

## THE GREEK MARSEILLAISE OF RHIGAS VELESTINLIS

The Court archives of the investigation held at Vienna on Rhigas' arrest turn our attention to a re-study of the subject, even if we lacked all other evidence about his having composed a poem, which is a free version, or a mere imitation of the French Marseillaise.<sup>1</sup> In the reports of the Austrian examiner it is recorded that, as appears from the testimony of Dr. Demetrios Nicolides, one of the principal persons among those accused, and as confirmed by the statements of those indicted with him, the "conspirators" meeting at Argenti's home sang, besides Rhigas' War March, some strophes of the Marseillaise *Allons enfants*.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere, from the testimony of Kaspar Peters, instructor in French, the Austrian inquiry brings to light that Philip Petrovich, the youngest and most enthusiastic of Rhigas' companions, asked of Peters (as Petrovich himself knew no French), to translate into German apparently the text of the Marseillaise. Peters promised, but in the end only copied the text, which he handed over to Petrovich.<sup>3</sup>

Rhigas followed the events of the French Revolution with anxious interest, as he drew his political ideology from it, and relied on its contribution for the liberation of Greece. So he used to instil his revolutionary spirit into his comrades by applying the music of French rebel songs to free renderings of them into Greek, or to verses of his own inspiration. It would seem strange to us if he had ignored, or passed over in silence the renowned revolutionary

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1. A special study of this subject was made by N. Politis, 'Ο Μασσαλιώτικος θούριος ἐν Ἑλλάδι [The Marseillaise War March in Greece], "Παρθενών" (Parthenon), vol. 2 (Athens 1872), pp. 1089 ff. The article is the first effort toward a systematic exploration at a time when neither the Vienna court files were known, nor the data brought to light by later research. I examined the question for the first time in my work *Les oeuvres de Rhigas Velestinlis*, Paris 1937, pp. 43 ff.

2. Αἰμ. Λεγκράνδ - Σ. Λάμπρου, 'Ανέκδοτα ἔγγραφα περὶ Πήγα Βελεστινλή, Athens 1891 [Documents...], ed. Legrand, p. 82: "⟨D. Nicolides⟩ admits that he sang some verses out of this ⟨War Song⟩ which he knew by heart, at the residence of Argentis, and later in the latter's presence, some strophes of the Marseillaise march 'Allons enfants' (einige Strophen aus dem Marseiller Lieder Allons enfants), together with Paraschos, a Greek of Trieste; this is affirmed in part by Theocharis, Masoutis and Amoiros".

3. Κ. Ἀμάντου, 'Ανέκδοτα ἔγγραφα περὶ Πήγα Βελεστινλή, Athens 1930 [Documents...], ed. Amantos, pp. 166 and 186: "⟨Peters⟩ promised to translate for Petrovitch the Marseillaise Allons enfants too, but he only copied instead of translating it; that was confirmed by Petrovitch also".

march by Rouget de l'Isle, which had swept the masses of the French people into a frenzied war mood, led their armies on to triumph and had become the Republic's official anthem. The fact that Peters did not comply with the request of Petrovich has no import; among the rebel circles of Vienna Greeks there were many familiar with French. Rhigas himself handled it perfectly and had translated many works from it into Greek. We are even inclined to believe that Petrovitch moved on his own in this matter. In fact young as he was, hardly seventeen, carried away by democratic tenets and a frantic urge to see the Greek homeland free, he took such spontaneous and irrational initiatives as are also the letters he attempted to send to Abbot Sieyès.<sup>4</sup> It cannot be imagined that Rhigas expected as late as 1797 to be informed of the Marseillaise text through his youthful follower from a German teacher of French, when for eight years already that march echoed throughout the world as a song of peoples' freedom and as the paean of democracy's victories. Besides, while Rhigas had lived in Moldo-Wallachia, and in the last of those years was in close secret contact with French agents, who doubtless knew the Marseillaise by heart and would not miss a chance to spread it abroad with its music, as the best means of propaganda. It must be recalled too that enough of the initiates into Rhigas' revolutionary plans were Greeks settled in Trieste, where French rebel songs, the Marseillaise in particular, were sung around by French seamen sailing as far as Trieste from ports of the Mediterranean under French occupation, and by French military personnel posted in that port.<sup>5</sup>

What matters for us is that, according to Austrian police records, the Marseillaise was sung at the clandestine get-togethers of the Vienna "conspirators" around Rhigas; and it was not possible to sing it, save in Greek, either rendering the French verses in a free manner, or adapting Greek ones to Rouget de l'Isle's tune. That was the practice of Rhigas and his circle and it was followed in other rousing lays also. Singing the French march in the original, as those familiar with the language could do, would be of no use to Rhigas and the Vienna rebels, because they did not intend to tone up their own reactio-

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4. I have presented this at length in a recent study of Rhigas' revolutionary plans; see *Μελέται περὶ Πήγα Βελεστινῆ*, Athens 1964, pp. 229 ff. Cf. also A. J. Manassis, *L'activité et les projets politiques d'un patriote Grec dans les Balkans vers la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, "Balkan Studies", vol. III (1962), pp. 75-118.

5. We should not regard as a matter of chance that Paraschos, the Greek from Trieste, is mentioned in the Austrian investigation as taking part in the singing of the Marseillaise March. From other data drawn out of that investigation (see my treatise on the Charter of Rhigas, *Τὸ πολίτευμα τοῦ Πήγα* [The Constitution of Rhigas], Athens, 1962) it is shown that Rhigas addressed himself to Coronios, his friend at Trieste, for securing proclamations and other texts from the French Republic.

nary temper, but to spread the idea of revolt and fire a passion for freedom among the Greek masses, toward the liberation attempt which was in the making. Such an end could not be reached except with a Greek march, which sung to the melody of the French one might become a stirring battlesong on the lips of the Greek nation. Hence we cannot fancy that the French Marseillaise was intoned at the Vienna conclaves, but a Greek version giving its sense, or simply fitted to the poetic measure, so that it might resound across Greece to the inflaming notes of Rouget de l'Isle, as the Greek's own call to arms.

Beyond the data drawn from the Austrian court files we have no clear evidence from that date of a Greek Marseillaise as a work of Rhigas. But slightly later sources and the witness left by persons living at the time, or others who knew such people, lead us to assume that among Greek circles in Vienna at the close of the 18th cent., a Greek poem, well known and sung as the "Greek Marseillaise" was certainly making the rounds. By general conviction Rhigas was the author.

We move down 12 whole years after his arrest and the Austrian court inquiry, before we get knowledge of a poetical text widespread among Greeks throughout their country, sung to the notes of the Marseillaise and ascribed to Rhigas. In 1809 Lord Byron, accompanied by the English traveler Hobhouse on a tour of Greece, visited one of the most prominent Greek squires in the Peloponnese, Andrew Lontos, later a heroic fighter for freedom and was entertained by him. "On hearing the name of Rhigas", says Hobhouse, "when he (Lontos) was playing with me a party of chess, jumped suddenly from the sofa, threw over the board, and clasping his hands, repeated the name of the patriot with a thousand passionate exclamations, the tears streaming down his cheeks. The same person recited with ecstasy the war-song of the unfortunate Greek:

Δεῦτε παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
ὁ καιρὸς τῆς δόξης ἦλθε...<sup>6</sup>

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6. The first edition of Byron's work *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was made at London in 1812. The verse rendering appeared on pp. 223-225, and the Greek text on pp. 273. They are found more readily in the later full editions of Lord Byron's poems (since 1825), e.g. in the complete one, *The Works of Byron*, Hartford, 1954, where on p. 185 is given the translation incorporated within the text of the poem, and in the note supplement, p. 52, the Greek original. In the other editions of Byron's poetical works it has been separated from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and is published in the series "Poems, 1809-1813", under the title *Translation of the Famous Greek War Song Δεῦτε παῖδες Ἑλλήνων* (see *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron...* edited with a memoir by Ernest Hartley Coleridge, London, John Murray ed. Several new editions since 1905; the last one, 1958). In the notes to *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* on the matter is added the information that this part of the poem was composed during his stay at the Capuchin monastery in Athens.

