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**Loyaume and Nomarchie: Keywords of the French revolution in the Greek vocabulary**

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# Articles

## LOYAUME AND NOMARCHIE:

KEYWORDS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN THE GREEK VOCABULARY

*Alexandra Sfoini*

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**ABSTRACT:** The French Revolution was a time for the reformulation of such basic concepts as *liberté, égalité, fraternité, nation* and *patrie*, amongst others. Demonstrating at the same time a great lexical creativity, a large quantity of words appeared, some of them totally new or with new meanings, temporary or persistent, such as *aristocruche, humanicide, enragés, loyaume*, and so on. This paper examines aspects of lexical and semantic developments in the Greek language around the era of the French Revolution. This crucial period was characterized by intensified contacts with Western Europe. In this process, Greek intellectuals expressed in their political writings an open admiration of the new French model of the nation and attempted to fashion a new political language. Many modern notions were introduced from the French language, which in turn had borrowed a large number of words from Greek and Latin. The intercultural dimension provides the tools for analysing the ways in which the new terms and concepts were transferred to the Greek vocabulary. These processes are examined as reflected in the *Hellenic Nomarchy* (1806), one of the most important works of the period.

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The word *loyaume* belongs to many ephemeral neologisms created by the French Revolution.<sup>1</sup> The revolutionaries intended to construct a dynamic and expressive language, according to the precepts of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In 1791, seeking the appropriate word, the patriot François-Urbain Domergue, a grammar professor at the École des Quatre-Nations,<sup>2</sup> suggested the neologism *loyaume* as a political designation befitting the new state. As a professional linguist, Domergue had taken on the task of completing the institutional work of the Revolution in the matter of the French language. He founded the *Journal de la langue française* (Lyon 1784-1788, Paris 1791-1792), the first French journal of linguistics, which served as a model for nineteenth-century periodicals. Numbered among its subscribers were members of the Jacobin élite (Robespierre, Condorcet, Brissot, Louis-Sebastien Mercier). He also founded the Société des Amateurs de la Langue Française (1791). It should

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<sup>1</sup> Max Frey, *Les transformations du vocabulaire français à l'époque de la Révolution (1789-1800)*, Paris: PUF, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> See his grammar, *Grammaire française ou Traité d'orthographe avec des notes sur la prononciation et la syntaxe par M. Domergue*, Lyon 1778.

be noted that in January 1790 the Société des Amis des Lois was founded and in February 1791 the Société des Nomophiles, approaching the ideas of the Club des Jacobins (previously the Société des Amis de la Constitution), which published the *Journal des Amis de la Constitution*.<sup>3</sup> These societies operated as Jacobin centres, based on the democratic equality of their members, and as hubs of national language policy complementing the Académie Française, which they intended to reform. This reform consisted of the overthrow of aristocratic language and the creation of a simple, specific and active language, a powerful instrument for the transformation of society. Domergue, who was elected to the Académie in 1795, in an attempt to link the political with the linguistic issue, characterized the conservative puristic language and the élitist “good use” [*bon usage*] of the French language as a “superstition of grammar” and an “enemy of clarity” and proposed the creation of neologisms, that is, new signs that expressed new ideas, as a right that belonged to everyone: a “sensible neology” suitable for the regeneration of a language understood by all, a “well-constructed language” that obeyed reason according to Condillac’s formulation.<sup>4</sup> Domergue also proposed a phonetic orthography, an “image of a sane pronunciation according to reason, worthy of a free people”.<sup>5</sup>

Revolutionary language, the language of the rights of man, had to be linked to the language of the people, establishing it institutionally and introducing a new rhetoric, laconic, warm, intimate and effusive.<sup>6</sup> From

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<sup>3</sup> Claude Mazauric, “Jacobins/jacobinisme”, in A. Soboul *et al.* (eds), *Dictionnaire historique de la Révolution française*, Paris: PUF, 1989, pp. 585-592; Mark Darlow and Yann Robert (eds), *Laya, “L’ami des Lois”*, London: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 2011, pp. 30-33.

<sup>4</sup> Françoise Dougnac, “Les sociétés linguistiques fondées par F.-U. Domergue à Paris de 1791 à 1811”, *Les Idéologues. Sémiotique, théories et politiques linguistiques pendant la Révolution française*, Proceedings of the Conference held in Berlin, October 1983, ed. Winfried Busse and Jürgen Trabant, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1986, pp. 299-322; Winfried Busse and Françoise Dougnac, *François-Urbain Domergue. Le grammairien patriote (1745-1810)*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft 10, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1992.

