SCANDINAVIAN JOURNAL OF BYZANTINE AND MODERN GREEK STUDIES

No 9 & 10 • 2023–2024

19th century Greek funeral eulogies and their relation to Pericles' Funeral Oration: the case of Georgios Markos Tertsetis*

Barbara Spinoula,

In 1846, the orator Georgios Markos Tertsetis (1800-1874) observed: 'Ἐγκωμιάζοντας ὁ ρήτορας τοὺς ἀποθαμένους, ἐνθυμεῖται πολὺ τοὺς ζωντανοὺς' (In praising the dead, the orator profoundly remembers the living).[1] He was referring to one of the most significant speeches in Greek antiquity—and indeed, one of the most influential in the history of world literature: Pericles' funeral oration. Delivered in 430 B.C. at the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens, this speech commemorated the soldiers who had perished in the first year of the Peloponnesian War.[2]

It was not the only funeral oration Pericles ever delivered,[3] but it is the only one Thucydides has recorded. Being a talented leader and inno-

* I am grateful to my friend Dr Matthew M. Simpson for kindly reading the draft of this paper. He hasimproved the language and has made valuable comments.

[1] Tertsetis, "Μελέται βουλευτικῆς εὐγλωττίας (1846)" [Studies on eloquence of the members of parliament], in Konomos 1984, 287. The speech from now on will be mentioned as "On eloquence (1846)". All translations of Greek passages throughout this paper, unless otherwise stated, are by the author.

[2] As a matter of fact, in general, 'Speeches in Thucydides' *History* are among the most talked about topics in Thucydidean studies.' So does Kremmydas (2017, 93) rightly point out. See Hornblower 1991, 292, on the 'πάτριος νόμος', the 'ancestral custom' of celebrating the funeral of war-soldiers at public expense; Clairmont 1983.

[3] Another funeral oration is delivered by Pericles in 439 B.C., during the public burial of the fallen Athenians at the War of Samos (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 28.4). This is regarded as the first known funeral speech at Athens (Garland 1985, 90). As a whole, there are only five (or six, including Gorgias' fragments from a speech which was intended to be used in his rhetorical classes) ancient Greek funeral orations surviving, one of them being a mock funeral speech composed by Plato, titled *Menexenos*. See Nannini 2016, 8; Mavropoulos 2004, 40–41.

vative speaker, Pericles went beyond the limits of praising the dead and expounded the nature and importance of Athenian democracy, the connection between the citizen and his homeland, and therefore the meaning of Greek patriotism.[4]

In this paper I shall look for echoes of the Periclean funeral oration in the modern Greek funeral eulogies that Tertsetis composed mainly in honour of those killed while fighting in the Greek Revolution.[5] I hope to show that Pericles, as recorded by Thucydides, constituted a vital source of inspiration, embodying for Tertsetis the permanent virtues of democratic patriotism and Greekness.

Tertsetis was a multifaceted personality, one of the most interesting and important persons in modern Greek history. He was an attorney from Zante and also a poet; the childhood friend, "θερμὸς ὀπαδὸς καὶ οἰκεῖος"[6] (a warm supporter and close friend) of the poet Dionysios Solomos; a war-soldier of the Greek Revolution; a member of Parliament and its βιβλιοφύλακας[7] (librarian); a courageous judge, who became a modern Greek symbol or incarnation of justice; a fervent supporter of the demotic language; and the learned and inspiring history teacher, at a crucial time, of the Greek army cadets at the newly found military school in Nafplion, and indeed a teacher of his nation.[8]

---

[4] Kakridis 1981, 174: 'If there is one text which gives the real meaning of democracy and patriotism, then this is the *Epitaphios.*'; on democracy in the *Funeral Oration*, see Kakridis 2000, 65. For Felix Jacoby (1944, 60), 'Thucydides made a political action of a religious ceremony or […] he has consciously and completely eliminated the religious component of the State burial. On Pericles as a leader in Thucydides' opinion, see Westlake 1968, 23: 'It was a basic belief of Thucydides that of all the leading figures in the Peloponnesian war, Pericles was by far the greatest; on Pericles as an innovative speaker, see Kennedy 2001, 38.

[5] The editions I have used are: Ὁ Γεώργιος Τερτσέτης καὶ τὰ εὑρισκόμενα ἔργα του by Ntinos Konomos (Athens 1984) and the three-volume edition Τερτσέτη, *Ἅπαντα* by Georgios Valetas (Athens 1966–1967).

[6] Bouchard 1970, 49.

[7] Konomos 1984, 27 n.1; 27: Ὁ Τερτσέτης ὑπῆρξε ὁ πατέρας τοῦ Ἀρχείου καὶ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Βουλῆς. Τὸ ἵδρυμα τοῦτο εἶχε ἐξαρθῆ μὲ τὴν δράση του σὲ πνευματικὴ ἐθνικὴ ἐστία; Plagiannis 1966, 367.

[8] For biographical information, see Xepapadakos 1971, 44–56; Bouchard 1970; Valetas 1966, "Introduction", 17–44; Vees 1966a; Vees 1966b; Sigouros 1954; Vlahos 1875.

Nearly eighty speeches of Tertsetis survive today, the latest and more complete edition of his oeuvre being that by Ntinos Konomos in 1984. Some speeches and lessons in the military school had originally been published in newspapers, some speeches had been individually published as leaflets and some were found as unpublished manuscripts in the orator's files.[9] Year after year in Athens, Tertsetis would deliver speeches in public, having printed announcements prior to the event he delivered at least sixteen speeches on the anniversaries of the Greek Revolution of 1821 (25th March), and a similar number on 20th May, celebrating King Otto's birthday; he would speak about the annual poetry competition held in Athens, where the academics who ran this competition would turn down his lengthy poems written in the demotic language; he would also deliver speeches to the members of the Greek Parliament. In general, in this very rich collection of speeches, he dealt with philosophical and historical subjects, with Greek language and literature, as well as with some important persons of his time. Of special historical interest is his *Ἀπολογία*, the speech which he made in his own defense when, as a judge, he had refused to sign the sentences passed in 1834 upon Theodoros Kolokotronis and Dimitrios Plapoutas, and was himself arraigned in the following year along with the president of the 1834 court, Anastassios Polyzoidis.[10] Equally powerful is his very last speech, of 25th March 1874, which he wrote a while before he fell sick and died, and so never had the opportunity to read to an audience.[11] This speech is dedicated to Polyzoidis. It constitutes a most valuable historical source, for Tertsetis records in great detail all that happened at the trial of the two generals and the nature of the autocratic violence which was used in over-ruling the independence of the court's two judges.

I have shown elsewhere how the history lessons of Tertsetis in the Military School often echo the historical writings of Thucydides and es-

[9] Today manuscripts of Tertsetis—none of which contains a speech—are to be found in the: (a) Academy of Athens, Research Center for the History of Modern Hellenism, where the 'Archive of Georgios Tertsetis' contains three manuscripts, and (b) General State Archives of Greece – Central Service, where the 'Konstantinos Konomos Collection' (COL171.01 - K57στ) also comprises three manuscripts.

[10] See Xepapadakos 1971, 38, 39–44.

[11] See Xepapadakos 1971, 33.

pecially the funeral oration by Pericles.[12] Aiming to inspire the hearts of his young students with love for their homeland, and sharing with them his passion for ancient Greek history, he frequently refers the cadets to the ideas in the Periclean oration. As a learned scholar, Tertsetis had introduced the teaching of Thucydides into the military academy syllabus, and accordingly in his classes or in speeches on formal occasions such as the opening of the school year or beginning of semester exams, he made the most of the ancient historian's work. I have pointed out that he even compares his students themselves to the young Thucydides, who was once moved to tears by listening to Herodotus reciting his *Histories* in Athens. Both the cadets and Thucydides, according to Tertsetis, stand for the hopes of their homeland and embody the promise (expected to be realized by the cadets, as it had been by Thucydides) to become μεγάλοι πολίτες.[13]

Tertsetis refers or alludes to his favorite orator, Pericles, not only in those history classes, but also in his rhetorical work as a whole.

Before considering him as a meticulous reader of Thucydides and Plutarch and as an admirer of Pericles, it would be useful to know Tertsetis' view on the significance of the 430 B.C. funeral oration, as expressed in one of his 1846 lectures to members of the Greek Parliament on eloquence.

He read the whole text of Pericles' *Funeral Oration* to his audience εἰς ἁπλῆν φράσιν, in simple (that is, demotic) form of Greek language, translated by Ioannis Vilaras.[14] His initial motive was to prove that 'the

[12] B. Spinoula, "*Ἐθνικὴ Ἐφημερίς*: αναζητώντας τον Θουκυδίδη στις δημοσιευμένες ομιλίες του Γεωργίου Τερτσέτη προς τους Ευέλπιδες του 1832". Speech at the Conference on "Readings of Thucydides", Hellenic Military Academy, Vari, Attica, 1st December 2023.

[13] Tertsetis 1832 (*National Newspaper* 60–61, pp. 311–314, §1): εἴθε αὐτὰ νὰ προαγγέλλωσι μέγαν πολίτην, καθὼς ποτὲ αἱ σοφαὶ Ἀθῆναι συνέλαβον ἐλπίδας, τὰς ὁποίας ὁ μετέπειτα χρόνος ἐπραγμάτωσεν, ἰδοῦσαι τὰ δάκρυα τοῦ δεκαπενταετοῦς Θουκυδίδου! Valetas puts this speech directly after Tertsetis' first history lesson (titled "Α΄ Ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς ἱστορίας" [the utility of History]) under the title "Ἱστορικὰ μαθήματα: Β΄ Παιδεία – Πατρίδα – Ἱστορία" (History lessons: Β΄ Education – Homeland – History", in Valetas, vol. III, 347–352; Konomos 1984, 242–245).

[14] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 277–292; 287–290: "Λόγος τοῦ Περικλέους" (Pericles' Speech); see p. 286 for mention on Vilaras.

discord between ancient Athens and Sparta is both the image and the key of the whole Greek history.'[15] He went on to link discord to φιλαρχία and φιλαυτία, the love for power and the love for oneself. His lecture has all the characteristics of a lesson, indeed, and he takes into consideration the audience's ignorance: they had been busy with deeds of war and had no time to study ancient Greek authors, he says; now, he adds, busy as they are with their law-making duties, they have no time to translate ancient texts in modern Greek.[16]

Before reading the text, Tertsetis wished to share ὀλίγας σκέψεις with his audience.[17] Θὰ ὠφεληθοῦμεν πολυτρόπως, 'we shall benefit in a lot of ways' from this speech, he confirmed, and he, sort of, enumerated the benefits:

> 'We shall know the spirit of the ancient Greeks.'
> 'We shall see the grace and the height of (rhetoric) art, e.g. in order to praise the war dead, Pericles praises their homeland, as if one, in order to depict a human, glorifies God, the creator of human beings.'
> 'We have certain information about the political spirit of Greeks: they regarded the individual as exclusively tied to the destiny of the homeland.'
> 'We see the dislike of Greeks for Greeks, which led to the destruction of freedom and to a general slavery.'[18]

His view explains why he regarded as important Pericles' ideals in the life of his contemporaries, at the time of the ambitious building of an independent Greece out of a suffering, demolished homeland, during and after the Greek Revolution.

[15] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 283.
[16] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 283.
[17] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 284.
[18] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 286.

"Λόγος στὸ στρατόπεδο τοῦ Μύτικα (1828)" (Speech at the Mytikas military camp (1828)[19] – *A speech for the rank and file*

The speech at the Mytikas military camp was delivered a year after the battle in Athens, but it is still an *Ἐπιτάφιος Λόγος*. As Georgios Valetas puts it, the speech is 'addressed at a military camp, an ἐπιτάφιος for the heroes.'[20] Moreover, it is a speech written not for a single man, but for all the fallen soldiers of a particular battle. Such a funeral eulogy was a tradition in ancient Athens after the Persian Wars, but during and after the Greek War of Independence the orator usually stood before one dead person. Tertsetis, with his evidenced admiration for Pericles, had at the military camp of Mytikas all the necessary conditions in order to present and develop some important ideas of the prominent *Funeral Oration*.

'Unimportant and unnecessary the praise is'

At the Western Greece General Military Camp at Mytikas in 1828, comrades and fellow fighters heard one of the first speeches of Tertsetis, the oldest in his corpus. The time-and-place framework of the speech is given by Tertsetis himself in his very evocative introduction, which was written at a later stage, when he rewrote the funeral eulogy in a more scholarly language and read it to a different audience.[21] That introduction expresses the strong emotion that had been felt both by Tertsetis himself and by his comrades in that camp in 1828:

---

[19] In Konomos 1984, 218-223.

