revolution the Ottomans became extremely suspicious and thus dangerous, as the Etaireia's existence was becoming increasingly hard to keep secret. At the same time, rumors were spreading of the armament of Greeks in Central Greece and the Peloponnese.¹⁰⁹

Makriyannis himself contributed to that, and did so, without the consent of the Filiki Etaireia. In the year 1820, with his associates in Ioannina, Makriyannis organized a series of thefts of gunpowder from the Ottoman forces. He used one of his close friends, Giorgos Korakis (Γεργόριος Κοράκης), who seems to not have been a member of the Etaireia, and who covered up the thefts. Makriyannis would then keep the gunpowder and other supplies in his house and would later sneak them out of Ioannina¹¹⁰. Before long, Makriyannis had stolen so many supplies that it was now impossible to cover up his activities. Makriyannis' activities in stealing supplies, angered the Ottomans who responded with acts of brutality against the people of Ioannina, which was one of two reasons he was forced to leave the area. The other was that he was pushed by his

¹⁰⁹ Makriyannis, *Memoirs*, 114-115.

¹¹⁰ Makriyannis, *Memoirs*, 115: In his memoirs, Makriyannis only mentions the Ionian islands as a destination for the gunpowder. However, he does not state that they were the only place he sent gunpowder to, which makes it possible that gunpowder shipments reached other parts of Greece.

associates and other members of the Etaireia in his area to go to Patras and investigate the progress of the preparations for the revolution and the conditions of the Ottoman forces.¹¹¹

Makriyannis went to Patras in 1821. His mission was to gather as much information as possible for his associates back in Central Greece. He had a second goal, however, to push the Greek revolutionaries in the Peloponnese to launch the revolution as fast as possible. Due to his activities in Ioannina before he left for Patras, Ottoman presence was becoming increasingly dangerous in Central Greece. Makriyannis states that went to Patras, knowing that if the revolution began in the Peloponnese, the Ottoman forces would have to partially retreat from Central Greece, allowing the people there to catch their breath and at the same time it would make Central Greece's entry to the revolution finally possible. With the Ottomans in high alert in Central Greece, it would be impossible to even consider joining the revolution.¹¹²

While in Patras and before he could convince the Greeks in the Peloponnese to make any sort of move, being under suspicion by the Ottomans, he was forced to flee to Arta, where he was captured and thrown in prison, with his benefactor Lidorakis. Makriyannis says that the reason for his capture had nothing to do with his involvement with the Etaireia, nevertheless, the start of the conflict found him inside a

¹¹¹ Makriyannis, *Memoirs*, 115-116.

¹¹² Makriyannis, *Memoirs*, 116.

jail cell, from where he escaped shortly after the outbreak and went on to join the war effort.¹¹³

Dionisios Eumorphopoulos was most active in the Greek war of independence and his activities in the Filiki Etaireia are limited. His memoirs are not very lengthy so there is not much information out there on him, however his memoirs are a very valuable resource because of his involvement in the incident with Kamarinos, one of the twelve apostles of the Filiki Etaireia and a victim of its leadership.

Eumorphopoulos was born in Ithaca in 1780. His father was a sea captain on one of the twelve military ships of Labros Katsonis (Λάμπρος Κατσώνης), during the first and second Russo-Turkish wars of 1786 through 1789. Eumorphopoulos owned a ship, which was useful to him in his merchant work. His work brought him to Romania in the winter between 1818 and 1819, where he was introduced and initiated into the Filiki Etaireia. Eumorphopoulos then in 1819, left his ship to his family and devoted himself to the Etaireia's efforts.¹¹⁴

In 1820 he was sent to Odessa along with two other members of the Etaireia, to assassinate Kiriakos Kamarinos, who had been sent by Petros Mavromichalis to St. Petersburg. Eumorphopoulos says that the reason for this assignment, was that Kamarinos' attitude was scaring the members of the Etaireia. He says that they were

¹¹³ Makriyannis, *Memoirs*, 114-122.

¹¹⁴ Eumorphopoulos D., *Memoirs*, (Athens, Vergina: 2005), 143.

afraid he might surrender the plans of the upcoming revolution to the Ottomans and thus needed to be executed¹¹⁵. Kamarinos was assassinated in the same year.¹¹⁶

Eumorphopoulos was then sent to Constantinople with the assignment to form a plan to attack and destroy the Ottoman fleet. However, that plan was discovered by the Ottomans. Eumorphopoulos says that the failure of the plan to destroy the Ottoman fleet was an unfortunate act of treachery by an Alexandros Koumoundourakis (Αλέξανδρος Κουμουνδουράκης), he also says that the plan was extremely ambitious, since at some point, he intended to capture the Sultan of the Ottoman empire himself.¹¹⁷

After the failure of his plan to destroy the fleet. He returned to Greek soil, stopping first at the island Hydra. He mentions a dispute between the locals and Christophoros Perraivos, another member of the Filiki Etaireia, which had happened a few weeks before his arrival and how he made sure that the Hydriots were no longer angry, as they would be a very valuable asset for the Greek forces in the war. The incident in Hydra remained an issue that needed to be resolved and Eumorphopoulos

