

TOLMIROS SKAPANEAS
HOMENAJE AL PROFESOR
KOSTAS A. DIMADIS

ΤΟΛΜΗΡΟΣ ΣΚΑΠΑΝΕΑΣ
ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΗ
ΚΩΣΤΑ Α. ΔΗΜΑΔΗ

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Ancient Greece, Byzantium or Ottoman Empire

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The present article seeks to fill a gap in the interpretation of Thomas Hope's novel *Anastasius* providing what we think is a missing piece which has to do with a post-Byzantine reality.

Through its scholarly research carried (in isolation) and occasioned by the perusal of one posthumous album¹ of Thomas Hope our contribution is part, and this we discover to our great delight, of a large collective effort. This joint endeavour is meant to throw as much light as possible on the writings by the intriguing figure of the English arts literature and intellectual thought of the 18th cent. which was Thomas Hope.

Few years ago when our quest commenced only with Hope's contributions on costumes re-edited in America, a certain ambiguity existed and was retraceable in certain dictionary entries between Thomas Hope (1769-1831), a designer and patron and author of a novel whose title bears a Greek imprint, namely *Anastasius* and the homonymous American designer and joiner (1757-1820).

Thanks to a series of individual articles of which some are part of a specialized site² and to a massive recent collective contribution³ the above mentioned unjust ambiguity is history.

Let us remind for the sake of our further demonstration several data of Hope's life and work.

There are striking facts in Hope's biography: he came from the richest family in Europe in the second half of the 18th century⁴, he was of ex-

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treme energy and power and he took an unusually long Long Tour which lasted ,interruptions included, almost ten years (1787 -1795)⁵.

As we have started our research from an album of sketches that were never published during Hope's life⁶ let us remind that in 1809 he published the «Costumes of the Ancients,» and in 1812 «Designs of Modern Costumes,» works which were the result of research carried during the same tour motivated by a plastic interest and an eagerness to inform the current taste in pace with the then current Enlightenment. There was no trace yet of the anthropological theories Hope visited for his *Essay on the Origins and Prospects of Man*⁷ and he obviously relied on some kind of deductions as to the ancient world from the Balkan and near East areas he had visited. He had for instance a good practical knowledge of Emperor Trajan's Column and thus featured the Dacians, the local population of Dacia (what is today Romania) only that he imagined them as «Asiatics», inhabitants of Asia Minor, an area he had visited.

The written account of his travels waited for quite long, actually three decades, to be written and published, and that was the novel *Anastasius*, published in 1819. It stirred much academic interest as well as reading pleasure and quickly reached a third edition (1820). The novel later influenced Thackeray⁸, Twain and Melville⁹ and got translated into French German and Dutch after which it fell into editorial oblivion only to be reedited in a popular series in 2001- 2003 and to be now readable on the internet¹⁰.

Let's first look at its contents:

¹ Fani-Maria Tsikakou, *Thomas Hope (1769-1831) Pictures from 18th century Greece*. Benaki Museum-The British Council, Athens, 1985.

² Namely www.thomashope.org.uk

³ David Watkin, Philip Hewat-Jaboor, *Thomas Hope Regency Designer*. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2008.

⁴ See Philip Mansel, «European Wealth, Ottoman Travel and London Fame» in David Watkin, Philip Hewat-Jaboor, *Thomas Hope...*, p. 3

⁵ It might well be that the year of departure were 1786. See the discussion in this article.

⁶ See footnote nr.1.

⁷ Ludmila Kostova, «Degeneration, Regeneration, and the Moral Parametres of Greekness in Thomas Hope's 'Anastasius' or Memoirs of a Greek». *Comparative Critical Studies*, Volume 4, Issue 2 (2007) pp. 177-192, esp. 180.

⁸ See John Rodenbeck, *Anastasius: Towards Background and Meaning* in www.thomashope.org.uk, p. 13.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

¹⁰ <http://www.archive.org/stream/anastasiusormemioi01hope#page/n11/mode/2up>

The «novel» centers around Anastasius. Born in Chios as the son of a Greek Christian dragoman (i.e. interpreter, an institution which functioned on the account of foreigners as the Turks were forbidden to learn foreign languages) Signor Sotiri working for the French consul on the island of Chios, Anastasius went away to sea after an affair with a fifteen-year-old daughter of his father's chief. Anastasius reached Constantinople where the Phanariot Mavrogheni, dragoman to the Capudan Pasha, took him under his wing but ended expelling him because of his compromising love affair with an upper-class Phanariot woman. Afterwards in the same city Anastasius put himself in the service of a Jewish pseudo-physician with whom he was incarcerated in the main prison of the city. He attracted the attention of Padre Ambroggio an Italian missionary who attempted to convert him to Roman Catholicism. Later, he fled to a mosque and converted to the Muslim faith under the name of Selim¹¹.

Anastasius travelled to Cairo and entered the service of Suleiman Bey, whose daughter he soon married. Between making a pilgrimage to Mecca and joining the Bedouin tribe of Wahhabees, Anastasius sailed to Smirna where he had yet another affair with a girl called Euphrosyne who bore him a son called Alexis. On inheriting a fortune, he soon left the Bedouins and returned to claim his son. This son died on a boat-journey from Venice to Trieste. The hero himself died at the age of thirty five in Trieste but not before he dictated his memoirs which make up the book to Conrad, an Austrian wounded in the wars and badly in need of money to support his family.

A closer look at this book implies a fresh look at the characters and narrative.

It pertains to evidence that Anastasius turns up in several guises Anastasius, of course Selim and even Spiridon. The Romanian collection of historical studies that is going to be commented upon later¹² assumed that Anastasius was an *alter-ego* of the author. The idea made some kind of a career on Romanian soil and in 1936 the historian Nicolae Iorga called Hope Anastasius Hope¹³. In our opinion Anastasius is not an *alter-ego* of Hope but one exists and that is

¹¹ See the discussion in John Rodenbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹² V. A. Urechia, *Istoria Românilor, Seria 1786-1800*, Vol. III. Tipografia «Gutenberg» Joseph Göbl, Bucharest, 1892, p. 5.

¹³ E. Hurmuzaki, N. Iorga, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor, Documente grecești*, vol. XIV, 3rd part, Atelierele grafice SOCEC et Comp. Bucharest 1936, p. XVIII. Actually Iorga was quoting the *Enciclopedia Britanica* XIII, p. 638.

Eugenius whose name means in Greek «well-born, noble» which would match Hope's birth. His creed is rationalism (that of the Enlightenment) and his presence as a master (*sic!*) to Anastasius accounts for the latter's conversion to Islam:

His ostensible object was to acquire the ancient lore of the East, in return for which he most liberally dealt out the new creed of the West. I cannot better describe him than as the antipode to father Ambrogio. For as the one was a missionary of a society for the propagation of belief, so was the other an emissary of a sect for the diffusion of disbelief [...]¹⁴ Now in conformity to this doctrine of my master's, what could be clearer than that it behoved me, where the Koran was become the supreme law—as a quiet orderly citizen, zealous in support of the establishment—with all possible speed to become a Mohammedan? [...]¹⁵ Thus it was that the doctrine of pure reason ended in making me a Mohammedan [...]¹⁶

Kostova seems to ignore the persona aspect as immaterial to her own goals.

Let us re-question the book under discussion from the point of view of genre.

Its author meant it to be «biographical memoirs» «with the view of affording greater facility for the introduction of minute and characteristic details» in the vein of the albums of sketches. Why in fact did Hope not plump for mere travel writing? It might have been that he did not keep written travel records (he was drawing) or because, as some interpreters suppose, the fame he had earned as 'the costume and furniture man' came rather from supporters than from critics. Approaching fifty, and yearning for a different type of literary commendation to match his ego Hope tried his hand at literature.

So *Anastasius*, this «immensely long and cumulative rather than coherent novel¹⁷» written across genres and displaying generic indeterminacy corresponding to its ideological relativism¹⁸ stands actually as an alternative for travel writing¹⁹ by which we mean a

¹⁴ Thomas Hope, *Anastasius*, 3rd edition, p. 185.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 189.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 190.

¹⁷ Ludmila Kostova, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ See an inspiring discussion about how travel writing functions as compared to the novel in David. Chirico, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

non-fictional prose a sub-species of the essay written in the first person describing travel to or residence in a place and explicitly or implicitly comparing it with a place of departure²⁰.

Travel writing has often been put in terms of its relationship to the novel and it is assumed it acted in some periods as an impulse for the evolution of the modern novel while at other times it acted as a non-fictional genre reflecting the innovations of the fictional novel, actually ranking at a higher level²¹.

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Could we take it for a historic novel? So in fact is this a novel at all, or is this just disguised history? This leads to the prescribed proportion between the realist elements which can be verified historically and the fictional ones. It is usually assumed that the defining type for the realistic narrative is the 3rd person story told at a past time. But this is a 1st person narrative in which the «me the narrator» can get mixed with «me the one the story is about». Still the 1st person seems to be the cherished method of the realist novelists.