<sup>5</sup> *La prononciation française déterminée par des signes invariables, avec application à divers morceaux, en prose et en vers, contenant tout ce qu’il faut savoir pour lire avec goût; suivie de notions orthographiques, et de la nomenclature des mots à difficultés. Par Urbain Domergue, membre de l’Institut National, et professeur de grammaire générale à l’École Centrale des Quatre-Nations. À Paris, L’an V de la République française*, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Aurelio Principato, “Comment restituer l’action oratoire de la Révolution?”, *Une expérience rhétorique. L’éloquence de la Révolution*, ed. Éric Négrel and Jean-Paul Sermain, SVEG 2002: 02, Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2002, pp. 19-33; Sylviane Léoni, “Laconisme et lieux communs dans les discours de Saint-Just”, *ibid.*, pp. 45-54.

1792, the task of spreading this language throughout the whole of France was assumed by patriots [*apôtres de la liberté*] who sallied forth, imbued with hatred for monarchs and love for democracy, so that patriotism and freedom might triumph.<sup>7</sup> While dechristianization was taking place,<sup>8</sup> there was an explosion of the written word, an excessive production of texts rooted in the spoken vernacular, with no punctuation and many typographical errors, that vibrated with revolutionary zeal and called for action in the new language. Freedom of the press gave rise to the figure of the journalist-patriot. The spread of revolutionary language took place in outdoor public areas, during collective text readings, conversations and celebrations where the traditional modes of catechesis and carnival experienced a revival.<sup>9</sup> However, although this blossoming language was not born during the French Revolution, the revolutionary environment revitalized the concepts of political humanism and the Enlightenment, which were established through general use and radicalized. The new terms were distinguished by a tendency towards antithesis and exaggeration, while the classical languages were an inexhaustible source of neologisms.<sup>10</sup>

Language theorists transferred to words the continuity of the *ancien régime* as well as the rupture caused by the Revolution. The signifiers as well as the signified of a corrupt society had to change, and new definitions worthy of freedom were considered necessary. In 1791, Domergue employed the neologism *loyaume* as a substitute for the term *royaume*, which belonged to the *ancien régime*: “We call a country sovereignly ruled by a king a kingdom [*royaume*]; I will call a country in which the law alone commands a lawdom [*loyaume*].”<sup>11</sup> In reality, the neologism had already appeared in 1789, in a

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<sup>7</sup> Jacques Guilhaumou, *La langue politique et la Révolution française. De l'événement à la raison linguistique*, Paris: Meridiens Klincksieck, 1989; *id.*, “La langue politique et la Révolution française”, *Langage et société* 113 (2005), pp. 63-92.

<sup>8</sup> Michel Vovelle, 1793. *La Révolution contre l'Église. De la raison à l'Être suprême*, Brussels: Complexe, 1988.

<sup>9</sup> Brigitte Schlieben-Lange, *Idéologie, Révolution et uniformité de la langue*, Liège: Mardaga, 1996, pp. 48-51; Jacques Guilhaumou, “Parler la langue du peuple pendant la Révolution”, *La Révolution française. Une histoire toujours vivante*, ed. Michel Biard, Paris: Tallandier, 2010, pp. 317-330.

<sup>10</sup> Gunnar von Proschwitz, “Le vocabulaire politique au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle avant et après la Révolution. Scission ou continuité?”, *Français moderne* 32/2 (1966), pp. 87-102; J.-P. Seguin, *La langue française au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris: Bordas, 1972, pp. 242-244; Raymonde Monnier, *Républicanisme, patriotisme et Révolution française*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005, pp. 10, 25.