Scene and song made a deep impression on the English poet, renowned already, who wandered among the ruins of the Greek territory, recalling grandeur gone by and longing for days of freedom and new glory for the Greek nation, found now in a wretched state under foreign domination. He obtained a copy of the first four strophes and their refrain. A little later, while a guest at the Capuchin monastery in Athens, he turned them into English, including them in his illustrious poem *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* under the title "The Famous Greek War-Song Δεῦτε παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων". Below his version Byron wrote: "Greek War Song Δεῦτε παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, written by Rhigas who perished in the attempt to revolutionize Greece. The following translation is as literal as the author could make it in verse; it is of the same measure as that of the original."

Hobhouse did not omit introducing the Greek text in his work of impressions from Greece published a year later, in which he also gives the scene of its recitation by Lontos. He makes clear that it was a lengthy poem, so they limited themselves to copying the first four stanzas with the refrain. Each stanza consists of 8 verses, with the 5-verse refrain repeated after it. We quote the text here as it became known from its publication in the notes to *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and in the work of Hobhouse;<sup>7</sup> the translation too, for the sake of completeness, i.e. Lord Byron's free version:

Δεῦτε παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
ὁ καιρὸς τῆς δόξης ἤλθεν,  
ὡς φανῶμεν ἄξιοι ἐκείνων  
ποῦ μᾶς δῶσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν  
Ἄς πατήσωμεν ἀνδρείως

Sons of the Greeks, arise!  
The glorious hour's gone forth  
And, worthy of such ties,  
Display who gave us birth.  
Then manfully despising

7. Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the Years 1809 and 1810*, vols 1-2, London, 1813, vol. I, pp. 586 ff. I have faithfully followed the text published by Hobhouse, removing the obvious errors, which were due to ignorance of the language by the copyist, or the typesetter. In that edition the 4-verse refrain appears in 5 verses, the last one being divided in two

(τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸ αἶμα — ὡς τρέξῃ πρὸ ποδῶν)

I have joined these last two verses of the refrain in one, which by synizesis becomes one of ten syllables; this agrees with the music of the Marseillaise, the last verse of whose refrain unlike the other ones is itself of ten syllables (Qu' un sang impur abreuve nos sillons). Hobhouse writes that the Greek Marseillaise was recited by Lontos. But in his annotation he makes clear that it was a song which they sang "to a tune sounding very much like that of the Marseillaise."

The Italian philhellene Camba (*A Narrative of Lord Byron's Journey to Greece*, Paris, 1825), who accompanied the poet, reports almost verbatim the whole scene of "Rhigas' Marseillaise" recited by Lontos, claiming that he heard it from the lips of Lord Byron himself.

τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς τυραννίδος.  
Ἐκδικήσωμεν πατρίδος  
κάθε δνειδος αἰσχρόν.

The Turkish tyrant's yoke  
Let your country see you rising  
And all her chains are broke.

Ἐπωδός : Τὰ δπλα ἄς λάβωμεν  
παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἄγωμεν  
ποταμηδὸν ἐχθρῶν τὸ αἷμα  
ἄς τρέξῃ ὑπὸ ποδῶν.

*Chorus* : Sons of Greeks, let us go  
In arms against the foe,  
Till their hated blood shall flow  
In a river past our feet.

Ὅθεν εἶσθε τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
κόκκαλα ἀνδρειωμένα  
πνεύματα ἐσκορπισμένα  
τώρα λάβετε πνοήν.  
στὴν φωνὴν τῆς σάλπιγγός μου  
συναχθῆτε δλα ὁμοῦ  
τὴν Ἐπτάλοφον ζητεῖτε  
καὶ νικάτε πρὸ παντοῦ.

Brave shades of chiefs and sages,  
Behold the coming strife!  
Hellenes of past ages  
Oh, start again to life.  
At the sound of my trumpet breaking  
Your sleep, oh join with me!  
And the seven-hilled city seeking  
Fight, conquer, till we are free.

Τὰ δπλα ἄς λάβωμεν, κ.λ.π.

Sons of Greeks, etc.

Σπάρτη, Σπάρτη, τί κοιμᾷσθε  
ὕπνον λήθαργον βαθύν;  
ξύπνησον, κράξε Ἀθήνας  
σύμμαχον παντοτεινὴν.  
Ἐνθυμηθῆτε Λεωνίδου  
ἥρωος τοῦ ξακουστοῦ  
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπαινεμένου  
φοβεροῦ καὶ τρομεροῦ.

Sparta, Sparta, why in slumbers  
Lethargic dost thou lie?  
Awake, and join thy numbers  
With Athens, old ally!  
Leonidas recalling.  
That chief of ancient song,  
Who saved ye once from falling,  
The terrible, the strong!

Τὰ δπλα ἄς λάβωμεν κ.λ.π.

Sons of Greeks, etc.

Ὅπου εἰς τὰς Θερμοπύλας  
πόλεμον αὐτὸς κρατεῖ,  
καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀφανίζει  
καὶ αὐτῶν κατακρατεῖ.  
Μὲ τριακοσίους ἄνδρας  
εἰς τὸ κέντρον προχωρεῖ  
καὶ ὥς λέων θυμωμένος  
εἰς τὸ αἷμα τῶν βουτεῖ.

Who made that bold diversion  
In old Thermopylae,  
And warring with the Persian  
To keep his country free,  
With his Three Hundred waging  
The battle long he stood,  
And like a lion raging  
Expired in seas of blood.

Τὰ δπλα ἄς λάβωμεν, κ.τ.λ.

Sons of Greeks, etc.

The fact that a Peloponnesian notable recited the poem with patriotic fervour and religious emotion in the presence of his distinguished guests leaves no doubt that it was known far and wide in Greece as "Rhigas' Greek Marseillaise," and by common conviction was held to be the genuine work of the national martyr. It must be borne in mind however, that if we discount all later imitations, we know not one single verse of it before its publication by Lord Byron and Hobhouse; nor did any line of it become subsequently known beyond those published by them, though we have the comment that it was of great length.<sup>8</sup> Thus we are allowed the quite reliable hypothesis that the inclusion of these verses in a poetical masterpiece by an author already renowned and avidly read in many countries of the civilized world, plus its appearance in a book of travels circulated widely in three editions across Europe of that time, gave the chief start to all that has been written since by Greeks and non-Greeks especially during the years of the Greek Revolution, about a "Greek Marseillaise by Rhigas" and its text. Also, the fact that a new "Marseillaise" was bruited about, be it an imitation sung to the tune of the world famous French revolutionary march, could not but stir the liberal spirits of Europe and tend to spread the poem all around as the work of the Greek freedom's first martyr. But as soon as the Revolt of 1821 broke out, sources of the time, which do not admit of dispute and will be quoted in due course, tell us that parallel to Rhigas' other march, namely his War-Song (Θούριον) there was heard from the lips of many Greeks and there resounded in several camps of the warriors for freedom the "Greek Marseillaise of Rhigas" too, at least its first strophe with the refrain. That strengthens the view that the poem was known well enough in Greece with the established certainty among the Greek people (who did not of course know Byron's and Hobhouse's books), that Rhigas had composed it. Thus a rooted tradition had already formed, one that could grip the heart of Lontos at Patras eleven years after the bard's death, and after as many years again since that ecstatic scene urge the Greeks on to their emancipation.<sup>9</sup>

Let us first examine the non-Greek sources in which mention is made

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8. An argument against its authenticity might especially be drawn from the fact that the manuscript of Nic. Parparigos, written at Jassi in 1807 (Mss of the Rumanian Acad., No 928) in which is found the exact text of the War Song and that of the Patriotic Hymn with some variations, totally ignores that of the Greek Marseillaise, even modified. Yet, only nine years had elapsed since Rhigas' death. Later, in the edition of revolutionary songs made by M. Bernardos at Jassi in 1821, the poem is included as a work of Rhigas.