Théodore Blancard²² reproduced the introduction to the French version of the novel by J. A. Buchon with these remarks:

No other historical work, no other travel and the account, no other minute description of the Ottoman Empire made one understand so minutely this curious part of the world as the novel *Anastasius* does. It is the most truthful portrait of the political and social state of the Ottoman Empire and of the so variegated elements that make it up, as they were still together while they were in fact disintegrating at the beginning of the 19th cent.

Is it a realistic novel? *Anastasius* was written very close in time to a moment when realism was re-evaluated at the end of the 18th

²⁰ Let us mention at this point that to the Romanians it ranges among the travel writings of its period and refers among others to the Romanian Lands together with some twenty other belonging to Elisabeth Craven, James Dallaway, Edward Daniel Clarke, William Hunter, Thomas Thornton, William Eton and William Wittman. The novel is a classic for the Romanian historic bibliography of the 18th cent. and was kept in Bucharest in several copies in its French version. It was translated into Romanian in august 1860 by Ștefan Grecianu a genealogist and published in 1861 in the periodical *Românul*. The translation was included in V.A. Urechia collection of historic quoted above.

²¹ See D. Chirico, «The Travel Narrative as a (Literary) Genre» in W. Bracewell, A. Drace-Francis (eds.) *Under Western Eyes*. Budapest-New York, 2008, p. 29.

²² Théodore Blancard, *Les Mavroyéni Essai d'étude additionnelle à l'histoire moderne de la Grèce, de la Turquie et de la Roumanie*. Paris, 1896.

cent.²³ by the Romantic theories on the force of imagination with a strong impact on the public mentalities. It was a time when the distinction between the public and the private space started being more and more obvious. And the relationship of the text to the outer world modified from «the way we see life» to «the way I see life». As the novel is written in the 1st person singular it could very well qualify for a realistic novel as it accumulates so many details regarding music, language, cuisine, religion, laws and literature in the Islamic world, an essential criterion for a successful mimetic act. The fact impedes upon a semantic deviation and upon an empathic relationship with the main character as there are a few blank spaces to be filled the reader's encyclopaedia.

Is it a picaresque novel? The discussion was done by one of Hope's earlier interpreters who called it an Oriental picaresque²⁴.

In fact what kind of a character is Anastasius and what is the mode of this narrative? There is no doubt it is ironic if we are to think of N. Frye's criteria²⁵.

Anastasius is deemed to belong to the satirical tradition. A satire of what? Of the Oriental individual, or rather a caricature of the individual dreamed for by the Western Enlightenment? Two recent interpreters of his work insist on the novel either stressing the alienation of modern Greeks from their classical legacy²⁶ or the clash between the Enlightenment's idealized Greeks and the real Greeks of eastern Mediterranean.²⁷ Is Anastasius in fact a loathsome individual? Any better than Child Harold whose author according to legend, confided to Marguerite, Countess of Blessington, that he had wept bitterly on reading *Anastasius*. «To have been the author of *Anastasius*, I would have given the two poems which brought me the most glory»²⁸. Or is he a lively colourful human being worth being immortalised as the prototype of an Eastern individual?

²³ See David Lodge, *Working with Structuralism*. Routledge, London and New York, 1991, p. 5.

²⁴ James Watt, «James Morier and the Oriental picaresque» in Graeme Harper (ed.), *Comedy, Fantasy and Colonisation*. London-New York, 2002. Also John Rodenbeck, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

²⁵ See N. Frye *The Anatomy of Criticism*, (Rom. version) 1972, p. 40.

²⁶ Ludmila Kostova, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

²⁷ See Reşat Kasaba, «The Enlightenment, Greek Civilisation and the Ottoman Empire: reflections on Thomas Hope's Anastasius». *Journal of Historical Sociology* 16.I (2003), p. 17.

²⁸ *Apud* Wikipedia, «Thomas Hope. reflections on Thomas Hope's Anastasius». *Journal of Historical Sociology* 16.I (2003), p. 17.

In fact why the character should be called Anastasius, a Greek name whose meaning is «resurrected»?²⁹ John Rodenbeck thinks «it is certainly inspired by *Anacharsis*, is one of Hope many brilliant touches [...]». In fact this is a very common Greek name, the name of two Byzantine emperors as well as that of an Orthodox saint. A Catholic saint is also called by that name.

Initially a soldier the Catholic saint (who lived in the 7th cent. A.D.) was a magician who became a Christian. He changed his Persian name, Magundat, to Anastasius. After seven years of living like a monk he went to Caesarea. Reproaching his countrymen their worship for magic and fire, both of which he had once practised, he was taken prisoner, cruelly tortured, was finally carried down near the Euphrates, where his sufferings were renewed while at the same time he was promised rewards if he abjured. Finally he was strangled to death and decapitated. His body was carried to Palestine, afterwards to Constantinople, and finally to Rome.

Hope's belonging to the Catholic faith is most unlikely. Were we to rely on the facts of *Anastasius*, the visit paid to the Vatican can be seen as an extreme cynicism to one's own or to the Catholic faith at large as he gets there not through his own will and his only aim is to admire the ancient statues!

The homonymous orthodox saint was a neo-martyr, and his story became conspicuous through a popular Greek writing which ranges among the neo-martyrs (new saints of the 18th cent. Balkan area) literature. It is known in its earliest version (dated from within the text 1753) as *Μαρτύριον υπερθαύμαστον του αγίου ενδόξου νεομάρτυρος Αναστασίου* (The most Admired Martyrdom of the glorious neomartyr Saint Anastasius) followed by *Οπτασία του Δανυήλ* (Vision of Daniel) and by the *Ακολουθία του αγίου Αναστασίου* (Service dedicated to Saint Anastasius)³⁰.

The Romanian versions of this popular book are called *Viața lui Anastasie* (Anastasie's Life) and *Vedenia lui Chir Daniil* (Master Daniel's Vision)³¹, are shorter and look like retellings of the above story but by no means translations.

²⁹ See John Rodenbeck, *op. cit.* p. 6. There is a slight mistake there as to assuming that Anastasios also means «resurrection». It is *anastasis* which has that meaning.

³⁰ It has got a critical edition by V. G. Tzakonas, *Ισλάμ και νεομάρτυρες, Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Θεολογικής Σχολής*, p. 413-473, Athens, 1995.

³¹ Their critical edition: Andrei Timotin/Emanuela Timotin, *Scieri eshatologice postbizantine Vedenia Sofianeii, Viața lui Anastasie, Vedenia lui Chir Daniil*. Bucharest, 2002.

The writing marks a final phase in a tradition of visions³² of re-conquering Byzantium started in Byzantine apocryphal texts which placed Constantinople and its surroundings in the centre of any eschatological image assimilating it to New Jerusalem and the celestial city.

It deals with the prosecutions and the sufferings of Anastasius who is subject to all sorts of tortures by a Turkish local governor who tries to convert him to Islam. He resists, gets killed and becomes neo-martyr (new saint) Anastasius. The prosecuting governor is father to a future Christian monk. Attracted by Anastasius' faith, the young Muslim Mousa is called Daniel³³. He gets baptised in Venice, where he gets tempted enters the order in Corfu and afterwards travels to Constantinople. Daniel has a vision in which he sees himself raised to Heaven guided by Saint Anastasius. Their passage encompasses the Church of all Saints and the Church of the Twelve Apostles. In this last an impressive service is held in the presence of all the saints conducted by emperor Constantine and empress Helen and the mosque turns back into a church. The cortege then gets through the Phanar and witnesses the expulsion of the Muslims from the church of Saint George by the homonymous saint and the transformation of the Yeni Mosque into a church. The target point is the Saint Sophia cathedral where the service goes on. There the Holy Virgin prays Jesus to do away with the Ottoman yoke and she gets the promise of an imminent liberation of the Christians. The Holy Virgin afterwards forbids monk Daniel martyrdom. The Sultan killing a group of hierarchs from Constantinople triggers the reaction of the Virgin and the humiliation of the Sultan by Saint Christopher. The vision ends with the expulsion of the Muslims from saint Sophia by new Saint Anastasius and with a prophecy on the restoration of the Empire.

Hope's own Anastasius seems to share characteristics even if on the reverse with the orthodox saint. Thus the story is about a conversion and it implies a long symbolic itinerary. While the neo-martyr goes virtually around Constantinople Anastasius travels around the Ottoman Empire. The two writings share a trip from

³² See Andrei Timotin, «La vision de Daniel Liturgie, prophetie et politique au XVIII^e siecle», in *Ο Ελληνικός κόσμος αναμέσα στην εποχή του Διαφωτισμού και στον εικοστό αιώνα*. Athens, 2007, vol. I, pp. 128-129.

³³ After a Hebrew prophet who spent his life as a captive at the court of Babylon, interpreted in the Bible the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar and was delivered by God from the lions' den into which he had been thrown as the result of a trick.