¹¹⁵ It is unclear whether or not the leadership of the Filiki Etaireia was suspecting Kamarinos as a traitor or not. Kritikos, *The Gleaner: Ioannis Kapodistrias tekton kanonikos*, (Unknown publisher and publication place: 1965), vol. 3, p. 125-144: In an article written on Ioannis Kapodistrias and his involvement with freemasonry, Kritikos, states that Kamarinos was assassinated because he was carrying a letter from Kapodistrias, addressed to the Friendly leadership in the Peloponnese. Kritikos claims that in the letter, Kapodistrias justified his position for declining the Etaireia's leadership and urged the Peloponnesian Friendlies to delay the revolution indefinitely. Thus, to prevent the letter from reaching the Peloponnesian headquarters and the delay of the revolution, the leadership had Kamarinos killed. However, there is no further evidence to support that claim.

¹¹⁶ Eumorphopoulos, *Memoirs*, 143.

¹¹⁷ Eumorphopoulos, *Memoirs*, 150-152.

came in contact with a number of other members of the Filiki Etaireia from Pelion to make sure it was resolved before the revolution's beginning.¹¹⁸

The start of the revolution found Eumorphopoulos in the Peloponnese with Papaflessas with whom he was a friend for years before the start of the conflict. During the war he was present for many important battles in the Peloponnese and Central Greece. Makriyannis mentions him by name in his memoirs for his bravery in the siege of the Acropolis.¹¹⁹

Georgios Germanos was the archbishop and metropolitan of Old Patras. He was one of few men of the church that played a protagonist role in the course of 1821, in which he contributed with diplomatic and political action. Even though he was initiated into the society in its later years, his were very important contributions to the start of the revolution.

He was born in Dimitsana in 1771. Born into a poor family, he went to school in his hometown, later in Argos and finally in Smyrna. He was ordained from the metropolitan of Argos and Nafplio and later served in Smyrna, where metropolitan was his uncle Grigorios (Γρηγόριος)¹²⁰, whom Germanos followed to Constantinople and later to his exile in mount Athos. He became archdeacon of metropolitan of Cyzikus, an

¹¹⁸ Eumorphopoulos, *Memoirs*, 152-154.

¹¹⁹ Eumorphopoulos, *Memoirs*, 144; Makriyannis, *Memoirs*, 175.

¹²⁰ Goudas, *Vioi*, vol. 1, p. 39-90: Germanos' uncle Grigorios was in fact Grigorios 'V, patriarch of Constantinople from the years 1897-1898, 1806-1808 and 1818-1821.

ancient town in Turkey, and was assigned to resolve the differences between several monasteries in the Peloponnese¹²¹, which he did successfully and thus won the trust of the higher clergy and ended up overseeing all the affairs of bishops while they were absent from Constantinople.¹²²

In early 1806, during the patriarchy of Grigorios, he was ordained bishop and elected metropolitan of Old Patras, where he took on responsibilities¹²³ in May of the same year with a special order to calm the masses of the Christians living in the area, in an effort to make reforms, after the aphorisms against *klephts*, which had affected the area negatively. By means delicate diplomacy, he managed to earn the trust both of the Greeks and the Ottomans in the Peloponnese. In fact, as he mentions, he was called several times to act as a judge, resolving disputes between Christians and Muslims and between Greeks. During the years 1815 through 1817, he was a member of the patriarchal synod of Constantinople and past 1818 he remained established in the Peloponnese for the rest of his life.¹²⁴

In November 1818 he was initiated to the Filiki Etaireia by Antonios Pelopidas. Germanos was also the reason of two other men entering into the society, Andreas

¹²¹ Georgios of Old Patras, *Memoirs edited by G. I. Papoulas*, (Athens, S. Tsagaris: 1900), 11: Even though the monasteries were located in the Peloponnese, they were monasteries that directly fell under the Patriarchy of Constantinople and not the local area. Their Greek name is, Stavropigiaki Moni (Σταυροπηγιακή μονή).

¹²² Germanos, *Memoirs*, 4-13.

¹²³ A process, within the church, called enthronement.

¹²⁴ Germanos, *Memoirs*, 4-13.

Zaimis and Andreas Londos, and he initiated various men of the church and other men who would go on to become important fighters in the revolution.

His activity in preparation of the war essentially began with his initiation. In 1820, he made contact with two members of the Filiki Etaireia that were in Patras at the time, Ioannis Vlassopoulos (Ιωάννης Βλασόπουλος) and Ioannis Paparigopoulos (Ιωάννης Παπαρηγόπουλος), who were tied to the Russian government. In association with them, Germanos convinced Ali Pasha to undermine the authority of the Sultan telling him that he would make sure that Russia would support him.¹²⁵

Germanos was also instrumental in the creation of a political organization and the gathering of resources for the preparation of the revolution. As he points out, these actions were made under a false project of the building and opening a school of science. At the start of 1821, he submitted to the Filiki Etaireia a document where he described the organization of the branch of the society in the Peloponnese, which in response to, he was made a member of the Peloponnesian *authority*.¹²⁶

Germanos was one of the members that, close to the start of the conflict, stood against, Papaflessas. Papaflessas arrived to the Peloponnese and started pushing to have the revolution started as soon as possible. Germanos however and his associates in the Peloponnese deemed the situation premature and attempted to put off the start of the revolution. In his memoirs he describes the assembly in Vostitsa, where he

¹²⁵ Germanos, *Memoirs*, 19-22.