9. The Peloponnese and especially Patras, where Lontos lived, were in close contact with the Ionian Islands, where the authentic or alleged poems of Rhigas were widely known since the days of Perraios and of other francophiles or republicans, residing or assembled there.

of Rhigas' Marseillaise, before we deal with the Greek ones of that time. In these foreign references we trace the evidence back to Byron's poem and Hobhouse's book as the original source; no question about that. They form a part of the acute interest then current in everything Greek after the Revolution of 1821 broke out, and are often varied with items mostly fantastic, obtained off hand by foreign writers from diverse contemporaries. Thus Pouqueville remarks that Rhigas composed the Greek Marseillaise on orders from a French general, who later became a great figure.<sup>10</sup> In the same year (1824) the stanzas already were published with the refrain in a collection of Greek texts issued in Germany; <sup>11</sup> also the German Hellenist Karl Iken, an ardent votary of Greek freedom, in his work *Leukothea* on Greece and modern Greek letters published a German version of Byron and an English rendering; a year later in another work of his, Iken produced the Greek text itself with a new translation.<sup>12</sup>

The French poet Pierre Lebrun, later member of the Académie, who visited Greece just before 1821, in a collection of his poems issued in 1828 dealing with his impressions and with the heroic struggle for Greek freedom, soon after, included a poem of his inspired by Rhigas' Marseillaise "Δεῦτε παῖδες." He writes that in 1820 he heard *La chanson vengeresse*, as he calls it, sung by sailors from Hydra aboard the vessel taking him to Greece. What interests us most is his report that *Byron's fine version* was based on a defective copy. According to Lebrun, the text published in Byron's notes comprises only four stanzas, while the manuscript he had, secured on his travels in Greece, perhaps on Hydra or on the Hydriot ship, contained the exact text of seven stanzas in all.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately for us the French poet limited himself to being

10. F.C.H. Pouqueville, *Histoire de la régénération de la Grèce*, Paris, 1824, vol. I, p. 124. Without doubt he means Napoleon Bonaparte, at that time a general and commander of the army in Italy. It was rumoured that Rhigas was in secret touch with him.

11. *Taschenbuch für Freunde der Geschichte des Griechischen Volkes...* D. Schott und M. Mebold, Heidelberg 1824, pp. 294 ff. Alongside the Greek text are published the verses by Lord Byron; the source in thus made clear.

12. Karl Iken, *Leukothea...* Leipzig 1825, vol. I, pp. 102 ff. An argument for the authenticity of the Marseillaise as a work of Rhigas is the witness of the Greek merchant Peter Hoïdas, who, he writes, assured him that Rhigas himself had often sung the song to the tune of the Marseillaise. The text is taken from a new edition of Childe Harold, which had the Greek verses in its notes.

13. *Le Voyage de Grèce, poème par Pierre Lebrun*, Paris, 1828. On pp. 31 ff. is the poem and on pp. 165 ff. are the notes. This long drawn out poem (137 verses) of quite strong literary inspiration, bears the title "Le Themistocle," in honour of the Hydriot vessel so named, which took him from Marseille to Hydra in 1828. Its skipper was Iacovakis Tombazis, chief of the Hellenic fleet at the start of the revolt, who also was his host there. Though Lebrun in this fine poem of his, is inspired by "Rhigas' Marseillaise" he does not side with Byron on its being "the finest of Greek songs." He rates it as of small importance in poetical

inspired by Rhigas' Marseillaise, also rendering either literally or freely quite a few verses of it, but did not publish the Greek text he possessed. From it we would have known the differences with Byron's and Hobhouse's published original, as well as the three other stanzas, which we have from no other source.<sup>14</sup>

We give below out of Lebrun's poem the verses constituting a free translation, or inspired directly by the Greek, i.e. only the four stanzas and the refrain known to us, since we do not know the extra three on which he may have drawn for the rest of his own poem:

*Levez-vous, enfants des Hellènes,  
Levez-vous, et pressez vos rangs.  
C'est l'heure de briser vos chaînes  
Et d'en écraser vos tyrans.  
Quels chants venus soudain de la lointaine Grèce,  
Ont de leurs sons connus fait tressaillir mon coeur!  
N'est-ce pas de Rhigas la chanson vengeresse?  
Oui: j'entends tous les Grecs la répéter en choeur.  
O! dans mon souvenir merveilleuse harmonie!  
Quand ces chants m'ont frappé pour la première fois,  
Sur un vaisseau d'Hydra, vers la mer d'Ionie  
Je voguais: sous l'air pur brillait la mer unie,  
La Grèce était voisine, et cent joyeuses voix  
Saluaient et la Grèce et ses futurs exploits...*

*Levez-vous, cendres paternelles!  
Reprenez vos formes mortelles,  
Pour reconquérir vos tombeaux  
Un peuple de soldats se lève...  
Sparte, Sparte, tu dors encore!  
Quand sortiras-tu du sommeil?  
Ouvre les yeux et vois l'aurore  
Te préparer un beau réveil  
Revêts-toi de ta gloire antique:  
Vas soulever la vieille Attique.  
Pleurante au pied du Parthénon  
Et courez, d'exemple fertiles,  
Ou mourir comme aux Thermopyles,  
Ou vaincre comme au Marathon.*

worth and as noteworthy only for its impetus, like that of Rouget de l'Isle. Of the works of Rhigas, and rightly so, he considers the War Song superior to all.

14. We must recall that the "Song of the Rhine Army" had seven strophes. So it is not



The "Greek Marseillaise" became known as the work of Rhigas during the last years before the Revolution and was translated in Russia. The outbreak of the Greeks' liberation fight made the song very timely there too, where many Greeks lived and actively worked for the success of the cause, besides the fact that, regardless of shifts in Russian policy, the masses seized with enthusiasm as soon as the first feats of the fellow Orthodox Greeks became known to them. In October, 1821, two Russian translations of the march *Sons of the Greeks, arise!* were published in the magazine *Vestnik Evropy* as a work of Rhigas. To remove their rebellious stamp and justify the issue before the censor the Russian periodical prefaced them adroitly: *Rhigas' War-Song had been drafted during the previous uprising started in the Morea. The two versions were made directly from the Greek. We publish it as the work of a son of Greece, a country whose sufferings and struggles fill the magazines and political gazettes today.*<sup>15</sup> Both translations cover the extant four 8-verse stanzas and their refrain.

Among foreign sources special notice may be taken of what Firmin Didot, eminent French publisher, man of letters and a philhellene, recounts (he had visited Greece before the Revolution): At Kydoniai, a purely Greek town of Asia Minor, where excellent schools functioned and learning flourished, he attended a meeting of the *Academy* founded by Theophilus Caïris and other outstanding Greek scholars. In a remote building on a hilltop and behind closed doors, Greek intellectuals sequestered themselves *pour entonner en chœur le célèbre hymne de Rhigas, la Marseillaise grecque*, "Δεῦτε παῖδες Ἑλλήνων."<sup>16</sup>

Of equal value is what another French philhellene wrote, namely Auguste de Marsellus, secretary of his country's Embassy at Constantinople, who toured Greek areas in 1816-1820 and published his impressions about 20 years later. Shortly before the Revolution he was on Halke Island (in the Propontis), at that time inhabited almost solely by Greeks. He was touched to hear for the first time, he says, "the famous patriotic march of hapless Rhigas," sung by an aged islander sitting on a rock, opposite the Sultan's seraglio. The

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improbable that a later addition of three strophes was made to the Greek song, that it might present an identity in outer form with the real Marseillaise of Rouget de l'Isle.

15. Published in *Vestnik Evropy*, No 20 (October 1821), the one on p. 258, the other on pp. 260 ff. See N. Traicoff, *Rigas Velestinlis en Russie*, Athènes, 1939 (from "Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.", vol. XVI). The initials Δ.Σ. placed below the second translation by way of a signature indicate that the translator was a Greek. According to Traicoff (*o.c.*) the translation was made from manuscript copies circulating among the Greeks in Russia.

16. Ambr. Didot, *Notes d'un voyage dans le Levant* and *Alde Manuce et l'Hellenisme à Venise*, Paris..., pp. 388 and 471.

verses quoted by de Marsellus in translation leave no doubt of its being the *Greek Marseillaise*.<sup>17</sup>

We can find no proof as regards the authenticity of the poem, or even the prevalent opinion about it in Greece before 1821, among the remaining foreign sources which mention it as Rhigas' work, or deal with it otherwise. All draw on Hobhouse, without closer study, or on Byron and others mentioned above or to be cited soon. They only offer the fact that among those in Europe busy with Greek matters, especially with the Neohellenic renaissance, one conviction prevailed: the Greek Marseillaise was a work of Rhigas.<sup>18</sup>

Certain Greek sources present greater interest as regards the validity of the inferences we may draw from them. First we must go back to the edition made at Jassi in 1821, shortly before the Revolution started, by M. Bernardos the Cretan, of various national songs among which are included as works by Rhigas of Velestino: the War March, the Patriots' Anthem, and the Marseillaise *Sons of the Greeks, arise!*<sup>19</sup> It is true that in Bernardos' edition the Greek Marseillaise is altered. But in that pamphlet, printed on the eve of Ypsilanti's entering Jassi, many changes appear both in the War March and in the Patriots' Anthem, made by the editor so as to render the poems more timely and

17. Aug. de Marsellus, *Souvenirs de l'Orient*, vol. I, Paris, 1839, p. 122: The text quoted by him is an almost exact translation of "Rhigas' Marseillaise". De Marsellus knew Greek well and published a two-volume collection of Greek folk songs with a French translation.