Corfou to Trieste. It can in our opinion be assumed that Hope's novel exhibits an even richer intertextuality than assumed so far³⁴ and is a retort to the above mentioned popular reading. In our opinion Hope came to know it through one of the so many friends he made during his tour of the Balkans. The reading would be one these last were brought up with.

One of his best such friends seems to have been a man who even called himself Anastasius³⁵ when in need of some kind of disguise prompted by his eventful life and had much in common with Hope's fictional Anastasius/Selim. The man is the well known Rigas Fereos. The key to many of our favourable arguments lies in a theatrical play written by Rigas in 1786³⁶ the year when Mavrogheni ascended to the throne of Wallachia. It may well be that Hope's doubtless, in our opinion, visit to Bucharest which is illustrated³⁷ took place in that year and practically a few months before lady Craven visited the same place and persons³⁸. The play is a doubtless proof that Rigas was part of Mavrogheni's intimates circle and that their relationship had been contracted previously in Constantinople. Thus a great deal from Anastasius's life story coincides with Rigas' without being a literal copy of it. Except from the relationship with

³⁴ See John Rodenbeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

³⁵ See Annexe n° 2 drawn from Doc n° 268 MDCCCXCVII, Romanian National Archives. In his article «Traductions et conspirations. Sur l'agitation révolutionnaire dans les Principautés roumaines vers 1800», in *Revue des Études Sud-est Européennes* XXVII-XXXVIII, pp. 111-121, Andrei Pippidi relying on the description of the same document suggests Rigas was acquainted with a certain Anastasius. A closer look at the document itself and remembering that the foreign journals were so strictly followed and virtually forbidden leads us to the conclusion that Rigas assumed as many other times in his life a new identity in order to safely get the journals. His choice was linked to a character he was familiar with and most probably cherished ever since his youth.

³⁶ Called Το Σαργανάκι της τρέλας (The whirlpool of insanity) included in our *Antologia de literatură greacă din Principatele Române*. Bucharest, 2004, pp. 213-377.

³⁷ Fani-Maria Tsikakou, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

³⁸ Elizabeth Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople. In a Series of Letters to His Highness the Margrave of Brandebourg, Anspach, and Bareith*. Written in the Year MDCLXXXVI, Second Edition, Printed for G.G.J. and J. Robinson, Pater-Noster Row. London, 1789, p. 308. Lady Craven's visit took place between the 16 and the 18th of July 1786 and in our opinion she met Rigas, whom she calls Mr. V. (the initial of his Greek name, Velestinlis) and who had to do with the French consulate a fact quite well known and confirmed by the acts found in the French archives by Andrei Pippidi. (See his «Νεότερα για τα τελευταία χρόνια του Ρήγα στο Βουκουρέστι». *Τα Ιστορικά* 39 (Δεκέμβριος 2003), pp. 503-509).

Mavrogheni there is the birthplace, an island for Anastasius, a place very near to the same sea for Rigas, the profession of the father, a dragomen for the former and a trader for the latter, a numerous initial family for both. The «medical» episode may also prove real as in the quoted play there is reference to the pills one of the several *alter-egos* of the author prepares. Yet another manuscript kept in the Library of the Romanian Academy may enhance the hypothesis as it reminds Rigas' handwriting and comprises hundreds of recipes for medical remedies³⁹ as well as descriptions of diseases. Thus the description of insanity matches very well with the title given to the play and its contents. On the whole Mavrogheni appears in this handle as a typical case of madness.

The death of Prince Nicholas Peter Mavrogheni is described with an unusual liveliness by Hope although he was quite unlikely to have witnessed it. This in our opinion was told to him by someone who did witness the event and that could have been Rigas himself. As we may infer from Ban Caragea's memoirs⁴⁰ he was serving in the Danube area when the tragic event took place.

Last but not least the Rigas' own life was just a few years longer than Anastasius' (he lived to be forty and died in 1798) and he told the story of his life to a young man namely Perraios⁴¹ while Anastasius dictated his memoirs to a youngster.

3. At some point in his youth Rigas seems to have made a précis of the above mentioned book (of which the translation is given as an annexe to the present article with the logics that it provides the English version of the supposed source of the novel) and reproduced it in two copies to be found in the Library of the Romanian Academy⁴². His version of the writing is called *Η φυλλάδα του Πάτερ Δανυήλ* (Father Daniel's Popular Book) and it is a short version of the above being dated from within the text again 1776. It displays

³⁹ It is called *Mestesugul doftoriei* (The art of medicine) and it is kept in Ms. Rom. n° 933 and 4841.

⁴⁰ To be published in Greece by G. Minaoglou. One manuscript of the diary which makes no mention of Rigas belongs to the Library of the Romanian Academy (Ms. Gr. 1464) and was published by P. P. Panaitescu, *Un manuscript necunoscut al «efemeridelor» lui Constantin Caragea Banul*. Institutul de Arte Grafice «Mercur», Bucharest, 1924.

⁴¹ Ch. Perraios, *Σύντομος βιογραφία του αοιδίμου Ρήγα Φεραίου του Θετταλού*. Athens, 1860, p. 9.

⁴² In the Greek manuscripts n° 169 and 170 of the Romanian Academy Library.

Rigas Fereos' youth handwriting⁴³ and had obviously teaching ends. It also interestingly displays common features with his translations-adaptations in which names were changed as were things added or removed. In this particular case place names are changed in order to make sense in Turkish, i.e. a small town from Epirus called Caripoli appears as Karinpoli which would read «the town covered in blood». Yet another town is called Hlenena reminding both the Greek κλαίω «to weep» and the Slavic and the Slavic хленч with a similar meaning a hint maybe to its being inhabited by a population speaking a Slavic dialect.

4. John Rodenbeck insists on a connection between *Anastasius* and Abbe Barthelemy's *Voyages du jeune Anacharsis* [...] ⁴⁴. Although we stick to the connection we are substantiating we do not run out part of his thesis in the sense that if we suppose the two men were connected then Rigas' translation (in collaboration with G. Sakellarios) of the *Voyage* [...] in Greek⁴⁵ must have been known to Hope or even inspired by him.

5. The route followed by Hope's *Anastasius* reminds as well the one followed by the two lovers of Eustatius Makrembolitus' Byzantine novel *Ismena and Ismenias*. This novel was being recuperated most probably for the sake of its itinerary (covering virtually all the areas in which Greek communities lived) at the end of the 18th cent. in the Romanian Principalities. We are aware of two copies which display in our opinion characteristics of Rigas' hand and of which one⁴⁶ was destined together with a play inspired by Barclay's *Argenis*, namely Η τραγωδία του Μενάνδρου βασιλεύς της Σικηλίας and a translation of Voltaire's *Mohamed* to be printed. The manuscript is unusually carefully written and might give us an idea of what the lost manuscripts of Rigas' printed works looked like.

Coming back to *Anastasius* let us make our final point: seen in our new appreciation he is an anti-hero proper as he is an ironic replica of new Saint *Anastasius*. And equally in this light *Anastasius*

⁴³ See annexe n° 3.

⁴⁴ In *op. cit.*, p.

⁴⁵ Abbé Barthélemy, *Περιγήσεις του νέου Αναχάρσιδος εις την Ελλάδα*. Vienna, 1797.

⁴⁶ See The anthology quoted above, pp. xxx-xxxi and the Greek manuscript n° 1119 y of the Romanian Academy.

is a *roman à rebours* as to the popular reading we have mentioned displaying little if any in fact sensitivity for the enslaved Christian nations of whom the Greeks came most to the fore because of their classical past.

Tellingly Thomas Hope chose to be depicted as a rich Turkish Muslim standing before the most sacrosanct Islamic spot in Constantinople, the mosque of Abu Ayyub at Eyüp Sultans in his portrait much resembling that of Lord Byron and not in the clothes of «a low ranking Greek sailor» as one would have thought.