¹²⁶ Germanos, *Memoirs*, 19-22.

expressed his issues with the readiness of the revolution and argued openly with Papaflessas. His memoirs point to further hesitation as he requested before hand the verification of rumors concerning the stance of Russia and the other European powers, toward the Greek revolution. Despite his reluctance, however he continued to aid the efforts of the Greeks in the military in whatever way he could as a diplomat and an assistant in politics.¹²⁷

Konstantinos Metaxas was a fighter that focused his efforts in the islands before and during the revolution. He is the last to join among the memoir writers. Before the war he was based on the island of Cephalonia and it is where he became active for the purposes of the Etaireia. His involvement in the society was not as substantial as some of the other fighters that composed memoirs, however he provides information on one of the smallest charters of the organization, thus adding to the understanding of the society as a whole.

He was born in 1793 in Cephalonia. He was a member of a big family that originally came from Constantinople to the island of Cephalonia, where Konstantinos was born. In the early years of his life he travelled to Italy where he went to school. When he returned to Cephalonia he started working as a lawyer. He was initiated to the Etaireia in January 1821 by a friend he made in Italy, Athanasios Politis (Αθανάσιος Πολίτης), shortly before the start of the conflict. The reasons for his initiation are his

¹²⁷ Germanos, *Memoirs*, 22-26.

education and his family. Konstantinos was not the only member of his family to be a member of the Filiki Etaireia, in fact his brother Marinos Metaxas (Μαρίνος Μεταξάς) was a member long before Konstantinos was, and Konstantinos himself initiated other members of his family, most prominently his cousin Andreas Metaxas (Ανδρέας Μεταξάς), who was his closest associate during the revolution. The Metaxas name carried weight in Cephalonia, and that is the second and more important reason for his being selected by the Etaireia.¹²⁸

Metaxas, having joined the society relatively late with respect to when the revolution began, did not do as much as the other members that we have looked at. His first assignment was to assist Georgios Germanos with amassing a force of volunteers in the Peloponnese. Metaxas was asked by Germanos to provide more military aid to the Peloponnesian fighters. For that purpose, he, his brothers and the few other wealthy members of the Etaireia in Cephalonia, put down a large sum of money to meet the request of Germanos. Metaxas mentions that he and his associates decided to keep the circle of people who knew about this transaction as small as possible, because at the time Cephalonia and the rest of the Ionian islands were ruled by the British empire, and the members of the Etaireia did not want to alert them to their activities. Eventually

¹²⁸ Goudas, *Vioi*, Vol. 7, pp. 125-164; Konstantinos Metaxas, *Historical memoirs from the Greek revolution*, (Athens, A. Ktenas, 1878), 18.

Metaxas and his associates gathered a very large fighting force and sent them to the Peloponnese in a small fleet of ships with firearms and cannons.¹²⁹

Metaxas himself boarded one of the ships that was being sent to the Peloponnese and thus went to the Peloponnese himself. He and the rest of the “Meganimous Cephalonians”¹³⁰ landed in the Peloponnese in the port of Glarentza, where they stayed until the start of the conflict. In fact Glarentza was the place where the battle of Lala took place, the first battle that Metaxas took part in, which ended with a Greek victory and in which Metaxas was one of the distinguished fighters.¹³¹

Reading the memoirs of each fighter poses one real challenge and that is the fact that they do not all provide the same kind of information and in the grand scheme of things, the affairs of the Filiki Etaireia does not get as much attention from them as the years of the revolution that followed. However, from these memoirs a bigger picture can be drawn concerning the overall activity of the secret society. Now that all that information has been provided we can begin painting that picture in the following chapter.

¹²⁹ Metaxas, *Memoirs*, 18-23.

¹³⁰ Metaxas, *Memoirs*, 19: Meganimous Cephalonians (Μεγαθύμων Κεφαλλήνων) were the words Germanos used to describe the men he requested to be sent to the Peloponnese, whom Metaxas had to choose.

¹³¹ Metaxas, *Memoirs*, 23-34; Goudas, *Vioi*, Vol. 7, pp. 157-158.

V. Conclusion - The Bigger Picture

Separating the progress of the Etaireia into two separate phases is the easiest way to track its growth. To recapitulate, the first phase are the years 1814 to the first few months of 1818, the years of its expansion. The second phase is the rest of the year 1818 and the years that followed until the start of the revolution, the years during which the members of the Etaireia were actively preparing Greece for the armed revolt.