<sup>11</sup> F.-U. Domergue, *Journal de la langue française* (1er août 1791), Vol. III, p. 186. Cf. Ferdinand Brunot, “Du caractère de quelques innovations dans le lexique français de l'époque

pamphlet entitled *La trompette du jugement*, in which the anonymous author, after defending the “fiery fervour of his pen”, posed questions regarding the governance of France and noted:

The law that was created and accepted by all is our sole master; if we could use this word without encroaching on grammar, we should say that France is a “*loyaume*” or if we find the use of a Greek word more venerable, this word would be “*Nomarchy*”, from *Nomos*.<sup>12</sup>

Moreover, the first use of the word nomarchy to signify a government ruled by law belongs to the French Enlightenment. It was used in 1766 by the philosopher Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, a friend of Denis Diderot and contributor to the *Encyclopédie*,<sup>13</sup> who, in his work *L’Antiquité dévoilée*, referring to the origin of political regimes, observed:

Such was the origin of this destructive government known as Despotism, which we see established in almost all parts of the world. There are, however, certain countries that have had the happiness to evade its blows and substitute public reason or law for the will of man. It is under this Nomarchy that societies have been the happiest.<sup>14</sup>

Boulanger was singing the praises of a moderate monarchy.<sup>15</sup>

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révolutionnaire et impériale”, *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 81/1 (1937), pp. 47-64; Sonia Branca-Rossof, “Le loyaume des mots”, *Lexique* 3 (1985), pp. 47-64.

<sup>12</sup> *La trompette du jugement par Pelletier. Au salon d’Hercule, Premier Septembre 1789*, pp. 24, 39. Cf. Jacques Guilhaumou, “Modérer la langue politique à l’extrême. Les journalistes remarqueurs au début de la Révolution française”, *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 357 (2009), pp. 21-45, at pp. 38-39.

<sup>13</sup> Marie-Thérèse Inguenaud, “La famille de Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger et les milieux jansénistes”, *Dix-huitième siècle* 30 (1998), pp. 361-372.

<sup>14</sup> Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, *L’Antiquité dévoilée par ses usages, ou Examen critique des principales opinions, cérémonies et institutions religieuses et politiques des différents peuples de la terre*, Amsterdam 1766, Vol. III, pp. 401-402.

<sup>15</sup> See, also, his *Recherches sur l’origine du despotisme oriental*, n.p. 1761; cf. Monnier, *Républi-canisme*, p. 104. In a later publication it is mentioned that Boulanger wrote a “social utopia” that he termed “nomarchy”; see *Les clubs et les clubistes. Histoire et anecdotique des clubs et des comités électoraux fondés à Paris depuis la révolution de 1848 par Alphonse Lucas*, Paris 1851, p. 101.

## Hellenic Nomarchy

In 1806, a book entitled *Hellenic Nomarchy* was published somewhere in Italy.<sup>16</sup> Its anonymous author (henceforth called Anonymous)<sup>17</sup> did not reveal the origin of the title of his work. The subtitle *Discourse on Liberty* is obviously borrowed from the political works circulating in abundance during this period (for example, the *Discorsi pronunciati nella Società patriottica di Corcira*).<sup>18</sup>

Anonymous' reasoning is structured around the oppositional schema of monarchy-nomarchy. Both terms are semantic loans. The Greek dictionary of Anthimos Gazis (1809) defines the later Hellenistic word nomarchy as office of the nomarch, where the ancient word nomarch [νομάρχης] meant protector and administrator of an Egyptian nome. The Ventotis French-Greek dictionary (1790) also translates *nomarche* as a governor of Egypt. It was entered in the dictionary of the Académie Française (1798) with the same meaning.

The *Hellenic Nomarchy* transfers the new meaning into Greek. It might be an anagram of the Greek word monarchy [μοναρχία] as a transcription of the Italian *monarchia*,<sup>19</sup> which Alfieri discussed in his work *Della tirannide*, one of Anonymous' possible sources. Anagrams were very popular during the French Revolution, and the revolutionaries would create puns using words of the *ancien régime* (for example, *iscariot/aristocrate*).<sup>20</sup> Alternatively,

<sup>16</sup> 'Ελληνική Νομαρχία' 'Ητοι Λόγος Περὶ Ἐλευθερίας [...] Παρὰ Ἀνώνιμου τοῦ Ἑλλήνου [Hellenic nomarchy, or Discourse on liberty (...) from an Anonymous Hellene], Italy 1806. Cf. also the edition of G. Valetas with comments, Athens <sup>4</sup>1982 (<sup>1</sup>1957).