Annex 1

THE LITTLE BOOK OF FATHER DANIEL
THE LIFE OF ANASTASIOS
THE VISION OF KIR DANIEL

A Profitable and Wonderful Story

f.2r The Good Lord who loves his subjects so much and always means their salvation, thought a few years ago to redeem his subjects and the story thereof is presented here. No one should doubt what is written here for it is a deadly sin to doubt the holy gift and might of God. Somewhere in Rumelia there is a town called Karinpolis. There lived Ali bey leader to Agar's people not only from that town, but also from the villages around it, who was an unjust man and full of wickedness and he did many an evil deed not only to the Christians but also to his fellow Ottomans and many times the empire tried to punish him. But he had people in his pay in Istanbul and was always able to defend himself. Not far from the town of Karinpolis, there was another small town, and in it lived a young Christian, Anastasios by name, a man accomplished and handsome to such a degree that the fame of his beauty had spread everywhere and many of the disbelievers and debauched Agar's sons upon hearing about him became crossed and *//f.2v* furious and wished to meddle with him as the rascals were inclined more towards children than towards women. The young man was wise and a true servant to God, and he guarded himself as much as he could to such an extent that he never went out of his parents' house except to go to church on Saturday night for the evening service and on Sundays for the Sunday service. When Ali bey found out about him, and was told about his beauty, he was seized with devilish love, and armed three Ottoman servants and asked them to do whatever they could and bring the young man to him. The servants went to the town of the young man under the protection and lead of the bey, on Saturday evening while the Christians were in church singing psalms at the evening service, Anastasios among them. The Ottomans went into the church yard waiting for the young man to come out so as to take hold of him. At the end of the evening service the town leaders came out, and as they saw the Ottomans they were nice to them, they invited them into the guest house to rest, but they waited instead until they saw Anastasios coming out of the church and then they called *//f.3 r* him. The young man, with no bad feeling, went to them and immedia-

tely one of them gave him a horse to mind, but a Christian rushed to take the horse out of the hands of the young man saying: «leave this one, he has another job to do, I am going to mind the horse». They swore on him and chased him saying: «we want this one to serve us». The young man then took the horse by the reins, and led it to the guest house and, as he understood their mean aim he acted in such a way as to escape from their hands. The villains chased him shouting so loudly that all the townspeople came out to enquire about what was going on and why they were all shouting like that. They answered: «this young man cursed our religion, and ran away and we are chasing him to catch him so that we can take him to our master to be punished». In the meantime, the young man ran away and hid and all the townspeople fell to their knees and asked them to refrain from doing an unjust thing, they promised them money, and other services to stop this low deed. The wicked servants went on seeking the young man / *f.3v* they wanted to take him. The Christians cried: «we are not going to give you the youth no matter what you try». Then the most villains of them ran away to their master and told him everything that had happened. Ali bey then sent more than fifteen Ottomans with a strong guard, either to bring him the young man or all the leaders of that town. The messengers went forth immediately, they gathered the leaders and let them know that this was Ali bey's order. All the leaders went gladly to ask for mercy on his behalf. But the young man, the good Lord's man, when he learnt that the elders and the leaders of the town had offered to suffer on his account, did not allow this to happen and went out of the place where he was hiding for fear of the Agar's sons, and the elders as soon as they glimpsed him come out to face those who were hunting him, took pains to warn him but to no avail, and thus they made him into a lamb which offered himself for sacrifice, he came in front of the messengers, and told them: «this is me, take me, do as you please, and leave these innocent leaders in peace». When they saw him the messengers rejoiced greatly, and took the young man // *f.4 r* on word of honour, and went with him to Ali bey, who, catching sight of him, was really awed and amazed for a long time, praised his beauty and good looks and told the young man: «I had heard from many about your good name and I wished to see you. And I thank God for being able to see you, so much more so as I learnt that you want to become a Turk, I greet and praise your wisdom and your angelic face, from today onwards be my beloved, me and my menservants will bestow on you all the pleasures and the care. But you will have to wear loose trousers for you to become a perfect Muslim, tomorrow I am going to dress you in golden clothes better than the ones my son wears». Young Anastasius fell at Ali bey's feet and replied: «My lord, may God grant you long years, I am the son of poor Christians, I was born and reared as a Christian, and never did I aim to this, to change my faith, I never set myself this goal to become a Turk, and never will only I pray you let me go home and do not try to do me wrong for God is just, he does not want injustice, // *f.4v* for I never said I wanted to become a Turk, and I never will become one». Then Ali bey told him: «If I find witnesses who say you did say you wanted to become a Turk, what should I do about you?» Anastasius told him: «If by deceitful means you find that I said such a thing do whatever you please with me». Then Ali Bey produced three false witnesses, from those whom he had sent to search for him the first time and they swore under oath that they had heard from his mouth that he wanted to become a Turk. Then Ali bey told Anastasius: «What do you say now?» Anastasius told him in reply: «Lord they are lying». Ali bey and the false witnesses cursed him as they heard him say that Muslims are

liars, for a Muslim never lies, they are good people and they swore. Christ's servant Anastasius spoke in good faith and said: «All of you should know, that I am a Christian, and I believe that Christ is God's son, and a true God, and I do not listen to your unjust words, I am not becoming a Turk, even if you cut me into a hundred pieces». Ali bey told him many things but he would not listen, then the Turk got even angrier and ordered him to receive five hundred lashes to the soles of his feet. The servants did as they were told, the martyr // *f.5r* as he was being beaten did not say anything but: «God have mercy on us!». Then the master ordered him to be jailed and after three days he got him out and had him brought in front of him and Ali bey told him: «How did you find the beating you received the day before yesterday? Have you come back to your senses or do you still keep to your stubborn ways?» Anastasius told him: «Master whatever I told you then I am telling you now, I am a Christian and I do not change my faith, I will refuse even if you cut me into pieces». Ali Bey told him: «You Romaios do not be a fool, and come to your senses, become a Turk so as to be a man like us, to become an aga, a great man. Should you not listen to me, I will kill you». Anastasius told him: «I shall let you kill me one hour earlier if I am to reach my Lord Christ earlier». And Ali bey asked him: «What are you going to gain from Christ, if I kill you?» Anastasius then told him that a human tongue cannot tell the goods Christ offers to those who trust him and obey his holy commands. Ali bey said: «You boy do not be deluded, do not hope in vain things, follow my word / *f.5v* and become a Muslim, and believe in God's prophet Mahomet, to be rewarded with what is best here, and even with something better in the other world. Anastasius replied: «I wonder at you master, that you should tell me to believe in a man who takes drugs, in a levitating epileptic who falls about in seizures and is tormented, foaming at the mouth, grinding his teeth, and unable to heal himself». Very furious upon hearing these, the tyrant shouted orders that he be given eight hundred blows half of them on the feet and half on the back. Hit mercilessly by the servants the martyr would not say anything except: «Go on, God have mercy!» The soil became red with his blood, the on-lookers were amazed at his patience, and after that they put him again in jail. Christ the good soldier came that night to visit his servant, and healed him and braced him up in his creed and gave him courage not to fear in the least the tyrant's threats for he was always going to be with him, to strengthen him and help him to the end of the good fight of martyrdom; after six days they took the martyr again in front of the master, // *f.6r* and he asked him: «Who has cured the wounds which you received from the blows of the day before yesterday?» And the martyr said: «My lord Christ came that night and he cured me, and he encouraged me in my good faith». And the master said: «I had heard that you Romaioi are witches, and I did not believe it but now I believe, for I see you were cured through witchcraft, and you say that Christ came to cure you. You say that your Christ was crucified by the Jews, how can a man who could not save himself from the cross cure someone else?» Anastasius told him: «It was my Christ and he is God, and came and became man, to save men, and became incarnate in a man, it was the human flesh that suffered not the holy one, but you are blind and you cannot understand such mysteries, unless you get baptised and cease to be blind and know the truth. You said that we Christians are witches, and that we cure through witchcraft, but as you are in the night of impiety you do not know the light of truth, and you call witchcraft of Christ his wonders. «Now, // *f.6v* said the tyrant, let me see if Christ can rescue you from my hands and he ordered that they force canes in the nails of his hands and

of his feet. And straight away the Devil's servants were carving canes while others thrust them into the nails of the martyr, and he felt much pain and torment and as they were thrusting the canes the blood ran like a river and they punched him saying: »How come that your Christ is not coming to work wonders, now you should see what you will be through!» The tyrant ordered that irons be heated well for him to be burnt under his armpits and the burnt martyr was cursing those villains and told them: «Thus you servants of the Devil your friends the Demons will burn you in hell tomorrow, curse on you and on your faith and your Mohamed». Ali bey had an only son, who was thirteen years of age, who stood and stared and admired the young man's great patience, and he asked one of those present what kind of a man was that Christ, whom this Romaioi loved so much and did not want to deny and for the sake of whose love was willing to suffer so many evils? That one told him: «What should you want // *f.7r* with such things, my pasha, and a deceiver came into this world and they take him for God. And they are so stubborn, and they prefer death to denying him, but do not bother to look at such things». The son of Ali Bey, said to himself upon hearing this: «If I could meet this Romaioi and ask him about this Christ, what kind of man is he?» A fire came to his heart urging him to learn about it, but after they burnt the young man, and after he fell down as if he had fainted and blood came out of his flesh reddening the soil, they raised him like dead and threw him in a dark prison. Next day Ali bey felt like going hunting. On the one hand he would take a walk and on the other get rid of the melancholy caused by his wickedness and he ordered all his men to get ready, and prepare the horse for his son. As soon as the son heard that his father would go out, he deemed that it was the right time for him to meet Anastasius and learn about Christ, and thus when the servant was about to go, and called him to come and mount his horse as his father was waiting for him / *f.7v* to go he pretended to be sick and he asked his father to leave him for it could happen that the horse could shake him in the saddle and his sickness might worsen. His father becoming aware that he was sick, left him and took off with his men. So this one seized the opportunity to go downstairs to the prison door kept by a captain and asked him what kind of man was that prisoner who suffered so many tortures, and still would not do his father's will? The man answered: «He has set his mind, he would not listen, let me go in and speak to him, I might make him change his mind». The captain told him: «What do you want my pasha from such a man? They have subjected him to so many tortures and he was not deterred, do you think he will listen to you? Do not hope for anything different from the man, for as far as I inferred, it is easier to soften iron, than his opinion». «No, said the young man, let me go inside and speak to him, and make him change his mind». « But I am paid and if he happens to speak and your father learns that I opened the door for you and you went inside and met the Romaioi what is he going to do to me?» «Do not be afraid, he told him, just open so that I can go inside». Thus what could he do? // *f.8r* He opened the door for him, the boy went inside, and told him to pay attention when he was going to knock from inside for him to open the door; as he went into the prison he saw lots of light, and heard a sweet melody. He also saw two young men clad in white of whom one was sitting at the right the other at the left of the young man and another young man was placing a crown on his head, which was shining like the sun, and blinded his eyes and he could not see him well. As he caught sight of them he wondered from where had those Romaioi come inside there? It seemed the captain took money and let them in, and yet he had feared that he would be