18. Villeneuve, *Journal fait en Grèce...*, Bruxelles 1827, p. 253.—Isambert, *L'indépendance grecque...*, Paris 1887, p. 36.—Xenopol, *Histoire des Roumains...*, Paris 1896, vol. 2, p. 286.—Brunet de Presle, *Grèce...*, Paris, p. 405.—Saint Hillaire, *Annuaire des études grecques*, Paris 1873, p. 338. Terzo, Italian translator of Rizo Neroulos (*Cours de Littérature grecque moderne*, Genève 1827) inserts a metrical version of the "Marseillaise of Rhigas" in Italian. Likewise Elissen (*Versuch... europäischen Poesie*, vol. I, p. 44) essays a critical examination of the text, on the basis of the German rendering.

19. *Ἀσματα καὶ ποιήματα διαφόρων, ἐν Κοσμοπόλει* (Songs and Little Works by Diverse Authors, Cosmopolis). Rizo Neroulos, (*Cours de littérature grecque moderne*, Genève 1828, p. 49), speaks of a secret new edition of Rhigas' poems at Jassi in 1814. Later writers of such an edition drew on him. It has already been proved (see Nestor Camarianos in "*Δελτίον Histor. Ethnol. Et.*" vol. XIV, Athens 1960, pp. 343 ff), that such a secret edition of any poems written by Rhigas was not made in 1814. It is no other than the above mentioned collection of Bernardos, printed in 1821 and containing among many other ones, the three songs in Moldo-Wallachia as works of Rhigas (War March, Patriotic Hymn and Marseillaise). Another pamphlet had also been issued at Jassi by Manuel Bernardos the Cretan, with the date 1814, April 23, recorded on it and the title: "Some short moral poems...", but not comprising poems by Rhigas. Evidently Neroulos was confused on the author's identity and the resemblance in title; so he identified the later secret edition containing the works of Rhigas with that of 1814, which bears no relation to it. The parts of the "Marseillaise of Rhigas" which Neroulos translated into French in his own work (*o.c.*, pp. 48-49) do not show the variations found in the Jassi re-edition of 1821.

in his view more adapted to propaganda in the expected revolutionary struggle. At any rate, the fact that in Moldo-Wallachia itself where Rhigas had lived for many years, and where many were still living who had known him and his work well, the Marseillaise was published as a work of his, proves that the conviction was common there too of its having actually been written by him.

But another Greek intellectual who had lived in Paris, yet knew well the Greek literary activity of the time, Menas Minoïdes by name, left three manuscripts now in the National Library there, which contain the "chants patriotiques de Rhigas": the War March, the Patriots' Anthem and the Greek Marseillaise; these are in a French translation.<sup>20</sup> Minoïdes could not procure his information except from Greece.

Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, German historian of Modern Greece, writes that when Ali Pasha on the Sultan's order sallied against the seceder Pazvanoglou, Ali's son Mouchtar sent his father a letter about a great excitement among the Greeks and the danger of an uprising incited by the French. "The peasants," he wrote, "have started singing a song translated into Greek by Rhigas, and called Massaliotis".<sup>21</sup> Ali Pasha's campaign against Pazvanoglou was made in 1798. Mendelssohn does not refer us to the source he drew on, but it is known that in drafting his work he used authentic Greek and foreign sources. One might question this piece of information, at least the point showing up Rhigas as author of the song, on the ground that till 1798 there had not been time enough for the works or alleged works of Rhigas to spread over Greek territory. But it must not be forgotten that the countryside Greeks under Ali Pasha's rule were in frequent communication and direct contact with their compatriots in areas of Epirus occupied by the republican French, esp. Preveza, where as will be set forth in more detail further on, news and books or manuscripts of a nation-rousing content could arrive with some ease from Austria, via Trieste. If the "Greek Marseillaise" actually made the rounds among the Greeks of Vienna and Trieste sung at their secret gatherings, it would not be hard for it to reach the French-occupied soil of the Ionian Islands and Epirus in a short time, through the French consular personnel or the Greek seamen visiting the Austrian port.

The notice supplied by Rizos Neroulos in his work on Neohellenic Literature deserves special attention. He not only believed that "Sons of the Greeks, arise" was composed by Rhigas in imitation of the Marseillaise, but

20. Bibl. Nat. de Paris; Mss. suppl. gr. 729. The Mss are not dated, but from what we know on Minoïdes, we conclude that they were written either in the early years of the 1821 revolt, or shortly before it.

21. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Geschichte Griechenlands von... 1453 bis auf unsere Tage*, vol. I (Leipzig 1870), p. 94.

he also held that it was widespread among the Greeks even in Constantinople itself. Prominent Turks who relished its music would order their Greek musicians to play it, and they knew its first verses by heart, without being curious enough to learn their meaning.<sup>22</sup>

John Philemon, historian of the Greek Revolution, who with meticulous care collected every item relating to the time of the Philike Hetaireia (the Society of Friends), and to the preparation for the war, calls the march “Ὡς πότε παλληκάρια” (How long, my braves), and the paean “Ὅλα τὰ ἔθνη πολεμοῦν” (All nations are fighting), works of Rhigas. In connection with the latter he adds further that “most common among the Greeks was also the paean “Sons of the Greeks, arise,” composed in imitation of the French Republic’s march”.<sup>23</sup>

Nicolaos Ypsilantis, brother of the leader Philike Etaireia and a participant in the fray within Moldo-Wallachia, ascribes the “Greek Marseillaise” to Rhigas and sets it on the same level with the bard’s War March, as a battle-song of the Greeks striking out for freedom.<sup>24</sup>

But throughout the Greek mainland and on the mariners’ isles chiefly, i.e. Hydra, Spetsai and Psara, the Marseillaise anthem was widely known as Rhigas’ poem and sung often. It was used nearly as much as his War March in the first stage of the Revolution, at any rate. According to the historian of the naval war, with the first alert in Spetsai there resounded the lines of Rhigas’ Marseillaise; a certain Chrysospathes, member of the Philike Etaireia, “climbed on the roof of a house and recited “Sons of the Greeks, arise” as well as “How long, my braves”. He swept the people to such a pitch that some shed tears of joy, while others swore to shed their blood for the homeland, and still others knelt to pray”.<sup>25</sup>

A contemporary description yields the following: When the Italian phil-

22. Rizo Néroulos, *o.c.*, p. 48. He then published a part of “Rhigas’ Marseillaise” in a French version. Neroulos was an eminent Greek, a man of letters, a literary author, later a political figure in Greece and in the last years before the revolution had lived in Moldo-Wallachia as minister to the Greek princes. Hence what he writes on our subject bears the surety that a general conviction prevailed there on the Marseillaise being a work of Rhigas.

23. J. Philemon, *Δοκίμιον ἱστορικὸν περὶ τῆς Φιλικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, Ναύπλιον 1833 [An Essay on the Filiki Etaireia], Nauplion 1833, pp. 99 ff.

24. N. Ypsilanti, *Mémoires... du prince Nicolas Ypsilantis*, Publ. D. Gr. Kambouroglous Athènes. p. 97. Nicolopoulos also in his *Biography of Rhigas*, published at Paris in 1824 (see above), writes that Rhigas composed “une imitation de la Marseillaise que les héros de la Grèce chantent encore aujourd’hui en combattant contre les oppresseurs”.