<sup>17</sup> On the issue of the author, see Costas Papachristou, *Ποιος ἔγραψε τὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Νομαρχία* [Who wrote the *Hellenic Nomarchy*], Athens 1987. According to Papachristou, the author was George Kalaras, who had studied mathematics and medicine in Pisa; he also wrote (1804) an unpublished grammar of vernacular Greek with transcriptions into a phonetic version of the Greek alphabet (*Δοκιμὴ γραμματικὴς τῆς γλώσσας μας*). According to Moschonas, it is possible that the author belonged (or was connected) to the radical circle of the vernacularists, of which Kalaras was a member; see I. Vilaras *et al.*, *Ἡ δημοτικιστικὴ ἀντίθεση στὴν Κοραϊκὴ "μέση οδὸ"* [The vernacularist opposition to Korais' "middle way"], ed. E. J. Moschonas, Athens 1981, pp. 56, 79. C. Patrinelis argued against this; see "Ὁ Γεώργιος Καλαράς καὶ ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Νομαρχία" [Georgios Kalaras and the "Hellenic Nomarchy"], *Ὁ Εὐραϊστής* 21 (1997), pp. 201-215.

<sup>18</sup> See Valetas' observation regarding the *Hellenic Nomarchy*, pp. 58-60, 305.

<sup>19</sup> Although the Greek word *μοναρχία* is entered in the dictionaries of the period with its ancient meaning, that is, rule of one, it is not usually employed in the texts; the word *βασιλεία*, kingdom (of the Ottomans), was in use; see Alexandra Sphini, *Langue et mentalités au Phanar (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles). D'après les "Ephémérides" de P. Codrica et d'autres textes du milieu phanariote*, Paris 1991, pp. 240-243.

<sup>20</sup> Guilhaumou, *La langue politique*, p. 56. See also Antoine de Baeque, "Iscariote, géant aristocrate ou l'image monstre de la Révolution", *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 289 (1992), pp. 323-332.

this might be a translation of Domergue's 1791 neologism *loyaume*, or it might convey the meaning of the word *nomarchie* in the French anonymous pamphlet of 1789.

If we accept the last possibility, we can draw some hypotheses as to how the neologism came to the Greek writer's attention. Had he resided for some time in Paris, he might have had the opportunity to read Domergue's periodical or the anonymous pamphlet, or to participate in the political edification of the societies, where democratic publications were read communally. Alternatively, had he resided in Italy or the Ionian Islands, he might have been able to procure or hear it at some (illegal) Jacobin club and, overcome by a state of enthusiasm, noted the term that caught his interest on a scrap of paper, something he admits he did, gathering notes in Italian, French and Greek.<sup>21</sup>

In any case, Anonymous was a patriot, involved in revolutionary activities. His linguistic convictions were similar to those of the grammarian-patriot Domergue. He held forth against scholastic "word-lovers", ready to condemn his language with "Gazis' syntax in hand".<sup>22</sup> He also attacked "rhetorical sentences", obviously hinting at the pretentious aesthetic language of the aristocratic élite, and the La Crusca academicians, the authorities of linguistic conservatism. He favoured a simple language and, consequently, a new grammar. His motto "meditation suffices" (inspired perhaps by the Enlightenment's *sapere aude*)<sup>23</sup> paid tribute to *orthos logos*, that is, reason.

The text is a printed screed with no paragraphs and many typographical (and spelling) errors. Anonymous' polemical discourse bears the influence of the dynamic of the French Revolution. His improvisational writing targeted emotion, with an eye towards brevity and sometimes with undue emphasis; thus, it requires an alert reader or listener. He created neologisms – some perhaps inspired by revolutionary gazettes (for example, *ανότης*, *αρετοδοχείο*, *λαοκλέπτει*, *ξυλογόγηματα*) – and employed, just like the French revolutionaries, metaphors from the animal kingdom to underline

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<sup>21</sup> *Ελληνική Νομαρχία*, pp. 262-263.

<sup>22</sup> This is the grammar of Theodoros Gazis (1495), in four parts (part four is a syntax), which was frequently republished up until the nineteenth century. In 1802, a translation of the syntax by Nikitas Kontaratos was published in simple Greek.