[20] Tertsetis, "Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν καθ' ἣν ἐτελοῦντο τὰ ἐνιαύσια τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις πεσόντων 1828" (Speech on the day when the memorial service took place for those who fell in Athens a year ago, in 1828) in Valetas, vol. II, 1967, see note on p. 57. From now on the speech will me mentioned as "Speech of 1828", as its header is in the edition by Valetas. The paragraphs of the speech have been numbered by Valetas.

[21] There is no year mentioned in the manuscript. See the note on the speech in Tertsetis, in Konomos 1984, 218 n.; Valetas 1967, vol. II, 57–58, gives the information that the speech was first published in the Journal *Φιλολογικὴ Πρωτοχρονιὰ* (1954, 371) by Konomos, owner of the manuscript.

(§ 1) Λόγον ἀτελῆ μέλλει νὰ σᾶς ἀναγνώσω καὶ παρακαλῶ νὰ μοῦ χαρίσετε τὴν φιλικὴν (sic) σας συγγνώμην. Ἤμουν κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1828 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Μύτικα. Ἦτον ἄνοιξις. Ἤκουα ἀπὸ διαφόρους, ἐνθυμοῦμαι μάλιστα ἀπὸ τὸν ἀνδρεῖον Νάση Νίκα, ἤκουσα νὰ λέγει: 'Πέρυσι σὰν τώρα τὰ ἀδέλφια μας ἐσκοτώθηκαν εἰς τὴν Ἀθήνα…' Καὶ δάκρυο ἐθόλωνε τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς του. Μ' ἐπῆρε ἐπιθυμία νὰ συνθέσω λόγον πρὸς παρηγορίαν τῶν λυπημένων. Καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸς ἀπαράλλακτα ὁποὺ τότε ἐσύνθεσα καὶ εἶπα, καὶ σήμερον προσφέρω εἰς τὴν ἀδελφικήν σας ἀκρόασιν.[22]

(§ 1) An imperfect speech I am going to read to you, and I am asking you to grant me your friendly forgiveness. I was, in the year 1828, at the military camp of Mytikas. It was spring time. I heard various people, I remember, especially I heard the brave Nassis Nikas saying: *'This day last year our brothers were killed in Athens…'* And his eyes were blurred by tears. I was taken by the desire to compose a speech to console the sad ones. So, it is exactly this speech I then composed and delivered and which today I offer to your brotherly hearing.

The opening words of the 1828 speech focus not on the war dead, but on the audience, exactly as its introduction:

(§ 4) On today's date, which reminds us of those murdered in Athens, I have no intention of praising the deceased, but rather I aim to offer consolation and advice to the living.[23]

(§ 6) The praise for those [sc. the deceased] is unimportant and unnecessary, who now in the unsetting, in their happy life they gaze at the Saints' and the angels' face and they feel that their real praise is the place where they dwell. Consolation is necessary, though, for the living, who lie in the sadness of orphanhood …

Further down he gives a reason for his intention not to praise the war dead; Ἀδιάφορο ἢ καὶ περιττὸ τὸ ἐγκώμιο διὰ ἐκείνους: The dead do

[22] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828", in Valetas 1967, vol. II, 57.
[23] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 218.

not need the orator's praise in Heaven. On the contrary, the surviving do need the orator's consolation.

Worshipping freedom then and now

Hence, in a speech designed mainly to be directed to the living, especially as the living in this case are fighters during the Greek Revolution, Tertsetis stresses the imperishable connection between his contemporary Greeks and their war dead on the one hand and their ancestors on the other. He refers to the glorious achievements in the Greek-Persian wars of 5th century B.C.:

> (§ 8) τοὺς παλαιοὺς γεννήτοράς μας ὅταν ἐπολέμησαν τὴν βαρβαρικὴν νεότητα τῆς Ἀσίας, …[24]
> (§ 8) our old progenitors when they fought against the barbarian youth of Asia, …

> (§ 12) Ἀπὸ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἕως εἰς τὲς ἀκροθαλασσιὲς τοῦ Μαραθῶνος … Ἂν εἰς τὲς Θερμοπύλες ἤθελε σώζεται ὁ ἐπιτάφιος τῶν 300, …[25]
> (§ 12) From the city of the Athenians until the seashores of Marathon … If at Thermopylae the epitaph of the 300 was saved …(§ 12) δὲν ἐμαράθηκε ἡ γῆς ὁποὺ πρασινίζει ἡ δάφνη τὸν νικητὴν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ δὲν ἐσίγησεν ἡ φωνή, ὁποὺ τοῦ ἐσύνθετε τὸν ἀγήρατον ἔπαινον.[26]
> (§ 12) the land has not been withered where laurel turns the winner green at Olympia and the voice which composed the ageless praise for him has not been silenced.

> (§ 14) Διατὶ δὲν ὁμοιάζομεν μὲ ἄλλους εἰ μὴ μὲ τοὺς παλαιοτάτους προγεννήτοράς μας καὶ ὅποιαν θάλασσα ἀρμένισε ἑλληνικὸ καράβι ἔγινε μιὰ Σαλαμίνα καὶ εἰς ὅσην στεριὰν ἐπολέμησε ἑλληνικὸ τουφέκι ἔγινε προσκυνητάρι ἐλευθερίας.[27]

---

[24] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828" in Valetas, vol. II, 1967, 59.
[25] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828" in Valetas, vol. II, 1967, 61.
[26] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828" in Valetas, vol. II, 1967, 61.
[27] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828" in Valetas 1967, vol. II, 61. For a nice variation in the text, see Konomos 1984, 221: "whatever sea has been crossed by a Greek ship has become a Salamis and every land where a Greek gun has fought has become a Marathon".

(§ 14) For we are not like others, except only our ancient forefathers, and now whatever sea has been crossed by a Greek ship has become a Salamis and every land where a Greek gun has fought has become a place for worshipping freedom.

Of these bonds that tie modern Greeks with the classical Greek paragons I shall underline 'worshipping freedom' as encapsulating the historical unity. There are some striking expressions about freedom in the paragraphs preceding the 'worshipping freedom' point: firstly, the wreath image –στέφανος τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐλευθερίας (the 'wreath of Greek freedom' at § 9)– will soon develop to a comment on Pericles' view on memory and posthumous glory; secondly, the Greeks' claim to freedom, in the 1821 War of Independence, as a human natural right. This is a clear reference to one of the main aims of both the European and the Modern Greek Enlightenment.[28] It cannot remain unnoticed that Tertsetis is thinking of natural rights, which were a great pursuit of the movement of the Enlightenment, in terms of Periclean thought and diction (see underlined words):

(§ 10) Μὲ ἔργον ἐκήρυτταν τὸ φυσικὸν δικαίωμα τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ ἐδίδασκαν ὅτι ὄχι μὲ παράκλησες ἢ μὲ γυναικοκλάϋματα σώζεται ἡ ἐλευθερία, ἀλλὰ μὲ τὸ φιλοκίνδυνο τῆς ἀνδρείας. (§ 10) In action they asserted the natural right of humanity, which is freedom, and they taught that freedom is achieved not with requests or with the tears of women, but through the hazards of valour. Freedom is imaged by Tertsetis as the country for which they are fighting, so freedom and Greece are identical:

(§ 13) Ὦ Ἕλληνες! Ὦ μακάριοι ὁποὺ ἔχομεν τοιοῦτον ὄνομα! Διότι εἶναι ἀποδεδειγμένον, ὅτι ἡ πατρίδα τοῦ Ἕλληνος σὰν καὶ ἄλλοτε εἰς τοὺς παλαιοὺς καιροὺς εἶναι ἡ ἐλευθερία. Καὶ ἡ μεγαλοψυχία ἄοκνη συνοδεία του, διὰ νὰ βοηθιέται τέτοια πατρίδα εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους καὶ νὰ εὐτυχεῖ …[29]

[28] 'Modern Greek Enlightenment', 'Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός', is a term coined by C. Th. Dimaras in order to describe the intellectual and philosophical movement from the second half of the 18th century until the Greek Revolution of 1821, as an out-turn of the European Enlightenment. See Dimaras 1977; Kitromilides 2013.

[29] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828", in Konomos 1984, 221.

§ 13 Oh, Greeks! How happy we are, having such a name! For it is proven, that freedom is the Greek's homeland, as formerly in ancient times. And valour is its tireless companion, so that such a homeland is aided when in danger and may accordingly flourish …

Tertsetis has established the bond between the generation of the Greek War of Independence and the ancient Greeks, and at the same time he has pointed out the triptych 'valour-freedom-happiness', well-known from Pericles' *Funeral Oration* in Thucydides 2.43.4: Τὸ εὔδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δὲ ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὔψυχον.[30]

The triptych, repeated in the aforementioned passages from paragraphs 10 and 13, gives the answer to the agonizing question expressed by Tertsetis in a later speech: Πότε θὰ εὐτυχήσωμεν εἰς Πατρίδα εὐτυχισμένη; Πότε θὰ χαροῦμεν ἀσυγνέφιαστην τὴν γλυκειὰν ἐλευθερίαν; (When are we going to be happy in a happy homeland? When are we going to enjoy sweet freedom with no cloud?)[31]

As the speech goes on, we come across the same words again. Thus, in § 18 the sorrowful comrades are urged to cherish valour (ἀνδρεία):

(§ 18) Ὦ συμπατριῶται, τιμᾶτε τὴν ἀνδρείαν, διότι δὲν εἶναι εὐμορφότερο στολίδι ἀπὸ αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν νεότητα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
(§ 18) Oh, compatriots, do honour valour, for there is no ornament more beautiful than this in human youth.

However, this invitation is not being made by Tertsetis himself, but by the dead fighters of the battle of Athens of the previous year. For as he comes to the most affecting part of his speech, Tertsetis dramatizes it. This is a device which he often does use in his speeches.[32] The

[30] Jones & Powell 1942.

[31] See Tertsetis, "Λόγος 12.5.1868", in Konomos 1984, 624.

[32] On modern Greek rhetoric and a 17th–19th c. anthology of treatises on rhetoric, see Chatzoglou-Balta 2008, *passim;* p. 115: the "rules for arousing passions" from Ch. Pamboukis' treatise (ed. 1857); pp. 113–114: the chapter "Ways of arousing passions" from I. N. Stamatelos' treatise (ed. 1862); pp. 68–69: Alexandros Mavrokordatos' text "On voice and dramatization"; about the orator changing his voice and using his eyes, hand, arms and his whole body, in order to place emphasis on his words; p. 97: Neophytos Doukas' text "On Dramatizing" (Περὶ Ὑποκρίσεως), that is the orator using

scholar Konstantinos Tsatsos, in his book on modern Greek rhetoric has adroitly associated the arts of drama and rhetoric.[33] Tertsetis, understanding this association, blends in actual practice 'dramatic' techniques with rhetoric. He presents the dead war-soldiers as speaking directly to their mourning comrades. And wherever Tertsetis chooses this effective means of emotional vividness, it is not perfunctorily done. The deceased speak at length, in the Mytikas speech their words extending from § 18 until § 21. In fact, Tertsetis chooses not to relinquish the strong feeling which this technique evokes, and the direct speech of the dead fighters extends almost until the end of the oration, leaving out only the very last paragraph, which occupies just three lines. The speech ends, then, at this moment of the audience's most compelled attention, both intellectual and emotional.

Therefore it is the dead war-soldiers themselves who make the striking repetition of the three of the Periclean notions we have seen above –happiness, freedom, valour:

> (§ 18) … Ἡμεῖς εἴδαμε ὅτι εὐτυχία τοῦ τόπου μας εἶναι ἡ ἐλευθερία. Καὶ ἡ ἐλευθερία δὲν ἀποκτιέται πάρεξ μὲ τὴν μεγαλοψυχία.[34]
> (§ 18) We saw that freedom is the happiness of our country. And freedom is not achieved except with courage.

I have pointed out above several passages in the speech at Mytikas, where the audience is referred to Thucydides 2.43.4. This particular

---

the shape of his own body in addition to his voice. Cf. A. Glykofrydi-Leontsini 1989, 75–80.