During the first phase, the society had only a handful of members, because the first phase was the most crucial. The three founding members, Xanthos, Tsakalov and Skouphas, understood that in order to successfully start and win the revolution they would need hundreds of people working to prepare it. Thus, the people that they would bring into the society first, the ones that would need to do most of the work, spreading the idea of the revolution strategically and systematically needed to be very carefully chosen. That explains the slow rate of initiations in the first phase. The second concern was the scale at which they expanded geographically. The leadership of the Etaireia by the year 1818 was handled by the *twelve apostles* who were managing affairs across seven countries. Spreading so far and making sure they could find people capable that they trusted fully to carry out the job, is what caused the first phase of the Etaireia's growth to last that long, long at least compared with the second phase, when the number of members increased daily and at a more accelerated pace with each year's pass.

The second phase of the revolution was more about actual preparation for the war. Apart from recruiting more members, the new incoming members would carry out a number of different tasks to aid in the preparations. Using the memoirs written by the fighters we can determine a number of things about the activities of the Etaireia, how they differed and how they were similar as they moved closer and closer to the revolution.

From the memoirs of most of the fighters, including Xanthos, we can see that as early as 1816 money became a very important contributing factor in the recruitment of new members. As the number of the Etaireia's members grew and as the organization drew closer to being able to begin physical preparations, money became a prime concern to the organization. That is why members like Kondakis were brought into the organization. So that they could provide economic assistance with gathering supplies and funding trips that other members of the Etaireia had to make. Also among the earliest members was Perraivos, who was technically initiated in the first phase. Perraivos was initiated because of his education in military and tactics and his connection to Feraios. Perraivos was able to assist the members of the Etaireia in coming up with a military plan for the revolution itself, a crucial task that needed to be carried out as early as possible since without a detailed military plan for a revolution, the preparations for it would be unorganized.

In the second phase of the Etaireia's history, the attention had moved on to the actual preparation for the war. Two of the members that were initiated in that year were Fotakos and Kolokotronis. The first worked as a messenger, informant and even as a spy for the Etaireia's efforts. He took many trips into the Peloponnese to acquire information for the Etaireia, recruit new members and establish communications with Greeks, favorable to the Etaireia's cause, that lived there, but not members themselves, most prominent being Kanellos Deliyannis. Kolokotronis' task was military preparation. He worked hard to gather a fighting force and formed the first real army in the Peloponnese. Armed with his experience from his years in the British navy, he also assisted in the preparations of the naval forces in several islands around the Peloponnese. By Fotakos' spy work, it is meant that during his travels, he observed and reported back on the Ottoman behavior and movements. There is an even more intense kind of spy work, which is what Germanos did. Germanos did his utmost to disturb the relationship between Ali Pasha and the Sultan, which to a certain extent were successful. Germanos also worked to create a political program, under a false name, which would prepare the war by gathering resources, another important task that the members of the Etaireia oversaw. He also assisted in the preparation of the army in the Peloponnese, a task that as the start of the revolution drew closer became more and more common.

Germanos was one of the few members who remained active in the Etaireia's purposes even after the start of the war. Most members of the Etaireia, and definitely all of the memoir writers, with the exception of Xanthos, went on to join the military or assisted the Greek struggle politically, without, as it appears, any input from the Etaireia. Germanos, however, following orders from the Etaireia, after the war had started, travelled to Italy to negotiate an economic assistance by the Pope, a mission that ultimately resulted in failure.

Apart from the strategic moves that the Etaireia made, there still remains the question about some isolated events in its history, such as the decision of handing off the Etaireia's leadership to one man in the year 1819. None of the writers of the memoirs explain the reason behind that decision. Some of the letters in Xanthos' memoirs, however provide a hint¹³². The letter hint at an element of distrust of most members to the *invisible authority*. As the years went on and more members were initiated into the society, that distrust would only grow, since initiated members were told that orders come directly from people they would never meet. Lower ranked members did not know for certain that the invisible authority even existed. Thus, the evidence suggests, even though it cannot be certain, that the Etaireia chose a single man to hand leadership to, to appease all members that strong leadership actually exists.

¹³² Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 42-43. Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 46-47.

Finally, we must examine the failures and unsuccessful actions of the Etaireia's members since unfortunately, not all actions made by members of the Etaireia had a positive effect and some actions were questionable. First, the assassinations of two very important members. Galatis and Kamarinos assisted in the growth of the Filiki Etaireia during its first phase and were both killed "because of their questionable behavior"¹³³. Their assassinations are a proof that not all the actions that the Etaireia made were methodical and mistakes were made more than once. Another instance was Makriyannis' criminal activity in Epiros in stealing supplies from the Ottomans, an action that nearly caused the Etaireia to be discovered. However, that activity was entirely taken up by Makriyannis himself, behind the backs of the leadership. The reason these activities need to be mentioned is because a criticism can be made on the extent of the Etaireia's success and the extent to which its members knew what they were doing. Having to start the war hastily in 1821, when a large quantity of its members were adamant that more time needed to be taken and more preparations needed to be made proves that.

The success of the Etaireia can also be criticized by the fact that its leader, Alexandros Ypsilantis, once the war had began, led the armed revolt in the Danubian Principalities, where he was defeated quickly, quite early in the war because he failed to

¹³³ Spiliadis, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 4, p. 10: Because of their behavior means that the members of the Etaireia were afraid that Galatis and Kamarinos would reveal its existence and its activities.

secure a Russian intervention to aid his cause.¹³⁴ His failure and the fact that the civil war broke out between the Greeks, stand as evidence that the Etaireia did not lay the foundations of the war as deep as was needed, which resulted in the collapse of the Greek cause in 1823 and almost resulted in the complete failure of the revolution.