caught and killed for spiting his father who did so much harm to the Romaiois. With this in mind he was about to knock at the door so that the captain would let him go out. Anastasius then spoke: «Ahmet aga, fear nothing, only draw closer so that I can talk to you!» Thus he was encouraged as he heard him call his name, he drew near and straight away the young men disappeared like lightning. He asked Anastasius where were those Romaioi who were near him? He answered they were not humans //f.8v but angels. «They were sent by my Lord Christ to call on me». He asked him: «What kind of man is this Christ, whom you love so? And they tortured you so much and still you do not wish to deny him?» Anastasius told him : «Christ is not a man, he is God». And thus he told him briefly all the mystery of the incarnation and that Christ had revealed to him that he would go to prison to find him, and that he had to believe him and be rescued. He told him: «But that crown I saw they put on your head, what was it?» «Such a crown is worn by all the Christians on their heads but it is invisible and you will get one when you are baptised». He asked: «What do I have to do to get baptised?» He told him: «For the time being stay in your father's house for one more year and Christ will guide you when the time is ripe for you to depart from your father, to get liberated from the darkness of impiety. For the time being make the sign of the cross, say Jesus Christ Our Lord help me, and do that in secret so that nobody can see you, do not tell anyone you have come here and that you met me, not even your mother, for they are impious, and //f.9r they do not believe. Christ enlightened only you in order to afflict your father who wanted to do me injustice and to do me so much harm even when I was not guilty in the least, and I thank real God my Christ who guarded me and helped me till now and came and cured me and I am healed, and I bear not the slightest scar from the wounds he inflicted on me, as you can see me and he let me know that he was going to be with me till the last hour. Now Ahmet aga you have heard the whole truth, and God's will, you go now, always remember my words, wait and see, and rejoice in the good end of what I am telling you». Having seen and heard these Ali bey's son went out of the prison and told the captain: «You were right, it is easier to soften the iron than the opinions of this Romaiois». The captain said: «Did I not tell you, pasha? Go, go, let no one see that you came inside the prison». And thus he went upstairs and sat in his room without anyone knowing anything of what he had seen or heard. As evening was closing near, his father came and asked straightforward for him, //f.9v was he feeling well, he came to see him and rejoiced. After twelve days, during which the martyr was in that dark jail with no food and no drink at all, Ali bey consulted with all his agas what could he do to bring the young man to do what he wanted him to. They advised him to dress up a good horse, and put on one side much golden and silver money and shining and expensive clothes, take the young man show him these and tell him that he is presenting him everything on condition that he becomes a Muslim, and maybe in this way he would be attracted to do what he was told.« If he is not convinced to become a Turk in this way he has to be murdered, for our faith should not be despised by a Romaiois, it would be a shame». The advice very much pleased Ali bey and he ordered straight away for all the above to be prepared. Then the martyr was taken out of jail and brought in the garden of the palace where stood a most beautiful horse richly trimmed, and on a tray lay many guldens and jewels, and golden clothes and Ali bey told Anastasius: //f.10r «You angered me from the beginning, and I did much harm to you, which I did not mean, you caused it with your stubbornness and your words and here I am not as guilty as you are, let us

leave all these aside you have said a lot of bad things about me, about our faith, you swore against our prophet, we have inflicted on you whatever we have inflicted, let everything vanish into the air, come, here are presents I have prepared for you, this horse and the money and the clothes, let them all be yours for now, together with these I have other things to give you, so that I make you the richest of all, and better, for you to become famous and a great man in this world, only do as I tell you, turn into a Turk». The martyr said to the infidel: «Ali bey you cannot dupe me with your goods laid out for me here, let the money stay with you // *f.10 v* for it is a vain thing, these were rejected by Christ who said the fruit which killed the first created man, Adam, was sweet to look at but bitter in taste. You cannot fool me errant Devil, they are perishable, and temporary. Today these are here, and tomorrow they are destroyed, I imagine those eternal heavens are good, no eye has seen them, no ear has heard them, God has prepared them for those who love him. I will never deny Christ my Lord even if you present me with the world, do not take pains in vain and with no result and do not hope to lure me with such things, in hope that you can mislead me. Because I am going to say till the end what I said from the very beginning, that I will not become a Turk because I am a Christian, I will never be a disbeliever because I am a believer, I will never be impious because I am pious and an Orthodox and abandon any hope as to my part, do not hope me to ever change my opinion. I am telling you what I have always told you and do as you wish». As Ali Bey heard this he was speechless, the agas there present told him he must not be different from the other man there. «The only thing is that you cut his head properly». And thus he ordered his head cut, and that day they put him back in jail. // *f.11r* Next day they put him in chains like a convict and carried him to the execution. He went and his honest head fell on the 12th of July 1776. The dirty murderers coming back, said that milk had come of the wound instead of blood. As they left his holy corpse there for three days: «Go, told them Ali Bey, go get the Romaioi and throw him in the muddy ditch near that place, so that the Romaioi cannot take him and make him a saint». As the servants went there to do as they were told they became possessed with demons and they fell on the ground crouched and moaning but at the same time there was a strong thunder and a big earthquake. The earthquake was so strong that a kiosk fell missing Ali Bey by very little. Very frightened then he ordered them to take the body of the martyr so that the Romaioi could bury him, and the faithful people took him with devotion and joy and took him to a monastery which was near there, and buried him. Ali bey's son wished to know where they had buried him thus asked a Christian in secret, and learnt the place, and would always find the right time // *f.11v* and way to go to that monastery to pay his respects at the martyr's tomb. And with much caution he chose a day when his father had many things to do, and told him: «Pray papa, allow me to go today and have a stroll for I feel very sad and he called straight away five of his servants and ordered them to attend on him that day when he wished to go and enjoy his walk. When they were given permission they left the town, and he told his servants he wanted to go to that village which was near the monastery. The servants took him readily there, as he had ordered, and as they arrived there he told them: »Today I would like to go to that monastery so that the monks can offer me food and drink. The servants tried in vain to prevent him so he sent one of them and he let the monks know that Ali bey's son was coming to eat there that day. When the abbot and the monks heard that they were afraid the unfortunates but what could they say? Thereupon they reached the place and all

the monks came out and welcomed them // *f.12r* and they waited on them, and prepared enough food to go round and they ate well and they fell asleep in the afternoon; Ali Bey's son waited for all the servants to fall asleep then he stood up, went out and saw the abbot keeping watch on them, called him and told him: «Let us go downstairs I want to talk to you, where is the church?» The man was in fear and suspected that something bad might happen so he told him: «What are you looking for in the church?» The boy told him sternly: «Open the church for me, and do not ask me what I want». The abbot had nothing to do but open the church and they both went in, then he told him: «Close the door!» And he shut it and straight away that one crossed himself saying: «Lord Jesus Christ help me». The abbot seeing that was perplexed and awed. He told him: «Show me where is Christ!». That one told him: «What are you looking for my pasha? Why should you be interested in Romaic things, or do you want to burn me here?» He told him: «Abbot be silent, show me Christ and keep quiet». The abbot kept telling him the same, but he went to the icons, and shouted and asked him which one was Christ? He showed him Christ and he kissed him anon, he showed him the Virgin Mary and he // *f.12 v* kissed her as well and then asked him: «Where have you buried Anastasius?» He told him: «Which Anastasius?» The man told him: «The one my father has killed». The abbot then became more suspicious, and afraid and asked him not to ask things he did not know, and he cried for fear he would destroy the monastery and do other things. As the boy saw the abbot was so much afraid and cried he started telling him how he had gone and met Anastasius in jail and as he told all these things, the abbot came to his senses and showed him the tomb and he bowed and felt a sweet odour, and was speechless. He then told the abbot: «Do not be afraid in the least and do not tell anyone what I told you but when you hear that I have left my home and I am nowhere to be seen, know that Christ has set me free of my ancestral disbelief». And he produced fifteen golden coins and gave them to him for the expenses he had incurred on that day, then went out of church. He went to the servants who were still sleeping and nobody knew anything of what he had done, they woke up and departed and went home // *f.13r* and he thought night and day of his wish to leave the infidels, and not see them anymore although they were his parents. He would make the sign of the cross in hiding and said his prayer, the one that his good teacher Saint Anastasius had taught him: «Help me my Lord Jesus Christ». One year went by and it so happened that Ali bey's sister who was married in a remote town called Hlenena was preparing her son's wedding and invited her brother Ali bey to the wedding but at that time he was very distressed; for the Kingdom wanted him to go to Istanbul, to apologise for all the unjust things his fellow countrymen had claimed he had done to them, and he was so overwhelmed by all the bad things that had happened to him, that he could not attend his nephew's nuptials. He took counsel with his wife, what should he do? She told him: «You have to attend to your business but on the other hand it is a pity that you should not attend the wedding of your sister's child. Think well and do the best». «What can I do, I cannot be in two places. I think I might send Ahmet Aga, our son. What do you think»? She told him it was all right and thus they got him ready and sent him with rich presents, with many agas and a multitude of servants, and off he went. When the husband of Ali bey's sister Ibrahim Aga learnt that his nephew was coming he went out of his town with many agas and welcomed him and received him with much joy and honour, as he might have received his father, and when he reached the palace his aunt welcomed him and she embraced him