[33] Tsatsos 1980, introd., p. ιε΄ (15): 'the orator's intention is to persuade, not to write a perfect literary text. And he usually wants to persuade as many as possible. For that reason, he has to comply with their psychology and to form his style so that his audience is moved by it. This element, as well as the element of acting, brings rhetoric very close to the art of drama. […] The lyrical poet may be writing for himself; the dramatical poet writes for an audience, which he wants to move, exactly as the orator writes or speaks in order to move an audience, as well. That's why there are some common bonds between the dramatical poet and the orator, some common psychological dependence, which are due to the direct relation of drama and rhetoric with their listeners.'

[34] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828", in Valetas 1967, vol. II, 63 §18.

passage from § 18, though, is a literal transposition of the famous Periclean passage into modern Greek. Both the words and the syntax come directly from Thucydides 2.43.4. Tertsetis might have wished to make clear to his audience the meaning of the Periclean phrase, which has been so intense and memorable due to its frugality −three words only: τὸ εὔδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δ' ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὔψυχον. He explains the associations among the three words and supplies the verbs which, unless Pericles had omitted them, would help impart easily these associations even to those in the audience who were not readers of Thucydides. Thus, happiness results from freedom, and freedom results from valour. Such a concise account of the fruits ensured from fighting for freedom is sure to be heard again from Tertsetis, as he often turns to Pericles for his audience's inspiration. As we shall see, the speech for Hypsilantis deals with this concise life lesson once again.

It is important to point out here that in addition to having linked 'freedom now' to 'freedom then', Tertsetis renders a Christian quality to the remarkable phrase 'a place for worshipping freedom' (προσκυνητάρι ἐλευθερίας) in § 14, putting together freedom and religious piety. For προσκυνῶ is not just 'to worship'; it is the movement of bending one's body to show reverence before a saint depicted in an icon, or before God during the Holy Liturgy in the Orthodox Church. A 'προσκυνητάρι' in the Greek Orthodox Church is an elaborate stand upon which an icon is placed. So Tertsetis is attesting the holiness of freedom existing in the modern Greek mind; hence the awe, belief and worship that freedom inspires, just as a saintly figure does. This Greek Orthodox attitude has formed, to a great extent, as we shall see below, the view of Tertsetis on Pericles' impressive statement that the whole of earth is the tomb for famous men.

Tertsetis' disagreement on Pericles' 'memory as a tomb'

Nor is Pericles only allusively present, in the Mytikas speech, through the passages that echo Thucydides. Tertsetis mentions Pericles by name in § 16, where he comments on his famous saying that the whole earth is the tomb of famous men (Thuc. 2.43.3). The moment Pericles' name is heard, the view that Tertsetis holds on immortality for the war dead has

already been expressed clearly. At the end of § 15 he exhorted his comrades ('Let us not lament them') and immediately afterwards he uttered a strong belief with absolute certainty ('because they have not died, but they live'):

> (§ 15) Μὴν τοὺς κλαίομεν, διατὶ δὲν ἀπέθαναν, ἀλλὰ ζοῦν, καὶ ἂς μὴ θαρρεῖ τινὰς πὼς πλαστός, ρητορικὸς εἶναι ὁ λόγος μας, ἐννοώντας διὰ ζωήν τους ὅτι οἱ τωρινοὶ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ μεταγενέστερα ἔθνη ἄκοπα θὰ τοὺς ἔχουν εἰς τὰ χείλη, ἂν αὐτὸ συνέβη ἢ ὄχι ἀδιάφορον.[35]
> (§ 15) Let us not lament them, because they have not died, but they live, and let not someone think that our word is counterfeit, rhetorical, meaning by 'their life' that people nowadays as well as future nations will have them in their lips continually; if this has happened or not, it is unimportant.

This exhortation is in the explicit direction of undermining Pericles' well-known statement, according to which ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν […] τάφος is the whole earth because everywhere there is ἄγραφος μνήμη; people remember the famous men and their deeds, and by being remembered posthumously they are granted immortality. So, apart from the small material tomb built for the famous men in their homeland, people's memory in all places will constitute another tomb for those being famous, as they exist, they 'lie' there, too.[36]

Apparently, Thucydides has recorded Pericles speaking of the renowned ὑστεροφημία, the precious reward of the heroic era, expressed by Pericles in a most concise and unparalleled way. Very apt is Deborah Steiner's comment 'κλέος is the sounding glory that can exist quite divorced from the visible monument, and which from epic poetry on enjoys precisely the audibility and mobility denied to the rooted stone'.[37] Having discussed about the Athenian soldiers, who received praise that

[35] In Konomos 1984, 221.

[36] See Hornblower 1991, 312; Loreaux 1986, 41.

[37] Steiner 1999, 386. Speaking of what is denied to the rooted stone for the war dead, it sounds as if Steiner referred to Pericles' *Funeral Oration*; she discusses an epigram, though, −Simonides fr. 531, τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων− from which she claims that Pericles borrows extensively, especially in Thuc. 2.43.2.

does not grow old: ἀγήρων ἔπαινον, she concludes, 'so now the orator describes his eternally youthful ἔπαινος as the second, and more conspicuous, grave that the Athenians have won'.[38]

This very important ancient Greek idea of a social, I may say, kind of immortality, is clearly considered by Tertsetis as πλαστός, ρητορικὸς λόγος. And then a new exhortation follows, aiming at utterly deconstructing Pericles' words well before introducing him in the speech by name. Tertsetis commented on Thucydides 2.43.3 in a sharp way, urging his audience not to regard somebody's glory from numerous nations as a 'valuable immortality' (Καὶ ἀς μὴ μᾶς φαίνεται πολύτιμη ἀθανασία νὰ δοξάζεται τινὰς ἀπὸ ἄπειρα ἔθνη). He argued that those numerous nations include some individuals, e.g. low characters, from whom the individual praise or glory we would regard as neither valuable nor appreciate. So, nor should we appreciate the collective praise.

The point made here is the unavoidable distance of Pericles from the Christian thought, which makes his famed statement (ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος) seem flawed:

> (§ 16) Συγχωρημένο ἦτον εἰς τὸν θαυμαστὸν ἄνδρα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, εἰς τὸν εὔγλωττον Περικλῆ νὰ λέγει ὅτι μνῆμα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶναι ὅλη ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὅλα στέκουν γύρω εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ μνῆμα καὶ ζοῦν οἱ δοξασμένοι ἄνδρες ὅσο βαστᾶ ἡ πλάσις. Διὰ ἐμᾶς ἡ ἀθανασία μας εἶναι ἡ μακαρία μέλλουσα ζωή, … Ναί, μὰ τοὺς κόπους τους διὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ ἐλευθερία, ναί, μὰ τὲς κατοικίες τῶν δικαίων, ὀμνύω ὅτι ζοῦν καὶ ἀπὸ ὅπου εἶναι μᾶς βλέπουν καὶ καρποῦνται τὴν ἀθάνατην μακαριότητα καὶ ἀκούουν τὲς ἀγγελικὲς μελωδίες νὰ τοὺς λέγουν: Χαρῆτε δίκαιοι εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πλάστου σας. Ὄχι, δὲν ἔχει ἡ ζῆσις του(ς) σύνορο στὸ τέλος τῆς πλάσεως. Καὶ ὅταν τὰ περίλαμπρα θεμέλια καὶ τείχη τοῦ κόσμου σωριασθοῦν, αὐτοὶ θὰ ἔχουν μέρος εἰς τὸν θρίαμβον τοῦ Σωτῆρος.[39]

[38] Steiner 1999, 389; see also Nannini 2016, 12.

[39] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828", in Valetas 1967, vol. II, 62 §16. The phrase Συγχωρημένο ἦτον does not mean, I think, that God did forgive Pericles, but rather that we should forgive him. As to the phrase κατοικίες τῶν δικαίων, it refers to ἐν σκηναῖς δικαίων from *Psalm* 117, 15.1-2: φωνὴ ἀγαλλιάσεως καὶ σωτηρίας ἐν σκηναῖς δικαίων (ed. Rahlfs & Stuttgart 1935 [repr. 1971]).

(§ 16) It was forgiven to the admirable man of Athens, to eloquent Pericles, his saying that the whole earth is the tomb of famous men, that all nations stand round this tomb, and that those glorious men live as long as the Creation lasts. For us our immortality is the blissful future life, … Yes, by their labours for Greek freedom; yes, by the houses of the righteous, I swear that they live, that from where they are they see us, and that they reap the immortal bliss and hear the angelic melodies saying to them: 'Delight, you who are just, in the presence of your Creator.' No, their life has no border at the end of the Creation. Even when the brilliant foundations and walls of the world collapse, they are going to participate in the triumph of the Saviour.

In § 9, Tertsetis addresses Greece –'Oh, land of Christianity, oh land of the Greeks!' (Ὢ γῆ τῆς χριστιανοσύνης, ὦ γῆ τῶν Ἑλλήνων!)– and by reaching §16, both audience and readers are well aware that for them, Greek Christians, immortality is not thought of in terms of this world, of this γῆ. Πᾶσα γῆ is not the place where immortality is granted. Heavens is the place, in the company of God and His saints.

Pericles' ignorance of the immortality of human soul, which is the main idea in the Orthodox Christian Creed, will be called the 'imperfection' of the funeral oration of 430 B.C. by Tertsetis, in his aforementioned lecture on the eloquence of the members of Parliament in 1846: This imperfection is that wise Pericles … does not know, does not surmise, does not conjecture the immortality of the soul, this divine patriotism of the Christians' soul. In Pericles' speech, matter decorates matter, the flowers of earth decorate the statue of death. The great Athenian does not go beyond that.[40]

Tertsetis will then call on his audience not to blame the ancestors for their ignorance of immortality and will urge them to feel lucky deep in their hearts for being born in the era of light and truth, meaning the Christian era.[41]

[40] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 291.
[41] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 291.

The wreath-metaphor or Greek flowers in God's garden

After addressing Greece as the land of Christianity, Tertsetis deals with the sacredness of the Greek armed struggle (Ἱερὰ ἐστάθηκαν τὰ ἅρματά σου) and proceeds to a brief and poignant account of Greek slavery and the sufferings of the people. A wild race came from a foreign land (Ἦλθεν ἀπὸ ξένη στεριὰ ἄγρια φυλή), wild vanquishers who left no other homeland to the children of Greece, but the one they can hope for, with the use of lead (i.e. ammunition) and swords. This especially strong statement is directly followed by a pictorial description of a wreath of Greek freedom decorated with never withering, eternal flower blossoms from the bright and green places of Paradise. The children of Greece fight holding their swords, they are killed and as a result they become flowers in Paradise, ornaments in the wreath of Greek freedom:

> (§ 9) Καὶ ὁ στέφανος τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐλευθερίας δὲν θὰ στολίζεται ἀπὸ ἄνθη ἀναστημένα ἀπὸ χέρι θνητό, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τὰ ἀμάραντα αἰώνια, φυτευμένα ἀπὸ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τὰ φωτεινὰ μέρη τοῦ Παραδείσου.
>
> (§ 9) And the wreath of Greek freedom will not be decorated with blossoms grown by a mortal hand, but with unwithered, everlasting ones, planted by the Word (Logos) of God in the bright places of Paradise.[42]

In the elaborate wreath-metaphor of § 9 in the Mytikas speech, in two or three lines packed with vocabulary of the polarity between mortality-decay and immortality-eternal bloom, there comes a word, a verbal form in demotic language, asking to be taken in with two meanings and enhancing the metaphor:

> *blossoms* ἀναστημένα *from a mortal hand*
> *(blossoms) unwithered, eternal, planted by the Word of God*

[42] The 'bright places of Paradise' are reminiscent of the passage from the *Euchologia* (39.2.66-70) of the Orthodox Church, which is almost identical with the Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος, read at the funeral service: ἀνάπαυσον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων σου τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἐν τόπῳ φωτεινῷ, ed. Goar, Venice 1730 (repr. Graz 1960).

Ἀναστημένα is used in its metaphorical, parenting meaning in modern Greek: ἀνασταίνω a child is 'to raise a child'. In the same paragraph, when Tertsetis mentions the sufferings of the Greek people on the land of Christianity under the Turkish occupation, he refers to the Ottoman practice of Devshirme by saying that καὶ τέκνα σου ἀναστήθηκαν εἰς τὴν ἄρνησιν τοῦ βαπτίσματος (and children of yours were raised so as to refuse Christening).[43] Therefore the verb here being superficially used of the care given in growing a plant and bringing it into blossom, at the same time it serves the function of the wreath-metaphor: indeed, it is not about flowers we are talking about, but about young soldiers, who were brought up not by mortal parents, but by Λόγος, the son of God.