The Filiki Etaireia at its peak consisted of thousands of members and was spread across many parts of the Ottoman empire. Through downturns and upturns, it was successful in starting a revolution, that would go on to win the independence of the Greek nation. The Etaireia's efforts were definitely successful until 1823 and the emergence of the civil war was not entirely the fault of the Filiki Etaireia. Kolokotronis, in a speech delivered in 1828 at Pnyx, stated, "In the first year of the Revolution we had great harmony and we all ran with equal minds"¹³⁵. It is that harmony that the Etaireia cultivated. That harmony, as Kolokotronis states in the same speech, disappeared when the Greeks in 1823 were left with the responsibility of governing themselves. In the national assembly of 1823, which adopted a new constitution the Etaireia was no longer a part of the equation. In other words, though it might be a bold statement, it can be said that the Etaireia's downturns were not due to the handling of its members, but to the lack of unity the Greeks felt among themselves.

When discussing the goal of the Filiki Etaireia, the first two words that come to mind are "Greek Independence". But what does that mean exactly, other than the

¹³⁴ Brewer, *Greek War of Independence*, p. 73-87.

¹³⁵ Kolokotronis, *Speech at Pnyx*, 3.

general idea those two words suggest? When the conflict came to a close the newly formed state of Greece encompassed the Peloponnese, Central Greece and a few islands within its borders. However, the expansion of the Etaireia's efforts before the start of the war suggest that the original plan was for Greece to be much larger. At this point, it needs to be mentioned that the Etaireia was spread across the general region to Egypt, Italy, Russia, Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece, not because the members intended all those areas to be part of the new independent Greek state, but because that was where they could find support, primarily from Greeks living abroad. However, it is safe to assume that the areas of Thrace, Macedonia and other parts of Northern Greece, along with most islands in the Aegean, a large part of Asia Minor and even the Danubian Principalities were to be liberated from Ottoman control, which of course did not come to pass.

Apart from the geographical goal that the Etaireia had set, there is also the social aspect. What would Greece look like socially once it was an independent state? Going back to Xanthos' original statement, "attempt alone, what was expected in vain and for too long from the philanthropy of Christian kings"¹³⁶, indicates that foreign intervention was not the first desirable option, which means that a monarchy of a Bavarian king was not the intended outcome. The members of the Etaireia envisioned a sovereign Greek

¹³⁶ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, 3.

state, independent from the Ottoman empire. Additionally, leading members of the Etaireia did not intend to make themselves members of the Greek government.

Perhaps that was the reason for the clash among Greeks in the civil wars that followed. The fact that the Greek revolution was built on an almost entirely nationalistic foundation, with no clear plan for what should happen, should the Greeks be unable to complete their goal by themselves. Also the lack in organization, which caused the leader of the Etaireia to be defeated and captured caused further disturbance in the implementation of the original goal. Xanthos began his memoirs with a letter addressed to the Greek youth in which he stated his reasoning for publishing the memoirs to be that "Greece did not reach the destination, for which your fathers set out by means of war, which you now must accomplish by means of acquiring education"¹³⁷. The goal of the Filiki Etaireia was to build a formidable state, independent from all empires and great powers that were around them, which unfortunately remained nothing more than a vision. Perhaps the goal of the Etaireia was slightly too ambitious, which is why the war in the Danubian principalities and the intention of keeping the foreign powers away ultimately failed. However, their overall success in starting an eventually successful revolution, proves how pivotal they were in shaping modern Greek history.

¹³⁷ Xanthos, *Memoirs*, unnumbered page.

Finally, it is time to address the freemasonic question. According to the grand lodge of Greece's website, the general involvement runs far deeper than most people realize.

The first lodge in Greece was established in 1782 in the island of Corfu, which at the time was under Venetian rule. The lodge was named *Beneficenza*, which translates from Italian to Charity, and it was directly connected to the grand lodge of Verona, located in Padua, Italy. Around that time, Greek speaking lodges started being opened by Greeks abroad, and a member of such a lodge in Vienna was Rigas Feraios. In 1810, the leader of the Corfu lodge, Dionisios Romas (Διονύσιος Ρώμας), combined the lodges of Corfu Charity and Phylogeny into one common lodge, which in 1811 became the first Grand Lodge in Greece. That first grand lodge contributed to the effort for Greek liberation, thanks to the activities of Dionisios Romas.¹³⁸

In the following years, Greek masonry spread and new lodges were created. One of the members that is more well known to us, was Xanthos, a member who was inspired by the masonic methods to create the Filiki Etaireia, which in the beginning was established on freemasonic foundations. Other members include, according to the

¹³⁸ <http://www.grandlodge.gr/istoria-tou-ellinikou-tektionismou-w-53906.html>, (Last access date: April 10th, 2017). Goudas, *Vioi*, Vol. 4, p. 121-146: Romas was a politician in Greece, before the revolution began. In 1819 he was initiated to the Filiki Etaireia. His house in Zakynthos was a meeting point for members of the *Etaireia* and other revolutionaries.