25. A. Orlandos, *Τὰ ναυτικά* [Naval Affairs], Ἀθήναι 1869, pp. 60 ff. According to him, Miaoulis felt enthusiastic whenever he heard “Sons of the Greeks arise”, and often ordered it to be sung in sea-fights.

hellene Santarosa reached Athens in February of 1825 to tone up the population's spirit in the face of an expected Turkish advance, he ran through the town and streets with his companions, singing "Sons of the Greeks, arisens."<sup>26</sup>

In 1798, only a short year's interval or so after the alleged composition of the "Marseillaise" by Rhigas (in any case, since the time when the "Greek Marseillaise" was sung at the private meetings of the Vienna patriots, as the Austrian court hearing reveals), Anthony Martelaos, a poet of Zante, exited by Napoleon's victories and by the occupation of the Ionian Islands by French republican troops and dreaming of Greece being liberated with their help, penned a "Marseillaise" or War March of five 8-verse stanzas and a 4-verse refrain, in the vein of the French original. What he borrowed beyond the metre and the music of Rouget de l'Isle's work was very little. His poem is in a purely Greek spirit and aimed to stir up the Greeks' ardor for freedom. But very telling for our study is the fact that certain parts of his poem are either a literal loan or a slight adaptation of the "Greek Marseillaise" ascribed to Rhigas. Thus, besides the two opening lines of the first strophe and the four refrain lines, where there is some alteration, the wording of the second strophe is almost verbatim:

Ὅθεν εἶσθε τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
Κόκκαλα ἀνδρειωμένα

Wherever you're of the Grecian  
Ashes strewn afar or near,

which in fact is the best in the whole composition.<sup>27</sup>

26. *Ἐφημερίς τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* [Athens Journal], 18 Feb., 1825. According to Photeinos, *Ἀθλοὶ τῆς ἐν Βλαχία ἐπαναστάσεως* [Feats of the Revolt in Wallachia...], p. 73, when the banner of rebellion was hoisted at Bucarest or March 27th, 1821, after the Doxology the people sang "the liberation songs of Rhigas", among which was "Sons of the Greeks arise". Also, in the battle at the Μύλος (Mills), when Ibrahim was repulsed, the Greek warriors sang "Sons of the Greeks, arise" to the tune of the Marseillaise. The French admiral Derigny, who watched the Greeks' hard fight from his flagship anchored not far off, when hearing the Marseillaise" sung was so moved that he ordered the ship's band to play it, though it was forbidden in France at the time.

27. The Marseillaise of Martelaos circulated long in manuscript and often verses of it were inserted in other works. Its full text was published by Sp. de Viazis in the periodical *"Estia"*, Athens 1884, pp. 411 ff and in the introduction of his work *Ἡ λύρα Ἀνδρέου Κάλβου καὶ ἀνέκδοτος ὕμνος Ἀντωνίου Μαρτελάου* [The Lyre of Andrew Calvos and an Unpublished Hymn by Anthony Martelaos], Zante, 1881, pp. 131 ff. He also dealt with the Marseillaise, which he calls "a Paean by Martelaos" in D. Solomos' *Ἀπαντα Δ. Σολωμοῦ* [Complete Works], Zante, 1880, p. 30. About the same time two other Marseillaise poems were composed, one in Greek, the work of Thomas Danielakis, another Zantiot poet, and the other in Italian, author unknown, but surely a Greek of the Ionian Islands (see their text in the periodical *"Apollon"*, Piraeus, vol. 5, pp. 918 ff). But these last two though somewhat closer to the text of the French Marseillaise speak of Greek Freedom, in no way however, influenced by Rhigas' poem. See also Sp. Papas, *France et Grèce*, pp. 63 ff. A. Dascalakis, *Les oeuvres de Rhigas*, pp. 51 ff. N. Tomadakis, in *"Ellenica"*, vol. 8, p. 350.

Here are the stanzas, identical or similar in sense, to strophes in the "Marseillaise" of Rhigas:

Free rendering:

Μπρὸς παιδιά. Ἄς πολεμοῦμε:  
Ὁ καιρὸς τῆς δόξης ἦλθε  
Ἄν τὸ γένος ἀγαποῦμε,  
Στὴ φωτιά, μπρὸς, στὴ φωτιά...

Ἐπωδός: Τὰ ὅπλα ἅς λάβωμεν  
Ἀγωμεν πατριώταις, ἀγωμεν  
Ἄς τρέξῃ καὶ ἄθωο αἷμα,  
Γιὰ τὴν λευθεριά.

4. Ὅθεν εἰσθε τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
Παλαιὰ ἀνδρειωμένα  
Κόκκαλα ἐσκορπισμένα  
Τώρα λάβετε πνοήν.  
Σταῖς φωναῖς τῆς σάλπιγγός μου  
Ὅχ τὸ μνημα ἀναστηθῆτε  
Καὶ τὸ Γένος νὰ ἰδῆτε  
Εἰς τὴν πρώτην του τιμὴν.

5. Σηκωθῆτε, γιὰ νὰ ἰδῆτε  
Πόσοι θάν' οἱ Λεωνίδαῖς.  
Σηκωθῆτε, νὰ χαρῆτε  
Πῶς ἡ Ἑλλὰς θὰ ξαναζῇ.  
Σηκωθῆτε! Καὶ θὰ ἰδῆτε  
Πῶς ἀνδρείως πολεμοῦμε,  
Πῶς ἐχθροὺς καταπατοῦμε  
Πόσο ἰμοιάζουμε μὲ σᾶς!

1. Forward, sons! Let us fight:  
Glory's hour has come now  
If we hold our Nation dear,  
To the front! March to the front!

*Refrain:* Let us take up our arms,  
March, compatriots, march;  
Let blood even guiltless flow  
In the name of Liberty.

4. Wherever you're of the Grecian  
Ancient manly stock and valiant,  
Bones strewn afar or near,  
Take the breath of life anew.  
To the summons of my trumpet  
From the tomb of death arise,  
To behold our Nation  
In its honor, as of yore.

5. Awake, arise and see  
How many match Leonidas;  
Awake and witness gladly  
Greece re-born, and living free.  
Awake, arise, behold us;  
How valiantly we battle,  
How we trample down the foe,  
How worthy we're of you.

A mere comparison of these lines with the text of Rhigas' "Marseillaise" given above reveals a close resemblance plain to the eye: especially the 2nd verse of the first strophe, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd of the refrain, and verses 1-5 of the fourth show identity in wording too, which leaves no doubt that one of the authors of these two songs has copied the other most faithfully. For the fifth strophe, where Leonidas is mentioned, only an indirect influence can be affirmed. But Martelaos wrote another poem dedicated "To renowned France, illustrious Bonaparte and General Gentilly".<sup>28</sup>

28. The text of that too was first published by Spyridon de Viazis, *op. cit.*

a work of 34 stanzas and 4 verses to each, full of patriotic spirit, but of vigorous sweep too. Now in this work also Martelaos repeats the fourth strophe from his imitation of the Marseillaise, and that word for word, but dividing it into a first and second quatrain here; that is:

Ὅθεν εἰσθε τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
παλαιά, ἀνδρειωμένα,  
κόκκαλα ἐσκορπισμένα,  
λάβετε τώρα πνοήν.  
Σταῖς φωναῖς τῆς σάλπιγγός μου  
ὄχ τὸ μνημα ἀναστηθῆτε,  
καὶ τὸ γένος σας νὰ ἰδῆτε  
εἰς τὴν πρώτην του τιμήν.

Again it is the second and finest strophe of Rhigas "Marseillaise" that we have here. In this same poem of his Martelaos attaches such importance to the opening four verses, that they make up the 1st, 15th and 38th quatrains, used by him as a nation-rousing clarion call.

Even if we lacked whatsoever data about the time when these anthems were composed by Martelaos, we would be unable to fix a date after the year 1798, i.e. the time when Venetian rule over the Ionian Islands was abolished and the troops under general Gentilly landed,<sup>29</sup> sent by the French Republic, which

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pp. 137 ff. These two hymns and the rest of Martelaos' poems circulated in manuscript form. About the year 1845 they were collected for publication, which did not take place Sp. de Viazis, *l.c.* p. 135).