<sup>23</sup> F. Venturi, "Was ist Aufklärung? Sapere aude!", *Rivista storica italiana* LXXI (1959), pp. 119-128; Luigi Firpo, "Ancora a proposito di 'sapere aude!'", *Rivista storica italiana* LXXII (1960), pp. 114-117.



tyranny's brutality, obscenity and inhumanity<sup>24</sup> (for example, bloodthirsty wolves, eat and drink like swine).<sup>25</sup>

Delineating the changes in government from monarchy to nomarchy, Anonymous employed a series of keywords from the French Revolution. The direct sources he mined for the content of his concepts might have included: ancient Greek philosophy (Aristotle), Italy's Risorgimento (Machiavelli, Alfieri), the French Enlightenment (Montesquieu, Rousseau) and early Utopian socialism (Babeuf).<sup>26</sup> However, it seems more likely he employed an assimilated knowledge of various commonly accepted ideas from the revolutionary vulgate.<sup>27</sup>

Anonymous accepted the classic tripartite classification of political regimes into monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. Monarchy, which resulted when political society was instituted and man withdrew from nature, is equated with tyranny, oligarchy and theocracy. Apart from Alfieri, Anonymous also drew inspiration from the radical anti-tyrannical rhetoric of the French revolutionaries to draw the portrait of the bloodthirsty, corrupt, "automatic" (αυτόματος) tyrant.<sup>28</sup> Undermining the image of the clergy, its higher echelon especially, was an effective weapon of revolutionary propaganda: prelates were equated with the nobility, they wore rich garments, misappropriated money and purchased offices while burdening the people.<sup>29</sup>

Nomarchy has alternatively been called πολιτοκρατία, the rule of citizens (a term that had appeared in the work of Evgenios Voulgaris, while it was

<sup>24</sup> Seguin, *La langue française au XVIIIe siècle*, p. 248.

<sup>25</sup> Archbishops; cf. the caricature of the *roi-cochon*, Annie Duprat, "Le sage même à cinquante ans profite à l'école des bêtes", *L'animalité. Hommes et animaux dans la littérature française*, ed. Alain Niderst, Tübingen: Narr, 1994, pp. 131-148.

<sup>26</sup> Panayotis C. Noutsos, *Ελληνική Νομαρχία. Συμβολή στην έρευνα των πηγών της* [*Hellenic Nomarchy: Contribution to the research of its sources*], Athens and Ioannina 1982.

<sup>27</sup> Spyros J. Asdrachas, "Για την Έλληνική Νομαρχία" [Regarding the "Hellenic Nomarchy"], *Τα Ιστορικά* 46 (2007), pp. 5-14.

<sup>28</sup> Perhaps Anonymous had in mind the "automate royal" which Condorcet humorously proposed in the *Lettre d'un jeune mécanicien* (in the journal *Républicain*, no. 3) during the crisis of Varennes (16 July 1791). In this parody, a young mechanic, student of Vaucanson, the famous maker of automata, proposes to offer the constitutional committee a mechanical king, who would be eternal and not dangerous to liberty. I wish to thank Raymonde Monnier for notifying me of Condorcet's text.

<sup>29</sup> The lustful coupling of monk and nun are also part of the clergy's negative image; see *Ελληνική Νομαρχία*, p. 193; cf. Vovelle, 1793. *La Révolution contre l'Église*, p. 37.



also used in the Ionian Islands in 1798),<sup>30</sup> and “free polity”.<sup>31</sup> Anonymous argued that good government, which men invented to rediscover their natural bliss, can be combined with democracy as well as with aristocracy, because both encompass freedom for all people and the rule of the laws the people themselves established jointly and voluntarily. The reference to the aristocratic republic alluded not only to Montesquieu but also to Napoleon’s “aristodemocracy”, which was proposed as a system of governance for the Danubian Principalities,<sup>32</sup> and to the aristocratic Septinsular Republic, without, however, both being named.<sup>33</sup> The word nomarchy should be considered identical to the word republic,<sup>34</sup> which Zalikoglou’s French-Greek dictionary (1809) defines as polity, aristocracy and democracy.<sup>35</sup> Although a landmark word of its era, nomarchy was not entered into the dictionaries with that meaning. It was, however, used during the nineteenth century by French and German authors of philosophical works (such as Thurot and Krug),<sup>36</sup> although not by any Greek authors.<sup>37</sup>

Anonymous dedicated his work to liberty (together with his opposite, tyranny, the two most common words in his text: along with their derivatives, they appear 189 times), which in the *Hellenic Nomarchy* is linked to ομοιότητα, commonality – the same word was also used instead of *égalité* [equality] in the Greek translation of the French constitution published in the *Ἐφημερίς*

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<sup>30</sup> Henri Tonnet and Dinos Georgoudis, “Sur le terme ‘République’ en néo-grec (1774-1821)”, *Archipel Égéen* 1 (1989), pp. 13-19, at pp. 17-18.