grand lodge of Greece, Georgios Germanos, Theodoros Kolokotronis, Alexandros Mavrokordatos, Alexandros and Nikolaos Ypsilantis and Ioannis Kapodistrias.¹³⁹

Ioannis Kapodistrias was further linked to a lodge set up in Moscow in 1811, called the Phoenix lodge, which was established by the combined efforts of Ioannis Kapodistrias and Alexandros Mavrokordatos. In fact, according to the grand lodge of Greece, Kapodistrias was the leader of that lodge.¹⁴⁰

In the following years new lodges and organizations linked to the masons were formed with some sort of purpose concerning Greece and according to the grand lodge of Greece, they were all linked to the freemasons. A lodge called Athens was established in Paris in 1811. In 1813 the *Filomoussos Etaireia* was formed, in which freemasons were involved, that later became members of the Filiki Etaireia. Also, thanks to Kapodistrias, in the year 1813, an organization called the *Hellenoglosson Ksenodocheion* was formed, which according to the grand lodge of Greece was a freemason centre, in which masonic work was closely linked to the secret preparation for the Greek revolution and Athanasios Tsakalov was once of its members. Skouphas was also linked to that last organization.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ <http://www.grandlodge.gr/istoria-tou-ellinikou-tektionismou-w-53906.html>, (Last access date: April 10th, 2017).

¹⁴⁰ <http://www.grandlodge.gr/istoria-tou-ellinikou-tektionismou-w-53906.html>, (Last access date: April 10th, 2017).

¹⁴¹ <http://www.grandlodge.gr/istoria-tou-ellinikou-tektionismou-w-53906.html>, (Last access date: April 10th, 2017).

Also in 1813, Tsakalov, Skouphas and Xanthos set up the foundations of the secret society, whose goal would be the liberation of Greece from the Ottomans. The Filiki Etaireia was set up in 1814, and among its ranks were many freemasons. But the large number of their members were not linked to freemasonry in any way other than the Etaireia. At the same time many European masonic lodges provided resources for the accomplishment of that goal.¹⁴²

The fact that freemasons are involved in the making of the Greek revolution is something that cant be disputed. However, we cannot take the word of the grand lodge of Greece alone to prove its involvement. That is due to the fact that most of the files from which their history is derived, have never been made accessible to the public and of course, because freemasons are commonly dreaded by modern Greeks, which means that freemasonic involvement in the making of the Greek revolution, legitimizes them in their eyes. Some of the points in the history cannot be proven at all, some of them, however, might.

For instance, Ioannis Kapodistrias might have in fact been a freemason. The strongest evidence to support this comes from the article written by Kritikos (Κρητικός), who conducted a research on this very question. He travelled to Switzerland and went through some of the files on the freemasonic charter there. He discovered that Kapodistrias was present for operations in a masonic lodge called *Modestie* in Zurich,

¹⁴² <http://www.grandlodge.gr/istoria-tou-ellinikou-tektonismou-w-53906.html>, (Last access date: April 10th, 2017).

something which would only be possible for a freemason. The rest of the evidence he presents is circumstantial, namely the fact that his signature displays freemasonic patterns and that some of his close friends were freemasons, both of which cannot be proven with solid evidence. If Kapodistrias was a freemason however, then it stands to reason to assume that both the *Filomoussos Etaireia* and the *Hellenoglosson Ksenodocheion* were freemasonic operations, seeing as Kapodistrias was heavily involved in their establishment and their activities. It is still not easy to link him to a masonic lodge in Moscow, however. Though a lodge called Phoenix was opened in Moscow in 1811, Kapodistrias' name does not come up in any sort of text on Russian freemasonry.¹⁴³

Assuming Kapodistrias was a mason, it is possible that he laid the groundworks for most of his activities in masonic roots. Which would stand as evidence of the *Hellenoglosson Ksenodocheion* and the *Filomoussos Etaireia* being to a certain extent, freemasonic organizations. Another point that might stand as evidence that the Etaireia had masonic roots and was closely linked to Kapodistrias was the fact that one of its emblems was the phoenix, which was the name of the lodge that Kapodistrias, is said to have been the leader of. In fact, a greek lodge in Corfu also had the same name and the Company of the Phoenix was an alternate name for the Filiki Etaireia. Additionally, the phoenix was the emblem of the sacred Band, Ypsilantis' troop which fought in Moldova.

¹⁴³ Kritikos, *The Gleaner: Ioannis Kapodistrias tekton kanonikos*, (Unknown publisher and publication place: 1965), vol. 3, p. 125-144; Unknown author, *Russian Freemasonry*, (Freemasonry, Unknown publication place: Unknown publication year), 98.