and kissed him, and praised him and wished him a marriage for himself and many other womanish wishes she wished. Then they proceeded to the wedding, and they were very cheerful both the young and the old, but he was too concerned to rejoice, and as his aunt saw that he did not have joy, she told him: «Why are you not rejoicing my pasha, why should you be so sad, what is the matter with you? Have you remembered your mother? You will go and see her tomorrow, here you must feel at home». And she started flattering him as women usually do. He nevertheless paid very little attention to this // *f.14r* for his only wish and love was to leave and never see them again. Two hours away from there was a monastery dedicated to Saint Nicholas a monastery on a mountain, and there lived a virtuous monk to whom God had revealed the story of the boy, who was then visiting in Hlenena. And told him that he should set off and go and find him and lead him to Patras, and embark him for Venice. That night the boy dreamed of Anastasius the martyr, with a crown in his left hand, and another in his other hand and he told him the time had come for his salvation. «I have your crown in my hand, do you want it?» Moved with joy he stretched out his hand to take it. The martyr told him: «Did I not tell you in jail that unless you get baptised you cannot take it? So unless you do not want it, make arrangements to get baptised and then you can wear this crown». He told him: «How can I leave?» The saint told him: «Tomorrow at about seven at night, leave the palace, head for the // *f.14 v* spring, there you will find a monk who is a holy man, you have to follow him, and he will lead you where God wishes, do not fear anything, I will always be with you wherever you are». As he had that dream and heard those words when he awoke he rejoiced a lot. During the day he went to see the fountain and he prayed for his saviour to come at night. Thus on the night after the wedding and the dance all went to bed and so did he but he was afraid to fall asleep before seven o'clock but the sleep thief closed his eyes and he fell asleep. When the time came he dreamed again of his good guide Saint Anastasius who called: «Ahmet aga you are asleep, wake up and go to the fountain!». He awoke immediately and went downstairs and saw all the doors closed but as if by miracle they all opened and he went out and upon arriving at the fountain he found the holy man sent there for him and he told him: «Follow me, my child». He said: «Father I have forgotten my bag with my money // *f.15r* and my watch, let me go back and get them». He told him: «Leave them for they are from among your father's ill-begotten gains, do not mind them, Christ is going to provide for you, just follow me!» He followed him and just a little way outside the town there was a church of Saint Charalambos where they went and that holy man told him: «Take off your clothes my child, and put on the ones God ordered me to bring to you, and straightaway he got naked and put those modest clothes on. Then he told him: »Wear these sandals!« But he did not know how to bind them, and the enemy full of hatred for the good started to whisper words and fantasies to him : how could he find himself in such a humble and poor state, and he started weeping. The holy old man seeing /him cry recognized the enemy's work and drew near to him and took his feet and put his sandals on for him and told him: »Why are you crying my child?2 What did the enemy put into your mind, do not hide and do not be sad for Christ is here to teach you, and he led him in front of an icon of Lord Christ and he // *f.15 v* made him say this: «See Christ my true one, for whose love I denied my father and my mother and my relatives and the riches and the glory and all the other pleasures of this vain world do not let down your slave, teach me and guide me to find my salvation!» Then as if by miracle he heard a voice from the holy icon telling

him: «Ahmet aga who for the love of me have left your infidel fathers and came to believe in me and to work for me for nothing, do not worry and my grace will always be with you to protect and to illuminate you in every good work». The boy fell on his knees with fear. The good old man caught him, held him and raised him up and told him: «Rejoice my child for you were able to hear the voice of Christ the Lord». Straight away he felt joy in his heart and he told the old man: «I am ready father to do whatever you suggest». He then took the clothes he had just taken off and thought of hiding them in a corner of the church but the boy told him: // *f.16r* «These, my father are valuable so you would better give them to a Romaio for him to use rather than let the earth eat them up». The old man said: «Tomorrow there is going to be a big search for you, and if they find your clothes on the back of a Romaio your father will kill everyone and destroy the churches, therefore they have to disappear and so hide them well». They left the church afterwards, and went through a different path, on foot through fields and mountains and in fourteen days they reached Ellassona and as they arrived there the holy old man narrated the boy's story to the priest there who rejoiced greatly and welcomed them, and looked after them for six days, after which producing one hundred and fifty Venetian golden coins he gave them to the old man, and asked him to buy an animal that the young man could ride, for he was not used to walking and got tired, and whatever was left «give them to him when he embarks». Thus in thirty days they reached Patras, and finding a ship ready to sail to Venice, the man of God put him on board, and gave him a holy icon of the Holy Virgin and as many golden coins as there were left. // *f.16v* He wrote to the Greek priests of Venice telling them the whole story and handed him the letters and embracing him and wishing him all the best and for this good deed the man was rewarded with serenity. He went on board the ship, they set off and reached Venice guided by the grace of God and of God's Mother and upon arriving there he handed the letters to the priests of Saint George of the Romaioi who received him and introduced him to all the merchants, honest Romaioi and they all liked him and helped him with the necessary expenses for the upkeep of his mount. He spent one year in Venice and kept asking to be given the holy baptism they adjourned from one day to another on the one hand in order for him to reach the lawful age and on the other for them to test him as their church demanded. When he had left his parents' house he was fourteen and by the time they wanted to baptize him, by the good will of God he took sight of a monk, sent by the abbot of that monastery, where he went and bowed in front of the tomb of martyr Anastasius, who wandered from one place to another // *f.17r* asking for them, and as he reached Venice he learned that he was there, and that they were about to baptize him went to meet him and embraced him straight away, and kissed him. The boy asked about his father and about his mother, what did they do after he had left? The man said: «When those who were with you came back and said that you were lost, and no one knew whether you were alive or dead your father was speechless and went mad for six days. Your mother pulled her hair and everybody in your house sobbed and cried and are still sobbing and crying a lot. Your disconsolate father sent people everywhere and they are searching and looking for you, and he has offered bounty and still does so to whoever goes out to search for you. When the abbot learnt about your escape he gathered all the monks of the monastery and they said a common prayer, that God save you and help you complete the road you have taken up, and as you see he sent me to travel here into the land of the Franks' country to find you and then go back to tell him