<sup>31</sup> According to Robespierre’s definition, a republic is “any government of free men who have a *patrie*”; see Monnier, *Républicanisme*, p. 21.

<sup>32</sup> In 1802, the boyars approached Napoleon (the appeal is also signed by Ignatius of Hungaro-Wallachia) with Dumitrache Sturza’s plan for an aristodemocratic government; see Emil Virtosu, *Napoleon Bonapartes proiectul unei Republic aristodemocraticești în Moldova la 1802*, Bucharest 1947; cf. Nicolae Liu, “La Révolution française et la formation de l’idéologie révolutionnaire et républicaine chez les Roumains”, *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 265 (1986), pp. 285-306.

<sup>33</sup> Asdrachas, “Για την Ἑλληνική Νομαρχία”, pp. 9-10.

<sup>34</sup> Tonnet and Georgoudis, “Sur le terme ‘République’”, pp. 18-19.

<sup>35</sup> In Andreas Koromilas’ 1837 edition, the term republic is translated as polity and democracy (the term aristocracy was removed).

<sup>36</sup> J.-F. Thurot, *De l’entendement et de la raison. Introduction à l’étude de la philosophie*, Vol. II, Paris 1830, p. 244; W. T. Krug, *Allgemeines Handwörterbuch der philosophischen Wissenschaft*, Leipzig 1833, pp. 66-67.

<sup>37</sup> Except for a mention by Constantine Nicolopoulos to *Nomocratia* in *Revue encyclopédique* (1824); see Papachristou, *Ποιος έγραψε την Ελληνική Νομαρχία*, p. 63.

of Vienna<sup>38</sup> – and to fraternity, the emblem of the French Revolution. Called sacred, liberty is personified by a female deity, who resides in the motherland [πατρίς], Greece, and is defended by certain exemplary figures of Greek antiquity (Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Epaminondas, Leonidas, the Spartans) and the contemporary Souliotes and Maniots, proof that Greece still produced “liberty-loving” men and heroes ready to give their life for their country: “The life of the true citizen must end either for his liberty or with his liberty.”<sup>39</sup>

The motherland (third most common word in the text, 174 times along with its derivatives) accentuates emotion; the term nation [ἔθνος], which was used during the French Revolution, mostly in a legal context,<sup>40</sup> is absent. The motherland is not simply a place of birth, it represents the ties of kinship, man’s most precious possession; it is worth the possible endless struggle, it encapsulates for contemporary Greeks just as for their ancient forefathers, “all the ideas regarding liberty’s benefits and all their life’s bliss”.<sup>41</sup>

The motherland is Hellas. It is both ancient Hellas, the model of perfection, distorted through historical changes, and the new Hellas, suffering under the yoke of slavery (the words slaves and slavery appear 108 times in the text). The rebirth of Hellas, which, after all, is the patriots’ objective, is expressed with the nouns επανόρθωσις [restoration, 14 times], ελευθέρωσις [liberation, 4 times] and (επ)ανάστασις [revolution or resurrection, 3 times], and the verbs ξαναλαμβάνω [reacquire, 8 times] and αναλαμπρύνω [reglorify, once]: it constitutes a political, philosophical, natural and moral programme.<sup>42</sup> Hellas and the Hellenes (the most frequent words in the text, 129 and 177 times respectively, together with the adjective Hellenic, 332 times) are the new revolutionary collectivity inspired by Greek antiquity, which alternates in the vocabulary with the traditional collectivities, “our *genos*” [people, race, 28 times] and “Christians” (14 times). The duty of every Greek (177 times), of man (123 times), of the citizen (42 times) and of the people (41 times) is to liberate the motherland (see also Table 1).

<sup>38</sup> *Εφημερίς, Βιέννη 1791* [Ephemeris, Vienna 1791], Vol. I, Athens: Academy of Athens, 1995, pp. 312, 326.

<sup>39</sup> *Ελληνική Νομαρχία*, p. 36. See also Nicholas Eliopoulos, “Liberty in the *Hellenic Nomarchy* of 1806”, *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique* VI (2009), pp. 165-186.