There is a modern Greek folk type of prayers, very likely to have been heard in Zante, which starts with the following end-rhyming verses:[44]

> Ἀπὸ τὴ μάνα μου γεννημένος-η / ἀπ' τὸν Χριστὸ ἀναστημένος-η
> [From my mother I was born / by Christ I was raised]

The flowers in the wreath of Greek freedom were, as in the above folk prayers, ἀπ' τὸν Χριστὸ ἀναστημένα. They were both raised and resurrected by Christ, in the sense of having an eternal life, as Tertsetis means it when in § 20 his deceased say '*the time you say that we died, we resurrected, and we have Heaven as our happy dwelling*'.

It is interesting and pleasing for an attentive audience to see that not only did Tertsetis choose his diction with special care, but he also made the most of his chosen words in all possible terms –of significance, of allusiveness, of poeticism, of Christian faith, of linguistic strength of genuine Modern Greek people's language. Most importantly, the lines

[43] See Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 292: τὴν θρησκείαν, ἡ ὁποία μὲ αὐτὸ τὸ γάλα μᾶς ἐβύζασε καὶ μᾶς ἀνάστησε (the religion, which with this milk breast-fed and raised us); 335: (the spirit of Greece talking) τὸ βύζασμά μου σᾶς ποτίζει φαρμάκι, λέγουν, τὸ γάλα ποὺ ἀνάστησε Πλάτωνα καὶ Λεωνίδα (my breast-feeding feeds you poison, they say, the milk which raised Plato and Leonidas).

[44] This prayer my grandmother used to say and it was taken over by my mother. I do not know whether it is widely spread in Greece, but it may be of some importance that my grandmother's parents came from Zante, as Tertsetis did. The case might be that he was familiar with this folk prayer and with the verse ἀπ' τὸν Χριστὸ ἀναστημένος-η.

in the aforementioned passage carry the creativity of a writer and the philosophy of a believer.

The wreath-metaphor in § 9 contains imagery, diction and content which Tertsetis is going to use in another wreath image, in his 1846 lecture on eloquence and in a flower-metaphor in 1856. In the 1846 lecture, there comes directly after the comment, previously mentioned, on the Periclean 'imperfection', the following imagery:

> Δὲν μυρίσθηκαν ποτὲ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τὰ ἄνθη μὲ τὰ ὁποῖα ἡμεῖς στολίζομεν τοὺς ἀπεθαμένους μας. Τὰ στέφανα τὰ ὁποῖα καρπολογοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀειθαλεῖς κήπους τοῦ Παραδείσου.[45]
>
> (Ancient [sc. Greeks] never smelt the flowers with which we adorn our dead. (sc. They never smelt) the wreaths for which we harvest fruit from the ever-blooming gardens of Paradise).

The personal pronoun in the phrases 'we adorn our dead' and 'we harvest fruit' stands for the Greek Orthodox people who lead a life based on their cultural tradition and on faith. More than that, Tertsetis speaks of the Greek Orthodox experience, the real-life knowledge of Christianity. In Greece flowers are used to adorn the dead at the religious burial ceremony; people also use flowers in churches to adorn the dead Jesus Christ in his Epitaphios on Good Friday, expecting the Resurrection.[46] Our ancestors could not have smelt these flowers –Tertsetis is right.

The flower-metaphor of 1856 uses a double imperative of the verb 'to love' and between the two imperatives there is a worth-noting sentence: εἶσαι ἐσὺ ἕνα (sc. ἄνθος) (you are one [sc. flower]). We note an effective inversion of the common subject-verb order; the effect is enhanced by the metaphorical content of the sentence and also its structure, consisting of only three two-syllable words which repeat two vowel sounds /i-e/ (εἶσαι) and /e-i/ (ἐσὺ), followed by /e/ (ἕνα):

[45] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 291.

[46] The *Epitaphios* is a Christian religious icon of Jesus Christ lying dead, elaborately embroidered on a cloth.

ἀγάπα τὰ ἄνθη, εἶσαι ἐσὺ ἕνα, πάρε παράδειγμα, ἀγάπα τὰ ἄνθη ποὺ ὑπόσχονται καρπούς, καὶ τῶν ὁποίων ἡ χλωρὴ ρίζα δὲν ἐμαράνθη ποτέ, οὔτε εἰς τὲς βαρυχειμωνιὲς τῶν αἰώνων, οὔτε ἀπὸ τὴν ποδοβολὴν ἀσπλάγχνων ἐχθρῶν[47]

do love flowers, for you are one, for example, do love flowers which promise fruit, and the fresh root of which was never withered, neither in the harsh winters of the centuries, nor due to the violent steps of merciless enemies.

In thinking of the young Greek fighters as flower blossoms, Tertsetis may be influenced by Pericles and his less known funeral oration for the Athenian soldiers who were killed during the Samian War. Pericles thought of those Athenian youths as the season of spring, which was lost from that particular year.[48] This was certainly a very moving thing to say in a funeral oration, especially as in the funeral oration of 430 B.C., in Thucydides, the young age of the deceased was not stressed, as Hornblower has pointed out.[49]

Not only did Tertsetis know the spring-simile expressed by Pericles and recorded by Aristotle in his *Rhetoric*, but he often uses it in his speeches, as of the Greek nation being the spring in human race;[50] of the youths of a nation being the spring in the year;[51] of the French youth being the evergreen springtime of the European civilization.[52] Above all, he quotes Plutarch in his 1846 lecture on eloquence:

Ὁ Περικλῆς εἰς ἄλλον του λόγον εἶχε εἰπεῖ ὄχι, ὡς φαίνεται, εἰς αὐτὸν ποὺ θὰ ἀναγνώσω, εἶχε εἰπεῖ ὅτι, νὰ ὑστερήσεις μίαν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοὺς

[47] Tertsetis, "Προλεγόμενα εἰς τοὺς γάμους τοῦ Μ. Ἀλεξάνδρου" [Prologue to the wedding of Alexander the Great] (1856), in Konomos 1984, 509.

[48] Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1365a, 31-33: Περικλῆς τὸν ἐπιτάφιον λέγων, τὴν νεότητα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνῃρῆσθαι ὥσπερ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰ ἐξαιρεθείη (ed. Ross 1959).

[49] Hornblower 2006, 546.

[50] Tertsetis, "Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Μεταμορφώσεως (1846)" (Speech on the feast of the Transfiguration [1846]), in Konomos 1984, 320.

[51] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 286.

[52] Tertsetis, "Στὸν Κάρολο Λενορμὰν (Πρόποση 1859)" (To Charles Lenormant [A toast 1859]), in Konomos 1984, 558.

> νέους της εἶναι ὡς νὰ σηκώσεις, νὰ ἐξαλείψεις τὴν ἄνοιξιν ἀπὸ τὸ ἔτος καὶ νὰμείνει δριμὺς χειμώνας.[53]
>
> Pericles, in another speech of his, said, not, as it seems, in the one which I am going to read, said that, to deprive a city of its youths is like taking away, eliminating spring from the year and leaving harsh winter behind.

The ancient Athenian youths were a lost spring. The contemporary youths are flowers comprising the wreath of Greek freedom; not lost though, but eternal; not mortal, but in Paradise.

"Ἐπιτάφιος Λόγος εἰς Δημήτριον Ὑψηλάντην, 1832)"[54] (Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis, 1832) *'One of the finest characters of our revolution'*

On 13th August 1832, subscribers to the *Ἐθνικὴ Ἐφημερίς* would read a speech by Tertsetis, written for the great army officer and leader in the Greek War of Independence, Dimitrios Hypsilantis, who died in Nafplion on 5th August 1832. Such great respect was felt by Tertsetis for this man, that he introduces him with the words 'on the traces of the Heroes the glorious Greek walked'[55] and compares him to the victorious athletes in the ancient games at Olympia and Nemea. But the wreath which crowns Hypsilantis, we read, has more glorious blossoms than any wreath that ever crowned an Olympic athlete. He was, in summary,

[53] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 286

[54] Tertsetis, "Ἐπιτάφιος Λόγος εἰς Δημήτριον Ὑψηλάντην" (1832) (Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis), in in Konomos 1984, 246; also in Valetas 1967, vol. III, 343–344, with the following note: 'Under the title "Ἕτερος λόγος ἐπιτάφιος εἰς Δ. Ὑψηλάντην συντεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Γ. Τερτσέτου (Another funeral eulogy for D. Hypsilantis composed by Mr G. Tertsetis) was published in the *National Newspaper* (Nafplion, 13 August 1832, p. 181 α-β, after the speech by M. Schinas. The funeral of Hypsilantis (August 1832) took place in Nafplion, where the speech was delivered (sc. by Schinas)

[55] Tertsetis, "Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis", in Konomos 1984, 246.

a remarkable man, ἐκ τῶν ὡραιοτέρων χαρακτήρων τῆς ἐπαναστάσεώς μας (one of the finest characters of our revolution).[56]

'Νὰ τὴν ἀγαπᾶτε μὲ καρδίαν'

At the time when Tertsetis composed this funeral eulogy, he was a history teacher at the Military School at Nafplion, doing his best to inspire in the young cadets a deep love for their homeland. Habitually he would refer them to Pericles' *Funeral Oration* and his exhortation to the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. II, 43.1): ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς.[57]

"Love her as lovers" is the exhortation of Pericles to the Athenians. While reading Pericles' *Funeral Oration* to his audience in 1846, when reaching the Periclean passage about the citizens-lovers, he voices: νὰ τὴν ἀγαπᾶτε μὲ καρδίαν.[58] Teaching his students about Thucydides and Pericles must surely have kept the (pre-existing, as the 1828 speech at Mytikas proves) intellectual relationship of Tertsetis with both men fully alive, and it is very likely that his work on Thucydides had given him the material and some inspiration for this funeral eulogy.

In the funeral oration for Hypsilantis, the glorious deceased appears to be such a lover of his homeland, as the ancient Athenians were:

> Ἔρως ἀκατάσχετος νὰ ἰδῇ τὸ ἔθνος του ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἔνδοξον φαίνεται ὅτι κατέφλεξε τὰς φρένας καὶ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ γενναίου αὐτοῦ Ἕλληνος.[59]

[56] Tertsetis, "Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis" (1823), in Konomos 1984, 246.

[57] See Hornblower 1991, 311, comm. ibid.; Hornblower 2006, 544, comm. ibid.; Gomme 1956, 136: "This idealistic passage […] someone had made the use popular; and who more likely than Pericles?" Aristophanes makes fun of the Periclean thought at *Knights* 1341-1342: Δῆμ', ἐραστής εἰμι σὸς φιλῶ τέ σε / καὶ κήδομαί σου; *Birds* 1279: ὅσους τ'ἐραστὰς τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἔχεις (ed. Wilson 2007). See Hornblower 1991, 311 n. 21; Gomme 1956, 136: "Aristophanes mocks the use of ἐραστής in politics."

[58] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 289.

[59] Tertsetis, "Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis" (1823), in Konomos 1984, 246.

An unrestrainable passion to see his nation free and glorious seems to have fired the mind and heart of this brave Greek.

The phrase Ἔρως ἀκατάσχετος is a very striking one, and must have been difficult for the audience to forget. Ancient Greek texts, as the search in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* produces, commonly speak of ἀκατάσχετα δάκρυα or ἀκατάσχετος ὁρμή, of tears or impetus that cannot be held back; in Modern Greek, we speak of ακατάσχετη αιμορραγία, an 'unstoppable haemorrhage'. But ἔρως ἀκατάσχετος is a rare collocationand it carries vividness suited to a speech by a poet such as Tertsetis indeed was. As Angelos Vlahos has expressed it, οἱ λόγοι του πάντες ἦσαν ποιήματα μᾶλλον ἐν πεζῷ λόγῳ ἢ ἔργα ρητορικὰ (all of his speeches were more poems written in prose than rhetorical works).[60]

Not only is the Periclean idea of love for one's homeland in use here, as in his lessons, but also the phrase κατέφλεξε τὴν καρδίαν comes from his first lesson in the Military School:[61]

Ὢ πόσον ὡραία πατρίδα ἡ φύσις μᾶς ἐχάρισεν, ὦ βλαστοὶ καλῆς γῆς! Ἂν δὲν σᾶς ἐγνώριζα ἀρκετὰ φλεγομένους ἀπὸ τὸν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτα, καὶ ἐπεθύμουν νὰ σᾶς καταφλέξω ἔτι μᾶλλον …
Oh, how beautiful homeland nature has given us, oh shoots of a good land! If I did not know you as being quite on fire due to your eros to her, and I had the desire to set fire to you even more …

The captivating verb καταφλέγω expresses very effectively the Periclean thought of the citizen as a lover of the city.