29. Sp. de Viazis, *o.c.*, p. 133. In my opinion the date 15 October 1797, is due to confusion. N. Catramis, *Φιλολογικά ἀνάλεκτα Ζακύνθου* [Philological Analecta of Zante], Zante 1881, p. 483 and P. Chiotis, *Ἱστορικά Ἀπομνημονεύματα Ἑπτανήσου* [Historical Memorabilia of the Ionian Islands vol. 4, Corfu 1863, p. 640] write that on this day the French flag was raised on Zante's fortress, and that the teacher Anthony Martelaos delivered a speech... Therefore it was not the poem, which was probably written a little later. After the Russo-Turkish rule was established, Martelaos was persecuted by Zante aristocrats, one of whom, N. Logothetis-Gouliaris by name, wrote a parody of Martelaos' hymn, in the first quatrain of which he satirizes the very text we are dealing with as identical in meaning with that in the Marseillaise of Rhigas:

"Who has ever known of bones  
letting out a breath,  
of their holding a trumpet,  
and issuing from the tomb of death?"

See the whole parody in G. Zoras-F. Bouboulides, *Ἑπτανήσιοι προολωμικοὶ ποιηταὶ* [Heptanesian Poets before Solomos], Athens, 1953, pp. 51 ff. In the same work, pp. 39 ff., the poems of Martelaos are issued anew.

voiced abroad the doctrine of liberty and equality, and at the same time by proclamations which thrilled the Greeks with promises of liberation. Both poems bear witness to having been composed under the grip of these feelings, which were stirring the Greeks after the landing of the French republicans on the Ionian Islands; particularly the verses referring to Bonaparte and Gentilly betray a fiery timeliness and cannot have been written long after the arrival of the French at the Ionian islands, hence about 1797, certainly not after 1798, since in 1799 the Islands were occupied by the Russians and the Turks. It is mentioned too that Martelaos was persecuted for his democratic leanings and activities, and because during the republican period he had drafted and disseminated these anthems. The notice that he wrote the "Hymn to France, Bonaparte and General Gentilly on October 15th, 1799," is questionable, though not far from exact.

It is apparent that for Martelaos to be inspired by the Marseillaise of Rhigas and copy many verses literally, that text must necessarily have reached Zante before the close of 1797. How can we imagine that a revolutionary work ascribed to Rhigas, but not made public, had been circulated in Greece and spread all over the Ionian islands in manuscript form since 1797, at a time when Rhigas had not been arrested, nor had Christ. Peiraivos escaped from Trieste to soil occupied by the republican French and brought Rhigas' songs along? Should not we from this fact itself imagine that the so-called Marseillaise was not written in Vienna by Rhigas or someone else, and that hence to Martelaos belongs the authorship of these verses, which the later composer of the "Greek Marseillaise" simply copied from him?

However, we cannot side with such a view. The sources cited above convince us, if of nothing else, at least of the fact that on the morrow of Rhigas' strangling, the "Greek Marseillaise" went around throughout Greece and the general conviction was that Rhigas had fathered it. Martelaos lived till 1819, teaching Greek letters at Zante and following literary matters with unabated interest; no doubt he knew the text of the "Greek Marseillaise" circulating in Greece as a work of Rhigas and sung to the music of the French one. If the authorship of the verses common to both poems belonged to him, he would have shown some reaction; at any rate, he would not have passed the fact over in silence. The dissemination of the text of the Greek Marseillaise from Vienna to the Ionian islands in 1797 was something hard, but not impossible. As proven by the Austrian court inquiry, Rhigas' poems were known among the Greek circles of Trieste and his War Song had sometimes been read at the Greek club there.<sup>30</sup>

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30. Λεγκράντ - Λάμπρου, *Ἀνέκδοτα ἔγγραφα* [Documents...], ed. Legrand, p. 96.



Since the French-Austrian armistice, and more so since the peace of Campoformio, the republican France had installed military missions and consular authorities of military personnel at Trieste. It was not hard to channel a revolutionary text through them to the territory of the Ionian Islands occupied by the French. Besides that, many Greek ships called at Trieste, then at French-occupied Preveza and at the Ionian ports. Even trade transactions had begun between the Greek merchants of Trieste and those on soil held by the French. It is obvious that the most interesting Greek revolutionary text, one of flaming timeliness, must have been to the Greeks under the rule of republican France, an imitation of the Marseillaise, which they could sing to the tune of Rouget de l'Isle's already renowned march. Its transmission must have been quite easy, if we are to believe a somewhat later bit of information, according to which the "Greek Marseillaise" had been composed since 1796; and so it was the first revolutionary poem of the Vienna conspirators' circle, which circulated far and wide.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, no matter how watchful the Austrian police were, it seems plausible that a slip of paper containing it could easily escape their notice and be sent over among the Greeks of Epirus via Preveza and the Ionian islands.

It is very likely that when Martelaos acted fast, on account of the moment's need and the urgency of disseminating democratic ideas, and wrote his songs under the inspiration of the Greek Marseillaise at many points, even copying certain verses outright, he had an anonymous copy to hand, whose authorship he did not know. It had in some way the stamp of a democratic song, out of which he would take whatever he chose. Its origin must have been found out later, after Rhigas' work spread throughout Greece, and chiefly after his martyr's death became known.<sup>32</sup>

But this topic leads to another that also calls for an inquiry. Dionysios Solomos, the national poet of Greece, has included in his "Hymn to Liberty" that superb quatrain, which has served as a refrain in the musical version composed by Mantzaros, and which repeated four times (quatrains 2, 16, 74 and 77) has become the most popular and best known part of the whole poem:

"Ἀπ' τὰ κόκκαλα βγαλμένη  
τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ ἱερὰ  
καὶ σὰν πρῶτα ἀντρειωμένη  
Χαῖρε, ὦ χαῖρε, Ἑλευθεριά".

31. Iken, *Eunomia, Darstellungen und Fragmente neugriechischen Poesie und Prosa*, Grimma 1827, pp. 103 ff. See also N. Politis, *o.c.*

32. In after years Martelaos became an admirer of Rhigas' poems; he was often heard saying: "Along with Gazis' syntax I shall also teach Rhigas' grammar from now on" (N. Catramis, *o.c.*, p. 414).

It may be claimed that in the first two verses there is an influence from the Greek Marsellaise and the hymns of Martelaos, in which we find the two words “κόκκαλα” and “Ἑλλήνων.” Also there may be observed an echo, if not a resemblance, of the 4th and 5th strophe of the “Greek Marseillaise,” as well as of the 5th strophe of Martelaos’ hymn written in imitation of the Marseillaise, where mention of Sparta and Leonidas is made, at the 78th quatrain of Solomos’ Hymn to Liberty:

“ὦ Τριακόσιοι σηκωθείτε  
καὶ ξανάρθετε σ’ ἑμᾶς  
Τὰ παιδιὰ σας θέλ’ ἰδῆτε  
πόσο μοιάζουνε μ’ ἐσᾶς”.

There is a general belief that D. Solomos was influenced in the thought of these verses by the hymns of his compatriot Martelaos, whom he knew personally at Zante, and probably was his pupil — no doubt his friend too. Solomos must surely have known Martelaos’ poems in manuscript form. We might add one more argument: One of the above verses from Solomos’ Hymn to Liberty “πόσο μοιάζουνε μ’ ἐσᾶς” is not found in the Greek Marseillaise, but occurs word for word in Martelaos’ Marseillaise march “πόσο μοιάζουμε μ’ ἐσᾶς.” Moreover, Solomos’ apostrophe to the Three Hundred - “Arise” - is found thrice in Martelaos’ strophe on Leonidas<sup>33</sup>.

Despite all this, one must not forget that Solomos knew well the song “Δεῦτε παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων” i.e. the “Greek Marseillaise” and knew it as a work of Rhigas. He ascribed so much importance to it, that he had this in mind rather than the March, when in the 18th quatrain he recalls Rhigas: Ἐγαλήνευσε ...