<sup>40</sup> Monnier, *Républicanisme*, p. 233 ff.

<sup>41</sup> *Ελληνική Νομαρχία*, p. 55.

<sup>42</sup> Domergue used “régénération” very frequently; see Françoise Dougnac, “Régénération dans le *Journal de la langue française* (1er Janvier 1791 – 24 mars 1792)”, *Dictionnaire des usages socio-politiques (1770-1815)*, fasc. 6, Paris: INALF/Klincksieck, 1999, pp. 187-202.

Table 1

Frequencies of words in the *Hellenic Nomarchy*

Greek word	English translation	Number of times used
Έλληνες – Ελλάς – Ελληνικός	Hellenes – Hellas – Hellenic	332
Ελευθερία – Φιλελεύθερος	Liberty – Liberal	189
Τύραννος – Τυραννία	Tyrant – Tyranny	189
Πατρίς – Πατριώτης – Φιλόπατρις	Motherland – Patriot	174
Άνθρωπος – Ανθρώπινος – Ανθρωπότης	Man – Human – Humanity	174
Δούλος – Δουλεία	Slave – Slavery	108
Αδελφοί – Φιλαδελφότης	Brothers – Fraternity	80
Οθωμανοί	Ottomans	68
Νόμος – Νομαρχία-ικός – Νομοδότης	Law – Lawdom – Law-giver	55
Ξένος	Foreigner	53
Ιερός	Sacred	52
Αρετή	Virtue	50
Διοίκηση	Government	45
(Συμ)Πολίτης	(Fellow-) Citizen	42
Λαός	People	41
Πλούσιοι	Rich	33
Αμάθεια – Αμαθής	Ignorance – Ignorant	28
Βασιλέας	King	28
Γένος (μας, ελληνικόν)	Genos (our, Hellenic)	28
Πτωχοί – Πτωχεία	Poor – Poverty	27
Τιμή	Honour	27
Φιλία	Friendship	15
Δεισιδαμονία	Superstition	14
Χριστιανοί	Christians	14

Anonymous exhorted citizens to practise the virtue that brings them together in joint action (“Virtue and true philosophy is to live amongst many people, and this is achieved by benefitting them.”),<sup>43</sup> placing the common good before any individual advantage (“Sacrifice, if the need is worthy, your

<sup>43</sup> *Ελληνική Νομαρχία*, p. 223.

every individual good for the good of the community.”),<sup>44</sup> and he condemned the selfishness and eudemonism that turned to individualistic (rather negative) liberty<sup>45</sup> an attitude characteristic of rich notables and the clergy. He also strongly criticized Greek immigrants who, clumsily emulating the indigenous wealthy élite, abandoned themselves to individual pleasures.<sup>46</sup> These ungrateful apostates are addressed by a personified motherland, who reminds them, just as a mother would her children, that her liberty depends on them and not on foreigners.

Anonymous, flush with revolutionary optimism, emphasized that Greece's liberty was attainable. Contributing to this conviction was the fact that Ottoman rule was in decline and challenged by many separatist movements. In contrast, the Greeks, whose morals and character had not been distorted by conquests, had begun to adorn themselves with education, as Korais pointed out in his *Mémoire*.<sup>47</sup> However, Anonymous added, the nation did not need centuries to adorn itself: “For liberation and adornment are the same.”;<sup>48</sup> the Ottoman State would collapse, the Greeks must not submit to another foreign sceptre, and Greece's co-religionist Serbs, led by Karageorge, had set the example.<sup>49</sup> The “machine” – the driving force of the people, according to Robespierre,<sup>50</sup> the secret key of Jacobinism that lies hidden in the people's shadow, in the societies<sup>51</sup> – was ready: “Today, the means are sufficient; the

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>45</sup> For the conceptions of liberty during the French Revolution, see Mona Ozouf, “Liberté”, *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution française*, ed. Mona Ozouf and François Furet, Paris: Flammarion, 1988, pp. 763-775.

<sup>46</sup> Anonymous denounced marriage with a woman “of another race” in particular; see *Ελληνική Νομαρχία*, p. 207. François Furet and Denis Richet (*La Révolution française*, Paris: Hachette-Pluriel, 1963, p. 210) highlight the xenophobia of the sans-culottes, who would denounce anyone marrying a foreign woman as an “enemy of France, a true immigrant of the heart”.