[60] A citation from the memorial service speech for Georgios Markos Tertsetis one year after his death, in 1875. Vlahos (1966, 404) said that although we keep in our souls Tertsetis as the national orator, he was naturally a poet.

[61] The lesson, with no title, but with an introductory note, was published in the *National Newspaper* 15 (8 June 1832) 82–83. It was published under the title *Ἱστορικὰ μαθήματα: Α΄ Ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς ἱστορίας* (Historical lessons: A΄ The utility of History) in Valetas, vol. III, 1967, 345–347; titled *Ἀποσπάσματα μαθημάτων στὴ Σχολὴ Εὐελπίδων* (1832) (Fragments of lessons at the Military School [1832]) in Konomos 1984, 235–238.

Once again, the Periclean triptych 'happiness-freedom-valour'

The influence of Pericles is obvious once again when we read about the valour of Hypsilantis and his love of freedom:

> Ἡ περίφημος αὕτη γενναιότης εἰς τὰ πεδία τῆς μάχης, καὶ τὸ ἀψευδὲς τῆς φιλελευθερίας του, εἶναι μνημεῖα περιφανῆ, τὰ ὁποῖα μαρτυροῦν ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ἐθεώρει τὴν εὐτυχίαν τῆς πατρίδος του εἰς τὴν ἀνεξαρτησίαν της, ἡ δὲ ἀνεξαρτησία της ἐνόμιζεν ὅτι δὲν ἀπεκτᾶτο, εἰμὴ διὰ μέσου ἐπικινδύνων ἀγώνων καὶ διὰ τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας τοῦ πολίτου.
> Τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων ἐρωτῶ: ἀπὸ ποῖον τῶν παλαιῶν ἐνδόξων συμπολιτῶν του δύναται νὰ λογισθῇ ὑποδεέστερος; Καί: τίς τῶν Μαραθωνίων ἢ Σαλαμινίων δὲν ἤθελε τὸν παραδεχθῇ, καὶ δὲν ἤθελε τὸν ὁμολογήσει σύντροφον καὶ συναγωνιστήν του; Μετὰ παρέλευσιν πολλῶν αἰώνων θέλουν θεωρηθεῖ ὡς ἥρωες τῆς αὐτῆς ἐποχῆς ὁ Ὑψηλάντης καὶ ὁ Κίμων.[62]

This supreme valour in the battlefield, and the purity of his love for freedom, are famous monuments, which testify that this man saw the happiness of his homeland in her independence, and believed that her independence could only be acquired through hazardous encounters and through the magnanimity of her citizens.

> Hence, I ask: lower than which of his ancient glorious fellow-citizens can he be considered? And, which of the fighters at Marathon or Salamis would not wish to avow him as comrade and co-warrior? When many centuries have elapsed, Hypsilantis and Cimon will be regarded as heroes of the same era.

[62] Tertsetis, "Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis" (1823), in Konomos 1984, 246. For a similar thought, see Tertsetis, "On eloquence" (1846), in Konomos 1984, 282: 'Respectable Chateaubriand in a text of his approximately in year 1827 writes that Themistocles and the other fighters at Salamis would accept Admiral Andreas Miaoulis as a genuine co-fighter of theirs, and he is right. But I risk to say, gentlemen, that Miaoulis knew so much of Themistocles as Themistocles did of Miaoulis. This ignorance of ancient history, though, did not prevent the man of Hydra to do in the Fight as much as Themistocles did in the wars of Greece against barbarians'.

The above passage recalls to the reader's mind the emblematic statement of Pericles, which I have quoted before (Thuc. 2.43.4): τὸ εὔδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δ' ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὔψυχον κρίναντες μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους. It is not only the vocabulary used or its meaning, but also the structure of the passages that unite them. Very characteristic in the speech for Hypsilantis is the repetition of the word "ανεξαρτησία" (independence), corresponding to the repetition of the word "ἐλεύθερον" in Thucydides.

The table below contains the similarities in diction between the triptych 'happiness-freedom-valour' uttered by Pericles in his *Funeral Oration* recorded by Thucydides and as emitted by Tertsetis in both his Mytikas speech and his eulogy for Hypsilantis:

Pericles, *Funeral Oration* (Thuc. 2.43)	Tertsetis, "Speech at the Mytikas military camp" (1828)	Tertsetis, "Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis" (1832)"
Εὔδαιμον	*Εὐτυχία*	*Εὐτυχία*
Ἐλεύθερον	*Ἐλευθερία*	*Ἀνεξαρτησίαν*
Ἐλεύθερον	*Ἐλευθερία*	*Ἀνεξαρτησία*
Εὔψυχον	*Μεγαλοψυχία*	*Μεγαλοψυχία*
πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους		*ἐπικινδύνων ἀγώνων*

Having lived according to the Periclean triptych 'happiness-freedom-valour', he gets accepted by the 5th century B.C. Greek fighters as their contemporary co-warrior and together with Cimon, after centuries, he will enjoy heroic fame and glory. It is not odd that Hypsilantis is thought of as a hero of the classical times, for, as mentioned above, 'we are not like others, except only our ancient forefathers.'[63] What is certainly interesting is the choice of the ancient comrade of Hypsilantis. Cimon has been several times distinguished and praised by Tertsetis.[64] His choice is uinteresting, because he appears –in Plutarch, whom

[63] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828" in Valetas 1967, vol. II, 61 §14.

[64] Tertsetis, "On eloquence" (1848), in Konomos 1984, 335, where the spirit of Greece calls him a genuine son of hers: Γνήσιος υἱός μου ἐμέ; Tertsetis, "Λόγος σὲ νέους

Tertsetis quotes− as the 'anti-Pericles' figure in terms of working for concord or discord, which is a topic of crucial importance for Tertsetis. Cimon, son of Miltiades,[65] a general and admiral himself, died in Cyprus triumphing over the Persian fleet. Tertsetis narrates elsewhere in great detail how Cimon's sister, Elpinice, insulting, and yet courageous, held Pericles responsible for the loss of a lot of valiant citizens (ἡμῖν πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀπώλεσας πολίτας) by destroying a σύμμαχον καὶ συγγενῆ πόλιν, Samos, a member of the Delian League, unlike her brother who had fought the Persians.[66] Tertsetis takes the side of Elpinice, stressing that her voice remains in history as 'a frightful protest against the first statesman' (διαμαρτύρησις τρομερὰ κατὰ τοῦ πρώτου πολιτικοῦ ἀνδρός), while history cares very little about the out of focus reply of Pericles.[67] Cimon has been established –by his sister, and also by Tertsetis, for the sake of his audience− as the example of a fighting leader, driven by a morally justified reason and not by discord.

'How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?'

About the ἐνταφιαζόμενος στρατηγός, the general about to be buried, there are more Periclean ideas for the audience to hear:

σπουδαστές" (1831) (Speech to young students [1831], in Konomos 1984, 229: ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς μεγαλοπρεπέστερο τέκνο); Tertsetis, "Δέκα παραδόσεις δημοσίου δικαίου" (1853) (Ten lectures on public law [1853]), in Konomos 1984, 474, where Cimon is together with Pericles, both holding the threads of Themistocles' plan.

[65] Cimon's renowned father, Miltiades, led the Athenian army to victory over the Persian invaders at the battle of Marathon at 490B.C.; Plutarch, *Cimon*; On Cimon, see Develin 1989, 72; David Stuttard has written an interesting book on Miltiades and Cimon and admits the difficulty he faced due to lack of information surviving from antiquity about the two men; He goes on to question the correctness of Cornelius Nepos' and Plutarch's *Lives* of Miltiades and Cimon respectively (Stuttard 2021, 8): 'At the same time, it is not just possible, but likely that at least some of the "facts" recorded in our literary sources are invention−a forensic scholarly approach to Nepos' *Life of Miltiades* or Plutarch's *Life of Cimon* can leave us wondering whether they contain much of any value whatsoever.'

[66] Plutarch, *Pericles* 28.6 (ed. Ziegler 1964).

[67] See the ingemination of Plutarch's narration of Elpinice's protest and the out of focus reply of Pericles in Tertsetis, "On eloquence" (1846), in Konomos 1984, 284.

ἡ δὲ γῆ πᾶσα θέλει κατασταθεῖ τοῦ λοιποῦ θέατρον τῶν ἐπαίνων του, διότι ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ θανάτου τῶν μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι ἡ σφραγὶς τῆς ἀθανασίας των εἰς τὴν γῆν.[68]

the whole earth is going to constitute from now on a place in which to praise him, for the day of death of great men is the impress, upon this earth, of their immortality.

What we read is a paraphrase and at the same time a nice interpretation, or rather clarification, of the well-known ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος from Pericles' *Funeral Oration* (Thuc. 2.43.3). Like Pericles, Tertsetis regards the human memory as keeping alive the revered dead, and in this way memory offers immortality. Pericles' 'memory as a tomb' is here recast in the form 'memory as immortality'.

Pericles secures immortality in the 1846 lecture of Tertsetis, too. There, the power of speech is compared to a material praise (the old λόγος–ἔργον contrast, also occurring in Pericles' *Funeral Oration*)[69] and in his rhetorical question whether there are surviving μνημεῖα, fragments of ancient τάφοι of war dead, the negative answer was given emphatically:

Ἐγώ, κύριοι, δὲν βλέπω οὔτε τὴν σκόνη τῶν μαρμάρων. Εὐτυχισμένοι ὅμως οἱ θανατωμένοι ἐκεῖνοι, ὅσοι ἀποζημιώνονται διὰ αἰώνας αἰώνων ἀπὸ τὴν εὐγλωττίαν τοῦ Περικλέους.[70]

I, gentlemen, do not see even the dust of marble. Blissful, though, those dead are, who are compensated in centuries of centuries from Pericles' eloquence.

Deborah Steiner seems to agree with Tertsetisas to what guarantees timelessness: 'To praise, not to bury'.[71] Of Pericles' great talent and of immortality ensured for the war dead, Tertsetis speaks in 1846 in an evocative and poetical way:

[68] Tertsetis, "Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis (1823)", in Konomos 1984, 246.
[69] See Nannini 2016, 9; Loreaux 1986, 42; 78, 233–234; Immerwahr 1960, 286–289.
[70] Tertsetis, "On eloquence" (1846), in Konomos 1984, 287.
[71] From the title of Steiner's article (1999).

> Προσέχετε, κύριοι, εἰς τὸν λόγον τοῦ ρήτορος, καὶ θὰ ἰδῆτε ἕνα πράγμα θαυμαστὸν εἰς τὰ χείλη τοῦ λαλοῦντος. Ὁ θάνατος παίρνει σχῆμα ζωῆς. Θὰ ἰδῆτε τοὺς φονευμένους ὄχι κοιταμένους εἰς τὴν κλίνην τοῦ θανάτου, ὄχι κόκκαλα, ἀλλὰ ζωσμένους τὴν πανοπλίαν τους νὰ πολεμοῦν, καὶ νὰ πολεμοῦν αἰώνια καὶ νὰ μὴν δύνανται νὰ ἀποθάνουν, χάριν τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ ρήτορος.[72]
>
> Pay attention, gentlemen, to the speech of the orator, and you will see an impressive thing in the lips of the speaker. Death takes the shape of life. You will see the killed ones not lying in the deathbed, not as bones, but, wearing their armor, fighting, and fighting eternally and not being able to die, thanks to the orator's voice.

This is a magnificent expression of Pericles' unparalleled rhetorical skills.

But of course, in addition to being a lover of ancient Greek history and literature, Tertsetis was a Christian, and accordingly he would softly pass from the Periclean immortality, limited on earth, to the Christian immortality in heaven. Exactly as in the Mytikas speech he juxtaposed, 'our immortality is the blissful future life', while Pericles was 'forgiven' because he had no chance to gain knowledge of Christian teaching, so in the speech for Hypsilantis, Tertsetis speaks of the deceased man's soul: 'the invisible god, who filled the temple has left; this body is the remnant of the building, which contained god; but, where is the god who filled it? It is in its real adobe, in Heaven. In this world we are as if in the land of exile.'[73] The land of exile is in fact the strange land of the psalm writer; Tertsetis quotes Psalm 136.4 and makes a point of it. The feeling of exile is reinforced by the question of the verse Πῶς ἄσωμεν τὴν ὠδὴν Κυρίου ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλλοτρίας; (How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?)