Also according to Filimon, many members within the society were indeed freemasons. Filimon does not discuss Kolokotronis, or Germanos, nor do they mention anything about a connection to freemasonry in their own memoirs. Thus, a masonic link to them cannot be established, but he does discuss Xanthos, Tsakalov and Skouphas as freemasons in his chapter concerning the secret societies that were formed in Europe, in which he states concerning them, "The authors borrowed many rules from the Company of Masons and applied them intelligently in the spirit and the suffering of the nation"¹⁴⁴. Finally, it is undisputed that there were masonic lodges in Greece existing prior to the Etaireia's formation. They are mentioned by Goudas in his biography of Dionisios Romas, the leader of the first grand lodge in Greece.¹⁴⁵

Proving the masonic connections to the Filiki Etaireia proves that in fact there was masonic influence to the way the society operated. However, that does not make the Filiki Etaireia a masonic organization. Proving that members such as Kolokotronis and Greek philhellenes and revolutionaries living abroad, such as Rigas Feraios, were freemasons, is almost impossible. And besides that, even if they were indeed freemasons, the majority members of the Etaireia would not have been members of the masonic circle. In other words, even though there was masonic influence to the Greek revolution and the Etaireia was built on masonic foundations, operated in masonic

¹⁴⁴ Filimon, *peri tis Filikis Etaireias*, 142.

¹⁴⁵ Trikoupis, *Istoria tis Ellinikis Epanastaseos*, vol. 1, p. 103-114; Kalervas, *Epistolai*, 16-20; Filimon, *peri tis Filikis Etaireias*, 75-113; Goudas, *Vioi*, Vol. 4, p. 121-146.

ways and many of its members were among the freemasonic circle, the majority of its members were still not masons, which makes the Etaireia a non-masonic organization, influenced by the freemasonic tradition.

The fact that all the information on the freemasonic influence to the Greek revolution, comes from the files of the grand lodge of Greece, makes the legitimacy of some of the information even more questionable, especially because the files themselves have never been made accessible to the public. However, the fact that the existence of the Filiki Etaireia and its importance in the making of the Greek revolution is known to all modern Greeks, is questionable. Especially when taking into account that preexisting organizations such as the *Filomoussos Etaireia*, whose masonic influence is even more apparent, are ignored, seeing as in modern Greece, there is a common resentment against freemasons and their activities. Perhaps one of the reason the Filiki Etaireia is known to all, but the Filomoussos is not, is because the freemasonic roots of the Filiki Etaireia are less apparent. That does not prove anything by itself, but it is food for thought. Overall, we cannot, legitimately, say that the Greek revolution is a product of freemasonic efforts, but they have to have been involved. After all, where there's smoke, there is fire.

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Appendix

The great oath

I swear in the eyes of the one true God, that I will remain loyal to the Etaireia as long as I live. Never to reveal the slightest of its points and words, nor to ever stand for whatever reason as the cause of anyone understanding what I know concerning it, even if they are friend or family.

I swear that from this point on, I do not wish to enter another company, whatever it may be, nor any obligatory bond. And in fact, whatever bond I may have had, even the most insignificant to the Etaireia, I now consider to be nothing.

I swear that I have in my heart uncompromising hatred against the tyrants of my country, the supporters and those mutual to them in mind. I wish to act in every way to harm them and bring about them complete destruction, when circumstance allows.

I swear never to resort to violence on account of competition with another colleague, taking care instead with the great zeal not to make a mistake and become the reason for a following conflict with a colleague.

I sear to succor, whenever I can, a fellow colleague, with all my strength and ability. To provide them with respect and obedience, should they be greater in rank and if they happen to have been my enemy before, provide love and assistance, as much greater as my hatred used to be.

I swear that as I was accepted into the Etaireia, to similarly accept another, making use of every way, as slow as possible, until I know them to be truly Greek, a strong defender of the homeland and a man virtuous and worthy not just to keep the secret, but to be able to initiate another of similar opinion.

I swear not to seek out any of my colleagues with curiosity, to find out who has been accepted into the Etaireia. Never to reveal myself something similar, or to give anyone information that they might discover, who accepted me. To respond with great ignorance if I happen to know such information concerning someone else.

I swear to always mind my behavior, to be virtuous. To maintain my religion, without mocking others. To always make a good example. To advise and assist a man sick, unfortunate or weak. To respect the establishment, the customs, the criteria and the rulers of the land in which I live.

Last of all, I swear by you, my sacred and suffering country! I swear by your long endured tortures. I swear by the bitter tears which for so many centuries have been shed by your sad children and by my own tears, which I am shedding at this very moment and to the future freedom of my expatriates, that I consecrate myself wholly to you. Henceforth you are the cause and object of my thoughts. Your name, the guide of my actions and your happiness, the reward of my labor. May divine justice bring upon my head all of its fury, bring repulsion to my name and make me the subject of curse and anathema from my expatriates, should I neglect even for a moment their sufferings

and do not fulfill my debt. Lastly, may my death be the inescapable punishment of my crime, so that I might not compromise the sincerity of the Etaireia with my involvement.

Kolokotronis' speech in Pnyx - October 8th 1838

My Children!

In the same land as I walk today, wise men walked and created, in the old times. Men with which I am not worthy to be compared, nor am I able to even reach their level. I wished to see you, my children, in the name of the great glory of our forefathers, and I am coming to tell you, the things I observed in the time of the struggle, before and after it, and from these to make implications with you about your future happiness as well, even though God alone knows the things of the future. And as for the Greeks of old, whatever knowledge they had and whatever glory and honor they rejoiced in close to the other nations of their time, whatever heroes, generals, politicians that they had. Of those things your teachers tell you every day. I am not enough. I am telling you just that they were wise, and from them the other nations borrowed their wisdom.