As a matter of fact, in his note explaining Rhigas’ “πολεμόκρατη φωνή”

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33. Unless we suppose that these were contained in the Greek Marseillaise strophes regarded as lost, and that Martelaos had a text fuller than the one extant. The view that Solomos took the verse

“from the bones arisen”

out of

“wherever you are, bones of the Greeks dispersed”

occurs first in G. Chrysovergis, *Τὸ ἐπιδόρπιον* [The Dessert], Athens, 1855, p. 8, note 1. El. Voutierides, *Ὁ Σολωμός καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες* [Solomos and the Greeks], p. 136, thinks it is implied here that Solomos took the words out of Martelaos’ hymn: Εἰς τὴν περὶ φημον Γαλλίαν [To illustrious France...]. But it is more likely that the related passage of the Greek Marseillaise was alluded to. It must be noted that Solomos was well read in Byron’s poetry, Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage especially, where the text of Rhigas’ Marseillaise is found, with the poet’s translation and his comments. In the Greek National Anthem, the strophes 83-85 constitute a reply to the 3rd Ode of Don Juan. As is well known, Solomos composed a splendid ode on Lord Byron’s death.

(war-cry), he makes a reference to "Δεῦτε παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων" (Sons of the Greeks arise).

Thus no doubt is left that Solomos had studied the Greek Marseillaise well, regarding it a genuine work of Rhigas; he had also acclaimed it, and encouraged its use as a nation-rousing song for the Greeks' freedom. For this reason we must believe that, no matter how well Solomos knew the songs of Martelaos, he was at least inspired to write the renowned verse of the Greeks' reborn liberty Ἀπ' τὰ κόκκαλα βγαλμένη ("from the bones arising") directly by the Greek Marseillaise attributed to Rhigas.

In a proclamation of General Gentilly's, drafted in Italian under date of July 11, 1797, i.e. shortly after the occupation of the Ionian islands by the French troops, is found the phrase "siamo debitori noi tutti della dissotterrata nostra libertà." The word "dissotterrata" bears the exact sense of "arisen," "reborn," but it may be freely rendered "issuing from the grave."

The fact that the manuscript of this proclamation was found among D. Solomos' papers and with the phrase in question underlined, has given rise to the hypothesis that the Greek national poet drew his inspiration for the verses on Greek freedom Ἀπ' τὰ κόκκαλα βγαλμένη ... from it.<sup>34</sup>

But since we have the very same words of the verses of the Greek national anthem occurring in the song "Sons of the Greek arise" to which in fact Solomos himself further refers as "Rhigas' war-cry," we cannot possibly imagine that the poet drew upon some other source. On the contrary we may surmise that he saved the proclamation and underlined the expression noted, precisely because it is close enough to the sense of his verses on Greek freedom.<sup>35</sup> Besides, it is proven by the very documents of the Austrian investigation that Rhigas was not ignorant of the proclamation texts issued by the republican French in the Ionian islands. He watched events with a keen eye and asked for those proclamations through his trusted friend Ant. Coronios, a merchant

34. Sp. de Viazis, *Μία ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν τοῦ ἐθνικοῦ μας ὕμνου* [One of the Ideas in our National Anthem], "*Ἐθνικὴ Ἀγωγή*" [National Education], vol. I (1898), pp. 241 ff. *Οἱ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ Σολωμοῦ*, "*Ἐθνικὴ Ἀγωγή*".

35. It is debatable whether the sense of the National Anthem verses "From the bones arisen" etc. is exactly that of "Hellenic liberty arisen from the grave." The nation's age-long sufferings and sacrifices are rather meant, out of which freedom came forth. In a speech before the Directory when Napoleon handed in the text of the Campoformio Treaty, while speaking of Greece and Italy he said: "they are already beholding the spirit of Liberty arising from their fathers' tombs" (see also G. Mavroyannis, *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἰονίων νήσων ἀρχομένη τῷ 1797 καὶ λήγουσα τῷ 1815* [History of the Ionian Islands, beginning in 1797 and ending in 1815], Athens, 1889, vol. I, p. 109. Be it noted that in Damilakis' Marseillaise March (o.c.), Grecian liberty is depicted in two strophes as asleep till then "in the bones of the ancestors" and arising now "out of the sacred graves."

at Trieste and an initiate in the revolutionary plans.<sup>36</sup>

We need not insist further on the possible influences traceable in Rhigas' Marseillaise, in the songs of Martelaos and in the related verses of Solomos' national anthem, since expressions about the resurrection of Greek liberty out of the grave were very common, coming spontaneously to the lips of Greeks and foreigners alike in that day and soon after, during the fight for liberation. Hence we do not proceed to conjectures not grounded on sources, namely of influences derived from prophecies or other old texts, in which allusion is made to bones, resurrection from the grave, etc.

Two conclusions may be drawn from the above as certain: First, that within the rebels' circles under Rhigas in Vienna a Greek Marseillaise went around and was undoubtedly sung to the tune of the French one at their secret meetings. Second, that shortly after his martyrdom the text of a "Greek Marseillaise" circulated in Greece, and it was the general conviction among the Greeks that it had been composed by Rhigas. As a creation of his patriotic inspiration it was sometimes given equal rank with his War March, had touched the hearts of the enslaved folk and had served as a symbol for national liberation.

But these two conclusions drawn from the data cited lead to another two historical problems: First, was the song circulating among the revolutionary circles of Vienna and sung as the Greek Marseillaise, a work of Rhigas? Second, was that spread about in Greece and regarded as Rhigas' Marseillaise, actually identical with the one composed in Vienna, when Rhigas was preparing the revolution there?

The opinions of the scholars are divided on both issues.<sup>37</sup> We shall seek

36. Λεγκράνδ - Λάμπρου, *'Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα* [Documents...], ed. Legrand, p. 90. See also Ap. Dascalakis, *Rhigas Veletinlis...*, p. 98, and *Les oeuvres de Rhigas...*, p. 70.

37. Against the authenticity of the Greek Marseillaise as a work of Rhigas have ranged themselves: Sp. Lampros, *Τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Πήγα* [Rhigas' Martyrdom], pp. 52 ff, and "*Neos Hellenomnemon*", vol. 15, p. 72; C. Amantos, *Ὁ θούριος τοῦ Πήγα*, [The Thourios of Rhigas]. "*Ellenica*", 8 (1935), p. 203; N. Bees, "*Nea Estia*", vol. 27 (1940), p. 336. Amantos (*o.c.*, p. 205) claims that Martelaos did not imitate Rhigas, but wrote on his own inspiration, and that some unknown Greek poet later wrote: "Sons of the Greeks, arise," taking the like verses from Martelaos. He had maintained earlier too in *Ἀμάντου, 'Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα* [Documents..., ed. Amantos], p. XXIV, that "Sons of the Greeks" could not possibly belong to Rhigas, because: 1) the Vienna files are silent on it; 2) the language is not the bard's poetic one; 3) neither the editor of the Corfu printed copy, nor D. Schinas in the copies of Rhigas' War-Marches sent to Capodistria, mention it. But the Vienna documents list only the texts, printed or handwritten, which were seized and included in the court file as incriminating evidence; they ignore all the rest. The investigation also ascertained that Rhigas and his comrades sang a "Marseillaise" Λεγκράνδ - Λάμπρου, *'Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα* [Documents...]

a solution based on data examined, but through a rational view of them. Apart from the War March, a poem sprung out of Rhigas' Greek spirit without imitating any model, and out of his own plans for the nation's deliverance, in all his other revolutionary writings, whether verse or prose, he had for his standard, whether copying in many cases, rendering freely or imitating in other ones, the ideas and the tenets of the French Revolution. The Constitution of the Greek Republic, which he drew up a little later, was partly a free version, partly an exact copy of the French revolutionary charter, the most radical of those of 1793. The Patriotic Hymn was addressed to the Greeks and had a purely Greek content, but was composed to be sung to the tune of the "Guillotine," that dreadful song to which the breechless rabble danced, when heads fell under the blade. It would seem odd to us for Rhigas to forget the Marseillaise, that echoed all over the world as a symbol of freedom and led the republican armies to triumph — he who expected success in freedom's fight from the active participation of those republican troops, and dreamed of founding the great Greek Republic on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, in the image and likeness of the French Commonwealth. Even if he lacked time, because he was busy with drafting the Charter, with revolutionary pourparlers and with other consuming tasks in the last period of his activity, his companions were willing to undertake the work. The frenzied enthusiasm of Peters, the youngest among them, who according to the Austrian inquiry was desperately after the Marseillaise text, is eloquent evidence of that.