Given that Hypsilantis is in his real homeland, in Heaven, after the aforementioned Christian comment by Tertsetis and the psalm verse, there comes the noteworthy epilogue of the speech: 'From your real homeland, from Heaven, oh Hypsilantis, where the earth's virtues are

[72] Tertsetis, "On eloquence" (1846), in Konomos 1984, 287.
[73] Tertsetis, "Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis (1823)", in Konomos 1984, 246.

rewarded with eternal bliss, keep a watch on your nation and be merciful and beneficent.'

Even to a Christian this is a surprising invocation, as the phrases used commonly appeal to saints or to God in prayers. Hypsilantis is addressed as if he himself had saintly properties.

Although Tertsetis is not merely inspired by Pericles, but to some extent, as we have noticed, even transposes the ancient passages into modern Greek, in neither of the two funeral eulogies, 1828 and 1832, does he mention clearly his unquestionable source, the Funeral Oration.

"Ἐγκώμιο στὸν Ἄστιγκα[74] (1829)" (Eulogy for Hastings [1829]) or "Elogio del Capitan Astings Comandante del vapore greco (1829)"[75]

Although the speech at the military camp of Mytikas was made a year after the battle of Athens and not at the funeral of the fallen soldiers, yet it is certainly a funeral oration. There is another speech written by Tertsetis which was not delivered to an audience at a funeral or elsewhere, nor was it published at the time. It is dedicated to the prominent British philhellene Frank Abney Hastings and has the style of a funeral eulogy. Indeed, Tertsetis himself has noted on his manuscript, found in his files, in Italian, 'Elogio del Capitan Astings Comandante del vapore greco', 'elogio' meaning ἐγκώμιο or 'praise'. Tertsetis studied in Italy and therefore his knowledge of Italian explains why, spontaneously I think, writes down, more as a sort of note for himself than a proper title, the subject of the text in Italian. George Valetas, while giving it the plain title "Λόγος στὸν Ἄστιγκα" (Speech to Hastings), adds in a footnote that 'This speech was not printed nor delivered. The funeral oration for

[74] Hastings signed in Greek as Χάστιγξ. The Greeks wrote his name as Ἄστυγξ and Χάστιγξ and Ἄστιγξ, with the last spelling as predominant; see (Fokas 1947, 3 n. 1). Professor Constantinos Rados' (1917: 123 n. 1) preference for the spelling Ἄστιγξ (without aspiration), against Ἄστιγξ is note-worthy: we write, he argues, Ἀννίβας and not Ἀννίβας, although the word is Hannibal with H.

[75] In Konomos 1984, 223–227; for the Italian title, see p. 227 n.

Hastings was made by Trikoupis at Poros (May 1829)'; he implies, then, that this speech by Tertsetis, written in that same month and year, is also an ἐπιτάφιος, like that by Spyridon Trikoupis.

Certainly, Tertsetis´ speech shows how strongly he felt about the death of Hastings. It is in part contemplative, in part an outburst prompted by the altruistic self-sacrifice of the young Englishman. The first two-thirds or so could be a funeral oration, but the remainder addresses his contemporary Greeks and expresses undisguisedly his indignation at those Greeks who would rather remain under Turkish occupation or who were criticizing the first Greek governor, Ioannis Capodistrias. Tertsetis was a bold and honest speaker and he dedicated the 1849 speech on the 25 March anniversary of the Greek Revolution to make his audience face the Greek 'national sins', one of which was 'the spirit of persecution against great men'. He included Capodistrias in these wronged men: hated by several when alive, wept for now that he is dead. In the same speech he refers to those who preferred the old period of the Turkish occupation and calls them cowardly: Εἰς τὲς ψυχὲς τῶν ἀνάνδρων ἡ λατρεία τοῦ περασμένου καιροῦ.[76]

I believe that Tertsetis was absolutely conscious of the fact that the speech was not going to be an oration at the funeral of Hastings. If he had intended to deliver such a speech, he would have developed it in a different way, altering the reproachful style of the second part.

As a matter of fact, he has his contemporary Greeks in mind from the very beginning: If I didn't understand that the praise of this man could be to your benefit, I would be silent, fearing that the brave one whom we are burying would not accept with pleasure the commendation of his death and of his life.[77]

[76] Tertsetis, "Τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τοῦ Γένους (Λόγος Μαρτίου 1849) (The sins of the Nation [Speech in March 1849]), in Konomos 1984, 385-386; on 383. He mentions Capodistrias after Miltiades, Themistocles and Socrates, all great men who were persecuted by their fellow patriots, and notes bitterly that 'Willing or not, we validated the fourth sin of this category. We cannot but confess that another most unhappy man of Greek origin was a benefactor of Greece […] whom, when alive, several of us hated, and now that he is dead, we weep for'.

[77] Tertsetis, "Eulogy for Hastings" (1829), in Konomos 1984, 223.

It is clear that the valiant foreigner who died for Greece ignites his anger against the few un-brave Greeks who preferred the Turkish occupation to the Greek Revolution.

Therefore, we might not expect to find echoes of Pericles' speech in the "Eulogy for Hastings (1829)". It is a text with a different point of view. The fact that Hastings was a fervent philhellene who was indifferent to all that divided him, as a citizen of a foreign country, from the Greeks and their land, prompts Tertsetis now to speak with emphasis of the Enlightenment ideals of human brotherhood, trust in common principles, and universal human rights, as against all society-made divisions between peoples:

> Δὲν εἶναι μονάχα πατρίδα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ στενὸς τόπος εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον ἐγεννηθήκαμεν, ἀλλὰ ὅλη ἡ γῆ τὴν ὁποίαν περιαγκαλιάζει ὁ εὔμορφος αἰθέρας[78]
>
> A man's homeland is not merely the narrow place where he was born, but the earth as a whole, which is embraced by the lovely air.

He goes on to say, 'there is one law, there is one race, and it has now come about that this land which we inhabit is a great city ('πολιτεία') of which all people are the citizens.'[79]

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the speech is not for a Greek, but for a philhellene, and not Greekness but brotherhood of peoples is emphasized, the Periclean thought is still present in the above citation. When this admirer of Pericles and of his *Funeral Oration* employs in a funeral eulogy, diction and syntax of a well-known Periclean passage, he directly refers the reader to Thucydides (Thuc. 2.43.3): ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμη.

Tertsetis echoes Pericles and at the same time he uses the verb ἐγεννηθήκαμεν, 'we were born', which is the direct opposite of the Periclean 'to die' or 'to be buried':

[78] Tertsetis, "Eulogy for Hastings" (1829), in Konomos 1984, 223.
[79] Tertsetis, "Eulogy for Hastings" (1829), in Konomos 1984, 223.

The similarities are apparent and convincing:

Pericles, *Fun. Or.* (Thuc. 2.43.3)	ἀνδρῶν	πᾶσα γῆ	οὐ μόνον	ἀλλὰ
Tertsetis, "Eulogy for Hastings (1829)"	τοῦ ἀνθρώπου	ὅλη ἡ γῆ	Δὲν εἶναι μονάχα	ἀλλὰ

In this way, the reader's thought is led to a twofold interpretation of the passage; the first reading is based on the verb 'we were born', while the second one repeats Pericles' words:

Our homeland is not only the narrow place where we were born, but…
Our tomb is not only the narrow place where we were buried, but...

This is a very artful composition which not only has two readings, but it also validates the apparent, the first level meaning, by connecting it with the famous Periclean text, at a second level.

The same forceful expression Δὲν εἶναι μονάχα … ὁ εὔμορφος αἰθέρας[80] will be heard again six years later, at the very beginning of the Ἀπολογία which, as already mentioned, Tertsetis pronounced in court when he was tried for refusing, as a judge, to sign the sentence upon Kolokotronis and Plapoutas:

> Δὲν εἶμαι ἀπὸ τὴν Σπάρτη, δὲν εἶμαι Ἀθηναῖος, πατρίδα μου ἔχω ὅλην τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τοιουτοτρόπως ἐκφράζεται ὁ γενναῖος ὁ Πλούταρχος, εἶναι σχεδὸν δύο χιλιάδες ἔτη. … δυνάμεθα νὰ ἐκφρασθοῦμεν μὲ φρόνημα ἀκόμη πλέον ὑψηλὸν ἀπὸ τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀνδρός, δυνάμεθα νὰ εἰποῦμεν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς δὲν εἴμεθα οὔτε ἀπὸ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὔτε ἀπὸ τὴν Ἰταλία, οὔτε ἀπὸ τὴν Γερμανία, οὔτε ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀγγλία, πατρίδα μας ἔχομεν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος· ὅση γῆ περιαγκαλιάζει ὁ εὔμορφος αἰθέρας εἶναι ἀγαπητή μας πατρίδα.[81]

[80] Tertsetis, "Eulogy for Hastings" (1829), in Konomos 1984, 223.

[81] Tertsetis, "Ἀπολογία κλπ." (1835) (Defence etc. [1835]), in Konomos 1984, 250. Cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 600F7–8: ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης βέλτιον, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος οὐδ' Ἕλλην ἀλλὰ κόσμιος εἶναι φήσας; 601A2–4: ὁρᾷς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα, / καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς <ἐν> ἀγκάλαις (Eur. fr. 941, 1. 2) (ed. Sieveking 1929).

> I am not from Sparta, I am not an Athenian, I have the whole of Greece as my homeland: thus the brave Plutarch expressed himself, almost two thousand years ago. … we can express ourselves in an even higher spirit than that ancient man's; we can say that we are not from Greece, nor from Italy, nor from Germany, nor from England; we have the human race as our homeland; as much land as the lovely air embraces, that is our beloved homeland.

What we read in the "Eulogy for Hastings" in 1829, we see impressively developed in the "Defence" of 1835, where it forms a suitable prologue –emitting transcending of limits and freedom of spirit– in an important speech of especial historical value. As expected, no Periclean echo of the Athenian patriotism is heard here. Tertsetis, following Plutarch, artfully extends what would also be expressed in Diogenis Laertius' one-word answer: ἐρωτηθεὶς πόθεν εἴη, 'κοσμοπολίτης', ἔφη.[82]

"Λόγος εἰς τὴν θανὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Δ' Ἀνρεμὸν [Damrémont] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φονευμένων εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντίναν [Costantina] (1837)"[83]
Speech for the death of General Damrémont and the other murdered ones in Constantina (1837)

The funeral oration for General Damrémont and his soldiers, who perished during the second French siege of Constantine, a fortified city in Algeria, presents a notable divergence in style and content. Although the French forces emerged triumphant in this assault, their victory was marred by substantial casualties, including that of General Damrémont.

The concise eulogy for General Damrémont, spanning merely two standard printed pages, boasts an elaborate portrayal of the enduring legacy of ancient historical events from Greece and Rome. Tertsetis eloquently describes how the echoes of history, from the plains of Marathon or Zama to the woodlands frequented by Plato, have continually resonated with tales of valour:

[82] Diog. Laertius, *Life of Diogenis*, 60.63 (ed. Dorandi 2013).
[83] In Konomos 1984, 272–273.

From the plains of Marathon or Zama[84] and from the timbered paths where dawn often saw sleepless Plato and saw him calling on the goddesses of justice and beauty for illumination, the resounding of the centuries never became silent, resonating glorious deeds.[85]

In this particular speech, Tertsetis eschews the emulation of Thucydides' portrayal of Pericles, instead drawing inspiration from Plutarch. He commends the virtues of the deceased General by drawing a parallel with Themistocles of Athens, highlighting the exemplary qualities of the fallen leader. In his discourse, Tertsetis effectively paraphrases, condensing into a cogent and succinct statement, Themistocles' astute rejoinder to an individual from the island of Serifos who sought to belittle the Athenian General: 'I would never obtain such honour if I came from Serifos, but you would not be glorified either if you were Athenian.'[86]

"Λόγος ἐπιτάφιος στὸν Γενναῖο Κολοκοτρώνη (1868)"[87] Funeral Oration for Gennaios Kolokotronis (1868)

Tertsetis was a child, according to Nikos Vees, when he became friends with the two elder sons of Theodoros Kolokotronis, Panos and the younger one, Ioannis, who later answered to the sobriquet 'Gennaios', meaning 'valiant'. Georgios and Panos were schoolmates. Vees holds

[84] Part of the Second Punic War, the Battle of Zama (North Africa) took place in 202 B.C. when Scipio Africanus led the Roman army against Hannibal, who commanded the Carthaginian army. The Romans were victorious.