and preach about the kind of man that you are //f.17v and of what wealth and glory you left for the love of Christ, for the Christians to love you and to guide you». As he heard these he rejoiced and glorified God. As the Greek priests and merchants of Venice heard his story from the mouth of that monk they were very happy and they glorified God and loved him more and straightforward without delay they baptised him in the church of Saint George during the evening service celebrated in memory of the great martyr Saint Demeter on the sixteenth of October 1776 and called him Demeter .By that time he was fifteen. As he was in Venice and spent time there, a well-established Greek merchant offered to give him a niece of his as a wife and to adopt him and make him his heir, but as he learned of the miracles of Saint Spyridonos on the heights, he yearned to go and see for himself, and bow in front of his holy relic and so he asked for the permission and recommendation of the local Christians and from the priests of Venice and from the merchants who gave him everything he needed and enough //f.18r provisions. The merchant who wanted to make him his child asked him not to stay too long on the hights and come back quickly. As he departed and saw the grace of the Saint and miraculous Spyridonos he rejoiced and wondered what kind of man was this who was able to become such a miraculous saint and as he learned that he had been a monk he said: «I too want to become a monk. I used to have such riches and so much glory and I left everything out of my love for God, why should I be looking now for ephemeral and decaying things?» He found himself a virtuous man for a confessor, and he told him of his aim, and asked him to accept him and tonsure him to become a monk, and teach him about the unique city. What did he have to do in order to please Lord God? That honest man told him about the difficulties and the impediments which may come his way as he was not used to them being so young of age and advised him that he could do good and be saved as a layman and said many other profitable words to this effect, but he stayed on for days and asked him //f.18v and prayed to be given an angelic form. Thus seeing that his aim and his opinion were steady he accepted him and tonsured him as a monk and changed his name to Daniel. So now he was in the good hands of this honest old man witnessing and listening to his good advice, he was striving as hard as he could, even on difficult tasks and reading the lives of the holy fathers who had pleased God, he was attracted to them himself. As he read about the life and martyrdom of the great martyr Saint Jacob the Persian and seeing that had he not preached Christ's message and had he not witnessed his love he would not have been saved he got a burning wish and zeal to preach Christ's message in the same way that the saint had done, and be a witness of his love. And struggling with this thought for a long time he decided in the end to leave the mountain and to head for Constantinople and be a witness without telling the old man, for he knew very well from several words that they had had before that he would not let him go. Therefore he departed one day, crossed the sea to Zante, from there to the Peloponnese and thence he sailed directly to //f.19r the capital, where looking around and seeing this large town full of so many unfaithful, he felt sorry and cried and as he arrived near the Patriarchate, he found shelter in a house where he found a virtuous man to whom he told everything about himself and the aim of his arrival. The man told him: «your aim is good and God-abiding, father Daniel but you have to think if you want to perfect it, irrespective of God's will because this king is a man full of prejudice and strict on the Christians, let him not imagine that you were baptised here in the Patriarchate for then he might destroy the Patriarchate, the Patriarch and many other Christians

and while you wish to do good in your own right you harm the church, and the Christians and thus instead of saving your soul I am afraid you could harm it. Do what I am telling you pray and pray again ardently, fast and stay awake, and conjure God to reveal to you whether he wants you to be his witness, and I hope God is going to show to you what is best». Thus with that holy man's advice and under his guidance, he left, / and after closing the door of his house he prayed with ardour and with many tears, he fasted and stayed awake and praying for seventeen days and on the following night, as he continued with his prayer until at nine o'clock he fell asleep standing, and waking after a little while, he saw a young man shining like a lightning who said :«Daniel what is the matter with you and why are you sad? You should rejoice!» and he told him: who are you to tell me I should rejoice? The young man told him: am I not Anastasius? My friend Daniel don't you recognize me? Then this one told him: «Man of God how is it that you considered to come to me the sinner?» The other answered: «Believe me, from the moment I left my parents' house I never ceased to pray God the Lord for you. Rejoice, for today you will have the privilege of seeing great mysteries». And taking him by the right hand, he told him : «Come with me in a place where a Christian church stood before» And he told him: «Do you see this altar?» This was the church of All Saints, and as they drew to the door, he saw someone and told him: «Come quickly they are waiting for you!» // *f.20r* And thus they appeared to go inside and see many people, young and old and he asked Anastasius what kind of people were those? He said : «These are all the saints». One of them asked: «Have you come Daniel?» «I have come» said the sinner, and thus they came walking two by two. They went to another altar, and Anastasius told Daniel that it was the church of the Holy Apostles. As they came near the doors burst open, and out came two young men carrying oil lamps, and two deacons with a censer and started incensing the saints. After he too burned incense he entered, and seeing the twelve apostles, and Saint Constantine, and Saint Helen with the holy cross in their hand, which shone like the Sun and out came Saint Marcian and gave candles to all and he put off the candles. Saint Constantine came out like his mother with the holy cross in his hands. After the cross came the holy apostles, after them all the saints, and as the cross advanced all the symbols of the Crescent fell away. As they walked on/ *f.20v* they glimpsed Saint George the trophy bearer, and he was telling the saints: «Come over to my church too it is now an altar of the Agar's sons so that the symbols of the Crescent may fall». As they came from the other place, the hideous symbols fell, and Saint George went inside the church, and as soon as he made an appearance, he expelled all the Agar's sons who were in there and told them: «Go away infamous from my home I cannot abide you here any longer.» As they left they could hear a very sweet melody being sung by someone, a joyful tune. And as they went straight away they found many Agar's sons, who shouted as they were expelled: «Alas, alas, let us run away the Romaioi have arrived here». And as they came close to the Yeni Geami, they went into the church yard and raised the holy cross upright, and sung the holy service: «Glory be to God in Heaven» but at the end of the service, the Imam went up to call for the believers. Constantine the Great showed him the cross and told him: «Can you not accursed see the sign of God the supreme, the only thing you did was to dare curse». And as he showed the cross the dome fell with the Imam. And they left from there and went to the church of Saint Sophia // *f.21r* and two deacons with the censer came near and Daniel asked Anastasius: «Who are these?» He told him: «On the right is Stephen the First Martyr and on the

left is Saint Laurence». And they incensed the cross and all the saints who had come in and drawing near to the holy altar on the right side there was a closed door and it looked like it opened, and they went inside and saw marvellous and strange things, icons and candles alight, candlesticks, and other holy things decorated and a beautiful icon of the Virgin, looking like she was on a throne with many angels around her and to her left side was another throne on which stood an old man, with a crown on his head and one could not infer whether he was asleep or awake in his hand he was holding a richly decorated holy gospel. All around the church there were thrones and Daniel asked Anastasius what kind of thrones are these he told him these are the thrones on which sat the fathers of the church and performed the holy synods and on them will sit again the scandals and the intrigues/*f.21 v* of the heretics. Thus they placed the holy cross in the centre and Saint Marcianus gathered all the candles and put them by the cross and then the doors of the holy altar burst open and young men clad in white came out holding a golden throne and set it in the middle of the church and there was Lord Christ wearing priestly clothes, a crown on his head which was shining and he went and sat on the throne. Then Saint Jacob, God's brother appeared and he took awhile to start the main holy mass. From the first entrance came the great priest into the altar after all those present, and in due time Saint Laurence read the Deeds of the Apostles and they were brothers. All the saints fought for the power of faith and Saint Stephen said these from his pulpit from the Holy Gospel: «I was the vineyard and you were the vine». At the time of the great admission Christ stood and blessed everyone and he untied the holy things on the holy table. Christ blessed again and after the communion // *f.22r* Saint Stephen came saying come near with the fear of God's faith, then Lord Christ stood in the door, Saints Chrysostomos and Mitrophanos removed the one who was sitting on the throne, they took the crown from his head and the gospel from his hand and brought them to Christ and they gave him the holy communion then they put his mitre again on his head and the gospel in his hands and saw him to his place. After the mass was completed Christ went back and sat on the throne, and all the saints went straight and bowed before him on their knees before the Lord and all said the same: «Lord we all your servants wish for the reign of your kingdom, have mercy on all the Christians, and free them from the bitter serfdom to the Agar's sons». The Lord said not to set them free and multiply their wrongdoings, for they did not repent and never improved. Thereupon the saints fell silent. Then Jacob, God's brother, John the Theologian and John Chrysostome headed towards the Lady Mother of God, and as they bowed in front of her and told her: «Lady Mother of God, / *f.22v* we all your servants we pray you to mediate with your son so that he has mercy on the Christian nation, and free it from the hands of Agar's sons». Then the Holy Virgin stood up from her throne, with the cross and all the saints ahead of her and coming near her son she told him : «My sweet child you have your faithful servants in front of you, they stand with fear and dread in front of you, and are asking for the liberation of the Christians. I too am asking you in your goodness to have mercy and liberate all the nation of the Christians from the serfdom to Agar's sons». The Lord told the Holy Virgin: «know my dear mother, it was my wish to liberate them from the time of the unfaithful Mehmet but they are ungrateful and impenitent, and I gave a sign to the now reigning to vest them in black, so that they can see the black colour and come to their senses, but with all that they did not get better but every now and then they drive me angry with their evil deeds. Then the Mistress of the World told him: »my most