<sup>47</sup> *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce, lu à la Société des Observateurs de l'homme, le 16 Nivôse, an XI (6 janvier 1803), par Coray, docteur en médecine, et membre de ladite Société*.

<sup>48</sup> *Ελληνική Νομαρχία*, p. 253.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 246, 252.

<sup>50</sup> Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*, London, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984, p. 117.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Sieyès' “machine politique” metaphor; see Jacques Guilhaumou, “La rhétorique des porte-parole (1789-1792). Le cas Sieyès”, *Une expérience rhétorique*, pp. 221-229, at p. 227. See also Jean Boutier and Philippe Boutry, “Les sociétés politiques en France de 1789 à l'an III. ‘Une machine?’”, *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* XXXV (1988), pp. 29-67; Raymonde

machine, anyway, is complete. All it needs is someone to give it a push, and then it will operate on its own.”<sup>52</sup>

In conclusion, we could say that the influence of the French Revolution’s language and, indeed, of Jacobin political language<sup>53</sup> on Anonymous’ manifesto is obvious. Anonymous promotes the standard of a new man,<sup>54</sup> the modest revolutionary-patriot and volunteer who gives his life for liberty and motherland (incarnated by the hero-martyr Rhigas), the model of a Spartan polity founded on law, virtue and the common good.<sup>55</sup> The *Hellenic Nomarchy* is linked to the standards of ancient Greece and to the expectations of internationalized Jacobinism, which, through Buonarroti and the Italian patriots, took strongest root in Italy more than in any other European country.<sup>56</sup>

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Monnier, “Les sociétés populaires dans le département de Paris sous la Révolution”, *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 278 (1989), pp. 356-373; Michel Biard, “The ‘Jacobin Machine’, a Historical Fantasy Revisited in the Light of a Local Study: The Popular Society of Honfleur (1791-1795)”, *French History* 26/1 (2012), pp. 79-95.

<sup>52</sup> *Ελληνική Νομαρχία*, p. 223.

<sup>53</sup> The young Marx viewed the Jacobin political language as a living organism associated with the evolution of the revolutionary process; see Jacques Guilhaumou, “Le jeune Marx et le langage jacobin (1843-1846). Lire et traduire ‘la langue de la politique et de la pensée intuitive’”, *Révolutions françaises et pensée allemande (1789-1871)*, ed. Lucien Calvié, Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1989, pp. 105-122.

<sup>54</sup> Michel Vovelle, *La mentalité révolutionnaire*, Paris: Éditions sociales, 1985; Mona Ozouf, *L’homme régénéré. Essais sur la Révolution française*, Paris: Gallimard, 1989.

<sup>55</sup> Sparta was the political model of Rousseau and the Montagnards. For the place of ancient Greece in the revolutionaries’ imagination, see Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Πέρα από την αρχαία ελληνική δημοκρατία*, Greek transl. of *La démocratie grecque vue d’ailleurs*, Athens: Alexandria, 1999, pp. 241-269.

<sup>56</sup> Regarding revolutionary Italy, see Vittorio Criscuolo, “L’idée de république chez les jacobins italiens”, *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 296 (1994), pp. 279-296; “L’Italie du Triennio révolutionnaire”, *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 313 (1998); Michel Vovelle, *Les Républiques sœurs sous le regard de la Grande Nation, 1795-1803*, Paris: L’Harmattan, 2000. See also Paschalis M. Kitromilides, “From Republican Patriotism to National Sentiment: A Reading of *Hellenic Nomarchy*”, *European Journal of Political Thought* 5/1 (2006), pp. 50-60; Dimitris Sotiropoulos, “Ελληνική Νομαρχία, ήτοι Λόγος περί του ριζοσπαστικού Διαφωτισμού. Η γέννηση της νεοελληνικής πολιτικής σκέψης στις απαρχές του 19ου αιώνα” [*Hellenic Nomachy, or Discourse on radical Enlightenment: The birth of Neohellenic political thought at the beginning of the nineteenth century*], *Η Ελληνική Επανάσταση του 1821. Ένα ευρωπαϊκό γεγονός* [The Greek Revolution of 1821: A European event], ed. Petros Pizaniyas, Athens 2009, pp. 104-118.