In this land, in which we live, lived the ancient Greeks, from whom us too hail from and took on their name. They differed from us in religion, because they worshiped the stones and the woods. Later, Christ came to the world, all people believed in his gospel and stopped worshipping idols. He did not take with him wise and hard working men, but simple people, peasants and fishermen, and with the aid of the Holy Spirit they learned all the languages of the world, and although wherever they would go they would find hostilities and kings and tyrants would chase them off, no one managed to do something to them. They set up the faith.

The Greeks of old, our ancestors, fell into enmity and fought with each other, and thus the Romans conquered them first, and later other barbarians. Later came the muslims and did whatever they could, so the people would forget their faith. They cut the tongues of many people, but it was impossible for them to achieve it. They cut one, another was doing the sign of the cross. Once the Sultan saw that, he appointed a viceroy as patriarch, and gave him the power of the church. Him and the rest of the clergy did whatever the Sultan commanded. Later the kodjabashis came to all places. The third class, the merchants and the hard working men, the better part of the citizens, not living under the yoke. The educated up and left from Greece as well, their fatherland, and thus the people, deprived of the means for virtue, came to a pitiful state, which became worse every day because, whoever among them had the slightest hint of education, the clergy took and whoever enjoyed privileges, would either be dragged by a European merchant or become the assistant of the kodjabashi. And some, not suffering in the Tyranny of the Ottomans and seeing the glories and fortunes they were receiving, left their faith and became muslims. And in that way every day the people became more poor and more miserable.

In this unhappy situation, some of the fleeing men would translate and send into Greece books, and to them we owe our gratitude, because directly no man of the people was being educated, but they would read these books and see who our ancestors were, what Themistocles did, Aristides and many others of our ancestors, and we saw in what

position we were then. Thus it came to our minds to imitate them and become happier. And that's how it happened when the Etaireia progressed.

When we decided to revolt, we did not consider how many we were, nor that we had no weapons, nor that the Ottomans held the castles and the cities, nor did any wise man stop to ask us, "where will you wage war with broken ships and broken weapons?", but much like rain, the will of freedom fell on all of us. All, our clergy, the kodjabashis, the captains, the educated and the merchants, great and small, we all agreed in this end and started the revolution.

In the first year of the Revolution we had great harmony and we all ran with equal minds. One would go to war, his brother would bring wood, his wife would bake and his child would carry the bread and the gunpowder to the camp and if that harmony had lasted but two more years, we would have conquered Thessaly and Macedonia and we might have gotten to Constantinople even. That is how much we spooked the Ottomans. Whenever they heard a Greek they would run for miles. A hundred Greeks could take on five thousand and one boat could destroy an armada. But it did not last!

Some wanted to become barbers on the head of the country. Their haircutting pained us. But what could we do? We had need for them as well. From then on hostility began and willingness and harmony were the first to go. And if you told Kostas to give money for the needs of the nation or to go to war, he would point to John. And in that

way, no one wanted to contribute, nor to fight. And that happened, because we had not one leader and one mind. One would become president for six months, someone else would rise up and overthrow him and become president himself, and that way this man wanted this and the other man the other. Maybe all of us wanted something good, each by his own opinion. When too many give commands, a house can't be built and finished. Someone says that the door needs to look to the east, the other to west, the third to the north, as if the house is circling on a platform. In that manner, a house can never be built. There can only be one architect, to dictate how things must be. Similarly, we too needed one leader, one architect, who will command and the rest must follow. But because we were in that situation, because of the hostility, the Ottomans fell on us, and we were nearly extinguished, and in the hard seven years, we did not achieve great things.

In this situation comes the king. Things were calming and trade and farming and the arts begin to flourish and even education. This wave will make us stronger and happier. But in order to become strong, the securement of our polity is necessary, which happens through education and support for the throne. Our king is young and is still becoming acquainted with our land, but he is not temporary, his reign is sequential and will go on to the children of his children, and with him you and your children will live. You must protect your faith and secure it, because, when we took up arms we agreed it was for the faith first and for the country second. All the nations of the world have a

religion to protect. Even the jews, who have been chased off and hated by all nations, remain strong in their faith.

I, my children, by my misfortune, and because of the circumstances, remained uneducated and for that I ask your forgiveness, as I don't speak like your teachers. I told you what I saw myself, heard and learned, so that you might benefit from the things that came about and learn from the terrible results of enmity, which you should abhor and instead have harmony. Do not linger on us anymore. Our work and time has passed. And the days of the generation that opened your path, will soon be over. The day of our life will soon be replaced by the night of our death, as the day of the Agii Assomati(Άγιοι Ασώματοι) will be replaced by night and the next day. To you it befalls to revitalize and embellish the land, that we liberated· and for that to happen, you must have as the foundations of your society harmony, religion and support for the throne and the wise freedom.

My speech is finished. All hail our king Otto! All hail our wise teachers! All hail the Greek youth!

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