[85] Tertsetis, "Speech for the death of General Damrémont and the other murdered ones in Constantina" (1837), in Konomos 1984, 272.

[86] It comes from Plutarch, *Themistocles,* 18.5 (ed. Ziegler 1969): Τοῦ δὲ Σεριφίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ὡς οὐ δι' αὐτὸν ἔσχηκε δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, 'ἀληθῆ λέγεις' εἶπεν· 'ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ Σερίφιος ὢν ἐγενόμην ἔνδοξος, οὔτε σὺ Ἀθηναῖος'.

[87] In Konomos 1984, 627. Tertsetis also wrote a speech for Theodoros Kolokotronis' youngest son, Constantinos or Kollinos (1810-31.12.1848). The speech was delivered two months after Kollinos' death. The speech sounds informal, as if delivered in a group of friends, to whom Tertsetis spoke about the virtues of his friend, as well as his weaknesses as a politian, which the orator attributed to the state. Moreover, the speech is important as containing Kollinos' memories of his father, thus revealing the great General's personality. See Tertsetis, "Κωνσταντίνος-Κολλίνος Θεοδώρου Κολοκοτρώνης (Λόγος 27-2-1849) (Constantinos-Kollinos Theodoros Kolokotronis [Speech 27-2-1849]), in Konomos 1984, 373–380.

the view that his interaction with the sons of the heroic generation of the Kolokotronis family had a big influence on young Tertsetis.[88]

The briefest funeral oration that Tertsetis composed draws a parallel between Gennaios Kolokotronis and the ancient Persian leader Cyrus, referencing a section from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (8.7.7-8). This comparison underscores their significant contributions to their respective nations. In this speech, there are no discernible influences from Thucydides or Pericles.

Despite the absence of direct Periclean references in the last two speeches, they exhibit the perspective held by Tertsetis on antiquity, on national, and even on universal human memory.

Conclusion or *'the choice must be renewed'*[89]

The look into the funeral eulogies that Tertsetis wrote in 19th century Greece, during as well as after the Greek Revolution, has produced unquestionable evidence, I believe, of the Thucydidean influence, particularly of the Periclean *Funeral Oration* of 430 B.C., in most of the speeches.

His connection with Pericles might have stemmed from his role as an instructor of Greek History at the Military Academy, where he taught Thucydides, particularly his δημηγορίαι,[90] the public speeches. This teaching experience maintained and enriched his engagement with both Thucydides and Pericles. His contemporaneous teaching and speech-writing suggest that freshly taught passages or ideas from Pericles influenced his funeral orations. However, his oration at the Mytikas camp indicates his deep-rooted admiration for ancient Greek rhet-

[88] Vees 1966, "Ἀπὸ τὴ ζωὴ καὶ τὰ ἔργα Γ. Τερτσέτη" (From the life and works of G. Tertsetis), in Konomos 1984, 440.

[89] Phrase from Loreaux 1986, 103.

[90] Tertsetis, "Τὶ τὸ ὡραῖον τῆς τέχνης" (What is the beauty of art) (1858), in Konomos 1984, 523, where Tertsetis refers to his teaching history in the military school in 1832: ἀλλ' ἀφοῦ διηγούμουν τὰ κυριώτερα τῶν συμβάντων, μετέφραζα εἰς τοὺς νέους δημηγορίας εἴτε ἀπὸ τὸν Ἡρόδοτο, εἴτε ἀπὸ τὸν Θουκυδίδη. Εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους ξανοίγομε καλλίτερα τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀρχαιότητος (but having narrated the most important of the events, I would translate to the young ones public speeches either from Herodotus or from Thucydides. In those speeches we see better the spirit of antiquity).

oric, with Pericles as his preferred orator, a predilection likely formed during his university years in Italy (1816–1820) or through subsequent readings and continuous study of ancient Greek texts, after his return to Zante or during his studies in France.[91] As a matter of fact, his interest in Pericles never faded.

All that he tried to achieve as a teacher, namely to inspire in his students' souls passionate love for Greece and to make them feel as relatives, as sons of their ancestors, who share the same ideals and the same blood with them, all that, with no exception, Tertsetis tried to achieve as a 'national orator', as Angelos Vlahos has called him.[92]

Not only ancient Greece, though, but a fusion of antiquity and Christianity we saw in his speeches. Tertsetis admires Pericles and yet his Christian faith makes him point out a weakness in the Periclean *Funeral Oration*, as we have discussed above. Some more has to be said on this duality, I feel.

We saw Tertsetis insisting on the Christian view on immortality, not just because he is Christian, I think. It is not only a matter of a deep Christian faith; he is being faithful to his belief in the continuity of Greek history and the helleno-christian identity of the Greek nation and regards this double legacy as essential for the building of modern Greece.[93]

Two things are worth-mentioning here: first, the compound term ἑλληνοχριστιανισμός, the spirit of which recurs the whole of Tertsetis'

[91] Konomos (1984, 10) gives the information that Tertsetis was lucky enough to attend Professor Giuseppe Barbieri's classes during his studies at the University of Padova (1816-1820). Barbieri taught law, ancient Greek and latin literature and rhetoric. Konomos adds that Tertsetis acquired from Barbieri his adamant adoration for law, as well as his classical education. Vees ("Ἀπὸ τὴ ζωὴ καὶ τὰ ἔργα", 1966, 440) notes the interest of the University of Padova in ancient Greek poetry at the time. In France, in Sorbonne, he had Professor of constitutional law, Pellegrino Rossi, the Italian economist, politician and jurist, as his teacher. See Plagiannis 1966, 368.

[92] Vlahos 1875, 404.

[93] See Tertsetis, "Speech in an Orthodox church of London" (1842): 'what is, what should be, the law of the Greek land. My friends, my copatriots, for many months, for many years I have been occupied with this research and I finally saw that our destination, our law is to be Christians.' (In Konomos 1984, 275–276)

work, was introduced by Spyridon Zambelios (1815–1881);[94] second, Tertsetis was a teacher and later the national orator in a time when discontinuity in the Greek history had been proposed by the German Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790–1861), who claimed (in 1832) that modern Greeks were not descendants of ancient Greeks, but of Slavs and Albanians.[95] Opposite Fallmerayer was both the philhellenic historiography which had been produced during the Greek Revolution and the national historiography, written afterwards.[96] Zambelios and Constantine Paparrigopoulos (1815–1891), published the first Greek refutations of Fallmerayer's theory.[97]

Apparently, Tertsetis' views on the double legacy, ancient Greek and Christian, certainly aligns with his compatriots historians' view. Indeed, apart from talking about the ancient Greeks often, he also refers to persons who marked the Greek nation and its history in later times: St Jonh the Theologian, Constantine the Great, Loukas Notaras, and the last Emperor, Constantine XI Palaiologos, as well as the Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory V of Constantinople. The last speech he wrote, for the anniversary of the Greek Revolution, a speech he never delivered due to his severe illness that led to his death, contains a hymn to the last Byzantine emperor:'Glory to the last Emperor of the Empire, whom they

[94] See Economidis 1989, 15; Kim (2023, 16) on 'Helleno-Christian' culture as a synthesis of classical and byzantine; cf. Koumbourlis (2005, 31): 'hellénochrétienne'.

[95] Fallmerayer was one of the few exceptions, according to Koubourlis (2012, 40), while, on the other hand, Kim (2023, 1–2) writes of 'prevalent European intellectual perspectives that proffered a narrative of disruption and deterioration of the ancient Hellenism'. Cf. Veloudis, *passim*.

[96] Koubourlis (2012, 133–201) on the French historians of the period 1821–1825: Bory de Saint-Vincent, Claude D. Raffenel and A.-Fr. Villemain; pp. 319–367, on the important German scholar of later years, J. W. Zinkeisen, whose *History of Greece* (vol. 1, 1832) had a great influence on Zampelios and Paparrigopoulos.

[97] Zambelios' monumental works are the *Folk Songs of Greece published with a historical study on Medieval Hellenism* (1852) and his *Byzantine Studies on sources of the Neohellenic Nationality from 8th until 10th centenary A.D.* (1857). Paparrigopoulos' major work is his *History of the Hellenic nation* (Vol. 1. 1860), while he had initially replied to Fallmerayer in his study *On the movement of some Slavic people into Peloponnese (1843)*, (*Περὶ τῆς ἐποικήσεως σλαβικῶν τινῶν φυλῶν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον*); see Koubourlis 2005, 272–309; Economidis 1989, 9–13.

found with his double-bladed sword covered in blood, in a heap of killed enemies, and they recognized him from the golden eagles on his dress.'[98]

The role of Providence in Greek history is also an idea that Tertsetis shares with Paparrigopoulos; when in 1846 Tertsetis refers to St Jonh the Theologian and the Greek language as the language for spreading Christianity: "how many times he must have thought of the brave deeds … of the nation he was enlightening, and that divine providence had prepared the glorious Greeks to become messengers … of the divine Gospel!"[99]

Finally, it is important to point out that Tertsetis may not be one of the Greek historians known for witing in reply to Fallmerayer, but in fact he did write in French in reply to Fallmerayer's anti-hellenic theories: In 1856, Tertsetis wrote "About the speech of Mr the Duke of Broglie" and in 1857 he published in a French journal in Athens the article "The Times and the Ionians," where he fervently confronted the attack by the *Times* newspaper, the 'sortie contre des Ioniens' that people on the island of Corfu are not Greek, but 'sont un mélange d'Albanais et de Venitiéns'; as supported by 'le trop célèbre Fallmerayer'. Tertsetis calls these anti-hellenic views 'puérile' and goes on to deconstruct them.[100]

Therefore, his robust views on his nations' identity and historical continuity are to be seen within the frame of the important events of his time: the post-Revolution era and the demand to build a strong father-land, and the national defense against anti-hellenic, unhistorical voices.

Dedicated to his nation, a lover of ancient Greece, of Christianity, and a lover of the Greek War of Independence, he delivered eulogies for those who had made their choice in life: The anonymous fighters at the battle of Athens in 1827; the Revolution leader Hypsilantis; Ioannis Kolokotronis, who was worthily named Gennaios, meaning 'valiant'; Captain Hastings and General Damrémont; they all had the values of the nation.

---

[98] Tertsetis, "Speech on 25 March 1874", In Konomos, pp. 678–688; on p. 686.

[99] Tertsetis, "Speech on the feast of Transfiguration (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 320; Kim (2023, 7): "Greek was the chosen language, so to speak".

[100] The French texts are in Konomos 1984, 863–868 and 869–872 respectively. Citations from p. 869.

Nicole Loreaux has expressed it very well:

> The choice must be renewed before any battle. … for the historian as for the orators, all morality is based on these conventional criteria that are the values of the city. … Thus, from history to the epitaphioi and from great men to combatants in the ranks, the fine death is a model of a civic choice that is both free and determined. The funeral oration ignores the exemplary characters that the historian was happy to isolate in the solitude of their decision; but to all the anonymous dead it attributes the same choice and the same end, so that their example may inspire emulation among the survivors;[101]

It has been apparent that in the 19th century the funeral eulogies for war dead were mostly composed for individuals. Yet, no matter if the war dead whom Tertsetis praises are lustrous individuals or anonymous fighters, their deeds or they themselves (as in the Mytikas speech) do speak to the surviving. Their decision to live or live and die as they did, moves and persuades the audience. Tertsetis' passion as an orator and the literary power of his λόγος move and persuade the audience of Greek citizens and soldiers. Obviously, the nation or 'the city that honours its dead with an oration rediscovers itself in the oration'[102], as Nicole Loreaux writes, and we can no doubt say about Tertsetis what he has said about Pericles: Ἐγκωμιάζοντας ὁ ρήτορας τοὺς ἀποθαμένους, ἐνθυμεῖται πολὺ τοὺς ζωντανούς.[103]

[101] Loreaux 1986, 103–104.
[102] Loreaux 1986, 2.
[103] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 287. He goes on to say: καὶ ἐκθειάζει τὴν δημοκρατικὴν τάξιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τὸν λαόν, διὰ νὰ τὸν ἔχει βοηθὸν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Dorandi, T. (ed.). 2013. *Diogenes Laertius: Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, *Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries*. Cambridge.