It is true that the surviving text of the Greek Marseillaise does not agree in language form with Rhigas' other revolutionary works in verse, namely the War March and the Patriotic Hymn. This constitutes the principal argument used by those denying his authorship of that poem. We must admit that the argument is serious. Since in his other poetical works he started from the premise that he should use the people's speech to make himself understood by all the Greeks, so as the more readily to stir the spirit and rouse the masses of the Greek people to a struggle for liberation, why did he abandon it in a work

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ed. Legrand, p. 82 at their secret gatherings. F. Michalopoulos, "Καθημερινή" [Daily Newspaper], 25 March, 1937—see also my study, *Rhigas*, p. 58 — judges the Marseillaise to be a probable work of Rhigas. But the argument he brings forward, namely that according to Pouqueville (*o.c.*, vol. I, p. 131, note 1), "Sons of the Greeks" is a translation of the Marseillaise made by Rhigas at the suggestion of a French general (Napoleon?), is not valid, since neither these verses are a Greek version of the French Marseillaise, nor did Rhigas ever receive such prompting. Ar. Camarianu (*Spiritual revolutionar francez și Voltaire în limba greacă și română*, București 1946, p. 19) considers the Marseillaise a work of Rhigas. Likewise Papas (*o.c.*, p. 23) and D. Economides (*o.c.*, p. 242). Cf. also L. I. Vranousis, *Ρήγας* [Rhigas], Athens 1953, pp. 7-12, 114 ff. and 'Ο πατριωτικός ύμνος του Ρήγα και η ελληνική καρμανιόλα, Athens 1960.

like the Greek Marseillaise, intended toward the same goal as well? Aside from the language, in the expression of ideas too a certain dryness prevails, betraying a product pored over in some scholar's study. The first two 8-verse strophes and the refrain do not lack poetic verve, especially the second of these has a measure of loftiness and of imagination. But the last two 8-verse strophes are devoid of the afflatus and intense enthusiasm expected in a War March. The models of Sparta, Leonidas and Athens advanced for emulation by the modern Greeks are set forth in rhetorical reminiscence rather than in poetic elation. Would it then be possible for this poem to come from Rhigas' pen, and that as a Greek Marseillaise destined to inspire and impel the Greek populace to a war of liberation?

Two answers may be given to the above: Rhigas wrote also in a learned diction and very readily too, as shown by his translation of the Olympic *Odes* and of the Alpine shepherd-girl, besides other compositions of his own. Moreover, his knowledge of antiquity and his constantly evinced bent to contemplate the glory of the Ancients intuitively led his thought to Athens and Sparta. If it were feasible to prove that the Greek Marseillaise was written in 1796 or before that year, as some sources affirm,<sup>38</sup> that is at a time when he had no plans drawn up as yet for an immediate uprising, nor had produced his other revolutionary works, his composing a Greek Marseillaise in such a form would not surprise us.

We should regard it beyond question that Rhigas, mixing in with French democrats for long and most probably himself serving in a French secret intelligence at Bucarest, knew both text and music of the Marseillaise. Since those days he must have felt an irresistible impulse to compose a poem for Greek liberation on that model.

The second theory, advanced by us long since,<sup>39</sup> is that the song did circulate among the Vienna initiates into his plans for revolt and was sung at their secret rendez-vous as the "Greek Marseillaise," but was not his own work, either as a whole or in part. The text of the French March was already familiar to the Vienna insurgents, but even that was not essential; neither a translation of it, nor a free version was the object, but the drafting of a Greek Marseillaise. Enough for the purpose were the first verses (of the original) and the refrain, for they as usually happens would be on everyone's lips with their music, which was also well known to all those patriots. Thus one of their, company (it included many cultured Greeks assisting Rhigas in his other literary workmen like Nicolides, Emmanuel, Coronios et al.) could under

38. See above.

39. See Ap. Dascalakis, *Les oeuvres de Rhigas*, p. 49.

his guidance or of their own will draft the text of a Greek Marseillaise. It would in fact be easier to do so in the hours of their secret gatherings with several of them collaborating, not excluding the co-operation of Rhigas himself. Lastly, we cannot rule out the possibility that the poem issued spontaneously at those covert conclaves, at which the Greek patriots (most of them in their young years) talked spiritedly and inclined to imitate everything coming from France.<sup>40</sup>

If on the other hand we are to stand by Rhigas' authorship, we may well ask: why didn't he issue this song also in the revolutionary pamphlets he published at Vienna shortly before his departure? We also know that the first pamphlet secretly printed at Poulios' press contained the Charter and the War March. As regards the second, all copies of which were seized, the Austrian inquiry indicates that it comprised military regulations, the "Patriotic Hymn" and another song. In the past we did not turn down the guess that perhaps that song was the text of the Greek Marseillaise. After fuller study of data from the Austrian investigation and from research made thereafter, we are of the opinion that it was a different poem, a translation or free version of the German song "Freut euch des Lebens."

Consequently we must reject the idea of the Greek Marseillaise having been issued at Vienna: What reasons Rhigas had for that, we do not know. If the poem did not belong to him, it is self-understood that he was unwilling to include it among his own revolutionary works, especially since neither in language nor in its general poetical form could it be reconciled with the War March and the Patriotic Hymn. But even if it were an older verse work of his on the pattern of the Marseillaise, the same reasons did not favor its appearing in the revolutionary pamphlets. It is another matter if it went around in manuscript copies from hand to hand and by all indications had reached Greece while Rhigas still lived. He relied above all on his War March to stir up, grip and urge the Greeks into fighting for their freedom. In reality, it is the War March that served as the clarion call of the liberating struggle. A Greek Marseillaise though could move and rouse the Greeks, who had never ceased looking upon the French Revolution as the motive power for freedom's contests and for the triumph of the noblest human ideals. If we nowadays judge the Greek Marseillaise as a pedantic text of no poetical worth, let us remind ourselves that concepts and attitudes differed in that day. A poetical text in learned language was by no means deemed undesirable as such in principle, even by the man in the street. Lack of poetic worth did not concern the mass of the populace, who attached more value to the essence. The text of Rouget de l'Isle's Marseillaise itself, save certain verses, chiefly the first ones and the refrain, which alone have stayed familiar to the masses of the French

40. See Ap. Dascalakis, *Rhigas*, p. 69.

people, cannot be said to rank high in poetic merit; and in the opinion of French critics it does not even rise above the commonplace exhortations of the time against tyrants. But the opening lines in the style of a martial paean and frenzy for freedom, above all their music, captured French hearts and gave the Marseillaise its unmatched power to animate people toward struggles for a free country and against tyranny. It has already been said that the initial lines of the Greek Marseillaise and its refrain do not lack stirring force and animating breath, and the music of the French Marseillaise, though difficult to use with the rhythm of the Greek verses, would suffice to cause motion and lead to enthusiasm. Finally, the fact that all looked on the Greek Marseillaise as a genuine work of Rhigas, the national martyr, gave it interest and grandeur.

Another argument against its authenticity has been drawn from the fact that Christ. Perraivos, passes by the Greek Marseillaise in full silence throughout his writings, apparently not knowing it as a work of Rhigas. But it has been stated above that Perraivos knew well all the contents of the first pamphlet published at Vienna, the War March in particular. From the material of the second pamphlet intended to be issued after his leaving Vienna, Perraivos knows only what he copied at the order of Rhigas before turning it over to the printer. Thus since the Greek Marseillaise was not included in the first pamphlet published, of which he had knowledge and had taken a copy with himself, nor in the contents of the second one, out of which he copied much, mainly the Patriotic Hymn, before handing the material over to the printer, he could not possibly have known the Greek Marseillaise as a work of Rhigas. It must also be borne in mind that Perraivos was very young at the time, barely eighteen; that he saw his fellow countryman Rhigas often; that the latter took him along when leaving Vienna; but that Perraivos had no active part in the rebel activities, nor attended the secret gatherings. Hence it was impossible, despite all he writes in his works after so many years, that he should have known fully and exactly more than what he read or heard from Rhigas. In line with this, we have to disregard the hypothesis that the Greek Marseillaise reached Greece and the Ionian islands especially by Perraivos who arrived there early in 1798, and re-issued the War March and the Patriotic Hymn at Corfu in the same year; not the Greek Marseillaise however, which he would have published, if he had brought its text with him as a work of Rhigas. From the above it becomes clear that the Greek Marseillaise was disseminated in Greece most probably via Trieste and the French occupied territory since 1797 already and all during the time following was spread around in handwritten copies as a work of Rhigas.

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