desired child, punish them in any other way as you may deem, do not leave them in the hands of your unfaithful enemies« . He then told his mother: »oh mother //f.23 r you are asking me a lot of things and I relent for the love of you and for the prayers of my saints, I will free them within short.« The Holy Virgin and all the saints fell and bowed before him and then the Holy Virgin went to her throne and sat and the saints went back two by two and bowed before Christ or embraced his knee and best of all, Daniel came near Christ and told him, Lord help me and Christ told him Daniel do not come before God because there is great danger around but he said Thy will be done and straight away came two young men clad in white from the holy altar, and they saw that the church roof opened and all those saint angels who stood by him took hold of Christ and he was lifted into heaven, the saints thanked the Holy Virgin for the freedom of the Christians. then the Holy Virgin told one of those who stood by her to call Daniel and tell him to join her, and as he drew near, he thanked her for the honour of being admitted in the presence of her son and her own, only that he was sorry for the fact that he did not succeed in his wishes. The Holy Virgin told him do not feel sorry for that for a major disaster was to befall the church //f.23 v and the Christians and had you been presented you would have been in both spiritual and bodily danger. For they wanted to close you in a house with many ravens so the most wicked could infect you. Last year your father was here in the capital and through witchcraft it was revealed to him that you have become a Christian and a monk and that you would come here and he was wondering where you were baptised and he thought that you might be in Wallachia and he waited for you and sent someone pretending to be a Christian to inquire about you and left others here to see if they could find you. What is the need of martyrdom? If you observe the commandments of my son you thus rejoice in his kingdom. He said again :«My Lady mother of God I would like to lead my parents into the orthodox faith». She then told him: «Do not mind them, your mother died last year, through your prayers she was relieved, and for your father do not pray at all for him to see resurrection with his eyes, he still does not believe in it for he is always doing much harm to the Christians and he also said Virgin Mary my Lady, I am asking one more favour, allow me here in your //f.24r in your church, so that I can light the candles, and serve. She tells him, learn that these icon lamps have always been alight, for three hundred years and more, and no human can live here, the only way for you is to go back where you were, and do not go to the mountain, for there are going to be many temptations, and whatever you have seen tell them to Ptolemaidos for he is a true servant of my son». After that he saw a man enter the church and he said: «tell our Queen, that the King strongly wishes to kill the priests, and the archons, and immediately the Holy Virgin stood up from her throne, went out, everyone followed her, and as they advanced following a sign she made the symbols of the Crescent disappeared all, and as they approached the centre of Byzantium they found the priests with their hands tied at the back of their bodies, and the bread and the priests with their heads cut, and two of the archons were in the same state. At that sight the Holy Virgin made a sign to Saint Christopher and he took the sword from the hands of the executioner and cut his head, and leaving the others there, the Holy Virgin went inside to the tyrant who was sitting on the throne, and the Holy Virgin told him: «unfaithful usurper how did you dare take the priests, and the archons and sentence them to death?» And he answered with impudence: «who are you to talk to me like this?» Those who were with the Holy Virgin told him: «you godless man, can you not see the queen

of Heaven and of the Earth has come? And Saint Christopher snatched him and threw him off the throne and there sat the Holy Virgin. And the Holy Virgin asked of him again with fury: «what use was it to your usurper to put the priests and Christians to death?» «They were deadly guilty» said the tyrant «for they wrote to my enemies to come here against me». And the Holy Virgin told him: «they did not write, I am the one who brings them to you as I want to make your kin disappear for I cannot bear the injustice that you do to the Christians». And as the Holy Virgin went to everybody's house with all the saints and saint Christopher kept the throne of the tyrant they reached a closed door which opened at a sign from the Virgin and they went inside and found a beautiful and wonderful church with icons and candles // *f. 25r* and three priests clad in priestly clothes and as they took sight of the Holy Virgin they bowed and told her: «We thank you Our Lady Mother of the Lord. queen of Heaven and earth who is going to liberate all the Christians from the hands of Agar's sons». Whereupon she left the throne and she came outside where were the priests and the archons about to be put to death, and they kneeled and bowed in front of the Holy Virgin saying: «Thank you Our Lady Mother of the Lord most glorified lady who has liberated us from a great peril and have carried us off from the doors of Hell». She told them: «You are ungrateful and you do not remember the good things I did for you, am I not the one who so many times liberated this city from perils? Now go in peace do not be even more ungrateful to your benefactor. The Theologian asked the Holy Virgin: »How is it My Lady that you departed all these who were about to be put to death by the tyrant?« She told him: »They never rested in God or me and not only were they deprived of this temporary life, but they got everlasting Hell«. Coming out of the palace they went to Saint Sophia and the Virgin called Anastasius and she told him: «My child take Daniel and go to the church of Saint Constantine so he can pray there too». Thus the Holy Virgin with all the saints came along to Saint Sophia, the two went into the church, and as the martyr/ *f.25 v* made the sign of the cross, the doors opened and they went in and there they found Agar's sons and as the martyr went into the holy altar and he found a wrap, when he unveiled it he saw a most beautiful icon of the Holy Virgin which was shining, and spread rays. Embracing it Anastasius told Daniel: «look at this icon, when Christianity is back it will work great wonders again, it will resurrect even the dead, and they will even build a church in Her honour». Then he covered it back and went out of the church on to Daniel's house, then holy Anastasius told him go to the church in time for mass, and Daniel hurried him to go together to Ptolemaidos, for him to be told once again what the Holy Virgin had said. The other told him: «You go alone and you tell me what you have seen, and I go to my own duty, for as you see the candle is extinguished». As Daniel opened his eyes he saw that the candle was about to peter out, and thus he thanked God and satisfied with what he had seen and listened to, he stood up and went to the church of the Patriarchate and read the psalms and during the service he went and found Saint Ptoleimados, and told him about this awesome vision. That one told him: «you see father Daniel, as you have received this knowledge, you have to do what Christ and the Holy Virgin have revealed to you!» And thus a few days later he made preparations, and he went back to the heights. Thanks be to Christ. Amen.

Annex 2

110

268
 M DEPEXEVII
 Monsieur



" je suis venu deux fois chez vous
 mais il n'y avait pas moyen de
 vous voir. j'ai prié le parti
 de vous écrire en vous priant
 de faire venir les gazettes
 grecques sous l'adresse de
 Anastassius grand Armeche
 et me notifiera combien des
 prêtres turcs font le florin
 autriche et je suis
 monsieur

*Pis: pour une
 année doivent
 elles venir*

v. J. F.
 Rigas

Annex 3

Πρωτὸν Ἰ: ἀσπιδόχην μου...
 αὖ: οὐχ ἔσθ' ἐν ἐξῆς ἢ ὄραται ἄρα, ἵσοις ἐπὶ πρὸς ἄλλους,
 ὅρα πρὸς ἀνδραγαθίαν, πρὸς ἀεικλίαν καὶ ἀεικλίαν καὶ ἀει
 ἀεικλίαν οὐχ ἔσθ' ἐν ἐξῆς ἢ ὄραται ἄρα, ἵσοις ἐπὶ πρὸς ἄλλους.
 ἀλλ' ἔτι γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλοις ὄραται ἀπὸς ἀεικλίαν ἄρα ἔσθ' ἔσθ'.
 ἵσοις ἐπὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ὄραται ἄρα, ἵσοις ἐπὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ὄραται ἄρα,
 πρὸς ἀεικλίαν, ἀλλ' ἔτι γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλοις ὄραται ἀπὸς ἀεικλίαν ἄρα ἔσθ' ἔσθ'.
 ἵσοις ἐπὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ὄραται ἄρα, ἵσοις ἐπὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ὄραται ἄρα,
 πρὸς ἀεικλίαν, ἀλλ' ἔτι γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλοις ὄραται ἀπὸς ἀεικλίαν ἄρα ἔσθ' ἔσθ'.

καὶ ἀλλοῖσιν, ἵσοις ἐπὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ὄραται ἄρα ἔσθ' ἔσθ'.
 ὄρα πρὸς ἀνδραγαθίαν, πρὸς ἀεικλίαν καὶ ἀεικλίαν καὶ ἀει
 κλίαν οὐχ ἔσθ' ἐν ἐξῆς ἢ ὄραται ἄρα, ἵσοις ἐπὶ πρὸς ἄλλους.
 ἀλλ' ἔτι γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλοις ὄραται ἀπὸς ἀεικλίαν ἄρα ἔσθ' ἔσθ'.
 ἵσοις ἐπὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ὄραται ἄρα, ἵσοις ἐπὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ὄραται ἄρα,
 πρὸς ἀεικλίαν, ἀλλ' ἔτι γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλοις ὄραται ἀπὸς ἀεικλίαν ἄρα ἔσθ' ἔσθ'.
 ἵσοις ἐπὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ὄραται ἄρα, ἵσοις ἐπὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ὄραται ἄρα,
 πρὸς ἀεικλίαν, ἀλλ' ἔτι γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλοις ὄραται ἀπὸς ἀεικλίαν ἄρα ἔσθ' ἔσθ'.

45
Εσκόπον ὄμων καὶ εὐφρονῶν καὶ ἡσυχῶν·
λαύλον γὰρ ἐστὶν ἰσχυροτάτην, ἀπὸ
βελόνης δὲ γινώσκουσα ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ
μύλον βυβλῶν, καθὼς γὰρ γινώσκουσα.
Ἐξουσίαν αὖτις ἀποκαθάρσει καὶ
προσφύματα δεσποῦν γινώσκουσα
ἵος βασιλῆα καὶ ἐχούσας, ἕλκον ἐξ
αὐτῶν ὁ μόνον καὶ τὸ καὶ ὁ
καὶ ὁ. Ὁ ὅσιος ἐχούσας ἀποκαθάρσει,
συνάμαλτα καὶ ἵος.