Goar, R. P. J. (ed.) 1730 (repr. 1960). *Εὐχολόγιον sive rituale graecorum complectens ritus et ordines divinae liturgiae*. Venice (repr. Graz).

Jones, H. S. & J. E. Powell (eds). 1942 (repr. 1970). *Thucydidis historiae*. Vol. 1, Oxford.

Konomos, N. 1984. *Ὁ Γεώργιος Τερτσέτης καὶ τὰ εὑρισκόμενα ἔργα του*. Athens.

Marchant, E. C. (ed.). 1910 (repr. 1970). *Xenophontis opera omnia*. Vol. 4. Oxford.

National Newspaper [Ἐθνικὴ Ἐφημερὶς] 1832. issues of 1st year. Nafplion.

Rahlfs, A. (ed.). 1935 (repr. 1971). *Septuaginta*. Vol. 2, 9th ed. Stuttgart.

Ross, W. D. (ed.). 1959 (repr. 1964). *Aristotelis ars rhetorica*. Oxford.

Sieveking, W. (ed.). 1929 (repr. 1972). *Plutarchi moralia*. Vol. 3. Leipzig.

Tertsetis, G. 1828a. "Λόγος στὸ στρατόπεδο τοῦ Μύτικα (1828)", in N. Konomos 1984, 218–223.

—, 1828b. "Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν καθ' ἣν ἐτελοῦντο τὰ ἐνιαύσια τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις πεσόντων 1828", in G. Valetas 1966, vol. II, 57–64.

—, 1829. "Ἐγκώμιο στὸν Ἄστιγκα (1829)", in N. Konomos 1984, 223–227.

—, 1831. "Λόγος σὲ νέους σπουδαστές (1831)", in N. Konomos 1984, 227–233.

—, 1832a. "Λόγος ἐκφωνηθεὶς ὑπὸ Γ. Τ. κατὰ τὴν ἔναρξιν τῶν ἱστορικῶν μαθημάτων τοῦ 1832 σχολαστικοῦ ἔτους εἰς τὸ Κεντρικὸν Πολεμικὸν Σχολεῖον", Ἐθνικὴ Ἐφημερίς 60-61 (14 December), 311–314.

—, 1832b. "Ἐπιτάφιος Λόγος εἰς Δημήτριον Ὑψηλάντην (1832)", in N. Konomos 1984, 246–247.

—, 1832c. "Ἱστορικὰ μαθήματα: Α΄ Ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς ἱστορίας", in G. Valetas 1967, vol. III, 345–347.

—, 1832d. "Ἀποσπάσματα μαθημάτων στὴ Σχολὴ Εὐελπίδων (1832)", in N. Konomos 1984, 235–238.

—, 1835. "Ἀπολογία κλπ. (1835)", in N. Konomos 1984, 249–271.

—, 1837. “Λόγος εἰς τὴν θανὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Δ’ Ἀνρεμὸν [Damrémont] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φονευμένων εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντίναν [Costantina] (1837)” in N. Konomos 1984, 272–273.
—, 1842. “Λόγος σ’ Ὀρθόδοξη ἐκκλησία τοῦ Λονδίνου (1842)”, in N. Konomos1984, 274–277.
—, 1846a. “Μελέται βουλευτικῆς εὐγλωττίας (1846)”, in N. Konomos 1984, 277-292.
—, 1846b. “Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Μεταμορφώσεως (1846)”, in N. Konomos 1984, 317–322.
—, 1849a. “Τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τοῦ Γένους (Λόγος Μαρτίου 1849)”, in N. Konomos 1984, 327–344.
—, 1849b. “Κωνσταντίνος [sic]-Κολλίνος (sic) Θεοδώρου Κολοκοτρώνης (Λόγος 27-2-1849)”, in N. Konomos 1984, 373–380.
—, 1853. “Δέκα παραδόσεις δημοσίου δικαίου (1853)”, in N. Konomos 1984, 436–477.
—, 1856. “Προλεγόμενα εἰς τοὺς γάμους τοῦ Μ. Ἀλεξάνδρου”, in N. Konomos 1984, 503–518.
—, 1858. “Τὶ τὸ ὡραῖον τῆς τέχνης”, in N. Konomos 1984, 523–533.
—, 1868a. “Λόγος ἐπιτάφιος στὸν Γενναῖο Κολοκοτρώνη (1868)”, in N. Konomos 1984, 627.
—, 1868b. “Λόγος 12.5.1868”, in N. Konomos 1984, 624–626.
Valetas, G. 1966-1967. Τερτσέτη Ἅπαντα. Vol. I, 3rd ed., 1966: Τὰ λογοτεχνικὰ ἔργα, Athens; Vol. II, 1967: Ἔργα ἱστορικὰ καὶ λογοτεχνικά*:* Ἀπομνημονεύματα ἀγωνιστῶν τοῦ *’21*. Λόγοι καὶ δοκίμια; Vol. III, 1967: Κολοκοτρώνη Ἀπομνημονεύματα, etc., Athens.
Vlahos, A. 1875. “Λόγος ἐπιμνημόσυνος στὸ Γεώργιο Τερτσέτη ἀπαγγελμένος στὸν ‘Παρνασσὸ’ τὴν 21η Μαρτίου 1875”, in G. Valetas 1966, vol. I, 401–419.
Wilson, N. G. (ed.). 2007. *Aristophanis Fabulae*. Tomus I. Oxford.
Ziegler, K. (ed.). 1964. *Plutarchi vitae parallelae*. Vol. 1.2, 3rd ed. Leipzig.
—, (ed.) 1969. *Plutarchi vitae parallelae*. Vol. 1.1, 4th ed. Leipzig.

Secondary sources

Bouchard, J. 1970. Γεώργιος Τερτσέτης*:* Βιογραφική και ιστορική μελέτη *(1800–1843)*. Athens.

Chatzoglou-Balta, H. S. 2008. Μεταβυζαντινὴ καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Ρητορική*:* Εἰσαγωγὴ -Ἀνθολογία Κειμένων. Athens.

Clairmont, C. W. 1983. *Patrios Nomos: Public Burial in Athens during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* Oxford.

Develin, R. 1989. *Athenian Officials: 684-321 B.C.* Cambridge.

Dimaras, C. Th. 1977. Νεοελληνικὸς Διαφωτισμός. Athens.

Economidis, I. Z. 1989. Η ενότητα του ελληνισμού κατά τον Σπυρίδωνα Ζαμπέλιο. Athens.

Fokas, D. 1947. Ὁ Ἄστιγξ ἐπὶ Καποδίστρια*,* ἀνέκδοτα ἔγγραφα καὶ σημειώσεις, offprint from Ναυτικὴ Ἐπιθεώρησις 203. Athens.

Garland, R. 1985. *The Greek Way of Death.* London.

Glykofrydi-Leontsini, A. 1989. Νεοελληνική Αισθητική και Ευρωπαϊκός Διαφωτισμός. Athens.

Gomme, A. W. 1956. *A Historical Commentary on Thycydides*. Vol. II. Books II-III. Oxford.

Hornblower, S. 1991. *A Commentary on Thycydides*. Vol. I. Books I-III. Oxford.

—, 2006. Θουκυδίδου Ἱστορίαι. Vol. A, Books 1-3. Ed. A. Rengakos, trans. F. Petika. Thessaloniki.

Immerwahr, Henry R. 1960. "Ergon: History as a Monument in Herodotus and Thucydides", *The American Journal of Philology* 81/3, 261–290.

Jacoby, F. 1944. "*Patrios Nomos*: State Burial in Athens and the Public Cemetery in the Kerameikos" *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 64, 37–66.

Kakridis, J. Th. 1981. Από τον κόσμο των αρχαίων. Τόμος δεύτερος*:* Ελλήνων λόγοι. Thessaloniki.

—, 2000. Περικλέους Επιτάφιος *(*Θουκυδ. II*, 34-46)*. Athens.

Kennedy, G. 2001. Ιστορία της κλασικής ρητορικής. Trans. N. Nikoloudis. Athens.

Kim, Y. R. 2023. "Paparrigopoulos on Continuity, Constantine, and the Council of Nicaea" *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 41/1, 1–23.

Kitromilides P. M. 2013. *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece.* Cambridge, Mass. & London.

Koubourlis, I. 2005. *La formation de l'histoire nationale grecque: l'apport de Spyridon Zambélios (1815-1881)* (Collection Histoire des Idées 5/ FNRS). Athens

—, 2012. *The historiographical debts of Sp. Zambelios and C. Paparrigopoulos. The contribution of Greek and foreign scholars in the formation of the three-part scheme of the Greek historicism (1782-1846)*. Athens.

Kremmydas, Ch. 2017. "*Ethos* and Logical Argument in Thucydides' Assembly Debates" in S. Papaioannou, A. Serafim & B. da Vela (eds.), *The Theatre of Justice: Aspects of Performance in Greco-Roman Oratory and Rhetoric*. Brill (Series: Mnemosyne, Supplements 403), 93–113.

Loreaux, N. 1986. *The Invention of Athens: The Funeral Oration in the Classical City*. Transl. A. Sheridan. Cambridge, Mass. & London.

Mavropoulos, Th. G. 2004. Οι επιτάφιοι λόγοι της ελληνικής αρχαιότητας. Athens.

Nannini, S. 2016. "Epitaphios logos ovvero il discorso funebre ateniese: nostalgia di un passato immaginario" *RILUNE – Revue des littératures européennes* 10, 1–17.

Paparrigopoulos, C. 1843. *Περὶ τῆς ἐποικήσεως σλαβικῶν τινῶν φυλῶν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον*. Athens.

—, 1864. *Ἱστορία τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*. Vol. 1. Athens.

Plagiannis, D. I. 1966. "Γύρω στὸν Τερτσέτη" in G. Valetas 1966. Vol. I. Athens, 367–369.

Rados, C. N. 1917. Φρὰνκ Ἄμπνεϋ Ἄστιγξ *(*ἔγγραφα καὶ σημειώσεις περὶ τοῦ ἔργου αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἑλλάδι. Athens.

Sigouros, M. 1954. "Ὁ Γεώργιος Τερτσέτης" in G. Valetas, 1966. Vol. I. Athens, 451–458.

Steiner, D. 1999. "To Praise. Not to Bury: Simonides fr. 531P" *Classical Quarterly* 49.2, 383–395.

Stuttard, D. 2021. *Phoenix:* A *Father, a Son, and the Rise of Athens*. Cambridge, Mass.

Tabaki, A. 1997. "Byzance à travers les lumières néo-helléniques" *Europe: Revue Littéraire Mensuelle* 822, 147–161.

Tsatsos, K. 1980. Νεοελληνικὴ ρητορεία (Ζαχαρόπουλος, Βασική βιβλιοθήκη 41). Athens.

Vees, N. 1966a. "Ἀπὸ τὴ ζωὴ καὶ τὰ ἔργα Γ. Τερτσέτη", in G. Valetas 1966, vol. I, 439–450.

—, 1966b. "Εἰσαγωγικὰ στ' Ἀπομνημονεύματα Θ. Κολοκοτρώνη (1770-1843) καὶ ἄλλων ἔργων τοῦ Γ. Τερτσέτη (1800–1874)", in G. Valetas 1966, vol. I, 423–438.

Veloudis, G. 1982. Ὁ *Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer* καὶ ἡ γένεση τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ἱστορισμοῦ. Athens.

Westlake, H. D. 1968. *Individuals in Thucydides*. Cambridge.

Χεpapadakos, A. 1971. Η δίκη των στρατηγών Θ. Κολοκοτρώνη και Δ. Πλαπούτα. Athens.

Zambelios, S. 1852 (repr. 1986). Ἄσματα Δημοτικὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐκδοθέντα μετὰ μελέτης ἱστορικῆς περὶ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ. Corfu (repr. Athens).

—, 1857 (repr. 1976). *Βυζαντιναὶ μελέται περὶ πηγῶν τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Ἐθνότητος ἀπὸ Η΄ ἄρχι Ι΄ ἑκατονταετηρίδος μ.Χ.* Athens.

Zinkeisen, J. W. 1832. *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Anfange geschichtlicher Kunde bis auf unsere Tage*. Vol. 1. Leipzig.